We are deeply grateful for the generous support from the Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen Foundation, without whom the research project, the exhibition and this publication would not have been possible.

F O R E

It gives the Glyptotek great pleasure to present a comprehensive research-based special exhibition about the sculptor Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (1863–1945). The exhibition and this publication unfold the story of one of Denmark's most important – yet unknown to many – sculptors, presenting sculptures, processes and sketches as well as tales about major public commissions, her success in Denmark and abroad, the significance of her gender in terms of her place in art history – and a remarkable personal history.

Growing up on an affluent farm in the Kolding region of rural Jutland, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen sprang from farmland soil but went on to live like a true cosmopolitan, often travelling or settling abroad for months on end to devote herself to her art.

Her work is distinctive, vibrant and vivid, and she positioned herself at the centre of contemporary Danish and international art with dynamic sculptures whose stylistic expression is in keeping with the era's movements of Naturalism and Vitalism. Their subject matter revolves around everyday lived life – children, animals, sports – as well as the grand narratives of mythology and powerful figures from history.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen has made her mark on many public places in Denmark. She was the first woman in the world to be awarded two of the most prestigious commissions that any sculptor can get: an equestrian statue of a king (Christian IX, at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds) and bronze gates for a cathedral (in Ribe). In addition to exhibiting and being awarded prizes at major exhibitions in Denmark and abroad, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was also well represented at museums abroad at the time. She was a co-founder of Den Frie Udstilling in Copenhagen, contributed to the establishment of the Danish Women Artists association, actively fought for women's access to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and has been an inspiring role model for generations of Danish sculptors. However, all this has, as yet, not given her a place in art history that adequately reflects her weighty contribution to Danish art.

The Glyptotek's exhibition project now remedies this state of affairs by presenting the sculptor's oeuvre: in the major special exhibition *ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN*; in the audio guide *Den uudslukkelige* (The Inextinguishable), which takes listeners on a self-guided walking tour of Copenhagen while following in the artist's footsteps, passing her monuments and places of special interest in her life; and in this publication, which offers a lush bouquet of original artist contributions and research-based articles arising out of new and interdisciplinary research.

The Glyptotek is first and foremost a museum of sculpture, and although Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is unfortunately not represented in the Glyptotek collection, she plays a central role in the museum's research and interpretation activities. The museum owns a distinctive collection of Danish sculpture from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with many pieces closely connected to one of the museum's most important collection areas: ancient sculpture. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works very much point to the landmark breakthrough in Danish sculpture in the 1890s, which drew inspiration from early ancient sculpture. One important factor were her copies of polychrome sculptures from ancient Greece, works which brought her extensive success, likewise her long-standing work with the composition of the polychrome sculptures and the transfer of their individualised expression into her own art. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copies of ancient Greek sculptures from the Acropolis thus place her at the heart of the museum's research on polychromy. The sculptor's works poignantly and prominently twine themselves into the museum's professional foundations, offering new perspectives on the Danish and ancient collections alike. At the same time, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen enriches the museum by providing a relevant and necessary perspective relating to the representation of women artists. Works by women artists account for only a miniscule part of the Glyptotek's collections, which are based on Carl Jacobsen's and his son Helge Jacobsen's areas of interest and collecting strategies – and they unfortunately did not include Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen or very many other leading women artists of the time.

The exhibition at the Glyptotek ensures the international outlook that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's oeuvre so richly deserves, placing her in a position of prominence in European art and across the great periods of art history. Her public monuments also contribute to earning her a very important place in Danish art and cultural life, where she was an important figure– both as an independent artist and with her husband, the composer Carl Nielsen. Hence, we deem it very important that the exhibition will also be presented elsewhere in Denmark, focusing on places with which her work is particularly associated. Thus, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen will once again extend

W O R D

her national reach in her native Denmark when the exhibition is later shown at Fuglsang Kunstmuseum at the manor house of Fuglsang, a prominent gathering place for artists and composers for more than a century, including the Nielsens, and at Ribe Kunstmuseum, reaching out into the city for which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen created some of her absolute masterpieces.

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Warm thanks are due to project researcher and exhibition curator Emilie Boe Bierlich, who took the initiative for this important project and has spearheaded its many facets with immaculate professionalism.

The research project, the exhibition with its accompanying publication and interpretation activities, including the city walk audio guide, are funded by the Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen Foundation. We wish to offer our heartfelt gratitude to the foundation for their generous support and excellent cooperation on the project.

We wish to thank the museums, institutions and individuals who have kindly made works available for the exhibition:

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National Gallery of Denmark

Odense City Museums

Ribe Kunstmuseum

Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts

University of Copenhagen

Private lenders

Special thanks go to Odense City Museums, which own the largest part of the works featured in the exhibition. We particularly want to acknowledge curator Ida-Marie Vorre and conservator Dorte Gramtorp, who have both contributed to the project with great generosity, sharing their expertise and knowledge of the collection.

This publication comprises a number of peer-reviewed articles and artist contributions that, in words and images, provide new eye-opening perspectives on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and her art. We are grateful to all contributors for their substantial contributions: sculptors Kirsten Justesen and Elisabeth Toubro, author and visual artist Amalie Smith, graphic novelist Allan van Hansen, professor of musicology Michael Fjeldsøe, chief curator and senior researcher Peter Nørgaard Larsen, art critic and writer Mathias Kryger, photographer Irina Boersma, and two of the museum's own researchers: head of collections and research Rune Frederiksen and postdoctoral fellow and curator Emilie Boe Bierlich. Thanks are also due to Søren Kjerk Holmstrup, Bruun Rasmussen, for arranging a new photograph of one of the works borrowed for the exhibition. The book is published in collaboration with Strandberg Publishing. We wish to thank the publisher and the museum's own editorial team, Anna Manly and Emilie Boe Bierlich, for their efforts in creating an ambitious book that will continue to assert Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's position in art history long after the exhibition ends.

The exhibition scenography was placed in the capable hands of scenographer Christian Friedländer, while Troels Faber from NR2154 was responsible for the graphic design of both the exhibition and the publication. We wish to thank both for their excellent cooperation. We also wish to thank Arthur van der Zaag for the lighting design.

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GERTRUD HVIDBERG-HANSEN

Director, August 2021

INTROD

EMILIE BOE BIERLICH

PhD in art history. Postdoctoral fellow
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U C T I O N

`The museums are vying to buy her `pieces'. This was the headline run in a New Year's report about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in prominent Danish newspaper Politiken on 1 January 1907. At that time, the artist was 43 years old. `Our famous countrywoman', it went on, setting the tone for a long interview introducing fellow Danes to the artist's breakthrough abroad. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's husband, the composer Carl Nielsen, had the last word in the article: `... then suddenly everything came all at once: fame, commissions and income. For both my wife and for myself at the same time.' They were artists of equal standing, both of them winning great acclaim in their own day. Over time, however, the powerful mythologies of artistic succession and hierarchies between the sexes eventually meant that Carl Nielsen was treated to a magnificent compilation of his letters comprising more than ten volumes, a museum and archive in his name, competitions carrying his name in Denmark and abroad, memorial plaques scattered throughout Copenhagen, and recordings carrying the iconic yellow labels of the prestigious music publisher Deutsche Grammophon, all before Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works were presented in their own right at a collection of sculpture – or even in an English-language book, for that matter. Even her home was presented in his name until recently, despite her many achievements.She created equestrian statues and bronze gates, made a fortune, was awarded the academy's honorary residence and had her international breakthrough much earlier than her husband, all while breaking away from established norms for art and for women. However, consistency always comes at a price. And only in recent years has the discussion on how we should weight and treat gender in art research and dissemination become a major point of deliberation.

As a scholar, you are neither an ideologist nor a moralist. Rather, you spend a lot of time researching what questions one may ask of the material available so that the artist can be considered in a context relevant for us today. But how can you respond to complex questions about gender and art history without neglecting proper attention to the historical framework, ensuring that the artist's own life becomes the decisive parameter for your argument while still incorporating our present day and age in your considerations? Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen has been dead for a long time. So why is she relevant today, and what are we going to use her life and works for? These questions underpin this book and the exhibition it accompanies.

Sometimes, you find that the answer is more resonant when it comes from different voices. It requires a rich array of resources to gather knowledge that not only reconstructs a life but creates a vision to prompt more lasting interest. This narrative of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is an example of such a kaleidoscopic rewriting;

it reminds us that the past is not a static quantity, but a process of memory that changes over time. The book contains essays, analyses, commissioned works of art and a graphic short story, all of which address the artist in her own time as well as her relevance to the present. And we let her have the last word through a selection of her own letters. Through joint efforts, we build an affecting framework for presenting and discussing Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen based on her own time and our present day. After all, great stories never end.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen sketched in wax and in clay. She was a sculptor first and foremost, and her knowledge was embedded in her hands. She shaped her sketches in three dimensions, had herself photographed with her works at all stages of their development, thereby taking control of her work and the narrative about it right from an early stage of her career. Accordingly, nothing could be more natural than to let an equally virtuoso writer and visual artist, Amalie Smith, introduce the reader to the sculptor. Displaying her unique ability to shape language and materialities to forge new connections, Smith has chosen to assemble existing photographs of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, giving them three-dimensional form, animating them and making them speak in a poignant sampling of new and old texts. My own contribution comes next, offering a reading of the artist's work and career as part of a broader discussion that involves artistic strategies of an aesthetic, social and political nature, adding new aspects to our understanding of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's reception and position in art history. Peter Nørgaard Larsen, chief curator and senior researcher at Statens Museum for Kunst, makes a compelling contribution to the expansion of the concept of Naturalism corrected on the basis of the Vitalistic currents of the period. In doing so, he succeeds in placing Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen within a wider horizon than the one previously assigned to her, while the concept of Vitalism is also nuanced through generous analyses of her work.

Experience, sensuality, inspiration and strength: these are some of the aspects portrayed and conceptualised by two of our most significant contemporary Danish sculptors, Kirsten Justesen and Elisabeth Toubro, who both regard Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen as a role model and `foremother' so to speak. In contributions that combine elements of memory, awakening, resistance, crisis and reconciliation, they each reflect on how they use their perception of her life and work today. And her works of art are certainly out there, out in public spaces, as evinced by the photo series that follows, placing Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's monuments in the landscape and public sphere. Several of the late works from this suite of photos are addressed in art critic and writer Mathias Kryger's contribution, an analytical essay where body culture and identity, ideology and queer theory become crucial elements for the perception of the artist's idiom seen in the light of the 1930s totalitarian gender ideological currents. Graphic novel artist Allan van Hansen, who has worked with historical material for a number of years, captures the combination of innate peasant stubbornness and gender-borne vulnerability in a touching rendition of the artist's lifelong struggle to realise her equestrian statue of Queen Margrete I. And Rune Frederiksen, head of collections and research at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, contributes brilliant new research on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's Greek copies and the era's discovery of the original polychromy of ancient Greek sculpture seen from an international perspective.

At all turns, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's husband was both her muse and her impediment. Carl Nielsen's compositions constituted the background music accompanying her work. His music and the writing associated with it enlived and animated her process. In his article, professor of musicology Michael Fjeldsøe identifies musical features and modes of thinking which correspond to the Vitalistic currents seen in the lines and forms of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's work, uniting the couple in a shared outlook on the forces that art can express. Carl Nielsen is not alone in expressing himself in words about art. Her letters have literary qualities, too. The letters and diary notes selected here are about art and modern marriage – and who should have which place within it. You will find them at the end of the book, before the biography, the list of works that carry the exhibition, and the introduction to the newly produced audio tour guide about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen created during the course of this project in collaboration with some of Denmark's most talented producers and actors. Following in the artist's own footsteps, the tour takes us to her masterpieces and follows her life story –out there in the world where we all move and mingle.

Thus, this book is like a big carrier bag containing all sorts of different stories, not just one. Every time we put the bag down, our hands are freed up, allowing us to ponder and speak about a new angle. And each story is wrapped in beautiful tableaux of the artist's own sketches, shot by photographer Irina Boersma as poignant intakes of breath, showing us, in abstract form, parts of the artist's oeuvre. Instead of adhering to a narrative format with a linear structure that simultaneously subordinates other stories, making them seem less important, the book admits many different focus points, thereby trying to approach reality. The story of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen branches far and wide, as does reality itself. Or as the American author Ursula K. Le Guin wrote about this method of storytelling: `It is a strange realism, but it is a strange reality.'

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on the equestrian statue of Christian IX in the yard of the bronze foundryman Rasmussen at Nørrebro, Copenhagen, ca. 1927

ANNE MAR NIELSEN PHOTOGRA AN INT

AMALIE SMITH

Amalie Smith is a writer and visual artist. In 2014 she published the novel *Marble*, in which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen plays a major role. In this text, Smith revisits *Marble* and unfolds a process of telling one's own story through photographs.

RIE CARL-
AND
PHY –
RODUCTION

1.

A great many photographs of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen exist, enough to tell the story of her life in pictures. I do not think this is a mere coincidence. I think she actively used photography all her life as a tool for shaping and telling her own story.

For example, there is a photograph of her as a very young woman putting the finishing touches on a bust at the school of carving she attended in Schleswig – a subject which may well have been intended to convince her father to allow her to travel to Copenhagen to train as a sculptor. There is another one of her many years later, standing upright underneath the belly of the equestrian statue of Christian IX – a motif that may have been intended to inscribe her in art history as the first woman to make an equestrian statue.

Overall, there are many photographs showing Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with her own work, and they all seem to have a clear purpose – if nothing else, then to document the works before they left her studio and, at the same time, to firmly establish the identity of the artist behind

it. But there is more to it than that. The photos are generally taken by unnamed photographers, who were presumably brought in on a case-by-case basis, and one senses that the artist has somehow taken charge herself, assuming mastery of the medium. In these pictures, we see her life and work through a gaze she herself constructed, and the story of her is intertwined with the one she herself wanted to tell.

All this made the photographs an obvious place to start when I wanted to write about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's life and work in my novel *Marble*. Looking at one photograph after another, I gradually began to think that my task as a writer would be to collate and adapt the many photographs of her to create a three-dimensional form, to animate that form and make it speak. This also became the task of the novel's main protagonist, Marble. Approaching the job in very hands-on terms, Marble specifically hires a 3D animator to work on the assignment:

> – 'NO CAST WAS EVER made of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's face,' says Marble. 'She cast Holger Drachmann's face and right hand after his death in 1908, she made Sophus Claussen's death mask in 1931 and Carl's in October that year and in her later years she even made a cast of her own left hand, but no one ever made a cast of her face, neither dead nor alive. So if we want to recreate her in 3D, we'll have to do so using photographs.'
>
> – 'Do we have any?' asks the 3D animator.
>
> – 'Plenty,' replies Marble. 'She was deliberate about having her picture taken with her most important works before they left the studio.'

Marble flips through a book and points to a photograph of Marie in a white men's suit standing atop the back of a plaster cast of Christian IX's equestrian statue. And one of the entire team in front of the completed statue at bronze founder Rasmussen's workshop. One of her on a ladder beside the Carl Nielsen Monument in plaster, a sculpture of Pan on a wild horse that was meant to have wings. One behind the plaster model of the Mermaid with fishlike features and a mighty, tucked-under tail. One of her, blurry, next to the enormous sculpture of Jutland's stallion, the Chieftain.

> – 'Do you think we can recreate her in 3D based on the photographs I've shown you?' asks Marble. 'And can we animate her?'
>
> – 'You don't have any pictures of her from behind?'
>
> – 'No.'
>
> – 'It will be difficult to recreate her backside.'
>
> – 'The back isn't so important. Her face is what matters. Can you combine the images and make her speak?'

Portrait of Anne Marie Brodersen from her time at C.C. Magnussen's school of carving, Schleswig, 1880

The equestrian statue of Christian IX in the foundryman's yard, 1927

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
with the enlarged version
of the equestrian statue
of Christian IX, 1923

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
with *Mermaid*, ca. 1920

Aymard Charles Théodore Neubourg
Portrait of Bertel Thorvaldsen
1840

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's childhood home, Thygesminde, viewed from the garden, late 1870s

2.

The very first portrait photo taken on Danish soil is from 1840. It depicts the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen next to a relief in the garden at Charlottenborg – indeed there is something about sculptors and photography! To protect his soul from being swallowed up by the camera (and perhaps to protect the forms from the flatness of photography), his hand forms the famous 'devil horns' sign with his hand, warding off the lens and demonstrating a sense of apprehension about technology.

All such misgivings have evaporated by the time Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen enters the scene; she is of a new generation, post-Thorvaldsen. She was born into an affluent agricultural family based at the farm of Thygesminde in the Kolding area in 1863, 23 years after Thorvaldsen was photographed, and photography gained popularity during her childhood. The family had themselves photographed at Oscar Wils's in Kolding, and in the 1870s a photographer also came to Thygesminde to take a picture of them by the garden stairs – in their work clothes, not their Sunday best, the animal-loving Marie cradling a dog in her arms.

Perhaps because only a few childhood photographs of her exist, she herself has filled in the gaps with a delightful and detailed autobiographical text, which I used as a template for this depiction of her childhood in *Marble*:

> She is born in 1863, on the longest day of the year, and a Sunday, at that. The world she is born into is bright and warm. She is christened Anne Marie Brodersen and called Marie. She takes in a porcupine and a baby hare as pets. A toad with glassy yellow eyes, wide as a worker's fist. When she goes riding, a crow perches on her shoulder.
>
> She rides horses from the age of five. She experiments with standing on two horses, one foot on either horseback, until her mother asks her to stop. She's her father's favourite, always outside with the animals, kind, courageous, clever.
>
> When she's ten, her father has the barn torn down to build a new one and her oldest brother Hans is crushed beneath a collapsing wall. A sculptural memory: she sees her father walk across the courtyard carrying her dead brother in his arms.

In these ways a sculptor is shaped by life on her ancestral lands, and in these ways she shapes it herself:

> As a 12-year-old she digs glacial clay from the vegetable patch and models a lamb that she has hand-reared. The model is a good likeness. She continues modelling heads and animals and asks to go to school, is told no, then granted permission after all, spends three months at a woodcarving school in Schleswig, but after that it's time for her to come home. She receives a slap from her father and is told to know her place, be domestic, churn butter. But in the butter, Marie models crows.

When Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was a child, unmarried women belonged to their father until they turned twenty-five; married women were regarded as their husband's property. Not until 1880 were married women allowed to decide what to do with their own money, a shift in legislation that would be absolutely crucial for Marie – her mother's personal earnings, her 'nest-egg money', helped fund her venture when she set out for Copenhagen in 1882 to apply for an apprenticeship as a sculptor.

> Marie enters the world hands first. Grasping life with both hands, you could say. Sculpture is what you can approach from all sides, see from every angle.

3.

Only a few photographs from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's youth in the 1880s exist, but perhaps this can be taken as an indication of how photographs are power and that during these years she is in the process of building a practice and a name from scratch. It must have been hard work. She does not hail from an artist family and has her gender against her. By the time Marie arrives in town, more than 30 years will elapse before women get the right to vote in Denmark, and a full six years until the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts begins to admit them – and then only at a separate, external department called the Art School for Women.

Marie's father has only allowed her a probationary period of one year in Copenhagen: within that time frame she must prove that she has talent. She does not give up when the sculptor Vilhelm Bissen refuses to take her on as a student, simply because she is a woman. She gets a place with the sculptor August Saabye and studies with him for a number of years. Through him, she meets the Skovgaard family, the Meldahl family and other influential families. She befriends the older fellow artist Agnes Lunn and other women artists, with whom she would many years later found Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund – the Society of Women Artists. She takes part in the first of many competitions in her life. When she has her debut at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts' exhibition in 1884, her father finally accepts that his daughter is pursuing an artistic career. By that point she is 21 years old. The year before, she had her portrait taken by the photographer and women's rights activist Mary Steen – a frontal portrait with none of the hesitation seen in the picture of Thorvaldsen.

While spending the summer at Thygesminde in 1887, she sculpts the two calf statuettes *Calf Licking Itself* and *Calf Scratching Itself* (p. 42).

> She models the living, too. She obtains wax and hangs a board from her neck so she can walk around in the fields and model animals in motion. When a calf refuses to get into position, she hops over the fence to the neighbour's cows and collects lice, which she then sets loose on the family's calf to make it move.

The calves are cast in bronze, get noticed by the French sculptor Auguste Rodin at an exhibition in Copenhagen and later venture as far afield as the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889. When Marie sells these calf statuettes for more than her father gets for his live animals, she wins his respect. Meanwhile, she has turned 25 and is legally allowed to manage her own money. She is doing well, making progress. She does not need a husband and has no plans to get married.

Mary Steen
Portrait of Anne Marie
Brodersen
1883

Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen photographed at the Acropolis Museum in Athens in front of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copy of the *Typhon* group, 1903

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen by the seaside with the couple's three children, ca. 1902

New parents Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with their firstborn, Irmelin, 1892

Portrait photo of Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 1891

The Carl Nielsen family photographed at Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's studio in Vodroffsvej, ca. 1909

4.

When Marie meets the composer Carl Nielsen in Paris in the spring of 1891, falls head over heels in love and marries him after just a fortnight, she never gets around to having a photo taken – perhaps this speaks volumes about the surprising nature of the love affair. But when the couple, who are of equal age, return to Copenhagen in June, they put on their finest clothes and visit a photographer. They are exactly the same height and sit shoulder to shoulder, and despite Carl's folded arms, they radiate a sense of equality. A folder, presumably the marriage contract, is on the table between them. Although they have only known each other for a few months, they are already expecting their first child, Irmelin. The following year, they have their picture taken with her between them at the family photographer Oscar Wils's in Kolding, and here too the sense of equality is palpable: the parents are placed on either side of the child, both of them supporting her as she stands upright on a chair seat. In the years that follow, the growing family is often portrayed in photos. Sometimes in rigid line-ups but also in more informal ways. A wonderful picture of Marie with the three children frolicking in the wavy sea, without any swimwear, shows that this is a modern – even liberated – family for the time.

From this point on, the photographs keep coming in steady succession. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen clearly has an eye for the power of this technology, both in terms of creating and capturing a family and in terms of creating and capturing her own work. The two aspects converge on several occasions, with the family being photographed in the studio. One example is from 1909, showing the whole family surrounded by her work in the studio on Vodroffsvej, with bronze turkeys walking around on the floor. Or in the picture of Carl and Marie at the Acropolis in the summer of 1903, which I made a focal point in the novel *Marble*:

> There's a photograph of her and Carl taken at the old Acropolis Museum. The photograph documents her copy of the Typhon: an Archaic pediment sculpture of a monster with three truncated torsos and three bearded male heads.
>
> The photograph has no colour, but it has nine faces: three originals in limestone, four in plaster, and then Marie and Carl's faces, which are dark grey, that is, suntanned. Marie is wearing a white, full-length linen dress; Carl is in a black suit with white cuffs. What's Carl doing in the picture? His face is turned in a different direction than the other eight faces. He's sitting on a stool in front of Marie, right beneath the copy of the Typhon. He has taken off his straw hat and is holding it in his hand.
>
> She began working on the copy in March, and it has now taken form; perhaps we're in June 1903. It's hot at the museum.
>
> Marie holds an extra copy of the monster's third head in her hands, and it looks as though its stiff beard is resting on top of Carl's head.
>
> Some water has leaked from a vase out onto the marble floor.

The photograph was printed as a postcard and sent to various collections in Europe, so its purpose is easy to define: it served as an advertisement for her copies. But the fact that her work and Carl were captured in the same picture would also have been significant. To the outside world, it sends the message that he approves of the work, and inwardly it serves as a reminder of the same. Her stay in Athens is a sore point for Carl; his eyes are already growing distant.

> One might think she were nearly done, but she's not. She'll have to return in November the following year and work for seven more months. That's when Carl writes her a letter saying he wants a divorce.

The fact that Marie wants to work *and* have a family flies in the face of the period's expectations of women. She holds firm, but not without cost. Carl supports her in principle, but when she is away from home, he still puts his own productivity before hers. Apparently, his creativity requires female company, and while Anne Marie is in Athens, he begins a relationship with their mutual friend Marie Møller. When the affair (and other affairs) comes to light ten years later, Anne Marie takes it as a breach of trust that she finds difficult to forgive. Now it is she who wants a divorce. She makes enough money to support herself, and she has a lease for an academy-owned flat in Frederiksholms Kanal. The couple are separated for seven years but get back together again when Carl falls ill in 1922. The years of separation are a time of crisis, and only a few photographs from this period exist, whether from her studio or her home.

5.

It may seem odd to have Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen be part of a book called *Marble*, a book which revolves around this material. After all, marble is not part of her register:

> Marble flips through a book and points to photographs of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. One in front of the Typhon at the Acropolis Museum in June 1903. One in a smock and black turban in front of a marble bust; it's Carl, she's holding a chisel to his throat.
>
> 'The scenario is staged,' says Marble. 'She never learned to carve marble. The model was sent to Carrara and carved there instead.'

Marble has been considered the most prestigious material used by sculptors since ancient times, and in Marie's own day it was expected that a true sculptor would master the craft. By having her picture taken while holding a chisel to the marble bust of Carl, she plays along with this notion, presumably for the sake of the press. Like several other photographs from the later years in the workshop, it is staged – she is wearing her party clothes underneath the coat, and the figure is in fact finished.

Perhaps she never learnt to carve marble because she was not allowed to study at the art academy. But it may also be a deliberate opt-out – she and Carl obtained driving licenses at an advanced age, demonstrating a willingness to try new things and suggesting that she could certainly have learnt to carve in marble if she had wanted to. Perhaps the process did not interest her. Ever since childhood, her chosen materials were malleable, easy to model: clay, wax, butter. Followed by plaster casts. And whenever she won a commission, she got a bronze foundry to cast the final piece. The method is very different from the marble carver's – while Thorvaldsen also made clay and plaster models, he did so with the matte and polished marble surfaces as his end goal. If, on the other hand, the intended finished work is a bronze casting, the modelled surface becomes part of the overall expression. Everything can be traced back to the hand that shapes the soft clay or wax.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen poses as if carving the bust of Carl Nielsen for the Gothenburg Concert Hall, ca. 1928

Recent X-ray photographs of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's wax models show that she built them according to whatever happened to be at hand: hairpins and matchboxes appear as dark silhouettes in the translucent wax. Her surviving papers include a recipe for wax which is very strange: the ingredients include butter. Perhaps this was a purely practical solution, perhaps a nod to her father who caught her sculpting crows from butter?

> She returns to the works of her youth many years later. After marriage and children, equestrian statues and memorials, she sits down and models little animal studies out of wax from memory.
>
> With her finger she draws a circle on the table and says:
>
> 'Here is where I started, and here is where I finished.'

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's keenness to have photographs taken of her own works in the studio can be linked to the materials she used. Had she been a painter, there would have been little point in being photographed in black and white in front of her paintings. Had she carved in marble, the works themselves would have possessed a permanence which would render photography less urgent. Her decision to be photographed alongside models or scaled-up versions of her designs before they were translated into plaster or sent on to the bronze foundry may be due to the fact that every single transition, every single translation from one medium to another involves a risk of failure, of destroying the form. Photographs document the work done in these ephemeral materials, paving the way for a reconstruction in case something should go wrong in the process.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's recipe for the wax she used for sculptural sketches, 1890s

Portrait of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on one of her last figures, ca. 1943

X-ray of wax figure

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
in her studio with her
model sketch for the
equestrian statue of
Christian IX, 1908

Trial set-up of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's monument to Christian IX at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds, 1911

6.

Many things turn out right for Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. When she is invited to take part in a competition to create an equestrian statue of Christian IX in 1908, she wins. She is thorough and meticulous even in the earliest sketches, conducting anatomical studies; she even has the king's horse, Thrym, brought out to her studio on Langelinie for an afternoon of modelling. A photo taken on that occasion shows her and the big horse on the snow-covered quay. A photo which serves as a tool for her subsequent modelling but also one which documents how she strives for anatomical correctness through actual studies of animals (p. 30). Later photographs of the horse Flingart from Celle in Germany seem to serve the same purpose (p. 31).

Only four artists are invited to take part in the competition, and the sketches are submitted anonymously. Apropos the hierarchy of materials, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen submits her sketch in plaster, while the others submit theirs in bronze and marble. Even so, she wins. Her victory makes her the first woman ever to carry out the most prestigious commission a sculptor can win: to make an equestrian statue. For Marie, who, like many other women artists, has fought against unequal conditions in the world of art all her life, being recognized at this highest level is a major triumph.

The Diver in storage, 2014

However, not everything turns out exactly as Marie would wish it, and the frieze originally intended to be part of the equestrian statue is a good example. The jury immediately asks her to model the frieze in a half-size version, and they approve the model, but when the breakout of the Great War triples the price of bronze, they eventually force her, after lengthy negotiations, to scrap it. There are several photographs of the model in clay and plaster in the workshop, but it was never cast in bronze. A photograph of a full-scale flat model painted by a scenic painter and put in place at the Christiansborg Riding Ground Complex clearly demonstrates how big a role the frieze played in the overall work.

Frieze on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's proposal for the equestrian statue of Christian IX. A number of portraits were sprinkled in among the archetypes, 1908

In my novel, the main character, Marble, brings another assignment to the 3D animator, one which concerns this particular frieze:

– 'WILL YOU HELP ME recreate a form with 3D software?' asks Marble.

– 'Sure,' the 3D animator replies. 'Which one?'

– Marble opens a book and points at a photograph of a clay frieze.

– 'Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen modelled this for the pediment of King Christian IX's equestrian statue,' she says. 'It represents the Danish people under the king's rule. At the very front stand the farmer and the fisher, and behind them are representatives of trade, seafaring, industry, science and art. There are also two writers, J.P. Jacobsen with his nose in a book, and behind him, Holger Drachmann, in a cape, looking up as though it has just started to rain.'

– 'They're quite close together. Do you want all of them modelled?' asks the 3D animator.

– 'No, only the diver,' Marble says and points.

– Kneeling down in the middle of the frieze is a diver, shown in profile. He wears a diving suit with a big, round helmet and thick-soled boots. He has a knife stuck in his belt and is coiling a rope with strong, fisted hands.

– 'Ah, I can see why. He's impressive.'

While conducting research for *Marble*, I visited the Carl Nielsen Museum in Odense. Currently undergoing refurbishment, back then the museum – in spite of its name – consisted mostly of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works and sketches. The diver was not on display, but I was allowed to view it in storage. Later, I made a request to do a 3D scan of it, but this was denied. I still dream of having this diver, if not the entire frieze, translated into a full-size work.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
with an equine model
in front of her studio
at Langelinie quay,
Copenhagen, ca. 1908

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
in her studio in Celle,
Germany, with a
life-sized study for her
equestrian statue of
Christian IX and the
horse Flingart, 1914

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
in her studio in Celle with
the horse Flingart, 1914

7.

In the final scene of the novel *Marble*, we see the work of the 3D animator revealed: Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and the diver from the frieze are diving towards the bottom of a sea of liquid marble.

> Marie watches the circular marble ripples that spread from where the diver jumped in. She turns her side to the camera; her face is backless, like a mask.

As I said, I wanted to put together her face on the basis of the many photographs, to animate it and make it speak. But throughout the book, I had done nothing but put her own letters and notes in her mouth – so while she had come alive for me, she did not exactly speak herself.

When the book was published, I was invited on a major Danish Radio show on culture to speak about it, and suddenly, without warning, the hosts played a recording of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's voice. So while we have no imprint of her face, the DR archives had an imprint of her voice. Hearing that was absolutely incredible.

Her voice is lighter than I imagined; it does not come from the depths of her chest as I would have expected. But her determination comes through clearly, both in tone and diction. She talks about coming to Copenhagen, being rejected by Bissen's studio yet still, within just one year, being admitted to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Art's exhibition at Charlottenborg. The moment when she won her father's permission and thus, de facto, her autonomy.

8.

Many have noted the fact that between them, Carl and Marie cover the various dimensions of the arts: he composed temporal works that only exist when large orchestras perform them while she worked with persistent, enduring forms. Perhaps a photograph, which simultaneously captures a fleeting moment and is a lasting document, is a place where they can meet – mostly on Marie's terms. The figure may lose its volume in a photograph, but the music is completely muted. Yet at the same time, family and work can be captured and united in one and the same image.

I am well aware that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was not a photographer and that the medium of photography was not her chosen form of expression. On the other hand, she would not have been the same sculptor without it. She made use of photography in a range of crucial respects – both internally in her practice and externally in the image she wanted the outside world to see: a hard-working and meticulous sculptor who based her work on studies of actual animals. An independent creative artist who grappled with the forms of a lived life, and also a virtuoso copyist. Her husband's equal in a modern, loving family. And a woman artist who refused to let herself be written out of art history, as so many women before her had been.

Portrait of Anne Marie
Carl-Nielsen with the
Thorvaldsen Medal, 1932

ANNE CAR INEXTINGUI

EMILIE BOE BIERLICH

PhD in art history. Postdoctoral fellow
at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

MARIE L-NIELSEN. SHABLE

`One of the most gifted members of the generation from the eighties and nineties.'[1] These words were used to describe the sculptor Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, née Brodersen, upon her death. The eulogy was given by Sigurd Schultz, director of Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen for many years, affirming her reputation as `one of the most important sculptors of the naturalist era in this country.'[2] Her gifts won her two of the most prestigious commissions any sculptor can get: bronze gates for a cathedral and an equestrian statue of a king. The latter was the largest official commission given to a Danish sculptor in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's lifetime. Along the way, she was awarded the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' honorary residence in Frederiksholms Kanal, where she lived for 30 years. She received the Academy's highest badge of honour, the Thorvaldsen Medal, as well as the personal award of the monarch, the extraordinary medal of merit for spirit and art, *Ingenio et arti*.[3] She exhibited and received awards at major exhibitions in her native Denmark and abroad and was well represented at foreign museums. In addition, she co-founded Den Frie Udstilling (The Free Exhibition), contributed to the establishment of Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund (Danish Women's Artist Association) and actively fought for women's access to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts as well as for their right to exhibit at a time when it was difficult for women to get an academic education and career

Portrait (trick photo) of
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen,
undated

on an equal footing with their male colleagues.[4] With strength, unwavering determination and sheer talent, she demonstrated a productivity and artistic prowess of international scope and scale. With her insistence on being part of a physically exhausting and male-dominated profession, as well as with her remarkable indomitability and great success, she became an inspiring role model for generations of Danish sculptors.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen thus belonged to a generation of female artists who debuted and were active from around 1880, had extensive professional careers, won medals, received large public commissions and were admired by their contemporaries. They were a breakthrough generation.[5] Like several other women artists of her time, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen played a significant role as an exhibiting artist, a highly esteemed teacher and a politically engaged citizen. Newspapers, exhibition reviews and auction and exhibition catalogues all show that she was active, visible and successful in the public exhibition market and general art market.

Puzzlingly, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is, with a few exceptions, now almost completely forgotten outside a niche audience of academics and professionals. Her success and legacy were not remembered through the years, and her works are now hidden away in the storage facilities of various museums. Up through the 1900s and early 2000s, several publications have more or less inadvertently maintained this silence by failing to include her to any great extent, at least until relatively recently.[6]

If art-historical material is not actively circulated and communicated, it ends up as a form of mental and empirical lost property, stored up, forgotten and written out of our shared narrative. Obtaining art-historical documentation can require vast resources – and non-traditional approaches – when what one is looking for is conspicuously absent because the works themselves are not accessible, either because the available literature comes from another tradition or because the art-historical reference works only include limited amounts of relevant material. And when this data is put in order and arranged, the knowledge involved is never neutral, even though art history has tended to assume so in the past. As art historian Donald Preziosi puts it: `Knowledge is a practice that does things, and one of the things it does best is to masquerade as a neutral tool or method.'[7]

My contention is that an active and systematic rediscovery of what has been more or less deliberately forgotten requires a lot of resources. And the context in which the material is inscribed upon its rediscovery is entirely dependent on the willingness to ask the methodological questions required to ensure a cultural memory that can be utilised in such incessant reactivation. With this introduction, I would like to point out that a representation of the sculptor based on archival materials and sources is only part of the narrative that can ensure a more lasting re-inscription in our common history so we do not start from scratch every time. We must consider the structures that surround the material, the times in which it was created and not least the times that came after. By combining the sources available and the artist's production with more general analytical approaches, I propose an interpretation of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's work and career as part of a wider cross-cultural process of negotiation that involves artistic strategies of an aesthetic, social and political nature. The basic premise of this article is that one cannot choose empirical evidence over theory when setting out to rediscover an oeuvre. One cannot choose the `real' world over the structures behind it, just like considerations on the weight and treatment of gender is necessary. History is always already inscribed in an overall social framework, a discourse, and this applies equally to the past as to the description of it. But even though history and discourse cannot be separated, they are not identical either. Within this span, this difference between the actual history and the social framework, the past continues to be negotiated. Grand narratives never end.[8]

CARING, GIFTED AND BOLD: MOBILISING A STRATEGY

`I'll not waste my money on art, much less my daughter.'[9] So said her father, echoing the general popular opinion of the day. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen grew up on a farm in the moraine landscape of the Kolding region with her parents, two brothers, a sister and all the many animals on the farm.[10]

Her father bred cattle and imported English sheep, which produced far more wool than their Danish counterparts. Every spring, the cattle were driven across Jutland down to the marshes at Tønder. She followed her father wherever the animals were driven, and rode from a very young age – even experimenting, as related by the writer and artist Amalie Smith in her introduction to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in this book, with standing on two horses with one leg on each until an end was put to it. A hare, a hedgehog and a toad were her pets for several years, tenderly cared for by her, and according to her own memories there was always a crow perched on her shoulder when she went riding.[11] Enjoying great freedom of movement and a financially secure home, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen built up a self-confidence, a drive and, moreover, a knack for making money that would prove crucial to her future.

