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# A VOLUME OF BEETHOVEN'S *LIEDER* IN THE CHILDHOOD OF ALEXANDRA FEODOROVNA (1872–1918), THE LAST EMPRESS OF RUSSIA<sup>1</sup>

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n 2007 a volume of Beethoven's songs, together with a letter were offered at an auction in Adelaide, South Australia. There would be nothing remarkable about the sale of a nineteenth-century volume of music but for the fact that, according to the description given by the auction house, this item once belonged to Princess Alix of Hesse and by Rhine, the Princess who was to become Alexandra Feodorovna (1872–1918), the last Empress of Russia. The pencilled jottings made by the Princess on the inner front-end paper pasted to the reverse of the volume's hard cover are a poignant reminder of the sadness and loneliness of her childhood in Hesse-Darmstadt following the death of her younger sister Princess Marie, and her mother, the Grand Duchess of Hesse and by Rhine, Princess Alice, the third daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. An English translation of one song in the volume suggests that it was studied for a performance, while translations of German words in others possibly indicate study of the poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

'This book belongs to Princess Alix of Hesse – Darmstadt' is inked in the hand of the young Princess Alix on a rectangle of white paper pasted on the thick black cover to the volume. The authenticity of the hand on the label seen in Fig. 1, and on the volume's inner front-end paper is provided in a letter known to have been written by Princess Alix to Miss Margaret Hardcastle Jackson, her English governess. (See Fig. 4). Engraved within the border of the opposite page is the title: 'Ausgewählte I Lieder I für eine I Singstimme mit Pianofortebdegleitung I von L.van BEETHOVEN. I Für Hohe Stimme. Für tiefe Stimme. I LEIPZIG I C. F. PETERS'. The place of publication shown in Fig. 2, reveals that this volume could not have appeared before 1880 because in that year '& Berlin', which previously followed 'Leipzig', was deleted, while the numbers 4673 and 5252 printed below the list of contents (*Inhalt*) on the reverse of the title page indicate that this volume is for low voice<sup>2</sup>. The stamp of Prince Louis of Hesse, father of Princess Alix, whose title became Louis IV, Grand Duke of Hesse and by Rhine in 1877 (that is, before the publication of this volume<sup>3</sup>), is seen in the upper right corner of the title page.

In 1862 Princess Alice of Great Britain, the third child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, married Prince Louis of Hesse and by Rhine. To this royal couple seven children were born, two of whom died in childhood. Their three-year-old son Prince Friedrich,



Figure 1. Cover to a volume of Beethoven Lieder published by C. F. Peters circa 1880–81. Label in the hand of Princess Alix of Hesse and by Rhine. From a volume sold at auction by Megaw & Hogg, Adelaide, 9 July 2007.

This book clongs to Princess Alex Darmstadt

Figure 2. Title page to the C. F. Peters edition of a volume of Lieder by Ludwig van Beethoven with the stamp of Prince Louis of Hesse and by Rhine, father of Princess Alix.







who was afflicted with haemophilia (which his mother Princess Alice inherited from Queen Victoria), died as the result of a fall in 1873, while the youngest child, Princess Marie (May) – Alix's closest sibling and childhood friend – died in 1878 during an outbreak of diphtheria at the Darmstadt palace which also caused the death of their mother, Princess Alice. In January 1879 the remaining members of the Hesse family visited Queen Victoria at Osborne on the Isle of Wight (Mountbatten n.d.: 27). During this time photographs were taken of the queen and her Hesse grandchildren, all dressed in mourning (see Fig. 3). Seen from left to right are Princess Irene (1866–1953), who married Prince Henry of Prussia in 1888; Princess Elisabeth (1864–1918), later Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna of Russia, executed in 1918 by Bolsheviks; Queen Victoria; Prince Ernst Louis ('Ernie', 1868–1937) who in 1892 succeeded as Grand Duke of Hesse, the last Grand Duke of Hesse and by Rhine; Princess Alix (1872–1918) whose hand is held by Queen Victoria, then the youngest surviving child of the family who, like her mother and grandmother, carried the genetic disorder haemophilia; Princess Victoria of Hesse (1863–1950), who became Victoria Battenberg (Mountbatten), Marchioness of Milford Haven (maternal grandmother of the late Prince Phillip, Duke of Edinburgh). This family history is necessary to provide the background to jottings made by the young Princess Alix on the front-end paper of the volume of Beethoven's *Lieder*.

