

Barbara und Michael Christ

## **Friedrich Dehnhardt - Youth and apprenticeship in Germany and Austria**

Friedrich Dehnhardt was born in Germany but spent most of his life in southern Italy. There, as royal garden director in Naples, he had a significant influence on the design of public and private gardens in the first half of the 19th century. An important prerequisite for his successful work as an art gardener and garden designer in Italy<sup>1</sup> were his years of apprenticeship and travel in Germany and Austria and continuous contacts with professional colleagues in these countries.

In 1868, towards the end of his life, Friedrich Dehnhardt wrote a kind of autobiography, which was published in a small edition in German.<sup>2</sup> There he describes and evaluates various events of his long life. Although a critical examination of individual parts of this self-portrayal seems appropriate to us, it is nevertheless an important historical source and makes it possible to trace the development and maturing process of the young Dehnhardt.

Conrad Friedrich Dehnhardt was born in Böhle in 1787. Located in the Electorate of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Böhle was owned by the Counts of Hardenberg, who also exercised patrimonial jurisdiction. The birth certificate of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Böhle dated 22.09.1787 shows as his father Justus Christoph Dehnhardt, a barber.<sup>3</sup> In his memoirs Dehnhardt writes that his father served as a doctor in a cavalry regiment. Soon after his birth the family moved to the nearby garrison town of Nordheim. In the birth register there the birth of 4 other children of the Dehnhardt family is noted.<sup>4</sup>

In the spring of 1793, the Electorate entered the war against France and sent a contingent of 13,000 troops to Holland, where they fought under English command until 1795. Presumably Dehnhardt's father took part in this campaign and lost his life in the process. After his death, the mother and her children fell into financial hardship and eventually became completely impoverished. The family broke up. The mother left with her daughter, an infant, the place and the area. Regarding his own fate Dehnhardt writes that he was admitted to the orphanage in Nörten at the age of seven. This orphanage was founded in 1732 by the Counts of Hardenberg and was intended to provide a home for 16 poor orphaned children of the Hardenberg court<sup>5</sup>. They were educated according to their status as maids, servants and journeymen. For the orphan Conrad Friedrich Dehnhardt the conditions for a later social and economic advancement and a career as a garden director were therefore very bad.

However, the stay in the orphanage should be a stroke of luck for the boy. He must have been a particularly gifted and diligent pupil, for he won the Countess of Hardenberg, Marianne von Schlieben, as his patroness. She acted as patroness of the orphanage on behalf of her husband.<sup>6</sup> She initiated this extraordinary measure, which is still mentioned 100 years later in the publication on the history of the orphanage: "The children got 4 hours of instruction daily. Religion, biblical history, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, singing. For special further education of the boys the means of the house are not sufficient. But it has happened that the orphan Conrad Dehnhardt received special private lessons before he learned the art of gardening."<sup>7</sup>

The private lessons that Dehnhardt received already served as preparation for his horticultural training. Besides the lessons, the boy was also employed in the count's garden. In his memoirs Dehnhardt wrote about his work for Marianne Countess von Hardenberg: "Every commission for small gardening jobs gave me intimate pleasure, and the noble lady noticed that I was suited for more than mean business, and as the years approached to learn a profession, the good Countess left it to my choice which I would like to

devote myself to. I chose the art of gardening because I felt more inclined to occupy myself in the open, beautiful nature than in narrow rooms."<sup>8</sup>

The garden mentioned by Dehnhardt could have been the castle park in Hardenberg. The originally baroque grounds had been converted into a landscape park a few years earlier at the instigation of Christiane von Reventlow<sup>9</sup>. In any case, it is quite justified to regard the last years in the orphanage and the gardening work for the Countess von Hardenberg in Nörten as the beginning of Friedrich Dehnhardt's professional career.

