

1 | Liszt's Activities as Kapellmeister

Weimar is a small town: charming and picturesque with its cobbled streets, classical architecture, and vast green spaces, but small nonetheless. It is easily explored by foot. The town is largely unchanged since Franz Liszt's time. Life centres around the main square: the *Marktplatz* with its neo-gothic town hall, and its stalls selling fruit, vegetables, flowers, and crafts; the *Frauenplan*, headed by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's house, and lined with restaurants and cafes, including Goethe's favourite watering hole: *Zum Weissen Schwann*; and the *Theaterplatz*, site of the joint Goethe and Schiller monument by Ernst Rietschel and, of course, the German National Theatre, formerly the Weimar Court Theatre. The castle sits by the river Ilm, nestled by Weimar's vast *Park an der Ilm*. A little to the north, slightly removed from the hustle of the centre, but also close to the park, lies the Altenburg: Liszt's home for a decade. A visit to the town and a little imagination can easily bring Liszt's Weimar to life.

But the town has, inevitably, changed. The castle that now stands empty and open to paying tourists once had an established and present court. During Liszt's time, Germany was a conglomeration of small independent states.¹ Their governance varied, but many, like Weimar, were dukedoms. Most towns had a court theatre that was subsidised by a patron, prince, or city council.² Weimar's theatre was subsidised by the grand duke, and it was run expressly for the court and its circle. This naturally had an important impact on the way the theatre was run and the shape of its programmes. The anniversaries of the aristocracy were major events in the court's year and were marked by the theatre. The general public was admitted only on such special occasions. From 2 February 1783 until 8 July 1853, Weimar was governed by the grand duke Carl Friedrich, son of the famous Carl August, who had ruled over the town during the glory days of Weimar classicism. Unfortunately, Carl Friedrich lacked both his father's interest in the arts and his money (especially after the revolutions

¹ The unification of Germany became official on 18 January 1871.
² Christopher Innes, 'The Rise of the Director, 1850–1939' in *A History of German Theatre*, eds Simon Williams and Maik Hamburger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 172.

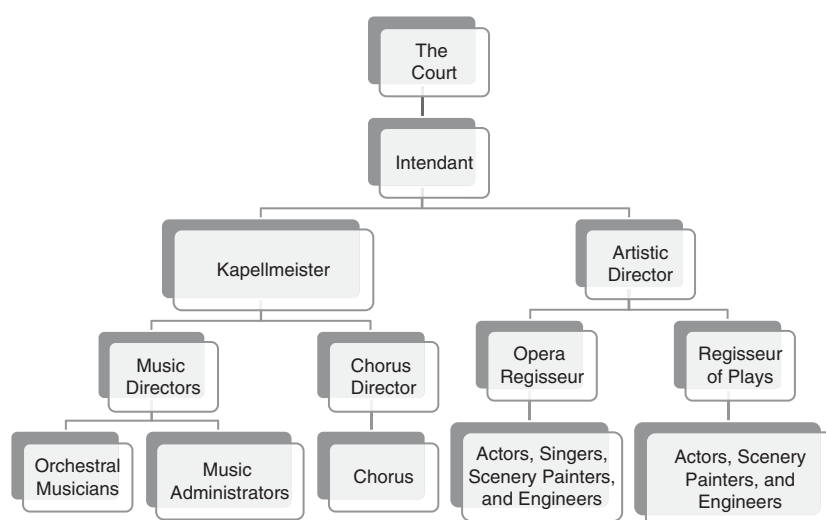


Figure 1.1: The Main Artistic Positions in the Weimar Court

of 1848–9), and consequently Weimar's cultural life fell into neglect. Carl Friedrich's second-born son,³ Carl Alexander, inherited the throne on 28 August 1853.⁴

Liszt would soon discover that the theatre was entirely dependent on the court for financial support. This provoked bitter resentment between certain members of the musical and dramatic staff. Each jealously petitioned for an increased share of the budget and use of the theatre. Unfortunately, Weimar had only a single theatre and no purpose-built concert hall (although concerts were sometimes given in the Grand Ducal Palace and at the town hall). This naturally exacerbated tensions. The same orchestra was used for concert performances and dramatic performances,⁵ so it too had to be shared. Rehearsals of the musical sometimes clashed with those of the dramatic, and this was regularly a source of ill feeling between Liszt and the rest of the staff.⁶

The structure of the theatre management effectively hampered any autonomy Liszt hoped to enjoy. All staff, including the Kapellmeister, were

³ Their first born, Paul Alexander, died on 10 April 1806.

