Traces of a Bibliophile Romantic Book Collection in Polish Libraries. The Dispersion of Ludwig Tieck’s Library and of the *Klein Oels Manor Library*

**Abstract:** Since 2015, the research project *Ludwig Tieck’s Library. Anatomy of a Romantic Comparatist Book Collection* has conducted the virtual reconstruction of the library of German romanticist Ludwig Tieck. About 4,000 volumes have already been located all over Europe, and have been recorded in a database according to current bibliographical standards. Polish libraries verifiably contain a couple dozen of books from Tieck’s collection – it is, however, very probable that many more books from it have been dispersed in Poland after 1945 via the library of Count Yorck von Wartenburg (which was located in today’s Oleśnica Mała in the vicinity of Wrocław). The history of Tieck’s library and its dispersion, and its relevance to Polish library holdings, will be detailed in this paper. In closing, a description of material traits and distinctive features particular to books of Tieck/Yorck provenance will provide information useful to identify respective holdings in Polish libraries.

**Key words:** Ludwig Tieck, Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein Oels manor library, library reconstruction, Polish library studies, provenance research.
Ludwig Tieck’s Library and its Sale 1849/50

L. Tieck (1773-1853) was one of the leading figures of German Romanticism. His Kunstmärchen “Der blonde Eckbert”, e.g., published in 1797, is one of the texts most frequently interpreted in German literature studies. Tieck contributed significantly to establish Shakespeare on the German stage; the first complete German translation of Shakespeare’s plays, the so-called Schlegel-Tieck-Shakespeare, was primarily conducted by Tieck’s daughter Dorothea Tieck (1799-1841) and Wolf Heinrich von Baudissin (1789-1878), and it was advertised under Tieck’s name. As a poet, scholar, promoter of literary knowledge, and a bibliophile, Tieck accumulated a book collection suited to his interests; its considerable size and value was well known to his respectively inclined contemporaries.

Tieck’s bibliophile interests were already pronounced during his student days in the early 1790s, when he had access to the renowned library of the University of Göttingen. He laid the foundations of his own library during journeys in Italy (1805/06) and England (1817). His correspondence with friends and publishers documents the regular ordering of auction and sales catalogues, countertrades with other collectors, and a constant search for rare prints. Time and again, he asks his publishers to send him “catalogues of book auctions whenever old and German items are for sale”, or requests friends to effect purchases for him:

Ich schicke Ihnen hier den beigelegten Catalog zurück, und bitte Sie, oder einen meiner Freunde, oder sonst einen Commissionair den Auftrag zu geben, die angestrichenen zu besorgen, an einigen liegt mir sehr viel […]  


4 “I am returning the attached catalogue to you, and ask you, or one of my friends, or a sales commissioner, to acquire the marked items, some of which mean a lot to me.” (L. Tieck to G. A.
Early 19th century secularization, with its frequent dissolution of monastic libraries, presumably contributed to his growing collection.

On 25 February 1849, Tieck sold his library consisting of about 17,000 volumes to Berlin bookseller and auctioneer Adolf Asher for a price of 7000 thaler, with a down payment of 2000 thaler. It is difficult to conclusively determine the reasons for Tieck’s decision, then 76 years old, to part from his collection during his lifetime. However, the books were auctioned from 18 December 1849 until 10 January 1850. Asher’s employee Albert Cohn had compiled a catalogue entitled Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck qui sera vendue à Berlin le 10. décembre 1849 et jours suivants par MM. A. Asher & Comp. (Fig. 1).

This catalogue is of key value to the reconstruction of Tieck’s library. So far, we have located about 75 copies of this catalogue, both in public libraries and in private ownership. The catalogue contains 7930 lots; besides bibliographical data and notes on binding, some provide additional information regarding the importance or rarity of certain titles. Books containing hand-written dedications – in general, by the authors towards Tieck – are marked with a cross, books containing considerable marginalia by Tieck with an asterisk. Entries such as these may also feature a description in italics; e.g., lot 1650 (The Dramatick works by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, today in the holdings of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu (Wrocław University Library) specifies: “Notes marginales de M. Tieck.” (Fig. 2). Our on-site examination has shown that all ten volumes do contain marginalia by Tieck.

Elizabethan literature, as exemplified by Beaumont/Fletcher, was one of Tieck’s main interests. His library contained many valuable works by William Shakespeare and his contemporaries, such as a second, third, and fourth Shakespeare folio (today in the Austrian National Library, Fig. 3). Tieck also focused on original prints of Spanish theatre from the siglo de oro; King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. purchased 1,546 of these narrow booklets in the 1849 auction; they were incorporated into the holdings of the Royal Library


5 Digitizations of the catalogue are available via the Bavarian State Library in Munich, see: [online] https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV019912583 [accessed 27.9.2020] and via the Heidelberg University Library [online] https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/voelcker1849_12_10/0005 [accessed 27.8.2020].