The next step on the way to becoming an important gardener would not have been possible without the Countess of Hardenberg. Dehnhardt reports that she organized and financed an apprenticeship for him as a gardener's assistant at the Botanical Garden in Göttingen. This apprenticeship at the Göttingen Botanical Garden is confirmed by the testimony of the head gardener Fischer, a copy of which is kept in the garden archive there:

"I, Friedrich Florenz Fischer, certify and hereby confess that Conrad Dehnhardt [...] stood by me in the botanical garden of the university to learn the art of gardening for three years from April 1, 1803 to April 1, 1806, and during this time he behaved faithfully and diligently, as befits a righteous apprentice"

Dehnhardt's activity in Göttingen falls into a time when the botanical garden was undergoing significant changes. Several years of complaints about the scientific quality of the design and management of the garden had led to the appointment of Heinrich Adolph Schrader<sup>10</sup> as its director in December 1802. Schrader worked closely with his head gardener Friedrich Fischer<sup>11</sup> on the reorganization of the Botanical Garden. In describing his apprenticeship, Dehnhardt emphasizes his good relationship with Professor Schrader, which would have allowed him to participate in his botanical lessons and student excursions. It remains to be clarified how often and in which context this happened. Fischer's testimony does not mention such activities. There is, however, no doubt about the comprehensive horticultural and botanical education that Dehnhardt received.

Under Schrader's direction and with Fischer's support, the plant stocks were increased and inventoried. New plants, some of which were cultivated here for the first time, were procured and suitable conditions created for them to thrive. Numerous contacts with other gardeners and botanists throughout Europe made it possible to exchange seeds and plants. This offered the young Dehnhardt the opportunity to acquire methodical and practical knowledge of the nomenclature and determination of plant species beyond his horticultural training and to gain experience with the cultivation and propagation of exotic and rare plants in a scientific environment. This also included methods for obtaining seeds, their storage and dispatch, as well as attempts to acclimatize tropical and subtropical plant species and their varieties. This special knowledge, which Dehnhardt acquired at Fischer and Schrader in Göttingen, was an essential prerequisite for his employment at the Botanical Garden in Naples a few years later.

Dehnhardt also experienced in Göttingen how gardeners dealt with seemingly insoluble problems in the interest of their plants. As a result of the general economic decline following the French occupation of the Electorate in 1803, the construction of the large greenhouse had to be interrupted. Only the left wing was completed. The lack of space led to an acute threat to the warm and cold house plants. As a result, in 1805 the garden master Fischer applied for permission to build two greenhouses on the area of the garden left to him for personal use, in order to grow fruit and vegetables for his own consumption. He was allowed to do so. In fact, part of the space in these greenhouses was used for plants from the Botanical Garden. Friedrich Dehnhardt witnessed the construction of the two greenhouses and, as an apprentice, certainly participated in their first planting. When the economic situation for the Botanical Garden had

improved in 1811, Fischer offered the greenhouses to the Botanical Garden for purchase. Although the competent authority criticised the project, it finally approved the purchase price of 500 thalers.

In April 1806 the 18-year-old Dehnhardt left Göttingen. The next stop on his journey to the south was Kassel in the Electorate of Hesse, only 50 km away. From 1785 onwards, the castle park of the Landgrave Hessen-Kassel was fundamentally redesigned and developed into a landscape park of enormous dimensions. In the nursery set up by the court gardener Daniel August Schwarzkopf domestic and foreign trees and shrubs, bushes and roses were grown. Here Dehnhardt became acquainted with "wild" tree cultivation, as the planting, cultivation and propagation of non-native trees outdoors was called at that time.<sup>12</sup> Especially the North American tree species were grown in large numbers in Kassel. The plants were used for their own needs, were brought to other landgrave gardens or were sold. The list of trees and shrubs offered for sale by the nursery in 1805 listed not only 103 different varieties of roses but also a large number of other flowers - e.g. asters, geraniums, irises and violets.<sup>13</sup> This makes it easy to understand why Dehnhardt refers in his memoirs to the famous flower nursery where he was allowed to work. In Kassel, he says, he not only got to know the most magnificent arrangements and plants, but also the arrangement of nature scenes that do not seem mannered and in which incredible artificial splendor and nature are harmoniously combined. He names Steinhöfer and Sennholz as the creators of such works of art.

