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CAMONIANA AND MORE – PORTUGUESE EARLY PRINTED BOOKS FROM THE FORMER PRUSSIAN STATE LIBRARY IN BERLIN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ LIBRARY. RESEARCH RECONNAISSANCE

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses Portuguese early printed books from the collection of the University of Łódź Library (BUŁ) that bear the ownership mark of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (German: Preussische Staatsbibliothek). This topic has been neglected in research conducted by Polish scholars, with the exception of a minor mention in a publication from 1991. The article presents the results of a research reconnaissance carried out in the Early Printed Books Section of the Special Collections Department of the BUŁ, which was the first stage of research on the books in question. During this stage, information was collected pertaining to, among other things, the number of volumes identified, their general thematic profile, the works represented and the editions dating from the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 18th century. Particular atten-

tion was paid to editions of works by Luís de Camões (1524?–1580), one of the leading Portuguese and European writers of the Renaissance. The article also contains a concise summary of their features, placing them in the context of the reception of Portuguese literature in Germany in the second half of the 18th century and in the 19th century. Another important area covered in the article is historical information about these items, which, after World War II, found their way from the library in Berlin to the BUŁ. Research into these works is ongoing, and important new findings relating to them will be published when ready.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese early printed books, University of Łódź Library, Prussian State Library in Berlin, Royal Library in Berlin, Luís de Camões

In Memoriam of Elżbieta Milewska
(1940–2019)

The presence of Portuguese early printed books in the collections of Polish libraries, especially given that these are often not isolated volumes but larger groups of them, is an intriguing fact for a scholar dealing with Portuguese topics from a historical perspective. More than three decades ago, Elżbieta Milewska drew attention to the existence of such works in an excellent and still relevant monograph devoted to Polish–Portuguese cultural and literary relations from the 16th to the 19th century, although she did so only marginally and in very general terms. Thus, she referred briefly to the "rich collection of old Portuguese books"[1] kept in the University of Łódź Library (BUŁ), excluding them from her analysis because the volumes "went there [to the BUŁ] only after World War II and come mainly from foreign collections,"[2] and therefore

1 E. Milewska, *Związki kulturalne i literackie polsko-portugalskie w XVI–XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1991, p. 117.

2 Ibidem, p. 117.

did not correspond to the general thematic scope of her study. Milewska mentions that this resource, consisting of "23 old Portuguese books," signed with the "round seal 'Ex Bibl. Regia Berolinensi'" contains "extremely valuable editions of the poetry of Luís de Camões – 'Rhythmas...' / Lisboa, 1595 / and 'Os Lusíadas' / Lisboa, 1597/."[3]

The present article aims to expand on this fascinating yet laconic comment by Milewska. It draws on the results of a research reconnaissance carried out in the Early Printed Books Section of the BUŁ, looking at Portuguese early printed books bearing provenance markings of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (German: Preussische Staatsbibliothek). It should be noted that this research covered a much larger group of volumes than the one indicated by Milewska – several dozen volumes in total, containing works by Portuguese authors written in their native language, published in print from the 16th to the end of the 18th century.

Unlike the Iberian objects – in particular the manuscripts from the Prussian State Library in Berlin, currently stored in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (BJ) in the Berlin collection, commonly referred to as the *Berlinka* or "Prussian treasure"[4] – the items that found their way to Łódź in the postwar period have received little scholarly interest. For example, bound manuscripts in Romance languages (including Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan) deposited

3 Ibidem, p. 130.

4 There are various studies about the *Berlinka* at the Jagiellonian Library (BJ). The following recent publications are highly recommended: Z. Pietrzyk '*Libri picturati* i nie tylko – światowe dziedzictwo kultury w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej,' in: *Historia jest polifoniczna. Sztambuch Profesora Krzysztofa Zamorskiego*, ed. M. Kurkowska-Budzan et al., Kraków 2023, pp. 117–127; M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, 'Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen Bibliothek: Geschichte und Struktur,' in: *Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek Forschungsstand und perspektiven*, eds. M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien 2018, pp. 15–30; M. Jaglarz, J. Madajczak, 'Berlinka,' in: J. Madajczak et. al., *Aztecka układanka. Szesnastowieczny rękopis ze zbiorów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Warszawa 2021, pp. 15–24; J. Partyka, 'Wprowadzenie,' in: *Polonika z „Berlinki" w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej. Rękopisy, rękopisy muzyczne, starodruki, starodruki muzyczne, wydawnictwa rzadkie i druki nowe: katalog obiektów zdigitalizowanych*, Kraków 2016, pp. 7–11.

in Kraków were researched in a scholarly project carried out by members of the Institute of Romance Philology at the Jagiellonian University in 2008–2011,[5] which resulted in a series of scholarly publications.[6] Also, manuscripts in Iberian languages (Spanish and Portuguese) belonging to another collection of the *Berlinka* – namely the Autograph Collection (Sammlung Autographa) – currently form part of a broad, interdisciplinary research project, the completion of which is planned for 2026.[7] In addition, printed books published after 1800, including works in Spanish and Portuguese, are included in a separate "Catalog of 19th–20th century printed books from the collections of the former Prussian State Li-

5 The project was entitled "The history of the collection of Romance manuscripts in the Berlin collection at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow" and was carried out by the "Fibula" research group under the supervision of Professor Piotr Tylus from the Institute of Romance Philology of the Jagiellonian University.

6 See, among others: A. Rzepka, R. Sosnowski, P. Tylus, *Historia kolekcji rękopisów romańskich z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie, przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie: studium ogólne/The history of the collection of Romance manuscripts from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków: the overall study*, Kraków 2011; A. Rzepka, 'Alguns apontamentos sobre os manuscritos portugueses da Biblioteca Jaguelónica de Cracóvia,' *Studia Iberystyczne*, 2019, No. 18, pp. 293–310; A. Rzepka, P. Tylus, R. Sosnowski, 'Romance manuscripts in the Berlin collection at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. The state of the research and perspectives,' in: *Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin...*, op. cit., pp. 31–40; A. Rzepka, 'La Guerra de la Independencia española (1808–1814) a la luz de los manuscritos hispánicos accesibles en Polonia,' in: *Narrativas de la violencia. Representaciones en las literaturas hispánicas. Guerra, sociedad y familia*, eds. M. Carrera Garrido, M. Pietrak, Sevilla, Lublin 2015, pp. 37–52; idem, 'Pedro Calderón de la Barca en los manuscritos hispánicos de la Colección Berlinesa depositada en la Biblioteca Jaguellónica de Cracovia,' in: *Literatura y (re)escritura*, eds. A. Dotras Bravo, D. Santos Sánchez, S. Augusto, Coimbra 2015, pp. 127–137; idem, 'Manuscripts of Spanish-language historical works from the Berlin Collection kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow,' *Fibula*, 2011, No. 1, pp. 16–26; idem, 'Brazylijskie skarby Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie,' in: *Pismo, lektura, biblioteka w dawnych literaturach romańskich*, eds. A. Rzepka, D. Pudo, M. Wrana, Kraków 2014, pp. 325–344; idem, '*Contraviajes naturales, políticos y literarios* de un misionero español por Filipinas a finales del siglo XVIII,' in: *Alors je rêverai des horizons bleuâtres...: études dédiées à Barbara Sosień*, Kraków, eds. B. Marczuk, J. Gorecka-Kalita, A. Kocik, Kraków 2013, pp. 259–268.