Having dug up clay from the kitchen garden to model one of the lambs she herself had reared, she went on to sculpt crows out of butter and pigs out of cake dough when she took part in the housework on the affluent family farm, Thygesminde. She eventually asked her parents for professional assistance with her endeavours. The local veterinarian taught her animal

Portrait of Anne Marie
Carl-Nielsen (cropped),
1888

Calf's Head
Undated
Wax
Odense City Museums

Seal
Undated
Wax
Odense City Museums

Swan
Undated
Earthenware
Odense City Museums

Calf Licking Itself
1887
Bronze
National Gallery
of Denmark

Calf Scratching Itself
1887
Bronze
Odense City Museums

anatomy; she modelled after horses' legs and dissected a calf. Such anatomical knowledge was a prerequisite for being able to correctly portray living creatures. By the time Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was 19 years old, in 1882, she was allowed to go to Copenhagen, where she studied under the sculptor August Saabye until 1889.[12] Prior to this, she had been introduced to Vilhelm Bissen, a professor at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, who flatly refused to take her on as a student, citing the general unfortunate nature of her gender and the likelihood of her simply going on to become a married woman. Several critics would later be amused by the irony of this statement when Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen eventually took over the academy's official honorary residence and studio in Frederiksholms Kanal after him. Here she modelled several of her late major works, including preparatory works for her equestrian statue at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds, half a century after Bissen had used the very same studio to create his equestrian statue of Frederik VII at Christiansborg in 1873.[13] When Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen made her debut at the academy's juried spring salon at Charlottenborg in 1884, exhibiting a bust of a woman, she brought home a note from her teacher to her parents, praising her talent. With this, their last reservations concerning their daughter's choice of occupation fell away.[14] In 1887 she took part in the Academy's competition for the Neuhausen Prize, the largest cash prize of the period. The assignment was to create a fountain group for the *Højbro Plads* square in Copenhagen, and she won, presenting a plaster model of the sculpture group *Thor with the Midgard Serpent*.[15] This event firmly established her new-found position amidst her family back home in Kolding, reportedly because the sales that came with such recognition brought in more money than her father could get for his calves.[16]

According to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's own memoirs, she would, when visiting Jutland, go out into the fields carrying wax and a wooden board on her stomach, modelling the animals in motion. Deeply familiar with her chosen subject matter, she modelled, shaped and prodded her animals with great energy, ferocity and resourcefulness, both in wax and in real life:

> `When I needed to enrage a bull, I used to do it by putting on a bright red morning dress and laying down in the grass in front of the bull, rolling around [...] One time, this bull caught me on his horns and threw me quite far. But I fell down so far away from it that it could not get at me again; the tether was too short.'[17]

When the calves refused to move, she resorted to harsher methods:

> `Getting it to take the proper position was difficult, and I had to wait patiently, but then I had an idea. I crawled over the fence, into our neighbour's field, where I knew the calves had lice. I collected these lice and put them on our calves, and oh, my, how they scratched – and that got me the position I wanted.'[18]

These two calf statuettes, subsequently becoming known as *Calf Licking Itself* and *Calf Scratching Itself*, would prove of colossal significance to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's career. Both were exhibited at the Nordic Exhibition of Industry, Agriculture and Art in Copenhagen in 1888 and were both accorded the honour of being photographically reproduced in the catalogue.[19] That same year, they were exhibited (in wax versions) at Charlottenborg, prompting one critic to offer the following description in the Danish newspaper *Politiken*:

> `Two small calves in wax, modelled by Anne Marie Brodersen, testify to a great talent and a strange ability to grasp the instant and very intricate movement of young animals which, in an effort to scratch themselves, bring otherwise distant parts of the body close to each other.'[20]

Following this, both sculptures were accepted for the Danish presentations at the World's Fairs in Paris in 1889 and Chicago 1893.[21] They were awarded bronze medals in Paris, and casts of the two calves were subsequently acquired by Statens Museum for Kunst (the National Gallery of Denmark), the Hamburger Kunsthalle and the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. In addition to this, several private sales followed in the wake of an exhibition at her German art dealer in Berlin.[22] Her name had won international acclaim, giving rise to exhibitions and sales.[23] Late in life, after children and marriage, equestrian statues and memorials, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen returned to small animal sketches modelled from memory, tiny figures shaped in wax.

The early biographical literature and memoirs have established a certain image of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen as a bold yet down-to-earth woman who enjoyed a close symbiosis with nature of her own time, her family and her own upbringing. The general ideas about women's close affinities with nature are implicitly embedded in the sources' depictions of her childhood and youth. The authenticity of her production is explained by pointing to her background as a farmer's child, closely affiliated with nature, introducing a marketable stamp of approval on her production based on conventional ideas about feminine attunement with the earth. The press even repeated this point upon her death:

> `She treated animals with an assured confidence and bold naturalness that was new and startling. Here, one discerned an innate gift in her [...] which reflects the people of Jutland's love for animals and keen understanding of their natures.'[24]

She was not just a woman – she was a woman with special ties to nature. This essentialist idea – that a number of defining characteristics can be attributed to a single individual within a particular category, such as minority

groups, nationalities or, as here, gender – can thus be used tactically or strategically as a privilege, an added value that helps you achieve better and stronger representation. By activating a number of essential characteristics, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen subverts a range of expectations associated with her specific culture as a woman – expectations that would usually prompt a conservative response of rejection, barring her access to privileges such as education (especially artistic education) – to potentially create a stronger position for herself in the marketplace based on a narrative which frames her as an indomitable, indefatigable child of rural Denmark.[25] In a manner of speaking, she mimics society's expectations of women and actively uses her peasant background as an exotic narrative to pave the way for her real objective: to forge an artistic career for herself. One may describe this as a cultural negotiation strategy, where she, demonstrating solidarity with her own origins, cultivates a version of her background that can generate value, dignity and ultimately freedom. In her case, the freedom to be allowed to study, to create a market for her art and to be able to make a living from her endeavours.

STUDIES AND STRATEGIES: EMANCIPATION THROUGH CAMOUFLAGE AND MIMESIS

More or less ideologically rooted in the circle around the highly influential Danish critic and author Georg Brandes, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was trained within a naturalistic tradition up through the 1880s.[26] In 1883 she spent a brief period studying alongside fellow artists such as painter Agnes Rambusch (later Slott-Møller) at Tegne- og Kunstindustriskolen for Kvinder (the Arts and Crafts School for Women), and entries in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's account book informs us that she took lessons with, among others, the porcelain painter Fanny Garde and the painter and sculptor Agnes Lunn.[27] Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's relationship with Agnes and Harald Slott-Møller grew stronger in the years that followed, and in 1890 they spent the summer of the ideological conception of the artists' association Den Frie Udstilling together, the year before its official foundation. Formed as a reaction against the conservative censorship at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts' official, juried annual spring salon at Charlottenborg, the association would become the foundation of the Danish Symbolist movements seen in the decade that followed. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen exhibited at Den Frie from 1892 and ten years onwards, being the first and only female sculptor to do so.[28] At this point in time, two decades after the Modern Breakthrough in Denmark, artists reacted against the objectively portrayed truths of Naturalism, instead turning their attention towards a more subjective, content-heavy, symbol-laden and formalistically experimental art. Without leaving their Naturalistic background behind, the artists gradually developed a decorative, more boldly coloured and symbol-laden idiom that combined intellectual and idealising thinking with straightforward representations of nature and figures.[29] The Slott-Møllers were both fascinated by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's gifts, as an artist as well as a human being, and Harald Slott-Møller painted her portrait and displayed it at the first exhibition arranged by Den Frie in 1891.[30] Unlike the Slott-Møllers, who were very much part of the intellectual elite of Copenhagen, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had only a very limited academic education, and she rarely spoke about art or women's politics even though she was deeply involved in both.[31] This was not the narrative she allowed to dominate the public view of her. Instead she used, right from the outset of her career, a kind of camouflage or mimesis that blended in more with contemporary cultural notions or stereotypes about her, specifically her conventionally feminine affinity with the earth, even as she invested everything in her struggle to obtain a variety of modern privileges. Her insistence on existing in a conventional masculine practice as a sculptor constitutes a form of resistance in which the act of imitating these stereotypes contained the very forces required to subvert them from within.[32] She was to be strong without being masculine – and in this respect she used the good, honest soil of Jutland as camouflage, an earthiness associated with the feminine. With such sophisticated resistance to or mimesis of the period's traditional ideas of representation, she paved the way for the liberty afforded by such self-presentation. But the strategy also influenced her production in her early career, which during the time leading up to the turn of the century was shaped by the narrow, well-defined framework she chose, informed by Naturalism that still held sway in the last decades of the 19th century. She certainly did not follow the Slott-Møllers in their artistic radicalism, and judging by their correspondence, her relationship with them ended on a bitter note.[33]

Harald Slott-Møller
Portrait of Miss Marie Brodersen
1890
Oil and gold leaf on panel
Odense City Museums

Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with their children in J.F. Willumsen's studio, Hellerupvej, ca. 1896

A BREAKTHROUGH IN FORM AND FORMAT

The main objective behind a brief stint at the Kunstskole for Kvinder (Women's Art School, operated by the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts) in 1889-1890 was presumably to get access to entering the Academy's competition for a gold medal, which, crucially, came with a major travel grant.[34] Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's many years of conscientious support for the school's headmistress, the painter Johanne Krebs, who was also the leading force behind the school's establishment in 1888, resulted in an admirable, vivid, naturalistic painted portrait of the sculptor, on display at the juried salon at Charlottenborg in 1889.[35] The following year, Anne Marie (still called Brodersen by this point) went on a study trip to Paris, funded by a travel grant from the Academy of Fine Arts. In the French capital she joined the circle associated with the Scandinavian artists in town, firing pottery with J.F. Willumsen and winning praise from the greatest sculptor of the time, Auguste Rodin.[36] However, nothing came of an offer to be taught by Rodin or even to make repeat visits to his studio, because in the spring of 1891 she met the violinist and composer Carl Nielsen, who was on leave from the Royal Danish Orchestra and had come to Paris on a travel grant.[37] They held their wedding celebrations in Paris in April and went on to honeymoon in Italy, where they got formally married in Florence a month later. She took his name, pinning it onto herself like a piece of jewellery, and wrote in her memoirs:

> 'My parents did not think that a poor artist would be able to support a wife. And indeed when we came back from our trip, everyday life was by no means frivolous [...] We lived in a garret, and we were too poor to buy a pram when we had children – and those came soon. When the children needed fresh air and sunlight, my husband and I had to carry them around in the street.'[38]

In the spring of 1903, the couple's three children were placed in the care of good friends, and Carl Nielsen set out to join Anne Marie, who, thanks to a travel grant from Det Ancherske Legat, was staying in Athens, copying Archaic sculpture from the Acropolis. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had observed the latest currents seen among archaeologists, whose sensational finds of limestone (poros) sculptures from Archaic times with well-preserved remnants of their original polychrome colouring now formed the basis of large amounts of research and publications.[39] The scope of these publications was limited by the reproduction techniques available at the time, consisting mainly of black-and-white photos and expensive coloured lithographic prints. Accordingly, the demand for accurate, painted copies was high among archaeological museums and academies across Europe. Because money was tight for the Nielsens at the beginning of the 20th century and sales of their art were slow, they had both applied for grants to cover their expenses for a trip to Athens, where a potential solid source of income beckoned.[40] This had already been ascertained and documented by Anne Marie

Johanne Krebs
Portrait of Anne Marie Brodersen
1889
Oil on canvas
Odense City Museums

Snakes' Heads
1903–1905
Watercolour and pencil
on paper
Odense City Museums

Kore
1903–1905
Watercolour and pencil
on paper
Odense City Museums

Bull's Head
1903–1905
Watercolour and pencil
on paper
Odense City Museums

Heracles and Triton
1903–1905
Watercolour and pencil
on paper
Odense City Museums

Carl-Nielsen's pupil Ingrid Kjær, who had gone to Athens before them and been commissioned to do a total of 23 casts of a copy of a kore (female statue) made at the Acropolis Museum (p. 165); Ingrid eventually collapsed under the strain, though she struggled bravely with the task.[41] The promise of being granted exclusive access to making reproductions drove Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to put the couple's children in care and set out for Athens, fuelled by an indomitable work ethic while her marriage faltered under the strain of the workload. Her work focuses on a number of pediment sculptures dated around 575–550 BCE, which had been unearthed during the excavations of the Acropolis and were particularly remarkable due to their well-preserved colours (see Rune Frederiksen's article 'The Original Copies of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen' in this book). The presence of such polychrome paint precluded the use of the traditional plaster-casting method, as the process would damage the colour. Hence, copies of these sculptures must be modelled in clay, cast in plaster and painted.[42] Every day, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen went to the museum at the Acropolis when it opened in order to draw, transfer shapes to clay, recreate surfaces and fractures, and copy the three-headed demon *Typhon*.[43]

During her work in Athens, she took a break to return to Denmark in 1904, using her fascination with the relationship between animals and man, spirit and nature to intense effect in the decoration of three large bronze gates for Ribe Cathedral, a commission she had been offered a few years previously for the restoration of the cathedral.[44] Here, decorative and expressive effects coexisted with naturalistic reliefs of Biblical scenes and heraldry, and fertile marshland with waving corn joined symbolic animal motifs and Christian iconography. When she exhibited the sketches at Den Frie Udstilling that same year, she described her work in the catalogue. Writing about the northern gate, she included this account of the region with which she was so familiar:

> 'The bottom fields depict the sea, which has entered the Church itself on various occasions. The ring of the door is in the shape of ox heads – cattle breeding being the region's source of prosperity.'[45]

A 1905 review of her work on the gates summed up her feat:

> 'The artist [has], in the ferocity of the prophetic style, found strings to pluck that reverberate harmoniously with her artistic temperament.'[46]

That same year, she returned to Athens. She had laid down the foundations for using the immediacy and presence of Naturalistic idioms to evoke an intimate, sensuous sense of nature.

Back on the Acropolis, work on the castings ran into delays. The museum kept short opening hours in winter, so Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had little time in which to work, and the plaster dried slowly. At some point her work was published in an archaeological publication, but without any mention of her name. Furious, she demanded the recognition she deserved for her extensive and painstaking work. In Munich, which she had visited on her way to Athens, she had been introduced to Adolf Furtwängler, archaeologist and director of the museum of ancient sculpture there, Der Glyptothek, who shared her outrage: '[...] dass ist ja Schändlichkeit und obendrein einer Dame gegenüber' [that is utterly shameful, and to do so to a lady!]. To her husband she wrote a reply: 'Dame oder nicht Dame [Lady or not] [...] At any rate, the museums are fools if they do not want it [the *Typhon*].'[47]

But Carl Nielsen, who had stayed back in Denmark to work, grew impatient and increasingly despairing. He did not understand why his wife was still, after five months, copying Archaic sculptures:

> 'You, who have such a gift for composition and are so full of ideas, wasting yourself on being a copyist in a museum. Yes, it may bring in some filthy lucre, but you are wasting your best and most powerful years and the meagre honour won on this is worth nothing. Some archaeologists and people like that will recognise it, but no more.'

Prior to this, he wrote:

> '[...] You want to be a strong man, preferably besting even the strongest men. Your work and your striving are so forced, so breathless and beyond all calm and health and I must tell you that I am often afraid that you will break.'[48]

The tone between the two grew increasingly strained. But Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen did not break. On the contrary, she achieved great recognition and success, first with her six different painted plaster copies, having presented them at the German Institute in Athens before returning to Denmark. Later she sold copies to museums in Erlangen, Berlin and Dresden, and in Denmark to the brewer Carl Jacobsen, who donated the copies to the Royal Cast Collection.[49] Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's polychrome copies of Archaic sculptures gave her the international breakthrough she had fought for. Here, in the most unexpected and masculine environment imaginable, populated by museum professionals and academics, under unbearable working conditions, against the backdrop of tremendous effort and fierce domestic marital unrest, the artist had her breakthrough. The labour was an overwhelmingly successful articulation of her potential, showcasing a representational technique of international excellence and a level of ambition that rejected the limitations traditionally assigned to women artists of the time. Her strategy had succeeded. At least on a professional level.

Draft for *The North Gate, Ribe Cathedral*
Ca. 1904
Plaster
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Draft for *The Cats' Heads Gate, Ribe Cathedral*
Ca. 1904
Plaster
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Draft for *The Main Gate, Ribe Cathedral*
Ca. 1904
Plaster
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Cherub of Saint Matthew
Sketch in plaster for
Ribe Cathedral
1904

Cherub of Saint John
Sketch in plaster for
Ribe Cathedral
1904

Cherub of Saint Mark
Sketch in plaster for
Ribe Cathedral
1904

Cherub of Saint Luke
Sketch in plaster for
Ribe Cathedral
1904

THE GERMAN ART SALONS

Back home in Copenhagen, she showed her work at Den Frie Udstilling in 1906.[50] Several reviewers joined the chorus of strong critics of contemporary sculptors, but their response to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was very different in tone. One reviewer of the opening day of Den Frie Udstilling said: `[...] The sculptor Mrs. Carl Nielsen is so dominant that we cannot possibly ignore her anymore.'[51]

The art historian and critic Emil Hannover, who would later go on to become director of The Hirschsprung Collection, also acknowledged her artistic greatness, encouraging others to follow suit:

> `The exhibition contains an even more powerful testimony to her sense of style, the coloured copies she has made in Athens [...] An almost incredible diligence has gone into this painstaking work, which has the full truthfulness of a cast, yet was nevertheless modelled from one end to another. Even more admirable than its diligence, however, is the intelligence of this work, the understanding of the Cyclopean might of this ancient art with its barbaric-beautiful, wild and bold colours, and its almost animalistic revelling in the living form. A howl of the ancient artist's sheer joy in creation seems to emanate from these steaming bulls and this three-headed Typhon that rises up, roaring with devilish laughter at his own terrible lusts. If only our Sculptors would heed this howl! Not in order to imitate it; the legend of the giants has come to an end and will never return again. But to learn, to learn this "long live life", without which motto art fades and dies.'[52]

Galerie Eduard Schulte, Unter den Linden in Berlin, 1908

In the preceding century, Archaic-Greek art had come to signify a revolt against the idealised and the lifelike, and it would dominate the idiom of younger generations in the 1910s and 1920s.[53] In a letter to her husband, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen wrote about the artistic qualities of her work:

> `Today and yesterday I have painted the head for Bulle [prof. Heinrich Bulle, head of the art collection at the University of Erlangen, Germany]. Oh, but he is magnificent, gimlet grass green eyes, red flesh, lips a dark dark purplish red and the beard a metallic blue. The original looks quite avuncular, good-natured and a little comical next to the devil I have made of him.'[54]

In doing so, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had ushered in a mode of expression to which she would return later in her career, including in her mermaid statue, which is equal parts Archaic kore and battle-ready valkyrie. Her temporary solidarity with her era's notions about women, the mimetic imitation of society's expectations, was over – ironically, a move decided by copying work. Against the backdrop of a marriage headed for disaster and foreign art audiences hungry for more, her career took off, and remarkable international success followed. An interview in *Politiken* from 1907 provides some sense of the developments:

> `Our famous compatriot Mrs. Marie Carl-Nielsen [...] is famous in the sense that the German newspapers run long articles about her, that magazines such as *Moderne Kunst* and *Kunst und Dekoration* print reproductions of her work, that seven museums in Germany currently own works by her, and that commissions come in hard and fast.'[55]

Born and raised in the border country where Denmark and Germany meet, an area which after Denmark's defeat in the Second Schleswig War, in 1864, extended up to the Kolding region, and having family on both sides of the border, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had the advantage of being as familiar with the German language as with Danish.[56] Her father even corresponded with her in German when the matters discussed were particularly serious. Being bilingual, she was able to conduct her business affairs and gain access to exhibitions in Germany and in German-speaking settings without being impeded by language barriers.

Well prepared for negotiations, she took part in the *Grosse Kunstausstellungen Dresden* in 1904, presenting 16 works, most of them animal studies that she had had cast in bronze during her travels. The director of the Königliche Kunstsammlung, the Albertinum, in Dresden, Georg Treu was among the buyers and purchased several works.[57] The following year she was invited to exhibit at the *IX Internationale Kunstausstellung im Kgl. Glaspalast zu München*, enjoying extensive publicity and a noticeably good display of

her animal statuettes, which were mainly repeats from the exhibition the year before.[58] The road was paved for an extensive solo show at the famous art dealer Galerie Eduard Schulte in Berlin. On the occasion of the exhibition, she gave another interview:

> `I hardly know how it came about that one day I went to Schulte, the large art gallery on `Unter den Linden', you know, and gave them my card. The boss immediately attended me and said that he knew me from the Salon in Paris, he had noticed two small animal statuettes I had shown there [...].' One gets a sense of the esteem in which she was held here: `[...] he placed his premises at my disposal [...] I could get as much space as I wanted; the only thing he did not particularly want were the large Acropolis copies, for by this time they were already known in Berlin. After all, they had been bought for the Altes Museum, where the Director had given them a place of honour among the museum's most famous originals.'[59]

Unlike Danish art dealers, who took a 33 per cent cut of every sale, Schulte only took 20 per cent, and on top of this he paid half of the shipping costs.[60] From their correspondence we see that much was sold through his extensive network.[61] The director of the Hamburger Kunsthalle, Alfred Lichtwark, bought six animal statuettes and had the museum's art association donate another two to the museum. He himself wrote enthusiastically about the artist over several pages in the catalogue for an exhibition of the museum's new acquisitions in 1907.[62] In addition to her extensive exhibition activity abroad, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen regularly showed all her works, preparatory models and drafts at Den Frie in Copenhagen. If a competition offered a cash prize or a travel grant, she would also exhibit at Charlottenborg, even though doing so ran counter to the tenets of Den Frie Udstilling, which put great emphasis on being the opposite number of the conservative, established exhibition venue of Charlottenborg.

Ambitions ran higher and higher in step with her growing success and the ever-rising number of commissions from private collectors and institutions alike. Monuments and major official commissions for public art followed.[63] The couple enjoyed huge success but gradually wore each other out along the way. When, in the summer of 1914, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen discovered that her husband had had a string of affairs, she left him.[64]

The letters exchanged between them in those years describe the paralysis that followed:

> `I have been in a similar state once before; it was in Greece when I had been notified of the state of things in my home; then I left behind all artistic and pecuniary benefits, archaeological congress, which interested me vividly, commissions for my *Typhon* from the British Museum and two for America, and set out for home. Back then I naively believed in your assurances and promises and that we could rebuild our marriage. The fact that you deceived me at that time, during the holiest and best moments of our life together, that of all things – hurt most of all. – What a fool I was! a poor dupe. I had been used as a convenient screen for years even at that time.'[65]

`Our famous compatriot Mrs. Marie Carl-Nielsen [...] is famous in the sense that the German newspapers run long articles about her, that magazines such as Moderne Kunst and Kunst und Dekoration print reproductions of her work, that seven museums in Germany currently own works by her, and that commissions come in hard and fast.'

Memorial plaques to
Carl Nielsen and Anne
Marie Carl-Nielsen
on the façade of the
Royal Danish Academy's
Honorary Residence at
Frederiksholms Kanal
28A in Copenhagen,
1991/2013
Granted by the Carl
Nielsen and Anne Marie
Carl-Nielsen Foundation

Bluebeard
1905
Plaster, painted
Antikensammlung
der Friedrich-
Alexander-Universität
Erlangen-Nürnberg

The couple spent the last years of their lives living together, but it is food for thought that the Academy of Fine Arts' honorary residence, for which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen applied and was awarded as early as 1915 and where she lived and worked until her death in 1945, was subsequently fitted with a memorial plaque for Carl Nielsen even though he only lived there sporadically after the couple's reconciliation from 1923 until his death in 1931. Not until 2013, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the sculptor's birth, was a memorial plaque in her honour revealed on the façade of Frederiksholms Kanal 28A. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen may have had a room (and money) of her own, but neither material, social or psychological capital was enough to break down the polarisation between the sexes demonstrated by the study of history writing and memory.

MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

> `Now I'm going back to a copy, but only to see it done and make some money. I shall never have much time or the money to do my own work. But then there is no need for it; at most, one may occasionally push it onto someone [...] Nothing is needed except that which is elbowed ahead. Dear God, what is the use of it all then.'[66]

The polychrome copies of Archaic sculptures provided her with more than an international breakthrough; they gave her financial stability and were received with great enthusiasm by archaeologists, artists and critics alike. On the occasion of the artist's 80th birthday, Einar Utzon-Frank, a fellow sculptor and a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, said:

> `I remember my first impression of these copies of *Typhon*. It was overwhelming, one felt the love and admiration for ancient art and was astounded at the keen understanding of the ancient masters.'[67]

In Denmark, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen struggled to sell her works, and the institutions were the least receptive of all. If she wanted to make money, she had to travel, because in her native Denmark her gender proved a stumbling block.[68] Commissions were necessary for sheer survival, and she developed her artistic strategies accordingly, displaying a willingness for regular mobility. A nomadic strategy that pointed partly to the physical necessity of travel as a practical pattern of behaviour in the art world (enabling her to make money) and partly to the cosmopolitanism the artist had achieved, freed from the stigmatising influences of her native soil. One might say that she gained the right to freedom across cultures and nations by having not just a single point of affiliation but several, rejecting conventions and repeatedly setting out for pastures new. As is demonstrated by a wealth of literature, including countless artistic testimonies, travel has the capacity to unleash creative escapes into realms of diversity and freedom that reach beyond established categories such as identity, expression and conventions.

The 19th and early 20th century was a time of growth and intense cultural internationalism. The art world saw the rise of artist associations, World's Fairs, art-dealer networks and art magazines such as *The Studio*, operating across cultures and introducing art from many countries. These structures paved the way for a unified voice and gave institutional gravitas to the artists who espoused this form of deliberate cosmopolitanism. The transnational turn nurtured a sense of freedom and changeability in environments that proved stimulating and beneficial for women artists, who found that international networks ensured a sense of solidarity and a focus for artistic activity in the absence of recognition from national institutions.[69] Hence, transnational circulation is particularly crucial when re-inscribing women artists in history.[70] Resisting the discrimination and marginalisation of national oppression, the migratory existence on the peripheries of the culture to which the artist herself belonged became a way of shattering the deterministic definition of her as a woman and as an artist. Such movement had enormous emancipatory, equalising potential for Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. She went on from copy to reconstruction fuelled by equal parts aesthetic sensibility and scientific analysis. Animated by her own forcefulness, she wrote to the family's nanny:

> `Well, I've certainly been at the paint pots as Cali [Suzette Holten Skovgaard] so tastefully describes my enthusiasm for pure, beautiful colours, those which Elise [Konstantin-Hansen] does, however, quite quietly and at a distance offer some small glimmer of approval. I have had all the old colours analysed and am delighted to be able to set them up against each other; this is the third head of the Typhon Bluebeard I have painted. Bright, shiny metallic blue beard and hair. All red-faced with purple lips and black eyebrows and pupils and Spanish green eyes. With such abundant scope for frolicking, what more could one possibly ask?.'[71]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen spent three years abroad with only a few brief sojourns back in Denmark, causing mounting frustrations back home. As has previously been described, she continued her work unruffled by the various moody letters received, offering this laconic response to a missive lamenting the financial hardships in Copenhagen: `Well, if we spend as much money per month as you claim, I must certainly make some, but I believe I will.' And she did. Very much so.

Migration, in this case understood as the conceptualisation of a form of life politically and aesthetically connected to a particular mobility or movement that is systematically explored and defined, thus became a method of artistic creation for Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.[72] When, in 1907, she won a prestigious competition for a monument to Christian IX to be erected at Christiansborg Palace, she became the first female sculptor in the world to create an equestrian statue and thus, as mentioned, also received the largest official commission bestowed on any Danish sculptor in her lifetime. Prior to the inauguration of the monument, she herself said to the press:

> 'Back then, before the decision was made, a colleague and professor at the Academy said to me: "You can save yourself the trouble. Even if you modelled like an angel, you would not get it – a woman will not be given such a task!!" I simply replied that I would not surrender without putting up a fight, and as things turned out I got it. That made me happy. It was always my dream to make an equestrian statue.'[73]

The king's horses were bred in Hanover, and accordingly Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen rented a smithy at a stud farm in Celle, Germany, to act as a studio which would give her access to the horses. Using a modest inheritance, she invested in stocks and put the proceeds into her art, enabling her to travel and take up residence abroad.[74] She devoted 20 years to her monument, giving it her utmost care and attention. In the catalogue accompanying her memorial exhibition at Den Frie in 1946, sculptor Jørgen Gudmundsen-Holmgreen wrote about this unusual and uncompromising artistic nomadism:

> 'She did not shy away from effort of any kind, as long as it served her great purpose, and she entirely followed her own lead. She set up studios in foreign countries to devote herself fully to the study of the very horse race ridden by the king, and she had the horse [...] trained in a special school in order to have it develop the right muscles. All this thorough preparation, all this effortful struggle and her unwavering fervour infuse this vast work with genuine nobility.'[75]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen on the scaffolding during the erection of the equestrian statue of Christian IX, 1927

She received the *Ingenio et arti* medal for her monumental feat, and a few years later, having worked in Italy on a bust of her husband, she received the Academy's highest honour, the Thorvaldsen Medal.[76]

The accumulated experience from her repeated sojourns outside Denmark and the strength this gave her as an artist undoubtedly had a knock-on effect on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's nurturing attention to the art scene in her native Denmark. As far back as 1888, she was a strong and loyal supporter of the women who established the Art School for Women (Kunstskolen for Kvinder) affiliated with the Academy of Fine Arts. Such attempts to address the polarity between being a woman and an artist took place in artist communities in most major cities in both Europe and the United States.[77] In Europe, France saw the formation of the *Union des Femmes*, which lobbied to give women artists access to the Paris academy, the École des Beaux-Arts; their efforts were not crowned with success until 1903. In Germany, women organised their efforts in the *Verein der Künstlerinnen*, which set up separate but equal art schools for women in cities such as Munich, Berlin and Karlsruhe.[78] In Copenhagen, *Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund* (The Society of Women Artists) was set up in 1916 at the behest of a number of artists, including Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.[79] With an eye for practical matters, she made her studio available as a meeting place for artists throughout her career. That same year, she was also the main driving force behind the establishment of *Kunstnernes Statsstøttede Croquisskole* (the Artists' State-Supported Croquis School), which opened in 1918 in the former Frederiks Hospital (now home to Designmuseum Danmark), modelled upon the Académie Colarossi in Paris. Both sexes were admitted to the school's life drawing classes, several years before the art academy allowed co-ed teaching in its model classes in 1924.

The Danish Women's Society excursion with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in attendance, undated

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in the studio she built herself in Celle while working on the equestrian statue of Christian IX, ca. 1914

INEXTINGUISHABLE IN STYLE AND FORM. AN ANALYSIS

Asked about the connection between sculpture and music in an interview in *Politiken* on the occasion of the artist's 80th birthday, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen replied:

> `There is *one* rhythm going through all art: the living [...] I once asked my husband: what is the most important thing in art? He pondered the question for a while: Life, he said, that life lives in it. I would like to include what he has said here: Music *is* life and, like it, inextinguishable. That could be said about all art [...].'[80]

She quotes from a programme note from Carl Nielsen's fourth symphony, *The Inextinguishable,* which sought to express the flow of life across a piece of music. The couple quite clearly shared a common outlook on art, a joint effort to portray life and movement. As Peter Nørgaard Larsen describes in his essay in this book, they saw the realm of the human and the animal as equal in their endeavours to reach the core of life through `the most elemental forces and their appearance among humans, animals and even plants.'[81]

If we transfer such ideas and endeavours to the work of the sculptor, what do we make of the small bronzes of animals, small porcelain sculptures, and finely crafted plaster studies? What do they tell us, and how should we categorise them? They are touching, insightful; when we look at them, we learn how the animals move. It is healthy and proud and good. In formalist terms, they are detailed and never stylised. These are not archetypes, closed up around their own aesthetics. They are immediate in their perceptive representation of reality, borne out of the naturalistic tradition. The artist's empathetic ability to reproduce features and tactility without losing her fresh, sketch-like touch, without idealising, allows her to experiment with atmospheric vibrations and the refraction of light in the many small, sensitively and accurately observed models. With rhythmic tension between the elongated bodies, bristling legs and lowered heads, she creates geometric shapes and vibrant, plastic motifs. The resultant sketches have a kinship with Impressionist studies of the refractions of light, with the efforts to represent the air around the objects. However, these sketches never dissolve in terms of either form or figure. The subject matter remains a descriptive representation of reality, a three-dimensional perception of figures. The diffuse, delicate and fleeting are all hinted at an almost arbitrary yet also committed and binding narrative about reality. The animals belong to us, yet they are not ours.

Her sketches have strong naturalistic qualities. They are accurate reproductions of what the artist saw, modelling the animals' fleeting movements as effects that ensure a sense of witnessing a credible depiction of reality, as prescribed by Naturalism.[82] The prosaically descriptive titles and techniques hold elements from the classical academic tradition as well as from the Impressionist ditto.[83] Even so, one senses that the project extends beyond the animals' own immediate lives: how they scratch themselves, how the wind makes them shiver with cold. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen modelled such animal sketches throughout her career and through all phases of her life – at times acting in concordance with the era's explosive developments among the artistic elite in Copenhagen, at other times far less experimental than her contemporaries. Through it all, she depicted life as it was lived among animals of the kind she had cared for ever since she was a young child. Life as evinced by the animal husbandry with which she was so familiar, depicted in all its stages. As a constant stream of life. Perceived over time, her animal studies and sketches become a form of allegory of the course of life, of the farmer's pride in his own work, portrayed with care and empathy, fuelled by equal parts sympathy and psychological insight, equal parts conventional feminine affinity with the earth and conventional masculine practice. A series that marks out the fundamental cycle between nature, the urge to create, life and death, and so the works transcend the pure representation of reality to also become a subjective narrative about existence. Yet this does not render the work anti-Naturalistic.[84]

`There is one rhythm going through all art: the living [...] I once asked my husband: what is the most important thing in art? He pondered the question for a while: Life, he said, that life lives in it. I would like to include what he has said here: Music is life and, like it, inextinguishable. That could be said about all art.'

Startled Sheep (Newly Shorn Sheep)
1891–1899
Bronze
National Gallery of Denmark

Two Calves Suckling Each Other's Ears
1895
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Screeching Eagle
1915
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Newborn Calf Standing Up
1909
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Cow with Suckling Calf
1887–1891
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Reclining Foal Scratching Itself
1887 or 1888
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Reclining Cow Licking its Front Legs
1912
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Colt Stretching
1902
Bronze
Private collection

Pissing Mare
1894
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Reclining Sheep with a Lamb on its Back
1923
Bronze
Odense City Museums

This is an important point, because it is significant to the narrative of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works. Placing an artist within a particular stylistic direction entails connections and associations that inform our experience of the work of art being observed. A style is a specific approach that involves paying special attention to a given phenomenon. Although `style' is one of the most difficult and controversial concepts in art history, as an operational concept it is inseparable from art and its history: a provisional definition of a number of interconnected qualities pertaining to a particular period, a pragmatic identity marker used to observe an artistic production.[85] It can feel limiting and constricting for our experience of the work as well as for the artist, who is judged within a framework of understanding defined by the given style.[86] Shifting our attention away from the pure representation of reality to a more complex, modern project introduces concepts and relationships that open up the works to potential new interpretations based on stylistic and structural commonalities that become visible when our gaze is turned in another direction. Not as a mere replacement with new constraints, but as part of a narrative in constant motion or development.

Thus, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works contain the germ of the artistic upheavals that take place in the first part of the 20th century. She does not leave behind reality as shaped by nature, the firm anchor of Naturalism, but suggests that a deeply personal and widely proliferating narrative underpins her observations. Her daughter describes how, when Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen returned to modelling animal sketches from memory late in life, she drew a circle on the tabletop and said: `This is where I began, and this is where I come full circle.'[87]

The concept of `vital naturalism' is convincingly introduced by Peter Nørgaard Larsen in his essay, providing an undercurrent that paves the way for a different framework of understanding Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's evolving oeuvre. The conclusion of this analysis is that even her earliest naturalistic works contain glimmers of Impressionist studies of light and Vitalistic ideas, as long as one does not pin them down as purely Naturalistic. This forges a connection between style's ability to govern our perception and the mimetic strategy that dissolves identity. Thus, one may ask whether the artist's imitation of a conventional masculine practice and a conventional feminine earthiness has not only a strategic potential that gives her the freedom to work but also a critical potential for change that reverberates through the vital, life-affirming idioms she gradually unfolds. She quite simply gives Naturalism a twist that contributes to her great success in her own day.

