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EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH- CENTURY AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VON ARNIM AND BRENTANO FAMILIES FROM THE BERLIN AUTOGRAPHIA COLLECTION (SAMMLUNG AUTOGRAPHIA): PROBLEMS, DISCOVERIES AND PERSPECTIVES¹

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ABSTRACT

The Autographa Collection (Sammlung Autographa), previously held at the Preußische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and now in Cracow's Jagiellonian Library, includes numerous autograph manuscripts and other documents by well-known members of the von Arnim and Brentano families from the 18th and 19th century – for example, Achim and Bettina von Arnim, Clemens Brentano, Sophie Mereau – as well as less famous figures. The items in the collection include their correspondence with family members and friends, with major figures in culture and science, rulers and edi-

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tors, as well as people otherwise unknown or unidentified. There are also literary and musical manuscripts, portraits, drawings, notes, source materials, passports, contracts, accounts, court summons and so on. Some of these items have already been studied or published, with varying success. Others have not yet attracted scholarly interest and little is known about them. This vast resource constitutes a major research challenge, with many questions and doubts arising on closer scrutiny of the items. This paper summarises the results, insights and conclusions from the identification and description of these autograph manuscripts, part of the flagship project entitled 'European Heritage in the Jagiellonian Library: Digital Authoring of the Berlin Collections. Core Facility' implemented at the Jagiellonian University. It discusses the state of preservation of the material, key features of each author's documents, manuscript sets and types, problems and possible solutions, major discoveries, as well as research possibilities and perspectives.

KEYWORDS: von Arnim, Brentano, Sammlung Autographa, Jagiellonian Library, autograph, manuscript

Boxes 5 and 25 in the 196-box Autographa Collection (*Sammlung Autographa*, henceforth SA) of the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,² now kept at Cracow's Jagiellonian Library, contain numerous autograph manuscripts and documents pertaining to two families – the von Arnim family and the Brentano family – which were connected by friendships, family relations and a love of literature. Unlike Karl August Varnhagen's collection (VC), the SA has attracted relatively little scholarly attention to date.³ Even the fact of its existence is little known since the Jagiellonian Library's

2 On the history of what are known as the 'Berlinka' (Berlin collections), see M. Rutowska, 'Zbiory Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie', *Przegląd Zachodni*, 2012, no. 3, pp. 123–139.

3 This is evident, for example, from the list of people who have studied the SA to date.

Berlin collections are commonly identified with the VC,⁴ manuscripts by well-known composers⁵ and early printed works.⁶ The SA nevertheless comprises valuable documents relating both to people whose autograph manuscripts are found in the VC (and which therefore complement our knowledge of their life and output) and to those absent from the VC. Apart from autograph manuscripts by best-known members of the von Arnim and Brentano families (Romantic artists such as Achim and Bettina von Arnim, Clemens Brentano and Sophie Mereau), the SA includes other documents relating to their close and distant relatives – politicians, diplomats, servicemen, scientists, activists – as well as others (such as A.G. von Arnim⁷) about whom little is known apart from data in the SA and the fact that they, too, were members of these families.

The noble clans of von Arnim⁸ and Brentano⁹ have a history dating back to the 13th century, but the SA's documents only concern people living in the 18th and 19th centuries. A large proportion of these documents are correspondence with the family, major figures in culture and science, rulers and editors, as well as people otherwise unknown or still unidentified. There are also manuscripts of their literary and musical works, portraits and drawings, notes, source materials and various official documents (passports, contracts, accounts, court summons and so on). This vast body of material constitutes a major challenge for the researcher.

4 See letter sources as quoted by editors (below).

5 They attracted universal interest on the occasion of the 1977 transfer of six musical manuscripts by Mozart, Bach and Beethoven, for example, presented by Edward Gierek to the GDR government as a 'gift of friendship'. See M. Rutowska, 'Zbiory Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie', op. cit., pp. 133–134.

6 The Berlin collections mostly reemerge in public debate in the context of German claims and pressure to return the deposit, most recently in 2007 and 2020.

7 Even his forenames are unknown.

8 The family is first mentioned in the Altmark (the northern part of the later March of Brandenburg) and subsequently in Uckermark, with main seats at Boitzenburg Castle, Wiepersdorf, Muskau, Suckow and Blankensee, among others.

9 Domenico Brentano came from Tremezzo in Lombardy. In 1698, he moved his company from Milan to Frankfurt am Main. See K. Günzel, *Die Brentanos. Eine deutsche Familiengeschichte*, Düsseldorf–Zürich 1998.

As mentioned above, apart from sources already known and published, there are others which have not attracted the attention of philologists to date. Both types of source provoke numerous questions and doubts on closer scrutiny. This paper was written as part of the Jagiellonian University's flagship project 'European Heritage in the Jagiellonian Library: Digital Authoring of the Berlin Collections. Core Facility' – known as the DiHeLib project.¹⁰ It presents our research and conclusions, different ways of solving the problems that arise, major discoveries and new research perspectives for the future.

CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The SA comprises 17 manuscript sets: ten for the von Arnim family (285 items) and seven for the Brentanos (134 items), making up 419 items (872 leaves) in total. Of these, items related to Bettina von Arnim are the most numerous (198 items), followed by those related to Clemens Brentano (97) and Achim von Arnim (39). For most other figures we only have a single autograph manuscript (for example, Maximiliane von Arnim) or two (for example, Christiana Brentano). Outgoing correspondence prevails, while incoming letters are scantier. There is also a considerable number of handwritten artistic works, notes, source materials and various personal items. Prints and drawings as well as cuttings (from the press, books and catalogues) are the least frequent group. See Tables 1 and 2 for attributions of items to individual members of the two families and within specific groups.¹¹ Most texts are in German, but there are also letters in French, as well as individual pages or fragments in Italian, Latin and Hungarian.

Notably, documents related to the von Arnim and Brentano families are found not only in Boxes 5 and 25, where they have separate manuscript sets dedicated to them, but also in other sets. Those in

10 For detailed information on the DiHeLib project, see <https://dihelib.id.uj.edu.pl/> [Accessed July 23, 2025].

11 The SA's division into groups (numbered from 1 to 9) results from the source classification adopted in the DiHeLib project.

**TAB. 1. TYPES AND NUMBERS OF VON ARNIM FAMILY MEMBERS' DOCUMENTS IN THE SAMMLUNG AUTOGRAPHA
(THE TOTAL NUMBER ALSO INCLUDES VARIOUS LIBRARY ADDITIONS - TYPE 9, NOT LISTED SEPARATELY)**

| von Arnim family members | 1 - drawings and art prints | 2 - outgoing correspondence | 3 - own artistic works | 4 - personal items | 5 - historical documents | 6 - press cuttings and printed texts | 7 - incoming correspondence | 8 - by other authors | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| A.G. von Arnim | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Heinrich Alexander von Arnim | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Joachim Erdmann von Arnim | | 3 | 1 | | | | | | 5 |
| Adolf Heinrich von Arnim-Boytzenburg | | 7 | | | | | | | 9 |
| Karl Otto Ludwig von Arnim | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Maximiliane von Arnim | | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Armgard von Arnim | | 6 | | | | | 1 | | 8 |
| Gisela von Arnim | 1 | | 11 | | | | | 1 | 15 |
| Ludwig Achim von Arnim | | 19 | 8 | | | | | 2 | 39 |
| Bettina von Arnim | 1 | 130 | 1 | 12 | | 3 | 19 | 1 | 198 |

TAB. 2. TYPES AND NUMBERS OF BRENTANO FAMILY MEMBERS' DOCUMENTS IN THE SAMMLUNG AUTOGRAPHIA
(THE TOTAL NUMBER ALSO INCLUDES VARIOUS LIBRARY ADDITIONS - TYPE 9, NOT LISTED SEPARATELY)

| Brentano family members | 1 - drawings and art prints | 2 - outgoing corre- spondence | 3 - own artistic works | 4 - personal items | 5 - historical documents | 6 - press cuttings and printed texts | 7 - incoming corre- spondence | 8 - by other authors | TOTAL 134 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Christian Brentano | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Franz Brentano | | 2 + 1 | | | | | | | 6 |
| Lorenz Brentano | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 2 |
| Lujo Brentano | | 4 | | | | | | | 5 |
| Sophie Mereau | | 10 | | | | | | | 18 |
| Marie Brentano | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Clemens Brentano | 6 | 52 | 4 | 4 | | 3 | | 3 | 97 |

other sets mostly consist of letters addressed to them, stored under the names of the senders rather than addressees, in accordance with the SA's principles. These documents found in other sets are not discussed in this paper.

