

Chapter 6

JACQUES ROSENTHAL'S MARKETING STRATEGIES

AN ANALYSIS OF THE *BIBLIOTHECA MEDII AEVI MANUSCRIPTA* (1925 and 1928)

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IN 1925 AND 1928, the Munich antiquarian bookseller Jacques Rosenthal produced the two-volume catalogue *Bibliotheca medii aevi manuscripta* (*BMAM*).¹ This work, compiled by the medievalist Ernst Schulz and containing entries for two hundred medieval manuscripts, targeted an international clientele.² It was published at a time of renewal for Rosenthal's business after the First World War and a period of hyperinflation, during which the firm had issued no catalogue of manuscripts. The subsequent improvement of the German economy and the development of medieval studies resulted in an increased demand for rare books in the mid- and late 1920s, stimulating the bookshop's activities. In addition, Erwin Rosenthal, Jacques's son, who earned a doctorate in art history, had joined the business in 1912 and had a considerable impact on its organization. His involvement is especially apparent from the contents of the firm's catalogues: whereas earlier entries offered minimal information about manuscripts, the later catalogues contained more extensive scholarly descriptions.

1 For the purpose of clarity, I refer to the books as they appeared in *BMAM* even if their description has since been revised. I provide the current location of manuscripts named in the text only. For the location of the other items and data discussed in this study, see the catalogue ("A List of Manuscripts Offered for Sale by Jacques Rosenthal in *Bibliotheca medii aevi manuscripta* (Munich, 1925 and 1928)") available at <https://zenodo.org/records/11221130>, accessed May 20, 2024.

2 Anton Löffelmeier, "Das Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal," in *Die Rosenthals: Der Aufstieg einer jüdischen Antiquarsfamilie zu Weltruhm*, ed. Elisabeth Angermair et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 91–135 at 121–22. For the catalogue, see *BMAM*, 2 vols. [December 20, 1925 and October 28, 1928], catalogues 83 and 90 (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1925–1928). For the firm's annotated copies, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-1186 and 1193.

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Despite adopting an erudite approach, a dealer's catalogue remains a commercial tool, the purpose of which is not necessarily to describe every aspect of a book, but rather to make it desirable to customers. The aim of this essay is to investigate how Rosenthal achieved this result by examining his marketing strategies for selling medieval manuscripts. Besides information provided by the firm's working copies of *BMAM* (with clients' names and dates of sales), additional sources, such as library inventories, sale catalogues, the firm's archives, and the books themselves, help define Rosenthal's working methods. After an account of the bookshop and *BMAM*, I will reconstruct the provenance history of the manuscripts to show how Rosenthal obtained them. Then, I will analyse how he prepared the books for the sale. The next part will focus on the promotion of *BMAM* to understand how Rosenthal made it known to potential customers. Finally, I will look at the results of his efforts by identifying the buyers of these manuscripts. As well as attesting to his expertise, this investigation sheds light on how Rosenthal used effective techniques he had developed over many years.

Jacques Rosenthal and *BMAM*

Jacques Rosenthal started his career in 1874 in his brother Ludwig's bookshop, which had been established in Munich in 1867.³ First, as an apprentice then as an employee, Jacques travelled throughout Europe to buy books and meet clients. In 1895, Jacques opened his own business, receiving a substantial part of his brother's stock. Through the sale of rare books, the publication of numerous catalogues, and collaboration with renowned scholars, Rosenthal quickly became successful. In 1911, he built one of the most luxurious shops in Germany, containing exhibition rooms, libraries, offices, stock-rooms, and his own apartment. This period of prosperity ended with the First World War and its continuing economic consequences. The situation improved in the mid-1920s, but the firm was closed in 1935 during the process of Aryanization of Jewish properties.