SAVE TIME – RAISE YOUR EYES

The studies of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's history show that our reality continues to be constituted in the difference between the historical framework and the subject or past with which this framework is concerned. The past is not a fully finished totality, a fact which urges an overall showdown with the objectivising outlook of art history, as the sources' meaning-making can never be halted or determined – which of course does not prevent us from taking an empirical approach. Instead, it urges reflection on the constraints under which we work.

By revisiting the source material and establishing a certain distance to the sources, uncovering the narrative that has followed the artist, a far more strategic and nuanced approach to the artist's fine calibration of her own success is revealed. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen adapts herself to the notions and cultural images that infuse her own time, the same notions that have defined our perception of her to this day on the basis of power structures revealed by the sources. The history of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's development is always infused by a certain duality. On the one hand, she is modern, radical, full of initiative, highly profiled and insists on her right to be considered the equal of male colleagues; on the other hand she appears closely linked to nature, keenly observant and symbiotically linked to her upbringing, and she remains predominantly a traditionalist in terms of style. This image has been reiterated in most literature about the artist, where one has looked in vain for these two main aspects of her life being brought to bear on analyses of the actual works of art. If we consult only the sources, we fail to delve deep enough into the heart of the matter. The complex meanings embedded in her art may not have won her art-historical fame, but they earned her the respect and interest of her younger colleagues.[88]

As will be apparent, my main thesis on mimetic strategy can be applied to the reading of the actual works of art as well as to considerations of how we should assign weight to and treat the question of gender when re-inscribing artists in art history: the strategy used by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was mimetic, essentialist, based on her own day's general cultural notions about women. It gave her the freedom to work and worked well on the market. The method by which she gained that freedom is just as interesting in terms of identity theory: it was artistic nomadism that gave her the momentum to work, giving her time to focus on her own career and success, raised above the norms of society. She fought against

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and her assistant, the sculptor Hans Peder Pedersen-Dan, with the original model for the *Queen Dagmar* monument, 1913

Centaur and *Portrait of a Woman*
Ca. 1901
Watercolour and pencil
Odense City Museums

historical inequality by insisting on or articulating a difference that ensured her remarkable mobility and extensive production. Stylistic analysis proves as interesting as the unearthing of her strategies. The point here is that even in her Naturalistic works, one can find glimmers of Impressionist studies of light and manifestations of Vitalistic ideas, as long as one does not fix them in place as purely Naturalistic. This establishes a connection between the style categories' ability to shape and govern our perception and the mimetic strategy that dissolves identity, and it is a great privilege to be able to give the floor to the various contributions in this book, each of which continues this aesthetic study in different ways.

For Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, being an artist was not something you were, it was something you did. It was about doing rather than being. She brooked no automatic responses regarding perceptions of gender or of what is and is not natural. Rather, the main issue was about transcending identity so that we no longer see each other as minorities and majorities, as women and men, but first and foremost as human beings. Asked about the challenges posed by her gender in terms of her chosen profession, she replied: 'Why should it [being a sculptor] be unusual? It is not about physical strength [...] When I was young, I was advised to become a painter. But walking around a work of art, touching it and feeling the material; that was what interested me.'[89] And she continued her performative defence of her practice when asked if she, as a woman, was proud of her career: 'This is not a question of being a man or a woman. I am an artist.'[90]

The memorial exhibition presented at Den Frie Udstillingsbygning in 1946 fused the countless small formats with a grand, overall experience. Due to its enormous scope, the exhibition took a year and a half to prepare. After this, almost 70 years would go by before another major monographic show of the artist's works became possible. Today, acquisition strategies and vision papers on representation may be part of good museum practice, but the fear of a potential lack of interest (and thus of income) deters even the bravest from arranging exhibitions of female artists who do not already enjoy exceptional status. Alternatives need to be crowbarred in, sending the institutions aflutter with worries about the outcome. Which also emphasises that the mechanisms of recognition and acclaim associated with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen are not unique. Without institutional or art-political support, it takes no more than a general invisibility at museums and a lack of (art-historical) documentation to slide from memory into oblivion. The memorial exhibition sought to pre-empt this by caring for the artist's legacy. In the first days of October 1946, a wealth of Denmark's newspapers and magazines all ran the same sentiment about the sculptor's work: 'It is a magnificent memorial exhibition. Just imagine if the nation bought it and built a hall for it.'[91] Just imagine, indeed ...

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio with one of her turkeys, 1910

NOTES

1 Sigurd Schultz. 'Dansk Billedhuggerkunsts store Kvinde er død', Nationaltidende, 23 February 1946.

2 Ibid.

3 In 1927 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen received the prestigious royal accolade known as the Ingenio et arti for her monumental *equestrian statue of Christian IX*, 1908-1927, bronze and granite, H 456 cm, the Riding Grounds at Christiansborg Palace. In 1932 she received the Thorvaldsen Medal from Akademiraadet in recognition of her bust of Carl Nielsen; she was the first woman sculptor to receive this award. See Kunstakademiet 1754-2004, in Fuchs and Salling 2004, vol. 3, 119-121.

4 See Østergaard 1979.

5 I use the concept of a 'breakthrough generation' while referencing Pil Dahlerup's dissertation on the women writers around the dawn of the 20th century. Dahlerup follows a series of writers who all had their debut between 1871 and 1891, meaning that my designation is slightly out of synch with the habitual dating of the Modern Breakthrough, predicated on the artists' lack of access to education. Dahlerup 1983, vol. 1, 60ff.

6 Art historian's Anne Christiansen's thorough efforts have given rise to the most important biography about the artist. Published in 2013, the book contains extensive archival and source material that includes letters, account books, catalogues and photos, all of which will serve as a solid reference work for students of the artist for many years to come. See Christiansen 2013. To this we may add the total inventory of her works compiled by Askgaard and Vorre 2010, and two smaller-scale publications accompanying exhibitions in Odense and in Copenhagen. See Zacho 2013; Bierlich 2015.

7 Preziosi 1998, 340.

8 Dr. phil. Professor Emerita Birgitte Possing used this as her ending for her Rosenkjær lectures on power and democracy and on what we can find in source material when we shift our focus towards the overlooked structures of society. Possing received the Danish Broadcasting Corporation's Rosenkjærprisen award in December 2020 in recognition of her contribution to public debate and knowledge; to mark the occasion, Possing gave five lectures on the national radio channel P1 in the spring of 2021.

9 K.B., 'Interview på 80-aarsdagen', Social Demokraten, 13 June 1943.

10 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's family background and childhood is described in depth in Anne Christiansen's monograph of the artist and in Nana Kildemoes's introductory article for the inventory of the artist's works published by Odense City Museums in 2010. See Christiansen 2013; Askgaard and Vorre 2010.

11 Telmányi 1979, 10-13.

12 Entries in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's account book reveal that she took classes, e.g., with the porcelain painter Fanny Garde (1855-1928) and the painter and sculptor Agnes Lunn (1850-1941). See Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's account book, 1882-1883, unpaginated. The Carl Nielsen archive, II kapsel 102. The Manuscript Collection, the Royal Danish Library.

13 See, e.g., K.B., 'Jeg vil helst tale om Carl Nielsen: Fødselsdagssamtale med Billedhuggeren Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, som den 21. Juni fylder 80', *Social Demokraten*, 13 June 1943, 8.

14 Telmányi 1979, 15.

15 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen received the cash prize but not the right to carry out the commission. As described by the artist herself in Telmányi 1979, 15, and again in the interview 'Eftergjort Kunstværk? Thors Fiskeri: Interview med Fru Carl-Nielsen' *Berlingske Tidende*, 17 November 1903. See also Christiansen 2013, 38-40.

16 Telmányi 1979, 15–16.

17 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in Vendsyssel Tidende, 1933; ibid., 25.

18 Ibid., 15.

19 Hendriksen 1888, 46–47.

20 Erik Schram, 'Udstilling på Charlottenborg: Aabningsdagen', Politiken, 2 March 1888, 2.

21 'Danemark, Palais du Champ de Mars, Galerie des Beaux Art', in Dumas 1889, cats 206–208; Michelsen 1893. Group CXXXIX.

22 *Calf Licking Itself*, 1887, bronze, H 17.5 cm, KMS 5368; *Calf Scratching Itself*, 1887, bronze, H 18 cm, KMS 5369, both acquired by the National Gallery of Denmark in 1898; Lichtwark 1907a, 94; the sale to the Königliche Skulpturensammlung, Albertinum (the cast collection at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden) is mentioned in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's letter to Carl Nielsen, 7 November 1904, in Fellow 2015, vol. 2, 377.

23 In a letter sent to J.F. Willumsen and his wife, Juliette, in Paris, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen states that her father is willing to pay to have the two calves cast in bronze ahead of the World's Fair in Chicago with a view of making a sale; Fellow 2005, vol. 1, 280.

24 Sigurd Schultz, 'Dansk Billedhuggerkunsts store Kvinde er død', *Nationaltidende*, 23 February 1946.

25 The concept of 'strategic essentialism' is particularly informed by the feminist theorist and literary critic Gayatri Spivak not as an anthropological category but as a political tactic or process of cultural negotiation. See, e.g., Ashcroft et al. 2013, 96–98; Abraham 2009, 156–161.

26 Carl Nielsen turned to Georg Brandes for an introduction to the German painter and sculptor Max Klinger ahead of his and Anne Marie's visit to the artist's studio in Leipzig in 1893. Brandes had previously described Klinger's work as 'radically modern'. The letter describes the couple's great admiration for Brandes's influence on intellectual and artistic life in Copenhagen. Carl Nielsen in a letter to Georg Brandes, 19 November 1894, in Fellow 2005, vol. 1, 394–396.

27 Telmányi 1979, 13; Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's account book, 1882–1883, unpaginated. The Carl Nielsen archive, II kapsel 102. The Manuscript Collection, The Royal Danish Library. The events are also described in Christiansen 2013, 31–56.

28 J.S., 'Der er en Rytme gennem al Kunst', *Politiken*, 19 June 1943; Scavenius 1991.

29 The movement has been described in depth in three articles for the catalogue of the exhibition *Blomstringstid. Ring, Syberg og Slott-Møller* at The Hirschsprung Collection in 2013, which showed breakthrough works by the three artists from this period; Saabye 2013.

30 Telmányi 1979, 16; Harald Slott-Møller's handwritten and typed memoirs, the Manuscript Collection, The Royal Danish Library, NKS 4839, 4°, IC,3. Erindringer. See also Ingeborg Bugge, 'Portræt af frk: Anne Marie Brodersen (1890)', in Bak, Bugge and Hobolt 1998, 78–81.

31 Regarding Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's organisational work on the establishment of the Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund and her political work to have women admitted to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, see Christiansen 2013, 247–251; Nana Kildemoes, 'Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen', in Askgaard and Vorre 2010, 20–22; Nina Høegh-Jensen, 'Her er ikke tale om en mand eller kvinde jeg er kunstner', in Glahn and Poulsen 2014, 62–76.

32 In this context, the concept of mimesis builds on psychoanalyst Lucy Irigaray's use of the term to denote a deliberate mimicking of a masculine, normative idea of what women are like, even as they are also pointing towards something else or claiming ownership of these stereotypes through their partial imitation.

33 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Harald Slott-Møller; Harald Slott-Møller's handwritten and typed memoirs, the Manuscript Collection, The Royal Danish Library, CXVII; Svanholm 1991, 76.

34 In a communication from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts concerning Anne Marie Carl Nielsen (née Brodersen), 18 June 1888: 'Optaget i Modelskolen i Marts 1889 paa Friplads som Konkurrent til Guldmedaille, og altsaa stillet lige med Akademiets Elever, der have Afgang'. Translation: Enrolled in the Model School in March 1889 to compete for a Gold Medal, and so acting on a par with graduating academy pupils; Sigurd Schultz Archive, S-Z kapsel 12:25, The Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

35 It has hitherto been assumed that the portrait was from 1890 and that it was exhibited at Den Frie Udstilling in 1891 as cat. 19. The dimensions do not add up, but the dating also needs correction: a review of the 1889 Charlottenborg salon points it out as one of the only successful portraits at the exhibition. See Karl Madsen, 'Nogle Udstillingsudtryk', *Tilskueren* 6, 1889, 421. Erroneous assumptions aside, it would have been amusing if no less than two of the 111 works at the opening exhibition at Den Frie in 1891 had been portraits of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.

36 Telmányi 1979, 18.

37 Schousboe 1983, vol. 1, 7–10.

38 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's own entries end here; Telmányi 1979, 19.

39 Ketting 2001.

40 Houlby-Nielsen 2000, 149–161.

41 We know of a total of 11 letters, primarily travel descriptions and notifications of the progress made in Greece, from Ingrid Kjær to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 1897–1902; The Royal Danish Library, the Carl Nielsen archive, II.Ab kapsel 73.

42 Houlby-Nielsen 2000.

43 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to the couple's children, 17 March 1903, in Fellow 2006, vol. 2, 285.

44 For a thorough account of the artist's work on the bronze doors for Ribe Cathedral, see Christiansen 2013, 129–144.

45 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in *Fortegnelse over Kunstværkerne paa Den Frie Udstilling 1904*, cat. 19.

46 Ove Jørgensen in *Tilskueren*, 1905.

47 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 14 November 1904, in Fellow 2006, vol. 2, 384.

48 Carl Nielsen in letters to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 18 February 1905 and 16 December 1904, ibid., 417–418 and 454.

49 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in letters to Carl Nielsen, 20 May and 4 June 1905, ibid., 526 and 542. Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Antikensammlung, Erlangen; Altes Museum, Berlin; Staatsliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; Carl Jacobsen, who gave the casts to the National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen; for a more detailed account of the events, see the contribution by classical archaeologist Rune Frederiksen to this book, 'The Original Copies of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen'.

50 *Fortegnelse over Kunstværkerne paa Den Frie Udstilling 1906*, cats 14–32 (Archaic works cats 27–32).

51 Fra Angelico, 'Den fri Udstilling. Aabningsdagen', *Politiken*, 24 March 1906, 2–3.

52 Emil Hannover, 'Politikens Kronik', *Politiken*, 17 April 1906, 4–6.

53 In 2014–2015, Thorvaldsens Museum and Bornholms Kunstmuseum showed the first major exhibition on Greek features in Danish sculpture, 1898–1962. In the main essay of the accompanying catalogue, Mikael Wivel describes Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's excellent copying and how her reconstruction became art. See Mikael Wivel, 'Tilbage til fremtiden: Græske træk i dansk skulptur 1898–1962', in Wivel et al. 2014.

54 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 10 May 1905, in Fellow 2006, vol. 2, 2291.

55 *Politiken*, 1 January 1907.

56 Holmen 1984–1985, 28–33.

57 Paulus 1904; Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 7 November 1904, in Fellow 2006, vol. 2, 377; *Politiken*, 1907.

58 Illustrierter Katalog der IX. Internationale Kunstausstellung im Kgl. Glaspalast zu München, 1905, cats 1886–1887.

59 *Politiken*, 1907.

60 Ibid.

61 Herman and Eduard Schulte from the Eduard Schulte Kunsthandlung, Berlin, in letters to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. The Manuscript Collection, The Royal Danish Library, the Carl Nielsen archive, II.Ab kapsel 71.

62 Lichtwark 1907a, and Lichtwark 1907b.

63 Christiansen 2013, 189–233.

64 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 4 April 1915, in Fellow 2009, vol. 5, 219.

65 Ibid, 6014. A few days early, she made a note in her pocketbook, stating that she had received two commissions for England and three for America. The Carl Nielsen archive, II, private records, 23 May 1916.

66 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 3 May 1905, in Schousboe 1983, 212.

67 The description is quoted in the introduction to Schou, 1943. Published on the occasion of the artist's 80th birthday by her pupil Helen Schou.

68 I address this claim in great detail in my dissertation, Bierlich 2019. I have subsequently and to my great satisfaction noted similar observations being made in recent international publications. See, e.g., Stercks and Verschaffel 2020 and Brockington et al. 2019.

69 See Bierlich 2019.

70 Art history has only just begun to contribute to this interdisciplinary field of identity theory and migration studies. For an excellent introduction, see, e.g., Brockington et al. 2019.

71 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in a letter to Marie Møller, 14 May 1905, in Fellow 2009, vol. 2, 523.

72 The absence of generally accepted categories or perceptions of the impact of migration on art (i.e. where the complexity of art and cultural identity meet the paradoxes of globalisation and the transcultural experience of migration structured by mobility, belonging and identification) makes it difficult to delineate a study of an artistic career and migration within a defined field, and thus it becomes almost impossible to turn its methodological and theoretical foundations into a general field of research. In an effort to open up and expand restrictive categorisations of art, art historian Anne Ring Petersen in particular has made a significant contribution to interdisciplinary migration studies based on an ambition to highlight art as a resource for understanding how the globalisation processes of late capitalism transform identities, cultures, institutions and geopolitics. See Petersen 2017. The negotiation between the subject in motion and the geopolitical terrain it traverses as well as issues of identity and meaning coexisting across social, aesthetic and political differences is also excellently treated in a recent Danish anthology. See Petersen, Moslund and Schram 2015.

73 Pernille, in Dagens Nyheder, 13 November 1927.

74 Holmen 1984–1985, 30.

75 The sculptor Jørgen Gudmundsen-Holmgreen on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in Gudmundsen-Holmgreen and Riesbye 1946, 3.

76 Regarding her work on the Carl Nielsen bust, see Bierlich and Svenningsen 2011, 8.

77 This is described in great depth in publications such as Fuhrmeister et al. 2009; Carter and Waller 2015; Sandqvist 2010.

78 The study of such interest organisations is strongly on the rise; pioneers within the field include Garb 1994 and Muysers 1992.

79 Glahn and Poulsen 2014.

80 J.S., 'Der er én Rytme gennem al Kunst', *Politiken*, 19 June 1943, 5-6.

81 Carl Nielsen in a letter to Professor Julius Röntgen, 15 February 1920, in Fellow 2006, vol. 6, 7001. See Peter Nørgaard Larsen: 'Vitalist Expressions of Life' in 'The Will to Life – Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and Vital Naturalism', pp. 72-88 in this publication.

82 Weisberg 1992.

83 Boime 1971; Fonsmark 1999; Bencard and Miss 2002; Gunnarsen and Hedström 2002-2003; Frederiksen 2017.

84 In his study of Danish Symbolism, Peter Nørgaard Larsen discusses a concept of Symbolism which aims to cause shifts and condensations of reality without necessarily making a complete break away from Naturalism. Nørgaard Larsen 2000.

85 Style history, the act of classifying works on the basis of categories of time, style and place, have dominated academic art history up through the 19th and 20th centuries but is also a much-criticised taxonomic tool that is often evaded, deconstructed, criticised or dissolved in recent art historical studies. Elkins 2003; Svetlana Alpers, 'Style Is What You Make It', in Lang 1987, 137-138; George Kubler, 'Towards a Reductive Theory of Style', in ibid., 163-164.

86 'The normal invocation of style in art history is a depressing affair indeed', as stated by US art historican and critic Svetlana Alpers: 'Style Is What You Make It', in Lang 1987, 137; Jas Elsner, 'Style', in Nelson and Shiff 2010, 98.

87 Telmányi 1979, 10.

88 In 1939, the same year in which she went on her last journey abroad, she was invited to exhibit alongside younger artists at Charlottenborg. On this occasion, she stated that she found the younger generations responded more favourably to her art than her contemporaries.

89 *Berlingske Tidende* 13 November 1927.

90 Ibid.

91 J.P., 'Vor store Billedhuggerinde Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen til Minde', *Berlingske Tidende*, 3 October 1946. Reprinted in ten or eleven Danish newspapers on 3 and 4 October. See, e.g., *Horsens Folkeblad, Skanderborg Amtstidende, Korsør Avis, Frederiksborg Amtstidende, Sorø Amts Dagblad, Roskilde Avis, Isefjordsposten, Thisted Amtsavis, Kalundborg Avis* and *Bornholms Tidende*.

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THE WILL ANNE CARL-NIELSEN VITAL

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TO LIFE
MARIE SEN AND ATURALISM

In the hugely important exhibition *Livslyst* (known in English as *The Spirit of Vitalism*) and the equally seminal publication that accompanied the show, organisers Gertrud Oelsner and Gertrud Hvidberg-Hansen showed a rich selection of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's statuettes depicting athletes. The statuettes were part of a section devoted to sports and health, which also included works by Adam Fischer, Rudolph Tegner, Jean Gauguin and Christine Swane. The context is highly relevant. With these statuettes, of which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen showed examples at several art exhibitions held on the occasion of the Olympic Games, for example in Los Angeles in 1932 and Berlin in 1936, she inscribed herself as part of the Vitalist movement. However, as far as Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is concerned, Vitalism seems to be a perceptual framework that holds much greater potential than has been unfolded in previous studies, and the purpose of this article is to pursue the Vitalist traces throughout the artist's production, from her early studies of calves and polychrome copies after antique sculptures to her sports statuettes and later sculptures such as *Mermaid* (p. 123) and *Uffe* (p. 127). The focal point will be the understanding of the concept of 'life', which is so central to Vitalism. The idea is not about everyday life and the mimetic portrayal of

Wrestler
1920–1930
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Wrestler
1920–1930
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Shot-putter I
Ca. 1917
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Theodor Philipsen
A Loose Horse
1898
Wax
National Gallery
of Denmark

existence, which is the cornerstone of the naturalistic understanding of art. Rather, it is about life as the fundamental force that permeates everything, underpinning every artistic creation and existing as a flow of energy behind the behaviour of humans and animals. A philosophy of life based on a Nietzschean critique of civilisation and culture, which, responding especially to the decadence of the 1890s, aimed to reinstate a zest for life and a revitalisation of man through the cultivation of health and naturalness as a positive counter-reply.[1] Right from her childhood and youth and, later, in her relationship with the composer Carl Nielsen, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen embodied a Vitalistic understanding of life and practiced it in her art; not overtly but as an underlying current, a matrix evident throughout her work.[2]

In an article about Theodor Philipsen headlined 'Philipsen's Vitalism', art historian Thomas Lederballe has compellingly linked Philipsen to Vitalism.[3] Lederballe's point is that Vitalism's preoccupation with vitality, nature and peasant life, as also expressed later in the writings of the eminent Danish writer Johannes V. Jensen, finds expression at an early stage in Philipsen's animal sculptures. I have pursued this idea in an article offering a general outline of Vitalism in Danish art, where a number of Philipsen's animal paintings are also inscribed into a Danish proto-Vitalist movement.[4] However, in this and other contexts I failed to include Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen among the early Danish Vitalists, a fact which I rather regret now given that she appears, in several respects, more closely connected to Vitalism than Philipsen. Certainly she is an artist who, right from her earliest works, appears to be addressing a range of subject matter which would later be perceived as core motifs in Vitalism, and who also, in many respects, touches on and works tangentially to some of the core Vitalist issues.

Using Anna Ancher as an intermediate step, I have introduced a possible extension of the typical circle of Vitalist artists, moving beyond the figure of a male artist celebrating sportiness, gymnastics and masculinity and seeking instead to demonstrate that Vitalism can also include the more contemplative, sensory study of light and the sun, a field of which Anna Ancher is an excellent exponent.[5] Whether such pursuits constitute examples of Vitalism in its pure form and in the traditional sense of the term is certainly debatable, but with Lederballe one can certainly speak about a special 'vital naturalism' in the case of Philipsen, a term which also seems an apt description of key aspects of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's art.[6]

Over the next few pages, I will argue that this vital naturalism, as practiced by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, can be seen as a unique contribution to the Vitalism of the period. After all, what does it matter whether the term 'Vitalist' can be added to a description of the artist's characteristics? For the works remain the same, and they are fantastic as they are. And yet, perhaps it does matter. The concept of Vitalism opens up a different, wider-ranging framework of understanding that can expand the way we talk about her art. New contexts and other ambitions can arise and hopefully make us wiser about her art, and at the very least such an interpretation can encourage disagreement and resistance, thereby also contributing to honing our understanding of the artist and making us more informed. What else can we reasonably demand from an exhibition or a text?

EARLY VITALISM IN DANISH ART

By now, it is quite a well-known fact that in the years after 1890, certain Danish artists worked with subjects and issues that can be understood in a Vitalistic context. Particular attention has been paid to the artists and students who came together in the so-called Hellene movement.[7] Every summer from 1894 to 1901, the Hellenes (in Danish *Hellenerne*) met at Refsnæs, near Kalundborg, to strengthen and purge the human body through various types of outdoor pursuits: running, swimming, gymnastics and sunbathing. The artists would do outdoor model studies, often depicting their friends engaged in exercises, bathing or posing, as is seen in several paintings by Gunnar Sadolin.[8]

In a wider European context, the Hellenes were part of the overall body culture rallying around the ideal of 'a healthy soul in a healthy body', which found its most prominent symbolic manifestation with the reinstatement of the Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. As such, the Danish Hellenes' dedication to outdoor life, sports and health is one response among many to the materialism of modern life and the hectic life of the big cities. In 1907, Johannes V. Jensen would describe the movement in these terms in his essays from America:

> 'Throughout the civilised world, one currently sees a movement in the direction of the primitive, an awakening universal sense of nature and a cult of health which, among other things, is rooted in a necessary reaction to the previous century's vast development of the city and its technology. One might describe this movement as the outdoor culture or, viewing it against the backdrop of history, as modern humanism.'[9]

Also relevant in this context is the artist Valdemar Schønheyder Møller, who settled in Paris in the mid-1890s and began working on a group of works that attracted international attention around the turn of the century: a series of solar images which sought to depict the sun's white-hot glow and its afterimages and optical reflections. The practice offers an interesting approach to an extreme positivist study of the phenomenal appearance of sunlight and the way it is perceived by/affects the human eye, combined with a Vitalistic worship of the sun and nature that anticipates Edvard

‘Throughout the civilised world, one currently sees a movement in the direction of the primitive, an awakening universal sense of nature and a cult of health which, among other things, is rooted in a necessary reaction to the previous century’s vast development of the city and its technology. One might describe this movement as the outdoor culture or, viewing it against the backdrop of history, as modern humanism.’

Johannes V. Jensen

Gunnar Sadolin
The Hellenes at Refsnæs
1895
Oil on canvas
Private collection

Valdemar Schønheyder
Møller
Sunset, Fontainebleau
1900
Oil on canvas
National Gallery
of Denmark

Munch's and J.F. Willumsen's pictures of sun discs. Thus, as the literary historian Anders Ehlers Dam states in his study of the Vitalist movement in Danish literature around the year 1900, there is definite evidence that 'in the fine arts and in poets such as Johannes Jørgensen and Sophus Claussen, Vitalistic elements can be found as far back as in the nineties'.[10]

The fact that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen has not been treated as part of early Vitalism before is somewhat puzzling. However, her many vital, life-affirming animal studies from the years around 1890 have not attracted significant interest even though they seem to fit in well with the vital naturalism emerging around the same time, as is evident in, for example, Theodor Philipsen's works and in the turn towards a positive-Vitalist literature in the 1890s that Ehlers Dam points out. It seems as if animal painting and animal sculpture have had a hard time winning acclaim as 'serious' art. As if the defecating, grazing, pissing, bleating, stampeding and playful animals preoccupied with primal, natural actions made it difficult for art historians and others to believe that there could be anything at stake in the artists' works other than the immediate perception of nature. A certain amount of gender bias may also be at play here. In any case, it must be noted that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, who only rarely spoke about her art – unlike her husband, who was far more communicative and whose music philosophy has been convincingly inscribed in a Vitalistic context – is only sporadically mentioned in Vitalistic accounts and in those cases often as a secondary figure, a support act for her husband's doings.[11]

VITALIST EXPRESSIONS OF LIFE

Such negligence is all the more surprising given that there is no shortage of Vitalistic traces and interfaces in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's life and work. Right back from her childhood days, she had a close relationship with the many aspects and manifestations of life that were a major part of everyday existence on a large farm with substantial livestock holdings. Actively involved in the day-to-day operation of the farm, she rode from childhood and began to create sculptures of pigs and lambs at an early stage. A local veterinarian taught her about animal anatomy, and she dissected a dead calf by herself. This preoccupation with the natural qualities of animals and their connection with primordial forces and cycles of life, which would later become a central element in Vitalism and the cultivation of vivacity and the innermost essence of life that the Nielsen couple represents, was deeply rooted in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen as an artist and as a human being. Right from her early breakthrough works, such as the sculpture *Thor with the Midgard Serpent*, as well as the animal statues she exhibited at the Nordic Exhibition of Industry, Agriculture and Art in Copenhagen in 1888, and which went on to win a bronze medal at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1889, her art was carried by an immediate 'sensuality, savagery and resourcefulness', and of course by excellent technical mastery of form and material.[12]

The ability to see and capture the animals' characteristic movements and make them appear natural, convincing and spontaneous gave Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen a privileged position as an interpreter of the life force which the Vitalists would later inscribe as the core of the movement's efforts. Not programmatically, as Carl Nielsen writes, but as an expression or emergence of the will and urge to life that lies behind every expression of life and makes 'the animals roar, bleat, run and fight and humans moan, groan, exult and shout without any explanation.'[13]

The quote is from Carl Nielsen's programme note for his fourth symphony, known as *The Inextinguishable*, which he composed in the years 1914–16. In a letter sent to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen while working on the symphony, he also described his intentions with the symphony:

> 'I have an idea for a new work, which has no programme but which is to express what we understand by an urge for life or expressions of life, that is: everything that moves, all that wants life, what cannot be called either evil or good, high or low, big or small, but simply: "that which is life" or: "that which wants life", do you see: no definite, predetermined idea of something "magnificent" or something "fine and delicate" or hot and cold (dramatic, perhaps), but just life and movement, yet different, very different, but connected, in a context, and constantly flowing, in one single movement forming a single stream.'[14]

Nielsen's references include several words and phrases suggesting that his understanding of the urge for and expression of life has a close kinship with the outlook on art practised by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and the sculptures with which she works. In the sculptor's and the composer's works of depicting life and movement, the human and the animal worlds are equated in the effort to reach the very core of life, 'the appearance of the most elemental forces between humans, animals and even plants.'[15]

Incidentally, there are several examples of the couple practicing the tenets of Vitalism in their everyday lives. They followed the recommendations issued by the gymnastics educator Jørgen Peter Müller and his *My System: 15 Minutes Work a Day for Health's Sake*. Müller recommended plenty of exercise, fresh air and sunbathing, frequent baths and washing, for 'he who does not take care of his body neglects it and thereby sins against nature.'[16] As has already been mentioned, Anne Marie

Frolicking Bulls
1898
Bronze
National Gallery
of Denmark

Horse Rubbing against
Tree Stump
Ca. 1885
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Newborn Lamb
1924
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Mermaid
1920
Plaster
Odense City Museums

Carl-Nielsen had been a rider since childhood; the couple went on cycling holidays with their children, and they installed a trapeze in one of the doorways of their flat to be used for gymnastic exercises.[17] Like the Hellenes on Refsnæs, the family cultivated beach life, complete with sunbathing and nude bathing. The fascination with ancient Greek art and culture which was such an essential element of Vitalism also became a pervasive presence in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's art. The influence is particularly evident in connection with two trips to Greece in 1903 and 1904–05, where she had an international breakthrough with copies of antique sculpture groups, and her drawings after a Heracles gave her inspiration for later statuettes and reliefs featuring different interpretations of muscular and athletic men.

INSPIRATION FROM HELLAS

Carl Nielsen accompanied Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen on her first voyage to Greece, composing his *Helios Overture* in Athens, a tribute to the strong and penetrating Greek sun. Such Vitalistic sun worship had already found its way into the illustration that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen did in 1898 for Carl Nielsen's choral and orchestral piece *Hymnus Amoris*, where a young couple dressed only in a wreath of roses are bathed in the light of a halo-like sun. However, the illustration contains two suns, with the young couple raising their hands up towards a fiery solar wreath at the top. In addition to being a hymn to love, the piece is first and foremost a tribute to the sun as the ultimate life force.[18]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's decision to spend months at the Acropolis Museum in Athens copying the three-headed demon *Typhon* was not just prompted by the fact that she could make good money from the many copies she made. As art historian Mikael Wivel writes, it was also because she was preoccupied with 'the incredible vitality that characterises Archaic art, and which she herself strove throughout her life to achieve in her own sculptures.'[19] Wivel goes on to say that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen 'did not let herself be carried away by the Archaic style but rather incorporated it as a form of primordial force she could apply as a matrix just below the naturalistic surface.' The art historian and museum professional Emil Hannover highlights some of the same fascination with Archaic vitality in his review of the show of polychrome copies at Den Frie Udstilling in Copenhagen in 1906:

> 'Even more admirable than its diligence, however, is the intelligence of this work, the understanding of the Cyclopean might of this ancient art with its barbaric-beautiful, wild and bold colours and its almost animalistic revelling in the living form. A howl of the ancient artist's sheer joy in creation seems to emanate from these steaming bulls and this three-headed Typhon that rises up, roaring with devilish laughter at his own terrible lusts.'[20]

Title page for *Hymnus Amoris*, op. 12
1897
Print
Odense City Museums

Girl Poised to Leap
Ca. 1910
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Discus Thrower
1920–1930
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Race Walker
1920–1930
Bronze
Odense City Museums

300 Metre Sprint
1920–1930
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Ball Thrower
1920–1930
Wax
Odense City Museums

Ballet Dancer
1920–1930
Wax
Odense City Museums

Centaur Boy
1902
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Centaur Girl
1902
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Such howls from ancient artists' creative joy converges nicely with Carl Nielsen's efforts to use the medium of music to tap into the flow of drive and will that underpins all life and art. In Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's later sculpture *Mermaid*, from 1921, we encounter a different yet related scream in the figure of a woman who, her mouth open and eyes wide, speaks very directly to us about basic and vital urges, about loneliness and sexuality. As Wivel notes, the sculpture is one of the few works in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's production where one senses traits from Archaic art in its stylisation. The widened eyes and the ornamentation of the hair and tail both seem to hark back to stylistic elements from the *Typhon* sculpture.

The sports statuettes or 'sports sketches', as she herself described the group of athletic figures, were made in the years 1917–20. They depict various athletes engaged in powerful bursts of energy and effort: wrestlers and boxers, a discus thrower in the moment before the discus is delivered, a shot-putter before the throw, runners squatting just before the start, a race walker in his stride and a diver bending forward before jumping. She would generally find her inspiration and references at Østerbro Stadium, and her working method was not unlike the one she practiced throughout her life when conducting her many animal studies. Countless small lifelike wax figures formed the basis of naturalistic studies of movement in which she translated the athletes' manifestations into sculptural expressions of athletic discharges of power and force, the moment when human anatomy is stretched to its limit and releases its pent-up energy.

The artist's youngest daughter, Anne Marie Telmányi, has described the work with the sports sketches as follows:

> `During this time she often did studies out at the Østerbro Stadium. I often accompanied her, and we would see the athletes practising: the boxers hitting the rubber balls, runners squatting down to suddenly dart away. Jumpers and shot-putters. On those nights, she would sit back home at Frederiksholms Kanal with a small matchbox and a hairpin, quickly shaping the figures from memory out of wax.'[21]

Thus, the sports sketches are directly based on concrete studies of movement. But in a Vitalistic context, they can probably also, as Anne Christiansen suggests in her biography, be connected to the couple's preoccupation with Müller's aforementioned exercise programme and the simultaneous flourishing of sports and outdoor life.[22] And presumably also to the interest in the Greek myths and mythological figures to which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen repeatedly returned, right from her early preoccupation with the figure of Heracles in Athens in 1903 in her drawing of *Heracles and Triton* up to her later fascination with the superhuman struggles of the Greek hero, unfolding itself in a series of studies depicting his so-called twelve labours. In addition to Heracles, the artist created other smaller works, such as the statuettes *Centaur Boy* (1902), *Bacchante* (1902), *Centaur Girl* (1902) and *Satyr with Cupid* (1922), which confirm her lifelong preoccupation with the life-affirming and Dionysian aspects of Hellenic art and culture and, not least, the urge to life found in both animals and humans, converging in the centaur motif.

Thor with the Midgard Serpent
1887
Bronze
Odense City Museums

AMONG NORSE GODS AND HEROES

Greek myths and Olympic derring-do were not alone in providing subject matter capable of stimulating interest in Vitalistic displays of strength and energy. Nordic mythology and legends also offered plenty of heroic sacrifices and admirable feats of strength.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen got her major breakthrough in 1887, winning the prestigious Neuhausen's Prize for her sculpture *Thor with the Midgard Serpent*, the subject of which appears to have been her own choice. Body taut and tense, the naked Aesir swings his hammer above the serpent, a snake-like monster coiling and twisting on a rock. The subject anticipates the artist's later fascination with the figure of Heracles and his battles against the many monsters he encounters along the way.