The authenticity of Princess Alix's hand throughout the volume is provided in a letter written to her English governess, Miss Margaret Hardcastle Jackson (d. 1918) who arrived at Darmstadt in 1878, three months before the death of Princess Alice. Known as 'Madgie', Miss Jackson was considered a somewhat eccentric woman, but broadminded and cultivated with advanced ideas on feminine education. Of this strongly conservative governess, Alix's elder sister, Princess Victoria, later stated that Miss Jackson 'religiously carried on every rule and suggestion my mother had made and it was only when I was a grown woman that I came to appreciate her fine character to its full worth. [...] She was so devoted to us all, that she had our photographs placed in her coffin.' (Mountbatten n.d.: 16–17).

Figure 4 shows a letter written by Princess Alix to 'Madgie' dated '11st August. 1881' which was included with the Beethoven volume at the Adelaide auction. It is likely this is a copy made by Alix of a letter she wrote to Miss Jackson which would be kept in Hesse, a usual practice before carbon paper became widely used for reproducing correspondence. The page bearing the stamp of the archive of Prince Louis of Hesse appears to be a bifolio that has been removed from the centre of a fascicle of a notebook with tear marks in the centre which later have been strengthened with adhesive tape. In her firm hand, Princess Alix wrote:

Dear Madgie,

I hope you are well and enjoying your holiday. Papa sends his best wishes as does Miss Orchard. The soldiers are getting ready for the arrival of Uncle Ernie of Hannover [Crown Prince Ernst August of Hanover, 1845–1923]. The weather has been very hot, is it hot in London too? I played with pug [her dog, presumably] and Ernie this morning until Papa made Ernie dress up in his new husars uniform. He looked very dashing and Herr Volker took his photo.

I am going to visit H[er] M[ajesty] Queen at Xmas and will be happy to see you again.

With all my love Yr

X X X X Alix

Not only does this letter verify the hand of the young Princess, which at seven years old was 'wonderfully neat and firm' (Buxhoeveden 1928: 14), demonstrated is the very good English of the nine-year-old whose outlook developed during her many visits to England according to her earliest biographer, the Danish Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden. There, at her grandmother's luncheons, Princess Alix later would come into contact with members of the queen's *entourage*, her cousins, politicians, 'and notabilities of all sorts [...] Her English point of view on many questions in later life was certainly due to her many visits to England [...].' (Buxhoeveden 1928: 15). This baroness, who became an official lady-in-waiting in 1913 serving the Russian Imperial family until their removal to Ekaterinburg in 1918, claimed to have enjoyed a close friendship and the trust of the empress who confided in this lady-in-waiting, sharing reminiscences with her. Of the young Princess Alix, Baroness Buxhoeveden wrote:

The first months after her mother's death were untold misery and loneliness for Princess Alix [who] was now quite alone in the nursery. Even Prince Ernest Louis, who was now ten, had a tutor to keep him at lessons all day, and Princess Irene, who was six years older, had joined the elder Princesses in the schoolroom. Princess Alix long afterwards remembered those deadly sad months when, small and lonely, she sat with old 'Orchie' in the nursery, trying to play with new and unfamiliar toys (all her old ones were burned or being disinfected [due to the outbreak of diphtheria]). When she looked up, she saw her old nurse silently crying. The deaths of her beloved mother and of Princess May had nearly broken her faithful heart. (Buxhoeveden 1928: 12).



Figure 3. Queen Victoria and her Hessian grandchildren, following the death of her second daughter. Left to right: Princess Irene, Princess Elisabeth, Queen Victoria, Prince Ernst Louis, Princess Alix seated at Queen Victoria's knee), Princess Victoria. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.



In 1866, Queen Victoria was instrumental in arranging for Miss Mary Ann Orchard ('Orchie', 1830–1906) to become the nurse of the Hesse-Darmstadt children. Following the marriage in 1894 of Princess Alix to the heir apparent to the imperial Russian throne, Grand Duke Nicholas, Mary Ann Orchard accompanied her former charge to Russia. (Zeepvat 2006: 130–4).

The front-end paper opposite the title page of Beethoven's Lieder, which must have been written at about that time, is seen in <u>Fig. 5</u>. Under the heading 'My best friends', Princess Alix wrote:

Queen Granny [Queen Victoria] Papa Ella [Princess Elisabeth] Ernie [Prince Ernst Louis] Irene Vicky [Princess Victoria, who replaced their mother as the female head of the family] Madgie [the governess, Miss Margaret Hardcastle Jackson] Miss Orchard ['Orchie', the nurse Mary Anne Orchard] Puggy [a pet dog].

It is recorded that after the death of their mother, Queen Victoria took an immense interest in her Darmstadt grandchildren, and the family now visited her at least once each year either at Windsor, Balmoral, or at Osborne (Buxhoeveden 1928: 12)<sup>4</sup>.