⁴ Carl Friedrich died on 8 July 1853. The coronation took place on 28 August to coincide with Goethe's birthday.

⁵ Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904), 315.

⁶ Wolfram Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar, 1756–1861* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1982), 96.

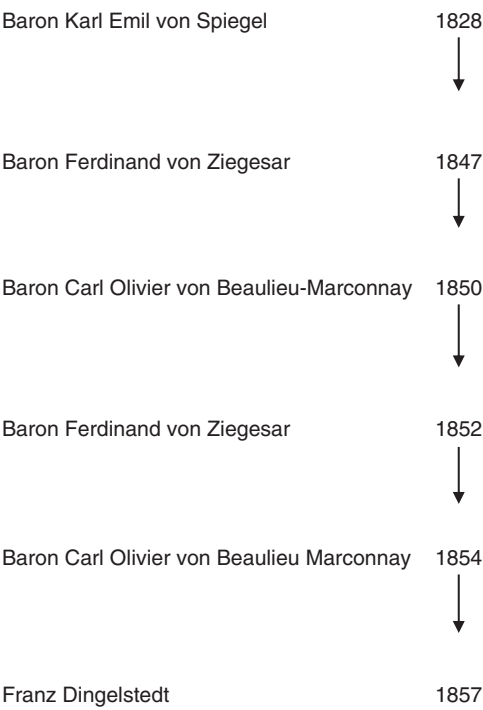


Figure 1.2: Timeline of Weimar Intendants⁷

answerable to the Intendant, who held a position similar to that of today’s director general. During Liszt’s tenure in Weimar, he worked with the Intendants used in Figure 1.2.

The Intendant was ultimately responsible for every aspect of the running of the theatre; he had the final word on all decisions. Archival files show that his duties at Weimar included:

- 1 Making sure that all pieces that had been selected for performance were suitable, and evaluating manuscripts and scores offered to the theatre.
- 2 Preparing pieces for performance by making cuts, additions, and inserts.
- 3 Scheduling performances.

⁷ Baron Ferdinand von Ziegesar suffered from eye problems, which meant that it was necessary for Baron Carl Olivier von Beaulieu-Marconnay to step in from 1850 to 1852. Von Ziegesar returned in 1852, but on 5 May 1854 it was announced that he would be granted leave from his role due to the death of his wife, and Beaulieu-Marconnay once again became interim Intendant. Von Ziegesar never returned to work. He died in 1855, and Beaulieu-Marconnay held the post until the appointment of Franz von Dingelstedt on 1 October 1857. See Adolf Bartels, *Chronik des Weimariſchen Hoftheaters 1817–1907* (Weimar: pub. unknown, 1908), 107 and 120 for records of this.

- 4 Distributing roles where parts require both singing and acting (otherwise the choice was left to the Kapellmeister and *Régisseur*, respectively).
- 5 Attending and taking rehearsals.
- 6 Choosing props and costumes for performances.
- 7 Choosing *Régisseurs*.
- 8 Letting go of actors whose contracts have expired.
- 9 Ensuring orderliness and discipline during rehearsals and performances.
- 10 Engaging visiting artists.

The role varied, as might be expected, from theatre to theatre and from person to person. In reality, many of the responsibilities on this list would have been delegated to the Kapellmeister or *Régisseur*. Crucially, the extent to which the Intendant would allow others to carry out their duties independently varied greatly. Ferdinand von Ziegesar seems to have interpreted his role primarily as supervisory. The archival holdings are overflowing with bills and petitions for von Ziegesar,⁸ conjuring an image of an Intendant mired in administration. He was largely content to allow Liszt free rein. Dingelstedt took a different view when he took over in April 1857. The talented director had already made a name for himself at the Munich theatre between 1851 and 1857 before coming to Weimar.⁹ He could be strong-willed and domineering when seeing through his ideas, and took a much more active role in creative decisions.¹⁰ Consequently, the relationship between Dingelstedt and Liszt was fraught.