6 Lot 1650: F. Beaumont, J. Fletcher, The Dramatick works. Collated with all the former editions, and corrected, with notes critical and explanatory, by various commentators; and adorned with fifty-four original engravings, London 1778, Wroclaw University Library, sig. 035553.

in Berlin after Tieck’s death. Tieck acquired further Spanish plays even after the auction, for example from bookseller Eduard Leibrock in Braunschweig. Beyond Elizabethan literature and Spanish theatre, Tieck was very invested in German literature from the early modern period, represented by early prints of Martin Opitz, Andreas Gryphius, and Hans Sachs.

“A single glance at the 362 pages of the catalogue”, a contemporary German newspaper wrote, “suffices to recognize this selected library, rich in rare books, as a collection of literary treasures, making it twice regrettable that it will be dispersed all over the world by the auctioneer’s gavel”

8. Besides the imminent dispersion, the press reported on various scandals accompanying the auction. It had transpired earlier that Tieck had already sold his library in 1839 to publisher Heinrich Brockhaus – the contract guaranteed the usufruct of the collection to Tieck. The intercession of a friend helped to broker a compromise; Tieck was able to buy the library back from Brockhaus, thus legitimizing the contract with Asher.

In addition, the auction was postponed; the prospective bidders who had arrived in Berlin in time for the announced starting date (10 December 1849) had to bide their time until December 18th. They were further aggravated when they learned that Asher had already sold a large portion of the collection (en bloc, mainly from the section covering German literature) to the British Library (consequently, we have identified and examined more than 2000 volumes from Tieck’s library in London). Besides the British Library, the Viennese Court Library and the Royal Library in Berlin were major buyers. Libraries from Bruxelles, Bonn, Munich, Halle on the Saale, Göttingen, Weimar, and Stuttgart demonstrably acquired books in the auction. It is quite possible that libraries beyond Europe partook as well. In addition individual collectors such as Hans von und zu Aufseß, Edward Dorer-Egloff, and the Russian collector Sergey Alexandrovich Sobolevsky bought books.

A complete reconstruction of all sales is hampered by the loss of the Asher company archives, which were probably destroyed in 1944 and 1945 Berlin bombings. However, there are two copies of the 1849 auction catalogue in private ownership that list names of buyers and prices accrued for single items; the information, though not complete, is quite comprehensive, and it shows that the majority of Tieck’s library was actually sold during the auction. It stands to reason to suggest that these two copies were used by A. Asher & Co. to document


the auction. The remaining items were included in Asher’s subsequent stock catalogues\(^\text{11}\). The auction was concluded on 10 January 1850; the dispersion of Tieck’s books, however, had only just begun.

**Tieck’s Books in Polish Libraries**

The sale of the library was just a starting point for the subsequent dissemination of the books among the holdings of various institutions and private collections; some would change owners, especially in the 20\(^{th}\) century, and in some cases more than once. The Second World War and its consequences are of central importance to their presence in Polish libraries as well. At least small numbers arrived in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow and the University Library in Łódź, respectively, since the Royal Library in Berlin (having bought them in the 1849 auction) had stored some of its holdings in depots east of Berlin during the war. In these institutions, these “Berlinka” of Tieck provenance have found a new repository; some of the books have already been digitized and are thus available to international research\(^\text{12}\).

A considerably larger number of books collected by Tieck – presumably a couple of thousand volumes – was acquired by Count Yorck von Wartenburg (1805-1865), and moved on from the manor library in Klein Oels (Oleśnica Mała) in Silesia to the Wrocław University Library and other libraries in Poland and Russia.

**Count Yorck von Wartenburg’s Book Collection in Klein Oels**

The 1849 auction put no stop to Tieck’s bibliophile activities. Actually, we have good reason to assume that he laid the foundations for a new collection during the auction, since the aforementioned Asher “company copies” of the auction catalogue do list Tieck’s name as one of the buyers besides libraries, book commissioners, and other collectors. Tieck (re)bought old and rare prints from the 15\(^{th}\) and 16\(^{th}\) century, e.g., Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*\(^\text{13}\), and a large number of Romance language editions from the 17\(^{th}\) and

\(^{11}\) The stock catalogue 1850 by Asher & Co. is the only one to feature Tieck’s name explicitly in the title: *Catalogue d’une collection précieuse de livres rares et curieux provenants en partie de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludw. Tieck, en vente, aux prix marqués, chez A. Asher & Co. Libraires, Berlin 1850*. It is very probable, however, that Asher & Co. continued to offer books from Tieck’s library for years.