The mother of Alix, Princess Alice, had a strong interest in intellectual and cultural matters. The poet Tennyson, historian Thomas Carlyle, and the art critic John Ruskin were among those who were personally acquainted with her. Moreover, she was a talented pianist, and music was a large part of her life, as her eldest daughter Princess Victoria later testified:

Figure 4. Letter (copy) from Princess Alix of Hesse and by Rhine to her governess, Miss Margaret Hardcastle Jackson. Stamp of Prince Louis of Hesse and by Rhine.

Lear Madque and are ldier ninal iD it too Emie this hua made Paha Ennie iness husan uni for and Fler 9 am at Xmas ΧÐ

My mother was passionately fond of music and played the piano remarkably well. No distinguished musicians ever came to Darmstadt without her seeing them and often playing with them. I can remember hearing her play with the composer, Brahms, an uncouth, shy man. She used to take us children to rehearsals of big concerts on Sunday mornings [...] (Mountbatten n.d.: 11).

This fondness for music was shared by Princess Alix who loved attending concerts and 'adored' the Classics, the music of Richard Wagner especially. Her instruction in music was entrusted to Willem De Haan (1849–1930), the Dutch director of the Darmstadt Opera (<u>Buxhoeveden 1928: 14</u>). While the volume of Beethoven songs suggests that Princess Alix was trained in singing, Baroness Buxhoeveden stated that she also played the piano 'brilliantly', but reported that

[...] her shyness made her extremely self-conscious whenever she played before people. She told the author of the torment she endured when Queen Victoria made her play in the presence of her guests and suite at Windsor. She said her clammy hands felt literally glued to the keys and that it was one of the worst ordeals of her life. (Buxhoeveden 1928: 14–15).

It seems that the one song of in this volume of Beethoven to be studied seriously by Alix was 'Mignon' set to a text by Goethe who was a relative of Princess Alix's principal teacher, Fraulein Anna Textor. She had a boarding school for English girls at Darmstadt, and it was Fraulein Textor who was chosen by Princess Alice to teach Alix. Following the death of Princess Alice, Alix continued to be educated by Fraulein Textor under the guidance of Miss Jackson (Buxhoeveden 1928: 13). Below the original German text of 'Mignon' an English translation is hand-written in ink in a precise, elegant hand using a script approximating one first seen in a volume published in 1870 titled *A Book of Verse* by William Morris, a key figure in the British Arts and Crafts movement. It is likely that Miss Jackson wrote this translation for Alix, perhaps for a performance before Queen Victoria during a visit to England (see Fig. 6).

Goethe's text is set over three stanzas with a refrain, but in the volume belonging to Alix the second stanza has no English text underlay, and pencilled marks indicate that this verse was omitted for a performance. The English translation of 'Mignon' (with occasional alterations to the punctuation) comes from the second item published in *Boosey's Musical Cabinet. A Collection of Standard and Popular Vocal and Pianoforte Music in Shilling Books. Fifteen Songs by Beethoven with Pianoforte Accompaniments* (<u>1870</u>). The translations are by George Linley (1797–1865), the editor who published verses I and 3 only in his edition of 'Mignon'. Translations of these two verses are written into the volume belonging to Princess Alix.



My best friend gueen Granny Papa Ella hene Vicky Madgie Mess Brchard Puggy

Figure 6. Opening bars of "Mignon" by Beethoven in the C. F. Peters edition of Beethoven Lieder. The English translation of the first verse of Goethe's text is hand-printed below the published German text.

25 Mignon. Ziemlich langsan N du das Land, no Ke die . Ci . tro blühn im **J**0. 1 633 1 2 . . . 10 19 Ę المع الالم الا الا الالالا الالا 22 5 dun-keln Laub die Gold = 0 shinesthe o-nange mid 'il ein -----. 50 8 50 6 1 19 50 0 still und der mel the .... 20 . 1100010018 6000 160 2 Kennst du es Knowst hoz it steht? beer well? ..... 6. 23 5 

# Text of 'Mignon' by Goethe. Set to music by Ludwig van Beethoven, Op.71, No. 5<sup>5</sup>

### **Original Text by Goethe**

#### V. 1

### Ziemlich langsam

Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blüh'n, Im dunkeln Laub die Gold=Orangen glüh'n, Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht, Die Myrthe still und hoch der Lorbeer steht? Kennst du es wohl? Geschwinder Dahin dahin mocht' ich mich mit dir. o mein Geliebter, zieh'n. Dahin, dahin mocht' ich mich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, zieh'n. Dahin! dahin! V. 3 V.3 Tempo lº Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg? rear. Das Maulthier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg; in Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut: es stürzt der Fels und über ihn die Fluth. Kennst du ihn wohl? Geschwinder Dahin dahin geht unser Weg! o Vater, Lass uns zieh'n! Dahin! dahin geht unser Weg! o Vater, Lass uns zieh'n! Dahin lass und zieh'n!

