INTRODUCTION

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IN 1878 THE London bookdealer Bernard Quaritch (Figure 0.1, top left), together with the printers Charles Wyman and his brother Edward, founded a club for book-lovers called the "Sette of Odd Volumes." The name was inspired by books that appeared on the market separated from their original set, and the club's literature declared that the Sette was rendered complete through its meetings.[1] In a similar vein, the present volume unites disparate pieces of research about rare books, and more specifically about the trade in pre-modern manuscripts between ca. 1890 and 1945. Before the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century all books were written by hand, and manuscripts continued to be made in large numbers in the sixteenth century. The surviving books provide rich evidence for the circumstances of their creation, and often also for their subsequent history. The aim of this volume is to document the current state of research on the trade in such books in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to explore how detailed studies of particular topics can be brought into dialogue with one another, if not to produce a complete set, then at least to amount to more than the sum of their parts and spark further discussion.

This book has its origins in a conference held at the School of Advanced Study, University of London, in September 2022. The conference was part of the "Cultural Values and the International Trade in Medieval European Manuscripts, ca. 1900–1945" (CULTIVATE MSS) project, funded by the European Research Council. The project examines the trade in medieval manuscripts in Britain, France, Germany, and the US between ca. 1900 and 1945, to assess the impact of that activity on the formation of library collections and the development of scholarship about the Middle Ages. The conference provided an opportunity for the project's researchers to present some of their findings, and to situate these within the context of current work in the field. Expanding the project's focus, the conference brought together scholars from the UK, Austria, Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, and the US. It included contributions from scholars who work in libraries and archives as well as those in universities, showcasing a range of perspectives on collections, manuscripts, archives, and provenance.

The "oddity" of the Sette of Odd Volumes was a recurrent theme in the humorous and satirical publications with which it documented its activities and sometimes commented on the rare book trade. A menu card for a meeting on October 25, 1904, depicted "Ye Ideal Collector." This was a bearded male "Renaissance" figure, surrounded by books,

1 William M. Thompson ed., *Þe Boke of Þe Odd Volumes From 1878 to 1883* (London: Wyman, 1883), 15.

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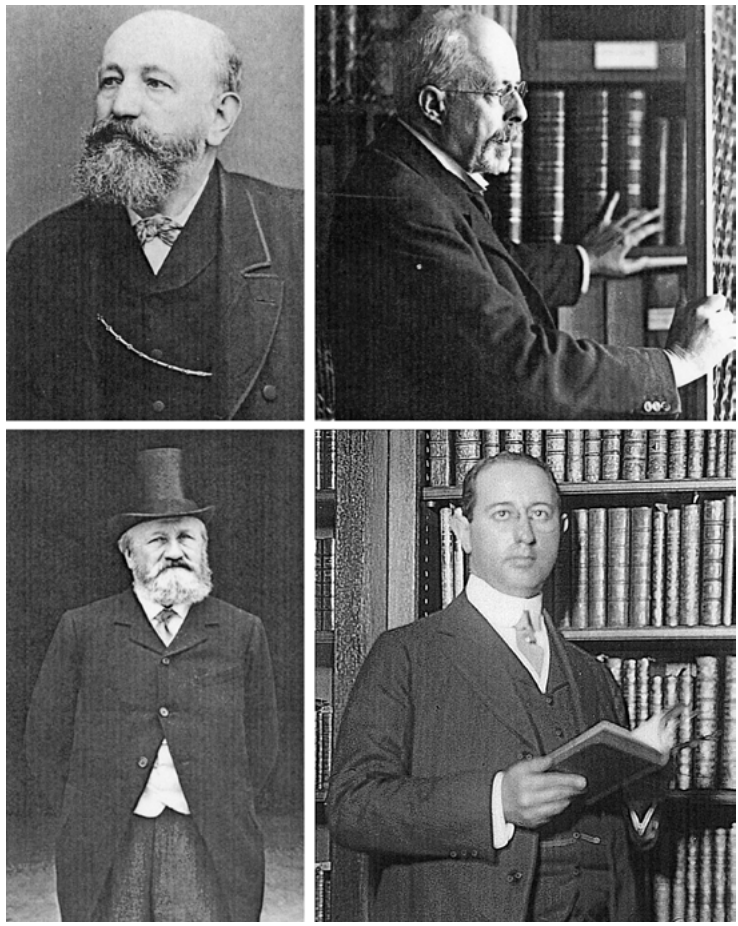