Another difficulty that Liszt encountered was that Weimar already had a full-time Kapellmeister: the French composer André Hyppolyte Chélaré. Chélaré was Johann Nepomuk Hummel's successor and still occupied the post when Liszt was appointed. Faced with a potentially awkward situation, the Weimar Court initially attempted to separate Liszt's and Chélaré's roles, probably to stop Chélaré feeling cast aside. Their duties were split between dramatic performances, for which Chélaré was responsible, and concerts (particularly court concerts, as the court naturally wanted to hear their new

⁸ Various authors, 'Concerte den Großherzogl. Kapelle für sich selbst und einzelne Mitglieder' 3 February 1853, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 1311, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar (hereafter ThHStAW).

⁹ See Marvin Carlson, 'The realistic theatre and bourgeois values, 1750-1900' in *A History of German Theatre*, eds Williams and Hamburger, 110-11 for details.

¹⁰ The high point of Dingelstedt's time in Weimar (between 1857 and 1867) was his productions of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and a cycle of the Histories presented over a week on successive evenings in 1864. See Williams and Hamburger, *A History of German Theatre*, 110. He also published a German translation of Shakespeare's works in 1867. See Dirk Delabastita and Lieven d'Hulst (eds), *European Shakespeares: Translating Shakespeare in the Romantic Age* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993), 52.

star), which were in Liszt's domain.¹¹ As theatrical performances greatly outnumbered concerts, this arrangement meant that Chélaré was in charge of the day-to-day conducting of the orchestra and planning of programmes.

Initially, Liszt agreed to spend a few months in Weimar every spring. This was to allow him to conduct and play in the festivities on 2 February (the birthday of the grand duke Carl Friedrich), 16 February (the birthday of the grand duchess Maria Pavlovna) and 8 April (the birthday of the hereditary grand duchess Princess Sophie of the Netherlands).¹² Liszt did not honour these commitments. After conducting the court orchestra and playing in the concerts of January and February 1844,¹³ he disappeared from Weimar for the next four years despite repeated petitions from the hereditary grand duke for his return.¹⁴ During this time, aside from a brief return for a charity concert that he conducted and played in on 22 February 1846, Liszt left the orchestra entirely to Chélaré.¹⁵ Then, in February 1848, the prodigal son returned expecting to take up his position full-time. He now wished to conduct staged as well as concert works.

From this point, Liszt's tenure was supposedly 'full-time', yet in reality he continued to abandon Weimar for months at a time. His longest periods in residence occurred in the early years from 1848 until 1853, when he was still hopeful of achieving his ambitions (aside from 1851 when he divided his time between Weimar and Bad Eilsen where Princess Carolyne von Sayn Wittgenstein (Liszt's partner) was ill). These fertile years were filled with composition, and 'tryouts' of his new works with the Weimar orchestra. Once the works were composed, premiered, and revised in Weimar, he increasingly brought them to a wider audience, leaving the small town behind.¹⁶

Liszt always devoted the first four months of the year to opera.¹⁷ After the spring, he would travel. Usually, he would return to Weimar regularly,

¹¹ Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt, Vol. 2: The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989), 96.

¹² Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* (Weimar: pub. unknown, 1911–12), 29.

¹³ For a full list of the repertoire for these concerts see Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 196–7. The conductorship of the first of these concerts was shared with Chélaré. Liszt conducted the first half and Chélaré the second.

¹⁴ For example, see La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Grossherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909), 14 and 15.

¹⁵ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 198.

¹⁶ From 1852 he began to participate in festivals and concerts in other towns, conducting his new compositions. This increased through 1853 until the end of 1858. In the year 1856 he travelled to Berlin, Vienna, Prague, and Dresden, even during the first two months of the year – a time usually committed to Weimar.

¹⁷ Marie von Bülow (ed.), *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften, Vol. 1* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), 411–12. (Letter 120 to his father, 21 January 1852.)

but some years he only spent about a third of his time there. This arrangement differed greatly from the terms of his predecessor's contract. Hummel was given three months' annual leave, which he found generous.¹⁸ This would mostly have been taken in the summer, when the theatre season had closed. Even then, Hummel had to keep the court informed of his movements.