7 Flagship project of "European Heritage in the Jagiellonian Library: Digital Authoring of the Berlin Collections. Core Facility (DiHeLib)" in the strategic program of the Excellence Initiative at the Jagiellonian University. The project manager is Professor Jadwiga Kita-Huber. The assumptions and goals of the project are presented in the article: R. Sosnowski, P. Tylus, 'European Treasure in the Jagiellonian Library. A Flagship Project,' *Polish Libraries*, 2023, Vol. 11, pp. 235–244.

brary in Berlin kept in the Jagiellonian Library," available to all interested persons via the BJ website.[8]

As far as the early printed books from the *Berlinka* located in Łódź are concerned, recent research activities have focused mainly on the *Germanica* from the 16th and 17th centuries. These have been included in projects relating not only to items from the former Prussian State Library, but also to materials from other collections that were gradually used to create the BUŁ in the postwar period.[9] The basis of the BUŁ's collection was what were known as "secured collections" – formerly German-owned collections, collections from manor houses and abandoned collections,[10] "both from Łódź and its surroundings, as well as imported from what are known as the Recovered Territories."[11] These were supplemented by donations

8 The Polish title of this catalog is "Katalog Druków XIX–XX w. ze zbiorów byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej". See https://bj.uj.edu.pl/berlinka/baza#ber_top [accessed 25.07.2024]. In the case of early printed Spanish-language books from the former Prussian State Library in the BJ, these are mostly 17th-century dramatic works (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xk), and linguistic works on American languages (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Zs). The very few early modern Portuguese printed books are also linguistic books (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Zs).

9 The results of these projects are presented in the publications: *Germanica des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Universitätsbibliothek Łódź. Katalog der Bestände*, eds. von C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, Łódź 2020, Vols. 1–2, and C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, T. Ososiński, *Religia, rym i regiment. Germanica z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Katalog wystawy*, Łódź 2022. The author of this article would like to thank Monika Sulejewicz-Nowicka, PhD, Head of the Early Printed Books Section of the BUŁ, for her valuable bibliographic guidance.

10 See M. Sulejewicz-Nowicka, 'Gromadzenie rzadkich wydawnictw dziewiętnasto- i dwudziestowiecznych oraz druków przeznaczonych dla Zbiorów Specjalnych w drodze zakupu antykwarycznego w latach 2005–2012 w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości. Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 1945–2015*, eds. M. Wrocławska, I. Kujawska, I. Słabiszewska, Łódź 2015, p. 188. Piotr Lewkowicz gives an explanation of the term "secured collections": "this was the name given to the collections gathered in designated depots (they were located in Gdańsk, Katowice-Stalinogród, Kraków, Poznań, Szczecin and Wrocław), where Polish book collections and abandoned German sets from Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, seized by the state, were placed in 1947–1955", in: P. Lewkowicz, 'Użytkowanie książki jako uruchomienie wahadła jej pamięci – wybrane przykłady wypożyczeń starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Biblioteka w czasie – czas w bibliotece*, eds. B. Kasperek, S. Wojnarowicz, Lublin 2015, Vol. 1, p. 283.

11 See A. Giermaziak, M. Kiersztejn, P. Pol, 'Oddział Opracowania Zbiorów – historia, ewolucja, komputeryzacja,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 47.

and later also by antiquarian purchases, in addition to deposit copies and exchanges with domestic and foreign institutions.[12]

Portuguese early printed books from the BUŁ, despite the intriguing mention by Milewska over thirty years ago, are still waiting for in-depth research that would allow them to fully re-emerge in scholarly awareness and circulation as an important element of Iberian and European cultural heritage. They reflect the development of intellectual life in the spheres of literature, history and science in Portugal from the 16th to the end of the 18th century, and also the development of the Portuguese printing and publishing market in this period – an area practically unknown in Poland. Another equally intriguing topic is the reception of the works represented in the collection, as well as the personal or institutional contacts that enabled the flow of books and the knowledge they contain, as traced through provenance research. These contacts relate primarily to Central Europe, in particular Germany, as the books originally came from the Berlin library; but this is not the whole story, as books and other items reached Łódź from many sources and in various, sometimes complicated, ways.[13]

The first step toward developing these and other potential lines of research was a research reconnaissance. Special attention was paid to editions of the works of Luís de Camões (1524?–1580), a key figure in Portuguese Renaissance literature, history and culture, who over the centuries has become a symbol of what is Portuguese in the world. The focus on these volumes was facilitated by two momentous anniversaries. First, the 450th anniversary of the *editio princeps* of the Portuguese national epic by Camões, bearing the original title *Os Lusíadas*,[14] was celebrated in 2022. Published in print in 1572,

12 M. Raczyński, 'Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego w latach 1945–1980,' in *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 22.

13 The collection of manuscripts in Romance languages from the BJ serves as a good example in this regard. The fate of individual manuscripts is illustrated in the aforementioned monograph: A. Rzepka, R. Sosnowski and P. Tylus, *Historia kolekcji rękopisów romańskich z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie…*, op. cit.

14 The epic *Os Lusíadas* (the title of the Polish edition from 1995, translated by Ireneusz Kania, is *Luzytanie*, i.e., "The Lusitanians"; English translations use the

the work now belongs to the strict canon of 16th-century European literature as one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. Second, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Camões is being celebrated in 2024–2025 with a great variety of cultural and academic events, involving international scholars in the field of Portuguese studies, who deal with various related issues. It is thus an appropriate moment to present current research findings on the items in the BUŁ collection, as a starting point for potential further research not only on the aforementioned *Camoniana* – that is, works related to Camões – but also on the other materials identified.

Portuguese Early Printed Books in the BUŁ – General Findings

Portuguese early printed books from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin do not form a separate collection within the BUŁ.[15] After they were accepted into the BUŁ in the postwar period, they were given the library shelfmarks they bear today; this was general practice at the BUŁ for "secured collections."[16] The volumes in

title: *The Lusiad* or *The Lusiads*) occupies a key place in Camões's literary legacy. The thematic axis of the work is the story of the expedition led by Vasco da Gama (ca. 1486–1524) in search of a sea route to India (1497–1499), but the main protagonists of the work are the Portuguese – the titular Lusitanians. It is their heroic deeds that constitute the history of Portugal over the centuries up to the era of geographical discoveries and overseas expansion that the author celebrates, creatively weaving historical and mythological threads in the work. The epic poem, divided into ten cantos, draws on ancient models, especially Virgil, as well as the Renaissance Italian epic. It also proves the enormous erudition and extensive knowledge of Camões, who demonstrated in-depth knowledge of mythology, history, geography and other fields.

15 Jakub Gortat explains that "as in other Polish libraries storing the *Berlinka* resources, in Łódź they are also not placed in a separate room or a separate section of the library storehouse. They are generally arranged among other books of German origin." In: J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego', in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne…*, op. cit., p. 114. It is worth adding that, in the case of the *Berlinka* deposited at the BJ, the former shelfmarks from the Berlin library were eventually retained.