BMAM was part of a series of fourteen catalogues Rosenthal issued between 1924 and 1930. Offering a select group of items, including incunabula in Gothic bindings or early printed broadsheets, these catalogues, designed as research projects, were written by specialists. Compiled in German and containing entries arranged alphabetically by author and title, *BMAM*, with its long introduction, indices of writers, subjects, scribes, former owners, and dates of production, a list of plates, and tables with prices in Reichsmarks printed on separate leaves, exemplified these scholarly publications.

Whereas the first volume of *BMAM* listed manuscripts dealing mainly with liturgy and theology, the second volume gathered scientific works and illuminated books. According to information provided by *BMAM*, ninety-nine items dated from the fifteenth century, forty from the fourteenth, thirty-three from the thirteenth, and eighteen from the twelfth century. Six remaining manuscripts were produced in the eleventh century, three in the tenth, and one in the ninth century. Although Italy was the predominant

3 On this, see Löffelmeier, "Das Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal," 91–135.

place of production, with seventy-six items, about forty-four manuscripts were written in modern-day Germany and twenty in France. Fourteen further books originated from Austria, Croatia, England, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. The place of production of about forty-six manuscripts was unrecorded.

As for prices, *BMAM* indicated a wide range of values: from 100 Reichsmarks for a ten-leaf treatise by Aristotle to 50,000 Reichsmarks for a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* containing forty drawings with grisaille decoration.⁴ 129 manuscripts cost less than 1,000 Reichsmarks, fifty-five less than 10,000 Reichsmarks, and ten were valued at between 10,000 and 50,000 Reichsmarks. Six books were, however, not priced, either because they found buyers before the publication of *BMAM* or because Rosenthal expected to obtain high sums for them.⁵ Among these was a thirteenth-century Missal decorated with three full-page miniatures. As revealed by the price-code "MTJJJJ.-" written next to the entry in the firm's copy of *BMAM*, Rosenthal sold it for 60,000 Reichsmarks to Alfred Chester Beatty.⁶ Yet, the highest price was for an eleventh-century Evangelary, bound in boards covered in ivory furnishings and silver plaques. After unsuccessful discussions with the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek, Rosenthal tried to sell it to Belle da Costa Greene, director of the Morgan Library, for 100,000 Reichsmarks, with a discount of 10%. Although he sent the book to New York for consultation in early January 1927, Greene declined the offer.⁷ A year later, Rosenthal sold it to Henry Walters of Baltimore.

Finding Rare Books

Information from archives and material evidence helps determine how Rosenthal purchased some (though not all) of these manuscripts. The items can be divided into five provenance categories. The first, identified through earlier catalogue entries, contains thirty-nine volumes bought from the European market. In addition to six manuscripts likely obtained in 1895 when he started his business, Rosenthal presumably acquired three books from his brother Ludwig and his nephew Isaak Halle, who was also based in Munich.⁸ In addition, he offered eight items acquired from the Florentine bookseller Tammaro De Marinis, from Luigi Arrigoni in Milan, and from the firm J. & J. Leighton in London.⁹ Furthermore, twenty-two books came from the sales of the libraries of Louis-

4 Nos. 13 (unlocated), 128 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.139).

5 Nos. 40 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.8), 73 (Princeton, University Library, Princeton MS 59), 139 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.30), 141 (Washington, DC, Library of Congress, M.2147.XII.M.1), 146 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. oct. 342), 165 (PML, M.855).

6 No. 165. On Rosenthal's code, see Peter Kidd, "The Use of Price-Codes (and Associated Marks) in Provenance Research," in *Chamberpot & Motherfuck: The Price-Codes of the Book Trade*, ed. EXHUMATION [Ian Jackson] (Narberth: McKittrick, 2018), 61–90 at 89.

7 No. 40. Rosenthal also offered this book to the New York Public Library for the same price, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-8, pp. 18, 25, 50.