\(^{13}\) Lot 3966: F. Colonna, *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia. Vbi Hymana Omnia Non Nisi Somnium*
18th century, such as a print of Cervantes’ *Los seis libros de Galatea*. He also acquired more prevalent titles from the 18th and 19th century, and lots from all sections of the auction catalogue – among them a dedicated copy of Friedrich Heinrich Bothe’s *Die griechischen Komiker*, or an 1798 edition of Horace Walpole’s works.

Our findings suggest that the majority of these acquisitions was actually made by order of count Ludwig Yorck von Wartenburg (1805-1865). In 1852, the count had commissioned Tieck to compile a large collection of books; it is possible that their business connection was already in place during the 1849 auction. The 1849 Asher catalogue is listed in a catalogue of the Yorck library from 1865, besides numerous works of Tieck. Today, the catalogue is part of the holdings of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw, bearing the stamp of the Klein Oels library. The Yorck von Wartenburgs were among the prominent German noble families of the 19th century. In 1814, the family moved into Klein Oels, a stately home in the vicinity of Breslau. Bibliophile Ludwig Yorck von Wartenburg (1805-1865) – youngest son of Generalfeldmarschall Johann David Ludwig von Yorck (1759-1830) who signed the Convention of Tauroggen – studied in Breslau and, in 1824, joined the intellectual circles of the *Berliner Vormärz*, meeting Tieck and other notables of this cultural environment such as Friedrich von Raumer (1781-1873), Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), and Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859). In 1830, L. Yorck von Wartenburg succeeded his father and started to build an extensive manor library in Klein Oels. Highly

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18 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck…*, Berlin 1849, Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, Mag. ZDK 2.633. The catalogue came to the holdings of the National Library of Poland via the library of the “State Book Institute” (Państwowy Instytut Książki) in Łódź.

cultured and widely read, the count established Klein Oels as a meeting point for scholars and artists, and as a forum of dialogue between the nobility and the bourgeoisie.

In 1912, Hans Bötticher, who became a famous author under the pen name Joachim Ringelnatz, was employed to catalogue the manor library. His autobiography (1931) details the Klein Oels atmosphere, heavily influenced by L. Yorck von Wartenburg, the latter’s conservative, liberal, intellectual cultural environment, and the very library. Ringelnatz also mentions the Tieck provenance of some of the holdings:

Rauch’s bust of Generalfeldmarschalls Yorck von Wartenburg was displayed in the parlour. The Generalfeldmarschall’s son had acquired Tieck’s library, the foundation of the extensive library I was to work on. The study contained works of philology, the dining room works in German language, the music room history. The largest room with books, called the “Remise”, displayed Italian literature, art history, natural history, jurisprudence, political science, and journals in the hall downstairs; the galleries housed French and English literature, as well as the Yorck library. The corridor on the second floor contained “Familiensachen”; in the vault (the Billiard room), Spanish literature and rare books were displayed\(^\text{20}\).

The actual basis of the Klein Oels library was, however, older than Ringelnatz had assumed. Parts of the library’s holdings came from the library of a Knights Hospitaller Commandery in Klein Oels, which was brought under Yorck rule as part of the estate\(^\text{21}\). Beyond Ringelnatz’s literary testimony, other contemporary sources on Klein Oels and its surroundings also mention the extensive library (which also contained a collection of graphics and engravings)\(^\text{22}\).

An 1836 letter by Tieck’s companion Henriette von Finckenstein to Friedrich von Raumer is the first testimony of early negotiations between


Tieck and Yorck regarding a purchase of the former’s library\textsuperscript{23}. On 19 May 1852, three years after the auction and one year before his death, Tieck sold a second library to Yorck - for a price of 6000 thaler, and the usufruct of the library during his lifetime\textsuperscript{24}. The contract states that “the library to be sold must contain at least 10,000 volumes, booklets, and manuscripts”, and all books had to be “marked with the buyer’s stamp and listed in a catalogue compiled by the seller”\textsuperscript{25}. In August 1852, Tieck communicates to Yorck that he has collected 11,458 volumes and will send “a complete list of his books, with great effort compiled by my friend Mr. Dammas”\textsuperscript{26}. Karl Hellmuth Dammas, composer and poet, was Tieck’s secretary at that time. The catalogue he compiled – presumably in his characteristic, steep handwriting – is probably the only complete list of the “Tieck holdings” in the Yorck library that ever existed. Its considerable length suggests that the document was delivered to Yorck as a bound volume, in which form it must have been part of the Yorck library or archive holdings. If the document merely listed all titles (instead of all volumes), it still must have contained some thousand entries on several hundred pages. The whereabouts of this list – if it still exists – are unknown, and a key desideratum of our research\textsuperscript{27}. Tieck regularly reported his progress to Yorck,