Figure 0.1. Clockwise from top left: photographs of Bernard Quaritch (courtesy of Bernard Quaritch Ltd.); Sydney Cockerell, November 1, 1933 (by Lafayette NPG x48552, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery); A. S. W. Rosenbach, 1933 (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ggbain-30661); Henry Yates Thompson, July 1906 (by Benjamin Stone NPG x35220, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery).

many of which alluded to the interests and nicknames given to members of the Sette (Figure 0.2). The letters A D at the end of the date were arranged to evoke the prints of Albrecht Dürer. While the image played on the idea of a collector as a lone genius, the caption, the variety of the books represented, and the prominent placement of Quaritch's enormous *General Catalogue* in the collector's desk, hinted at the perspective and importance of those involved in the trade in shaping collections. The desk also contained a volume labelled "illuminated manuscripts;" a reminder that in this era manuscripts usually formed part of wider libraries, but that illuminated manuscripts were emerging as a focus of both collecting and scholarly interest.

A central hypothesis of this volume is that the trade in manuscripts was intertwined with the development of both collections and scholarship. The influence was not simply in one direction. Dealers suggested manuscripts to clients, but they often did so in the light of knowledge about their previous purchases. Similarly, both collectors and dealers paid people with expertise to write about some of the manuscripts they owned, often the ones they thought most important, which typically correlated with high prices. While some descriptions of manuscripts were largely copied from previous catalogues, therefore, as Angéline Rais's contribution (Chapter 6) explores, the trade also facilitated new scholarship. Moreover, scholars could learn from collectors, particularly in Britain where there was no formal training for the study or trade in manuscripts. In that context, Sydney Cockerell (Figure 0.1, top right), one of the most prolific British writers on manuscripts in this period, learned from his time working for the socialist, designer, and collector William Morris.[2] William Roberts, one of the subjects of Nigel Ramsay's essay (Chapter 22), gathered much of his knowledge from his work as a London sale-room correspondent, reporting on auctions for a wide public, while Seymour de Ricci (who bought and sold manuscripts) was able to draw upon his connections in the trade for assistance in compiling his *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* in the 1930s.[3] In another example of the blurred boundaries between collecting and scholarship, the English collector Henry Yates Thompson (Figure 0.1, bottom left) employed Cockerell and M. R. James, one of the few scholars to write on manuscripts in this era who held a university post, but Yates Thompson also wrote his own catalogue entries and lectures. Yates Thompson created a remarkable collection in which he aimed to have the one hundred finest illuminated manuscripts available, in theory selling books when he obtained ones he thought better. His diverse contributions to the study of manuscripts are the subject of Alexandra Plane's essay (Chapter 28), while Christine Jakobi-Mirwald contrasts James's career with that of his fellow student of the Middle Ages and fiction writer, J. R. R. Tolkien (Chapter 23). Away from the high-profile end of the market, Kate Falardeau's essay examines the impact of the trade on the study of an unilluminated copy of Bede's Martyrology (Chapter 24).

In addition to writing about manuscripts, there was a rich contemporary literature about the book trade. Accounts of particular families and firms were published as part of sales catalogues, typically marking an anniversary, or in journals related to the trade.[4] In

2 For Cockerell see Chapter 30 in this volume.

3 Nigel Ramsay, "Towards a Universal Catalogue of Early Manuscripts: Seymour de Ricci's Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Manuscript Studies* 1 (2016): 71–89.