The waterfall created by Karl Steinhöfer<sup>14</sup> in 1793 and later named after him, was a successful example of the harmony of nature and art in the landscape for Dehnhardt, as he aspired to and realized it in his later garden design works in Naples. Ludwig Sennholz was responsible for the tree nursery and the castle park Wilhelmshöhe as court and plantation gardener from about 1800 onward.<sup>15</sup> Sennholz is also the source of the certificate Friedrich Dehnhardt received at the end of his work in Kassel.<sup>16</sup>

On 1 November 1806 Kassel was occupied by French troops. At the end of the year there was political unrest, but this was quickly suppressed. Uncertainty and uncertainty about the future also prevailed among the gardeners. For Dehnhardt, it may also have played a role that he turned 20 in September 1807 and would have become liable for military service under the French military constitution, which was also introduced in Hessen. In spring 1807 he left Kassel for Vienna.

"Full of longing, I doubled my efforts to see the royal city. I greeted the good Austrians with pleasure and my colleagues with sympathy"<sup>17</sup> This is how the section on Vienna in his memoirs begins. Dehnhardt's destination was the Dutch Botanical Garden at Schönbrunn, where he found employment. About his work there he writes: "I was a guest at Schönbrunn, where a large number of the rarest exotic plants were on display, which were entrusted to me by Director Boos. I acquired a great deal of knowledge that was very useful to me."

Building on the experience he had already gained in Göttingen with the greenhouse culture of exotic plants, he was now able to expand and deepen this in Schönbrunn. The detailed description<sup>18</sup> published by Joseph Oehler two years earlier gives a contemporary picture of how Dehnhardt experienced the Dutch Botanical Garden at Schönbrunn. In addition to the large greenhouse built by Stockhoven and later extended, there were six other greenhouses in the older part of the garden. Depending on the origin of the cultivated plants, different climatic conditions were realized in them. Especially the Cap House with its South African species may have impressed Dehnhardt. Four more greenhouses housed not only plants but also beautiful and rare birds. In the arboretum, in the newer part of the garden, where - as Oehler writes - strange exotic, mostly American trees and bushes were to be seen, Dehnhardt could apply his horticultural abilities and botanical knowledge directly. He was particularly impressed by the qualities of

the Schönbrunn gardeners around Franz Boos<sup>19</sup> and their many years of experience in the successful cultivation of exotic plants. For Dehnhardt, the creation of the best possible site conditions in Schönbrunn, in accordance with the natural origin of the plants, was the basis of his later garden design in southern Italy.

When comparing the botanical gardens in Göttingen and Schönbrunn, Dehnhardt must have noticed the different concepts. Schönbrunn, the “botanical treasure trove” as Oehler calls it, was without doubt a stimulus and inspiration for his own future projects. Dehnhardt will have experienced the conversion of plants from the greenhouses into the beds in front of them in spring and their return to the winter quarters in autumn as described by Oehler. We believe that the idea matured here to cultivate plants, for which in Schönbrunn the greenhouse culture or the wintering in orangeries was unavoidable, under more favourable climatic conditions in the open air and thus to use them in a "natural" way to design the garden landscape. In fact, Dehnhardt later experimented with the cultivation of *Phoenix dactylifera*, *Banksia praemorsa*, *Hakea gibbosa* and numerous eucalyptus trees, for example in the Hortus Camaldulensis, the garden of Count Ricciardi in Naples. It is also possible that the large stocks of citrus plants in the Schönbrunn Palace Orangery<sup>20</sup> have inspired Dehnhardt to create a collection of different citrus species in Naples and to test them for their agricultural and ornamental usefulness. However, he also had to accept setbacks, such as in the winter of 1828/29, when many of these plants froze to death in the Hortus Camaldulensis.<sup>21</sup>