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\textsuperscript{24} The whereabouts of the original contract between Tieck and Yorck are at present unknown. US scholar Edwin H. Zeydel published it in an edited volume of letters by Tieck and Yorck (cf. L. Tieck, Letters of Ludwig Tieck…, pp. 549-551). It seems that Zeydel had actually travelled to Klein Oels in the 1930s to access and examine the letters in person. He also mentions the sale in his study on Tieck’s relations to England, cf. E.H. Zeydel, Ludwig Tieck and England. A Study in the Literary Relations of Germany and England During the Early Nineteenth Century, Princeton (N.J.) 1931, p. 131f.


\textsuperscript{26} “Ich sende Ihnen hier endlich das vollständige Verzeichniss meiner Bücher, welches mein Freund Herr Dammaz mit vieler Mühe ausgearbeitet hat”, ibidem, p. 552.

\textsuperscript{27} We do not know whether E.H. Zeydel had seen this list during his stay in Klein Oels; he certainly does not mention it. This leads to the question whether the manor residents were actually aware of the existence of this document in the late 1920s or early 1930s. The storage of archival material within the house is described in a different context (based on oral sources): “There was a room above ground, but particularly strongly vaulted, in which, in addition to the most valuable books, first prints from the Reformation period and old Spanish literature to Romanticism (the entire Tieck [sic!] library was in Klein-Oels), there were two iron cabinets. One contained original graphics, the other the manuscript archive: letters from Frederick the Great to Count Schmettau, remnants of Marshal Yorck’s correspondence, later family letters, the estate of Braniß, acquired autographs and, of course, the philosophical notes of Count Paul Yorck” (“Dort gab es einen zwar oberirdischen, doch besonders fest gewölbten Raum, in dem neben den wertvollsten Büchern, Erstdrucken von der
announcing the imminent dispatch of specific books in letters\textsuperscript{28}. Given Tieck’s unreliable and scandalous conduct regarding the sale of his first library, it may be assumed that count Yorck had decided to keep a close eye on him, asking for frequent and detailed documentation of all acquisitions.

After the purchase of Tieck’s “second” library, the manor library in Klein Oels continued to grow. Ludwig’s son Paul bought early first editions focusing on philosophy and religion, such as works by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Andreas Gryphius, and especially Martin Luther; Paul’s son Heinrich acquired German classics and contemporary literature. Purchases of graphics and engravings from Germany and from abroad contributed to the continuing extension of the respective collection\textsuperscript{29}. By the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the Klein Oels book collection was one of the largest and most important libraries owned by a Prussian noble family. The \textit{Alphabetischer Catalog. I. Abtheilung}, Graf Yorck

\textsuperscript{28} The letters show that while Tieck was still alive he repeatedly passed on individual books to Yorck – or that books that Tieck had already announced were still retained by Tieck. In February 1853 Tieck wrote to Yorck: “I have a poor abandoned nephew [...] The unfortunate is at the Werdersche Gymnasium, and since he needs books for his progress, I have given him, on the premise that you would not disapprove, Schneider’s Greek dictionary, but removed your stamp. [...] I am not so unscrupulous that I should have withdrawn this book from you without any respect, without your express permission. The splendid edition of Shakespeare’s Knight in eight volumes I had loaned out and forgotten. It has come back to me and I am handing it over to your library unstamped. The kind king has been kind enough to buy it back for me from Asher for 70rt. To this I am adding 3 volumes of English by Ticknor, an American friend, which have not been labeled because I received them later” (“Ich habe einen armen verlassenen Neffen [...] Der Unglückliche ist auf dem Werderschen Gymnasium, und da er bei seinen Vorschritten Bücher braucht, so habe ich ihm in der Voraussetzung, daß Sie es nicht mißbilligen würden, Schneider’s griechisches Wörterbuch gegeben, doch Ihren Stempel herausgenommen. [...] Ich bin nicht so gewissenlos, daß ich Ihnen dies gekaufte Buch so ohne Umstände entzogen haben sollte, ohne Ihre ausdrückliche Bewilligung. Die Prachtausgabe Shakespeares von Knight in 8 Bänden hatte ich verliehen und vergessen. Diese ist mir zurückgekommen und ungestempelt überliefere ich sie Ihrer Bibliothek. Der freundliche König ist so gütig gewesen, sie für mich für 70rt von Asher zurück zu kaufen. Diesem füge ich noch 3 Bände Englisch von Ticknor, einem amerikanischen Freunde bei, die auch noch nicht bezeichnet sind, weil ich sie später erhalten habe”), L. Tieck, \textit{Letters of Ludwig Tieck}…, p. 558-559.