### **Translation by George Linley**

### V. 1

Know'st thou the land, where citrons sweetly bloom Where shines the orange 'mid its branches gloom, Where perfum'd breezes play on pinions light, Where grow the myrtle and the laurel bright? Know'st thou it well?

Oh! there to rove ...How great the bliss would be,
Were one I love with me?
How great the bliss would be,
Were one I love with me.
With me, With me
V.3
Know'st thou the crag, whose peaks t'ward Heav'n uprear,
Whose misty path oft climbs the muleteer?
Know'st thou the spot, the fiery dragon's cave,
the dark ravine, where mountain torrents rave?
Know'st thou it well?

Oh! there to rove, How great the bliss would be Were one I love with me! How great the bliss would be, Were one I love with me With me, with me!

The vocal range required in this F Major version – c' to d'' – would suit a young voice, and the variations of tempo and expression between the stanza and refrain offer opportunities for interpretation. Perhaps this song was chosen for Princess Alix by Willem de Haan, or might this be Queen Victoria's choice for Alix to study? The queen concerned herself constantly with the education of the Hesse children, and her advice could have included musical works to be learned by Princess Alix. Other songs in this volume have markings that suggest further study. For example, among the pencilled words in 'Sehnsucht' ('Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', WoO 134, to the text by Goethe); 'far off' is written below 'Weite'; 'separated' is seen above 'abgetrennt'; and following the German 'Freude', 'gladne[ss]' is partially written<sup>6</sup>. In the song 'An die ferne Geliebte' (To the Distant Beloved, Op. 95), dynamics and English translations are pencilled in the same elegant script seen in 'Mignon'<sup>7</sup>.

This volume of Beethoven Lieder was sold by Megaw & Hogg at an auction held in Adelaide on 9 July 2007. It was among military items, letters, and belongings from the era of Germany's Third Reich and the year immediately following the end of World War II<sup>8</sup>. It is almost certainly related to the looting in 1945–1946 by an occupying Allied force of Schloss Kronberg (now Schlosshotel Kronberg) near Frankfurt. To this castle, which then was inhabited by Princess Sophia of Hanover (a daughter of the King of Greece) and Princess Margarethe of Prussia (a granddaughter of Queen Victoria), the Hesse family jewels and belongings were taken for safe keeping in 1944. (Alford 1994: 111–91).

# **?**

### A section of the catalogue description of the Beethoven volume by Megaw & Hogg of the volume of Beethoven songs states:

This music book was 'souveniered' by Cpl. R. Carlton of the U. S. 3rd Army in July 1945 after the Americans occupied Kronberg castle which held the property of the Hessian Royal Family. Cpl. Carlton was also involved in the theft of the Hessian Crown Jewels which were worth in today's terms, hundreds of millions of dollars. Only half of the jewels were recovered. (Megaw & Hogg 2007:10227/31)

In April 1945 the Kronberg castle was seized by the U. S. Third Army and requisitioned as a country club for American Army Officers. Captain Kathleen Nash was appointed hostess, and by mid-June responsibility for the castle was given to her. The objects from the childhood of Princess Alix that came to Adelaide are but a miniscule fragment of the illegal removal from Kronberg of valuable jewels, porcelain, gold and silver, paintings, books, and the extensive contents of the wine cellars.

An example of the attitude from one American serviceman towards the belongings stored in Kronberg castle comes from a Silesian-born, American-trained operatic bass singer named Doda Conrad who joined the United States Army in 1942, and quickly rose to the rank of Lieutenant. In Berlin, Conrad became a member of an Allied armies program titled 'Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives' which was established to protect cultural property in war areas during and after the war. Following Allied victory, and as part of this program, Conrad must have seen an inventory of the contents crammed into Kronberg castle. On 6 August 1945 he wrote to Colonel Mason Hammond, the Program Director of 'Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives'. This letter reveals Conrad's outlook towards the property he was meant to protect. Apart from the complete *Urtext* editions of Beethoven and Mendelssohn, his attention was especially attracted by thirty-two volumes of the original Bach *Gesellschaft*, as well as twelve *Urtext* editions of Schütz, both from Breitkopf & Härtel. Conrad wrote that these editions were stored in the organ balcony above an entrance known as 'das Boudoir', and he suggested that perhaps this music collection could be handed to an institute whose music library had been destroyed in the war, mentioning the Warsaw Music Conservatory as an example. So far, so good! But then, Doda Conrad, a member of the program whose purpose was to protect cultural property in war areas, had another thought: perhaps it was not such a good idea to leave this music to a Nazi heiress when so many other people could benefit from these musical treasures. Might it not be better for the Bach and Schütz editions to come to Doda himself? (<u>Alford 1994:</u> 118–9). Clearly, many military personnel agreed with Conrad and his ideas about the contents of Schloss Kronberg.