Hummel's commitment to Weimar was naturally reflected in his pay: 1600 Thalers a year.¹⁹ Liszt's salary was rather more ad hoc and could be anything from 330 to 1500 Thalers depending on the services rendered.²⁰ Compared to his contemporaries, Liszt was exploited. In 1841 as Kapellmeister in Berlin, Mendelssohn earned 3,000 Thalers.²¹ Of course, Berlin was a far more prestigious musical centre than Weimar. However, even Wagner, inexperienced though he was at the time, earned 1500 Thalers as Kapellmeister in Dresden.²² Had Liszt been successful at Vienna, he could have commanded much more generous terms: a considerably higher salary and a substantial annual leave allowance – five to six months a year.²³ Nonetheless, the seemingly casual manner with which Liszt was paid probably suited him because he did not want to commit himself completely to Weimar. Tellingly, he retained the title 'Kapellmeister in Extraordinary' even after Chélaré retired without replacement.²⁴ Retaining his original title granted Liszt a certain amount of freedom. Indeed, according to William Mason, 'He [Liszt] wished to avoid obligations as far as possible, and to feel free to leave Weimar for short periods when so inclined – in other words, to go and come as he liked.'²⁵

The fact that Liszt was not entirely committed to Weimar did give him freedom to pursue his own projects, as he was not quite as mired in the daily grind of administration, bureaucracy, and artistic duties as he otherwise would have been. Unfortunately, his position was a double-edged

¹⁸ Mark Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician's Life and World* (Lanham, MD, and Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 191.

¹⁹ Ibid., 191. ²⁰ Walker, *Franz Liszt, Vol. 2*, 103

²¹ Peter Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn and the institutions of German art music' in *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn*, ed. Peter Mercer-Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22–3.

²² Simon Williams, *Richard Wagner and Festival Theatre* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 34.

²³ William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 171–2.

²⁴ Interestingly, when Eduard Lassen took over from Liszt, the court dropped the 'extraordinary' part of the title. Lassen was merely 'Kapellmeister'. See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarschen Hoftheaters*, 157.

²⁵ William Mason, *Memoirs of a Musical Life* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 90.

sword. His remit was never clearly defined, and so often when he wanted to perform new repertoire or make improvements he faced opposition and had to seek outside authorisation.²⁶ There was actually little that he could accomplish independently.

Repertoire

Liszt's appointment as Kapellmeister provoked controversy from the outset. Hummel's family, who still lived in the town, were particularly hostile, and a significant faction felt that Liszt was underqualified. Although he had a formidable reputation as a concert pianist, he had never written a mature opera and his experience of conducting was negligible.²⁷ Liszt's pupil and future son-in-law, Hans von Bülow, assessed the situation in January 1852:

If I went over to the anti-Liszt side I should soon be immensely popular. Liszt's enemies here are like refuse by the sea; for he interests himself in other things besides piano-playing . . . and that is a thorn in people's side. They only allow him, in fact, the right to entertain them as a pianist, which he has given up once for all.²⁸

Liszt's appointment provoked a split between 'old' and 'new' Weimar, which was exacerbated by Liszt's championing of new music in his programmes. The feud grew increasingly bitter throughout his tenure, particularly amongst the theatre management. 'Old Weimar' was conservative in its artistic tastes, and was obsessed by the preservation of its glorious past through revivals of Goethe and Schiller, whilst 'new Weimar' aimed to cultivate the 'music of the future'. Liszt's music was self-consciously radical and his circle aimed at musical modernism, which included experimental harmonies, a flexible approach to form, expressive and original orchestrations, and music that referred to or attempted to depict an 'extramusical' subject. These principles influenced his repertoire choices.

Initially, however, Liszt's choices were confined to the collection of popular operas that the theatre already owned. The first opera that he conducted in Weimar was Frederich von Flotow's *Martha*. This was not

²⁶ Wolfram Huschke, *Franz Liszt: Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar* (Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010), 77–8.

²⁷ Until now Liszt's main conducting experience had been in 1845 when he had conducted his *Beethoven Cantata* at the unveiling of the Beethoven monument in Bonn. See Alexander Rehding, 'Liszt's Musical Monuments', *19th-Century Music*, 26, 1 (2002), 52–72 for a full discussion of this work and its premiere.

²⁸ Hans von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence*, ed. his widow, trans. Constance Bache (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 106.