In Vienna Dehnhardt was able to successfully perfect his horticultural skills. Dehnhardt received a certificate from the garden director Franz Boos about his work, who particularly appreciated his botanical knowledge.<sup>22</sup> The further way led the 21-year-old Dehnhardt to Italy. In his memoirs it is said that this was the decisive moment in his life. After thanking the famous Professor Baron von Jacquin and the garden inspector Mr. Schott, he left Vienna with a broken heart. He now wanted to set off for Italy, which he had fallen in love with and to which he had been attracted since he heard about the beauty of nature and art there.

His way in Italy led him to Desio, where he worked in the garden of the Villa Cusani and then via Monza finally to Naples. On the recommendation of Michele Tenore<sup>23</sup>, he was employed there in 1811 as garden inspector and head gardener and remained so until 1860. In 1814 he became the director of gardens responsible for the public gardens of the city of Naples and in 1840 director of the Royal Gardens of Capodimonte. In addition to his work in the botanical gardens of Naples and as garden director, he also worked on projects for private clients.<sup>24</sup> In 1818 he married an Italian woman. The marriage produced eight children.

Friedrich Dehnhardt never left Italy again, but always maintained contacts with gardeners and scientists in his home country.

The connection to Peter Joseph Lenné<sup>25</sup> is particularly interesting and has not yet been fully clarified. A personal meeting took place during Lenné's journey to Italy in 1847. In contrast to other stops on his journey, whose gardens and gardeners he critically assessed, Lenné valued Naples as a place "where significant things happened for garden culture and were carried out by German gardeners". The gardens of the royal palace Capo di Monte were particularly attractive. There the mastery of the garden director, Mr. Dehnhardt from Hannover, who has succeeded in using the location and climate to create one of the most beautiful gardens in Italy, was evident.<sup>26</sup>

Dehnhardt writes on this visit of Lenné that the Prussian king had also commissioned his garden director to obtain drawings and plans of the new facilities at Capo di Monte, which he, Dehnhardt, had willingly done. As a reward, he had been awarded the Order of the Red Eagle by the king. Our search for the aforementioned drawings in Berlin has so far been inconclusive. However, we have found confirmation that the garden director Friedrich Dehnhardt from Naples received the Order of the Red Eagle 4th Class on 15 January 1848.<sup>27</sup>

Unexplained and the subject of current research is a meeting between Lenné and Dehnhardt before 1815 in Naples. In his Lenné Biography<sup>28</sup> Clemens Alexander Wimmer has pointed out a possible very early journey to Italy by Lenné and refers to a remark by Loudon. He wrote about Lenné in 1826: "He came to Naples, and spent some time with his three countrymen, gardeners, at the botanic garden in the city, the Royal garden at Portici, and the English garden at Caserta".<sup>29</sup> The only German gardener in the botanical garden at this time was Friedrich Dehnhardt. However, there is no further source confirming this meeting and we have not found any evidence of Lenné's stay in Sicily at that time, where he is said to have stayed for two years after Loudon, before coming to Naples.<sup>30</sup> This can only have happened - if at all - between 1811 and 1812.<sup>31</sup>

An example of another form of horticultural travel contacts is the stay of the young Theodor Nietner<sup>32</sup> with Dehnhardt in Naples. After his apprenticeship in Berlin, Nietner had gone on a journey and worked in France for two years. In 1813 he joined the Lützow's Freikorps and fought with them, among others, in Waterloo. Afterwards he was able to study at the Berlin University, where he attended lectures on natural sciences. On the recommendation of the Berlin professors Martin Hinrich Lichtenstein and Heinrich Friedrich Link, he received support from the king for an educational journey, which he embarked on in August 1817. From Vienna he reached Naples in the summer of 1818. There he met with Dehnhardt and found "a friendly reception".<sup>33</sup> He probably also lived with Dehnhardt, because we know that Nietner had hardly any financial means, which is why he presented himself to the German envoy in Naples. From the file we have received, it is clear that Nietner was paid a sum of money by the envoy for his onward journey on presentation of the travel permit personally signed by King Frederick William III and the letter of recommendation from the two professors.<sup>34</sup> Dehnhardt had just begun work on the Hortus Camaldolensis and probably also visited the botanical garden and other places of his work with Nietner.