4 For example: A. Edward Newton, "Prolegomenon," *The One Thousandth Caxton Head Catalogue* (London: Tregaskis, 1931), vii–xi; Charlotte Quaritch Wrentmore, foreword to *A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts Issued to Commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Firm of Bernard Quaritch 1847–1947* (London: Quaritch, 1947); "Foreword," *Maggs Brothers Ltd. Centenary Catalogue* 812 (London: Maggs, 1953); Hugh William Davies, "Some Famous English Bookshops, I: Notes on the Firm of J. & J. Leighton and the Old House at Brewer Street," *The Library World* 34 (1932): 149–55 and 177–82; George Smith, "Some Famous English Bookshops, II: The Oldest London Bookshop. Ellis, 29 New Bond Street," *The Library World* 34 (1932): 195–202; Herbert

addition, those involved in selling books sometimes published memoirs and autobiographies, including E. Millicent Sowerby, Giuseppe Orioli, and Hans Peter Kraus, all of whose careers crossed national boundaries.[5] Frank Herrmann produced a rich history of Sotheby's auction house based on a reconstruction of the firm's archive and informed by his time working there, and Wesley Towner's *Elegant Auctioneers* drew on interviews and archival research for its account of American auction houses.[6] Moreover, there are many obituaries and a few substantial biographies of figures in the trade written by those who knew them, including that of the American dealer A. S. W. Rosenbach (Figure 0.1, bottom right).[7] Unsurprisingly, this literature paints a broadly positive view of the trade and its participants, and, in line with the attitudes of the time, is largely silent on aspects of the personal lives of those involved such as illegitimacy and homosexuality.[8]

Studies by contemporaries laid foundations for further research into aspects of the trade, such as the essays about Quaritch and the business he founded, published to celebrate the firms' one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1997.[9] Over time more critical perspectives have been brought to bear on the trade and its participants, notably through the annual Book Trade History conference organized by Michael Harris, Robin Myers, and Giles Mandelbrote, and its related publications. Of particular relevance to the present volume is the collection of essays edited by Mandelbrote, *Out of Print & Into Profit*, published to celebrate the centenary of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association in 2006, which confronts some of the more ethically questionable practices and complexities of the trade.[10]

While there is much about individuals' private lives that is only hinted at in surviving primary sources, some of the practices of the trade received public scrutiny at the time, of which the best-known is probably "the ring." This was an arrangement where dealers agreed not to bid against one another when they were not buying for a client, thereby conspiring to keep auction prices low. They then staged further auctions amongst them-

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Garland, "Some Famous English Bookshops, III: Notes on the Firm of W. M. Voynich," *The Library World* 34 (1932): 216–40.

5 E. Millicent Sowerby, *Rare People and Rare Books* (London: Constable, 1967); Giuseppe Orioli, *Adventures of a Bookseller* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1938); Hans Peter Kraus, *A Rare Book Saga: The Autobiography of H. P. Kraus* (New York: Putnam, 1978).

6 Wesley Towner, *The Elegant Auctioneers* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1970); Frank Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980).

7 Edwin Wolf II and John F. Fleming, *Rosenbach: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960).

8 For a case of illegitimacy see Laura Cleaver, "George D. Smith (1870–1920), Bernard Alfred Quaritch (1871–1913), and the Trade in Medieval European Manuscripts in the United States ca. 1890–1920," *Manuscript Studies* 8.1 (2023): 61–94; Orioli, *Adventures of a Bookseller*, hints at his homosexuality, and oral tradition has it that Eric Millar was gay.

9 *The Book Collector: A Special Number to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Bernard Quaritch Ltd*. (1997).

10 Giles Mandelbrote, ed., *Out of Print & into Profit: A History of the Rare and Secondhand Book Trade in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (London: British Library, 2006).

Figure 0.2. "Ye Ideal Collector," *Odd Volumes Year-Boke No. XVII* 1904–1905 (London: privately printed, 1909). Courtesy of Senate House Library, University of London.

selves to establish what they thought was the real price of an item, splitting any profit or loss evenly between the participants. This was common (and legal) in Britain and seems to have involved other European booksellers, though the involvement of American dealers is less clear. In preparation for the sale of part of Robert Hoe's library in New York in 1911, Bernard Quaritch's son, Bernard Alfred, wrote to the Parisian dealer Édouard Rahir stating his intention to hold what he called a "revision." He added "if it is found that it is not advisable to have it in New York, we may have one in Europe after our return. If it is so, do you wish me to have a revision of your books or not; or, do you prefer that they are bought outright in the sale room?"[11] In 1914 when the American dealer George D. Smith came to London, newspaper articles declared that he had "smashed"

11 London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd., Hoe Sale Letters, letter from Bernard Alfred Quaritch to Édouard Rahir dated April 6, 1911.

the ring by paying high prices, but it had cost the other dealers nothing to bid Smith up and the practice continued.[12] More recently the extent and impact of this activity in the British trade has been examined by Arthur and Janet Ing Freeman, and it is an important reminder that behind headlines that emphasized competition in the auction room, dealers collaborated in the international trade in manuscripts.[13] The names of some dealers are therefore to be found in multiple essays in this volume.