Liszt's choice. It was a practical option based on the repertoire available. In fact, Liszt did not admire Flotow's music²⁹ and it would not have formed part of his plans for Weimar. Indeed, he actually wanted to conduct a new Meyerbeer opera for his debut, hinting at the scale of his ambition, but there were no parts available at the time.³⁰

Fortunately, court censorship did not constrict Liszt's repertoire choices. Generally, the court was only consulted when a performance was planned for a special occasion.³¹ The grand duchess traditionally requested a new opera (this could be a brand new work, such as Wagner's *Lohengrin*, but more often simply a Weimar premiere) on her birthday. Happily, Maria Pavlovna respected Liszt as a musician and treated him generously. She usually submitted to his judgement. Court concerts were also regularly requested. On these occasions Liszt would draft a programme, which would be sent to the court on the day of the concert for approval.³² The fact that it was not circulated much in advance suggests that this was merely a formality, rather than a means of censorship. Specific repertoire might also be requested for public concerts, but this was rare.³³

The court may not have restricted Liszt's choices, but the Intendant could. A good relationship between Liszt and his Intendants was, therefore, imperative. All programmes had to be presented to the Intendant for authorisation.³⁴ It was also his responsibility to purchase new music. Music publishers would, therefore, write directly to him, rather than the Kapellmeister, suggesting scores that they might like to purchase. There is extensive correspondence between von Ziegesar and Breitkopf & Härtel in the archival files, which includes a bill for scores of Berlioz's *Carnaval*

²⁹ See Hanjo Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 294 (Letter 113 from Liszt to Wagner, 19 May 1853).

³⁰ A. W. Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre* (Berlin: pub. unknown, 1910), 15.

³¹ For example, files in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv reveal that Carl Alexander's permission was sought for the performance of Schiller's *Die Huldigung der Künste* at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his mother's arrival in Weimar. Unknown author, 'Die anlässlich des 50. Jahrestages des Einzuges der Großherzogin Maria Pavlovna geplante Aufführung des Huldigung der Künste, 9–21 July 1854', *Generalintendanz des Deutschen Nationaltheaters (DNT) Weimar*, 1317, ThHStAW.

³² The Hofmarschallamt, 'Entwurf einer Instruktion für den neuen Intendanten Unseres Hof Theaters' 3 August 1847, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9566, ThHStAW.

³³ Gottschalg remembered the grand duchess Maria Pavlovna requesting Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, for example, but neither Hummel nor his successor, Chélaré, would conduct it, perhaps because of the relatively small size of the Weimar orchestra. Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 3.

³⁴ Unknown author, 'Instruktion für den Hofkapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, ThHStAW.

Romain and Wagner's *Overture to Rienzi*.³⁵ These choices suggest Liszt's influence. Von Ziegesar also entrusted Liszt entirely with programme choices. They shared similar artistic aims, working closely together on the Weimar productions of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*. Nonetheless, the regulations provided scope for the Intendant to impose any repertoire choices he pleased on the rest of the staff. Such arrangements did not materially obstruct Liszt at first, but they would later.

Relations were not as warm between Liszt and von Ziegesar's replacement, Baron Carl Olivier von Beaulieu-Marconnay, who jealously resented Liszt's growing dominance in the town.³⁶ Beaulieu-Marconnay greatly prioritised spoken drama over opera, and Liszt found his charms of persuasion were lost on the officious Intendant.³⁷ Indeed, in 1852 Hans von Bülow bemoaned that

Liszt is currently very much impeded in his excellent plans by the interim Intendant, Beaulieu. Next season, however, sees the return of the leadership of Liszt's friend, Herr v. Ziegesar, who is now recovered, and then Wagner's 'Fliegender Holländer', and Gluck's 'Iphigenia in Aulis', in Wagner's arrangement, will be resumed.³⁸

Correspondence between Liszt and Beaulieu-Marconnay also suggests that the Intendant occasionally offered his opinion on Liszt's repertoire choices for the court concerts. His advice was, however, politely ignored, and it seems doubtful that he had much influence over concert programmes.³⁹

Beaulieu-Marconnay was a nuisance, but not a serious obstacle. His replacement Liszt would find it impossible to work with: Dingelstedt's improvements in the spoken theatre unfortunately came at the expense of Weimar's musical productions. The talented but forceful Intendant obstructed many of Liszt's repertoire choices, including Wagner's *Rienzi*.⁴⁰

³⁵ Breitkopf & Härtel, Letter dated 14 February 1850, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9687, ThHStAW.