\textsuperscript{29} Parts of the collection of graphics and engravings had to be sold as a result of the global economic crisis in the 1930s, cf. the catalogue of the Leipzig auction house: Paul Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, \textit{Die Sammlung Graf Yorck von Wartenburg. Deutsche Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts} […] Dazu aus altem Fürstenbesitz Inkunabeln des deutschen Kupferstiches und Holzschnittes, Französische Farbdrucke, Schweizer Ansichten ; Ferner einige Beiträge aus Privatbesitz, dabei ein Marienleben Dürers in herrlichen Probedrucken; Versteigerung: Montag und Dienstag, den 2. und 3. Mai 1932 [Katalog Nr. 176], Leipzig 1932.
von Wartenburgsche Fideicommiss-Bibliothek Klein-Oels (Breslau 1874\(^{30}\); Fig. 4) offers only an incomplete overview of the holdings; provenance from Tieck’s library is stated only once\(^{31}\). The whereabouts of a manuscript by Tieck listed in this catalogue (“Magazin. – Allerlei Nachrichten 1801-1806, Schluss pag. 107. Manuscrt. In 4°. Notizen über seine Lecture”) among Tieck’s printed works are another desideratum of research on Tieck; it presumably entered the Yorck holdings along with Tieck’s books\(^{32}\). Another undated, handwritten catalogue (“Katalog zur Graf Yorck von Wartenburgschen Bibliothek in Klein Oels” – probably from the late 19\(^{th}\) century) is stored today in the Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (Wrocław State Archives)\(^{33}\).

In 1945, a century after the auction, the manor library contained more than 100,000 volumes. Its fate, however, was no longer in the hands of the Yorck von Wartenburgs. Peter Graf Yorck von Wartenburg – the great-grandchild of Tieck’s friend Ludwig – was a leading member of the Kreisauer Kreis, besides other notables such as Helmuth James Graf von Moltke and his wife Freya\(^{34}\). As part of the conservative-militarist resistance network against NS leadership, and after the failed assassination attempt on Hitler on 20 July 1944, he was executed by the NS regime. His older brother Paul and other relatives were held in concentration camps and prisons, and the estate of Klein Oels was confiscated by the National Socialists\(^{35}\). In 2002, a commemorative plaque was installed in the manor yard of Klein Oels, dedicated to the memory of P. Yorck and his dissident stance facing the Volksgerichtshof. The building, however, does not bear any traces of its former inhabitants.

\(^{30}\) Alphabetischer Catalog…, op. cit. We have no information on its creation, print run and distribution. The Berlin State Library holds a copy (RLS Dr 5159), the National Library of Poland in Warsaw three copies (194.594; 6.970 and Podr.SD V.1/9), the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow two (316839 II and 576568 II), and the Library Pedagogical University in Cracow (Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie) holds one copy.

\(^{31}\) Cf. the copy of Tieck’s Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter (Berlin 1803), regarding which the catalogue states: “Exemplar, welches in T.’s Besitz und Bibliothek war.”, see Alphabetischer Catalog…, p. 567.

\(^{32}\) Alphabetischer Catalog…, p. 567.

\(^{33}\) “Katalog zur Graf Yorck von Wartenburgschen Bibliothek in Klein Oels“, Wroclaw State Archives, sig. 82/157/0/153, 20x 25cm, 323 pp. We thank Dr. José Luis Losada Palenzuela from the Department of Romance Studies at the University of Wroclaw for this information. This extensive handwritten catalogue by an unknown hand could be a finding aid or the manuscript of another catalogue from the manor library. Additional title information: “First volume: German literature, including philology and classical antiquity” (“Erster Band: die deutsche Literatur, mit Einschluß der Philologie und klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft”). In addition to the titles, the catalogue also contains signatures.


\(^{35}\) Paul Graf Yorck was imprisoned in various prisons and finally in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was liberated by the Red Army on 23 April 1945. The mother and sisters were also held in Sippenhaft for a few weeks (cf. G. Brakelmann, Peter Yorck…, p. 274).
and their belongings. Today, it houses a biological research institute, and apartments for its employees.

It is difficult to reconstruct the fate of the manor library after the arrival of the Red Army in January 1945. In 1970, Karlfried Gründer related eyewitness accounts stating that the library was at first flung from the windows and piled up on the terrace, only to be returned into the building by Germans who had remained in Klein Oels. Finally, the majority of the books was removed again to be employed as filling material in road repairs.36

Wulf von Moltke, a nephew of brothers Peter and Paul Yorck, paints a similar picture in his introduction to the only comprehensive publication on the Klein Oels manor library37 but the quantitative implications of these reports are difficult to assess; there is no demonstrable verification of the percentage of books destroyed.