8 Nos. 2, 11, 25, 47, 57, 77, 102, 122, 183.

9 Nos. 34, 39, 48, 55, 71, 80, 85, 191.

Lucien Le Caron (comte de Troussures), George Dunn, and Sir Thomas Phillipps, as well as from public sales organized at the Hôtel Drouot and Sotheby's.¹⁰

The second group comprises items from Austrian monasteries. Facing financial difficulties after the First World War, some religious houses sold property, including manuscripts and printed books.¹¹ Rosenthal was among the booksellers involved in the dispersal of these collections. In *BMAM*, he offered seven volumes formerly in the library of the abbey of Seitenstetten, including two bought on June 5, 1927 and August 30, 1927 (the date of acquisition of the other items is undetermined).¹² Four additional manuscripts came from the Benedictine monks at Lambach. Rosenthal purchased these from Joseph Satinover, active in the trade in the 1920s in Austria and later in France, on various occasions from June to November 1927.¹³ As well as communicating through telegrams and meeting in Vienna, Satinover visited Rosenthal's shop and, on August 29, 1927, sold him an unknown number of manuscripts for 40,000 Reichsmarks, likely including some of the books recorded in *BMAM*.¹⁴

Like Austrian religious houses, German aristocratic families experiencing hardship following the war resolved to sell their libraries; they are Rosenthal's third source of books in *BMAM*. Among them were the Princes of Stolberg-Wernigerode. Before tasking the Berlin bookseller Martin Breslauer with organizing the dispersal of the collection in 1929, the family sold twenty-nine manuscripts, 125 incunabula, and many printed books to Rosenthal and to the Leipzig book-dealer Karl W. Hiersemann. In December 1927 Rosenthal bought a German version of John Mandeville's travels dated 1459 from the family.¹⁵

Rosenthal owned a fourth group of manuscripts with his colleagues. Annotations such as "Von Art ancien/Zürich im Kommission" or "gehört Art ancien/Zürich," in copies of *BMAM* indicate that Rosenthal offered thirty-four items belonging to L'Art Ancien, the bookshop established by his son Erwin in Switzerland.¹⁶ Moreover, Rosenthal incorpo-

10 Nos. 4–5, 8–10, 16, 19, 23, 27, 29, 49, 52–54, 58–59, 73, 79, 88, 96, 121, 180.

11 See Chapter 5 in this volume.

12 Nos. 115, 117, 139, 161, 165, 167, 169. For the date of purchase of nos. 165 and 167, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-4, p. 4339. On this, see Christine Glassner, "Schmerzliche Verluste: Zu den Handschriftenverkäufen des Benediktinerstiftes Seitenstetten in der Zwischenkriegszeit," *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden* 131 (2020): 561–76.

13 For Satinover see Chapter 5 in this volume.

14 Nos. 113, 135, 144–45. For these purchases, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-8 (various pages) and 478 (August 22, 29, 1927). The date of purchase is also provided by Rosenthal's stock-book: Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-4, pp. 4338, 4345. See also Christoph Egger, "Irrungen und Wirrungen: Wanderungen Lambacher Handschriften im 20. Jahrhundert," in "*dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen*," *Bücherverkäufe österreichischer Klöster in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, ed. Katharina Kaska and Christoph Egger (Vienna: Böhlau, 2022), 161–203.

15 No. 157 (New York Public Library, Spencer Collection MS 37). On this, see Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Nachl. 307 (Antiquariat Breslauer), II.8. Nr. 1.

16 Nos. 104, 107–8, 110–11, 116, 118, 126–27, 130–32, 138–39, 142–43, 153–54, 156, 158, 163–64, 168, 174, 176–77, 182, 185, 188–90, 192, 194, 197. L'Art Ancien owned half of nos. 160, 165, 169, and 171.

rated four books he shared with his close friend, the Florence-based bookseller Leo S. Olschki, annotated "gehört ½ L. S. Olschki/Florenz."¹⁷