16 As Anna Giermaziak, Małgorzata Kiersztejn and Paweł Pol write, "books [from the 'secured collections'] were delivered to the Library [of the University of Łódź] without any selection or division. They had to be sorted first and then processed. In 1947, 250,000 volumes from the 'secured collections' (out of a total of 320,000) were introduced into the library collection of the University of Łódź." In: A. Giermaziak, M. Kiersztejn, P. Pol, 'Oddział Opracowania Zbiorów – historia…,' op. cit.,

question can be identified today primarily by the former ownership marks of the Berlin library. The old shelfmarks at the bottom of the spines are easily spotted, making it simpler to identify them among the thousands of old printed books in the storage areas of the BUŁ.[17] These shelfmarks can also be found, written in pencil or black ink, on the front and back covers or on the first pages of the volumes. In addition, usually on the *verso* of the title page of the books in question, we find ownership markings in the form of circular stamps in red ink that read "Ex Biblioth. Regia Berolinensi," or oval-shaped stamps, also in red ink, that read "Ex Bibl. Regia Berolin." In the first case, there are several variants, differing mainly in size and type of rim. Markings of this type date from the 18th and 19th centuries, especially from the period from about 1795 to 1881–1882,[18] when the German library was called the Royal Library in Berlin.[19]

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p. 47. Joanna Jabłkowska also discusses the reception, ordering and inventorying of books at the BUŁ during the creation of the book collection on the basis of "secured collections" in the early postwar period: "When the BUŁ was established in 1945, volumes were brought to the city from the libraries of Polish aristocratic families and from liquidated post-German libraries. They were stored in library storerooms and had to be moved from there to the shelves as quickly as possible. There was a shortage of staff to create a physical catalogue or reconstruct the old collections. Nor was there any other method to maximize the use of space other than sorting the volumes according to the format provided for the shelving. The books were therefore sorted by format, presumably at the same time given library shelfmarks and, of course, entered in the inventories, and then alphabetical cataloguing was undertaken. Thanks to this efficient arrangement, the books were saved and, above all, protected from mold. However, they had to wait a long time to be catalogued, and it is obvious that just after World War II this task was not one of the financial priorities. The card catalogue – now digitalized and available on the BUŁ website – was not and is not free of errors, and besides, it is only an alphabetical catalogue, revealing little of the substantive content of the books. Therefore, reconstructing the original genealogies was a very difficult task." In: J. Jabłkowska, 'Garść wspomnień. O początkach projektu,' in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne…*, op. cit., pp. 24–25.

17 Currently, the stock of early printed books at the BUŁ amounts to 28,000 volumes, of which over 10,000 are "secured collections". See M. Sulejewicz-Nowicka, 'Gromadzenie rzadkich wydawnictw dziewiętnasto- i dwudziestowiecznych…,' op. cit., p. 188.

18 See https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte/besitzstempel/abbildungen (items 1, 2 and 3) and https://provenienz.gbv.de/Staatsbibliothek_zu_Berlin_%E2%80%93_Preu%C3%9Fischer_Kulturbesitz (items 1, 2, 3 and 4) [accessed 20.07.2024].

19 The library began its activity in 1661, when, by the will of the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William I, the ruler's personal book collection was made avail-

Looking again at the bindings of the Portuguese early printed books, the hallmark of some volumes is also the supralibros of the Berlin library, used in the period around 1740–1786 and in the 1820s.[20] However, most of the books have original bindings rather than library bindings. Although often seriously damaged, these bindings managed to fulfill their task effectively, protecting the books from much greater damage or even complete destruction. Today, their general condition can be considered satisfactory, and sometimes even surprisingly good. However, the traces of damage eloquently testify to the complex fate of many volumes before they reached Łódź and the stores of the BUŁ.

It is worth describing how the volumes from the Berlin library came to reside in the BUŁ. Here, we must consider the events of World War II, when, in the face of the dangers posed by military action, a decision was made to evacuate the collections of Berlin's libraries. This was a complex, several-stage process, which had begun in 1939. It was accelerated by the intensification of the Allied air raids on Berlin from April 1941 onwards. In order to protect the collection, it was divided up and individual batches transported to sites (German: Auslagerungsorte) in the then German Reich, far from Berlin. The transported materials were hidden in a variety of locations, including castles, palaces, monasteries, country estates and mines. Some of them found shelter in areas of Lower Silesia, West Pomerania and Prussia. In the territories which, after the end of the War, fell within the Polish borders as a result of peace

able to the general public. The original name of the library – the Electoral Library in Cölln on the Spree (German: Churfürstliche Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree) – was altered in the following centuries in line with political changes. From 1701, it functioned as the Royal Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin), and from 1918 it was called the Prussian State Library (Preußische Staatsbibliothek). The current name of the institution is the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz). On this subject, see https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte [accessed 25.07.2024].

20 See https://provenienz.gbv.de/Staatsbibliothek_zu_Berlin_%E2%80%93_Preu%C3%9Fischer_Kulturbesitz#Supralibros (items 3 and 6) [accessed 25.07.2024].

arrangements, there were twelve locations containing evacuated materials.[21] Contemporary studies dealing with the *Berlinka* most often mention two Lower Silesian sites. More than 500 chests containing library materials from Berlin were secured in the Książ Castle (German: Fürstenstein) in Wałbrzych in 1941 and 1943. Between 1943 and 1944, they were then transported to the monastery in Krzeszów (Grüssau) near Kamienna Góra (Landeshut). It was there that they were found by the Polish authorities as part of their efforts to secure abandoned and derelict book collections and protect them from dispersal and destruction.[22] This part of the Berlin collection, containing the most valuable objects from the special collections (490 chests in total), was finally taken to the BJ, where it is now kept as a deposit of the Polish State Treasury.[23]

In the case of the BUŁ, its book collection was created completely from scratch when the university in Łódź was established on February 11, 1945.[24] As a result of the acquisition campaign undertaken at the time, with the consent of the authorities of the day,[25] the BUŁ

21 M. J. Żółtowski, *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce. Studium przypadku*, Warszawa 2012, p. 102 and J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej...,' op. cit., p. 110.

22 J. Partyka, 'Wprowadzenie,' op. cit., pp. 7–11.

23 The literature discussing the history of the *Berlinka*, its legal status and Polish-German disputes about it, produced by authors from Poland and Germany, is extensive. A detailed bibliography on the subject can be found in, among others: J. Gortat, '*Berlinka*. Ein besonderer deutsch-polnischer Erinnerungsort,' in: *Convivium. Germanistisches Jahrbuch Polen*, 2017, pp. 105–128; M. J. Żółtowski, *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce...*, op. cit., pp. 181–189.

24 D. Bartnik, T. Piestrzyński, 'Historia Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Między tradycją a nowoczesnością,' in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne...*, op. cit., p. 47.

25 Using the example of creating the stock of sheet music at the BUŁ, Jarosław Pawlik and Małgorzata Roszkowska explain: "Since its establishment in 1945, the University of Łódź Library has been amassing music collections, the foundation for which was laid by former monastery and manor book collections, private collections and post-German collections abandoned in panic. These included books from German libraries evacuated to Silesia and Pomerania during World War II. The campaign to 'collect books' and bring the resulting 'secured resources' from the western territories was launched on June 18, 1945, after obtaining the appropriate permission from the Ministry of Education in agreement with the Ministry of Recovered Territories. It was carried out by the first staff of the BUŁ assisted by students and German workers." In: J. Pawlik, M. Roszkowska,

acquired, among other things, former German holdings and collections from manor houses, including from Silesia and Pomerania – including places to which the Berlin library collections had been evacuated during the War. The literature on the subject states that the BUŁ contains objects transported from the palaces in Mierzyn (German: Altmarrin)[26] and Parsów (Parsow), as well as from Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg) and Karpniki (Fischbach).[27] However, the precise total number of early printed books from the Berlin library held by the BUŁ remains unknown to this day.[28] Some publications mention a figure of nearly 30,000 volumes, but in the opinion of staff at the BUŁ, this is a significant overestimation.[29] Research undertaken in recent years on the collections in the Early Printed

'Muzykologiczny zbiór Philippa Spitty: niezwykła historia pewnej kolekcji,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 287.

26 There are major discrepancies in the numerical data regarding the volumes transported from Mierzyn to Łódź. According to a study by Bernhard Fabian entitled *Fabian Handbuch: Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*, it was approximately 100,000 volumes (see https://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian?Lodz [accessed 25.07.2024]). Jerzy Andrzejewski gives a figure that is almost half that, i.e., 56,000 volumes. See J. Andrzejewski, 'Piśmiennictwo niemieckie w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Biuletyn Informacji Bibliotecznych i Kulturalnych Wojewódzkiej i Miejskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Łodzi/BIBiK*, 2005, No. 4, p. 4.