Work on the identification and description of the autograph manuscripts has been carried out first and foremost on the principle of faithful representation of data contained in the sources. All the added elements have been duly marked and placed in brackets. Data collected in the descriptions have been compared with those from earlier catalogues and editions of these documents. The older descriptions have been verified and commented upon. Some of the older descriptions were helpful, but others proved misleading and caused many problems. Helga Döhn's catalogue of the SA is incomplete and imprecise in many respects – a fact of which researchers have long been aware.¹² Paradoxically, the old handwritten catalogue of the collection, still kept in Berlin (with a photocopy in the Jagiellonian Library), comprising accession notes – used by Döhn as the basis for her work and verified by direct reference to some of the sources – is much more complete and reliable, which provokes questions concerning her working methods. Döhn's catalogue focuses on epistolography, while the other documents, including literary and musical works, are largely passed over (only their approximate numbers or card numbers are listed without further description). Even for the letters, she only quotes some examples of

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- 12 Roman Sosnowski and Piotr Tylus comment as follows: 'Helga Döhn's contemporary catalogue is, to a great degree, an incomplete recreation of the manuscripts inventory run in Berlin from the early 19th century until 1940. The descriptions are very general, and, more importantly, H. Döhn did not conduct a systematic investigation on site in Krakow and was unable to verify such an enormous collection through personal observation. For example, in the case of a given author, she does not specify the actual number of manuscripts, writing only "about" (when there are many of them); neither does she mention all the correspondents, saying merely: "among others"'. See R. Sosnowski, P. Tylus, 'European Treasure in the Jagiellonian Library. A Flagship Project', *Polish Libraries*, 2003, vol. 11, pp. 240–241. See also the review of the later edition in W. Mrozowicz, 'Recenzja: Helga Döhn, Die Sammlung Autographa der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. [...] Wiesbaden 2005 [on CD, 2006], 336 pp. (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung, II 7)', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 2008, vol. 52, pp. 243–245.

addressees. Old fragmentary catalogues, for instance those of the Radowitz,¹³ Formey¹⁴ and Grimm brothers' legacies,¹⁵ which also include some autograph manuscripts from the SA, likewise abound in errors and inaccuracies resulting from uncertain data or data unavailable at the time, misreadings, using other faulty sources, or quoting other people's or one's own findings as facts. Editions of autograph manuscripts from the SA often demonstrate similar faults. This primarily concerns the letters, where the editors used the above-mentioned catalogues and treated data from the autograph manuscripts on a par with other sources. One should therefore approach all those publications with caution and always give priority to data from the original documents. Where problems have proven impossible to solve, existing versions have been compared in our project but the matter left open.

In the DiHeLib project, the von Arnim and Brentano family documents have been identified and described in accordance with the following rules: all the titles and descriptive terms, names of professions, first names or initials, surnames, document titles and other data, abbreviations written out in full or elements supplemented on the basis of other sources or own research have been placed in square brackets.¹⁶ Dates and place names have been supplemented or corrected where possible. Problematic elements have been commented on. Some of the problems and solutions were common to all or some of the manuscript sets under study, to individual people or to document types. Some autograph manuscripts called for an individual approach. The planned online catalogue containing the digitalised autograph manuscripts will be based on the thoughts and conclusions from our research, as presented in

13 *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen Preussischen General-Lieutenant J. von Radowitz hinterlassenen Autographen-Sammlung*, Berlin 1864.

14 J. Häsel, *La correspondance de Jean Henri Samuel Formey (1711–1797): inventaire alphabétique*, Paris 2003.

15 R. Breslau, *Der Nachlaß der Brüder Grimm*, Wiesbaden 1997, Bd. 1–2.

16 This convention is also applied in the case of data established while working on this paper.

this paper. The discussion of the von Arnim and Brentano family documents below covers the following areas: the state of preservation of the material, the key features of documents relating to each author and each type of document, the problems encountered, areas requiring further study and the potential for research into the different manuscript sets in the SA.

THE VON ARNIM AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest family member for whom a manuscript set exists in the SA is the otherwise unknown A.G. von Arnim, who lived in the 18th century at the ancestral Boitzenburg Castle.¹⁷ The SA includes two letters written by him in French to Jean Henri Samuel Formey in 1760. Formey was a German churchman, educator and writer, the descendant of French émigrés. The letters and von Arnim's contacts with Formey have not been researched before, presumably because scholars have focused on other, better-known members of the family; indeed, even the Formey catalogue leaves these letters out. The VC also contains other complementary correspondence between the same two individuals from 1753–1754.¹⁸ Studying the letters might thus enrich our knowledge about Formey's life and work, and possibly shed some light on an obscure member of the von Arnim clan.

The SA also includes letters from serviceman and politician Adolf Heinrich Count von Arnim-Boitzenburg (1803–1868, from the Blankensee branch of the family), who was a Prussian government minister: five addressed to Carl Heinrich Eduard Lommatzsch, a professor of theology, one to Professor Heinrich Leonhard Heubner, and one (unlisted in the Döhn catalogue) to the Verein zur Beförderung der Landes-Verschönerung für den Wittenberger Kreis. Some of these letters, written between the 1830s and 1850s, were penned by von Arnim-Boitzenburg in person, while others were probably dictated to his secretaries and only signed by

17 See *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung in der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, geordnet und verzeichnet von L. Stern*, Berlin 1911, p. 18. Here, as A.G. Arnim-Boitzenburg.

18 Ibidem.

him. The dating and placement of these still unpublished letters was significantly facilitated by the history of Count von Arnim-Boytzenburg's career as administrator of various German districts.¹⁹ Our knowledge of his life and work, the related institutions and individuals may in turn be enriched by studying the correspondence.

Another small (two-letter) set is that by Heinrich Alexander Baron von Arnim-(Suckow) (1798–1861), a Prussian diplomat and politician (foreign secretary from 1848). Concerning the earlier of the two letters, we unfortunately cannot go much beyond the data from Joseph von Radowitz's catalogue (3470²⁰); the addressee and the precise time and place of writing remain unknown. The second letter, penned on October 4, 1840 in Berlin, was written to philosopher-philologist Otto Friedrich Gruppe, Professor of Philosophy at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin and Secretary of the Royal Prussian Academy of the Arts. This item may be worth considering in studies of Gruppe's life and work, especially since Box 70 contains 14 letters, poems and other documents by him, while the rest of the SA includes a vast number of letters written to him by the likes of Karl August Böttiger, Karl Simrock, Klara Wilhelmine Oenicke and many others. Nearly each of the 196 boxes that make up SA contains examples of Gruppe's correspondence. Von Arnim-Suckow's two letters should also be considered in the context of the notes, cuttings, printed materials and other items relating to him in the VC.²¹

The other members of the von Arnim family whose documents can be found in the SA are close relatives of the leading Romantic figure in Heidelberg, Achim von Arnim: his father, his elder brother and his three daughters from his marriage to Bettina von

19 Administrator of in Uckermark from 1830, Vice-President of the Stralsund district from 1833, President of the Aachen district from 1834 and of the Merseburg district from 1838.

20 *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen...*, op. cit., Th. 2, p. 227.

21 *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p. 18.