Thor's battle with the Midgard Serpent makes a return in 1907 as one of the subjects featured on a set of relief designs submitted by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen as her proposal for six large wall panels for the King's Stairway at Christiansborg Palace. In 1898, the artist prepared a draft for a fountain group intended to be set up between the cultural institutions of the Glyptotek and the Society of Sciences. The motif was 'Skjold Taming a Bear', a tale from Saxo's *The History of the Danes* which relates how Denmark's first king overpowered a large bear with his bare hands while out hunting. The heroes of Danish history also include Skipper Clement, who made a name for himself as a rebel and folk hero. In 1927, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen prepared a sketch for a proposed monument to this legendary figure from Vendsyssel, depicting a Thor-like, warlike Skipper Clement charging ahead with a raised axe.

Far more Hellenic in its temperate moderation is the sculpture of the legendary hero Uffe the Meek, a monumental sculpture done in plaster by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen for her first solo show, which was held at Den Frie Udstilling in 1931. Here, too, the portrayal is based on a character from Saxo's *History of the Danes*. Uffe, a slightly diffident and indifferent prince, is eventually stirred into action, and, ably helped by his father's keen-edged sword, Skræp, he succeeded in defending Denmark against the overwhelming Saxon forces. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen returned to Østerbro Stadium and found a Danish shot-put champion with a well-developed upper body, which she went on to combine with matching legs courtesy of a suitable high jumper and palace guard. Anne Marie Telmányi describes the work on the sculpture as follows:

> 'She found a big, handsome young man out here at the stadium. He was a shot-put champion. She went on to make a figure of him. It was the Uffe character. She had often thought of this legendary hero in connection with the Schleswig question. Uffe looks pensively at the sword Skræp, at rest, but the entire figure resonates with strength and power, and soon the sword will whistle through the air. It is as if she, in this particular figure, feels a tremendous strength aching to be exerted.'[23]

The King's Stairway at Christiansborg / *Thor Battling the Midgard Serpent*
1907
Plaster
Odense City Museums

Skjold Taming a Bear
1898
Bronze
Odense City Museums

Skipper Clement
1927
Plaster
Odense City Museums

The following year, the artist had the sculpture cast in bronze, and in 1932 she exhibited it at Den Frie Udstilling. In 1936 it earned her a bronze medal at the exhibition arranged for the Olympics in Berlin, an event which, under the protectorate of Adolf Hitler, took the form of an all-encompassing tribute to noble simplicity and quiet grandeur and not least to the worship of Hellenic art practiced by Vitalism.[24]

A LIFE'S WORK

In another later work – a proposal for a decoration of the field above the main entrance to the Kvinderegensen student halls from 1931 – Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen once again turns to Greek mythology for inspiration. Very appropriately for an institution dedicated to promoting women's educational opportunities, the artist chose the subject of a mounted Amazon, fully armed with a shield and spear (p. 112). An expression of female strength and an uncompromising will to assert oneself, but also a motif where the symbiosis between man and animal converges in a strong expression of the ultimate life force.

From the early depiction of Thor's battle with the Midgard Serpent to her vast portrayal of the prize stallion 'Chieftain' (Høvdingen), left unfinished in clay in the studio after the artist's death, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was preoccupied with power and vitality. This involved the vitality and strength bound up in the athletic human form and in animal bodies swelling with muscles, but especially in the life-affirming, all-pervasive energy that she found in the movements and urges of animals. A will to life that can be traced everywhere in her work and which inscribes her art as an original contribution to the history of Danish Vitalism.

The Chieftain
Ca. 1945

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on *The Chieftain*, ca. 1943

NOTES

1 The literature on Vitalism has grown greatly in scope, becoming a prominent subject. In a Danish context, there is much to be found in Oelsner and Hvidberg-Hansen 2008. The authors' own contributions and articles by Sven Halse and Anders Ehlers Dam offer excellent insight into the movement's contents and spread, its philosophical roots and, not least, into how the concept of life and the life force in a range of forms is the central concept in Vitalism. In connection with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and the work on this article, I have been especially aided by Ehlers Dam 2010.

2 Insofar as this article incorporates information about the artist's life, it relies on the biography Christiansen 2013.

3 Lederballe 2001.

4 Nørgaard Larsen 2004.

5 Nørgaard Larsen 2020.

6 Lederballe 2001, 93.

7 The Hellenes at Refsnæs were addressed back in the seventies by Honnens de Lichtenberg 1978. Since then, Ole Nørlyng 2004 has addressed the phenomenon, while Oelsner's article 'Den sunde natur', in Oelsner and Hvidberg-Hansen 2008, 158–197, places the Danish Hellenes within a wider historical context of the Vitalist celebration of communion with nature, health and outdoor living.

8 Two examples can be found in Oelsner and Hvidberg-Hansen 2008, 314–315.

9 Jensen 1907, 219.

10 Ehlers Dam 2010, 69.

11 Carl Nielsen's association with Vitalism is addressed in Anders Ehlers Dam, '"Musik er liv": Carl Nielsens vitalistiske musikfilosof', in Oelsner and Hvidberg-Hansen 2008, 276–285. An expanded and edited version of the text forms a chapter in Ehlers Dam 2010.

12 Quote from Bierlich 2016, 15.

13 Ehlers Dam 2010, 191.

14 Nielsen 1983, 385, quoted here from Ehlers Dam 2010, 190.

15 Carl Nielsen in a letter to Professor Julius Röntgen, 15 February 1920, quoted from Ehlers Dam 2010, 9.

16 Christiansen 2013 writes about the couple's use of Müller's *Mit System* (My System), 166–167, including their amusing exchange of letters from 1905 on the 'system' and its beneficial impact on their bodies.

17 Ibid., 123.

18 Ibid., 108, shows six of the title pages created by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen for Carl Nielsen's scores, including *Hymnus Amoris*.

19 Wivel 2014, 23.

20 Hannover 1906, quoted here from Bierlich 2016, 20.

21 Telmányi 1966, 130, quoted from Christiansen 2013, 257.

22 Ibid., 255–256.

23 Hannover 1906, quoted from Christiansen 2013, 313.

24 In the years after the Second World War, Vitalist art was stigmatised because Nazism saw its own racist ideology reflected in Vitalist movement's celebrations of Hellenic body culture, athletic strength, health and sports. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's sculpture *Uffe* obviously lent itself to being used in such a context, a fact which ranks among the darker aspect of the reception of the work, but such associations also constitute an unreasonable critique of the artist given her art's ceaseless fascination with vitality and the essence of life. Hans Bonde, 'Den vitalistiske sport', in Oelsner and Hvidberg-Hansen 2008, 88–105, addresses the issue of fascism and Vitalism, including the Olympics in 1936 and the naïve enthusiasm with which the Games were greeted in Denmark among athletes and artists alike, who let themselves be dazzled by Germany's atheltics culture and effective propaganda.

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HORSE

ELISABETH TOUBRO

Visual artist

FRIEZE

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was a unique and impressive artist in her day.

Has Denmark ever before had a female sculptor who created such large commissions for public spaces and private individuals? I do not know for sure, but it seems unlikely.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen made an equestrian statue – and she is believed to be the first woman in the world to do so. In addition, she created sculptures such as *The Genius of Music* and *Queen Margrete I*, sculpted several horses and riders, larger-than-life sculptures and various other monumental works for public spaces. She decorated the gates of Ribe Cathedral and made several tombstones, including the beautiful sepulchral monument dedicated to the Danish actress Emma Thomsen, which can be seen at the Assistens Cemetery in Copenhagen. She was a master at creating small, intense, vivid and lifelike sculptures of animals she knew well from her childhood. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen endeavoured to make it possible for female artists to study at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. In her efforts, she was joined by a range of the most prominent and talented female artists of the time: Anna Ancher, Johanne Krebs, Agnes Slott-Møller, Elise Konstantin-Hansen, Agnes Lunn, Olivia Holm-Møller and Suzette Holten.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had three children. She travelled and worked abroad for long periods of her life, and her circle of friends included many leading artists of her day.

Despite all this, she was written out of art history!

I stood in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's studio when I was a young student working at the School of Sculpture at Frederiksholms Kanal. I'm ashamed to admit that I did not know at the time what a great and marvellous artist she was. I had not even heard of her. I owe Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen – all of us women artists owe her – much attention and devotion because of the great and important work she did on our behalf.

In my horse frieze, I enter into an intimate interplay with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's sculptures. I envision the enormous quantities of clay she dragged around and used to model her pieces. In my imagination, I exchange ideas and methods with her. I mime her works.

I have taken my point of departure in mass-produced horse figures of our time. Through the contrasts between their stereotypical appearance and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsens's works, I become a witness to, and take part in, her universe. I have conversations with art history and create new images that transform our shared history and reinstate Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in it.

The horse frieze shows a progressive course of events that begins in the flat Danish farmlands and ends (perhaps?) among the mountains of Greece. The horse figures in the frieze take on different roles in the confrontation with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's modelled horses. Such as when a little porcelain horse, equipped with a basket in which to transport goods, meets Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's elegant horse with a fine lady nonchalantly astride it. Or when Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's female centaur meets another female centaur modelled on a horse toy, mimicking her gesture of wild abandon. The monument to her husband, Carl Nielsen, *The Genius of Music* rises up at the end as a sublime image of their shared life and passion for music and the art of sculpture.

Elisabeth Toubro
Horse Frieze
(foal)

Elisabeth Toubro
Horse Frieze
(merhorse)

Elisabeth Toubro
Horse Frieze
(female rider)

Elisabeth Toubro
Horse Frieze
(woman centaur)

Elisabeth Toubro
Horse Frieze
(Pegasus)

A SCULPT

KIRSTEN JUSTESEN

(b. 1943) graduated from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in 1975. Taking her point of departure in the classic sculpture tradition, she has developed a wide-ranging practice that includes body art, performance and installation as well as sculpture. Hailing from a background in the avant-garde art scene of the 1960s, Justesen is considered a pioneer of art forms which use the human body as artistic material.

While her early works employ a feminist aesthetic, her later production ventures into a broader exploration of the relationship between body, space and language. Overall, Justesen's oeuvre is characterised by taking a conceptual approach to fundamentally sculptural issues, renegotiating them in ephemeral and diverse modes of expression that accentuate aspects of time, process and action.

In addition to her artistic endeavours, Justesen has always been involved in the struggle for women's rights in the cultural arena. For example, she has worked to improve the conditions of women artists through her positions on various boards and councils.

OR'S TALE

A SCULPTOR'S TALE

Two years before Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen died, I was born.
I lived by the 6th Regiment's parade grounds outside Odense, where horses jumped their tethers if no word of warning had been given about planned shootings and night manoeuvres to the horses' respective owners. They had to be tethered again.
However, it was not until my middle-school years at Nyboder School that I regularly not only passed but also noticed the colt soaring up into the sky with a naked, pan-flute-playing teenager, riding without a saddle – a work created by a female sculptor.
The one who had also made the equestrian statue of Christian IX at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds.
One of my classmates had a bright white horse stabled there, and I often visited Frederiksberg Castle to watch the cadets parade their Frederiksborg horses.
I knew my horse breeds back then but mostly rode the heavy, blazed, very broad-backed Belgians used as workhorses on my aunt's Zealand farm.
I knew I wanted to be a sculptor, and when I couldn't find any pan pipes in town, I got an ocarina for the sound.

Many years later, on the bus from Svanemøllen towards Kongens Nytorv in Copenhagen, I passed the arch of the sports hall offering a brief view of the Østerbro Stadium.
It's a good idea to begin by taking a seat facing in the direction of travel to catch a glimpse of the archer in bronze through the arch and then switch to the other side of the bus to catch a glimpse of *The Genius of Music* (erected in 1939) as the bus turns down St. Kongensgade.
I always imagine the granite plinth as a triangle that supports dynamic lines amplifying the skyward ascent.
The plinth is a narrow, rectangular granite plinth in a tall format, serving only to extend the very minimal support surface seen on the plaster model in the studio.
A perfect support surface.
Rear left hoof slightly raised, ready for mount and rider to take off.
The sculpture is very often photographed with the plinth cropped in the middle, so you only see a picture of the horse and rider. Then the photographer has not seen it at all.

In 1938, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is 75 years old, in the studio with her kitchen maid Maren Hansen, as helper.
The Genius of Music stands ready on its plinth, all done up in plaster and awaiting the bronze casting.
There is a delicacy/fragility to it, a transparency, just like the little *Freezing Foal* from 1887.
Up on the cupboard to the right stands an ephebe, a Greek youth, as he continues to be seen at all art academies for many years afterwards.
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen probably modelled it as one of her first tasks when, at the age of 19 in 1882, she became a student in the department of the sculptor August Wilhelm Saabye.
In 1888, Saabye became a teacher of sculpture at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' Art School for Women, but in rooms outside of Charlottenborg and without access to life drawing classes.

Women get the right to vote in Denmark in 1915. Over the years, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen works tirelessly for women's access to the Academy of Fine Arts, and she is one of the 25 women artists present at the founding general assembly of Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund (Society of Women Artists, KKS) in 1916.
Subsequently, she spends years on the board of KKS, the purpose of which is to unite the voices and votes of women artists for elections to the Akademiraadet (Academy Council) and other art institutions.
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is elected to sit on the Akademiraadet in 1912–1914 and is the chairwoman of the sculptors' group.
(I took my turn in the 1990s).
The same year, the Kunstnernes Statsstøttede Croquisskole (the Artists' State-Supported Life Drawing School) was established; it is listed on the Finance Act (state budget) in 1919 and always has a leader who is a member of the KKS.
In 1994, the Artists' State-Supported Life Drawing School officially closed, and the KKS archive is now housed at The Royal Danish Library.

Small bronze sculpture of *Freezing Foal* from 1887. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was 24 at the time. The National Gallery of Denmark buys it in 1898.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on *The Genius of Music*, a monument to Carl Nielsen. Next to the plinth is Maren Hansen. 1938.
An ephebe stands on the cupboard to the right.

`If I cannot make a horse that soars into the air without wings, I am no good! The wingless Pegasus, he listens to the wind and the weather.'

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen

AN EPHEBE CAN TAKE YOU MANY PLACES

Louise Bourgeois is 26 when she models an ephebe at the Académie de la Grande-Chaumière, Paris, 1937.

Here is my ephebe, modelled under Kaj Kylborg at the Funen Art Academy in 1964.
The ephebe does not seem to have left the art schools. He has a very dull upper lip.
Ephebe done in fired blue clay. The work was broken after being dropped on the floor.
Photographed in my studio on top of Astrid Noack's potter's wheel.

DANISH FISHERMAN AND SAVIOUR

Carl Nielsen visiting Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio. To the right in the photograph is the seductive *Infant Bacchus with Grapes* (the artist' son, Hans Børge, was the model), as sensuous as the sculpture *Uffe* (modelled partly on Carl Nielsen, see p. 127).

The most beautiful bronze handle imaginable, the one you grab to enter the Ribe Cathedral, also speaks of a body intimately known to the artist. The handle was modelled on her daughter Irmelin.

`He walked by and looked up. He came the way the gods had gone in the morning. '

Anne Marie Brodersen, 1891

The fisherman stands as a plaster model in the middle of the studio, full-sized.
It was intended for him to lead the procession of men who were to encircle the plinth frieze for the equestrian statue of Christian IX to be erected at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds.
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is 44 years old in 1907 and wins the commission. The model for the equestrian statue with its plinth frieze can be seen at the back of the studio. The final result is revealed, after much despair, 20 years later.
In 1908–1909, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen searched the West Coast of Denmark for a suitable model for the fisherman and found him in Hanstholm.
However, the plinth frieze is never realised, but five years later the long-since finished *Fisherman and Saviour* is donated to and erected at the harbour in Skagen with help from the Ancher family. Finally out of the studio.

I view it in June 2020 and read at the library in Skagen about the wild protests prompted by the sculpture in 1932: `The police turned up for the installation to prevent riots. The statue was then guarded for four days to ensure that no one would damage it.'
People are embittered by the model being from Hanstholm and not from Skagen; the locals want their own fisherman and rescuer, Lars Kruse, who drowned in 1894.
Also in June 2020, a sculpture of the slave trader Edward Colston is thrown into the port of Bristol, England, under extensive international media coverage in connection with Black Lives Matter protests.
The school services in Skagen have created an art walk guide, and the text attached to the sculpture's plinth reads:
`Here you see Lars Kruse.
At Skagen Art Museum, you can see him in the painting *The Drowned Fisherman*.'
Sculptures have long lives – and texts to suit the current times.
For a few days in March 2021, the plinth propping up Christian IX served as a canvas for a projection: *HIPPOLYTA*, a tribute to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and the women of her time, staged by the all-women artists' group Tokyo Blue.

WOMAN WARRIOR ON HORSEBACK

This galloping amazon is a draft for a competition to decorate a gate vault at Kvinderegensen, a student hall for women. Drawing, watercolour and pencil, ca. 1931.
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is 68 at the time.
Olivia Holm-Møller wins the commission with *The Wise Virgins*.

An equestrian statue has never been my idea of a magnum opus, but I have noted, with great pleasure, the impressive horses and riders made by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and her pupil Helen Schou.
Helen Schou's *The Jutland Stallion* has had a somewhat more successful sculptural life than *Margrete I*, finally constructed in 2006. For *Margrete I*, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen harked back to her childhood's sensuous joy in the Jutland horse breed, but sadly the clay ended up drying out for her.
Time's up.

WOMEN AND EQUESTRIAN STATUES

Kirsten Justesen, *RIDER*, 1974–2015
Black stoneware, each 49 x 42 cm
Acquired by the New Carlsberg Foundation 2016

In 1974, I happened to stumble across the equestrian statue of Sybil Ludington (Carmel, New York), a 16-year-old heroine from the American Revolutionary War, created by Anna Hyatt Huntington, who also did an equestrian statue of Joan of Arc (Manhattan, New York City).
I have used my silhouette of the amazon/valkyrie/women's rights activist, inspired by the artistic approaches of female sculptors, as an icon on several works and banners over the years.
The National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., has a blog about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, and I myself have the pleasure of having several works in their collection.
Now we look forward to the Odense City Museums finally making room for their extensive collection of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works.

One source has been the artist's daughter:
Anne Marie Telmányi, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979.
The book contains Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's own statements about her work as well as interviews from dailies.
I too have received a grant from the Anne Marie Telmányi née Carl-Nielsen's Foundation in support of women sculptors over 40. The award ceremony takes place on Telmányi's birthday. In 1991 sausage sandwiches and petits fours were served. Ten years later I received the Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen Grant.

ANCHORED
THE

IN LANDSCAPE

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's monuments in public spaces

The equestrian statue of Christian IX
1927
Bronze
The Agency for Culture and Palaces

Queen Margrete I
1897/2006
Bronze
Roskilde Municipality

The Flute Player
(The Little Shepherd Boy)
1933
Bronze
Faaborg-Midtfyn
Municipality

The Genius of Music
1939
Bronze
City of Copenhagen

Queen Dagmar
1913
Bronze
Esbjerg Municipality

Mermaid
1921/2009
Bronze
The Royal Danish Library

Danish Fisherman and Saviour
1932
Bronze
Frederikshavn Municipality

The Main Gate, or,
The Lion Gate
1904
Bronze
Ribe Cathedral

Handle with snail motif
1904
Bronze
Ribe Cathedral

Handle with sleeping
peacock
1904
Bronze
Ribe Cathedral

Infant Bacchus
1906
Bronze
Aalborg Municipality
(another version is
erected in Kolding
Municipality)

Uffe
1931–1932
Bronze
Kolding Kommune

MAN IS DANGEROU OF

MATHIAS KRYGER

Art critic and writer

THE MOST ANIMAL OF ALL

Wearing a commanding expression, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's nonchalant male figure has one hand at his side while the other hand grips the hilt of his sword rather like you would hold a tennis racket for an underhand serve. *Uffe*, as the figure is called, is rather strangely located in Kolding, in what is called Legeparken (Play Park) (p. 127).

He used to occupy a far more prominent position. During the First World War, he was moved to safety inside the walls of the castle Koldinghus. Today he is outside again, his back strangely turned, standing on the outskirts of a park laid out and designed for a life of leisure – a playful life of vital amusements where the man with the sword no longer plays the lead or is the focal point of attention. The sculpture, as it is, does not occupy the monumental mise-en-scène it calls for. What if it were placed frontally, arranged in symmetrical relation to the gaze, perhaps even higher up at the end of a set of stairs, on a wall, placed far higher up like a ruler? His plinth, his plot of land, his podium, his stage is by no means flashy; it causes his sword (which from certain angles resembles a staff) to reach down to all those who encounter the sculpture, extending the man's arm in an entirely straight line. A complete connection from shoulder to arm to my gaze to my anxiety about what us humans can think of doing when equipped with shiny weapons.

Louis Moe
Uffe the Meek
1898
Colour lithograph

To me, there is no doubt that the current placement in the park, its back turned away, is conditioned by the sculpture's somewhat outdated vibe. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen created it in the year 1932, and the figure is famous for having been part of the art exhibition held at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936. The Nazi Olympics. Based on an almost Mary Shelleyean, Frankenstein-like collage or assemblage of bodies, a composite of athletes from that time: The solid upper body of shot-putter Frode Moesgaard, with beautiful biceps on his right arm fully flexed by the heavy steel of the sword, while the left arm arranges the firm flesh into iron-hard muscle mass as the hand is placed forcefully in his side. His short-ish legs are shaped after another successful athlete, the high jumper, former royal guard and later gymnastics lecturer in Kolding, Hell Hansen. Formerly soft bodies made hard by training and combat, sculpted in soft clay by the artist's hands to be subsequently cast in hard bronze. In Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's sculpture, the iron balls thrown by shot-putters and the iron-hard biceps reproduced in bronze meet and merge with iron from the Iron Age. Uffe the Meek, the Uffe we are looking at here – the legendary hero from the medieval author Saxo Grammaticus's *History of the Danes* from around 1200 – was, according to several historians, based on a historical person who lived in the 400s, equipped with a sword of icy steel.

Most beautiful of all is his back (perhaps that is why he has been placed with his back to us), his shoulder blades drawn so far back they almost kiss each other. And then the point where his back meets his buttocks. The swaying curve that leads into the full swell of the thighs and the classic contrapposto pose, which is obviously classic, yes, but also makes the figure appear self-important, deliberately posing.

And yes, it *is* classic, but it is modern, too, which might also serve as a definition of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's oeuvre in general – a description that has presumably already been repeated ad infinitum.

But regard the darkness of the eyes hiding in the down-turned face. Look at the hair, at the aforementioned shoulder blades and at the way in which the sword also becomes a cane and perhaps a tool. A staff swung by

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio, standing behind her figure of the mythical hero Uffe, 1930

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
at her statue *Uffe*, 1932

the body cult of Vitalism (at its height in the 1930s), twirled above one's head to stretch the tired muscles and give them another chance.

This is what posits the figure in the realm of the modern. That the body is so burdened by having to look virile and vital. Burdened by it, because it senses full well that it has become part of a technological and diagnostic project but does not yet understand what that means. First faith, then science – and with it psychiatry – created the categories that the body must occupy – sexuality, for example. These categories have now been formulated as diagnoses that later become identities. With these categories, the norm – society's moral edicts and guidelines – is established, defining the diagnostic categories as deviations. I am thinking here of the Austrian-German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing and his forensic diagnostic manual from 1886, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which was a psychopathological tool intended for use by the courts and, among other things, a site where the concept of homosexuality is pinned down and locked in place as something crazy, sick and thus rightfully punishable.

Paradoxically, the manual's table of contents reads rather like a lush poem, almost overflowing with life force and curious inquisitiveness:[1]

Force of sexual instinct
Love as a passion
Sensuality and art
True love
Religious and erotic fetichism
Eye, smell, voice, psychical qualities
as fetich

Things gradually grow rather more muddied, and one senses the language of technology and diagnosis entering the body:

`Erogenous' (hyperaesthetic) zones
Control of sexual instinct
Ejaculation
Perversion and perversity

Eventually, the list of subjects becomes a mad rush upon the body and its seemingly inexhaustible capacity for `grossness':

Sadism
Sadistic lust murder
Flogging of boys
Sadistic acts on animals

And, correspondingly, masochism … And congenital homosexuality (`antipathic sexuality'). Hysteria. Paranoia. Mania. And lesbian love, which in the table of contents immediately precedes a section on necrophilia.

It is this wild matrix of pseudo-scientific diagnostics of identity categories, pathologizing between inclusion and exclusion, which is inscribed on *Uffe*'s body, enabling us to tell what time he belongs to. A *Tempus Psychopathia Sexualis*. A time when psychopathology burrows its way into the popular imagination, manifesting in, among other aspects, a rapid development of institutional technologies (the birth of clinics, technologies for how deviants are put in custody, technologies for experimenting on deviant bodies – just think of the invention of leukotomy or lobotomy around 1936, the same year as the Nazi Olympics) and, by extension, the extermination technology and destruction architecture lurking just around the corner (the Third Reich), with concentration camps as a continuation of the mindset formulated by Krafft-Ebing.

In *Uffe* resides a Vitalism which is every bit as burdened by the technology of destruction as modernity is. A Vitalism that points back to antiquity's archetypal ideals of health, beauty and strength, dating back from Archaic to classical times and onwards until it reaches this form, poised on the brink of extinction. As a representation of human excellence and superiority, it points directly into the ideals and principles of eugenics.[2]

But allow me to back up a bit.

Look at her *Mermaid* from 1921. With her hands positioned as if doing yoga – once again, with the shoulder blades pulled together on the back. And with the tail lifted and bent like an arch, ready to slap you in an instant. *Mermaid* is not a defensive, seductive or ingratiating figure; she is like a weapon. The tail is like a queer phallus, a body more potent than any *Uffe*, with razor-sharp fins on the front, held up in front of the mermaid's chest. It is an impossibility.

Mermaid
1921
Bronze
National Gallery
of Denmark

After all, *Uffe* also harks far back in time due to his relationship with the past and his origins in the Danish national narrative about a legendary prince, Uffe the Meek, who, brandishing his sword, Skræp, supposedly won the Danish nation's independence. Or, with strong legs and powerful thighs, *Uffe* strides across the river of times that runs from myth to modernity.

When I meet him in Kolding, I meet him with the camera in my iPhone as I seek to take a picture which shows two things in the best possible way:

1. The degree of fascist philosophies about the superman emanating from the figure.
2. The degree of sexiness that absolutely, totally emanates from him.

I frame the sculpture through the lens of the camera, in the triple sense of the word: to frame and select a specific section; to form, in sociological thinking, a schema of mental representations and readings of reality (the work of art as such is not exclusively that – the work of art *is* reality); and to frame in the sense of letting the innocent be charged with a crime.

I frame Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen as an artist who messes around quite a bit with issues of body and ideology. With nature and realism. She roams the part of the zoo where you're allowed to pet the animals. Lambs, calves, the fat birds, turkeys, the cat (okay, yes, with a rat in its mouth, but still). The end of the zoo where the animals are not dangerous, having entered, after generations of breeding and gene-string mutations, into a dance of domestication with man. The human. *That* is the most dangerous animal in the zoo. The one zooming around outside the cages. Keeping the other animals trapped. The human being is the threat. There is no doubt about that when you see Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's people. So, yes, okay, I'm framing her for two things. The dangerous human being and the sexy body. Two things that may turn out to be connected.

Let us turn to number two first. A bit about the (queer) body in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.

Uffe is the sword. As it was for the German writer and artist Unica Zürn, and for so many before and after her, the sword is a phallus, a male member. Read *Dark Spring* for example. The crevice is the vagina, the hole and the mouth tasked with pronouncing all those words. It is sculpture facing off against the word, the phallus versus the hole, the sword versus the tomb.

That is why Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's bodies are miraculous in their duality. Look at her *Mermaid* from 1921. With her hands positioned as if doing yoga – once again, with the shoulder blades pulled together on the back. And with the tail lifted and bent like an arch, ready to slap you in an instant. *Mermaid* is not a defensive, seductive or ingratiating figure; she is like a weapon. The tail is like a queer phallus, a body more potent than any *Uffe*, with razor-sharp fins on the front, held up in front of the mermaid's chest. It is an impossibility.

To elaborate on my point, I look to another German artist, Käthe Kollwitz, who, like Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, spent time in Paris in the late 1800s and, like Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, worked in a more or less naturalistic idiom up through the first part of the twentieth century. In her bony art of war, suffering, hunger and rape, a question is articulated and asked of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's art. There is very little light at the end of Kollwitz's tunnel, which is as dark as a rainy night in Prenzlauer Berg before gentrification, but it is populated with bodies. Bodies and death. These bodies of death ask a question of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's bodies:

Why does Kollwitz paint and draw her bodies as dead? See, for example, the work *Inspiration* from 1904–05 (p. 137). Inspiration, a word whose etymology has to do with inhaling air. Quite literally, a physical act which is a prerequisite for life. But in Kollwitz's *Inspiration*, a man's right arm extends down the diagonal of the picture, extended by not a sword but a scythe. In the centre of the picture is a body dressed in black. The reaper is heavy and static yet forges ahead at full speed. The toes of his right foot and the knuckles of his left clenched fist are full of life as death. Is he Death as an attacker? Or is it he, Death, who is dead, with the old body in front of him dragging him along?

Kollwitz's *Inspiration* is a last quivering breath. Her works feature bodies that know they have been inscribed in the technological war apparatus of modernity. That they are diagnosed, suppressed bodies even before they open their eyes. Representatives of the very worst of human experience. They are not macho apostles from some distant time when the worship of the athletically shaped, dynamic masculine body is about to be cleansed of all unfit elements but allegories of resistance against the brutal repression of the proletariat and oppression based on gender.

This contradictory move, creating life out of the mental image of death, offers unintentional yet illuminating perspectives on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. A perspective on the formation of identity. A queer perspective that is about undermining notions of identity so that we no longer see each other as minorities up against majorities and vice versa, as 'birthing women' and 'creative men', as homo- or heterosexual people but first and foremost as simply people, simply human beings. That is what Kollwitz sets out to do, and so we become aware of the potential embedded in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's characters in the dichotomy between seduction and coercion, between phallus and valkyrie.

And so I inquire, alongside Kollwitz, into the degree of fascist superman ideology emanating from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's figures: what if we return to the question of vitality in modernity? If we turn our eye to Vitalism again, what happens when it is replaced by death? If Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's vital sculptures are death, as was suggested above, are Kollwitz's dead bodies, then, conversely vital? Are the expressive, deeply political studies of the underclass conducted by Kollwitz really a sign of life in art? Does Kollwitz's death-art suck the life out of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's Archaic-classical-modern Vitalist art, locking it in a death struggle? Are the two artists spooning? Sixty-nining? Representing the dead living and living dead, respectively? The works can and should be discussed as open, dynamic and transformative phenomena, and the artist's works are never just passive reflections on the universal truths of society. That is what we learn through Kollwitz. With this awareness of the interplay between different ways of perceiving social categories such as gender, class and race, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's late sculptures are still relevant, still merit discussion. They are resurrected from the dead.

Thus, the question of the men's arms, the swords, the canes or the scythes – acting as extensions of each other and the body, as technologies and prostheses – becomes an extension of the men's arms in Carl-Nielsen, Zürn and Kollwitz. And thus also the question of whether one, as a man, chooses to use what one holds in one's hand – the sword – as a tool or as a weapon. Whether the cane flicks through the air. Whether the scythe knocks down the nettles in the field, clears the ground of hawthorn. And, yes, whether the stick strikes up a beautiful rhythm in the earth, a rhythm that is the rhythm of life. Or whether it strikes up a different kind of beat, slamming against the world.

This leads me to the idea of the dangerous man, the dangerous human being, in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen:

The warrior Uffe is a soldier defending his country. Armed with his trusty sword, Skræp, he bests a Saxon prince in a duel and fights at the river Ejderen, an ancient marker of Denmark's borders. A soldier fighting in the battle over the Schleswig question, a conflict into which Anne Marie was practically born, being raised in the Kolding area. He is a soldier defending Denmark's borders. The beat is part of the soldier's language. Mentally as well as physically. Why do you have soldiers march to a beat? Why this simultaneity between outward gesture and inner emotional life? We may well pretend that it is unclear to us what the synchronous movements say about the spasms and about losing the ability to see oneself as part of a community. But it is not unclear. It is quite clear.

The two French thinkers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari apply a distinction between rhythm and beat; rhythm is liberating, beat is not: `It is well known that rhythm is not meter or cadence, even irregular meter or cadence: there is nothing less rhythmic than a military march. The tom-tom is not 1-2, the waltz is not 1, 2, 3, music is not binary or ternary.'[3]

The same holds true of simultaneity, of synchronicity.[4] Rows of virile and vital men swinging a cane above their heads to stretch their strong muscles, swaying from side to side. But at the same time, the movement is liberating. When the body moves, it does precisely that. It is in movement, creating it.

But what about the movement associated with marching? Choreography as something to be learnt, something where you need to hit a beat? Rhythm and beat are different things, Deleuze and Guattari say. Hitting the 1 and 3 or 2 and 4 is different from being led by the rhythm of life, which is a flow of categories moving from one place to another. The cane strikes up the beat of death's troopers; the baton is the scythe. On the other hand, the scythe harvests the grain that feeds the people. The sword is sometimes just a sword that hurts the body. But at other times it may be a stick that props up the body. A crutch for the wounded. A prosthesis. Like a technological mirroring of the diagnostic matrix superimposed over the body in modernity. A grid weighing down the body, revealing how it belongs to its time. When the body is not negotiable.

All sculptural art created by man carries the seed of something we could call fascism. Stasis and neurosis. Not even the queer battle-primed mermaid can fully evade fascism. Symbolism. Fairy tale. All that which is intended as a mirror of something other than what it is. And the man on the plinth, *Uffe*, certainly does not evade it. Not at all. Except, perhaps, between his shoulder blades. Or around his full thighs. His hot body. Man is the most dangerous animal of all.

Käthe Kollwitz
Inspiration
1904
Line etching, drypoint,
reservage, sandpaper
and soft ground with
imprint of laid paper
Käthe Kollwitz
Museum Köln

NOTES

1 Krafft-Ebing 1998, v.

2 Eugenics is an ideological notion centred on improving the genetic make-up of future generations by politically determining which population groups are believed to carry favourable genes based on certain ideals and beliefs. In the first part of the twentieth century, the law enabled the authorities to prohibit marriages between different races, to enforce sterilisation of those with unwanted hereditary traits and, in some cases, such as in 1930s and 1940s Germany, to exterminate those considered carriers of unwanted genes.

3 Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 313.

4 The concept of synchronicity was introduced by the analytical psychologist Carl G. Jung to describe circumstances that seem meaningfully related yet have no direct causal relationship. Jung believed that attributing meaning to certain acausal coincidences could be a healthy, even necessary function of the human mind – mainly by calling attention to important material in the subconscious mind. Thus, synchronicity is about meaningful contemporaneity. Among other things, synchronicity can be examined and used in connection with the study of totalitarian contexts, such as descriptions of soldiers' behaviour.

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STUDIES OF
SKETCHES F

ALLAN VAN HANSEN

Graphic novelist. MA in Danish and Dutch

A HORSE,
ROM A LIFE

Kolding, 1896

Dear Carl,
I have found the perfect stallion
for my statue of Queen Margrete

THERE, THERE,
NICE AND QUIET.

COME ON,
MY DEAR!

- the wisest monarch we ever had.

Now she can finally be honoured in the way she deserves.

HELLO,
THERE!!

ANNE MARIE

THERE'S A
LETTER FOR YOU ...

IT'S FROM YOUR
HUSBAND

THE SECOND
ONE THIS
WEEK

Dear Marie!
Why don't you write?
Last heard from you.
and I am not alone in
being away from
and blast all
at the cost
happiness
much
Børge
at even
At least

It's been four days since we
Indeed, I don't understand –
this – how a mother can stand
her one year old child. Damn
that we might do, if it comes
of our and the children's
and well being. I would
rather look once at Hans
than a hundred times
the finest work of art.
write to us, I implore you.
Your Carl.

COPENHAGEN 1882

MR BISSEN!!

EXCUSE ME,
MR BISSEN

I SAW IT
WAS YOU.

I AM A GREAT
ADMIRER OF
YOUR WORK.

I WISH TO
BECOME A
SCULPTOR ...

...LIKE YOU.

WILL YOU TAKE
ME ON AS YOUR
PUPIL?

I'M SORRY, MISS.

I DON'T TAKE ON WOMEN. THEY MARRY. AND THEN NOTHING EVER COMES OF THEIR ART.

Carl, do you think I am here for my amusement?

I don't think you ought to jugde me so harshly,

even if women who ought to mind their own business agree that your wife should stay at home and tend to you and the baby.

I would like to know your opinion of my work.
Which of the drafts should I stick with?