Professor Heinrich Friedrich Link<sup>35</sup>, who had helped Theodor Nietner on his journey, was one of the founding members of the *Verein zur Beförderung des Gartenbaus in den Preußischen Staaten* in 1823, together with Peter Joseph Lenné. As a corresponding member, Dehnhardt published several articles in 1838 in the negotiations of the Society. In 1834 both got to know each other personally, when Link came to Naples on a literary journey through southern Italy and Sicily.

When Dehnhardt lost many of the exotic plants in the winter of 1828/29 in the Hortus Camaldolensis due to frost, it was decided to rebuild the collection. For this purpose, he compiled a catalogue which included the species that still existed and those that were to be regained.<sup>36</sup> In it he also announced the publication of a monograph of the genus Citrus in which 125 different citrus species would be described and shown in pictures. This reference is also found in the 2nd edition of the catalogue of 1832, although the number of citrus species considered should be even higher.

Perhaps the meeting of Dehnhardt and Link in the summer of 1834 was not a coincidence, because Peter Joseph Lenné had announced in the meeting of the Horticultural Society shortly before that his efforts "to unite all the species and modifications [of citrus plants] from Italy known to date in Sanssouci".<sup>37</sup> We now know that Dehnhardt presented the project of publishing a citrus monograph to Link at the meeting and

that Link agreed to support the publication in Germany. As president of the Association for the Promotion of Horticulture, he also did so vehemently, as his correspondence with the Prussian Minister of Culture von Altenstein, which has been preserved in the Secret State Archives, shows. Link wrote to von Altenstein on 10 January 1836, praising Dehnhardt as a gardener of outstanding skill and excellent education, who was personally very well known to him. During his stay in Naples in 1834 he had seen and spoken to him often. Link then refers to the attached letter from Dehnhardt, in which he describes the content and scope of his monograph, and asks von Altenstein to "order the subscription of some copies for the universities and the appropriate scientific institutions, in order to promote the publication of this great work for the benefit of science."<sup>38</sup> To give the project even more importance, Link points out that the Prussian King also ordered two copies.

Despite this remarkable support by Heinrich Friedrich Link, the project of publishing the citrus monograph with the help of the association failed. Also, the presentation of the planned work and some sample drawings in the botanical section at the meeting of German natural scientists and doctors<sup>39</sup> - possibly also initiated by Link - was not successful. Already von Altenstein had pointed out that the interest in such a monograph at scientific institutes was probably rather low. Moreover, the price of a copy should not be too high in order to enable as many interested parties as possible to acquire it. In the end, the high production costs of the monograph with over 180 coloured illustrations of citrus fruits on the one hand and the relatively small number of subscribers on the other hand probably exceeded Dehnhardt's financial possibilities and prevented the publication from coming about. Probably Dehnhardt's severe cholera disease in 1837 also prevented further agreements planned with the Society. However, the manuscript of the monograph and the botanical watercolor drawings drawn by Dehnhardt have been preserved.<sup>40</sup> They are privately owned in Naples.