Also not illegal, though frowned upon by many current scholars, was the practice of cutting up books. Dealers and collectors made a range of interventions in the physical forms of manuscripts, often having them rebound, either because an old binding was in poor repair, or to suit the overall appearance of their library. Rebinding was an opportunity to reconsider the contents of manuscripts, which might be broken into sections and bound as multiple volumes, sometimes in response to composite volumes made up of sections written at different times. The practice of removing individual leaves was not new in the period covered in this volume, and Margaret Connolly's essay (Chapter 7) examines the trade in albums of cuttings and fragments in the 1920s, many of which had been created in the nineteenth century. However, dealers in this period also offered individual leaves for sale, sometimes, but not always, taken from damaged books. Lisa Fagin Davis's essay examines what the remains of manuscripts dismembered by two of the best-known book-cutters, Otto Ege and Philip Duschnes, reveal about their practices (Chapter 8).

Theft, whether of leaves or books, was and is illegal, but it has been a recurrent problem in the trade, with cases where those with responsibility for caring for collections have been identified as stealing books receiving particular attention. Scholarship in the latter part of the twentieth century examined some nineteenth- and twentieth-century cases that attracted contemporary publicity. A. N. L. (Tim) Munby addressed the role of Count Guglielmo Libri in removing manuscripts from French public libraries in the nineteenth century, some of which were bought by the fourth Earl of Ashburnham, the dispersal of whose library seeded many early twentieth-century libraries, while the books identified as stolen were returned to France.[14] In the 1920s France experienced a similar case, as Amédée Boinet was convicted of stealing a thirteenth-century manuscript from the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, where he worked, apparently in order to buy gifts for his mistress.[15] However, such cases were probably only the tip of an iceberg. An anonymous annotator of a copy of the *Directory of Antiquarian Booksellers in the British Isles* for 1932 noted against the entry for Ulysses Bookshop in London: "Takes stolen property?" and against the firm of Davis and Orioli: "Untrustworthy (stolen property?)" (Figure 0.3). The extent and knowledge of a trade in stolen goods is difficult to

12 "American Smashes London Book Ring," *Sun* (New York), July 18, 1914, 1.

13 Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *Anatomy of an Auction: Rare Books at Ruxley Lodge, 1919* (London: Book Collector, 1990); see also Frank Herrmann, "The Role of the Auction Houses," in *Out of Print & Into Profit*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote, 3–34.

14 A. N. L. Munby, "The Earl and the Thief: Lord Ashburnham and Count Libri," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17.1 (1969): 5–21.

15 "Steals MSS. to Buy Furs for his Girl," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 9, 1927, E7. I am grateful to Pierre-Louis Pinault for sharing his work on this case with me.