The horse from Vonsild has an excellent body. I am going as fast as I can but don't want to leave the task half finished.

Your very own girl

PS I like you, do you like me too??? Tell Johanne to give you pig's tail soup to eat.

THE ORIGIN OF ANN CARL-NIELS

RUNE FREDERIKSEN

MA and PhD in classical archaeology.
Head of collections and research at
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

NAL COPIES
E MARIE
SEN

When Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen travelled to Greece in 1903 to copy a number of the Archaic sculptures in the Acropolis Museum in Athens, she was on a double mission.[1] Firstly, as many artists and scholars of her time, she was fascinated by the rapidly increasing number of sculptural finds from the so-called Archaic period of Greek art (720–480 BCE), which initially emerged from the excavations of the Athenian Acropolis. The appreciation of this 'primitive' art was gaining ground in the last decades of the 19th century in the same way as the formal significance of Archaic art was being widely accepted by archaeologists and art historians. Secondly, she had realised that there was a need for three-dimensional copies featuring reproduced remnants of colour to be made of a number of the sculptures that had been recently found at the Athenian Acropolis. In fact, there was a huge potential market for such copies. Facsimiles and, not least, plaster casts were big business in the latter half of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century up to the First World War.[2]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Snake's Head
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
Odense City Museums
CNM/1984/1354

ARCHAIC SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS

The importance of Archaic Greek sculpture as the first phase of monumental sculpture, as an isolated and fully significant phase in the development of Western Art, became fully clear during the 19th century.[3] Until well into the 19th century, the reception of Classical art had primarily been an exercise in studying Roman art found in Italy from the later Medieval period onwards. The ancient Romans had not been completely disinterested in Archaic Greek art – there was such a thing as Archaising Roman art, mostly inspired by the visual language of Greek art of the later 6th century BCE.[4] The amount produced and thus later encountered, however, during the rediscovery of the ancient world from the Renaissance onwards was insignificant compared to the amount of art made in the Classical and Hellenistic styles. Therefore, the Archaic style in Greek art was able to pass fairly unnoticed by those who wrote the standard works on the art of the ancient world in the 17th and 18th centuries. This monumental art was practically forgotten about and had to be rediscovered.

The first important single event in the journey of Archaic sculpture to re-enter the European sphere of art appreciation was the acquisition by the Crown Prince and later King Ludwig of Bavaria in 1813 of the sculptures from the Temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina found by Haller von Hallerstein and Charles R. Cockerell, among others in 1811.[5] The sculptures were famously restored by Bertel Thorvaldsen in Rome, and this – in combination with the fact that the sculptures represented the latest state of the Archaic style, well advanced in the development towards the much more easily appreciated early Classical style – meant that the sculptures were accepted and could be appreciated more easily than if they had been older and more properly of the Archaic style. Even though the Aeginetan sculptures showed prominent remnants of colour, which was acknowledged when they came out of the ground at the temple[6] and was meticulously described on a number of occasions when they entered the Glyptothek in Munich,[7] and even though the polychrome aspect of the Aeginetan sculptures has been properly communicated with scientific and popular reconstructions on further occasions with models during the 19th century BCE, the 20th century remained fairly silent on the matter until around the dawn of the 21st.[8]

The next and much more influential event was the find, in particular in the winter of 1885–1886, of Archaic sculpture, dozens of more or less well-preserved free-standing statues as well as sculpture from temple decoration, dating roughly to between 600 and 480 BCE. It was not until well into the 1880s that the term 'Archaic' was utilised and became the established term to categorise the amount of monumental as well as non-monumental art made prior to the Persian Wars of 480 BCE.[9] From then on, books were published in great numbers to describe and interpret this significant phase of ancient Greek art. At least four parameters were decisive in the Archaic style now having to be included in every tale of the basic trends of ancient art:

1) The provenance of the new finds was the most central and – through modern eyes – almost sacred of the entire ancient Greek world: the Athenian Acropolis. Being the central sanctuary of the most significant ancient Greek city state of them all, Athens, and furthermore being close to or perhaps even in the very heart of the new capital of the modern nation of Greece, this finding place was considered to be *the* place to uncover and cherish the Classical world. Everything found here was of the highest importance; every item excavated was treated as sacred treasure, even before the dirt had been removed from its surface and it could be evaluated more properly as a more or less valuable find.

2) The sculptures were ancient Greek originals. The world of classical reception had been accustomed to studying Roman copies of Greek originals and, moreover, plaster casts, etchings, drawings or photographs of those Roman copies, so essentially these are quite remote from the original forms and colours of ancient Greek sculpture. But here the real Archaic monumental art of the ancient Greeks was suddenly to be beheld and studied by anyone who was able to get close to them. The only difference to standing in front of the real artworks of the 6th century BCE was the occasional missing parts, such as heads, arms, legs and so on, and then, of course, large areas of the sculptures' polychromy.

3) The many examples of the mature Archaic style from the middle of the 6th century placed the style at the centre of attention. The Archaic style may be characterised by frontality and symmetry, but it also shows drama, vitality, a very vivid Archaic smile and stylised and strong details in the rendering of mouths, beards and eyes, all of which is seen in the poros sculpture[10] which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen ended up copying.[11]

4) The remnants of colour – long gone from the famous ancient statues known since the Renaissance – were very prominent and not to be argued with.

To sum up: Archaic sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis was big news in the late 19th century! The Greek nation decided to give a presentation of the coloured finds in a prominent place in the Greek

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Typhon
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
National Gallery
of Denmark
KAS 1380

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bull's Head
1904–1905
Plaster, painted
Odense City Museums
CNM/1984/1351

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
Odense City Museums
CNM/1984/1321

The sculptures copied by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen were of the so-called *Typhon* from the old Temple of Athena, two bull's heads from pediments probably also from the old Temple of Athena and, finally, a fragment of a snake from the pediment depicting Heracles and Triton.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bull's Head (Lioness above Bull)
1904–1905
Plaster, painted
National Gallery of Denmark
KAS 1381

pavilion at the World's Fair in Paris in 1889, in the form of photographs, drawings and 1:1 watercolours by Émile Gilliéron.[12] Everybody wanted to see and study these new finds. But how was this actually possible at the time? Surely only a restricted number of people in the years spanning 1880 to the First World War, including scholars, were able to afford a trip to Athens and visit the exhibition at the Acropolis itself and study the sculptures directly.[13] Therefore, the demand for reproductions in the round to use in museums and cast galleries, as well as the easier two-dimensional reproductions for both scholarly and popular literature, was eminent.

The reproduction industry, as everywhere else where there was a market for ancient art appreciation, was already an established business also in Athens at the time. The 19th-century Italian *formatore* (plaster-cast maker) N.F. Martinelli had been exercising his monopoly on the making of plaster casts of ancient sculpture until the year of his death, when the Greek state took over.[14] The Swiss craftsman Émile Gilliéron was making galvano-plastic copies of the stunning Mycenaen metal objects found, among other places, in the shaft graves of Mycenae,[15] as well as doing much documentation and reconstruction of ancient wall paintings and drawings of sculpture.[16] There were other agents in the field as well,[17] not least a group of Danish sculptors to whom we shall return below.

The Archaic sculpture made of poros from the Athenian Acropolis formed a special case when it came to the reproduction of copies or facsimiles. Poros is very fragile, more so than marble, which meant that there was a completely legitimate fear of causing damage to the surface, including the loss of polychromy, if plaster casts were made from moulds taken from these sculptures in the usual manner.[18] Mechanical copying was therefore not allowed, which meant that the many individuals and institutions around the world who were interested in these new discoveries had to make do either with observing the originals in Athens and imprinting the impression in their minds, or with black-and-white photographs and expensive reproductions of coloured drawings and etchings of wood-cuts in books.[19] There was a clear awareness among the Greek antiquities authorities and in the scholarly environment that many sculptures excavated from the Acropolis not only had colour remnants but also that these disappeared rapidly once the sculptures had been freed from the soil, by which they had been covered for almost 2,500 years.[20] The awareness of the fragility of the colour remnants and the fact that the driving forces behind the desire to produce reproductions to disseminate the knowledge of Archaic sculpture were mainly of importance outside of Greece itself meant that three-dimensional copies in the usual way were not made of the poros sculptures.

Èmile Gilliéron
Reproduction of the Winged Three-bodied Creature, commonly known as *Bluebeard*. Original work from the Greek Archaic period, second quarter of the 6th century BCE. Watercolour, graphite and crayon on paper.
Dodge Fund, 1919
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA
19.195.1

THE SPECIAL CHALLENGE OF COMMUNICATING THE POLYCHROMY OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE

At the time around 1900, the Archaic style in ancient Greek sculpture had become an established fact – the general view that ancient sculpture and architecture was originally brightly painted was also no longer a novelty among scholars and others well informed on ancient art. Polychromy had in fact been part of the birth certificate of scholarship on ancient art, through the central works of Stuart and Revett 1762 and of Winckelmann in 1764/1776.[21] There were, however, two major problems surrounding the polychromy which were, and remain, difficult to get around.[22]

As mentioned above, the problems were – and to a great extent still are for museums of ancient art around the world – firstly that the colour remnants had disappeared with great speed as soon as the sculptures in question had been extracted from the ground in the 1880s. This means that true-colour documentation of preserved remains would have to be done immediately after finds have been made. Secondly, the colour remnants – even when visible to the naked eye – only very seldom provided an immediately intelligible element of the sculpture in question. The sculptural three-dimensional form itself, however, is easy to take in and understand, the challenge here being to make up for damages and missing parts. Yet when sculptural form and surface polychromy are compared, the latter is generally far less preserved than the former. Attempts at colour reconstruction therefore contain much more interpretation and even guesswork than the reconstruction of the sculptural form, and it is therefore normally much more disputed than the latter, which itself already often causes considerable controversy.[23] Although it is a proper craft which requires certain instruments, materials and skills, the copying of the sculptural form in plaster is seen as a mainly mechanical procedure. The same can be said of the exact reproduction of the colour remnants visible on the surface of an ancient sculpture at a given moment. When it comes to reconstructing the traces of colour into a complete colour concept, a number of artistic decisions have to be made which are not necessarily based on science but on the trained eye and experience of an artist.[24]

The problem of disappearing colour remnants can be addressed in a practical way. Two relatively simple things can be done. First, state-of-the-art conservation must be applied as good as possible to the preserved remnants of colour. Secondly, the remains

should be documented by way of photographs and facsimiles. Conservation interventions are of course a must but have been a major concern only in recent times; in the 19th century and most of the 20th, not much was done in this respect.[25] Documentation was also carried out on a number of occasions during the 19th century, but not often and not well enough.[26]

However, already since the latter part of the 19th century, many museums with antiquities had plaster casts with the repetition of the colour remnants found corresponding to the level of preservation on the original, either at the time it was found or at the time it was copied (which is often not the same), and/or plaster casts with reconstructions of the colouring based on the remnants found but supplied with assumptions of how all details of the sculptures in question had been coloured.[27] Since then, it has been usual practise in cast galleries as well as in many museums with ancient sculpture to show one or a small selection of casts with traces of colour to satisfy the need to communicate the issue of polychromy.[28] This tendency has become even stronger over the past decades, when the study of polychromy saw a veritable renaissance spearheaded by the studies on the Aeginetans of Vinzenz Brinkmann in the 1990s, published in 2003.[29] However, in many exhibitions of and museums with ancient sculpture, the polychromy issue is still not being addressed as properly as it deserves. The core of the matter is that since we cannot repaint the thousands of marble statues in our museums and cast collections, they keep communicating the in essence erroneous image of ancient sculpture being white or grey-brown as patinated plaster and marble.

THE CONTRIBUTION BY ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN

With her copies of some of the most important finds of Archaic sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen tried to address the combined challenge of reproducing the sculptural form and of documenting the colour remnants. In addition, she also made reconstructions of some of the sculptures she copied. She simply bypassed the casting part of the process in that she modelled 1:1 copies of the originals in clay, extremely meticulously, made plaster casts of these copies and subsequently coloured them while standing next to the original (pp. 22-23). This was a method which, strictly speaking, was not entirely scientific in that it did not utilise the mechanical reproduction technique which ensured a minute transfer of the entire actual three-dimensional shape with all its details. But if the modelling was done with enough care, this shortcoming was not of great significance. Today the obvious choice of method would be that of scanning or photogrammetry (which can also copy the colour remnants), with no detrimental consequence to the surface of the original, and allowing the actual reproduction to be carried out by 3D-printing. The method of modelling by hand in clay represents what was possible at the time, and the solution, in addition, conveniently dissolved copyright issues which otherwise pertain to the mechanical reproduction of plaster casts. The artist who copied a sculptural artwork in this way, by modelling it up as an individual artwork, actually produced a new independent original artwork; copyright issues with the owner of the Greek original artworks, the Acropolis Museum, simply did not apply.[30]

The sculptures copied by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen were of the so-called *Typhon* from the old Temple of Athena, two bull's heads from pediments probably also from the old Temple of Athena and, finally, a fragment of a snake from the pediment depicting Heracles and Triton.[31] The sculptures are listed in Table 1, which also shows the number of copies or editions which, to our knowledge, were ever made by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen from the moulds, to whom they were sold and where they are kept today.

THE DANISH CONNECTION

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was not, however, the only Danish artist to copy sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis and sell the copies as versions in coloured plaster. And she was not the first. One young artist, Ingrid Kjær (1870–1948), had already ventured on such an enterprise in 1899 and finished the actual work in 1901–1902.[32] She modelled a copy of the so-called Acropolis Kore inv. no. 674 and of a male head, the so-called Blonde Ephebe, Acr. Mus. inv. no. 689.[33] It is clear that Ingrid Kjær was the pioneer in this business and that she was successful. A sales announcement from 1902 in the German archaeological periodical *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, an international periodical read by the entire establishment of Classical Archaeology and ancient studies in Europe and the Americas at the time, presents the two sculptures and, apparently,[34] she was able to sell as many as 23 pieces over the following years.[35] A number of these are mentioned in the scholarly literature, whereas others have been tracked down in connection with preparations for this exhibition in museums around Europe (Denmark,[36] France,[37] Germany[38] and Switzerland[39]) and Russia (Moscow[40]). The destiny of the rest as well as of a number apparently sold to North American museums[41] is at present unknown. Kjær documented the state of the colours at the time of copying, 1901–1902, and chose to ignore documentation of colours accessible in earlier watercolour reproductions done by É. Gilliéron.[42] Two further young Danish artists, Jean Gauguin, a son of the

Ingrid Kjær modelling
a kore at the Acropolis
Museum. 1901

One of the twenty-two
sold copies of *Acropolis
kore no. 674* by Ingrid
Kjær 1902
Plaster, painted
Musée des Moulages
Université Lumiére Lyon 2
L133

Ingrid Kjær
The Blond Ephebe
(Acr. 689)
1903–1911
Plaster, painted
Musée des Moulages
Université Lumiére Lyon 2
L124

Niels Skovgaard
Acropolis kore no. 675
1888
Oil on canvas
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
MIN 1925

Niels Skovgaard
Acropolis kore no. 682
1888
Oil on canvas
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
MIN 1926

famous painter Paul Gauguin, and Paul Wilhelm (Willie) Wulff, also made copies of sculpture from Athens before 1905.[43] The degree of their success is unclear, although we know of at least one sold copy by Wulff, the Acropolis Kore no. 684, in the collection of the University of Lyon 2.[44] We know of no extant editions of Gauguin's original copy.

The Athenian activities by Gauguin and Wulff were contemporary to those of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, so in terms of the inspiration of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to embark on this huge undertaking we should perhaps look towards Niels Skovgaard and, not least, Ingrid Kjær, who was in fact Carl-Nielsen's pupil. Kjær had relations in Greece and, during sojourns there, decided to copy the above-mentioned sculptures. It may have been Kjær's relations to classical archaeologists – she married the polychromy scholar Wilhelm Lermann in 1903 – which opened her eyes to the market potential.[45] It should also be held for certain that both Ingrid Kjær and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen knew the learned Danish publication by Jørgensen (1888) which in effect explicitly spelt out the need for such coloured copies (see note 19). Many details of the work and considerations of Ingrid Kjær are known through correspondence between her and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen,[46] but this interesting part of this story has been told in detail in previous research, so we shall not occupy ourselves with that here.[47] From the correspondence it is clear, however, that Kjær already had the intention to copy the *Typhon*, but why she failed to begin on this much greater and complicated task we do not know for certain. Perhaps the job was too difficult for her or maybe she gave it up because she changed priorities in her life. Certain is only that Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen carried on where Kjær had stopped and saw the task through. The letters exchanged between Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and Carl Nielsen in the period 1903–1905 represent ample evidence for the fact that modelling a copy of the *Typhon*, producing a number of casts with paint that subsequently documented the remnants on the original and promoting their sale constituted a very substantial undertaking.

THE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN'S WORK

The impact of the work of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was much greater than that of Ingrid Kjær, and others for that matter, for a number of reasons. The Acropolis Museum had approved of the mechanical copying of most of the sculptures that had been found on the Acropolis in the form of regular plaster casts from 1893. They pertained first of all to the majority of the sculptures in marble, also to those with extensive polychromy remains. As a consequence the (marble) sculptures which Ingrid Kjær and Willie Wulff had copied were among the ones which could now be purchased in monochrome plaster versions. Many scholars would rather have the mechanical copies because of the exactitude with which they passed on the sculptural properties of the originals[48] than ones which were freely copied, even when they in addition provided the documentation of the traces of colour. The colours of Kjær's and Wulff's Korai 674 and 684 comprised, of course, aspects which the grey-white casts did not convey, but, again, many had the attitude that the present state of the original in the museum was an uninteresting condition, which, first of all, was very remote from the original state of the statues' polychromy and in any event was the interpretation of an artist. The traditional plaster cast was seen as a more neutral documentary copy and, clearly of significance for many customers, it was much cheaper than the modelled and coloured copies done by artists.[49] Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copies also had a greater impact from the start and kept their attraction longer because the nature of the older Archaic style from ca. 550 BCE, in which the *Typhon* and the other fragments had been made, *was* very appealing to the archaeological establishment at the time. Finally, and significantly, there was in fact no alternative to her works, and this situation indeed still largely applies. The Acropolis Museum has never allowed traditional plaster casts to be made from the poros sculptures;[50] only in recent years could the small snake, Acr. Mus. inv. 41, be purchased from museums shops in Greek museums.[51] Monochrome casts of the Acropolis poros sculptures – if encountered in cast collections and university collections around the world – have other origins than proper cast workshops in Athens.[52]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen also went a step further than simply documenting the state of the sculptures at the time when she worked with them: she attempted veritable reconstructions of some of the fragments. For this latter action she must have been inspired by descriptions of the finds (we remember that this was an era with no colour photographs) right after they had been made. Here several sources speak of bright and clear blue, green and red colours.[53] The only alternative to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copies were two-dimensional drawings, primarily the ones by É. Gilliéron.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Typhon/Wing
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
Odense City Museums
CNM/1984/1319

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen clearly was recognised for her work by some of the most significant scholars on ancient art at the time. The explicit proof for this, however, is lacking in academic literature and is simply deduced indirectly from the success of her sales and the attention she is given in various situations documented through her own letters. Her Athenian original copies are barely referred to at all in contemporary learned literature.[54] The lack of reference may have to do with occasional academic snobbism rather than disagreement with the documentary or reconstruction works of the Danish artist. I believe, however, that we have to look elsewhere for the reason for the lack of explicit reference to her work. Rather, it has first of all to do with the challenging circumstance already commented on and which always applies to ancient polychromy on sculpture: the large degree of uncertainty and controversy surrounding the mostly unimpressive traces of colour we find on ancient sculpture. When identified at all, the colour remnants found on a typical ancient sculpture are very insignificant compared to the amount of sculpture surface with no remnants. This of course means that there is great potential for diverging opinions as to how the parts with no remnants were in fact coloured. The silence too in the literature about the way Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen documented the traces visible at the time, in 1903–1905, is a sign that controversy and disagreement existed here as well. Diverging opinions can only be learnt from her own letters, in which she names scholars who approve of her choice of colours for reconstructions and scholars who do not.[55] This situation of course does not permit either any detailed discussion, nor is the artist herself a trustworthy source in this discussion.

In any event, we have to ask if the ignorance of her work in scholarly literature does not contrast greatly with the works actually sold by her to the same scholars.[56] She clearly had close connections to a number of influential people of the art scene at the time,[57] and her work was highly recognised by most.[58] We are probably to conclude that her copies were seen as tools to aid teaching and discussion in the museums and institutions that bought them, rather than statements in themselves which demanded explicit reaction in learned academic writing. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen says that she had the colours analysed in order to reach a sort of scientific justification for her choice of colours for the reconstructions; she claims to have been using 'the same colours as the ancients.'[59] She did not, however, publish these findings, and although she explicitly says she consulted a chemist, it is unknown if by 'the same' she means chemically or if she merely hints at the colour effect. Had she accompanied her reconstructions with an academic publication, her works certainly would have reached proper academic recognition and her sales would most probably have been much better. She has explicitly said that she avoided writing about her work, mainly because she was no archaeologist.[60] She followed other routes to promote her work, for example a presentation in front of the originals and a selection of copies in the Acropolis Museum for the directors of the foreign schools of archaeology in Athens in May 1905.[61] But, again, I believe that much silence about her work in scholarly literature has to do with the challenges facing all attempts at reconstruction in the world of scholarship: no one can argue with the existence of bright colours on the poros sculptures. When it comes to determining how the original colours had exactly looked, however, on each and every little bit of surface of the individual sculptures we are very soon in deep water and disagreement prevails.

THE BLUEBEARD CONTROVERSY

The only explicit recognition Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen receives in the scholarly literature in connection with her original models concerns the dispute about the proper mounting of the right-most head of the *Typhon*, also known as *Bluebeard*. In a published lecture from 1905,[62] the famous German archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler reviews the 1904 monograph on the poros sculptures by his colleagues Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader and explicitly mentions Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's doing in the matter. Apparently, at the time she began her work in 1903, the head was turned more to the left (head's proper right, more in the direction of the two other heads). She was able to convince the conservator of the Acropolis Museum to turn the head more towards the viewer, the angle it has occupied since it appeared in the original group in Athens. This is also how the head is shown in the painted cast shown in this exhibition. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's role in the matter is documented in letters of hers and in a newspaper interview.[63] She became upset when she realised that Wiegand commented on the turn of the head in the 1904 publication[64] but without crediting her explicitly for the discovery.[65] Instead he credits Gilliéron with having suggested this position in a 1:1 watercolour dating to before the time Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen began her work.[66] The facts of the matter are rather confusing and not entirely clear.[67] In the interview published in the daily Danish newspaper *Politiken* on 1 January 1907 (note 63), moreover, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen seems to claim the association as such of the head with the rest of the *Typhon* group as her doing, and not just the way the head should be mounted on the headless right-most body of the *Typhon*. In drawings dating back to at least 1889, more than ten years before Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen even started her work, however, the head was shown mounted within the group in a position which was perhaps not correct and which she had later rectified. The association itself with head and torso, however, cannot be said to have been her doing.[68] What seems to have been the case rather is that various views on the fitting together of the fragments of the *Typhon* were already in play shortly after the group had been found in 1888, and when the

She simply bypassed the casting part of the process in that she modelled 1:1 copies of the originals in clay, extremely meticulously, made plaster casts of these copies and subsequently coloured them while standing next to the original.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
Black-and-white photograph of plaster cast of modelled copy of *Bluebeard* (head) made in the autumn of 1914 and sold to the Albertinum in Dresden in 1915. The head was probably destroyed in the Second World War, but a mould survived and casts were sold by Dresden from the 1950s onwards.

group was mounted in the museum, a choice was made between several different solutions. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's contribution may simply have been to convince the museum to change the way the head was mounted on the right-most torso of the *Typhon* to a way which corresponded better to a number of details which could be observed on the head and the torso. This solution was not necessarily introduced for the first time.[69]

DISSEMINATION OF THE POROS COPIES BY ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN

The actual documentation for the sale and distribution of the painted copies in the years following the Athens period in 1903–1905 is of a varied nature (see appendix pp. 176-77). An important source is letters between Anne Marie and Carl during the periods when she was in Athens and he back in Copenhagen. This was the time when she was trying to promote her work, and the letters were the reason why the details surrounding this promotion eventually came to exist in writing. Otherwise we would have been much more in the dark about what she actually produced in Athens and where her art ended up. Further, she had a reason to mention each and every success explicitly to Carl, because his agenda was that she should return and live with him and their three children in Copenhagen instead of modelling and casting in Athens. Every sold copy was a success they needed, because Carl's financial situation at the time was fragile. Anne Marie therefore did not spare to mention every time she had sold a new copy. In his letters we notice a clear increasing desperation for her return, and he eventually even ended their marriage from a distance, by letter, and she had to interrupt her work on the Acropolis – only to return to Greece again less than two months later when matters had again normalised between the two. Some letters are certainly missing from the correspondence, but themes are often commented on and repeated in other letters, so although the possibility cannot be excluded entirely that further commissions spanning the period 1903–1905 actually happened, which we are not aware of because they do not appear in the correspondence, I hold it for unlikely that there were additional commisions. Sales dating to the period after the return of Anne Marie in 1905 are more difficult to track because the couple would not be generating numerous letters between them as they would now be communicating directly and orally. We know of one such later commission, the very important one by Georg Treu to the Albertinum in Dresden, which pops up in the correspondence of the couple, precisely again in letters because it is a time when they are away from each other.

A number of the casts which Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen produced and sold still exist, so we are able to study and judge her work today. And, luckily, both the documentary and the reconstruction types exist. The ones from The Royal Cast Collection in Copenhagen and the one from the Archaeological Museum in Erlangen – both on display in the present exhibition – are examples of these two categories (see appendix pp. 176-77). Others have disappeared but are attested to by documentation in images in catalogues from the collections in which they once existed; others are documented through letters and contemporary descriptions of exhibitions in which they once took part (see appendix pp. 176-77).

ART REPLICATION IN GREECE AROUND 1900 AND BEYOND

The second half of the 19th century was an important period for the reproduction of art and crafts and of its distribution. The photograph was invented around 1820 and had a slow start but by the 1880s was storming ahead. Plaster casts represented a much older medium (and technique), but the amount and scope of collections of casts was as large as ever in the decades just before 1900.

In Greece the situation was not entirely identical to that of the empires, kingdoms and republics of Europe. The fascination with Classical Antiquity was steaming ahead, of course, but the King of Greece together with the rest of the establishment of the young state of modern Greece was occupied with excavating major archaeological sites – aided by the big nations of Europe, primarily France and Germany – and then with supporting huge events and setting others in motion which celebrated the Classical heritage of modern Greece.[70] The production and distribution of copies and facsimiles was a concern especially of agents in all the other European nations. Greece itself largely was in possession of the originals in its own museums, and Greek scholars were mainly occupied with studying those. The study of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture was then much more an occupation of the nations of, for example, England, France, Germany and Denmark than of Greece.

Even though there was intensive collaboration between Greece and several nations, embodied in the foreign institutes of archaeology established in Athens, there is no doubt that the Greek archaeological authorities tried to gain and maintain control of the making of copies of the ancient sculpture in its museums – in which it also succeeded (see above, p. 167 note 14). Then why did it suddenly happen that one Danish artist after the other got permission to copy sculptures from the Acropolis Museum and the National Museum? The work interrupted the exhibition space for many months; it was dirty and must also have caused some risk to the well-being of the originals.[71] No Greek artists, apparently, embarked on such work and apparently no foreigners other than the Danes. The explanation may lie in the fact that the king, George I, was a Danish prince by birth, and the simple fact that he supported Danish artists may have been enough for all necessary doors to open for them.[72] In a letter to her husband, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen relates how all Greek newspapers mentioned that she obtained permission to copy one of the poros bull's heads, in addition to the copies she was already doing, and that it was the talk of the town.[73] In another letter she relates how she contacted the king in the hope that he might interfere and extend the amount of hours daily she was allowed to work at the Acropolis.[74] The previously mentioned Émile Gilliéron, who was a Swiss national educated in France and Germany, also had a good connection to the king, giving art classes to the king's family and being, among many other things, in charge of the commemorative stamps printed for the 1896 Olympics.[75]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's original copies of the poros sculptures represent a great achievement in modelling skills and thoroughness in the study of all important aspects of the sculptures, including their polychromy. Today, her original copies still convey the artistic powers of the original Archaic sculptures of the 550s BCE. It is due to the uncertainties in scholarship towards the detailed aspects of polychromy as well as towards the fact that her copies were modelled and therefore actually new works in themselves that has been responsible for the restricted success of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's reproductions when calculated from the sheer numbers sold. The reservation or inherent controversy surrounding the aspects of the polychromy is certain, whereas the reservation due to the fact that the sculptures were copied by modelling is something which is not mentioned at all in the sources but which this author believes may have played a role all the same. The Athenian enterprise was, however, a success measured by the sales that were actually generated. And, on the whole, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was indeed successful, from the very beginning of the 20th century onwards, and even more so with her own works, primarily her naturalistic small-scale animal sculptures. She advertised and promoted the Acropolis copies to a great extent to the same customers as the animal figures – the one theme could be used as an excuse to communicate with a customer and then the other could be introduced. This was particularly true of the German market.[76]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was not the first Danish artist to exploit a market which required exactly the skills an artist educated in sculpture in the classical academic way possessed. But, since she found in the poros fragments both myth and animal motifs, which she particularly enjoyed copying, she perhaps therefore was in the best position to carry out the task, and finally she had the power and persistence to keep up the momentum and stay with the job until the end, despite all the challenges and difficulties she met on the way during the many months she worked on the project.

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
Black-and-white photograph of plaster cast of modelled copy of *Bluebeard* (head) made in the autumn of 1914 and sold to the Albertinum in Dresden in 1915. The head was probably destroyed in the Second World War, but a mould survived and casts were sold by Dresden from the 1950s onwards.

NOTES

The fascinating story about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's production of copies of Archaic sculpture in Greece from 1903–1905 has been brilliantly told thrice in Danish, in Houby-Nielsen 2000, Hanne Pedersen 2012 and Christiansen 2013. The present contribution is the first in English.

1 From letters and diaries, the following travel schedule can be deduced: she arrived with her husband in Athens in January of 1903, began working on the copies in March, returned to Denmark in October 1903 and completed a second sojourn from 15 November 1904 to early June 1905, with an interruption in April 1905, when she was in Denmark (to save her marriage). Letters between her and Carl Nielsen (Fellow (ed.) 2006).

2 Frederiksen and Marchand 2010, 8.

3 And more so in the latter decades of the 19th century, not least under the influence of the Danish art historian Julius Lange. See e.g. Lermann 1907, iii; preface by A. Furtwängler to Lange 1899.

4 To determine what is in fact Roman Archaistic is in some cases a most difficult task; Ridgway 1977, 304.

5 Furtwängler 1906, 10–21; Ohly 1976, xi.

6 Wünsche 2011, 223.

7 The polychromy of the Aeginetan sculptures is described and discussed at great length first by Wagner 1817, 209–228, and then again in great detail by Furtwängler 1906, 300–308; Ohly 1976, *passim*; Schildt 1895, 24.

8 With the studies by Vinzenz Brinkmann with his principal publication in 2003 followed by a number of further studies and exhibitions. For the history of the research on the polychromy of the Aeginetan sculptures, see Wünsche 2011, 223–261.

9 Ridgway 1977, 3.

10 *Poros* is an ancient Greek word for limestone, which has been taken up in modern times and used for soft, porous limestone such as the one used on the Acropolis of Athens.

11 'Copying' is the correct term in so far as this was the intention of the artist. Other terms that capture other aspects of such activity would be 'replicating' or 'reproducing'.

12 Kader 2003, 248.

13 Since 2009, the finds from the Acropolis of Athens have been exhibited in the topmodern museum built in the Makriyanni neighbourhood on the south side of the Acropolis, designed by Bernard Tschumi and Michalis Photiadis.

14 One example is the advertisement in the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* from 1903, 125–127, where 123 sculptures from the Acropolis Museum as well as of other museums in Greece were put on offer.

15 Produced in a workshop in Geislingen in Germany; Mitsopoulou and Polychronopoulou 2019, 725.

16 Émile Gilliéron (*père*) and his son Émile Gilliéron (*fils*, 1885–1939) formed a veritable reconstruction and replication dynasty in Greece in the period 1877–1939. See Mitsopoulou and Polychronopoulou 2019, 725–729. When reference is made to a Gilliéron in the text, the senior Émile is meant, not the son.

17 Another good but much later example is the draughtsman Piet de Jong (1887–1967), who worked for Sir Arthur Evans in Crete as well as for many other projects in Greece and other countries around the Mediterranean during the 20th century. See e.g. Papadopoulos 2007.

18 Making a mould of a sculpture is a most concrete physical action entailing potential damage to the material integrity of the sculpture being copied. The surface of the sculpture is covered in a layer of Vaseline or a similar substance, in order to enable the parts of the mould to come off the surface of the original in a way which enables the reuse of the mould. This inevitably interferes with the surface and leads to discolouring. Further, the surface may also experience mechanical damage when the material for the mould (plaster, resin and, in modern times, silicon) is applied and also removed again.

19 This situation is explicitly spelt out by Jørgensen in the introduction to his short but interesting dissertation on Archaic art (Jørgensen 1888, 4): 'Da de fundne archaiske Figurer paa Grund af de paa dem levnede Farver ikke blive formede til Afstøbning, saa at Studiet af Figurerne og dermed den archaiske græske Kunst for Fremtiden stærkt vil være bundet til Grækenlands Hovedstad og følgelig tilgængelig for færre, ville måske de efterfølgende Studier, der ere gjorte foran Originalerne, have nogen værdi, selv om nye heldige Fund skulde udvide og berigtige vor Kundskab i mange Maader.' The tone of this 130-year old written Danish is here translated into plain modern English: Since the preserved colour on the excavated figures prevents casting, the study of the figures and therefore Archaic art as such in the future is bound to the capital of Greece and thus accessible for fewer people. Therefore, perhaps, the present studies, made in front of the originals, may represent a value in this respect, even if new fortunate future finds may expand and enrich our knowledge in many ways (author's translation).

20 E.g. Lechat 1903, 245 note 2; Gardner 1907, 207; Dickins 1912, 80; Schrader 1939, viii.

21 Stuart and Revett 1792, 11. In the second edition of *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* from 1776, Winckelmann describes polychromy as something integral to ancient sculpture (Borbein et al. 2002, 553; Primavesi 2012, 50). The earliest reference to polychromy in the post-antique scholarly literature is François de Jong in 1637 (Henke 2020, 27–28).

22 For a recent treatment on the matter, see Hedegaard and Brøns 2020.

23 On the fierce discussions following the painted plaster casts of the Parthenon Frieze exhibited in Crystal Palace from 1854 onwards, see Nichols 2015, 103–104. The wide-held sceptical view on the reconstruction of missing form and not least colour is summed up by Botho Gräf in his inaugural speech on the opening of the Archaeological Museum of the University of Jena on 17 November 1907, beautifully referred to by Kader 2003, 245.

24 Many scholars at the time put it more radically, thus Schrader in the preface of his 1913 publication of a selection of Archaic sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis (preface, x): 'Ihre ursprüngliche Wirkung anders als in der Phantasie zu rekonstruieren fehlen uns leider die Mittel: jede farbige Wiederherstellung, sei es an Marmorkopien, sei es auf dem Papier wird notwendig viel willkürliches enthalten, da sie nicht in allen Teilen auf unmittelbarer Anschauung fussen kann, wichtige Einzelheiten, z. B. die Art der Tönung der farblos gebliebenen Flächen durch die γάνοσις, die Wachstränkung, uns unbekannt sind.' Translation: We unfortunately lack the means to reconstruct their original effect other than in the imagination: any colour recreation, whether on marble copies, whether on paper, will necessarily contain much that is indiscriminate, for not all parts can be based on direct viewing; important elements, e.g. the kind of shading of the colourless surfaces left by dint of γάνοσις, wax impregnation, are unknown to us. Schrader put a beautiful watercolour drawing of Kore Acr. no. 670 made by the Danish artist Marie Henriques (1866–1944) on the frontispiece of his book, underlining the fact: 'Die Absicht der Künstlerin war, die heutige farbige Gesamterscheinung festzuhalten, welsche naturgemäß zum großen Teil durch zufällige Einflüsse, die Patina des Marmors, die Veränderung der teils verblaßten und geschwundenen, teils oxydierten Farben, endlich die Beleuchtung und die zufälligen Reflexe bestimmt wird.' Translation: The artist's intention was to capture the present-day overall appearance of the colour, which by nature is largely determined by aleatory influences, the patina of the marble, the change in the partly faded and diminished, partly oxidised colours, ultimately the lighting and the incidental reflections.

25 E.g. Kader 2003, 246, on the Aeginetan sculptures in Munich.

26 Lermann 1907, viii.

27 A quick survey of exhibition guides from museums around the world from the time around 1900 attests to this fact: in the 1909 exhibition guide to the Cast Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Gardner 1909), polychromy is described as a matter of course in the introduction and it is explained that only two casts of stone artworks have been supplied with colour to imitate the (then present) state of the originals, whereas all the casts of sculptures in bronze had been given a patina to imitate the (then present) state of the originals.