27 Michał J. Żółtowski refers to the information provided by Werner Schochow, a German researcher of the postwar fate of book collections evacuated from the Berlin library, in his monograph entitled *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce…*, mentioning Mierzyn and Parsowo on p. 107, Jelenia Góra on pp. 110–111 and Karpniki on p. 111.

28 Jakub Gortat states that "in order to determine the exact number of them [early printed books from the *Berlinka* in the BUŁ], one would have to pick up one copy after another and check whether it had the stamp of that time, and this would have to take many months. The research is further hampered by the fact that these books have not been catalogued electronically, although this problem applies not only to the Łódź library." In: J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej…', op. cit., p. 114. It should be added that the BUŁ also received books from the Berlin City Library (German: Berliner Stadtbibliothek). On this topic, see P. Lewkowicz, 'Berliner Stadtbibliothek i introligatorzy – ślady związków wśród starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Introligatorzy i ich klienci*, ed. A. Wagner, Toruń 2017, pp. 245–258. In addition, part of the collections of the Berlin Academy of Music (German: Berliner Hochschule für Musik) can be found in the BUŁ. The fate of this last collection is presented in: J. Pawlik, M. Roszkowska, 'Muzykologiczny zbiór Philippa Spitty…,' op. cit., pp. 285–295.

29 J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej…,' op. cit., p. 114.

Books Section in Łódź is making it possible to gradually establish the total number of works. This research has also revealed some of the "unknown treasures"[30] in the holding, as selected groups of books, including those from the former Prussian State Library, are gradually processed in a professional manner. Future projects should look not only at the many German early printed books in the collection[31] but also at books in other languages, which represent valuable, original material for multifaceted research, analysis and interpretation.

From the perspective of Iberian studies, the Portuguese early printed books from the Berlin library are particularly valuable for historians of literature and, to some extent, specialists in the history of the Portuguese language. In terms of quantity, the collection contains 82 volumes, counting each volume separately – including multi-volume editions, such as Camões's epic *Os Lusíadas*.[32] The majority of the books are works of Portuguese literature, representing three eras: the Renaissance, the Baroque and the Enlightenment. Among the early printed books surveyed, there are lyric poetry, epics and dramatic works, covering a wide range of types and themes. One important part of the collection is the works of authors today considered among the leading writers in the history of Portuguese literature, first and

30 The two-volume monograph *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne...* is devoted entirely to this subject, as its title indicates.

31 The German early printed books in the BUŁ number approximately 7,000 volumes. See J. Andrzejewski, 'Piśmiennictwo niemieckie w zbiorach...,' op. cit., p. 4.

32 To this number should be added two volumes containing works by Portuguese authors published in Latin rather than Portuguese. These are medical treatises by Estevão Rodrigues de Castro and Gaspar Rodrigues de Paiva, in editions from the 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, the 1735 French translation of the epic *Os Lusíadas*, discussed later in this paper, can be included in the resource. The aforementioned challenges in identifying volumes from the Berlin library in the BUŁ make it unsurprising that Milewska significantly underestimated the number of Portuguese early printed books in the collection. As work on this group of early printed books in ongoing at the BUŁ, the figures indicated here may be subject to further adjustment. The author of this paper would like to express her sincere thanks to Piotr Lewkowicz, the former Head of the Early Printed Books Section at the BUŁ (now retired) for making the volumes of Portuguese early printed books from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin available for research, and for his extremely professional and kind assistance.

foremost Camões, but also Bernardim Ribeiro (1482?–1552?), Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos (1515?–1585), António Ferreira (1528–1569), João de Barros (1496?–1570), Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1580–1622), Violante do Céu (1607–1693) and others. Alongside them are authors who are less well-known today but who nevertheless distinguished themselves in the literary life of their era. This is especially true of the 18th-century figures writing in the Arcadian style. Several of the books are 18th-century works by writers born in Brazil – then still a Portuguese overseas colony – and published in the metropolis where they developed their careers, such as José de Santa Rita Durão (1722–1784) and Manuel Inácio da Silva Alvarenga (1749–1814). These are authors well known to scholars of Portuguese-language literature, including Brazilian literature. Although the holdings are dominated by editions of single literary works of key importance for a given author and period, there are also extensive publications of an anthological nature, bringing together poetry and plays. These constitute important evidence from the perspective of the history of literature, providing an overall vision of lyrical and dramatic creativity in Portugal during the transition period from the Baroque to the Enlightenment. In addition, there are two works on the theory of literature, addressing issues in the field of Enlightenment poetics.

The second thematic subset of works, smaller in number, consists of texts with a linguistic profile that present Portuguese from the perspective of its historical development and descriptive grammar, as well as contrasted with French and English, with a view to facilitating the complex process of teaching foreign languages. Of particular interest is a copy of the first edition of the oldest philological treatise on the origins of the Portuguese language, written by the outstanding humanist Duarte Nunes de Leão (ca. 1530–1608) and published in 1606 in the Lisbon workshop of the famous master of the "black art," Pedro Craesbeeck.[33] The collection also con-

33 The work in question is entitled *Origem da lingoa Portuguesa. Per Duarte Nunez de Lião, Desembargador da Casa da Supplicação, natural da inclyta Cidade de Evora, Dirigida a el Rei Dom Philippe o II. de Portugal nosso Senhor*, Em Lisboa: Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck, Anno MDCVI; BUŁ shelfmark 1018036 (former shelfmark of the

tains first editions of other works by eminent Portuguese authors, as well as volumes with engravings made by well-known artists and engravers from Portugal and elsewhere, as well as books published by renowned Portuguese publishing houses operating from the 16th to the end of the 18th century.

The thematic coherence of the collection, which generally deals with Portuguese literature and language, allows us to assume that the volumes may have originated from a single part of the collection to which they previously belonged. Handwritten annotations in pencil on the pastedowns of the back covers of the volumes also provide an important clue in this regard. These notations were made in identical or similar handwriting, and their form – combining abbreviations with numerical designations, for example: "Litt. Lusit./Poetas/61," "Portug. Litt. 241," "Litt. III, B, Lusit./I, Lexica" – brings to mind the ordering of volumes on library shelves. Numerous volumes contain additional ownership marks from previous owners in the form of *ex libris*, dedications, shelfmarks and so on. Although the current research does not include an in-depth provenance analysis of the Portuguese early printed books, leaving this task for a later stage of research, the preliminary findings already indicate that this subject may yield valuable findings for reconstructing the history of individual volumes before they

Prussian State Library is Xm 11). Peeter van Craesbeeck, known in Portugal as Pedro Craesbeeck (ca. 1571–1632), was a printer of Dutch origins who learned his craft in Antwerp from Christophe Plantin. Probably in 1592, he settled in Lisbon, where he established one of the leading typographic workshops in the country, run by members of subsequent generations of his family until the end of the 17th century, creating a real "dynasty" of printers, enjoying great esteem and recognition. Pedro Craesbeeck's successors were his sons, Lourenço (1599–1678; a printer) then Paulo (1605–1664; a bookseller and publisher), then his grandson António de Craesbeeck de Melo (1640–1684) and then his great-grandson, Teotónio Craesbeeck de Melo (1655–1687). After the last of these died, the workshop passed into the hands of his widow, D. Inácia Maria de Carvalho, who continued the workshop's activities at least until 1690. It is worth adding that, right from the outset, the Craesbeeck workshop was the privileged printer of Camões's works, a fact reflected in the editions in the BUŁ. Among them are printed books made by Pedro, Lourenço, Paulo and António Craebeeck. The printing activities of the Craesbeeck family are discussed extensively in N. Daupiás d'Alcochete, 'A *Officina Craesbeeckiana* de Lisboa,' *Anais. Série História*, 1995, No. 2, pp. 127–148.

came to the Berlin library.[34] By way of example, Friedrich Wilken reports that between 1819 and 1822, a significant number of important works published in Portugal and Brazil were acquired by the then Royal Library in Berlin via Christian Friedrich Bellermann, a Protestant clergyman who had spent the years 1818 to 1825 in Lisbon as a preacher to the local German community. At that time, Bellermann had become interested in old Portuguese literature, publishing on this subject on his return to Germany.[35]

Another distinguished figure who supplied Portuguese-language works to the Berlin library was Ignaz von Olfers.[36] This German naturalist, historian and linguist travelled around Brazil between 1817 and 1821, and later in the 1820s held diplomatic posts in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. During this period, Olfers corresponded with Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt about linguistic and bibliophilic issues, sending them materials on the languages of the indigenous inhabitants of Brazil and, at their request, notifying them of books on the subject. These letters are currently held by the BJ and the Staatsbibliotek in Berlin.[37] Old ownership markings, dated Lisbon between 1820 and 1825, which appear in some of the Portuguese volumes in the BUŁ suggest that it would be worthwhile verifying the information provided by Friedrich Wilken (see above) during the next phase of research on the collection discussed here.