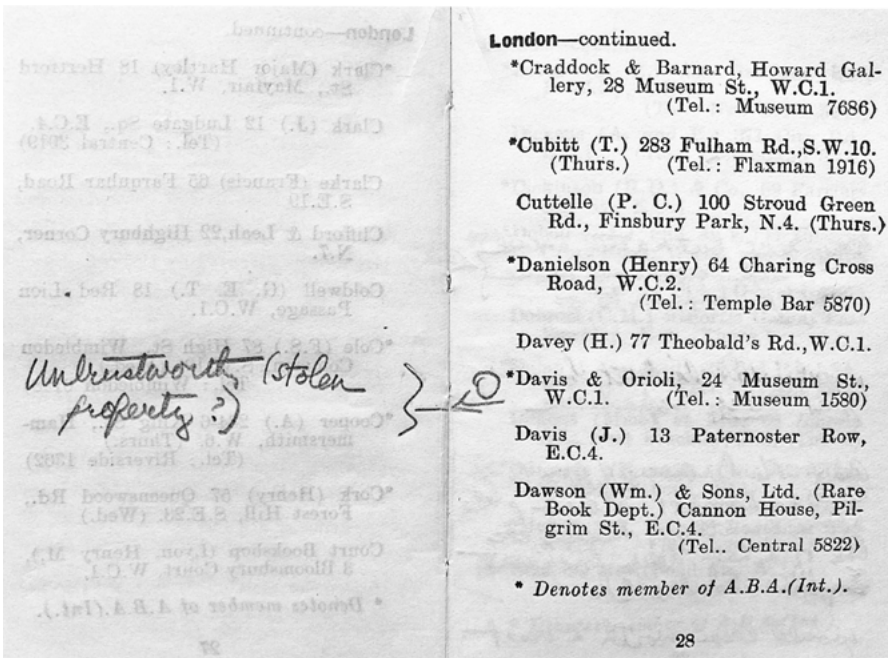

Figure 0.3. Annotated page from *Directory of Antiquarian Booksellers in the British Isles* (London: Antiquarian Booksellers' Association, 1932). Private collection. Author photograph.

reconstruct from this distance, but by tracing the subsequent histories of manuscripts taken from the Vallicelliana Library, Livia Marcelli's essay sheds light on how patterns of movement and the physical evidence of the manuscripts can provide insights into the trade in stolen books (Chapter 4).

Dealers and collectors could be creative in getting around laws designed to restrict the movement of books. Paola Paesano tells the story of Generoso Calenzio's efforts to "save" books from the Italian state and his heirs' subsequent attempt to sell them (Chapter 13). As Federico Botana's essay demonstrates, Italy required dealers to apply for export licenses to sell manuscripts abroad (Chapter 14). However, the dealer Leo S. Olschki (Figure 0.4, top left) was able to work round this restriction by taking books to Germany, whence they could be dispatched to America without conditions. Not all such activities were successful. In 1929 Frederic Ferguson of Quaritch Ltd. reported to Belle da Costa Greene (Figure 0.4, top right) at the Morgan Library that manuscripts due to be sold at Sotheby's as the "Property of a Nobleman" had been withdrawn because "they were smuggled out of Italy without permission of the Italian Government, which is now protesting against their sale."[16] Italy was not the only nation that tried to control

16 PML, ARC 1310 MCC Quaritch X, letter from Frederic Ferguson to Belle da Costa Greene, December 23, 1929.

Figure 0.4. Clockwise from top left: photographs of Leo S. Olschki (left) and Jacques Rosenthal (right) (courtesy of Munich Stadtarchiv, DE-1991-NL-ROS-0472-05); Belle da Costa Greene (courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-93225); Alfred Chester Beatty, June 1924 (courtesy of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library); Henry E. Huntington, ca. 1917 (photCL 285, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California).

the movement of manuscripts in this way, and Katharina Kaska and Christoph Egger's essay (Chapter 5) demonstrates that similar arrangements involving dealers and brokers facilitated the sales of manuscripts from historic monastic collections in Austria during the economic depression of the 1920s, despite laws designed to prevent this.

While we may be tempted to judge the breaking of the spirit, if not always the letter, of such laws harshly, in other cases the movement of manuscripts and book-dealers between countries was prompted by unethical laws. From the 1930s, moving manu-

scripts to Switzerland offered some dealers a partial reprieve from legislation allowing the seizure of Jewish property and the Aryanisation of businesses. The exodus of dealers and scholars from Germany in the 1930s has been a focus in German-language scholarship, and had a significant impact on both trade and scholarship in the regions where they ultimately settled.[17] The restitution of manuscripts after the Second World War has been addressed as part of broader interest in the seizure and transportation of artworks by the Nazis.[18] The latter has been facilitated by detailed documentation produced during and after the war, some of which provides insights into the pre-war history of books, such as the collections of the Rothschild family.[19]