The Yorck family did retain a small part of the library, about 800 volumes, which had been brought to the mansion of Count Schaffgotsch in Warmbrunn further to the West.38 Among these books are about 800 Spanish plays in 91 volumes; they contain handwritten notes relating that the plays were acquired by Tieck from Brunswick bookseller Leibrock, along with prices paid. These books have already been examined by our research team (Fig. 5).

Regulation Nr. 55 regarding the establishment of Poland’s western borders and the jurisdiction of Polish administration (“über die Festlegung der westlichen Staatsgrenze Polens und die Jurisdiktion der polnischen Verwaltung”) stated on 20 February 1945 that Klein Oels was to be part of the Polish territory. Directive Nr. 50 (February 1945) of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front stated that works of art not looted by the Nazi regime and not under the jurisdiction of the Trophy Commission were to be handed over to the Polish administrative authorities. Still, three railroad carriages with artwork, including books from Silesia, were transported into the USSR.40 According to W. von Moltke, after the

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38 At the initiative of Paul Yorck von Wartenburg, who was still in concentration camp imprisonment in Sachsenhausen, the books were brought to the orangery at the end of the war. From there they were brought to the west by train at the end of January / beginning of February 1945. They are still privately owned by the family today, cf. Wartenburg, Paul Graf Yorck von, [online] http://www.lostart.de/Webs/DE/Datenbank/MeldungVerlust.html?cms_param=menu%3DInfo%26INST_ID%3D5622%26id83554 [accessed 24.09.2020].

39 We would like to thank W. von Moltke and his family for the friendly support of our research in Berlin and in Neureichenau.

40 Cf. Nikolai N. Subkov et. al. in: Bücher aus der Privatsammlung der Grafen Yorck von
war had ended, Paul Yorck had informed the Russian Chief of the General Staff Zhukov about the library and had asked him to ensure the safety of the artwork stored in Klein Oels. It is a fact that parts of the library reached the Soviet Union; some books with the Klein Oels stamp are in the holdings of the Vladimir Mayakovsky Central City Public Library in St. Petersburg and the Margarita Rudomino All-Russia State Library for Foreign Literature in Moscow. It has not yet been clarified whether they have been provided directly by the Soviet Trophy Commission, or whether they have reached the respective institutions via intermediaries. Since the late 1950s, single titles bearing the Klein Oels stamp have been acquired by these institutions via Russian antiquarian book trade. Starting in 2009, books of Klein Oels provenance became the focus of research activities by the initiative Deutsch-Russischer Bibliotheksdialog (German-Russian Library Dialogue), resulting in a comprehensive and illustrated catalogue of the books now held in Moscow and St. Petersburg. It suffices to leaf through its pages to ascertain frequent Tieck provenance from the pictures of handwritten entries, marginalia and dedications proving Tieck’s ownership. Similar German-Polish initiatives with a focus on Klein Oels have not been instigated yet – it is safe to assume, however, that the majority of the books once held in Klein Oels have remained on Polish territory.

Searching for and Identifying Books of Tieck and Yorck Provenance

After 1945, several thousand volumes were transferred from Klein Oels to the geographically closest professional library – the Wrocław University Library. Its collection of rare books contains a multitude of titles of so-called “recovered holdings” from various Sileasian libraries; the books were incorporated into the university library holdings, which had been severely decimated during

Wartenburg in russischen Bibliotheken, Moskau 2012, pp. 39-61, here p. 43.
42 Cf. ibidem.
44 How many books from Klein Oels are exactly kept there has not been conclusively determined. According to information from the Wrocław University Library in 2017, 5785 prints from Klein Oels are known and accounted for in the collection. According to older information from the 1960s, “the tenth part” of the manor library was transferred to the Wrocław University Library. With an assumed volume of around 120,000 volumes in 1945, this would correspond to 12,000 volumes. Cf. K. Gründer, Zur Philosophie..., p. 15.
the Second World War. The online accessible card catalogues of rare and old prints feature pictures of the respective title pages and thus reveal at first glance that they refer to many books once held at Klein Oels, since the title pages bear the Yorck stamp.