Arnim.²² There are also autograph manuscripts by Joachim Erdmann von Arnim (1741–1804), Prussian diplomat and ambassador to the court of Copenhagen (1772–1774) and later Dresden,²³ father of Karl Otto and Ludwig Achim. His set comprises three letters to unknown people, one in French,²⁴ and – most interestingly – notes (unlisted in the Döhn catalogue) on Johann Adolph Hasse’s opera *Attilio Regolo*, including fragments of that work.²⁵ Joachim Erdmann was Director of Berlin Opera and the Französisches Theater at the Gendarmenmarkt.²⁶ His set could prove a rich resource to researchers studying the history of the opera, eighteenth-century Berlin theatres or *Attilio Regolo* and its reception. The notes may shed light on changes in comparison with the 1750 production and on von Arnim’s own concepts; Arnim’s work has not been thoroughly studied to date.

Joachim Erdmann’s eldest son, Karl Otto Ludwig (pen name Pitt, 1779–1861), followed in his father’s footsteps as a Prussian diplomat and attaché in Stockholm. He wrote popular travel accounts and several comedies for the Berlin stages. The Jagiellonian Library has several of his letters in the VC (two addressed to his brother Achim and two to Varnhagen),²⁷ and two in the SA (one official letter from London, dated May 4, 1815, with an unknown addressee, and one from Friedenfelde bei Templin, dated June 1, 1821, to the Nicolai-

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- 22 On the family’s history, see E. Devrient, *Das Geschlecht von Arnim. 1. Teil: Urkundenbuch*, Leipzig 1914; J. von Arnim, M. von Arnim, G. H. Zuchold, *Das Geschlecht von Arnim: Chronik der Familie im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, hrsg. Vorstand des von Arnim’schen Familienverbandes, Neustadt an der Aisch 2002.
 - 23 Biographies of Karl and Achim von Arnim’s parents can be found in Chapter 1 (‘Voreltern und Eltern’) of J. Knaack, *Alles geschieht in der Welt der Poesie wegen: Leben und Werk des Achim von Arnim*, Wiesbaden 2021, pp. 10–15.
 - 24 Dated 1746, 1776; the third one has not been dated yet.
 - 25 Libretto by Pietro Metastasio; German productions in Dresden (1750), Berlin (December 1775). See A. E. Brachvogel, *Geschichte des Königlichen Theaters zu Berlin: Erster Band: Das alte Berliner Theaterwesen*, Frankfurt 2023 (Nachdruck der Originalausgabe 1877), pp. 254–255.
 - 26 On his work at Berlin Opera, see L. Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper und des Königlichen Opernhauses in Berlin*, Berlin 1852, pp. 88, 180–181, 190 (Beilage XXXIII, Nr. 23).
 - 27 Plus another letter to an unknown person and other minor items such as an address, Varnhagen’s notes and a press cutting. See *Die Varnhagen von Ense’sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p. 28.

sche Buchhandlung, a publisher with whom he collaborated). This small set is certainly of interest to students of von Arnim-Pitt's life and work. He was heir to the Bärwalde family estate (whose seat was at Wiepersdorf Castle), a major figure in Prussian foreign policy and also an aficionado of music and theatre. For these reasons, it would be worth linking research into his life and work with research into his father and famous brother, looking at the family's influence, the nature of the period in general and specific characteristics of each member of the family.

Of Achim and Bettina von Arnim's seven children, only three daughters are represented in the SA, while the VC also includes letters and documents relating to the sons, Freimund and Siegmund.²⁸ From Maximiliane von Arnim (later Countess von Oriola, 1818-1894) we have one letter to Otto Lewald, and from Armgard von Arnim (later Countess Flemming, 1821-1880) we have seven letters, including four to, and one from, Lewald, one to Rudolf Baier, and one to an otherwise unknown Frau Howard (unlisted in Döhn). Compared to the private correspondence in the VC, the SA letters seem less interesting at first glance. Nevertheless, those addressed to Lewald, the family lawyer, all dating from early 1848, may shed light on Bettina von Arnim's court cases in which he represented her. Bettina's set likewise includes letters and documents concerning the same cases. Armgard's letter to the scientist and museologist from Rügen by the name of Baier, dating from 1845, supplements our knowledge about Bettina's collaboration with him. Baier was commissioned by the family in 1843-1846 to work on a new edition of the recently deceased Achim von Arnim's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Bettina's set contains more letters to Baier and a cover design for that volume. Both daughters' letters may shed light on the mostly already known and published correspondence between Bettina and Baier. The authors emerge from those letters as wives, courtly ladies and salon habitués. The sources prove the entire family's commitment to cultivating their father's literary output.

28 Ibidem, p. 27.

Undoubtedly of greatest interest in this group are the autograph manuscripts by the youngest daughter, Gisela von Arnim (1827–1889), wife to art history professor Herman Grimm, son of Wilhelm. The set also includes Herman's pencil portrait of Gisela, made in 1846. The VC has many of Gisela's letters, but the SA contains almost exclusively her artistic works (only mentioned by Döhn collectively): two of her exclusive authorship (the poem *Das tadle Fräulein* and the ballad *Hofbur und Siegmild*), and nine co-authored by her. Gisela was Bettina's beloved daughter, considered the most gifted. She received a thorough musical education. The SA includes the ballad *Gelbi's Liebe* written by her teacher, the well-known composer Johanna Mathieux (née Kinkel), setting a text by Gisela – possibly from the time when she was Johanna's pupil, or from the later years of their friendship. Gisela herself also set poems by well-known authors to music: as many as six such settings can be found in the SA, labelled as *Aus 'Immensee' von Theodor Storm*, *Aus 'Mariengarn' Eduard Tempelty*, *Aus 'Wilhelm Meister' von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe* (see Fig. 1), *'Spielmanns Lied' von Emanuel von Geibel*, *'Ein welches Blatt' von Anasthasius Grün*, and the oratorio *Freundschafts- und Erinnerungs-Oratorium*, based on two songs from Dante's *Divine Comedy*. There is also Gisela's score of *Schottisches Lied* and her father Achim's opera *Otto der Schütz*, which she arranged. This set is of significant use to the study of Gisela's output, as well as studies of the reception of the poets she set to music, studies of salon pieces, of Romantic music and of works by women in general from that period. The poem *Das tadle Fräulein* opens up another research area. It was written 'nach Diktat' ('from dictation') in the hand of Hungarian violinist, composer and conductor Joseph Joachim, secretary to Franz Liszt.²⁹ Bettina von Arnim was his mentor, and Gisela was his companion from the Berlin period.³⁰ The set also includes the intriguing anonymous song *Das Bachstelzchenlied*, dedi-

29 Liszt was a friend of the von Arnim family from 1842.

30 See R. W. Eshbach, "For all are born to the ideal": Joseph Joachim and Bettina von Arnim', *Music & Letters*, 2021, vol. 101, Issue 4, pp. 1–3.



FIG. 1. The first page of the composition *Aus 'Wilhelm Meister'* von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe with music by Gisela von Arnim. Jagiellonian Library, Sammlung Autographa, Image: Elżbieta Zarych

cated to the three von Arnim sisters, written in Leipzig and Dresden on an unknown date – potentially a valuable source for studies of musical sources.

The handwritten catalogue and that by Helga Döhn mostly include only basic information on the above-mentioned small sets relating to von Arnim family members. The data concerning letters is correct, if incomplete. The other documents are only mentioned collectively and cursorily. The present description thus supplements this data and discusses the output of Gisela von Arnim. Comparing the two catalogues to the SA sources proves that much of the data in the more recent catalogue was simply copied from the older one without verification. Some individual documents listed in the catalogues (for example, the letter from Ella von Arnim³¹

31 Elisabeth (Ella) von Arnim (1859–1945), wife of the German-Austrian classical philologist Hans von Arnim (1859–1931).

of around 1940, listed in Bettina's set),³² as well as whole sets (relating to Siegmund von Arnim) are now missing from the SA. The present study thus reflects the current state of the collection's preservation.

AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS BY ACHIM VON ARNIM

The document set relating to Ludwig Achim von Arnim (1781–1831) is one of the largest in the SA boxes dedicated to this family. It comprises 39 items (116 leaves), including 19 letters, for 16 of which addressees have been established. The number of letters is thus larger than that listed in the Döhn catalogue,³³ and there are more correspondents: Clemens Brentano, [Heinrich Dieterich], Wilhelm Dorow, Ferdinand Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, Karl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach, Jean Paul Richter, Ludwig Tieck, Karl August Varnhagen and [Caroline von Wolzogen]. The date range also differs from that previously quoted (1800–1829 not 1806–1828³⁴). Manuscript analysis has revealed several errors repeated in earlier catalogues and editions. For instance, a letter from Achim to diplomat and historian Wilhelm Dorow, written on September 25, 1810, is dated to September 20 in the editions.³⁵ Similarly, one of Jean Paul's letters has been dated to January 1, 1811³⁶ ever since the earliest editions of his correspondence, but the correct date is January 7. A letter penned on October 22, 1811 at Winkel unter Johannisberg was published as written to Wilhelm Grimm (who is named in the heading) but it is in fact addressed to Jacob, and

32 H. Döhn, *Die Sammlung Autographa der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 52.

33 '16 Br., 1 Br.-fragm.'. Ibidem, p. 53.

34 Ibidem.

35 *Reminiscenzen: Goethe's Mutter; nebst Briefen und Aufzeichnungen zur Charakteristik anderer merkwürdiger Männer und Frauen*, hrsg. von W. Dorow, Leipzig 1842, pp. 110–112.

36 For example, *Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Aufgabe*, Bd. 6: *Briefe an Jean Paul 1809–1814*, hrsg. M. Rölcke, A. Steinsiek, Berlin 2012, pp. 207–209.

hence both brothers ought to be listed as addressees. New data has also been found concerning the letters to unidentified people. One (from Berlin, February 13, 1827) was written to a publisher, whereas for the other, the date and place of composition have been established (Berlin, August 3, 1813),³⁷ which may facilitate further research.

Concerning Achim von Arnim's literary works and notes in the SA, Döhn only gives a collective description.³⁸ These pieces, complete or fragmentary, represent different types and genres. Some have been published, others neglected by editors.³⁹ They include: the manuscript of the poem *Silvester Lied* [1819] (frequently printed in editions);⁴⁰ fragments of *Halle* [1809–1811] (the first part of the double dramatic play *Halle und Jerusalem. Studentenspiel und Pilger abentheuer*, published by Mohr und Zimmer in 1811); and two interesting occasional pieces for the birthday of Achim's brother-in-law Friedrich Karl von Savigny, lawyer and Government Secretary for Codification, the husband of Bettina's sister Kunigunde. The first poem, made up of six stanzas and opening with the words 'Wir sind italienische Doctoren...', was written, according to Radowitz's catalogue, on February 21, 1826,⁴¹ for von Savigny's 47th birthday. The other piece is a theatrical play of unknown date, comprising – apart from the play's text – the overall concept, songs and various staging instructions. Both pieces may have been presented during family celebrations. They offer a glimpse of the von Arnim family life and the salon culture of the time. Fragmentary writings testify to von Achim's interests and complement our knowledge of his output. These include an unfinished characterisation of Frederick

37 Also listed in the *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen...*, op. cit., p. 538.

38 'mehrere Mss. u. Konz. (z.T. Fragm.)'. H. Döhn, *Die Sammlung Autographa...*, op. cit., p. 53.

39 There are also two puzzling pieces by other people, noted down on the opposite sides of one leaf: a poem with no beginning and a prose piece labelled 'Selnide. Eine Erzählung aus den Zeilen der Erscheinungen im Mai 86'.

40 See, for example, A. von Arnim, *Werke in sechs Bänden*, Bd. 5 *Gedichte*, hrsg. U. Ricklefs, R. Burwick, Frankfurt am M. 1994, p. 913.

41 *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen...*, op. cit., p. 538.

the Great's writings and three texts on the life and work of cobbler-cum-philosopher Jakob Böhme: *Aus dem Leben Jacob Böhmens* [1809], an excerpt from Böhme's *Aurora* (Chapter 23, 1823), and *Vom göttlichen Frieden* (note for a treatise on Böhme). Böhme's biography and ideas fascinated Achim von Arnim and he frequently took them up in his texts (for example, in the poem *Der Durchbruch der Weisheit*, the collection *Der Wintergarten*, and in letters to Clemens Brentano).⁴² The materials in the SA provide an interesting context for these other texts.

THE BRENTANO FAMILY AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

The VC includes documents related to 12 members⁴³ of the Brentano family,⁴⁴ while the SA contains documents related to seven. Four of the individuals – Clemens Brentano, his brothers Christian and Franz, and his niece Marie – overlap, making the sets complementary. For these four, the character of the autograph manuscripts differs between the two collections: the VC contains letters mostly to relatives, both close and distant, while the SA contains letters to other people, too. The focus of each collection is thus on different areas of the family members' contacts and activities.

The core of the noble Brentano clan, as represented in the SA, consists of direct descendants of Domenico Brentano, who moved to Germany from Tremezzo in the 17th century. Clemens Brentano and Bettina von Arnim were his grandchildren. Several other members of this large family also have autograph manuscripts in the SA. Analysing these materials calls for a thorough knowledge of the family tree. Clemens and Bettina's father Pietro Antonio had 20 children from three marriages.⁴⁵ Apart from Clemens, Bettina

42 On von Achim's interest in Böhme, see C. Nitschke, *Utopie und Krieg bei Ludwig Achim von Arnim*, Tübingen 2004, pp. 182–197.

43 Bettina Brentano is listed as the thirteenth family member but described in the catalogue under her husband's surname.

44 *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., pp. 103–107.

45 For his biography, see R. Koch, *Peter Anton Brettano (1735–1797)*, in *Geist und Macht: Die Brentanos*, hrsg. B. Heidenreich, Opladen–Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 19–43. There

and Clemens's second wife Sophie, who will be discussed separately, the other Brentano family members are each represented by just a few documents.

Franz Brentano (1765–1844) was a son of Domenico and his first wife Paula Maria Josefa. After his father's death, he took over the family firm (Frankfurter Handels- und Bankhauses Brentano). His documents can be found in both Berlin collections: 32 letters to Clemens and Bettina's half-siblings in the VC⁴⁶ and three letters to non-family members in two separate sets in the SA. The second set most likely resulted from the uncertain attribution of an 1843 letter sent from Frankfurt am Main to city counsellor Hermann Joseph Dietz (set labelled 'Brentano, F.'). The other two letters, to Lutheran parish priest Johann Heinrich Christian Bang and to Wilhelm Grimm date from the 1820s and are part of the correspondence between these individuals and other family members from well-known Romantic milieux, including Franz's two half-brothers from his father's marriage to Sophie de La Roche, Clemens and Christian (1784–1851).⁴⁷ From the latter we only have letters to the family in the VC,⁴⁸ but the SA includes Franz's two letters to Bang of 1830, from the period when Franz, a Catholic writer, returned from Rome to Germany. The SA also contains four letters from Christian's son, the philosopher, economist and academic lecturer Ludwig Joseph 'Lujo' Brentano (1844–1931), to two professors: the lawyer Lewin Goldschmidt (1870, 1871) and the economist Gustav Friedrich von Schönberg (1871), plus a response of February 23, 1872, whose sender is still unknown.

were six children from the first marriage, twelve from the second and two from the third.

46 Plus one letter marked 'von Imhof (Köln) 1806'. See *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p.106.

47 Children from the second marriage: Georg, Maria Sophie (called Sophie; †), Clemens, Kunigunde (called Gunde), Maria Francisca (†), Christian, Bettina, Maria Ludovica (called Lulu), Magdalena Maria (called Meline), Caroline Ludovica (†), Anna Maria (†), and Susanna Phillipine (†). Those who died in early life are marked with (†).

48 *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p. 107.