Friedrich Dehnhardt died on 1 May 1870 in Naples at the age of 82, where he was buried in the English cemetery. After the cemetery was abandoned, his funeral stele was placed on the Bosco di Capodimonte in recognition of his merits as director of the park. His horticultural and creative achievements in Naples would not have been possible without his apprenticeship in the gardens of Göttingen, Kassel and Vienna and his teachers Johann Fischer, Heinrich Schrader, Ludwig Sennholz, Franz Boos and Heinrich Schott. He has kept the memory of these formative years until the end of his eventful life.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The life and work of Friedrich Dehnhardt, especially in Naples, has for many years been the concern of the art historian Maria Laura Castellano, who also looks after the Dehnhardt family archive. We are indebted to her for supporting our research.

<sup>2</sup> Dehnhardt, Friedrich: *Mein Leben und mein Wandel*, Neapel 1868. An Italian translation of the rare edition is available under the title »La mia vita e il mio destino« im Archivio Diaristico Nazionale in Pieve Santo Stefano.

<sup>3</sup> Geburts- oder Taufeintrag im Kirchenbuch Böhle, Getaufte 1787/153/22, Ev.-luth. Kirchenbuchamt Göttingen.

<sup>4</sup> Geburts- oder Taufeinträge im Kirchenbuch Northeim, Getaufte 1789/[87]/-, 1792/[107]/- und 1795/[125]/-, Ev.-luth. Kirchenbuchamt Göttingen; (Recherchestand Februar 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Eckart, Theodor: *Geschichte des Gräfllich von Hardenberg'schen Waisenhauses in Nörten von seiner Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart*, Göttingen 1894, S. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Eckart, 1894 (wie Anm. 5), S. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Eckart, 1894 (wie Anm. 5), S. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Dehnhardt, 1868 (wie Anm. 2), S. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Kämmerer, Christian; Lufen, Peter Ferdinand: *Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Baudenkmale in Niedersachsen Bd. 7.1)*, Hameln 2002, S.189.

<sup>10</sup> Heinrich Adolph Schrader (1767-1836), Botaniker, from 1802 to 1836 director of the Botanical Garden of the University of Göttingen.

<sup>11</sup> Johann Friedrich Florenz Fischer (1755-1820), from 1781 to 1820 head gardener of the Botanical Garden of the University of Göttingen.