Several other Polish libraries have books from Klein Oels in their holdings; some of them were actually part of Tieck’s library as well. During its brutal subjugation of Eastern Europe, the German Wehrmacht inflicted an immense loss of cultural assets on Poland. Large parts of Polish library holdings were destroyed. After 1945, significant amounts of books changed their location to fill the gaps in already existing, old scientific libraries, or to help build libraries in newly founded institutions. Books from the Yorck library only played a small part in all of this; yet, they illustrate the distribution of historical book holdings during the post war period. A similar fate also happened to the Plathe manor library in Western Pomerania and the aforementioned “Berlinka” from the Berlin State Library. Beyond the Wrocław University Library, ten further Polish libraries have informed us that their holdings contain a few titles from Klein Oels: the Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie (Jagiellonian Library in Krakow) owns a larger number, the Biblioteka Kórnicka (Kórnik Library) seven titles (among them lot 6394, vol. 2 from Tieck’s original library), the Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (Ossoliński National Institute) six titles, the Biblioteka Publiczna m.st. Warszawy (Warsaw Public Library Central Library of the Masovian Voivodeship) three items, the Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (National Library of Poland) owns at least one title, namely the aforementioned 1849 auction catalogue, the Biblioteka Główna

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46 In Poland, the German occupiers often did not aim at the theft and confiscation of cultural assets, but rather at their destruction. This was part of the German warfare against the Slavic nations, aiming for their annihilation. In the course of the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, for example, the holdings of the National Library of Poland, which were housed in the former building of the Krasiński family library, were set on fire by special forces. The library lost an estimated 370,000 volumes during the war, including around 90 percent of the manuscripts and 60 percent of the old prints, all *incunabula* and all *polonica* from the 16th to the 18th century. cf. *Biblioteka Narodowa / Nationalbibliothek*, [in:] *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa. Digitalisiert von Günter Kükenshöner*, ed. B. Fabian, G. Kükenshöner, Hildesheim 2003. The holdings of other libraries, such as the Library of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences were dispersed during the German occupation and only partially found their way back to their original location, cf. *Biblioteka Poznanskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk / Bibliothek der Posener Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wissenschaften*, [in:] ibidem.

Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie (Main Library of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw) at least one other Klein Oels volume, the Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk (Library of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences) a single title (Tieck 7742), the Biblioteka Śląska w Katowicach (Silesian Library in Katowice) a single title, the Książnica Pomorska w Szczecinie – Pommersche Bibliothek Stettin (Pomeranian Library in Szczecin) another one (Tieck 7171, vol. 5), received via a department of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Jerzego Giedroycia w Białymstoku (University Library in Białystok). The Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (University of Warsaw Library) contains three volumes of a journal bearing Yorck’s stamp.

Slow progress in digitization (both of catalogues of old and rare prints, and of the books themselves) is a familiar problem in provenance research, and it applies of course to the search for books of Tieck and Yorck provenance. Online catalogues only supply reliable information if they are based on the examination of books rather than the processing of old card catalogues; only these examinations, though they consume both time and resources, will record attributes that indicate the provenance of books – such as the Klein Oels stamp. Against this background, an internationally oriented research project such as the reconstruction of L. Tieck’s library needs to rely on meticulous processing of all relevant context, a persistent pursuit of all known traces, and the assistance of institutions and individual professionals until a truly systematic search is possible; the intermediate results of our research in Poland must be seen in this context.

On principle, books from the Klein Oels library are easy to identify. They usually feature the Klein Oels stamp on the title page, in rare cases on its verso side. It is an oval stamp bearing the text “Gr. York Kl. Oels” or “Graf Yorck Klein Oels Majoratsbibliothek” (Fig. 6 and 7). Additional Tieck provenance, however, is much more difficult to prove, since Tieck did not employ a bookplate, and though he owned a personal stamp (“L. Tieck”), he only put it to painfully infrequent use. It shows on the front page of Adam Smith’s *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, today in the Library of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences, or, together with the Klein Oels stamp, on the title page of George Lyttelton’s *The History of the life of King Henry the

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48 We would like to thank the librarians on site for their research and their kind information.

49 Lot 7742: A. Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, Basil 1791, Library of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences, sig. 103110 II, [online] http://katalogkartkowy.ptpn.poznan.pl/ptpn_folders/starodruki/3319/00602.jpg [accessed 24.09.2020]. The volume does not feature a Klein Oels stamp and is likely to have reached the library in other ways. We thank Norbert Delestowicz for this information.
second\textsuperscript{50}, today in the Wrocław University Library – but these instances are far and few in between (Fig. 8). Besides the stamp, Tieck provenance may be proven via dedications or marginalia. In quite a few cases, Tieck left notes on front flyleaves providing information on the copy’s provenance or the date of the purchase and signed them. The Wrocław University Library owns a volume of Spanish comedies by Antonio de Zamora that bears a note by Tieck on the front flyleaf: “Received as a present by my friend A.W. v. Schlegel in 1828, when I was staying with him in Bonn for a few weeks. Ludwig Tieck”\textsuperscript{51}.