Two letters from Marie Brentano, née von Guaita (1815–1859), second wife to the doctor of philosophy Georg Carl Ludwig (known as Luis), son of Georg Brentano (Clemens, Bettina and Christian's eldest brother), were written from Frankfurt am Main, where she resided. One is dated (April 26, 1843), whereas the other, undated, probably dates from 1842–1843.⁴⁹ In these letters, Marie addresses Wilhelm Grimm as friend of the family, asking him to recommend a tutor for the children – specifically for her son from her first marriage, Georg Friedrich, born 1836.

Another branch of the family, from Bingen on the Rhine, is represented in the SA by the Baden-based lawyer and politician Lorenz (Lorenzo) Brentano (1813–1891). We have a letter from the time of his participation in the German Revolutions of 1848–1849, that is, before he made a career in the USA.⁵⁰ Lorenz's letter, sent on June 17, 1849 from Karlsruhe, was written on behalf of the provisional government to war commissary Gustav Adolf Schlöffel, on paper bearing the older name of that authority, 'Die provisorische Regierung für Baden', to which the author added, 'mit diktatorischer Gewalt' (which reflects the change of name). Schlöffel's reply from Heidelberg (dated June 19, 1849) is on the same card, complete with the illegible signatures of revolutionaries underneath the text. This single letter is an interesting source research on the German Revolutions and Lorenz Brentano and Schlöffel's biographies. Bettina von Arnim interceded with the king for Schlöffel when he was imprisoned at Magdeburg fortress.

The basic data referring to these small Brentano sets in the Berlin and Döhn catalogues is correct. The present study, however, has established the dating and placement of several letters, made this data more precise for others, described the appearance of the items and added information that may help identify the still unknown

49 The letters can be dated by reference to the date of Marie's marriage and the births of her children, as well as Wilhelm Grimm's biography (in 1841 he was still in Berlin).

50 A Chicago lawyer and Washington congressman, later the US Consul to Dresden.

addressees in the future. None of these letters has been published to date, nor are there any significant traces of their use in research into the family's history or the other subjects listed above. The present project's more detailed descriptions should make it possible to use these documents in future research.

CLEMENS BRENTANO'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

Of all the Brentano family members, the Heidelberg-based Romantic poet and writer Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) undoubtedly attracts the greatest scholarly interest. The VC contains a vast and varied range of documents relating to him: over 200 letters written by him, several dozen received by him, numerous literary works and notes, engravings and ink drawings, personal materials, accounts and so on.⁵¹ In the SA, his set of autograph manuscripts is also varied, although smaller. As shown in Table 2, the letters written by him, of which there are 52, form the bulk of the set. There are no letters addressed to him, only a few literary works, several pencil drawings and the poet's portraits. The two collections demonstrate both similarities and differences. They are mutually complementary and, when analysed together, make research on many topics possible – for instance, with regard to the drawings divided between the VC and the SA, correspondence with the same people (including Achim and Bettina von Arnim and August Winkelmann) and personal documents.

Most of the addressees of the letters in the SA are different from those in the VC. Despite the smaller overall number of letters, there are as many as 21 identified recipients, not all of whom are listed in either the Berlin or the Döhn catalogues.⁵² Notably, unlike the other sets, nearly all of Clemens's letters in the SA have already been published, and many even reprinted several times. New editions are unfortunately not always based directly on the

51 See *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., pp. 103–106.

52 See H. Döhn, *Die Sammlung Autographa...*, op. cit., p. 247.

manuscripts; earlier publications are typically used as the source, reinforcing their errors and shortcomings. Significantly, editors of the Berlin collections in the Jagiellonian Library usually do not distinguish between the VC and the SA, but instead attribute items from the latter to the former collection.⁵³ What is striking about these editors is how they treat data from autograph manuscripts as being on a par with other sources and their own findings. It will suffice to compare two examples of descriptions of letters in the DiHeLib project with those from a catalogue or edition to see what proportion of the data comes from the sources and what was accumulated later. This explains why some uncertain or erroneous information has been reiterated:

1. Letter from Clemens Brentano to Rev. [Johann Heinrich Christian] Bang, s.l. [Marburg], s.d. [06.1804] (in the edition: ‘um den 15. Juni 1804’⁵⁴)
2. Letter from Clemens Brentano to [Hermann Joseph Dietz] and his wife [Anna Maria Antoinette Dietz], s.l. [Frankfurt am Main], s.d. [1830] (in the Radowitz catalogue No. 7056, ‘Winter 1829’, in the edition: ‘zwischen dem 21. Februar und 9. März 1830’⁵⁵).

Research on the extensive document sets relating to Clemens Brentano and his sister Bettina shows how problematic the use of catalogues can be, particularly in the case of the correspondence with the Grimm brothers. The data in Ralph Breslau’s *Der Nachlaß der Brüder Grimm* probably comes from different sources. If we compare the list of Clemens Brentano’s letters in the SA with the autograph manuscripts, only 10 of the 17 datasets are fully correct; the others diverge from the source in various ways. Moreo-

53 See Clemens Brentano. *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. J. Behrens et al., Bd 32: *Briefe IV*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1996, pp. 62–65, 165–168, 228–234, 284–295. Though many letters in this edition come from the SA, the SA is never mentioned.

54 Clemens Brentano. *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. J. Behrens et al, Bd 31: *Briefe III*, hrsgs. L. Kinskofer et al, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1992, p. 335.

55 *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen...*, op. cit., p. 543; Clemens Brentano. *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. A. Bohnenkamp et al, Bd 36: *Briefe VIII*, hrsg. S. Oehring, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 30–32.

ver, the Brentano edition's letter to Wilhelm Grimm (no date and place of composition, possibly 1808) may be the same as the one starting 'Wie ich hier ankam, schrie mir der Pfarrer entgegen...', published as [Allenberg], [4.08.1808],⁵⁶ whereas another, addressed to both Grimm brothers (Heidelberg, May 27, 1808) is missing from the SA altogether. The existing autograph of a letter to both of them in the SA ([Heidelberg], [ante 9.06.1808]⁵⁷) is absent from the edition.

When establishing addressees' identities, researchers need to pay special attention to Brentano's habit of using various terms of endearment, humorous or descriptive names such as 'Grimmigen' for the Grimms⁵⁸ or 'Verehrter Armen Vater, und Mutter' for the Dietz couple (in the letter listed above). Possible mediacy in letter delivery as well as wider groups of senders/addressees must also be considered, especially – but not only – for materials relating to the Grimm brothers. Some of the letters are addressed to one of the brothers but the heading invokes the other one; it must be established whether such letters were sent courtesy of one of them⁵⁹ or were in fact meant for both. Other complex situations include, for instance, Clemens's letter to Jacob Grimm (Wiepersdorf, October 1, 1814) attached to Achim von Arnim's letter to Wilhelm Grimm in Kassel,⁶⁰ fol. 34v of which also includes a three-line postscript from Achim to Jacob. Half of another letter to Wilhelm from Berlin (April 4, 1810, fol. 72r) was written by Achim, the other half by Clemens, who also entered the address with a comment on fol. 72v. Clemens's other letter to his friend (written on Tuesday but without a date) was meant for Johanna Kraus, with

56 Thus in *Clemens Brentano. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. K. Feilchenfeldt et al., Bd 33: *Briefe V*, pp. 76–77.

57 'Spätestens am 9. Juni 1808' in the edition. *Clemens Brentano. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. J. Behren et al, Bd 32: *Briefe IV*, pp. 70–72.

58 Heidelberg, May 7, 1808, to both brothers, but only Jacob's address is given.

59 For example, Clemens Brentano to Jacob Grimm, Berlin September 7, 1816, sent to Wilhelm.

60 Thus in the edition: *Clemens Brentano. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. K. Feilchenfeldt et al., pp. 136–137.

whom he fell in love in the summer of 1802 – hence our dating. This latter case highlights the need to consider the writer’s biography when identifying and describing the letters. In this case, we should take into account Clemens’s habit of sending love letters via Achim.