Finally, Rosenthal selected books from his stock, including sixteen manuscripts he had tried to sell between 1896 and 1911, documented in his previous catalogues.¹⁸ Accession numbers visible in some volumes and preceded by the letters "LB," standing for *Lagerbuch* (stock-book), determine the date of entry in Rosenthal's stock for other manuscripts. These numbers were also recorded in the firm's stock-books. Information collected from these sources indicates that Rosenthal also offered at least sixteen books bought between 1912 and June 1927.¹⁹

Physical Interventions

Having selected the items for inclusion in *BMAM*, Rosenthal then prepared them for sale. This operation included various steps aimed at offering books in good condition, such as dusting the leaves and repairing broken bindings. Although *BMAM* gives limited information about bindings, it is possible to identify some manuscripts restored especially for this occasion. Such books were usually cheaply rebound in *Pappband* (boards covered in paper), *Halbpergamentband* (boards covered in half parchment), and *Pergamentband* (boards fully covered in parchment). That Rosenthal repaired some of these items for preservation purposes is revealed by a volume containing Bernard of Clairvaux's works described in his catalogue 17 (1899), as "Dérel.," (*déreliné*, unbound), and in a new *Pappband* binding in *BMAM*.²⁰

However, it seems that financial motives also played a role in Rosenthal's interventions, especially with miscellanies. William Whobrey has demonstrated that Rosenthal sold several manuscripts from the library of Buxheim Charterhouse, formerly gathered in single volumes, to the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.²¹ The fact that these items entered the library shortly after 1929, when Rosenthal's firm was in financial difficul-

17 Nos. 83, 128, 148, 167. Olschki owned half of no. 73. Nos. 73 and 83 appeared in Olschki's card index, in which they were designated by the letters "O[lschki]. R[osenthal]." followed by a number: see Florence, Biblioteca della Toscana Pietro Leopoldo: Catalogo Libreria antiquaria Olschki, Lucanus, MS 35558, OR 63 and Duns Scotus, MS 35052, OR 51. See also Federico Botana, "The Card Index of Leo S. Olschki: The Inner Workings of an Antiquarian Book Business," *La Bibliofilia* 123 (2021): 157–77.

18 Nos. 17, 22, 32, 45, 51, 66, 70, 89–90, 93, 103, 120, 134, 155, 160, 171.

19 Nos. 15, 41, 60, 65, 76, 87, 94, 100, 140, 147, 150–51, 159, 178, 196, 200. To these can possibly be added nos. 112, 114, 136, 175, 186. For their entry in the stock-books, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-1–4, pp. 2607, 2696, 2866, 3166, 4136, 4181, 4230, 4237, 4277, 4325.

20 No. 22 (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 2389/2344 8°). For the earlier description, see *Catalogus librorum universa catholicarum et literarum et rerum studia*, [May 10, 1899], catalogue 17 (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal), no. 2270, p. 148.

21 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28376–82, 28389, 28403–7, 28408–12, 28417–21, 28422–28, 28435–42, 28443–46. My sincere thanks to William Whobrey for sharing this with me. See William Whobrey, "Charterhouse Buxheim and its Library," <http://buxheimlibrary.org/>, accessed March 6, 2023.

ties, supports this hypothesis. *BMAM* contained other examples of breaking up volumes, including two works extracted from a book previously owned by Leander van Ess and Phillipps, which Rosenthal bought from Leighton in 1912 for £21 12s (about 442 Goldmarks).²² Leighton's catalogue stated that the binding of this volume was broken and had been rebacked. Perhaps seeing the damage as an opportunity, Rosenthal removed four items from the manuscript. In 1914, he sold two of these, consisting of eighty-eight leaves and the medieval binding, to the Königliche Bibliothek for 750 Goldmarks.²³ After having sold the two other works at unknown dates, he purchased one of them back after 1912 for 80 Goldmarks (about 137 Reichsmarks in 1925) and the other in February 1921 for £6 (about 95 Reichsmarks in 1925).²⁴ Later, he offered these two parts for 300 and 375 Reichsmarks in *BMAM*, in which they are recorded in a *Pappband* binding, measuring the same size.²⁵ The profit realized from this sale was about 750 Reichsmarks.