While booksellers promoted themselves and their businesses to aid their trade, many manuscript collectors were, understandably, discreet about their collecting. Nevertheless, like the Sette of Odd Volumes' menu, much scholarship on manuscript collecting has focused on individual collectors, often in the form of biographical studies casting them as great men. Some of those involved in the trade made efforts to document collectors. Quaritch collected *Contributions Towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors* and de Ricci wrote an account of *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts*.[20] In some cases, collecting has been understood as a cultural and philanthropic pursuit that might in some (usually undefined) way balance or even compensate for other aspects of individuals' activities, but sometimes it is only given minimal treatment in the context of a biographical study. Such biographies are important reminders that many collectors were not solely acquiring manuscripts: Henry Walters inherited and expanded his father's art collection, building a permanent home for it in Baltimore, and the American financier J. P. Morgan's New York library was also part of a much wider collection.[21] Collectors who founded institutions that bear their names and care for their collections are particularly likely to have had accounts of their collecting published. In addition to Morgan and Walters, examples include Henry Huntington (Figure 0.4, bottom left), whose library is in California, and Alfred Chester Beatty (Figure 0.4, bottom right), an American who did

17 Ernst Fischer, *Verleger, Buchhändler & Antiquare aus Deutschland und Österreich in der Emigration nach 1933: Ein biographisches Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Verband Deutscher Antiquare, 2011).

18 For example, Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

19 *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, 14 vols. (Berlin: Bureau central des restitutions, 1947–1949), vol. 7; Christopher de Hamel, *The Rothschilds and their Collections of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2005).

20 Bernard Quaritch ed., *Contributions Towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors as also of Some Foreign Collectors* (London: Quaritch, reprinted 1969); Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530–1930) and their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

21 William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Morgan has been the subject of many biographies, including Louis Auchincloss, *J. P. Morgan: The Financier as Collector* (New York: Abrams, 1990); Jean Strouse, *J. Pierpont Morgan, Financier and Collector* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999).

much of his manuscript collecting in London, but moved part of his library to Dublin.[22] In general, British and continental collectors have received less attention than their American counterparts, a notable exception being Christopher de Hamel's work on the Rothschild family in Britain and France.[23] However, collectors, like Yates Thompson or his fellow Briton Charles Dyson Perrins, who published catalogues of their collections (since dispersed) have also proved popular subjects. In this volume, four essays examine lesser-known collectors and the impact of their collections: Francesca Manzari studies the cuttings amassed by Vittorio Forti, who was both a dealer and a collector (Chapter 9), Nathalie Roman investigates how Paul Durrieu's scholarship intersected with his collecting (Chapter 21), Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis explores the collection of Edward Allen Brotherton, Lord Brotherton of Wakefield, who gave his manuscripts to the University of Leeds (Chapter 10), and Martina Lanza assesses the documentary evidence for the library of the Florentine collector Piero Ginori Conti (Chapter 12). In addition, Karen Winslow examines letters between Calouste Gulbenkian and Beatty as evidence for co-operation and the sharing of information as well as competition between well-known collectors (Chapter 11).

Most of the collectors celebrated in individual studies have been men, though a few "exceptional" women, including Isabella Stewart Gardner, Belle da Costa Greene, and Enriqueta Rylands have been added to the set.[24] Three essays in this volume focus on female collectors: Natalia Fantetti examines evidence of Gardner's first-hand engagement in the documentation and display of her collection (Chapter 19), Jill Unkel explores Edith (wife of Chester) Beatty's book-purchases (Chapter 20), and Toby Burrows analyses the data provided about female owners of manuscripts in de Ricci's *Census* (Chapter 18).

Even when collectors have previously been examined in groups, biography has proved a popular model, for example adopted by Clive Bigham for his study of the members of the Roxburghe Club, Donald Dickinson for his *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, and most recently in de Hamel's *Posthumous Papers of the Manuscripts Club*.[25] Dickinson also produced a *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, recognizing that collectors were part of a larger eco-system.[26] Dickinson's dictionaries, building on the work of Carl Cannon, indicate the extent to which research has developed along

22 Donald C. Dickinson, *Henry E. Huntington's Library of Libraries* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1995); for Beatty see Winslow's and Unkel's essays in this volume.

23 de Hamel, *The Rothschilds and their Collections*.

24 Heidi Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life: Belle da Costa Greene's Journey from Prejudice to Privilege* (New York: Norton, 2007); for Gardner see Fantetti in this volume; Elizabeth Gow and Julianne Simpson, "Enriqueta Rylands, the John Rylands Library and the Lutheran Legacy," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 93 (2017): 115–23.

25 Clive Bigham, *The Roxburghe Club: Its History and its Members, 1812–1927* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928); Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Wilson, 1941); Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (New York: Greenwood, 1986); Christopher de Hamel, *The Posthumous Papers of the Manuscripts Club* (London: Allen Lane, 2022).