Letter dating and placement is the most problematic element in the SA, despite – or perhaps largely because of – the editions. Data from the more recent editions frequently diverges from that in the catalogues. For instance, Radowitz gives [Frankfurt am Main] as the place the letter was written, whereas the editor establishes (on the basis of the descriptive address ‘No. 23 zwei Treppen Hoch zum goldnen Hirsch’ [sic!]) that it was written in Munich, and quotes that placement without brackets even though it is missing from the autograph. Where the editor’s findings are correct (for example, Barbing Castle bei Regensburg for the letter to Dietz of February 1, 1833⁶¹) but the information is not in the autograph, we have only quoted Regensburg (as on the postal stamp) and added a note concerning the castle in comments. The same approach has been adopted in the case of discrepancies in dating, as in the letters to the Grimm brothers of January 20, 1809 (date given on fol. 49r; the editor gives: ‘vermutlich 20. Januar bis Anfang Februar 1809’⁶²) and of September 3, 1810 (date on fol. 53r; the editor specifies: ‘3 bis etwa 11. September 1810’⁶³). Likewise problematic is the letter dated ‘München/Landshut, 13.–15.10.1808’ on fol. 44r (only this information is quoted in the catalogue⁶⁴), which also has ‘München’ and a blurred date on fol. 45v, interpreted by the editor as ‘den 10 8bre 1808’ (the edition thus has: October 10–15, 1808⁶⁵). It may, however, be October 20 rather than October 10, which would be logical (the date inside should be later than the one in the heading). This

61 *Clemens Brentano. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. A. Bohnenkamp et al, pp. 226–228.

62 *Clemens Brentano. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. J. Behrens, et al., Bd 32: *Briefe IV*, pp. 128–132.

63 *Ibidem*, pp. 279–284.

64 *Ibidem*.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. 88–93.

question is left open in our study, and the dating from the edition quoted provisionally.

Also of note are the letters in the SA which cannot be described unequivocally, although versions or copies of them can also be found in other collections. These include a four-page letter (the final section is probably missing) to Julie Reichenbach, one of the four daughters of the Altenburg banker to whom Brentano dedicated his *Godiwi*.⁶⁶ A six-page version (dated in the edition to November 1800)⁶⁷ is available on the website of the Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek (Stadt- und Stiftsarchiv Aschaffenburg), which may suggest that the SA variant is a rough draft. Nevertheless, the Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek text also breaks off on the same words and may thus also be incomplete.

The SA set also includes several of Clemens Brentano's literary pieces: autograph manuscripts of three poems and the manuscript (rough draft?) of his reply to Johann Heinrich Voss's critical review of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Vols 2 and 3 (*Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, November 25/26, 1808; the response was printed in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* on March 4, 1809; these two dates are the respective *termini* for dating the autograph). Excellent material for research, for example, into the artistic process is provided by a group of multilingual (German, Italian and Latin) notes, cuttings and literary fragments used by the poet during his work on *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* [1803–1811] and placed in the SA inside one collective cover (see Fig. 2).⁶⁸

An extremely interesting autograph manuscript of a poem from the Radowitz collection (7060), described in his catalogue as an 'Abschnitt eines geistliches Liedes von Brentanos Hand'⁶⁹ and mys-

66 The elder sister of his unhappy love Wilhelmina (Minna).

67 Clemens Brentano. *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. J. Behrens et al, Bd 29: *Briefe I*, hrsg. L. Kinskofer et al, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1989, pp. 286–291.

68 The edition: Clemens Brentano, *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz, Unter erstmaliger Benutzung des gesamten handschriftlichen Materials herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Alphons M. von Steinle*, Trier 1912. It would be worth comparing this edition with the autograph manuscripts in the SA.

69 *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen...*, op. cit., p. 543.

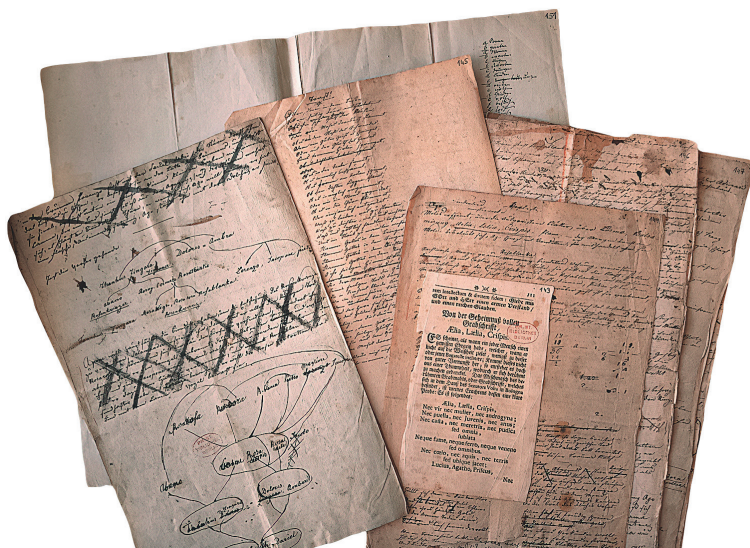


FIG. 2. Various notes, cuttings and literary fragments used by Clemens Brentano during his work on *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*.
Image: Elżbieta Zarych

teriously dated '8. Febr.' in the heading, was copied in Clemens's hand but originally written by his beloved Luise Hensel,⁷⁰ who frequently signed her poems with his name – which explains why they are often attributed to Brentano. A comparison of this manuscript sheet with Hensel's own writings proves that the heading refers to the date of composition. She entered the poem in her diary under the date of February 8, [1816] and Brentano undoubtedly copied it from that source.⁷¹

The SA also contains a small group of interesting personal items which, like the literary pieces, were left undescribed in Döhn, who only lists them as '8 Dok., 5 Mss.'⁷² These include Clemens's passport, which he needed in order to travel to Freiburg via Karlsruhe and Strasbourg, and Brentano's treatise on the books

70 The edition (under the title *Hingebung*): L. Hensel, *Lieder*, 4, Paderborn 1879, pp. 30–31.

71 Apart from establishing the poem's author, we have also been able to date Clemens's copy to [post-1816].

72 H. Döhn, *Die Sammlung Autographa...*, op. cit., p. 247.

of Johann Carl Wötzel – potentially interesting for researchers of the poet's biography or those interested in German cultural life of the time.

AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS BY SOPHIE MEREAU-BRENTANO

Documents belonging to Clemens Brentano's second wife Sophie Mereau née Schubart (1770–1806) were inherited by Bettina von Arnim along with Clemens's legacy; they later became part of the Berlin collection and found their way to the Jagiellonian Library. Most of Sophie's documents, correspondence (both in her own set and scattered among other manuscript sets),⁷³ diary fragments and especially her numerous works are part of the VC. The SA set only contains ten letters (plus one poem, among her husband's documents). This group of sources – small in comparison not only with the VC, but also with those kept in Altenburg, Weimar and Frankfurt – has not attracted scholarly interest, for two reasons. First, many scholars are unaware of the existence of the SA. Renata Dampc-Jarosz, for instance, who discusses the poet's legacy in her book *Sophie Mereau-Brentano. Dyletancka na weimarskim parnassie* [*A Dilettante on Weimar's Parnassus*], mentions the Jagiellonian Library only in the context of the VC sources.⁷⁴ The second, obvious reason is that the SA contains none of Mereau's literary manuscripts, and the letters are not addressed to her husband or siblings,⁷⁵ or to well-known figures such as Friedrich Schiller.⁷⁶ The SA only contains her correspondence with a few figures from the worlds of culture and science, as well as with publishers. Döhn's catalogue correctly quotes the date ranges and three of the addressees:

73 See *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., pp. 511–513.

74 See R. Dampc-Jarosz, 'Sophie Mereau-Brentano i jej drogi do pisarstwa', in: *Sophie Mereau-Brentano. „Dyletancka” na weimarskim parnassie*, ed. R. Dampc-Jarosz, N. Nowara-Matusik, Katowice 2020, pp. 29–30.

75 Her letters to her brother, Johann Friedrich Pierer, are kept in Altenburg, whereas those to her sister Henriette are considered lost.