Camoniana in the BUŁ's Collection

As mentioned further above, the *Camoniana* undoubtedly attract the most attention among the Portuguese early printed books in the BUŁ, as already noted by Elżbieta Milewska. This is due to the importance of Camões and his literary achievements, at the fore-

34 See F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Verlegt bei Duncker und Humblot, Berlin 1828, p. 142

35 See 'Bellermann, Christian Friedrich,' https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz3639.html?language=en [accessed 02.08.2024].

36 F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Königlichen…*, op. cit., p. 142.

37 On the activities of I. von Olfers and his correspondence with Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, see M. Ringmacher, 'Ignaz von Olfers y los estudios lingüísticos americanos de Wilhelm von Humboldt,' *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Antropológica*, 2014, No. 2/6, pp. 397–411.

front of the history of literature in Portugal throughout the centuries and up to the present day. In the early printed books collection discussed here, he is the only author whose work is represented across sections, due to the various editions of both his individual works and his collected works, which cover all areas of his writing – lyrical, epic, dramatic and epistolary. The collection contains editions that occupy an important place in the publishing history of Camões's literary legacy, representative of various stages of the development of the printing craft in Portugal.

Camões's *Os Lusíadas* gave decisive momentum to the reception of Portuguese literature among other European nations. The work was translated into many languages and it was the subject of lively debate, based on in-depth studies of the text and also the biography and achievements of its creator, carried out by scholars and writers on an international scale. Moreover, in the Romantic era, Camões became a tragic literary hero figure whose semi-legendary biography, full of ambiguities due to the lack of evidence, fired the imagination of many foreign authors, resulting in numerous works of creative transformation written in various languages.

German intellectuals also came to share this interest in Camões, whom they discovered in the second half of the 18th century.[38] This was mainly because of Johann Andreas Dieze (1729–1785), professor and librarian of the University of Göttingen for over three decades. Dieze produced the first significant critical works devoted to the literary activities of Camões (1769). As curator of the university library since 1763, he also made great efforts to acquire a significant Iberian book collection, including not only Spanish but also Portuguese books.[39]

38 There are indications that the reception of Camões in German literature and culture may go back to the late 16th century. The issue of familiarity with Portuguese culture and literature in 18th-century Germany, including the work of Camões, is presented in a cross-sectional manner in D. Briesemeister, 'O conhecimento da cultura e da literatura portuguesas na Alemanha do século XVIII: uma sinopse,' in: *Portugal e Alemanha: memórias e imaginários*, ed. M. M. Gouveia Delille, Coimbra 2010, Vol. I, pp. 311–330.

39 This subject is discussed extensively in H. Krapoth, 'A literatura portuguesa na âmbito dos Estudos das Línguas e Literaturas Românicas na Universidade de

At the same time, the earliest German prose translations of fragments of *Os Lusíadas* by Johann Nikolaus Meinhard were published (1762).[40] At the beginning of the 19th century, a time of growing interest in the life and work of Camões, the first two complete German-language versions of this work, by two different translators, were published almost simultaneously. The translation by Carl Christian Heise, published with no date of publication (most likely around 1806–1807) in Hamburg, is considered to be slightly earlier. The second translation, published in 1807 in Leipzig, was by Friedrich Adolph Khun and Carl Theodor Winkler. During the 19th century, there were six further German translations of the Portuguese epic, and also other translations of Camões's poetry.[41]

In 19th-century Germany, in the era of Romanticism and post-Romanticism, the study of Camões thus became a particularly popular field compared to the rest of Europe. The growing desire to know Camões's work, the enthusiasm for him and the fascination with his life, developed in two ways: through translations and lectures about him, and through original literary works inspired by his legend, perceived through the prism of Romantic ideals. The circle of intellectuals fascinated with him include Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) and his brother August Wilhelm (1767–1845), leading figures among the German Romantics. Next, there are a number of eminent erudite scholars, writers, researchers and university professors, including Friedrich Bouterwek (1766–1828), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), Wilhelm Storck (1829–1905) and Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851–1925). The historical-biographical works, critical studies

Göttingen no século XVIII e no início do século XIX,' in: *Portugal e Alemanha…*, op. cit., p. 293.

40 See M. M. Gouveia Delille, 'Receção de Camões na literatura alemã,' in: *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, ed. V. Aguiar e Silva, Lisboa 2011, p. 1315.

41 On this topic, see ibidem, p. 1324. The translation by C. C. Heise was titled *Die Lusiade: Heldengedicht von Camoens*, Hamburg und Altona, bei Gottfried Vollmer, [s.d. 1806–1807]. A. Khun and C. T. Winkler named their translation *Die Lusiade des Camoens: Aus dem Portugiesischen in Deutsche Ottavereime* übersetzt, Leipzig: in der Weidmannischen Buchhandlung, 1807.

and literary texts they produced concerning him significantly enriched his international reception.[42]

Interest in Camões in Germany in the 19th century is also reflected in private and institutional book collections. Among the private collections, one should undoubtedly mention the impressive library of Ludwig Tieck, one of the greatest bibliophiles of the 19th century. At the end of Tieck's life, his book collection was estimated to be around 17,000 volumes. The library was chiefly dedicated to philological and literary-historical subjects, in accordance with the main areas of intellectual activity of its creator, who distinguished himself as a writer, scholar, translator and literary critic.[43] A significant part of the collection consisted of original Iberian printed books, particularly on the Spanish theatre of the Golden Age. As an avid collector, Tieck amassed a considerable number of such items – more than 1,500.[44] The auction catalogue for the collection, which was put up for sale between 1849 and 1850 by the Berlin bookseller Adolf Asher, shows that the stock of Portuguese printed books was more modest, its core being editions of *Os Lusíadas* in the original language and in Spanish, French and German translations. The catalogue includes a total of seven editions of this work, dating from 1591 to 1833.[45] Tieck became acquainted with Camões's

42 Selected episodes relating to the reception of Camões in Germany in the 19th–20th century are presented in C. Martins, J. Garraio, 'Momentos de recepção de Camões na literatura de expressão alemã (séculos XIX e XX),' in: *Camões na Alemanha. A figura do poeta em obras de Ludwig Tieck e Günter Eich*, ed. M. M. Gouveia Delille, Coimbra 2000, pp. 15–44.

43 A description of the contents of L. Tieck's library and the circumstances of its sale at auction can be found in A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, 'Ludwig Tieck's Book Collection: the Holdings of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB),' in: *Taking Stock – Twenty-Five Years of Comparative Literary Research*, ed. N. Bechleitner, A. Holter, J. A. McCarthy, Leiden–Boston 2020, pp. 90–93.