26 Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood, 1998).

national lines (something which de Hamel's work deliberately avoids). In part this is a response to the practical challenges of accessing archival materials, however it has also been shaped by different relationships between collectors and the trade in different regions. François Avril argued that in France dealers were primarily regarded as fulfilling a practical purpose for collectors (while scholars such as Léopold Delisle and Henri Omont who worked in public libraries achieved international recognition for their work).[27] In America the dealers Smith and Rosenbach openly publicized their activities in the press, glorifying their trade. This formed part of a narrative of American economic superiority, which enabled its richest men (and occasionally women) to obtain cultural treasures from the rest of the world.[28] However, the transatlantic trade was successful in large part because American demand was met by European supply. Although the British press occasionally ran articles lamenting the loss of cultural treasures, therefore, unlike in France and Italy, no laws were passed to try to control the export of manuscripts in this period.

The wealth of a few private collectors, in America and elsewhere, had a major impact on the trade in this era. At auction, other collectors, whether building private libraries or managing institutions, could only obtain what was not driven above their budget. Institutions, in particular, tried to find ways around this. In France, from 1921 the Bibliothèque nationale was able to claim items at auction for the hammer price, thereby not contributing to the bidding.[29] In addition, many institutions tried to arrange private purchases. As Hannah Morcos's essay explores, the staff of the Bibliothèque nationale arranged a purchase from the remains of the enormous library amassed in the nineteenth century by the British collector Sir Thomas Phillipps (Chapter 15). Other national libraries did the same and, since the modern European boundaries did not exactly match medieval ones, the documentation for these sales sometimes provides insights into contemporary conceptions of a nation's heritage on the part of those involved with shaping collections. For example, in 1890 Phillipps's heir reported to the Belgian Royal Library that two of the manuscripts they were interested in had already been sold "to Holland."[30]

Paradoxically, rivalries fuelled the development of scholarship along similar nationalistic lines in many countries. In 1902 an exhibition of Flemish Primitives in Bruges included medieval manuscripts as part of a claim to a distinctive Flemish culture with

27 François Avril, "The Bibliophile and the Scholar: Count Paul Durrieu's List of Manuscripts Belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild," in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2010), 366–76.

28 Danielle Magnusson and Laura Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts between Britain and America c. 1890–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

29 *The Protection of Movable Cultural Property I: Compendium of Legislative Texts*, UNESCO report (Paris, 1984), 129–30, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000603/060309eo.pdf, accessed May 29, 2023.

30 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Phillipps-Robinson c. 711 fols. 122, 136v; A. N. L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library*, Phillipps Studies 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 27–28.

medieval roots.[31] However, the argument was complicated by the fact that many of the manuscripts displayed had been produced while the medieval county of Flanders was ruled by the kings of France, and in 1904 a much larger exhibition of French manuscripts was staged in Paris.[32] This included manuscripts from Yates Thompson's collection and was visited by Yates Thompson and Cockerell. In 1908 Cockerell's exhibition of illuminated manuscripts for the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London emphasized the importance of English manuscript art, an argument that was taken up by the critic Roger Fry.[33] As Plane explores, this was also part of the context for Yates Thompson's loans of manuscripts to the National Gallery in London, and later for Eric Millar's survey of English illuminated manuscripts, which is the subject of William Stoneman's essay (Chapter 30). Back on the continent, Gaia Grizzi explores how an exhibition of Italian manuscripts in Paris was also informed by contemporary ideas about national cultures (Chapter 29).

It might be expected that American collectors would be particularly interested in English-language material, but despite the popularity of early printed books associated with Shakespeare, A. S. G. Edwards demonstrates that the trade in this period showed little interest in English-language manuscripts (Chapter 2). Indeed, American collectors were highly selective in their purchasing. Danielle Magnusson's essay examines the complexities of the transatlantic market for early English drama, which reached record heights in the 1920s, driven by a small number of collectors (Chapter 3). In England meanwhile, James Ranahan's work demonstrates how the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust acquired its collections, including medieval material, away from the auction room in this period of high demand for anything connected with Shakespeare (Chapter 17).