76 The editions remain incomplete and ridden with errors. See R. Dampc-Jarosz, 'Sophie Mereau-Brentano i jej drogi do pisarstwa', op. cit., pp. 29–30.

‘10 Br., o.J. u. 1799–1806, u.a. an W.G. Becker, an F. Wilmanns u. an G.J. Göschen’.⁷⁷ DiHeLib research has established more precise dating for the individual letters, as well as their placement and other data. Notably, Mereau’s use of the surname of her first or her second husband in signatures helps date the letters.

Four addressees of the letters in the SA have been identified: 1) [Professor Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker] (Jena, March [17]99); 2) [Fröhlich’sche Buchhandlung in Berlin] (Jena, November [17]99); 3) the bookseller [Georg Joachim Göschen] (Heidelberg, December 2, 1805), and 4) the bookseller Friedrich Wilmans (s.l., March 14, 1805). The others – four letters – are to publishers whose names are unknown; three to her earlier collaborators (Weimar, December 30, 1801 and February 8, 1802 as well as Camburg, August 20, 1802) and one to the publisher of a women’s magazine (Heidelberg, August 1806). Besides this, there is a letter to the editor of an almanack (Heidelberg, November 4, 1804) and to a friend in Jena (Marburg, [1803–1804]). These individuals may be identified in the future on the basis of the data collected in this manner. The letters in the SA contributes to our knowledge of Mereau’s artistic and publishing activity.

Of interest is also the autograph copy of a group of poems found in Clemens Brentano’s set in the SA (see Fig. 3).⁷⁸ These include Mereau’s *Abschied* (‘Du Berg, der frei die hohe Stirn erhebt...’, titled *Abschied an Dornburg* in editions) copied on a separate sheet of paper, plus a copy of the same poem in Clemens’s hand on a bifolium, followed by his own eponymous poem underneath, and finally a French quatrain starting with ‘Dieu veuille que cette force’. The bifolium, probably related to the lovers’ parting in 1799, provides interesting material for comparative studies. In the manuscript, the French quatrain, interpreted in many editions as the last stanza of Brentano’s *Abschied*,⁷⁹ presents itself as an autonomous piece

77 H. Döhn, *Die Sammlung Autographa...*, op. cit., p. 248.

78 First edition: S. Mereau, *Kalathiskos*, Berlin 1801, Bd 1, pp. 146–147.

79 For example, Clemens Brentano, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, hrsg. J. Behrens et al., p. 22.

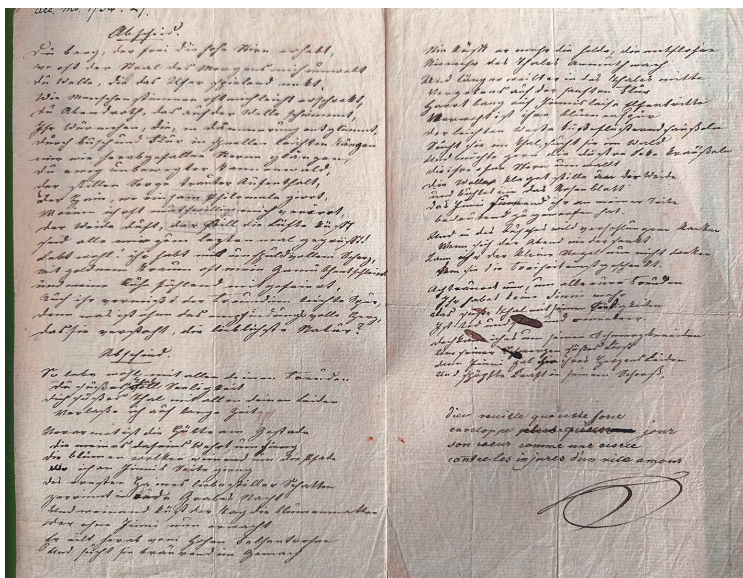


FIG. 3. A bifolium contained Sophie Mereau's poem *Abschied* copied by Clemens Brentano, his own poem *Abschied* and finally a French quatrain.

Image: Elżbieta Zarych

closing the set of two poems by each of the lovers. The DiHeLib project thus treats this quatrain as a separate work.

AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO BETTINA VON ARNIM

The set relating to Bettina von Arnim née Brentano (1785-1859) in the SA is the largest of those being studied (198 items). As in the VC,⁸⁰ the majority are letters: 130 from, and 19 to Bettina. The other items, as listed in Table 1, are: her childhood portrait (print by Georg Wolf himself); the page design for a reissue of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, enclosed with a letter to Rudolf Baier of September 22, 1845; one literary work; 12 personal items; and three cuttings from the German and Austrian press, related to the 100th anniversary of Bettina's birth in 1885).

80 See *Die Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung...*, op. cit., pp. 24-27.

Like the VC,⁸¹ the SA contains none of Bettina's own literary manuscripts, except for one poem of uncertain authorship, 'L'Ami que l'intérêt vous aura fait connaître... [!]', entered on the back of a letter from a woman from the de la Motte family (fol. 338v). This may be an occasional piece, some sort of game or augury (there are calculations next to the poem, probably related to it). This is interesting material for the study of salon pastimes, but links to other research subjects may also be discovered on closer analysis.

For the vast range of outgoing correspondence, in German and French, 34 addressees have been identified, including those found in editions of Bettina's correspondence. They include Caroline Bardua, Hortense Cornu, Rudolf Baier, the Grimm family (Jacob, Herman, Wilhelm, Dorothea), Frederick William IV of Prussia, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense). Many of her letters, however, are missing from editions and not listed in catalogues. Of the latter group, we have identified and described, for example, Bettina's letters to Carl Mütterlein in Frankfurt and Friedrich Klein in Berlin (two employees of the respective branches of Trowitzsch & Sohn printing house, which published, for example, her *Die Götterode*). Other confirmed recipients include the architect Ludwig Lohde, the translator Philippine Sophie von Calenberg (referred to as 'Fräulein Kahlenberg'), Börries Wilhelm von Münchhausen (the Ambassador of Hanover to London), Clamor Friedrich Hagedorn (Consul General of Hesse and Bavaria to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania) and the lawyer Karl Georg August Johannes Rudloff. For two of the addressees – the privy counsellor Dr Strauß (letter of 1849) and the medical student Hellwitz – we have no first names. The recipients of three other letters – a lady (July 6, 1838), a female friend [post-1846] and probably a publisher (February 23, 1850) – remain to be identified.

81 Here only: „Stück der englischen Übersetzung des Briefwechsels Goethes mit einem Kinde. [9] Fragmente und Vereinzelt; fremde Collectanea. [10]”. *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p. 27.

Characteristic of Bettina's correspondence, and amply exemplified in the large set in the SA, are the numerous redactions and copies of letters, which means that multiple versions exist, both in the SA itself and elsewhere. This creates many research problems, mostly related to the question of whether a given letter is a version of another from the same or other collections, or a quite different text meant for the same addressee. The SA contains, for instance, six rough drafts of the same letter to Karl Alexander Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, all incomplete, undated and with no place name. Numbers have been given to these manuscripts for easier research reference. The ending is missing from Draft Nos 1, 2 and 3, the beginning from No. 6, and both the beginning and end from No. 4. No. 5 is a copy of No. 2, and also very similar to No. 2, but with the last ten lines missing. We also have several versions of letters to the king in three draft manuscripts (known as the 'Hanover concepts') and drafts of letters to other recipients, including two drafts of a letter to the above-mentioned Consul to the United States. More drafts have been found in the Klassik Stiftung Weimar/Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv⁸² and in American collections, which has made it possible to establish the addressee and dating of those in the SA. Even more complicated is the case of Bettina's supplements to letters and their variants, especially as sometimes several additions to the same letter exist. For instance, the SA has two drafts of Supplement No. 1 (with the note 'Anmerkung zum Ganzen') to Bettina's letter to Frederick William IV of Prussia (of April 22, 1840), found in other archives. The supplement has been dated with much probability, like the other two in the Jagiellonian Library, to 1839, which is also confirmed by the reference in the first sentence to a journey undertaken in November 1838, fol. 92r. In all such cases, we have indicated the similarities between versions, which can be used as a starting point, for example, for reconstructing the process of letter composition or for a study of

82 *Brief(e) von Arnim, Bettina von an Hagedorn, C.F.*, The Kalliope-Verbund website: https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:.....P2_ID:213542 [Accessed July 25, 2025]

Bettina's artistic personality (reflected in the alterations, deletion of some topics or words, stylistic revisions and so on), her relation to the recipients and the subjects of the letters themselves which provoked such thorough revisions of both content and form.