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- <sup>12</sup> The records of Du Roi, Johann Philipp: Die Harbkesche wilde Baumzucht, Braunschweig 1772.
- <sup>13</sup> Sennholz, Ludwig: Verzeichniss derer Bäume und Sträucher die in der Baumschule zu Wilhelmshöhe verkauft werden, ca. 1805.
- <sup>14</sup> Karl Friedrich Steinhöfer (1747-1829), Inspector of the water arts in the Bergpark Wilhelmshöhe.
- <sup>15</sup> Becker, Horst; Karkosch, Michael: Park Wilhelmshöhe Kassel – Historische Analyse, Dokumentation, denkmalpflegerische Zielsetzung, Regensburg 2007, S. 511.
- <sup>16</sup> Urkunde von Ludwig Sennholz vom 01.04.1807, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inv., b. 2321.
- <sup>17</sup> Dehnhardt, 1868 (wie Anm. 2), S. 13.
- <sup>18</sup> Oehler, Joseph: Beschreibung des Kaiserlichen Lustschlosses Schönbrunn und des dabei befindlichen Gartens, Wien 1805.
- <sup>19</sup> Franz Boos (1753-1832), which Dehnhardt particularly emphasizes in his memoirs, had himself taken part in extensive collecting trips and studied the plants which were later cultivated at Schönbrunn in their natural habitats.
- <sup>20</sup> Oehler wrote enthusiastically that the Schoenbrunn Palace Orangery is perhaps the largest of its kind in Europe (Oehler, 1805, wie Anm. 20, S. 21).
- <sup>21</sup> This winter was one of the hardest of the 19th century in southern Italy with heavy frost in February/March, ([it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inverni\\_freddi\\_in\\_Europa\\_dal\\_XV\\_secolo](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inverni_freddi_in_Europa_dal_XV_secolo)).
- <sup>22</sup> Urkunde von Franz Boos vom 20.04.1808 (wie Anm. 18).
- <sup>23</sup> Michele Tenore (1780-1861), Botanist, director of the Naples Botanical Garden, personally lobbied for the appointment of Friedrich Dehnhardt in 1810. Some drawings in Tenore's Flora Napolitana are by Dehnhardt. In later years, personal and scientific differences arose, which led to journalistic controversy.
- <sup>24</sup> see endnote 1,
- <sup>25</sup> Peter Joseph Lenné (1789-1866), Prussian garden artist and General Garden Director of the Royal Prussian Gardens.
- <sup>26</sup> Verein zur Beförderung des Gartenbaus in den Königlich Preußischen Staaten: Auszug aus der Verhandlung am 16ten Januar 1848, in: Verhandlungen des Vereins 19, 1849, S. 291.
- <sup>27</sup> Königlich preußische Ordensliste, Berlin 1877, S. 242.
- <sup>28</sup> Wimmer, Clemens Alexander: Der Gartenkünstler Peter Joseph Lenné, Darmstadt 2015, S. 44-45.
- <sup>29</sup> Loudon, John Claudius: Review – Transactions of the Prussian Gardening Society 1824, in: The Gardener's Magazine 1, 1826, S. 308-309.
- <sup>30</sup> Loudon writes that Lenné worked in Sicily in the garden of a German officer who married a rich Sicilian heiress. This can only have been the garden of the Villa Wilding-Butera in Olivuzza near Palermo. Lieutenant Georg Wilding had come to Sicily in 1808 with the King's German Legion and had met the twenty-two-year older widowed Princess Caterina di Branciforte, eldest daughter of Prince Butera, and married her in 1814. The garden of Villa Wilding Butera subsequently developed into an important botanical garden in which various gardeners from Germany worked.
- <sup>31</sup> A meeting with Dehnhardt in Naples was only possible from 1810. From the autumn of 1812 Lenné's stay in Vienna, Laxenburg and Koblenz can be proven, before he took up his activities in Potsdam in the spring of 1816.
- <sup>32</sup> Theodor I. Eduard Nietner (1790-1871), Royal court gardener in Paretz and Niederschönhausen.
- <sup>33</sup> Koch, Karl: Theodor Nietner – Oberhofgärtner in Schönhausen, in: Wochenschrift für Gärtnerei und Pflanzenkunde, 8, 1872, S. 58.
- <sup>34</sup> Der von dem Königl. Gesandten zu Neapel dem Botaniker Theodor Niethner geleistete Vorschuß, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, III. HA MdA, III Nr. 18889.
- <sup>35</sup> Heinrich Friedrich Link (1767-1851), Natural scientist and botanist, director of the Botanical Garden Berlin.
- <sup>36</sup> Dehnhardt, Friedrich: Catalogus Plantarum Horti Camaldulensis, Neapel 1829.
- <sup>37</sup> Verein zur Beförderung des Gartenbaus in den Königlich Preußischen Staaten: Auszug aus der Verhandlung am 1ten Dezember 1833, in: Verhandlungen des Vereins 10, 1834, S.343.
- <sup>38</sup> Herausgabe einer Monographie der Zitrus-Arten mit illuminierten Abbildungen von Friedrich Dehnhardt in Neapel, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA Rep. 76, Vc. Sekt. 1 Tit. XII Nr. 81.
- <sup>39</sup> Sechste Sitzung vom 25.09.1838, in: Bericht über die Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte, Freiburg 1839, S. 72.
- <sup>40</sup> Christ, Barbara u. Michael: Friedrich Dehnhardt und seine verschollene Monographie zu Agrumen, in: Arbeitskreis Orangerien in Deutschland e.V. (Hg.): Orangerie – Die Wiederentdeckung eines europäischen Ideals (Orangeriekultur Bd. 16|17), Berlin 2019, S. 120-126.
- <sup>41</sup> Dehnhardt, 1868 (see endnote. 2).