44 See P. Ferstl, T. Mallmann, 'Ludwig Tieck als Bücherkäufer: Provenienzforschung innerhalb der Bibliotheca Tieckiana,' *Transfer*, 2023, No. 2, p. 23, and A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, T. Schmidt, 'Traces of a Bibliophile Romantic Book Collection in Polish Libraries. The Dispertion of Ludwig Tieck's Library and of the *Klein Oels Manor Library*,' *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 2020, No. 4/14, p. 677.

45 See *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 [et] comp.*, Berlin 1849, p. 100. On the subject of this catalogue, see also A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, T. Mallmann, 'Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck (1849). Genese, Rezeption, Bestände,'

work during his academic studies in Göttingen in the 1790s (1792–1794), while exploring Spanish literature and language.[46] A few decades later, the figure of Camões, shrouded in myth and legend, inspired Tieck to write a work entitled "Tod des Dichters," published in 1843.[47] This indicates that, for Tieck, Camões was one of the most highly regarded European classic writers.[48]

Some of the aforementioned Iberian printed books from Tieck's book collection, including the two editions of Camões's epic included in Asher's auction, ended up in the Royal Library in Berlin.[49] Today, they are listed in the electronic catalogue of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (StabiKat) as "war losses" (German: Kriegsverlust).[50] However, these volumes are not to be found among the volumes from the German library in the BUŁ book collection. The *Camoniana* in Łódź include eight copies of other editions of Camões's works, dating from the late 16th century to 1800, including three editions

in: *Ludwig Tieck. Werk – Familie – Zeitgenossenschaft*, eds. A. Hölter, W. Schmitz, Dresden 2021, pp. 171–214.

46 See A. Magen, 'Romanische Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (Calderón, Cervantes, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Camões),' in: *Ludwig Tieck. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, eds. C. Stockinger, S. Scherer, Berlin, Boston 2011, p. 235.

47 For a comprehensive study of this novel, see C. Martins, 'Camões como paradigma do artista na novela *Tod des Dichters* de Ludwig Tieck,' in: *Camões na Alemanha...*, op. cit., pp. 45–186.

48 The books in Tieck's library reveal his particular interest in the works of Boccaccio, Dante and Cervantes. See A. Hölter, 'Tiecks Bibliothek,' in: *Ludwig Tieck. Leben – Werk – Wirkung...*, op. cit., p. 316.

49 Achim Hölter, Paul Ferstl and Theresa Schmidt report that the Royal Library in Berlin was among the main purchasers of books from Tieck's library. For more on this topic, see 'Traces of a Bibliophile Romantic Book Collection...,' op. cit., p. 678. The information provided here regarding the two editions of Camões's epic was taken from an electronic database created by researchers from Austria who virtually reconstructed L. Tieck's book collection, now scattered across in various European libraries: "Ludwig Tiecks Bibliothek" at https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/ [accessed 25.07.2024]. The mentioned editions of Camões's epic from the Tieck library are listed in the Austrian databases https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/database/books/book-1504181505 [accessed 25.07.2024] and https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/database/books/book-1504181354 [accessed 25.07.2024].

50 For the use of the term "Kriegsverlust" in library catalogues, see V. de Senarclens, 'Der Verweis 'Kriegsverlust' in Bibliothekskatalogen,' in: *Bücher und ihre Wege Bibliomigration zwischen Deutschland und Polen seit 1939*, ed. V. de Senarclens, Schöningh, Paderborn 2024, pp. 213–231.

of lyric poetry, two of *Os Lusíadas* and three editions of his collected works. These materials are therefore more numerous than Milewska indicated. It is worth specifying which editions of Camões's works are concerned here, as the list of the editions published in the period is very long. The editions will be presented according to their publishing chronology. The descriptions will be very brief, focusing on selected features indicating their originality in relation to other editions of Camões's literary legacy. This is because the individual editions are accompanied by a rich, specialized bibliography, thoroughly discussing the various issues related to them. At the same time, the *Camoniana* available at the BUŁ will be indicated; these constitute an important component of the collection of Portuguese literature that could be used by readers in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin.

The two oldest editions of Camões's works available at the BUŁ – considered "extremely valuable" by Milewska – date from the 1590s. It is known that, during his lifetime, *Os Lusíadas* was published by the Lisbon publishing house of António Gonçalves in 1572.[51] In addition, three poems by Camões were published as supplements to works by other authors, as was the custom of the era.[52] Only after the Camões's death was his remaining oeuvre gradually made available to readers, with *Os Lusíadas* invariably remaining the center of attention: Between the 16th to the end of the 19th century, the poem was reissued several dozen times, either as an individual edition or included in collected works of Camões.[53]

The first collected edition of Camões's poetry, entitled "Rhythmas de Luis de Camoes," was published in 1595, fifteen years after the author's death (1580). The volume was the joint work of the Lisbon printer Manuel de Lira and the bookseller Estevão Lopes, who financed the venture, as indicated on the title page. Currently, we

51 On the *edito princeps* of Camões's epic, see the detailed study R. Marnoto, *Luís de Camões. Os Lusíadas. Edição crítica da "princeps"*, Genève 2022, Vols. 1–2.

52 See V. Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional: breve panorâmica das edições da lírica camoniana entre 1595 e 1870,' *Floema*, 2010, No. 7, p. 65.

53 For the list of all editions, see ibidem, pp. 71–72.

do not have information about any manuscript left by Camões that would constitute an original compilation of his poems, intended for personal or other uses, including publishing.[54] Apart from the three poems published as supplements to other writers' works mentioned above, which were published before 1595, the rest of his poetry circulated as manuscripts, scattered across various locations, often with textual variants. These types of sources were used to prepare the above-mentioned 1595 edition, which includes 176 poems.[55] This was the first proposed corpus of texts, initiating a long process of establishing the canon of Camões's lyric poetry, a task taken up by subsequent scholars and editors.[56] The copy of this pioneering edition belonging to the BUŁ book collection has the shelfmark 1009995.[57]

The collaboration between Manuel Lira and Estevão Lopes also resulted in a new edition of Camões' epic poem in 1597, entitled "Os Lvsiadas de Luis de Camões. Polo original antigo agora nouamente impressos."[58] According to specialists, this edition stands out pri-

54 There is only one rather controversial mention in a Portuguese historical source from the period (*Década VIII*, by Diogo do Couto) that refers to a manuscript with poetic works entitled *Parnaso de Luís de Camões*, stolen irretrievably from the poet during his stay in Mozambique on his way back from the Portuguese East Indies to Lisbon, where he arrived in 1570. For more information, see S. Moura Hue, '*Rhythmas* de Luís de Camões (1595),' in: *Dicionário de Luís*.., op. cit., pp. 1524–1541.

55 This is the number given in: ibidem p. 1537.

56 Various problematic issues related to this edition of Camões's poem and its subsequent editions, published throughout the 17th century, are presented in the article M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVI–XVII: de 1595 à edição de Faria e Sousa,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000). A Biblioteca Camoniana de D. Manuel II*, ed. J. A. Cardoso Bernardes, Coimbra 2015, Vol. 1, pp. 67–87.

57 *Rhythmas de Lvis De Camoes Diuididas em cinco partes. Dirigidas ao muito Illustre Senhor D. Gonçalo Coutinho*, Em Lisboa: por Manoel de Lyra: A custa de Esteuão Lopez mercador de libros, 1595 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3051). A concise description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue A. E. Maia do Amaral, M. de F. Bogalho, M. J. Otão da Silva Pereira, *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000). A Biblioteca Camoniana de D. Manuel II. Catálogo bibliográfico*, Coimbra 2015, Vol. 2, p. 62.