28 E.g. Archaeological Collection of the University of Vienna, an Acropolis Kore (Wolf 1994, 5); The Royal Cast Collection, Copenhagen, Mithridates VI of Pontos, inv. KAS 977.1; Acropolis Museum, Athens (many, mostly partial, reconstructions).

29 Brinkmann 2003.

30 This copyright had to be protected in a very concrete way. There was some concern that casts might be taken of Anne Marie's works using her moulds while she was away from Athens, wherefore she had them sealed (see note 72). Concern about the loyalty of her plasterer 'Budda', who did the casting for her on the premises of the French School in Athens, is mentioned by Carl Nielsen in at least one letter to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (28 November 1904). The 'Budda' of the Nielsen couple's letters must be Giorgios Bouda, known from other plaster-cast activities at the time. See Kader 2003, 250.

31 *Typhon* group from pediment (IV): Acr. 35; bull's head from pediment 'Lion Group VII': Acr. 3; bull's head from pedimental 'Lion Group VIII': Acr. 4; snake from the *Typhon* group (IV): Acr. 41. Brouskari 1974, 28, 33–34, 39–40, 46–47; Heberdey 1919, 46–75, 77–87, 87–100. For a brief presentation of the sculptures and the difficulties with their association with known buildings on the Athenian Acropolis, see Stewart 1990, 114 (with refs.) figs. 69–72 and 74.

32 This was the time she obtained permission by the Archaeological Society. See Rasmussen 2019, 185 note 26. For a short description in Danish of Kjær's enterprise in Athens, see Pedersen 2012, 58–59.

33 Acr. Mus. inv. 674 and 689 respectively. The kore was done as early as 1901 (signature on plinth).

34 Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 1902. *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 134.

35 Ketting 2001, 172; Pedersen 2012, 58.

36 The Blonde Ephebe: The Royal Cast Collection of The National Gallery of Denmark, KAS 1282; Ribe Katedralskole (Grammar School), unknown inventory number, see Rasmussen 2019, 185 note 27. The suggestion by Rasmussen that this head was indeed done by Kjær has now been proven (sales announcement in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (see note 34 and note 37–39 below)).

37 Lyon, inv. nos L124 (Blonde Ephebe Acr. Mus. inv. 689) and L133 (kore, Acr. Mus. inv. 674). Personal communication of Sarah Betite, the Cast Collection at the University of Lyon 2.

38 Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Inv. 1348 (Himmelmann et al. 1981, 104 [Kore 674]); Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Georg-August-Universität, no. A38. Fittschen 1990, 37 (Acr. Mus. inv. 674), http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/mmdb/k (accessed 30 March 2021); Halle A 32. Löhr 2019, 93.

39 Basel, Skulpturhalle Basel, no. SH 57, Antikenmuseum Basel 1983, 5, and personal communication of Tomas Lochman (Antikenmuseum, Basel); Zürich, Archaeological Collection of the University of Zürich, Zindel 1998, 56 no. 406 (Akr. Kore 674).

40 Kader 2003, 249.

41 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen letter to Carl Nielsen, 4 March 1905.

42 Kader 2003, 253.

43 Gauguin advertised a coloured cast of a bronze head of a philosopher from the Antikythera shipwreck in the National Museum in Athens (Inv. Br 13,400) and Willie Wulff a coloured copy of the Acropolis Kore no. 684. Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, *Archaeologicher Anzeiger* 1905, 181.

44 Lyon, inv. no. L134 (Acr. Mus. inv. 684). Personal communication of Sarah Betite, the Cast Collection at the University of Lyon 2. Henri Lechat, who was a professor in Lyon, as well as director of the Cast Collection at Lyon (1898–1925), must have been the one who purchased the sculpture as well as the ones mentioned in note 33. He was himself a Classical scholar with ancient polychromy as one of his fields of study, and he was the one who signed the sales advertisement of the announcement of Kjær's casts in the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* of the Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, 1902 (p. 134).

45 They met during his sojourn in Greece 1901–1902. Lermann published a comprehensive book in 1907 on Archaic Greek sculpture and its polychromy (Lermann 1907).

46 Kept in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (the letters, on the contrary, do not seem to have been preserved).

47 Ketting 2001, 169–173; Grimley 2011, 65.

48 Kader 2003, 250.

49 Ingrid Kjær's price for the painted copy of Kore no. 674 was 800 French gold francs (*Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1902, 134), which is roughly equivalent to some 4,365 euros in 2019 value. One hundred and twelve casts are offered from the workshop of the National Museum in Athens, advertised in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1895, 227–231, where many statues are offered at the price of 25–50 French gold francs.

50 The origin of a coloured plaster cast of a poros group depicting the introduction of Heracles to Mount Olympus in Versailles in France is unfortunately unknown. See Kader 2003, 250.

51 Produced by the TAP (Archaeological Resources Fund). The snake appears in a sales catalogues from 2003 (Zafiropoulou 2003, no. 23) for the price of 90 euros.

52 An unpainted cast of *Bluebeard* in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn (Himmelmann et al. 1981, 154 no. 2041) apparently has its origin in Dresden. Here a painted head purchased by G. Treu from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in 1915 was cast sometime after the First Word War and sold under the inventory number 75 (Z.V. 3277) for 30 East German marks (price list accompanying the catalogue Rudloff-Hille 1953). I am grateful to Dr Saskia Wetzig of the Albertinum for useful information arising from the communication about these matters.

53 Brownson 1893, 41; Lermann 1907, vii–ix; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 79.

54 In the highly insightful study on the polychromy of Archaic Greek sculpture by Lermann (1907), the works of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen are not mentioned. But neither are those of Lermann's wife, the aforementioned Ingrid Kjær, although she is thanked for having assisted Lermann in documenting his observations of colour on Archaic statues (Lermann 1907, ix). Henri Lechat also completely ignores the work by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in his book on Archaic sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis (1903) – and he even has a chapter on the polychromy of the poros sculptures (244–252). The same is true for Lechat 1904, chapter 4.

55 E.g. letter to Carl Nielsen, 8 June 1905, written from Rome, where she sums up the matter thus: W. Dörpfeld, É. Gilliéron and T. Homolle do not like her colours, whereas H. Schrader, E. Curtius, A. Furtwängler and G. Treu love them (her words).

56 For example Henri Lechat of Lyon.

57 It was the ever-busy W. Dörpfeld, director of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, who helped Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with the shipment from Athens to Copenhagen of 16 boxes, containing moulds, tools and so forth. Letter to Carl Nielsen, 4 June 1905.

58 She refers to business meetings as well as social interaction with key agents in the scholarly environment in Athens when she is there, and she utilises trips to and from Denmark to cultivate connections in Germany, France and Italy. Two casts in Odense City Museums today – Dancing Maenad, inv. no. CNM/1984/1318, and the head of the statue of Apollo from the West Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, inv. no. CNM/1984/1338 – were probably gifts from G. Treu. The Maenad is in the Dresden collection (Z.V. 3279), of which Treu was the director at the time, and he was responsible for the casts the Germans made from the Olympia sculptures. It was and is common for artists to build up collections of art, above all to have a private source of inspiration. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen did not have a large collection, and that two casts have a link to Dresden would suggest that they derive from this connection which existed for a number of years.

59 Letters to Carl Nielsen, 9 and 14 May 1905.

60 And because she was, in her own words, 'too lazy' (interview in *Politiken*, 1 January 1907).

61 The American, French and German directors. This was almost all there were at the time. Most of the 18 foreign institutes and schools of archaeology in Athens today were founded after the First World War. The presentation is referred to in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 20 May 1905.

62 Furtwängler 1905, 433–466.

63 Letter from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, 14 November 1904, containing a detailed and long explanation of the whole matter; letter from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, 16 November 1904; interview in the Danish paper *Politiken*, 1 January 1907, p. 5.

64 Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 80.

65 Letter from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, 14 November 1904.

66 The preface of Wiegand and Schrader 1904 was written at Christmas 1902, and here it is indicated that Gilliéron's drawings date to 1901 or earlier.

67 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, Schrader and Schrader's wife did enjoy the company of one another on a number of occasions in Athens, and Schrader even intended to organise an exhibition with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copies in the German Archaeological Institute at Athens in 1905, in connection with the first international Congress on Archaeology in Athens (letter Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, 5 March 1905). It was apparently nothing else than Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's own early departure from Athens that prevented this from happening.

68 A drawing and watercolour of the *Typhon* from the hands of the able Émile Gilliéron dated to 1888 or 1889 shows the right-most head in its correct place (perhaps not entirely at the correct angle); Mertens 2019, fig. 17, and again in a drawing and watercolour by an unknown artist published in Brownson 1893, pl. I (paper signed in 1891).

69 There was also disagreement about the precise location of a fragment depicting a bird's wing and part of the right arm of the left-most of the three bearded bodies, and here Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was in agreement with the mounting in the museum and with Wiegand and Schrader, whereas Furtwängler argues for a more elevated placement of the fragment (Furtwängler 1905, 433–435).

70 Examples of the former include the international conference on archaeology held in 1904, and of the latter the most important is perhaps the reinvigoration of the Olympic Games, which were held for the first time (under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee) in Athens in 1896.

71 This is apparent from the amount of time the artists spent in front of the originals and from photographs taken of their work. See p. 165.

72 The correspondence of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is full of evidence of a fairly close relationship with George I. A dinner was organised by the king in the Hotel Grande Bretagne on the occasion of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and Carl Nielsen's visit, and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen got help from Otto Weismann, the manager of the summer residence of the king, Tattoï, to seal and look after her moulds when she had interrupted her work and travelled to Denmark between 1903 and 1904. A visit by the king and his sister, Queen Alexandra of Great Britain, also attests to such interaction. Letter from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, 9 May 1905.

73 14 January 1905.

74 Letter to Carl Nielsen, 19 December 1904.

75 Mertens 2019, 6. The king was not Bavarian, as claimed here, but Danish (George I, 1863–1913) . The Baviarian Otto (1832–1862) was the king who preceded George.

76 See Bierlich in this volume, 53ff.

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APPENDIX

Overview of the number and distribution of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's sculptural facsimiles from the Acropolis of Athens.

The copies in question feature the remnants of paint as observed on the originals unless otherwise stated.

STATEMENT ON TOTAL AMOUNT OF COPIES MADE

Interestingly, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen tells Carl Jacobsen in a letter (27 January 1905), in which she offers him a copy of the poros sculptures, that she is only making two to three copies in total, a fact that was supposed to enhance the value for Jacobsen. Eventually she completed at least four copies of the *Typhon*, of which two ended up in her own private collection/the family collection (Telmányi). A number of unpainted copies were cast and distributed. One, in the Royal Academy of Art in Copenhagen (KG 216), is believed to have originated with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (for the head, see Kjermann et al. 2004, 334); the origin of another (Bonn) can be traced to Dresden (see below).

From reading through letters exchanged between Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, the price for the *Typhon* was 3,000 French gold francs (roughly 16,368 euros in 2019 value), 1,000 gold francs for one of the figures of the *Typhon* (Erlangen) and 1,000 gold francs for one of the bull's heads.

COMMENTS ON ACTUAL COPIES NOW LOST

Berlin:
Apparently Berlin acquired the whole series of copies and exhibited them among the originals in the Altes Museum (documented in letters, e.g. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Carl Jacobsen, 27 January 1905 and 21 February 1905. The sculptures were destroyed in the Second World War bombardments, perhaps in May 1944 when the Museumsinsel is known to have been bombed by American aircrafts.

Dresden:
In a catalogue of the Dresden Albertinum cast collection from 1953 (Rudloff-Hille 1953, 54 no. 75), a reconstructed *Bluebeard* head with the inv. no. Z.V. 3277 is depicted as a b/w photograph. In spite of the b/w medium, it is certain that the copy in question was a reconstructed *Bluebeard*, sold to G. Treu in 1915. The actual head was destroyed in the Second World War (probably in the devastating raid in mid-February 1945), but moulds must have been made before the war to enable sales of the head from the plaster workshop connected to the Dresden collection after the war. A pre-war photograph of the destroyed head was then used in the 1953 catalogue as a substitute for the photograph of an unpainted plaster cast, which was what one got by ordering a cast of Z.V. 3277. A copy was purchased from Dresden by the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn (Inv. 2041). More sales are likely to have happened to an unknown number of additional collections and museums.

TITLE MUSEUM:	*Typhon group* (Acr. 35)	*Bluebeard* (detail of Acr. 35)	*Bluebeard* (detail of Acr. 35), reconstructed colours
Copenhagen, National Gallery (C. Jacobsen, 1906)	1380 (1906)		
Collection of Antiquities, Aarhus University	A 370 (donation by Anne Marie Telmányi, 1966, daughter of the Nielsen couple)		
Odense City Museums	CNM/1984/2218+CNM/1984/1319 (wing fragment) (1903–1905) (unpainted plaster, but hint of turquoise on middle figure)	CNM/1984/1322	CNM/1984/1321
Erlangen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Antikensammlung (H. Bulle, 1905)			I 213 (with torso and fragment of wing)
Dresden, Albertinum (G. Treu, 1914)			X
Altes Museum, Berlin (Kekulé von Stradonitz, 1905)	2410	X	X?
Copenhagen, Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts		KG 216 (unpainted plaster)	
Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum		Inv. 2041 (unpainted plaster, "Zweitguss"*)	
TOTAL NUMBER MADE	4	4	3-4

*German term for a cast of a cast.

Leipzig:
That the university collection in Leipzig acquired one or more copies from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's collection is a possibility, but such an acquisition is neither mentioned by the artist nor can it be claimed through documentation in the archives of the collection. We have, however, a fairly reliable indication that at least the reconstruction of *Bluebeard* was purchased by the University of Leipzig (F. Studniczka) between 1905 and 1916: a visitor in the collection of antiquities at the University of Leipzig writes the following on 20 May 1916 (*Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 110): 'Bei einzelnen Abgüssen sind die am Original noch wahrnehmbaren verblaßten Spuren der alten Bemalung genau nachgebildet. In einem Fall (Kopf des Typhon) ist diese in ihrer ursprünglichen Frische und Leuchtkraft vermutungsweise rekonstruiert.' Translation: With some casts, the faded traces of the old painting still discernible on the original have been reproduced exactly. In one instance (the head of Typhon), this has been presumably reconstructed in its original freshness and luminance.

This sculpture was probably destroyed in a Second World War air raid, perhaps the one of 4 December 1943. It must be deemed as almost certain that this is a copy of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's. I am aware neither of any other casts of the poros sculptures than the ones which She did nor of other attempts at reconstructing their polychromy. The other casts described by the visitor as being with traces of the paint as it was when they were found may be the other sculptures by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, alternatively other painted sculptures, such as the ones by Ingrid Kjær and Willie Wulff. Since we cannot be absolutely sure, the sculpture(s) in Leipzig are not listed in the overview below. I am grateful to my friend and colleague Dr Hans-Peter Müller in Leipzig for having brought the article in *Leipziger Volkszeitung* to my attention.

In a letter to Carl Nielsen from 14 May 1905, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen tells of the existence of three *Bluebeard* reconstructions in bright colours at the time (May 1905). We know of the ones in Dresden, Erlangen and Odense. However, the copy for Dresden was made as late as 1915 (see above), so we actually miss a candidate for the third. This could very well be the one described by the visitor in Leipzig in 1916.

It is perhaps not a surprise, but still a very concrete and gloomy sign of the magnitude of destruction in the Second World War, that three of the four sets Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen sold to museums and universities in Germany were destroyed in connection with bombardments. She herself passed away on 21 February 1945, in the same period as these destructive events and shortly after the bombing of Dresden. She almost certainly did not learn about the fate of these works which she had finished 40 years earlier, even well before the First World War, in a completely different world.

COPIES APPARENTLY NOT REALISED

Paris, Strasbourg and Brussels:
A set was intended to be sold to Paris – the director of the French state collections, Théophile Homolle, was very interested in the *Typhon* – specifically to the collection at Sorbonne (letters to Carl Jacobsen, 27 January 1905 and 28 March 1905), alternatively to the Trocadero (letter to Carl Nielsen, 20 May 1905). Strasbourg and Brussels (?) are also mentioned in connection with Homolle in a letter to Carl Nielsen, 28 March 1905. Whether a French purchase in fact happened is still unclear. If it never happened, the reason may have been a disagreement between Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and Homolle about the more precise application of colours (letter, 14 May 2005).

London:
British Museum, London. According to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (letter to Carl Nielsen, 15 December 1904), R.C. Bosanquet, director of the British School at Athens (1900–1906), lobbied for the acquisition of poros copies by the British Museum. The outcome of this effort is unknown.

ORIGINALS

Typhon (*Bluebeard*), Acr. no 35. Heberdey 1919, 46ff. pl. IV; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 73ff.; Brouskari 1974, 39–40 fig. 55.

Snake, Acr. no 41. Heberdey 1919, 63 pl. 40; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 75ff. fig. 82a; Brouskari 1974, 33 fig. 25.

Bulls' head, Acr. no 3, part of relief depicting two lions killing a bull. Heberdey 1919, 87ff.; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 214 ff.; Brouskari 1974, 28 figs 80–81.

Bulls' head, Acr. no 4, part of relief depicting two lions killing a bull. Heberdey 1919, 77ff.; Brouskari 1974, 28 fig. 14.

Wing/relief, from the *Typhon*. Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 73 fig. 81.

Bull's Head (Acr. 3)	***Bull's Head*** (Acr. 4)	***Bulls Head*** (Acr. 4), Reconstructed colours	***Snake*** (Acr. 41)
1381 (1906)	1382 (1906) (deposit in Aaarhus, A 384)		2170 (1906 (?))
A 385 (unknown provenance)	A 384 (deposit from KAS 1382)		
		CNM/1984/1351	CNM/1984/1354 (unpainted) & CNM/1984/1354
X?			X
X	X	X?	X
3–4	3	1–2	5

`MUSIC – CARL NI THE IDEA O

MICHAEL FJELDSØE

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IS LIFE'
ELSEN AND
F VITALITY

Throughout his career, Carl Nielsen worked with the idea that music is closely linked to life. He articulates this most clearly around 1916, when he presented his fourth symphony, *The Inextinguishable*. In the programme for the first performance, he explained his ideas as follows:

> 'The composer, in using the title *The Inextinguishable*, has attempted to suggest in a single word what only the music itself has the power to express fully: the elementary will to life. Faced with a task like this – to express life abstractly [...] – there and only there is music at home in its primal region, at ease in its element, simply because solely by being itself it has performed its task. For it *is* life there, where the other [arts] only represent and write about life. Life is indomitable and inextinguishable; the struggle, the wrestling, the generation and the wasting away go on today as yesterday, tomorrow as today, and everything returns. Once more: music *is* life, and like it inextinguishable.'[1]

This final sentence comes to constitute a kind of motto for the symphony and, in a broader sense, for Carl Nielsen's understanding of the vital in music. The insistent italics used for the word '*is*' show how invested he was in ensuring the reader understood his full meaning. Music *is* life, as opposed to merely representing life. This identity between the essence of music, its being and what he wants the audience to experience occupies a deeper level than the one mined when responding to what music represents or tells.

At the same time, the wording shows that he perceives the core of it all to be a life force, not just something that is alive. The life force is inherently present as a given, a fundamental force of nature, and this is a fundamental idea in Vitalism: that man is a part of nature. Man is a part of all life and cannot escape that condition.

One may reasonably challenge Carl Nielsen's formulation in one regard: his claim that the ability to express life in art is the exclusive reserve of music. On the contrary, on this very point he shared a common approach to art with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. Her sculptures of animals, and not least of people engaged in bursts of life and vitality, also (and to the same extent) incorporate the vital as part of their overall expression, and not just as subject matter. One of her finest sculptures shows an aulos player using his whole body in the physical exertion of playing music. Reminiscent of an oboe, an aulos requires great force to play, and the sculpture almost lets you hear the intense note produced by the instrument because the figure radiates the energy put into the playing. Other examples include her small sculptures of athletes who similarly exude vitality and the exertion of force in their entire design.

There can be no doubt that in her own day Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was perceived as an artist who partook of this Vitalist aspect of art. When, in 1906, Danish art historian Emil Hannover reviewed the sculptors' contributions to that year's exhibitions at Den Frie and the juried Charlottenborg salon, he was very critical. Virtually no one could live up to what he described as the sculpture's raison d'être, namely that the work be based on 'the mute, beautiful play of lines, light and shadows, which is the only valid plastic expression and the only valid testimony of the real and true soul of the sculptor.'[2]

One of the few artists to receive positive comments was Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, particularly when Hannover concluded by highlighting her painted copies of central figures from ancient Athens such as the *Typhon* and the bull's head (pp. 156-158). Emil Hannover particularly praised her for her 'understanding of the Cyclopean might of this ancient art with its barbaric-beautiful, wild and bold colours and its almost animalistic revelling in the living form. A howl of the ancient artist's sheer joy in creation seems to emanate from these steaming bulls and this three-headed Typhon'.[3] She is a master of primordial forces.

Anne Marie and Carl Nielsen shared a keen common interest in this fundamental force and how art can express it. They also both shared the view that this was a force that cut across all the arts. Although Carl Nielsen often emphasised that one cannot transfer properties from one art form to another, he nevertheless resorted to an allegory regarding the fundamental beauty of a three-dimensional, plastic form when seeking to explain the core of our perception of all art. He opens his essay on 'words, music and programme music' by relating a story about a farmer who is out walking in his fields when he picks up a peculiarly shaped, 'strange' stone.

> 'Provided that the man is not too imaginative, meaning that he does not see in his found stone a dog, a cat, a bird or some other creature, then we have here an example of the original sense of the plastic, which is so promising, and on which all plastic understanding essentially depends. This simple fact that the thing need not mean or represent anything at all but still arouses our attention and wonder simply by the true, organic play of forms and lines, these are primordial formations in what we call our spiritual life, our soul.'[4]

Conversely, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen resorted to musical metaphors when, on the occasion of her 80th birthday, she was asked to explain what connects sculpture and music:

> 'There is the rhythm and the contrapuntal, the poise and balance that play a role in all art. [...] There is *one* rhythm going through all art: the living. I once asked my husband: what is the most important thing in art? He pondered the question for a while: Life, he said, that life lives in it. I would like to include what he has said here: Music is life and, like it, inextinguishable. That could be said about all art.'[5]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's decision to reference Carl Nielsen's words in bringing across her own message by no means meant she could not articulate the idea herself. More than anything, it signified that she saw their common understanding of art as the central issue, and now, looking back, she wanted to highlight a pivotal point of their life together as artists. She had reconciled herself to the aspects that separated them.

The commonalities across different art forms are evident in the interplay of lines and forms, in the layer of art that lies behind or before the subject matter. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen spoke about what in music is called counterpoint, the interplay of independent musical lines, while Emil Hannover calls it 'the mute, beautiful

Flute Player/Aulos Player
Ca. 1929–1931
Bronze
Odense City Museums

play of lines, light and shadows, which is the only valid plastic expression.' And Carl Nielsen spoke of 'the true, organic play of forms and lines' when called upon to articulate the central aspect which, to him too, was common to all art.

Their shared outlook on this aspect, which both saw as a manifestation of a primordial power and vitality, is expressed in the concluding passage of Hannover's description of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's Greek copies, in which he makes them a model for a renewal of art: 'If only our sculptors listened to this howl! Not in order to imitate it [...]. But to learn. To learn that "Long live life", without which art must surely die.'[6]

ANTIQUITY AS A SOURCE OF RENEWAL

The intention here is not to paint Carl Nielsen or the artist couple as exclusively Vitalist. They were embroiled in many of the art movements of the time, and Vitalism was just one of them. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's Vitalistic naturalism is closely linked to the reception of the ancient ideals of the depiction of the human body. When artists of the time turned their eyes back to classical, ancient art, this should be regarded not as a conservative move but as an effort to renew and reinvigorate art, imbuing it with new life and uniting the naturalistic with the ideal. In this reception of classical antiquity, the Archaic is seen as a source of renewal of the representation of reality, one which is part of an art-historical reassessment of Greek art. In her own day, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen was perceived as one of the period's most important representatives of this effort to reinterpret or revitalise the vibrant physical and spiritual beauty of Greek art.

Carl Nielsen shared Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's interest in the art of antiquity. He was intensely interested in ancient Greek music and gave a lecture on the subject at Det Græske Selskab (The Greek Society), which he co-founded in 1907. But since virtually nothing is known about how ancient Greek music sounded, and only a few snippets of melody have been handed down, such as the epitaph inscribed on the Seikilos stele at the National Museum of Denmark, his approach to antique music was unavoidably speculative.[7]

Although the different art forms share parallel interests in all things classical, the visual arts and music do not refer to the same classical past. When Carl Nielsen and his contemporaries referred to the classical past in music, two periods in particular stood out as role models. One was Viennese Classicism, also known as the First Viennese School, featuring artists such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, with Mozart in particular becoming perceived as an ideal figure. The second was the polyphonic vocal music of the Renaissance, with the composer Palestrina being the great role model. This is not to say that Carl Nielsen sought to imitate their music. Rather, they constituted role models in the abstract sense because they represented a set of principles in their perfect form: clarity, sublimity, balance, equilibrium. In Mozart, these traits were found in the form and clarity of the music; in Palestrina, they resided in the perfect melodic balance between independent melodic lines and voices. Incidentally, Nielsen himself often composed more in the vein of Beethoven, where the compositional work constitutes a visible struggle with the material. In spite of highlighting classical ideals, Carl Nielsen is a modern composer.

PHASES IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF 'THE VITAL'

How should one understand the Vitalistic current in Carl Nielsen's thinking and music? I believe that one should regard it as a fundamental idea, a shared intellectual construct that evolves over time. He was not alone in entertaining this idea: the interest in vitality and 'the vital' was a general current in culture, one which can be divided into two main phases with the year 1914 as the approximate dividing point. In Carl Nielsen, too, Vitalism found expression in different ways, a fact that should be understood to reflect a general development in the understanding of the concept over time.[8]

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen at the unveiling of her monument to Carl Nielsen in his birthplace, Nørre Lyndelse, 1933

‘The work is the result of many kinds of forces. The first movement was meant as a gust of energy and life-affirmation blown out into the wide world, which we human beings would not only like to get to know in its multiplicity of activities but also to conquer and make our own. [...] By contrast, the Finale is perfectly straightforward: a hymn to work and the healthy activity of everyday life. Not a gushing homage to life, but a certain expansive happiness about being able to participate in the work of life and the day and to see activity and ability manifested on all sides around us.’

Carl Nielsen

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
by an ancient work of art
in Greece, ca. 1928

Heracles Battling the Minotaur
Undated
Bronze
Odense City Museums

In the 1890s, Anne Marie and Carl Nielsen and Emil Hannover were all part of the liberal scene in Copenhagen, influenced by the thinker Georg Brandes. Another member of this circle, the composer and pianist Viktor Bendix, who was also Georg Brandes's cousin, concisely articulated what this circle stood for when he wrote the following in his memoirs: 'Because like I in my youth was everything one was not supposed to be in Copenhagen: a Wagnerian, Liberal, Freethinker, Darwinist.'[9] Bendix became an important acquaintance for Carl Nielsen, and they spent a lot of time together when Carl Nielsen was on a trip abroad to Leipzig and Berlin in 1890–1891. At the time, Carl Nielsen was also enthusiastic about Wagner and regarded himself a freethinker even though he was tempted to pray to God when he heard that a girl with whom he was briefly in love was seriously ill.[10]

While in Berlin, Carl Nielsen got the idea for a new symphony and wrote enthusiastically to another member of the circle, Emil B. Sachs:

> 'What do you say to this idea: a symphony with the title: "You have come from earth, and to earth you shall return"? Dark and primeval at the beginning, where everything still lies in millennial hibernation. Then gradually movement and life, but as yet still half unconscious, then rising and rising to the maximum joie de vivre. Then back again to the "black mould" which wraps us all up in its soft, dense robes; where we go to sleep for all eternity – eternal oblivion. [...] I haven't yet found a work that has taken on the Freethinkers' ideas.'[11]

The concept expresses an outlook which asserts that nature creates all life and that this takes place within a vast circuit. Life is a germ, a sprout embedded in the forces of nature, and the highest joy of life, the supreme expression of life, is a part of nature. This early phase of Vitalist thinking has much in common with the Symbolist thinking of the 1890s but distinguishes itself by rejecting the religiously metaphysical in favour of the creative power of nature. And it distances itself from those versions of Symbolism that cultivate the obscure, the mysterious and the hazy in favour of a deliberate and pronounced optimism. Life force is seen as a positive force, an energy thrust out into the world to set things in motion.

Carl Nielsen's First Symphony (1894) opens in this very way, meaning that it does not adhere to his original idea of beginning with dark and primordial tones. Instead, he throws himself directly into the fray, creating an opening which brings two keys into play at once. Another clear example of such life-affirming discharges of power and force is Carl Nielsen's Third Symphony, *Sinfonia espansiva* (1911), where the title in itself points to something that grows and expands.[12] He describes this symphony in a programme entry:

> 'The work is the result of many kinds of forces. The first movement was meant as a gust of energy and life-affirmation blown out into the wide world, which we human beings would not only like to get to know in its multiplicity of activities but also to conquer and make our own. [...] By contrast, the Finale is perfectly straightforward: a hymn to work and the healthy activity of everyday life. *Not* a gushing homage to life, but a certain expansive happiness about being able to participate in the work of life and the day and to see activity and ability manifested on all sides around us.'[13]

During this phase, one sees a focus on the life force as a positive manifestation of power. Here the vital is seen as a positive force, an unfolding of all things living and healthy and of everyday, persistent work. It is a counterpoint to the darker and more pessimistic current of the 1890s, which saw the decade as one of dissolution and a decay – of fin-de-siècle decadence. Around the First World War, this optimism was shattered, but instead of rejecting the programme of Vitalism, Carl Nielsen expanded it to include both good and evil, the positive and the negative, as two sides of an all-encompassing totality.

Thus, from around 1914, his perception of Vitalism undergoes a change. While no direct influence can be documented, it is as if Nietzsche's ideas about life beyond good and evil lodge themselves in Carl Nielsen's mind. Life is no longer perceived as a positive force opposed to destructive ones. Now, the positive and the negative, life and death, creation and destruction are all included in the equation. And Carl Nielsen's symphonies change accordingly. From this point on, he is in line with Gustav Mahler's idea that a symphony should be able to accommodate the whole of life, including all the chaos that is also part of existence. In his fourth symphony, *The Inextinguishable* (1916), the life force is unstoppable, but it also causes violent struggles and clashes that can be heard directly in the music. This position is poignantly expressed in another of Carl Nielsen's descriptions of his Fourth Symphony:

> 'The music is supposed to give expression to the most elementary forces as manifested between people, animals and even plants. We might say: if the whole world was destroyed by fire, flood, volcanoes etc. and all living things were destroyed and dead, then Nature would still begin again to beget new life, and to assert itself with the strongest and finest powers that are to be found in the material itself. Soon plants would begin to form, and the coupling and screeching of birds would be heard and seen, along with people's aspirations and desires. It's these powers that are "inextinguishable" and that I have sought to represent.'[14]

In his Fifth Symphony, from 1922, which has no name, we once again, in Carl Nielsen's own words, grapple with the clash of great, fundamental forces. He believed that his new symphony basically expressed the same thing as his previous symphonies, 'the only thing that music can ultimately express: the resting forces as opposed to the active ones.'[15] The symphony opens quietly and builds up slowly. But there are also passages where chaos reigns, where woodwinds and strings compete to drown out each other with the same motif on each side of the brass melody. At the same time, 'the side drummer plays in his own tempo, as though determined at all costs to obstruct the music' – at the direct instruction of the composer in a note in the score.[16]

Perhaps it is in these symphonies, with their all-encompassing version of Vitalism, that Carl Nielsen returns to his youthful Brandes-inspired ideas of a symphony capable of accommodating it all. After penning down his early vision, he made the following entry in his diary: 'It will be the grand opus of my life, if I live long enough to become skilled enough and superior enough to carry it out.'[17] One possible interpretation is that in his late symphonies, he realised what he dreamt of as a young man.

THE RETURN OF VITALISM

How was it that a musical aesthetic as openly Vitalistic as Carl Nielsen's was able to survive the Nazi appropriation and abuse of Vitalist thinking? When everything associated with Nazism, and often just with Germany, was ostracised in the years after the Second World War, how was Carl Nielsen's collection of articles *Levende Music* (Living Music, 1925) published in a steady succession of reprints and new editions, being read as a musical-aesthetic manifesto which, much to the chagrin of younger composers, dominated Danish music life well into the 20th century? The answer is as simple as it is astonishing: because there was no talk of Vitalism.

When, in 2008, Fuglsang Kunstmuseum and what was then known as Fyns Kunstmuseum presented the exhibition *The Spirit of Vitalism* (known in Danish as *Livslyst*, meaning 'joie de vivre'), it opened a door that had been closed for a long time.[18] Once attention had been called to the fact, it was blindingly obvious that a Vitalistic tradition had lived on and thrived here. However, silence or wilful ignorance was not the only explanation for its endurance.

Right from the beginning, the Vitalist aesthetic that Carl Nielsen stood for had been constructed in deliberate opposition to the German music that continued the Wagner tradition and the opulent German Late Romanticism. In Carl Nielsen's work, the very music which stood at the centre of the German version of Vitalism was framed as outdated, hollow, pseudo-philosophical and decadent, in need of replacement by a new, vibrant, healthy vein of music, paving the way for a Vitalist musical aesthetic which posited itself as the opposite of the German and Nazi cult of Vitalist ideals.[19]

When Carl Nielsen spoke of simple intervals and their fundamental power as the main aspects to be considered, he spoke in direct, explicit opposition to the chromatic aesthetics of the Wagner tradition and to what he perceived as a dilution of the musical power inherent in the basics. To him, the simple intervals were basic in the sense of being foundational, not banal.[20]

Thus, one should not think that in this way Carl Nielsen made himself an advocate of an aesthetics of glossy neatness. Quite the contrary. He believed in solving musical tasks with the means appropriate to what one wished to express. In the 1920s especially, he often expressed himself with a musical radicalism that was second to none.

In an interview from the late 1920s, he said he had never done even the slightest thing to be modern but had always written what he felt he had to write.[21] To understand this statement, one needs to know that Carl Nielsen did not associate any positive traits with being modern, which for him meant following the latest fashion. He was, however, a strong supporter of the 'new' and believed that one had to renew oneself. Even when this made the music chaotic and dissonant. He was among the few composers who continued to reinvent himself throughout his life, even when he passed the age of 60 in the 1920s.

On the one hand, he would write very simple songs that are still sung in nurseries today and remain staples of Denmark's most popular songbook, the Folk High School Songbook. On the other hand, in works such as his Sixth Symphony, *Sinfonia semplice* (1925), he lets the instruments behave like naughty children teasing each other, allowing the brass section to come barging in, drowning out all others at their own pace or writing a variation for percussion only. In the same interview, after scolding composers who wrote just for the sake of being modern, he went on to formulate a piece of advice to a young composer: 'If it *must* be ugly, then let it be ugly, but then let it be so extraordinarily ugly that it *blows the ears off our heads!*'[22] He took his own advice.

NOTES

1 Programme from the first performance, 1 February 1916, quoted in Røllum-Larsen 2000, xiii–xiv.
2 Emil Hannover, 'Udstillingerne III', Politiken, 17 April 1906.
3 Ibid.
4 Carl Nielsen, 'Ord, Musik og Programmusik' (1909), in Fellow 1999, 125.
5 Interview by J.S., 'Der er én Rytme gennem al Kunst', Politiken, 19 June 1943, 5–6.
6 Emil Hannover, 'Udstillingerne III', Politiken, 17 April 1906.
7 Carl Nielsen, 'Græsk musik' (1907), in Fellow 1999, 99–110. The text is a manuscript for a lecture given at Det Græske Selskab on 22 October 1907. Even though the Seikilos column was in Copenhagen, Carl Nielsen points to Janus, aka Karl von Jan, Musici scriptores greaci, Leipzig 1895, as the source of the melody.
8 For a more in-depth treatment, see Fjeldsøe 2009; Anders Ehlers Dam, '"Musik er liv": Carl Nielsens vitalistiske musikfilosofi', in Hvidberg-Hansen and Oelsner 2008, 276–285.
9 Victor Bendix, 'Autobiografiske noter', The Royal Danish Library NKS 2040, 2°, quoted in Fjeldsøe 2013, 46.
10 See Carl Nielsen's diary entries from the journey in Fellow 2005–2015, vol. 1, 112–209; Fanning and Assay 2017, 57–85. The note made on 4 December 1890 says: 'If I believed in a God, I would ask Him … but I cannot'; Fellow 2005-2015, vol. 1, 161.
11 Letter to Emil B. Sachs, Berlin, 23 November 1890, in Fanning and Assay 2017, 63.
12 For a more in-depth treatment of the musical manifestations of Vitalism, see Fjeldsøe 2010, 36–49.
13 Carl Nielsen, 'Sinfonia espansiva' (1931), in Fellow 1999, 595; transl. in Foltmann 1999, xix–xx.
14 Letter from Carl Nielsen to Julius Röntgen, 15 February 1920, in Fanning and Assay 2017, 469.
15 Carl Nielsen, 'Carl Nielsens nye Symfoni' (1922), in Fellow 1999, 257.
16 Fjeldsøe 1998, 50. The reference is to the passage in the first movement from bar 354.
17 Diary entry, 24 November 1890, in Fellow 2005-2015, vol. 1, 153.
18 Hvidberg-Hansen and Oelsner 2008.
19 See Fjeldsøe 2010, 50–53.
20 Carl Nielsen, 'Musikalske Problemer' (1922), in Fellow 1999, 264–265.
21 Interview with Hans Tørsleff from the late 1920s, quoted after Meyer and Schandorf Petersen 1948, vol. 2, 281.
22 Ibid., 282.