Three interesting, problematic cases are worth mentioning with regard to Bettina's outgoing correspondence. The first concerns two letters of 1844 and 1846, addressed 'An Herrn JustizMinister Rudloff Aufgebene' by the author. Research shows that the addressee is most likely Karl Georg August Johannes Rudloff, who is referred to as a 'minister' because he worked as assessor to various government ministries, or perhaps simply as a joke (in the first line she also calls him 'Rathminister') intended to make Rudloff more favourably disposed towards assisting her with the publishing contracts she requests. The second case is a letter to Wilhelm Grimm clearly dated by Bettina 'am 10ten April' (fol. 166v), but with a pencil note 'Mai' added above, probably by Grimm, and the note 'Berlin 10. Mai 1839' repeated on fol. 165r. The editor assumes that Bettina confused the months [sic!] and so dates this letter to May 10, 1839.⁸³ In line with the criteria for our project, we quote the date as given by the author (April 10, [1839]) and relegate the note about a possible error to the comments. The third notable case, from correspondence with Wilhelm Grimm, is an enclosed envelope containing the hair of Bettina's second son Siegmund von Arnim, with the word 'Landshut' in a third party's hand and the date December 28, 1814. This envelope, together with Siegmund's biographical data, allow us to date the letter, but Landshut is doubtful as the place of composition. The envelope offers an interesting glimpse into the customs of the time and is a token of Bettina's friendship with Wilhelm (see Fig. 4).

Nineteen letters received by Bettina von Arnim, most of which were previously unidentified, have successfully been described as part of our project. A large proportion of them concern the writer's

83 *Der Briefwechsel Bettine von Arnims mit den Brüdern Grimm: 1838–1841*, hrsg. H. Schultz, Frankfurt 1985, pp. 85–89.



FIG.4. A letter of Bettina von Arnim to Wilhelm Grimm with an envelope containing the hair of Bettina's second son Siegmund von Arnim.
Image: Elżbieta Zarych

intended publication of *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* in English, in the hope of achieving success abroad. Bettina's ambitious attempts at an English edition even predate the book's German publication in 1835. The *Briefwechsel* was to be published by John Murray in London, with support from Queen Victoria herself, and the proceeds of sales were to go to a Goethe monument. The VC includes the monument's design and a print representing Bettina by the monument. The SA has a letter from translator Sarah Austin (dated November 28, 1834), most likely related to Bettina's efforts to secure a translation.⁸⁴ The VC has six other letters from Austin to Bettina, dated 1831-1834.⁸⁵ In the hope of attracting the interest

⁸⁴ She only translated the opening volumes. Bettina did not know English but she opted to translate her book herself, using a dictionary; fragments of her translation are in the VC.

⁸⁵ *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

of the English royal court, von Arnim addressed Baroness Louise Lehzen, the queen's governess, who wrote back (on May 14 [1838], before Victoria's coronation⁸⁶) refusing to support the publication plan. Her reply is in the SA, and fragments of it are also quoted in an undated letter addressed, as we have established, to Philippine Sophie von Callenberg. The SA also has the Baroness's earlier letter, signed P.C., of April 18, 1838 from Bückeburg.⁸⁷ The English edition was also the subject of Bettina's letters to Börries Wilhelm von Münchhausen [of around 1838] and his reply from London of May 15, 1838, as well as the previously mentioned correspondence with Hagedorn concerning the book's promotion in the United States.

The authors of letters to Bettina in the SA previously unmentioned in catalogues but now established also include: 1) Baron Giuseppe Federico Palombini (Napoleon's general and von Arnim's neighbour residing in Grochwitz, son-in-law of the Polish general Jan Henryk Dąbrowski); 2) 'Ungar'/'Magyar', that is, Peszt-based teacher Lajos Tavassy, also known as Ludwig Teichengräber; 3) the French composer Laure Collin, a teacher of music and ballet at a Paris school; 4) the previously mentioned Hellwitz, a medical student; 5) Ferdinand Lindner-Calvanelli, an impoverished soldier requesting financial support; and 6) the 'Musikgelehrter' Poley, likewise asking for money from a debtors' prison (he had a debt with a tailor).⁸⁸ These letters supplement our knowledge of Bettina von Arnim's contacts, artistic activity and efforts outside her homeland, as well as the area of patronage. Three authors of letters remain to be identified: 'Annelie, an admirer'; Abey [?]; and the author of the letter of November 5, 1835.

Bettina's personal documents – her publishing contracts and related accounts as well as many items concerning the Berlin coun-

86 Crowned on June 28, 1838.

87 The Baroness's sister lived in Bückeburg and she spent the final years of her life there.

88 He also seems to have written to Varnhagen with the same request, see *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung...*, op. cit., p. 601.

cil's suits for unpaid taxes for a dog (1842)⁸⁹ and for the so-called 'magistrate trial', in which she was sentenced to 2 months in prison for inciting rebellion with her publications (1847)⁹⁰ – concern contexts that have already been discussed by scholars. Nevertheless, these sources may shed new light on these issues, especially since more details have been established concerning Bettina's lawyers, including Georg Gottlob Jung (1814–1886).⁹¹

The aim of this article has been to describe the autograph manuscripts of the von Arnim and Brentano families held at the Jagiellonian Library in the SA, to discuss the work carried out as part of the DiHeLib project and the most recent findings on the manuscript sets and documents, and to indicate how the autograph manuscripts and findings can be used in further research. It is to be hoped that this article, as well as other products of the DiHeLib project, can serve as a starting point for more detailed studies of the individuals mentioned here and the issues touched on briefly but not investigated further due to limitations of space.⁹² The von Arnim and Brentano families' documents in the SA have been veri-

89 A copy of the response by the solicitor Georg Jung and a copy of the court records. Fragments are published in, for example, P.-A. von Arnim, *Bettina und der Berliner Magistrat*, in: *„Die Erfahrung anderer Länder“: Beiträge eines Wiepersdorfer Kolloquiums zu Achim und Bettina von Arnim*, hrsg. H. Härtl, H. Schultz, Berlin-New York 1994, p. 298.

90 Documents written by her solicitor Otto Lewald, testimonials from influential friends and so on.

91 The three different Jungs found in various listings are in fact one and the same person: initially a Justizrath, Justiz-Commissar and Berlin-based notary (at 53 Leipzigerstr.), later a Landgerichtsassessor (at 56 Charlottenstr.) and after the 1848 Revolution a politician (his biography is available for this last period). See, for example, *In allem einverstanden mit Dir: Bettine von Arnims Briefwechsel mit ihrem Sohn Friedmund*, hrsg. W. Bunzel, U. Landfester, Göttingen 2001, pp. 68, 138, 334, 335, 37; Jung, Georg, CERL Thesaurus, <https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp00637523> [Accessed July 25, 2025].

92 The author of this articles plans to further develop several issues in separate articles, including issues relating to the autograph manuscripts of Bettina von Arnim and Gisela von Arnim in the Jagiellonian Library.

fied, researched and described anew, and will soon be made available online, complete with a catalogue. The DiHeLib project should encourage research into the life and work of both the well-known and the lesser-known family members. It is also hoped that our discussion of problems related to the work on the project and the suggested solutions can serve other philologists as guidelines for their archive work and literary studies, and that the topics and contexts covered will inspire scholars from various disciplines to investigate the Berlin collections further and promote knowledge about these sources.

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