58 *Os Lvsiadas De Luis de Camões. Polo original antigo agora nouamente impressos*. Em Lisboa: Por Manoel de Lyra: A custa de Esteuão Lopez mercador de liuros, 1597; BUŁ shelfmark: 1015283 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3174). A short description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue: ibidem, p. 24.

marily due to the unique nature of the censorship affecting the text. The anonymous person making the changes showed great sensitivity and even poetic talent, managing to preserve the high literary value of Camões's work and demonstrating at the same time that the epic is a significant artistic challenge for other poets where changes occur in the religious, moral and political context.[59]

An equally intriguing issue for scholars is the second part of the title of this edition, which translates as "according to the old original, now reprinted." This has led to the hypothesis that Camões's original manuscript, currently unknown, may have been used during the preparation of the edition. However, it is now thought this part of the title is misleading and said hypothesis groundless.[60]

In the 17th century, Camões's poems were reprinted many times. Among the early printed books in the BUŁ there are copies of two re-editions of "Rimas de Luis de Camões" from this period, with publication dates of 1607 and 1645. The first[61] exists in several different editions, differing not only in some elements on the title page, but also the internal layout and organization of the texts. It would appear that the volume in the BUŁ could be an example of edition A, in which, among other things, the title page features a woodcut depicting an armillary sphere with the inscription "In Deo."[62]

The information on the title page that work was printed in Pedro Craesbeeck's typographical workshop seems incomplete. Indeed, the different typefaces used indicate that this edition may

59 For a concise analysis of examples of changes made to the text and comments regarding their possible authorship, see H. J. S. Alves, '*Os Lusíadas*. O problema da Edição *Princeps* e as edições do século XVI,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 20–22.

60 See the remarks on this topic in: ibidem, p. 20, n. 35.

61 *Rimas de Lvis De Camões. Acrescentadas Nesta Terceyra impressaõ. Dirigidas a Inclyta Vniuersidade de Coimbra*. Em Lisboa: Por Pedro Crasbeeck: A custa de Domingos Fernandez mercador de libros, 1607; BUŁ shelfmark: 1015633 (former shelfmark of the Prussian State Library: Xm 3055).

62 For remarks on this edition, see M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVI-XVII: de 1595…,' op. cit., pp. 68–69. A concise description of the edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 64.

have been based on a collaboration between Domingos Fernandes (bookseller and financier of the publication) and a separate Lisbon firm headed by two members of the Álvares family, António and Vicente. Also, the information that the volume includes new works by Camões, previously unpublished, is untrue; in fact, the volume reproduces the contents of the previous edition, that prepared by Estevão Lopes at the end of the 16th century (1598).[63]

By contrast, the 1645 edition of "Rimas" published by the printer and bookseller Paulo Craesbeeck[64] contains, in addition to poetry, the text of a drama by Camões, entitled "El Rei Seleuco," presented to readers for the first time. Its publication has special significance in the context of Portugal at the time: Just five years earlier, the country had regained its political independence from Spain, with which it had been linked by a dynastic union for 60 years (1580–1640). In these exceptional circumstances, there was an intense effort in various fields to emphasize national contexts and values in Portugal – as symbolized by Camões's work, especially given the overall message of *Os Lusíadas*, which is full of heroic and patriotic themes. The discovery of a new, hitherto unpublished part of such a valuable legacy was therefore of considerable importance, not only in terms of its literary-editorial dimension.[65] The edition is also distinguished by its small *octavo* format (99 mm), making it a "Lilliputian edition."[66]

63 S. Moura Hue explains that the changes introduced concern some paratexts accompanying the edition. The scholar discusses these issues in more detail in the article S. Moura Hue, 'Domingos Fernandes e as peripécias de um editor camoniano,' *Floema*, 2010, No. 7, pp. 101–105.

64 *Rimas De Luis De Camões Primeira parte. Agora nouamente emendadas nesta vltima impressaõ & acrescentada hu[m]a Comedia nunca atégora impressa.* Em Lisboa: Na Officina de Paulo Craesbeeck Impressor & Liureiro das tres Orde[n]s Militares & à sua custa, 1645; BUŁ shelfmark: 1016947 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3061).

65 See the argumentation of Vanda Anastácio in: V. Anastácio, '*El Rei Seleuco*, 1645 (Reflexões sobre o "corpus" da obra de Camões),' *Península. Revista de Estudos Ibéricos*, 2005, No. 2, pp. 327–342, and also in: V. Anastácio, 'A edição *princeps* de "El Rei Seleuco",' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 125–127.

66 See the description of this edition in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 72.

The next item in the BUŁ collection of *Camoniana* is the third edition of the collected works of Camões,[67] prepared for printing in 1759 in Paris by Pedro Gendron (1743–1779?). The publisher divided the literary material in the edition between three volumes, the first of which covers *Os Lusíadas*, while the other two cover poetry, plays and letters by Camões. This arrangement reflects the traditional hierarchy of texts by Camões in terms of their importance, especially the primacy of *Os Lusíadas* in his literary output.[68]

Volume I is enriched by several copperplate illustrations, including portraits of Camões and Vasco da Gama, as well as a folding map showing a sea route to India around the African continent – a route established during Vasco da Gama's voyage of discovery, the subject of the epic. The content of the individual cantos of the work is complemented by allegorical engravings, as in the 1735 Paris edition of the Portuguese epic translated into French by the writer and diplomat Louis-Adrien Duperron de Castera (1705–1752), from which they were borrowed.[69]

Two further collected works of Camões date from 1772[70] and 1782–1783. They perfectly illustrate subsequent publishers' desire to identify as accurately as possible the works attributed to Camões, particularly the poetry. They also show a clever publishing tactic – already used earlier on, especially in the 17th century – for arous-

67 *Obras de Luis de Camoens. Nova Edição*, Paris: A custa De Pedro Gendron: Vendese Em Lisboa em Casa de Bonardel & Dubeux Mercadores de Livros, 1759, Vols. II–III. The edition available in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. I missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1015588/2 and 1015588/3 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3068).

68 A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)*..., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 91.

69 See G. Peres Marques, *"Os Lusíadas": o projeto de uma edição e as pinturas de Vieira Portuense (1765–1805)*, unpublished diploma thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa 2021, p. 66, https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/121502 [accessed 26.07.2024].

70 *Obras De Luiz De Camoens Principe Dos Poetas Portugueses. Novamente reimpressas, e dedicadas ao Illust. mo e Excel. mo Senhor Marquez de Pombal [...], por Miguel Rodrigues*, Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, 1772, Vols. I and III. The edition available in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. II missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1016152/1 and 1015381/3 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3073). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)*..., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 92.

ing public interest in a new publication: expanding the corpus of lyrical works attributed to Camões.[71] The second of these editions (1782–1783),[72] in particular, contributed to a lively and erudite polemic, concerning, among other things, the inclusion of previously unpublished fragments of poems allegedly by Camões, as well as the attribution to him of some works that were also at the time associated with another leading Portuguese poet of the Renaissance, Diogo Bernardes (ca. 1530–ca. 1594).[73] Moreover, the publication opens with a copperplate frontispiece (Vol. I, Part 1) showing Camões by the illustrator Jerónimo de Barros Ferreira (1750–1803) and the copperplate engraver José Lúcio da Costa (1763–1810), illustrating the high artistic level of Portuguese books in the 18th century – a period of dynamic development of the art of printing, at the time experiencing its own "renaissance" in Portugal.[74]

The most recent edition among the *Camoniana* in the BUŁ is the 1800 edition of *Os Lusíadas*.[75] The editor of this two-volume edition was Joaquim Inácio de Freitas (1760–1831), a renowned lecturer at the centuries-old University of Coimbra, who was also a philologist and poet. Freitas, well versed in the publishing history of Camões's

71 See V. Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional...,' op. cit., pp. 68–69.

72 *Obras De Luis De Camões Principe Dos Poetas De Hespanha. Segunda Edição Da que, na Officina Luisiana se fez em Lisboa nos annos de 1779, e 1780*, Lisboa: Na Offic. de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1782–1783, Vols. I(1–2)–IV. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1015375/1,1; 1015375/1,2; 1015375/2; 1015375/3; 1015375/4 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for all volumes: Xm 3077). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 94.