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‘WHAT CLAIM HAVE WE TO HAPPINESS?’

A SELECTION OF ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN’S LETTERS AND DIARY ENTRIES

Portraits of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, undated

In 1905, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen set out for the Acropolis to copy painted ancient Greek sculptures. The polychrome paint meant that no castings could be made of the originals; doing so would remove the pigments. Accordingly, copies had to be modelled in clay, cast in plaster and painted. The work on the castings dragged on. The museum's opening hours were short in winter, so Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen had little time in which to work, and the plaster dried only slowly.

Carl Nielsen, who had stayed in Denmark to work, grew impatient and increasingly despairing. He did not understand why his wife was still, after five months, copying Archaic sculptures, and wrote her this letter:

[Carl, Copenhagen, to Anne Marie, Athens]

16-12-1904

I do wish that one day we could arrive at a calm, hard-working, forward-looking life together. But I'm afraid it will never come to pass. You want to be a strong man, preferably besting even the strongest men. Your work and your striving are so forced, so breathless and beyond all calm and health, and I must tell you that I am often afraid that you will break [...] *Do you think I would wish you* [...] *to neglect your art? No, indeed I want you to do great and good work. But you perish. You have entered a mad dance, and a tangle of misunderstandings, distinctions, works, persecutions, misunderstandings, acknowledgements flicker before your eyes in motley confusion so that YOU do not know whether you are coming or going.* [...] *But, may the Devil take me, I care for you so much and you must think about what I say.* [...].

Your horrid boy

– – –

Anne Marie tries to reassure him:

[Anne Marie, Athens, to Carl, 'The Doctor's House, Skærbæk']

13-1-1905

My own good darling dear.

Today is New Year's Day down here and the museums are closed. We have not been able to get the Typhon dry, the mould, I mean, so we have been unable to make the cast until right about now; then it will take another few days before I can apply colour to it, but do not think I have been idle. In the meantime I have copied the head of the big coloured bull, it has such wonderful dramatic movement, in two days it will be finished in clay and the mould will assuredly dry quickly as there is only one side to it, so I will manage it in the time I have to stay here anyway for the Typhon's sake. Am I not a clever girl, then? I am very pleased with this head, and what is more I believe I shall make a lot of money from it especially if I had been here during the Congress. All the Greek newspapers reported that I had been given permission to make the bull's head so it caused quite a stir down here. [...] *I have had a terrible cold and have been in bed when I was not at the Museum, which I have not had to neglect yet, but it is sometimes bitterly cold up there. One of my ears is particularly afflicted, it hums as I work on the Bull, but now it is getting a little better* [...]. *Well, if we spend as much money per month as you claim, I must certainly make some, but I believe I will.* [...].

Love, *Your Marie*

– – –

Her effort to assuage him fails. Carl Nielsen seizes his last chance to get the attention he demands, and writes a letter stating that he wants a divorce. The message is received loud and clear in Athens, and Anne Marie's world collapses:

[Anne Marie, Athens, to Carl, Copenhagen, 28 March 1905]

Tuesday night

Carl my own dear lovely boy

My knees buckle and feel as if they bend backwards; late this evening I staggered to the post office to telegraph you, and there I stood, unable to think. O my poor darling dear, you suffer and I am not with you and I cannot take you in my arms and warm you. But it is no use; the two of us belong together. And no one could ever replace you for me or me for you, I would be done with all others. You too. I have missed you so terribly my dearest boy especially in the evening and in the morning and have pretended to myself that you would come with the archaeologists. You wrote that you would come down to help me. [...] *I will tell you frankly that I do not want a divorce, for no other reason than that you are so deeply dear to me. If you like, we can take a small separation, but really I had thought to be your very own Parisian Girlfriend this Summer, once I have finished and am able to come home. Now you must come down here to fetch me, it will do you good after that miserable affair with the theatre that you need not fret about so much, the two of us will surely manage, sometimes you make money, sometimes I do. I am convinced that it is better for you not to be attached to that intrigue-filled theatre [The Royal Danish Theatre] where mediocrity reigns.* [...] *If only I could put my head under your sweater for a moment, under your sweater instead of sitting here at dawn, wetting a hotel sofa with my tears. I love love love you!!! I will be gentle and obedient and not criticise.* [...] *And this much I know, that as far as my work is concerned there is no one whose opinion is as valuable to me as yours. It may well be that I love my work but that is not an immoral love and in truth I have more flesh and blood than most, but I often hide myself away. My poor dear boy. It is no folly for me to want you down here, as far as the pecuniary side of things is concerned I will get it all back with my dear Typhon and my lovely Bull, but my arms will feel as if they were broken above the elbow until I hear from you.* [...]
I am doing my system exercises and have become slim and it is said that I am a nice-looking woman. Kiss the children from me.

Your very own girl

– – –

[30 March 1905. Telegram from Anne Marie, Athens, to Carl]

My darling Carl / Come immediately / take money / Your girl doesn't want a divorce

– – –

This time around, they make up, reconcile and continue to live together. But ten years later, the breach between them becomes a reality. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen has foundered in her efforts to balance work and love, and in her own diary entries she takes stock

of her work and the infidelity lurking underneath what she believed to be a committed partnership:

[Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's notebook, Søndervig]

Tuesday 23/5 16

Last Friday, on the 19th, I sprained my foot and have been bedridden since Saturday. I stumbled around a bit on Saturday but it got worse. So I must get well as soon as possible and preferably lie still. Today the newspapers write about a party at Christiansborg. Thorvald Jørgensen also writes about raising funds for a Monument to Women's Suffrage. – Both of these things tear at me. Here I am, miserable because I have suffered a shipwreck in my life, cannot bear to be at home, meaning that I am homeless, and my faculties for work are paralysed too. In 1905 I found myself in a similar situation in Greece when I had been told how things were at home ?? – Back then I did not understand that this was an old, year-old deception but believed it to be a sad event caused by impetuous haste. (Carl's Letter, 1 of course I now see it all to be inspired by her [Marie Møller] now I see that he had to divorce me.) he did not speak about that when I got home! quite the contrary!) But Mrs Holten knew full well, and through her at that. – Back then I gave up my work, indeed I was so unhappy (as I have been now for two years and more) that I could not work and left before the Congress on Archaeology; that cost me a commission for one Typhon for the British Museum and another English order, three commissions for America and so on. – Now the same affliction has cost me the last two years. Have I not now paid dearly enough for those few hours of happiness with this feeling of misery and inability to work? I have stood still as an Artist, I will soon be overtaken and ignored, if you do not go forward, you go back. – Life goes on. I have to make a decision, it is so hard to hurt others. – I have been no good at holding on to him and I would be no good at being one of many, the fate I have suffered for twenty-five years, only now enough is enough. So far I have seen no promises kept; at the moment, only startled fright has brought about any other way of living, and fright soon fades and passes away. – The changes are certainly not caused by disgust with lies and deception, he has clearly wanted to continue that. Promises are soon forgotten again. I can no longer be bothered to be like some nanny whom he fears will catch him pilfering and lying. If there can be no trust between adults, there must be an end to it. I have known artistic joys and a brief, short happiness; much shame and sorrow. – My long, best years have been misspent, squandered on an undignified life. Now I am on the verge of also going to wrack and ruin as an artist. [...] *Today too I have wanted to write yet I cannot bring myself to do so; it is so hard to cause pain to others.*

– – –

Speaking of the same situation, she writes the following in a letter to Carl Nielsen:

[Anne Marie, Søndervig, to Carl, Copenhagen]

Søndervig, 29/5 16

[...] *I have been in a similar state once before; it was in Greece when I had been notified of the state of things in my home; then I left behind all artistic and pecuniary benefits, the archaeological congress, which interested me vividly, commissions for my Typhon from the British Museum and two for America, and set out for home. Back then I naively believed in your assurances and promises and that we could rebuild our marriage. The fact that you deceived me at that time, during the holiest and best moments of our life together, that of all things – hurt most of all. – What a fool I was! a poor dupe. I had been used as a convenient screen for years even at that time.* [...] *Now it must be all about my work, that is all I have left, in human terms my life has collapsed, wasted, my best eighteen to twenty years are worthless like ash. – When I am with you, I feel ashamed and miserable and do not have the life and courage to work, and work I must. After all, I have been entrusted with a great task and I am under obligation to work on it and must have it finished by next year. If I do not meet my obligations, I will defraud the Committee. It is no good to be helpless, evading and pushing things away in one's sadness. The world is big and there is room enough for both of us and life goes on.* [...]

Your Marie

– – –

It ended as it began, on a bench just outside Florence where the couple had sat thirty years earlier shortly after their wedding:

[Anne Marie, Florence, to Carl, Kolding]

Fjesole 21/8 – 1920

I am sitting on a bench on high[,] *before me lies all of Florence with the Cathedral Dome and the Arno winding through the landscape and the mountains fading to blue lie before me, a wonderfully beautiful panorama. Many years ago two people sat here on the same bench and saw the same beautiful sun-drenched landscape, with villas and gardens up the slopes; a balloon rose and went down with a parachute; the two were – at least she was – infinitely happy and joyful - -. Thank you for that time it was full of dreams and rich in content!* [...] *Well, I hope you are well and working and doing something great and wonderful. Work is the only thing, 'to rejoice in my labour it is my portion', as it is written in Ecclesiastes. What claim can we make for happiness? When you are dead, it does not matter whether you were happy or unhappy, but it does matter whether you have used your abilities and accomplished something, according to your meagre skill; those are the seeds of time. Today I visited Michelangelo's house in the Chapel of the Medici, he probably enjoyed very little human happiness; Donatello [Donato di Niccoló di Betto Bardi] he died quite lonely, and yet their works continue to delight and nourish the times* [...].

Be well and send my love to everyone.

– – –

The couple reconciled and spent the last years of their lives together until the death of Carl Nielsen in 1931.

BIOGRAPHY
ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN
1863 – 1945

1863

Anne Marie Brodersen is born on 21 June on the large, prosperous farm Thygesminde in Sønder Stenderup near Kolding.

1881

Attends a three-month drawing and modelling course at C.C. Magnussen's School of Carving in Schleswig.

1882

Anne Marie's parents reluctantly allow her to train as an artist in Copenhagen.

The sculptor Vilhelm Bissen refuses to take her on as a pupil.

Is admitted to the Tegneskolen for Kvinder (The Drawing School for Women, est. 1876).

Is apprenticed to the sculptor August Saabye and presumably continues her studies here until 1888.

1884

Has her debut at the juried annual Charlottenborg spring salon, presenting a portrait bust which is well received. Thanks to this favourable reception, her parents allow her to continue studying under Saabye. She goes on to exhibit at Charlottenborg almost every year until she joins the artists' association Den Frie Udstilling (The Free Exhibition) in 1892.

1887

Receives the Neuhausen Prize for her rendition of *Thor with the Midgard Serpent*, submitted for a competition launched by the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, inviting proposals for a fountain group for Højbro Plads (Højbro Square), Copenhagen. She wins and receives a cash prize but not the right to carry out the commission, and her sculpture group is not realised until much later, eventually being installed in Hørsholm.

1888

The brewer Carl Jacobsen arranges *The French Art Exhibition in Copenhagen*. Anne Marie Brodersen is particularly enthusiastic about the exhibits by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Edgar Degas and Auguste Rodin.

Exhibits at the Nordic Exhibition of Industry, Agriculture and Art in Copenhagen, presenting the sculpture group *Thor with the Midgard Serpent* and the two statuettes *Calf Licking Itself* and *Calf Scratching Itself* (1887). The last two attract particular attention, standing out from the crowd with their down-to-earth, realistic and dynamic aesthetic. Later, museums such as the National Gallery of Denmark in Copenhagen and Hamburger Kunsthalle in Berlin buy bronze casts of the calves.

1889

The two calf statuettes are displayed in the Danish section of the Exposition Universelle in Paris and awarded a bronze medal.

Goes on her first study trip abroad funded by the Neuhausen Prize, visiting the Netherlands, Belgium and Paris.

From 1889 to 1890, holds an honorary place at Den med akademiet forbundne Kvindeskole (the Women's School of the Academy) (established in 1888) associated with the art academy, enabling her to submit entries for the Academy's gold medal competitions, where a travel grant is part of the prize. She submits a large relief depicting a scene from Egil Skallagrimsson's saga *Sonatorrek* (The Irreparable Loss of Sons) but receives no award for the work.

1890

Receives a travel grant from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, enabling her to go to Paris.

1891

Visits the pre-eminent sculptor of the time, Auguste Rodin, in Paris. She is especially proud that he remembers the calves from the Copenhagen exhibition in 1888.

In Paris she meets the composer and conductor Carl Nielsen (1865–1931). They marry shortly after meeting, and she takes the surname Carl-Nielsen. The couple go on a combined honeymoon and study trip to Italy. A daughter, Irmelin, is born at the end of the year.

Denmark's first artists' association, Den Frie Udstilling is formed as an alternative to the annual juried salon at Charlottenborg. The opening exhibition includes a beautiful and remarkable portrait (1890) of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen by the painter and ceramist Harald Slott-Møller (1864-1937). Despite being in Paris, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen herself shows no works at this exhibition.

1892

Becomes a member of Den Frie Udstilling, exhibiting with the group for the first time. She remains the association's only real sculptor for more than ten years. She goes on to exhibit here almost every year until her death, presenting a wide selection of works that includes a number of her largest monuments and commissions.

1893

Exhibits *Calf Licking Itself* and *Calf Scratching Itself* (1887) at the World's Fair in Chicago.

Birth of a daughter, Anne Marie – known as Søs.

1894

Receives a grant from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts towards working on new pieces; she would regularly receive such grants in the years that follow.

Travel to Dresden and Leipzig – partly for pleasure, but also to explore the possibilities of exhibiting and selling her works in Germany.

1895

Exhibits her work at numerous venues, including the juried spring salon at Charlottenborg as well as *The Women's Exhibition from Past to Present* arranged by Industriforeningen (The Industrial Society of Copenhagen), the Nordic Exhibition in Lübeck and a solo show at Kunstforeningen (The Copenhagen Art Society).

Begins, at her own behest, working on an equestrian statue of Queen Margrete I.

Birth of a son, Hans Børge.

1896

Experiments with working in sandstone and does at least four figurines for the porcelain factory Bing & Grøndahl.

Creates her first piece combining traditional monochrome sculptural work with colours in a limestone relief portraying her sister, Lucie Brodersen. The relief is exhibited at Den Frie Udstilling that same year.

1897

Is able to afford her first large studio, a warehouse at Frihavnen in Copenhagen.

1898

During the 1890s she draws several title pages for publications of Carl Nielsen's music. In 1898 several of these are exhibited at Den Frie Udstilling alongside her sculpture *Infant Bacchus*, which is erected in Kolding and Aalborg in the 1930s.

1899–1900

A grant from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts lets her travel to Rome to study drawing and portraiture under the French sculptor Victor Ségoffin (1867–1925), who is affiliated with the Académie de France in Rome. She later travels around Italy with her husband while their children are put in care.

1900

Landhusholdningsselskabet (The Royal Danish Agricultural Society) commissions Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to sculpt portraits of a stallion and a bull to be shown at the Danish section of the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Here she shows *Portrait of a Jutland Stallion* and the painted bull *Sultan*.

1901

Participates in *Raadhusudstillingen af dansk Kunst til 1890*, a major retrospective exhibition of Danish art until 1890. Her exhibits there include the sculpture group *Thor with the Midgard Serpent*.

1903

Receives the Ancher Grant and sets out on a long sojourn in Athens via Berlin and Dresden. She begins work on copying the Archaic sculptures from the pediment of the ancient Temple of Athena found during the excavation of the Acropolis in the 1880s. She travels home by way of Italy.

1904

Completes the prestigious commission for three bronze gates for Ribe Cathedral; the commission was awarded in 1900.

Shows 16 works at the international *Grosse Kunstausstellung Dresden 1904*; among her buyers is the director of the Königliche Skulpturensammlung, Albertinum (the cast collection at the Staatsliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden) Georg Treu, who buys two plaster casts.

In the autumn, a grant from the Raben-Levetzau Foundation enables her to return to Athens, where she stays until the beginning of the following year to complete her work on the Acropolis with a view to selling the casts to museum collections.

Gymnastics expert Jørgen Peter Müller's book *Mit System* (My System) is published, and the Nielsen couple joins the widespread Vitalistic health culture of the era, a trend which espouses gymnastic exercises, cold baths and the beneficial effect of sunlight.

1905

Confidently expects to sell her Archaic copies at an archaeology congress in Athens but finds herself compelled to travel back to Denmark due to increasing pressure from Carl Nielsen, who is urging her to come back to her family. This limits the number of casts Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen has the time and opportunity to sell. She returns briefly to Athens to complete her work, which consists of copies of a total of six sculptures as well as reconstructions of the original paint on several of these. The Altes Museum in Berlin subsequently buys one of each of the six copies, all of which are later lost in the Second World War. The brewer Carl Jacobsen buys copies of the *Typhon*, *Bluebeard* and two bull's heads, which he donates to the Royal Cast Collection in Copenhagen. Before leaving, Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen presents her work in an exhibition at the German Institute in Athens. The show is partly commercial in purpose and partly aims to showcase the colour reconstructions.

Shows some animal statuettes at the large-scale exhibition *IX Internationale Kunstausstellung im Kgl. Glaspalast zu München*, most of them repeats from previous years. Her works are given a remarkably prominent place in the exhibition and are favourably received.

1906

At Den Frie Udstilling, her exhibits include copies from the Acropolis, original models for the three bronze doors for Ribe Cathedral as well as the new *Skye Terrier*, which gets very good reviews and is her first take on a life-sized animal sculpture done as a portrait. One of the exhibition's reviewers acknowledges her with the words: 'The sculptor Mrs. Carl Nielsen is so dominant that we cannot possibly ignore her anymore.'

In the autumn, exhibits at the Schulte Kunsthandlung in Berlin, where the Hamburger Kunsthalle acquires six of her animal sculptures and receives a donation of two bull statues. Also sells copies of *Infant Bacchus* and *A Bathing Boy* to private German buyers.

1907

Wins a shared first prize in the competition for a monument commemorating doctor Niels Finsen (1860–1904), who in 1903 was the first Dane ever to receive the Nobel Prize for his research into the healing effect of light and sun rays. The subject can be seen as an aspect of the Vitalistic current embraced by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and her husband as well as by many other artists and scientists.

Wins the competition for the Neuhausen Prize with *Woman Weeding*. The work is shown at Charlottenborg's spring salon, prompting a reprimand from Den Frie Udstilling: the artist's association was specifically established as a protest against this particular institution and did not allow its members to exhibit there.

Submits six reliefs for the competition for the decoration of the King's Staircase at the new Christiansborg Palace. Her submission earns her an award, but neither it nor any of the other submissions are realised.

1908

In 1907 is one of four sculptors invited to take part in a competition to create an equestrian statue of Christian IX, who had died the year before. In 1908 she was named the winner, making her the first woman in the world to create an equestrian statue. The competition brief specified that the king should be shown 'riding at a calm walk, serious and thoughtful, listening to the people who surround the plinth' – meaning that in addition to the king, the monument should portray the Danish people, ranging from ordinary fishermen and workers to famous personalities from the realms of art, science, industry and politics.

Begins work on the equestrian statue in September. Her first move is to search for a model for the fisherman-cum-rescuer who will head the procession presented on the plinth. Travels extensively along the west

coast of Jutland and portrays countless fishermen in her sketchbook before finally selecting a fisherman from Hanstholm.

1909

Travels in the spring, visiting Paris, northern Italy and several places in Germany to study older and newer equestrian statues.

1910

Begins her hunt for the perfect Hanoverian horse to act as a model for the equestrian statue. Having inspected a number of horses in Denmark, in October she sets out for the stud farm in Celle near Hanover from which Christian IX got his horses. Here she selects Flingart as the best among the many stallions stabled there and sets up a studio to work.

Turkey Looking out for Hawks is acquired by the National Gallery of Denmark. She takes part in the *Svenska Konstnärernas Förenings Adertonde Årsutställning* (The 18th Annual Exhibition of the Swedish Artists' Society), presenting nine works.

Exhibits some of her animal statuettes made for Bing & Grøndahl at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin.

Prominent Danish author Emma Gad publishes a fervent call for the realisation of a monument to Queen Margrete I, which she says should mark out the new century as `the century of women'.

1912

Becomes the first female member of the Akademiraadet (Academy Council), which advises the Danish state on artistic matters.

On the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Queen Margrete I's death, the Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund (Danish Women's Artist Association) resurrects the proposal for a memorial for the regent, but it is not realised. The same happens in 1915 when Danish women get the right to vote for the Danish two-chamber parliament, the Folketing and the Landsting.

Exhibits her *Skye Terrier* at the *Exhibition of Work by Modern Danish Artists* at the Public Art Galleries in Brighton.

In July, the contract for the execution of the equestrian statue of Christian IX is signed after many negotiations.

1913

A monument to Queen Dagmar, commissioned from Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen a few years earlier, is unveiled in Ribe.

Spends the autumn and winter in Celle to continue working on models of the stallion as well as of the horse trainer and baron Digeon von Monteton, who acts as a model for the king.

1914

Conducts a business trip in Germany. The Königliche Skulpturensammlung, Albertinum in Dresden acquires copies of *Bluebeard*, a bull's head and a serpent's head for the museum's cast collection. In all probability, the archaeological museum at the University of Leipzig orders a copy of *Bluebeard* and possibly other copies too; all were presumably lost in the bombings during the Second World War.

Discovers Carl Nielsen's many affairs, prompting years of marital crisis that affect Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's ability to work.

Takes part in the *Baltiska Utställingen* (Baltic Exhibition), exhibiting a bronze cast of the *Infant Bacchus*.

The First World War breaks out, and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen is forced to interrupt her work in Celle and send her work to Copenhagen in a hurry.

1915

Is awarded the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' honorary residence at Frederiksholms Kanal 28A, where she lives and works right up until her death. Having functioned as an honorary residence for highly esteemed sculptors since 1771, the large, relatively inexpensive residence has an adjoining garden and two large studios as well as several smaller ones.

1916

Joins fellow artists such as painter Anna Ancher (1859–1935) as one of the driving forces behind the founding of the Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund, which becomes one of the first established professional associations (trade unions) in Europe for the organisation of female artists. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen sits on the board right from the beginning until her death.

1917

Delivery of the equestrian statue is delayed due to time constraints and rising bronze prices as a result of the First World War. Ribe Stiftsmuseum (now Ribe Kunstmuseum) acquires both turkey statuettes (1909–1911).

1918

Is among the founding members of the Kunstnernes Statsunderstøttede Croquisskole (Artists' State-Supported Life Drawing School), the very first Danish school to provide equal access to life drawing classes for both sexes outside the auspices of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen sits on the school's board from its inception until her death.

1919

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and Carl Nielsen apply for separation.

1920

Has her work featured at *Kvindelige Kunstneres retrospektive Udstilling* (The Retrospective Exhibition of Female Artists) under the auspices of the Kvindelige Kunstneres Samfund as one among approximately 30 deceased and 170 living female artists.

1921

Creates her first work after the separation, *Mermaid*, at her own behest. She describes it as waking up from a `semi-sedated state'. The work is acquired by the National Gallery of Denmark.

1922

Resumes cohabitation with Carl Nielsen after his first heart attack.

1924

The artisan entrusted with casting the equestrian statue in bronze the year before proves unequal to the task, and several parts of the plaster model are so damaged in the process that they require reconstruction before a new casting can begin.

The National Gallery of Denmark acquires her life-sized sculpture of the stallion Flingart's head.

1925

Submits *Mother and Child* as an entry in a competition for a reunion monument in Copenhagen.

1926

Having left the equestrian statue in the hands of a new bronze-worker, embarks on a two-month journey to Egypt, returning to Denmark in the new year by way of Athens and Rome. The trip is funded by the Tagea Brandt Travel Grant.

Submits a piece for a competition for a monument in the Marselisborg Memorial Park in Aarhus, commemorating all Danish men who fell in the First World War. Her entry is the poignant *Denmark, Our Ever Young Mother with her Dead Son*.

1927

After 19 years of work, the equestrian monument for Christian IX is officially unveiled at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds. In his speech, King Christian X thanks Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen for her work, which he has followed ever since a visit to her studio eight years earlier. Two days later, Christian X awards her a royal medal of honour, the Ingenio et arti in gold, the highest official accolade an artist can receive in Denmark.

The newly built Christ Church in Kolding is adorned by Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's plaster relief *The Raising of Lazarus*, created more than 30 years previously.

Exhibits three works at the *Danish National Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architecture and Applied Art* at the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

1928

Receives a commission from the Gothenburg Concert Hall for a marble bust of her husband on the occasion of his 60th birthday a few years before. In 1930, Fyns Stiftsmuseum (later Fyns Kunstmuseum) also acquires a marble version of the bust. In 1941, the Royal Danish Theatre acquires a bronze version.

1930

Displays 108 works at Kunstnernes Efterårsudstilling (the Artists' Autumn Exhibition).

1931

Presents her first-ever solo show at the Den Frie Udstillingsbygning, displaying 221 works spanning her entire oeuvre. For the exhibition, she creates *Uffe*, a sculpture of the Danish legendary hero Uffe the Meek, her first large-scale work since the equestrian statue.

Is admitted as a member of the French salon Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

Creates proposals for art for Kvinderegensen, a student hall for women in Copenhagen.

Carl Nielsen dies at the age of 66 and is buried from Copenhagen Cathedral.

1932

Danish Fisherman and Saviour, originally intended as part of the discarded plinth relief for the equestrian statue of Christian IX, is erected in Skagen.

Shows one of her figures of athletes at the art exhibition arranged in connection with the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Receives the Thorvaldsen Medal, partly in recognition of her portrait bust of Carl Nielsen.

1933

The Flute Player, a memorial to Carl Nielsen, is unveiled in his hometown of Nørre Lyndelse on Funen. A copy of the sculpture was acquired in 1939 for the Rødovre School.

Her bust of the Faroese poet, politician and editor R.C. Effersøe is erected in Tórshavn in the Faroe Islands.

1935

Becomes a member of the board of Det Ancherske Legat (The Ancher Grant), which supports young artists' study trips.

Participates in the art exhibition associated with Det store Nordiske Stævne at Ollerup Gymnastikhøjskole, known as 'The Nordic Olympic Games'.

1936

A bronze cast of *Uffe* is displayed as one of three Danish sculptures of athletes at the exhibition *Olympische Kunstausstellung Berlin* during the Olympic Games in Berlin.

1937

Exhibits, at the invitation of the Kunstnerforeningen af 18. November (The Artists' Association of 18 November), a total of 143 works at their exhibition at Charlottenborg.

1939

The Genius of Music, a monument to Carl Nielsen, is unveiled at Grønningen in Copenhagen after seven years of work.

Sets out on her last trip abroad, visiting Geneva to view a large exhibition of works from the Prado Museum.

1940

Exhibits at a large exhibition of art and music, *Dansk Kunst* (Danish Art) at Fyens Forum in Odense; her display includes plaster models for her two Carl Nielsen monuments.

Participates in two group exhibitions, both featuring works by approximately a hundred artists, at the National Gallery of Denmark: the first, at the turn of 1940–1941, focuses on drawings; the next followed immediately afterwards features paintings and sculptures. The museum subsequently buys three of her drawings.

Works on modelling the stallion Nørager Rex in statuette format with a view to erecting a monument to the Jutland horse breed in Aalborg.

1941

Submits a proposal for an equestrian statue of Christian X on the occasion of the king's 70th birthday in 1940 and the 500th anniversary of Copenhagen as city of royal residence.

1942

Begins work on a portrait figure of the Jutland stallion Høvding (Chieftain) for a monument in Roskilde; she continues work on it until her death, but the project is never realised. In a later interview, she suggests that she was 'toying with the idea of killing two birds with one stone by placing a statue of Queen Margrete on the stallion.'

1943

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's 80th birthday. The celebrations include her being appointed an honorary member of the Dansk Billedhuggersamfund (Danish Sculptors' Society).

The first monograph about Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, *Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen: Skitser og Statuetter* (Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen: Sketches and Statuettes), is published by the sculptor Helen Schou (1905–2006), a former pupil of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.

1945

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen dies at the age of 81. She is buried from Copenhagen Cathedral, an event which attracts as much attention as Carl Nielsen's death in 1931. She is buried in Vestre Kirkegård next to her husband.

1946

Memorial exhibition at Den Frie Udstillingsbygning in Copenhagen, presenting more than 260 works. Due to its large scale, the exhibition took about a year and a half to prepare.

EXHIBITED WORKS

THE QUEENS

Death of Queen Dagmar
1913
Plaster
62 x 103 cm
NM/1988/012
Odense City Museums

Queen Dagmar
1911–1913
Plaster
296 x 150 x 160 cm
CNM/2007/0100
Odense City Museums

Scouting Skagen Woman
(model study for Queen Dagmar)
1911
Plaster
55 x 22 x 28 cm
CNM/1984/2180
Odense City Museums

Queen Dagmar
1911
Wax
16.5 x 7.5 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1973
Odense City Museums

Queen Margrete I
1897
Bronze
75 x 55 x 24 cm
CNM/1984/2172
Odense City Museums

Jutland Stallion
1938–1940
Bronze
20.5 x 25.5 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/2118
Odense City Museums

The Chieftain
1942
Bronze
26 x 28 x 9 cm
CNM/1987/0006
Odense City Museums

Queen Margrete I
Undated
Plaster
16.5 x 14.5 x 4.5 cm
CNM/1984/2092
Odense City Museums

Queen Margrete I
Undated
Wax
10 x 9.5 x 3.5 cm
CNM/1984/2153
Odense City Museums

Queen Margrete I
Undated
Wax
14.5 x 5 x 13.5 cm
CNM/1984/2018
Odense City Museums

Queen Margrete I
Undated
Wax
4 x 2 x 1.5 cm
CNM/1984/1958
Odense City Museums

ANIMALS AND HUMANS

Pissing Mare
1894
Bronze
12 x 18 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/1170
Odense City Museums

Newborn Calf Standing Up
1909
Bronze
7.5 x 8 x 6.5 cm
CNM/1984/1177
Odense City Museums

Reclining Foal Scratching Itself
1887 or 1888
Bronze
4 x 11.5 x 11.5 cm
CNM/1984/1206
Odense City Museums

Cow with Suckling Calf
1887–1891
Bronze
9 x 17 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1255
Odense City Museums

Calf Scratching Itself
1887–1891
Bronze
18 x 29.5 x 14.7 cm
CNM/1984/2114
Odense City Museums

Cat with Rat
1883
Bronze
5.5 x 12.5 x 5 cm
CNM/1987/0014
Odense City Museums

Calf Licking Itself
1887
Bronze
17.5 x 28 x 15.5 cm
KMS5368
National Gallery of Denmark

Startled Sheep (Newly Shorn Sheep)
1891–1899
Bronze
8.3 x 5.9 x 7.9 cm
KMS5945
National Gallery of Denmark

Colt Stretching
1902
Bronze
31 x 13 x 36.5 cm
Private collection

Freezing Foal
1891
Bronze
21.5 x 21.7 x 6 cm
CNM/1987/0007
Odense City Museums

Horse Rubbing against Tree Stump
Ca. 1885
Bronze
14 x 14 x 14 cm
CNM/1984/0956
Odense City Museums

Frolicking Bulls
1898
Bronze
14.6 x 19.6 x 10.5 cm
KMS5943
National Gallery of Denmark

Grazing Foal
1887 or 1880–1890
Bronze
8.5 x 11.5 x 5.5 cm
CNM/1984/1148
Odense City Museums

Two Cows
1886
Bronze
21 x 8 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1152
Odense City Museums

Grazing Horse
Undated
Bronze
11 x 13.5 x 7.5 cm
CNM/1984/1162
Odense City Museums

Grazing Mare with Foal
1887
Bronze
11.5 x 15.5 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1167
Odense City Museums

Foal Scratching its Front Leg
1887 or 1880–1890
Bronze
9 x 11 x 5 cm
CNM/1984/1169
Odense City Museums

Lamb Reclining in the Sun
1880–1890
Bronze
5.5 x 6 x 3.5 cm
CNM/1984/1174
Odense City Museums

Cow Lowing, its Calf Removed
1942
Bronze
10.5 x 17 x 5 cm
CNM/1984/1175
Odense City Museums

Reclining Cow Licking its Front Legs
1912
Bronze
5.5 x 19 x 7 cm
CNM/1984/1187
Odense City Museums

Weeping Girl
Undated
Bronze
11 x 6 x 7.5 cm
CNM/1984/1188
Odense City Museums

Newborn Lamb
1924
Bronze
4.5 x 7 x 4.5 cm
CNM/1984/1194
Odense City Museums

Dog with Bone
Before 1880
Bronze
4 x 12 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1197
Odense City Museums

Girl Squatting
Ca. 1910
Bronze
8.5 x 4.5 x 3 cm
CNM/1984/1200
Odense City Museums

Reclining Sheep with Lamb
1880–1890
Bronze
7 x 9.5 x 6.5 cm
CNM/1984/1217
Odense City Museums

Cow Licking Itself
1912
Bronze
14 x 20 x 10.5 cm
CNM/1984/1224
Odense City Museums

Camel
Undated
Bronze
12.5 x 15 cm
CNM/1984/1225
Odense City Museums

Small Child Playing with his Toes
1895
Bronze
7.5 x 7 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1226
Odense City Museums

Boy with his Hands behind his Back
1915–1918
Bronze
13 x 5 x 3.5 cm
CNM/1984/1228
Odense City Museums

Newborn Lamb Standing
1924
Bronze
9.5 x 9.5 x 5 cm
CNM/1984/1231
Odense City Museums

Foal at Rest
1937
Bronze
7.5 x 19 x 12 cm
CNM/1984/1234
Odense City Museums

Calf Chewing the Cud
Ca. 1943
Bronze
7 x 20 x 10 cm
CNM/1984/1236
Odense City Museums

Dromedary
Undated
Bronze
14 x 17 x 5.5 cm
CNM/1984/1237
Odense City Museums

Two Calves Suckling Each Other's Ears
1895
Bronze
6 x 13.2 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1240
Odense City Museums

Freezing Calf
Undated
Bronze
8.5 x 10.5 x 4.5 cm
CNM/1984/1248
Odense City Museums

Reclining Sheep with a Lamb on its Back
1923
Bronze
8.2 x 10.5 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1250
Odense City Museums

Hen Scratching
1915
Bronze
13 x 9.5 x 7 cm
CNM/1984/1252
Odense City Museums

Screeching Eagle
1915
Bronze
8 x 10 x 5 cm
CNM/1984/1256
Odense City Museums

Cat with a Herring's Head
1937
Bronze
6 x 14 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1257
Odense City Museums

Cow with Calf
Undated
Bronze
6.5 x 12 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1275
Odense City Museums

Bull Pawing the Ground
1896
Plaster
13 x 20 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/1332
Odense City Museums

Musk Ox
Undated
Plaster
26 x 39 x 19 cm
CNM/1984/1333
Odense City Museums

Reclining Foal
1937 or 1939
Bronze
7 x 33 x 25 cm
CNM/1984/1377
Odense City Museums

Suckling Calf
1884 or 1885
Bronze
17 x 23 x 10.5 cm
CNM/1984/1378
Odense City Museums

Reclining Tiger
1895
Bronze
12 x 21 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/1379
Odense City Museums

Sparrow Nesting
1940
Bronze
5 x 12 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/1385
Odense City Museums

Cow's Head
Undated
Plaster
12 x 9 x 16 cm
CNM/1984/1846
Odense City Museums

Bull Hunt
Undated
Plaster
12.5 x 14 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/2098
Odense City Museums

Small Tethered Calf
1883–1888
Bronze
21.5 x 28 x 15.5 cm
CNM/1984/2115
Odense City Museums

Boy Looking at his Heel
1915
Bronze
24.5 x 21 x 11 cm
CNM/1984/2117
Odense City Museums