Another source of information is the 1849 auction catalogue, since it supplies information on especially noticeable books, and the notes in the Asher company copy of the auction catalogue. Lot 6459 of the auction catalogue, e.g., features a rare 17\textsuperscript{th} century title by Maximilien de Béthune Sully. The catalogue notes: “Cette édit. origin. est curieuse à cause de son origine. Elle fut imprimée au chateau du Duc de Sully par un imprimeur d’Anvers sous l’indication çi-dessus. Elle est rare et recherchée”\textsuperscript{52}. The Asher company copy notes that this title was purchased by Tieck himself – presumably on behalf of the library he was to compile for Yorck. It is thus very probable that the copy of this title, bearing the Klein Oels stamp, had once belonged to L. Tieck. Lot 6731 represents a very clear case: Friedrich Heinrich Bothe’s Die griechischen Komiker: Eine Beurtheilung der neuesten Ausgabe ihrer Fragmente contains – as the auction catalogue states – a handwritten dedication to Tieck\textsuperscript{53}. Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger’s Gespräche (lot 7746, published in 1817) contains marginalia by Tieck and probably a dedication by Solger – the catalogue has: „Marginalien Tiecks. d. r. «Cadeau de mon ami Solger.» L. T.”\textsuperscript{54}. These are just three examples of books of combined Tieck/Yorck provenance that we have not been able to locate yet.


\textsuperscript{52} Lot 6459: M. Sully Béthune de, Mémoires des sages et royales oeconomies d’état, domestiques, politiques et militaires de Henry le Grand, l’Exemplaire des Roys, le Prince de Vertus, des Armes & des Loix, & le Pere en effet de ses Peuples François, Amsterdam [1638], 2\textdegree, sold for 1 Rthl. 16 Sgr.


\textsuperscript{54} Lot 7746: K.W.F. Solger, Philosophische Gespräche. Erste Sammlung, Berlin 1817, 8\textdegree, sold for 1 Rthl. 3 Sgr.
The latter books all bear material marks, both in the form of handwritten testimonials and of stamps, that lead us back to their former owners. In their present situation, as part of modern library holdings, the books bear witness of changing cultural practices and historical circumstances, scientific interest and symbolic capital. Dispersed in 1849, L. Tieck’s books were scattered again through the Second World War. During L. Tieck’s career, books were most important tools in his endeavors as a poet, translator, and scholar. From 1849 to 1853, they were transformed into status symbols as part of the library in a manor house, where nobility and bourgeoisie met in the spirit of liberalism. Since the end of the Second World War, the books have remained in the holdings of some libraries, an existence sometimes marginalized by questions of potential restitution, their lineage – dating back to the heyday of German Romanticism – unknown. If some were destroyed, the books were probably obliterated as representatives of a German culture perceived as diabolically destructive during and after the war. They bear the stamps of their previous owners as marks of altered location and function. Our database, *Ludwig Tieck’s Library*[^56], shall be a meeting place, based on historical distance, scientific spirit, and the possibilities offered by digitization, a place where the history of these books, and all their various owners, will be made transparent - independent from their current location, or the workplace, of those interested in their fate. All leads on potential holdings of Tieck/Yorck provenance are very welcome and of crucial importance for our endeavor, which can only succeed with the help and expertise of Polish librarians.


[^56]: https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at For further information on the ongoing research project also see https://complit.univie.ac.at/ueber-uns/forschung-dissemination/projekte/ludwig-tiecks-bibliothek/
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Fig. 1. Book cover of the 1849 auction catalogue – *Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck qui sera vendue a Berlin le 10. Décembre 1849 et jours suivants par MM. A. Asher & Comp.*, Berlin 1849, private copy, photo credits: A. Hölter

Fig. 2. Lot 1650, p. 66 of the auction catalogue, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, [online] https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV019912583 [accessed 27.9.2020]

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Fig. 5. Handwritten entry of L. Tieck in a volume of various plays by Juan de Matos Fragoso: “Diese beiden Bände der Comödien des / Matos Fragoso habe ich von H. Leibrock / in Braunschweig für 8 Thl gekauft. / L. Tieck.”, private copy, Neureichenau, photo credits: P. Ferstl

Fig. 6 and 7. Stamps “Gr. York Kl. Oels”/ “Graf York Klein-Oels Majoratsbibliothek”, private copy, photo credits: T. Schmidt
Fig. 8. Stamp “L. Tieck”, source: ProvenienzWiki – Plattform für Provenienzforschung und Provenienzerschließung, [online] https://provenienz.gbv.de/Ludwig_Tieck [accessed 27.9.2020]

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Tieck L., Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter, Berlin 1803.