73 See M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVIII e XIX,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 91.

74 See A. L. Marques, 'Trajectos do livro: o seu renascimento no século XVIII,' *Arte Teoria*, 2004, No. 5, pp. 111–125.

75 *Lusiadas de Luis de Camoens*, Coimbra: Na Imprensa da Universidade, 1800, Vol. I. The edition in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. II missing. BUŁ shelfmark: 1016168/1 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3188). See the description of this edition in the bibliographic catalogues: R. Pinto de Matos, *Manual bibliographico portuguez de livros raros, classicos e curiosos*, coord. por Ricardo Pinto de Mattos, revisto e prefaciado por Camilo Castello Branco, Porto 1887, p. 100; T. Braga, *Bibliographia camoniana por Teófilo Braga*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Cristóvão A. Rodrigues, 1880, p. 61; M. F. de Palha, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Libanio da Silva, 1896, p. 202.

work, selected and compiled introductory texts for the new edition from several earlier Portuguese editions, the earliest dating from the 17th century.

To complete the list of the editions of Camões's works kept at the BUŁ and bearing the markings of the Berlin library, the 1735 French translation of *Os Lusíadas* by Louis-Adrien Duperron de Castera should be mentioned again.[76] The first decades of the 18th century brought two important publications that boosted the reception of *Os Lusíadas* in France. These were "L'Essai sur le poème épique" by Voltaire (published 1727) and the aforementioned translation by Duperron de Castera. The latter was a pioneering initiative in France, consisting of a comprehensive prose translation with comments by the translator. The discussion that arose after its publication concerned not only its quality – which raised doubts due to certain deviations from the original, and even errors – but also the contents of the preface and annotations by the translator, which maintained a polemical tone towards Voltaire's critical remarks. These lively literary debates continued into the 19th century, laying the groundwork for the reception of Camões's work in France at that time.[77]

The positive reception of Duperron de Castera's translation by French readers in the 18th century is indicated by its two re-editions, from 1768 and 1785.[78] In the three-volume edition of 1735,

76 *La Lusiade Du Camoens, poeme heroique, sur la Decouverte des Indes Orientales. Traduit du Portugais, par M. Duperron de Castera*, A Paris: chez Huart, ruë S. Jacques, à la Justice, [chez] David, quay des Augustins, à la Providence, [chez] Braisson, ruë S. Jacques, à la Science, [chez] Clousier, ruë S. Jacques, à l'Ecu de France, 1735, Vols. I–II. The edition in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. III missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1016457/1 and 1016457/2 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3301). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 116.

77 For more on this subject, see R. Souza Barbosa, 'Leituras mais afamadas do que ditosas: *Os Lusíadas* sob a pena de Voltaire e seus contrapontos em *La Lusiade*,' *Non plus*, 2013, No. 3, pp. 44–55, and also S. P. Guimarães de Sousa, 'Sobre a recepção de *Os Lusíadas* em França até ao século XVIII,' *Boletim do CESP*, 1998, No. 23/18, pp. 43–82.

78 See A-M. Quint, 'Receção de Camões na literatura francesa,' in: *Dicionário de Luís...*, op. cit., pp. 1415–1416.

each of the ten cantos of the epic is preceded by engravings designed by Robert François Bonnart (1652–1733), referring to the content of Camões's work. All copperplate illustrations included in this edition – 11 in total – were made by Jean Baptiste Scotin (1698–c.1755), a renowned Parisian engraver.[79]

The timespan covered by the German library's ownership marks in the Portuguese volumes in the BUŁ discussed in this paper indicates that the *Camoniana*, as well as the other early printed books mentioned here, were added to the collection of the Royal Library in Berlin during a period of gradually growing interest in Portuguese literature in Germany – particularly in its leading author, which was how Camões was undoubtedly perceived at the time.[80] The presence of these items in the holdings of the Berlin library shows that, in order to meet this interest, the library sought to systematically expand its collection of Portuguese printed books in order to offer its readers the widest possible range of relevant works, both in the original language and in translation.

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The research reconnaissance carried out at the BUŁ described in this paper has produced promising results: it has been possible to identify and offer preliminary descriptions of several dozen Portuguese early printed books. Ongoing research aims to further investigate the books' provenance and also place the volumes in their broader context, namely the book collection devoted to Portugal by the Berlin library.[81] The BUŁ collection is just a fragment of a larg-

79 For a broader discussion of this issue, see G. Peres Marques, *"Os Lusíadas": o projeto de uma edição…*, op. cit., p. 66, https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/121502 [accessed 26.07.2024].

80 As Dietrich Briesemeister and Axel Schoenberger write, "enthusiasm for Camões […] remained the strongest motivation for Portuguese studies throughout the 19th century [in Germany]." See D. Briesemeister, A. Schönberger, 'Geschichte der Lusitanistik in Deutschland,' in: *Portugal heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, eds. D. Briesemeister, A. Schonberger, Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 859.

81 At the same time, Spanish early printed books in the BUŁ and BJ have been studied. The Portuguese manuscripts from the *Berlinka* in Kraków, examined as part of the above-mentioned scholarly project and discussed in the article by

er collection that was dispersed as a result of complex historical circumstances related to World War II.[82] The Portuguese volumes that found shelter in the BUŁ are now available to the public and are gradually being digitalized. For example, the *Camoniana* were digitalized as a key element of the virtual exhibition in 2022, in cooperation with the BUŁ and the BJ, entitled "*Lusitanians* on the Cape Route. Camões and the maritime epic of the Portuguese."[83] This exhibition was organized in the context of the international celebrations commemorating the 450th anniversary of the first printing of *Os Lusíadas*, with the intention of showing editions of Camões's works from different eras in their original form, including their material features. Such an exhibition significantly enriches the perception of works from a historical, cultural and artistic perspective, while emphasizing the unique value and importance of early printed books as valuable items in the history of books, as well as in European and world culture.

A. Rzepka, 'Alguns apontamentos sobre os manuscritos portugueses…' are also worth mentioning. Portuguese and Spanish manuscripts and early printed books together make up the Iberian holdings of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin kept at the BUŁ and the BJ; they are the subject of an important recent research project.

82 As an example, in the case of the works of Camões, see the items marked "war loss" (German: Kriegsverlust) in the current electronic catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek (StabiKat). With respect to early printed books (published up to the year 1800), this is about 30 volumes, including the above-mentioned works held in the collection of the BUŁ.

83 The Polish title of the virtual exhibition is "*Luzytanie* na Indyjskim Szlaku. Camões i morska epopeja Portugalczyków." The exhibition brings together various objects belonging to the collections of the BUŁ and the BJ, namely early printed books, 19th-century printed books, manuscripts, engravings, maps and so on. The exhibition is at https://wystawy.bj.uj.edu.pl/luzytanie [accessed 25.07.2024]. The exhibition was created by a joint team from the Jagiellonian University, the BJ and the BUŁ. Anna Rzepka, PhD (Institute of Romance Philology of the Jagiellonian University) devised the curatorial concept and wrote the introductory texts and descriptions of the exhibits. Graphic and technical preparation of the exhibition was by Małgorzata Kusak and Iwona Wawrzynek (BJ), while the early printed books at the BUŁ were prepared for digitalization by Monika Sulejewicz-Nowicka, PhD (BUŁ). The sections of this article devoted to the *Camoniana* of the BUŁ partly refer to descriptions of the individual early printed books included in the exhibition.

Further research on the books discussed in this paper will be presented soon in a separate publication, currently in preparation. This new work aims to expand on Elżbieta Milewska's brief mention of the works, which – based on current findings – hints at numerous important research topics still awaiting thorough investigation.

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