Skye Terrier
1904
Bronze
56 x 92 x 30 cm
CNM/1984/2213
Odense City Museums

Collie
Ca. 1909
Bronze
81 x 140 x 44 cm
CNM/1984/2220
Odense City Museums

Skagen Woman on the Lookout
1905, 1910–1912
Silver
14 x 7 x 8 cm
CNM/1987/0011
Odense City Museums

Threatening Bull/Lord of the Field
1896
Bronze
12 x 16 x 6.7 cm
CNM/1987/0012
Odense City Museums

Airedale Terrier Sleeping
1942
Bronze
7 x 19 x 15 cm
CNM/1987/0015
Odense City Museums

Sultan
1899–1900
Plaster, painted
47 x 65 cm
CNM/1988/0116
Odense City Museums

Bull Scratching Itself
1894
Bronze
9.3 x 14 x 8.7 cm
Marble slab 1.8 x 14.4 x 9.2 cm
CNM/2009/0072
Odense City Museums

The Little Match Girl
1936
Plaster
78 x 34 x 33 cm
CNM/2013/0006
Odense City Museums

Moorland Sheep Walking
Ca. 1903
Bronze
13 x 15.9 x 6.8 cm
KMS5946
National Gallery of Denmark

Turkey Looking Out for Hawks
1909–1911
Bronze
35 x 40 x 14 cm
RKMs0332
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Turkey
1909–1911
Bronze
25 x 35 x 13 cm
RKMs0333
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Freezing Boy
1902
Bronze
26 x 8 x 15 cm
RKMs0334
Ribe Kunstmuseum

THE GREEK COPIES

Typhon
1903–1905
Plaster
79.5 x 286 x 48 cm
KAS1380
National Gallery of Denmark

Bluebeard
1905
Plaster, painted
79 x 82 x 51 cm
I 213
Antikensammlung der
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität
Erlangen-Nürnberg

Bluebeard
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
52 x 23 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/1321
Odense City Museums

Bluebeard
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
53 x 23 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/1322
Odense City Museums

Bluebeard
1904–1905
Plaster
52 x 23 x 32 cm
KG216
Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts

Bull's Head
1904–1905
Plaster, painted
76 x 95 x 48 cm
CNM/1984/1351
Odense City Museums

Bull's Head (Lioness above Bull)
1904–1905
Plaster
64 x 64 x 38 cm
KAS1382
National Gallery of Denmark

Typhon/Wing
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
36 x 55 x 10 cm
CNM/1984/1319
Odense City Museums

Mould for Typhon
1903–1905
Plaster
Ca. 44 x 29 x 37 cm
CNM/1984/2207
Odense City Museums

Mould for Typhon
1903–1905
Plaster
150 x 50 x 50 cm
CNM/1984/2212
Odense City Museums

Mould for Typhon (Wing)
1903–1905
Plaster
CNM/1984/2217
Odense City Museums

Head of a Snake
1903–1905
Plaster
H 32 cm
CNM/1984/1354
Odense City Museums

Head of a Snake
1903–1905
Plaster, painted
H 32 cm
Plinth ca. 12 x 21 cm
CNM/1984/1355
Odense City Museums

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE

Flingart
1913–1914
Plaster
240 x 285 x 75 cm
University of Copenhagen

Horse's Head, Flingart
1924
Bronze
93 x 94.5 x 35.6 cm
KMS5807
National Gallery of Denmark

Carl Nielsen's Hands
1907–1927
Plaster
8 x 16 cm
CNM/1956/0011
Odense City Museums

The Equestrian Statue
Ca. 1907
Plaster
16 x 9.5 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1399
Odense City Museums

Count Digeon de Monteton
1914
Plaster
H 44 cm
CNM/1984/2177
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/J.B.S. Estrup, J.P. Jacobsen and Holger Drachmann
1908–1918
Plaster
140 x 100 cm
CNM/1988/0097
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/Labourer
1908–1918
Plaster
H 170 cm
Plinth 82 x 40 cm
CNM/1988/0098
Odense City Museums

Portrait of Hanstholm Fisherman / Danish Fisherman and Saviour
1910
Plaster
51 x 40 x 33 cm
CNM/1988/0120
Odense City Museums

Pedestal with Relief
1907
Plaster
46 x 103 cm
CNM/CHR/317
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/Danish Fisherman and Saviour
1908–1910
Plaster
121 x 49.5 x 75 cm
CNM/CHR/352
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/C.F. Tietgen and a Diver
1908–1918
Plaster
135 x 105 x 33 cm
CNM/CHR/357
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/Possibly the Folk High School Rector Ernst Trier
1908–1918
Plaster
127 x 98 x 41 cm
CNM/CHR/359
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/A Standard Bearer and Two People Pulling a Load
1908–1918
Plaster
132 x 81 x 86
CNM/CHR/360
Odense City Museums

Pedestal Frieze Relief/Farmer with a Cow
1908–1918
Plaster
72 x 85 cm
CNM/CHR/361
Odense City Museums

MERMAIDS AND ATHLETES

Flute Player/Aulos Player
Ca. 1929–1931
Bronze
74 x 32 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/0952
Odense City Museums

300 Metre Sprint
1920–1930
Bronze
10 x 12 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/0957
Odense City Museums

Shot-putter I
Ca. 1917
Bronze
14 x 8.5 x 10 cm
CNM/1984/1149
Odense City Museums

Wrestler
1920–1930
Bronze
13.4 x 10 x 8.5 cm
CNM/1984/1179
Odense City Museums

Wrestler
1920–1930
Bronze
12.2 x 11 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1180
Odense City Museums

Race Walker
1920–1930
Bronze
17 x 6 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1186
Odense City Museums

Rhythmic Dance
1915
Silver
16.5 x 5.5 x 4.5 cm
CNM/1984/1201
Odense City Museums

Long-Distance Runner
Ca. 1918
Bronze
15.5 x 7.5 x 4 cm
CNM/1984/1259
Odense City Museums

Girl Poised to Leap
Ca. 1910
Bronze
9.5 x 6 x 4 cm
CNM/1984/1203
Odense City Museums

Discus Thrower
1920–1930
Bronze
17.2 x 5 x 5.5 cm
CNM/1984/1212
Odense City Museums

Centaur Girl
1902
Bronze
33 x 28 x 13 cm
CNM/1984/2120
Odense City Museums

Centaur Boy
1902
Bronze
35 x 30 x 13.5 cm
CNM/1984/212
Odense City Museums

Cherub
Ca. 1904
Plaster
48 x 19.5 x 26 cm
CNM/1984/2128
Odense City Museums

Infant Bacchus
1898
Bronze
21 x 11 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1183
Odense City Museums

Female Mercury
1936–1940
Plaster
27 x 17.5 x 18 cm
CNM/1984/1705
Odense City Museums

Mermaid
1920
Plaster
77 x 84 x 44 cm
CNM/1988/0099
Odense City Museums

COMPETITIONS AND MONUMENTS

Original model for The Genius of Music
1937–1939
Plaster
286 x 290 x 74 cm
CNM/1988/0100
Odense City Museums

The Genius of Music
Ca. 1933
Plaster
60 x 26 x 25 cm
CNM/1988/0089
Odense City Museums

The Genius of Music
1931
Bronze
23.5 x 18 x 15 cm
CNM/1984/2110
Odense City Museums

The Genius of Music
Ca. 1931–1933
Plaster
39 x 31 x 24.5 cm
CNM/CHR/398
Odense City Museums

The Flute Player
1933
Plaster
125 x 46.3 x 62 cm
CNM/2013/0005
Odense City Museums

Portrait Bust of Carl Nielsen
1927–1931
Marble
57 x 29.5 x 26 cm
CNM/2013/0003 (formerly FKM/183)
Odense City Museums

Carl Nielsen: Death Mask
1931
Plaster
23 x 17 cm
CNM/1956/0012
Odense City Museums

The Finsen Monument
1907
Plaster
70 x 23 cm
CNM/1995/0035
Odense City Museums

The Finsen Monument/Boy
1907
Bronze
31.5 x 19 x 20 cm
CNM/1984/2131
Odense City Museums

Denmark, Our Ever-Young Mother with her Dead Son. Also known as: Draft for Monument to the Danish Men Who Fell in the Great War (II)
1926
Plaster
58 x 86 x 63 cm
CNM/1984/2221
Odense City Museums

Egil Skallagrimsson (Sonatorrek. Egil Skallagrimsson Riding Home with his Dead Son)
1889
Plaster
144 x 170 x 26 cm
CNM/2007/0099
Odense City Museums

Woman Weeding
1907
Bronze
65 x 22.50 x 42.50 cm
CNM/2013/0002 (formerly FKM/179)
Odense City Museums

A Lady on her Favourite Horse: Frederikke Lørup, née Helms
1898–1899
Bronze
68 x 66 x 18.5 cm
KMS 6085
National Gallery of Denmark

Uffe
Ca. 1929
Plaster
16.5 x 6 x 7 cm
CNM/1984/1851
Odense City Museums

Girl on a Merhorse
Ca. 1928
Plaster
44 x 68.5 cm
CNM/1984/2133
Odense City Museums

The Raising of Lazarus
Presumably 1894
Plaster
104 x 42 x 14 cm
CNM/1984/2164
Odense City Museums

Odin at Mimir's Well
Ca. 1920
Plaster, painted
107.7 x 125 cm
CNM/CHR/168
Odense City Museums

THE GATES OF RIBE CATHEDRAL

Draft for The Cats' Heads Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
32 x 17 cm
RKMs0726
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Draft for The Main Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
35 x 15 cm
RKMs0728
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Draft for The North Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
33.5 x 15 cm
RKMs0727
Ribe Kunstmuseum

Cherub of Saint Matthew
1904
Plaster
41.2 x 39 cm
CNM/1984/114
Odense City Museums

Cat's Head/Panther's Head
1904
Bronze
13 x 11.5 x 6.5 cm
CNM/1984/1176
Odense City Museums

Panther's Head
1904
Bronze
10.5 x 12.5 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/120
Odense City Museums

Cherub of Saint John
1904
Plaster
41 x 38.6 cm
CNM/1984/1510
Odense City Museums

Cherub of Saint Mark
1904
Plaster
41 x 39 cm
CNM/1984/1513
Odense City Museums

Cherub of Saint Luke
1904
Plaster
42.6 x 39 cm
CNM/1984/1527
Odense City Museums

The Cats' Heads Gate
1904
Plaster
385 x 200 cm
CNM/2009/0080
Odense City Museums

The upper part of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's equestrian statue of Christian IX is taken along Gammel Strand towards the Christiansborg Riding Grounds, 1927

THE INEXTINGUISHABLE – A GUIDED AUDIO TOUR IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN

`A horse-drawn carriage clatters across the cobbled boulevard and continues towards Christiansborg Palace and the equestrian statue of Christian IX. That is the route you too will follow ...'

The audio tour *The Inextinguishable* follows in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's footsteps on a walk through Copenhagen and times gone buy. As you walk from the Glyptotek to Den Frie Udstillingsbygning, you will explore her public monuments, brought to life through a dramatised tale based on her letters and diaries and accompanied by Carl Nielsen's music.

The audio guide is available in Danish only.

Den Frie
Udstilling

Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Allan van Hansen (b. 1978) is a graphic novelist who holds an MA in Danish and Dutch. He has published the graphic novel *Jammers Minde* (Memoirs of Leonora Christina, 2019) and illustrated the children's books *Jeg kan godt*! (I can do it!, 2018) and *Mig og Glistrup* (Me and Glistrup, 2017).

Amalie Smith (b. 1985) is an author and artist. She graduated from The Danish Academy of Creative Writing in 2009 and the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in 2015. Smith has published eight genre-hybrid books since 2010, including *Marble* (Forlaget Gladiator, 2014), about colour in antique sculpture and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's work on reconstructing it, and *Thread Ripper* (Gyldendal, 2020), about Ada Lovelace and the connection between computer technology and weaving. In 2015, Smith received The Crown Prince Couple's Stardust Award, and in 2017 she was awarded the three-year work grant from the Danish Arts Foundation.

Elisabeth Toubro (b. 1956) is an artist. Focusing on sculptures and installations, Toubro has been commissioned to do several large works of public art in Denmark and Sweden. Through her artistic endeavours, Toubro has repeatedly worked with photography, using it partly as photo documentation of performances, partly as staged photographs. Taking her starting point in Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's works, Toubro has been inspired to create series of photos which will also serve as the basis of a series of ceramic works.

Emilie Boe Bierlich (b. 1979) is a postdoctoral fellow at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and holds a PhD in art history. She defended her dissertation *Excentriske slægtskaber. En mobilitetsbevidst gentænkning af danske kvindelige kunstnere 1880–1910* (Eccentric Kinships: A Mobility-Conscious Reassessment of Danish Women Artists 1880–1910) at the University of Copenhagen in 2020 and has worked on the research project and special exhibition *ANNE MARIE CARL-NIELSEN* since 2019. Prior to this, Bierlich has held positions as curator at Ordrupgaard and the Hirschsprung Collection, where she curated a number of exhibitions on women artists from around 1850 onwards. Concurrently with the research project presented here, Bierlich's postdoc scholarship includes the publication of a substantial research article on the artist Bertha Wegmann (1847–1926) as well as participation in a Nordic research project on female sculptors attached to the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.

Kirsten Justesen (b. 1943) is a trained classical sculptor, having studied under Knud Nellemose. Her activities encompass across a wide range of genres from body art and performance to sculpture and installation. She hails from a background in the avant-garde art scene of the 1960s, where she became a pioneer in the three-dimensional art forms that involve the artist's own body as material. These experiments led her in the direction of the feminist aesthetic that grappled with and pushed back at traditional values and systems in the 1970s. Her later production consists of a broader study of the relationship between body, space and language. Kirsten Justesen is represented at numerous museums and collections in Denmark and abroad, including SMK – National Gallery of Denmark, Kunsten Museum of Modern Art in Aalborg and the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington D.C. Kirsten Justesen most recently participated in Louisiana Museum of Modern Art's exhibition *MOTHER!* in 2021.

Mathias Kryger (b. 1977) has been an art critic and writer of commentaries at the Danish daily newspaper Politiken since 2006. His curating activities include the exhibitions *William Forsythe: In the Company of Others* (2016) and *Ovartaci & the Art of Madness* (2017) at Kunsthal Charlottenborg as well as degree shows at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and the Funen Art Academy. He has also frequented the latter as professor for several years. In his capacity as an artist, he has carried out performances and exhibited in his native Denmark and abroad; before that he dabbled in being a pop singer, achieving little to no success. The possibility that he will try his hand at all these things again one day cannot be ruled out. And oh, yes: he loves making TV. He hosted the DRK programme *Makværk eller Mesterværk* (Muck or Masterpiece, 2019) and most recently the show *Falloskunst: Potent, provokerende og populær* (Phallus Art: Potent, Provocative and Popular) with Bente Scavenius (2021) on DR2. That was fun, he thought. In fact, all of the above (which quite frankly represents just a small slice of a very busy life) is fun, he thinks. Fortunately.

Michael Fjeldsøe (b. 1965) is a professor of musicology at the University of Copenhagen. Holding a PhD and dr.phil degree, Fjeldsøe focuses his research on art music and applied music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and Denmark. His dr.phil dissertation, *Kulturradikalismens musik* (The Music of Cultural Radicalism, 2013), applies a wide perspective to musical culture, including genres of applied music like theatre music, political music, music for revues, cabarets and education, and the role of progressive music in society. One main recurring topic is Danish music and music history, regarded as the history of musical culture, with Carl Nielsen and other composers represented in a number of studies and scholarly, critical editions of musical works. Fjeldsøe is currently head of a collective research project which will yield a new monograph on Carl Nielsen as a European composer (to be published 2022), funded by the Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen Foundation.

Peter Nørgaard Larsen (b. 1960) holds an MA and PhD in art history and is chief curator and senior researcher at SMK – National Gallery of Denmark, where he oversees Danish and European painting and sculpture 1750–1900. He has focused particularly on the late Danish Golden Age and the exchanges between Danish and European art 1850–1900, including the aftermath of the Golden Age, Japonisme in Danish art, Symbolism, Impressionism and Vitalism. Recent publications include texts on the Archaic longings of the late Golden Age, Anna Ancher's Vitalism, L.A. Ring in Northern Zealand and an article offering a general outline of Vilhelm Hammershøi and Danish nineteenth-century art.

Rune Frederiksen (b. 1971), MA and PhD in classical archaeology, was exhibition consultant at the Glyptotek in 2003, and from 2004 to 2007 on the staff of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Here he compiled and published a catalogue of the museum's collection of plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculpture, curated the exhibition *Treasures of the Ashmolean Museum* and lectured on ancient sculpture at the University of Oxford. Rune Frederiksen was director of the Danish Institute in Athens from 2010 to 2015 and has been head of collections and research at the Glyptotek since 2016.

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Ca. 1927
1988-288/47
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

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Photo: Irina Boersma

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Portrait of Anne Marie Brodersen from her time at C.C. Magnussen's school of carving, Schleswig
1880
CNM/1984/3055
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

The equestrian statue of Christian IX in the foundryman's yard
1927
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

17
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with the enlarged version of the equestrian statue of Christian IX
1923
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with *Mermaid*
Ca. 1920
1988-281/876
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

18
Aymard Charles Théodore Neubourg
Portrait of Bertel Thorvaldsen
1840
N267
Thorvaldsens Museum

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's childhood home, Thygesminde, view from the garden
Late 1870s
CNM/2007/0097
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

22-23
Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen photographed at the Acropolis Museum in Athens in front of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's copy of the *Typhon* group
1903
CNM/2012/0201
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Dr. Schrøder, Altes Museum, Berlin

24
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen by the seaside with the couple's three children
Ca. 1902
1988-281/300
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

New parents Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with their firstborn, Irmelin
1892
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
Photo: Oscar Lauritz Wils

Portrait photo of Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
1891
CNM/1984/2975
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Johannes Olsen

The Carl Nielsen family photographed at Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's studio in Vodroffsvej
Ca. 1909
CNM/1984/2994
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Polyfoto

26
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's recipe for the wax she used for sculptural sketches
1890s
The Carl Nielsen archive, IIC.2b
Det Kgl. Bibliotek

27
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen poses as if carving the bust of Carl Nielsen for the Gothenburg Concert Hall
Ca. 1928
CNM/2008/0017
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

Portrait of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on one of her last figures
Ca. 1943
1976-797/65
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

X-ray of wax figure
CNM-1984-1789
Odense City Museums
© Odense City Museums.
Photo: Jannie Amsgaard Ebsen

28
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio with her model sketch for the equestrian statue of Christian IX
1908
CNM/2007/0039
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Henning Jensens Dørtre

Trial set-up of Anne Marie Carl Nielsen's monument to Christian IX at the Christiansborg Riding Grounds
1911
1988-288/109
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

The Diver in storage
2014
© & Photo: Amalie Smith

Frieze on Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's proposal for the equestrian statue of Christian IX. A number of portraits were sprinkled in among the archetypes
1908
CNM/2012/0012
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

30
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with an equine model in front of her studio at Langelinie quay, Copenhagen
Ca. 1908
CNM/1984/3065
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

31
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio in Celle, Germany, with a life-sized study for her equestrian statue of Christian IX and the horse Flingart
1914
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio in Celle with the horse Flingart
1914
CNM/2008/0025
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

33
Portrait of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with the Thorvaldsen Medal
1932
CNM/1984/3102
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

34-35
Tableau with wax figures
Photo: Irina Boersma

38-39
Portrait (trick photo) of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Undated
CNM/1984/3115
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

41
Portrait of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (cropped)
1888
CNM/1984/3060
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Calf's Head
Undated
Wax
8,5 x 5 x 4 cm
CNM/1984/2076
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Seal
Undated
Wax
4.5 x 9 x 3.5 cm
CNM/1984/2038
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Swan
Undated
Earthenware
7.5 x 21 x 7.5 cm
CNM/1984/1753
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

42
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Calf Licking Itself
1887
Bronze
17.5 x 28 x 15.5 cm
KMS5368
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Calf Scratching Itself
1887
Bronze
18 x 29.5 x 14.7 cm
CNM/1984/2114
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

45
Harald Slott-Møller
Portrait of Miss Marie Brodersen
1890
Oil and gold leaf on panel
CNM/1984/1002
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Jens Gregers Aagaard

46-47
Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen with their children in J.F. Willumsen's studio, Hellerupvej
Ca. 1896
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

48
Johanne Krebs
Portrait of Anne Marie Brodersen
1889
Oil on canvas
CNM/1964/0290
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Jens Gregers Aagaard

49
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Snakes' Heads
1903-1905
Watercolour and pencil on paper
15.4 x 23.2 cm
CNM/1994/0024-0026
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Kore
1903-1905
Watercolour and pencil on paper
29 x 19.5 cm
CNM/1984/1097
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bull's Head
1903-1905
Watercolour and pencil on paper
23.5 x 15.4 cm
CNM/1994/0024-0006
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Heracles and Triton
1903-1905
Watercolour and pencil on paper
15.4 x 23.2 cm
CNM/1994/0024-0005
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

51
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Draft for The North Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
33.5 x 15 cm
RKMs0727
Ribe Kunstmuseum
Photo: Ribe Kunstmuseum

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Draft for The Cats' Heads Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
32 x 17 cm
RKMs0726
Ribe Kunstmuseum
Photo: Ribe Kunstmuseum

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Draft for The Main Gate, Ribe Cathedral
Ca. 1904
Plaster
33.5 x 15 cm
RKMs0728
Ribe Kunstmuseum
Photo: Ribe Kunstmuseum

52
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Cherub of Saint Matthew
Sketch in plaster for Ribe Cathedral
1904
41.2 x 39 cm
CNM/1984/114
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Cherub of Saint John
Sketch in plaster for Ribe Cathedral
1904
41 x 38.6 cm
CNM/1984/1510
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Cherub of Saint Mark
Sketch in plaster for Ribe Cathedral
1904
CNM/1984/1513
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Cherub of Saint Luke
Sketch in plaster for Ribe Cathedral
1904
42.6 x 39 cm
CNM/1984/1527
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

53
Galerie Eduard Schulte, Unter den Linden in Berlin
1908

55
Unknown stonemason and Stig Andersen, Raadvad
Memorial plaques to Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen on the façade of the Royal Danish Academy's Honorary Residence at Frederiksholms Kanal 28A in Copenhagen
1991/2013
The memorial plaque of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen:
30 x 36 cm
Granted by the Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen Foundation
Photo: Ana Cecilia Gonzalez

56
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
1905
Plaster, painted
79 x 82 x 51 cm
I 213
Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg
Photo: Andreas Murgan

58
The Danish Women's Society excursion with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in attendance
Undated
CNM/2012/0077
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

59
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen on the scaffolding during the erection of the equestrian statue of Christian IX
1927
CNM/2012/0024
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: A. Michelsen

60
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in the studio she built herself in Celle while working on the equestrian statue of Christian IX
Ca. 1914
CNM/1984/3081
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

62
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Startled Sheep (*Newly Shorn Sheep*)
1891-1899
Bronze
8.3 x 5.9 x 7.9 cm
KMS5945
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Two Calves Suckling Each Other's Ears
1895
Bronze
6 x 13.2 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1240
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Screeching Eagle
1915
Bronze
8 x 10 x 5 cm
CNM/1984/1256
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Newborn Calf Standing Up
1909
Bronze
7.5 x 8 x 6.5 cm
CNM/1984/1177
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Cow with Suckling Calf
1887-91
Bronze
9 x 17 x 9 cm
CNM/1984/1255
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

63
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Reclining Foal Scratching Itself
1887 or 1888
Bronze
4 x 11.5 x 11.5 cm
CNM/1984/1206
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Reclining Cow Licking its Front Legs
1912
Bronze
5.5 x 19 x 7 cm
CNM/1984/1187
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Colt Stretching
1902
Bronze
31 x 13 x 36.5 cm
Private collection
Photo: Bruun Rasmussen

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Pissing Mare
1894
Bronze
12 x 18 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/1170
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Reclining Sheep with a Lamb on its Back
1923
Bronze
8.2 x 10.5 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1250
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

65
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen and her assistant, the sculptor Hans Peder Pedersen-Dan, with the original model for the Queen Dagmar monument
1913
CNM/2007/0050
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photographer unknown

66
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Centaur and *Portrait of a Woman*
Ca. 1901
Watercolour and pencil
23.3 x 14.8 cm
CNM/1984/2716-0011
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

67
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio with one of her turkeys
1910
CNM/2007/0048
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

70-71
Tableau with wax figures
Photo: Irina Boersma

74
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Wrestler
1920-1930
Bronze
12.2 x 11 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1180
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Wrestler
1920-30
Bronze
13.4 x 10 x 8.5 cm
CNM/1984/1179
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Shot-putter I
Ca. 1917
Bronze
14 x 8.5 x 10 cm
CNM/1984/1149
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Theodor Philipsen
A Loose Horse
1898
Wax
42 x 47.5 x 18.1 cm
KMS5744
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

77
Gunnar Sadolin
The Hellenes at Refsnæs
1895
Oil on canvas
76 x 105 cm
Private collection
Photo: Ole Akhøj

Valdemar Schønheyder Møller
Sunset, Fontainebleau
1900
Oil on canvas
116.2 x 88.3 cm
KMS8079
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

79
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Frolicking Bulls
1898
Bronze
14.6 x 19.6 x 10.5 cm
KMS5943
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Horse Rubbing against Tree Stump
Ca. 1885
Bronze
14 x 14 x 14 cm
CNM/1984/0956
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Newborn Lamb
1924
Bronze
4.5 x 7 x 4.5 cm
CNM/1984/1194
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

80
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Mermaid
1920
Plaster
77 x 84 x 44 cm
CNM/1988/0099
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

81
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Title page for Hymnus Amoris, op. 12
1897
Print
34 x 27 cm
CNM/1994/0009
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

82
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Girl Poised to Leap
Ca. 1910
Bronze
9.5 x 6 x 4 cm
CNM/1984/1203
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Discus Thrower
1920-1930
Bronze
17.2 x 5 x 5.5 cm
CNM/1984/1212
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Race Walker
1920-30
Bronze
17 x 6 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1186
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
300 Metre Sprint
1920-30
Bronze
10 x 12 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/0957
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Ball Thrower
1920-30
Wax
18 x 7 x 6 cm
CNM/1984/1855
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Ballet Dancer
1920-30
Wax
11 x 7 x 8 cm
CNM/1984/2020
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

83
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Centaur Boy
1902
Bronze
35 x 30 x 13.5 cm
CNM/1984/212
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Centaur Girl
1902
Bronze
33 x 28 x 13 cm
CNM/1984/2120
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

84
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Thor with the Midgard Serpent
1887
Bronze
142.5 x 78 x 60 cm
CNM/2007/0101
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Jens Gregers Aagaard

85
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The King's Stairway at Christiansborg / Thor Battling the Midgard Serpent
1907
Plaster
40.5 x 65 cm
CNM/1984/2132
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Skjold Taming a Bear
1898
Bronze
15.5 x 7 x 8.5 cm
CNM/1984/1262
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Skipper Clement
1927
Plaster
21 x 14.5 x 19 cm
CNM/1984/1868
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

86
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on *The Chieftain*
Ca. 1943
CNM/2007/0042
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

87
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsens
The Chieftain
1945
CNM/2007/0045
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

90-91
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Denmark, Our Ever-Young Mother with her Dead Son. Draft for Monument to the Danish Men who Fell in the Great War [II]. 1926 (detail)
Plaster, 58 x 86 x 63 cm
CNM/1984/2221
Photo: Irina Boersma

104-105
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Denmark, Our Ever-Young Mother with her Dead Son. Draft for *Monument to the Danish Men who Fell in the Great War* [II]. 1926 (detail)
Plaster, 58 x 86 x 63 cm
CNM/1984/2221
Photo: Irina Boersma

109
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Freezing Foal
1887-91
Bronze
21.5 x 21.7 x 6 cm
CNM/1987/0007
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen working on *The Genius of Music*, a monument to Carl Nielsen. Next to the plinth is Maren Hansen.
1938
CNM/2007/0019
Odense City Museums
© Carl Nielsen Museet. Photographer unknown

110
Louise Bourgeois is 26 when she models an ephebe at the Académie de la Grande-Chaumière, Paris
1937
The photograph is attributed to Brassaï.
Courtesy The Easton Foundation

Kirsten Justesen
Ephebe, blue clay
1964
Photographed in Kirsten Justesen's studio on Astrid Noack's potter's wheel
Private collection
Photo: Anders Sune Berg

111
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, Carl Nielsen and Maren Hansen in the studio in Vodroffsvej, Copenhagen
1913
1988-281/285
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Handle with angel, modelled on Irmelin
1905
Bronze
14 x 21 x 12 cm
Ribe Cathedral
Photo: Kirsten Justesen

112
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Mounted Woman Warrior
Ca. 1931
Watercolour and pencil
21.4 x 26.8 cm
CNM/1994/0024-0028
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

113
Kirsten Justesen
RIDER
1974-2015
Black stoneware
49 x 42 cm
The New Carlsberg Foundation 2016
© Kirsten Justesen

114-115
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Denmark, Our Ever-Young Mother with her Dead Son. Draft for *Monument to the Danish Men who Fell in the Great War* [II]. 1926 (detail)
Plaster, 58 x 86 x 63 cm
CNM/1984/2221
Photo: Irina Boersma

118
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The equestrian statue of Christian IX
1927
Bronze
456 x 575 x 190 cm
The Agency for Culture and Palaces
Photo: Troels Faber

119
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Queen Margrete I
1897/2006
Bronze
315 x 315 x 140 cm
Roskilde Kommune
Photo: Bo Berger

120
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The Flute Player (*The Little Shepherd Boy*)
1933
286 x 290 x 74 cm
Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

121
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The Genius of Music
1932
Bronze
286 x 290 x 74 cm
City of Copenhagen
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

122
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Queen Dagmar
1913
Bronze
300 x 150 x 160 cm
Esbjerg Municipality
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

123
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Mermaid
1921/2009
Bronze
74 x 78.5 x 43.5 cm
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

124
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Danish Fisherman and Saviour
1932
Bronze
285 x 126 x 151 cm
Frederikshavn Municipality
Photo: Søren Breiting / Scanpix

125
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The Main Gate, or, The Lion Gate
1904
Bronze
415 x 196 cm
Ribe Cathedral
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Handle with snail motif
1904
Bronze
12 x 13 x 14 cm
Ribe Cathedral
Photo: Benedicte Bierlich Durholm

Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Handle with sleeping peacock
1904
Bronze
25 x 15 x 9 cm
Ribe Cathedral
Photo: Benedicte Bierlich Durholm

126
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Infant Bacchus
1906
Bronze
92 x 45.5 x 29.5 cm
Aalborg Municipality
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

127
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Uffe
1931-32
Bronze
215 x 95 x 110 cm
Kolding Municipality
© The Carl Nielsen Museum

130
Louis Moe
Uffe the Meek
1898
Danmarks Historie i Billeder IX
Colour lithograph
Skolehistorie.au.dk

131
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in her studio, standing behind her figure of the mythical hero Uffe
1930
CNM/2007/0044
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photographer unknown

132
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen next to her statue *Uffe*
1932
CNM/2012/0067
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Photo: Ole Lund Jensen

134
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Mermaid
1921
Bronze
76 x 78.5 x 44 cm
KMS5781
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

137
Käthe Kollwitz
Inspiration
1904
Line etching, drypoint, reservage, sandpaper and soft ground with imprent of laid paper
Kn 86 VII d
© Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln

138-39
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The Genius of Music
1939 (detail)
Plaster
286 x 290 x 74 cm
CNM/1988/0100
Photo: Irina Boersma

150-51
Tableau with relief, Greek copies and moulds
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
1903-05
Plaster, painted
53 x 23 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/1322
Bull's Head
1904-05
Plaster
73.5 x 56.5 x 27.5 cm
CNM/1984/2215
Girl on a Merhorse
Ca. 1928
Plaster
44 x 68.5 cm
CNM/1984/2133
A selection of moulds
Photo: Irina Boersma

154
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Snake's Head
1903-05
Plaster, painted
H 32 cm
CNM/1984/1355
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

156-57
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Typhon
1903-05
Plaster, painted
79.5 x 286 x 48 cm
KAS1380
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

158
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bull's Head
1904-05
Plaster, painted
76 x 95 x 48 cm
CNM/1984/1351
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

159
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
1903-05
Plaster, painted
52 x 23 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/1321
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

161
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bull's Head (Lioness above Bull)
1904-05
Plaster, painted
64 x 63 cm
KAS1382
National Gallery of Denmark
www.smk.dk, public domain

162-163
Èmile Gilliéron
Reproduction of the Winged Threebodied Creature, commonly known as *Bluebeard*. Original work from the Greek Archaic period, second quarter of the 6th century BCE. Watercolour, graphite and crayon on paper. 101.3 x 337.8 cm.
Dodge Fund, 1919 (19.195.1)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Art Resource/Scala, Firenze

165
Ingrid Kjær modelling a kore at the Acropolis Museum
1901
CNA II A.b. Ks. 73
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
© Unknown / VISDA

Ingrid Kjær
Akropolis kore no. 674
1902
Plaster, painted
110 x 37 x 25 cm
L133
Musée des Moulages
Université Lumière Lyon 2
Photo: Claude Mouchot, 2010, Musée des Moulages

Ingrid Kjær
The Blond Ephebe (Acr. 689)
1903-1911
Plaster, painted
37 x 18.5 x 18.5 cm
L124
Musée des Moulages
Université Lumière Lyon 2
Photo: Claude Mouchot, 2010, Musée des Moulages

166
Niels Skovgaard
Acropolis kore no. 675
1888
Oil on canvas
50 x 31 cm
MIN 1925
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

Niels Skovgaard
Acropolis kore no. 682
1888
Oil on canvas
70.6 x 39 cm
MIN 1926
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

167
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Typhon/Wing
1903-05
Plaster, painted
36 x 55 x 10 cm
CNM/1984/1319
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

170 + 173
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Bluebeard
Black-and-white photograph of plaster cast of modelled copy of Bluebeard (head) made in the autumn of 1914 and sold to the Albertinum in Dresden in 1915. The head was probably destroyed in the Second World War, but a mould survived and casts were sold by Dresden from the 1950s onwards.
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179
Tableau with sketches for *The Genius of Music*
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Horse's Head/The Genius of Music
1931-39
Wax
17 x 11.50 x 4.50 cm
CNM/1984/2075
The Genius of Music
1931-32
Wax
10.50 x 12.50 x 3.50 cm
CNM/1984/2088
Horse's Head/The Genius of Music
193739
Plaster
15 x 24 x 7 cm
CNM/1984/1696
The Genius of Music
1931
Bronze
23.5 x 18 x 15 cm
CNM/1984/2110
The Genius of Music
ca. 193133
Plaster
39 x 31 x 24.5 cm
CNM/CHR/398
The Genius of Music
ca. 1933
Plaster
60 x 26 x 25 cm
CNM/1988/0089
Photo: Irina Boersma

183
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Flute Player/Aulos Player
Ca. 1929-31
Bronze
79 x 32 x 32 cm
CNM/1984/0952
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

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Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen at the unveiling of her monument to Carl Nielsen in his birthplace, Nørre Lyndelse, 1933
CNM/2012/0055
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum.
Dansk Presse Foto

187
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen by an ancient work of art in Greece
1928
1988-281/372
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
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188
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Heracles Battling the Minotaur
Undated
Bronze
9.5 x 6.2 x 4 cm
CNM/1984/1276
Odense City Museums
© The Carl Nielsen Museum. Photo: Niels Ulrich Hansen/Galleri VENT

192
Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
The Genius of Music, sketch, ca. 1933.
Plaster
60 x 26 x 25 cm
CNM/1988/0089
Photo: Irina Boersma

195
Portraits of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Undated
1976-797/34
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
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The upper part of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's equestrian statue of Christian IX is taken along Gammel Strand towards the Christiansborg Riding Grounds
November 1927
KE032975
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
Photo: Holger Damgaard

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The upper part of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen's equestrian statue of Christian IX is taken along Gammel Strand towards the Christiansborg Riding Grounds
November 1927
KE032971
Det Kgl. Bibliotek
Photo: Holger Damgaard

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Enlarged version of the horse's head
1922
CNM/2012/0093
Odense City Museums

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Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen
Denmark, Our Ever-Young Mother with her Dead Son. Draft for Monument to the Danish Men who Fell in the Great War [II]. 1926 (detail)
Plaster, 58 x 86 x 63 cm.
CNM/1984/2221
Photo: Irina Boersma

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The quote on p. 111 is taken from the 1979 book *Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen* by the artist's daughter, Anne Marie Telmányi, where the author presumably deliberately misquotes the original diary entry. The original quote reads:

"Tuesday
3/17/1891
Diary

He walked by and looked up. He came the way the goats had gone by in the morning.
Sibyl!"

[Entry in Carl Nielsen's diary by the future Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen.]

Enlarged version of the horse's head. 1922