In addition to arranging private sales, those working in libraries sometimes used their relationships with private collectors to try to influence auctions. As Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Cockerell tried to persuade his former employer, Yates Thompson, to sell manuscripts to Thomas Henry Riches, on the understanding that they would ultimately go to the museum.[34] When this plan failed, Riches provided a loan that enabled Cockerell to purchase the "Isabella Psalter" for the museum.[35] Part of the Psalter's appeal for Cockerell was that it had previously been owned by John Ruskin (and Cockerell had helped organize its sale to Yates Thompson). Alan Mitchell's essay (Chapter 25) examines the importance of such personal associations in determining the fate of manuscripts in the case of another Psalter owned by Ruskin. Similarly, as

31 *Exposition des Primitifs flamands: Section des manuscrits, miniatures, archives, sceaux, méreaux, monnaies et médailles* (Bruges: de Brouwer, 1902).

32 Henri Bouchot et al., *Exposition des primitifs français au Palais du Louvre et à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Palais du Louvre et Bibliothèque nationale, 1904).

33 [Sydney Cockerell], *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908); Roger Fry, "English Illuminated Manuscripts at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 13.65 (1908): 261–73.

34 BL, Add. MS 52656, fol. 7v.

35 The manuscript is now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 300; Stella Panayotova, "Cockerell and Riches," in *The Medieval Book*, ed. Marrow, Linenthal and Noel, 377–86; Stella Panayotova, "A Ruskinian Project with a Cockerellian flavour," *The Book Collector* 54 (2005): 357–74.

Dongwon Esther Kim explores, when the Luttrell Psalter and Bedford Hours were sent to auction in 1929, staff at the British Museum used their connections at the Morgan Library to try to deter Americans from bidding and ultimately to secure a loan to help buy the manuscripts (Chapter 27). Such activities were not entirely selfless, as they made it much harder for British commentators to object to other purchases by Morgan, although the Wall Street Crash and subsequent depression meant that the British Museum very nearly failed to raise the money to retain the manuscripts and that, as Greene wrote to the Quaritch firm in 1930, "it is not possible for Mr. Morgan to spend any considerable sum of money at this time…every penny that can be spared must be used to feed and employ destitute people."[36]

The trade in manuscripts was impacted by international events including the two world wars and the economic depressions, felt particularly in Germany and Austria in the 1920s and more widely after the Wall Street Crash in 1929. Jérémy Delmulle and Hanno Wijsman's essay (Chapter 16) examines the evidence for the international effort to "restock" the University of Louvain's library following its destruction during the German advance into Belgium in 1914, only for the library to be destroyed again during the Second World War. A very different case of the situation of a manuscript in national discourses for political ends is provided by Nora Moroney's study of a sixteenth-century Irish manuscript primer (Chapter 26). She argues that the book's content and history both informed its twentieth-century provenance and usage.

An abundance of documentation about the trade in pre-modern books, found in letters, financial accounts, and the manuscripts themselves, preserved in libraries and in dealers' archives (not all of it yet catalogued), together with writing about the trade in the press and contemporary collectors' and dealers' catalogues, underpins the new research collected here. The essays adopt different approaches, informed by the different perspectives of those who work with collections and those trained in different disciplines. They are organized into three sections, focused on dealers and the market, buyers, and scholarly and creative engagements with the books. However, all three sections demonstrate the complex interwoven contemporary interests in early books. Although buyers are at the physical centre of this volume, therefore, dealers are placed first, as the market was fundamental in shaping collections. Similarly, although much scholarship in this period was supported by collectors, it could, in turn, shape collections and inform accounts of books used by dealers and auction houses. As Pierre-Louis Pinault's essay on Bernard Quaritch's involvement with clubs demonstrates (Chapter 1), dealers could be a lynchpin between different groups, and while the Sette of Odd Volumes poked fun at established groups including the Roxburghe Club, it also imitated many of their aims and practices. Through a series of case studies that aim to break new ground, the essays in this volume shed light on the complex connections that played a significant part in forming the collections and scholarship we use today, and, by extension, ideas about the Middle Ages and its books.

36 PML, ARC 1310 MCC Quaritch X, letter from Belle da Costa Greene to Bernard Quaritch Ltd. December 12, 1930.