As for Corporal Roy C. Carlton who 'souveniered' the volume of Beethoven Lieder, he was regarded as the least involved of four major perpetrators in the looting of Kronberg. When interrogated in America, Carlton admitted to having taken items from the castle, including silverware and a gold watch which he sent back to his wife in America. However, he was not arrested because, being the lesser player in this affair, Carlton was required to testify against his former colleagues (including Kathleen Nash) at the trials of 1946 which investigated the illegal pillaging of Kronberg in Frankfurt (Alford 1994: 184–5;197). The means by which his souvenir arrived in Adelaide are unknown, and this omission almost certainly will remain the missing link in the provenance of the volume of Beethoven Lieder that once belonged to the young Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt.

It is timely to consider a musical relic from the childhood of the Russian Empress Alexandra Feodorova, who, together with her husband and five children, was executed by Bolsheviks on either 16 or 17 July 1918. In 2000 the Moscow Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church declared all members of the Tsar's family to be canonized as Passion Bearers — those who face death with resignation as opposed to Martyrs. Today, Princess Alix of Hesse and by Rhine who became the last Empress of Russia is venerated as a new martyr by the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, and as 'Saint Alexandra the Passion Bearer' by the church inside Russia. A tiny relic of her childhood in Hesse-Darmstadt is found in a volume of Lieder by Ludwig van Beethoven that by unknown means came to Adelaide, Australia.

### **ENDNOTES**

- This paper was first read at the combined conference of the Musicological Society of Australia and the New Zealand Musicological Society, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 8–10 December 2017. An enlarged version was presented to the South Australian Chapter of The Musicological Society of Australia, 21 May 2021.
- 2. Technical information on the dating and of the volume titled *Ausgewählte Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianofortebegleitung von L. VAN* Beethoven was kindly provided by Richard Excell.

- 9: ¥
  - 3. It is likely that the Grand Duke of Hesse and by Rhine had not yet arranged for personal stamps showing his new status when the volume of Beethoven Lieder was acquired for Princess Alix.
  - 4. Victoria Mountbatten thought life at Windsor to be more formal than life at Osborne and Balmoral (Mountbatten n.d. 106)
  - 5. The opus number given to 'Mignon' in the C. F. Peters edition is 'Op. 75.' The Boosey edition has no opus number.
  - 6. 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' is not included in *Fifteen Songs by Beethoven*.
  - 7. In *Fifteen Songs by Beethoven* 'An die ferne Geliebte' is published as 'O'er the Purple-Crested Mountain' (No. 5), but the English words written into the edition owned by Princess Alix do not accord with Linley's English translation.
  - 8. Recollection of Gary Becker, who purchased this item for Eva Stockigt. They are acknowledged with gratitude for their assistance with this contribution.

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# ABSTRACT

In 2007 a volume of selected songs by Beethoven was offered at a public auction in Adelaide, South Australia. This publication from C. F. Peters (Leipzig) would be quite unremarkable except the writing on both the cover and fly leaf is in the hand of the young Grand Ducal Highness Princess Alix Viktoria Helene Luise Beatrix of Hesse and by Rhine (1872–1918), the German-born granddaughter of Queen Victoria, who married the heir to the Russian throne in 1894. Markings in this copy of Beethoven's songs indicate those she had studied in her childhood, either for performance or for the poetry of Goethe. Although the means by which this volume came to Adelaide is unknown, the provenance of this volume is almost certainly related to the illegal looting by occupying Allied forces at the end of World War II of Kronberg castle near Frankfurt, Germany, where the Hesse family belongings were taken in 1944.

A list of names in Princess Alix's hand at the opening of this volume is titled 'My best friends'. It suggests the solitude she experienced following the deaths from diphtheria in 1878 of her younger sister Marie and her musically talented mother Alice, the third child of Queen Victoria and Albert.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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**Keywords**. Princess Alix of Hesse and by Rhine (Russian Empress Alexandra Feodorovna); Beethoven's Lieder Op. 75; Kronberg Castle; Trophies of World War II

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