³⁶ Anna Harwell Celenza, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron: Hans Christian Andersen and Franz Liszt in Carl Alexander's Weimar', *19th-Century Music*, 26, 2 (2002), 143.

³⁷ Leonhard Schrickel, *Geschichte des Weimar Theaters von seinen Anfängen bis Heute* (Weimar: pub. unknown, 1928), 202.

³⁸ Marie von Bülow (ed.), *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. 1, 413. (Letter 120 to his Father, 21 January 1852.) My translation of 'Liszt ist in seinen großartigen Plänen jetzt sehr gehemmt durch den interimistischen Intendanten Beaulieu. In der nächsten Saison beginnt jedoch wieder des Regiment des reconvaleszenten Freundes von Liszt, Herr v. Ziegesar's, und da wird mit Wagner's „fliegendem Holländer“ und Gluck's „Iphigenia in Aulis“, mit Wagner's Bearbeitung, wieder angefangen.'

³⁹ La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1893–1905), 199. (Letter 137 to Beaulieu-Marconnay, 21 May 1855.)

⁴⁰ Wagner complained about the obstructions facing the *Rienzi* performance. See Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 548 (Letter 259 from Wagner to Liszt, end of January 1858).

It was finally performed on 26 December 1860, having been greatly delayed by Dingelstedt.⁴¹ In the end it became impossible for Liszt to work with Dingelstedt when the latter famously organised a noisy demonstration targeted at Liszt at the premiere of Peter Cornelius's *The Barber of Baghdad*, which Liszt was conducting.⁴² Dingelstedt feigned innocence,⁴³ but Liszt and his circle held him responsible. As a result, Liszt refused to return to the theatre, but continued to conduct concerts in the palace until the summer of 1861, after which he completely retreated from musical life in Weimar.

In spite of all this, Liszt instigated a considerable expansion of Weimar's repertoire, and this set the theatre apart from others of the period. When Liszt arrived in Weimar, his predecessors had already introduced the town to a range of repertoire. Towards the beginning of Hummel's tenure, the Weimar residents were treated mainly to Mozart and Rossini operas, which were highly popular, and also to Gluck: *Iphigénie en Aulide*, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, *Armide* and *Alceste*.⁴⁴ Around 1830, Hummel began to expand the repertoire to include German Romantic opera, conducting Weber's *Der Freischütz*, *Euryanthe*, and *Oberon* and Marschner's *Der Vampyr*.⁴⁵ In the 1830s he also began to introduce grand opera, in particular Auber's *La Muette de Portici*⁴⁶ and Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*.⁴⁷ These were Hummel's only forays into grand opera, however. His tenure saw a shift from Italian opera towards predominantly German and some French opera, which mirrored popular tastes of the time. This repertoire was similar to many other contemporary theatres in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.

⁴¹ This was not because of differing artistic ideas between Dingelstedt and Liszt (in fact, Dingelstedt had a great admiration for Wagner, and had actually been dismissed from the Munich Court Theatre because of the expense of his elaborate production of *Tannhäuser*), but rather because Dingelstedt was in charge of the budget and apportioned a much smaller part of it to musical than dramatic productions. See Rudolf Roenneke, *Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am Weimarer Hoftheater: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, PhD diss. (Greifswald University, 1912), 49–50.

⁴² Dingelstedt, characteristically, had been reluctant to make room for the opera within the theatre season and was generally blamed by Liszt and others (including Cornelius himself) for organizing the protest (which was directed more against Liszt than Cornelius) and then doing nothing to restore order. See Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, 1938), 239–40.

⁴³ He asked Liszt on 19 January 1859 if he had read the report in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which claimed that differences with Dingelstedt had led to Liszt's resignation. Dingelstedt asked to know if this were true and, if so, what these differences were. Liszt ignored him. See La Mara (ed.), *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1895, 1904), 199. (Letter 126 from Franz Dingelstedt, 19 January 1859.)

⁴⁴ See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters*, 39; 44 and 49. ⁴⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 37. ⁴⁷ Ibid., 46.