Further evidence of this practice of breaking up books is provided by a copy of Arnaldus de Villanova's *De vinis medicinalibus*, containing thirteen leaves gathered in a *Pappband* binding but foliated 35 to 47, suggesting that it was formerly part of a larger book.²⁶ *BMAM* also included a ten-leaf copy of *Artefii liber secretorum* previously bound in a miscellany of six scientific works presented for sale by Halle in 1914.²⁷ A final example was a 1417 roll decorated with two large drawings by an Italian artist and containing *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae*, as well as the account of the monk Petrus

22 Nos. 58 (Williamstown, Williams College, Museum of Art, Chapin Library, MS 17), 65 (unlocated). For Leighton's catalogue, see *Catalogue of Manuscripts Mostly Illuminated, Many in Fine Bindings* (London: Leighton, [1912]), no. 97, pp. 31–32. Although Leighton valued the book at £24, he offered Rosenthal the usual trade discount: BL, Add. MS 45167. For exchange rate calculation, see Rodney Edvinsson, "Historical Currency Converter," www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html, accessed March 6, 2023.

23 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS lat. quart. 752. I am grateful to Milton McC. Gatch for providing this information. The purchase price is known from the library's acquisition register: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Accession journal of the Manuscripts Department, acc.no.1914.89.

24 Rosenthal was likely the buyer recorded under the code-name "Meynell" in the annotated copy of *Catalogue of Printed Books and a Few Manuscripts; the Property of the late William Borrer et al., Which will be Sold by Auction...February 22, 1921* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1921), lot 422, p. 39, now in the British Library. The price of purchase of the second item is recorded in Rosenthal's stock-book: Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-2, p. 2866. For a currency value convertor, see "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.K. Pound Amount, 1270 to present," MeasuringWorth, www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/, accessed March 6, 2023.

25 In *BMAM*, the height and the width were mistakenly inverted.

26 No. 109 (Sorengo, Fondation B.I.N.G., Bibliothèque internationale de gastronomie, MS 10). The fact that this manuscript was formerly bound with other items is also stated in a subsequent catalogue description. See *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts Relating to Wine and Food: The Property of Mrs. J. D. Simon...18th May, 1981* (London: Sotheby's, 1981), lot 211, p. 66.

27 No. 110 (unlocated). For Halle's catalogue, see *Manuskripte vom XI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert*, cat. 50 (Munich: Halle, [1914]), no. 40, p. 19. Besides the *Artefii*, two manuscripts extracted from the volume were offered in 1929 by Emil Hirsch, another Munich bookseller, see *Seltene und seltsame Bücher vergangener Zeiten*, cat. 55 (Munich: Hirsch, 1929), nos. 512, 527, pp. 223, 229.

de Cruce's visits to holy places in Europe.²⁸ The *BMAM* entry specified that, despite the item's overall good condition, the first illustration was a little damaged and the second had been inserted in a passe-partout to preserve it. Recent scholarship has, however, suggested that financial reasons again motivated this intervention. In the 2005 catalogue of the *Fra Angelico* exhibition held at the MET, Pia Palladino demonstrated that the fragments were originally parts of a longer roll of seven drawings, designated by the letters A–F.²⁹ Palladino reconstructed their history, indicating that Rosenthal likely divided the roll in 1928 and dispersed the fragments. She reported that Rosenthal included drawings A and B in *BMAM* and sold them to the London collector Henry Oppenheimer in 1930, perhaps with drawing D. In 1938, the art historian Bernard Berenson stated that fragment C had previously been in Rosenthal's stock.³⁰ Drawings F and G later reappeared in the collection of Franz Koenigs, who possibly bought them from Rosenthal. As for drawing E, it presumably remained in Munich until 1961, when *Kunsthandlung* Julius Böhler sold it to the New York collector Walter C. Baker.

Cataloguing the Manuscripts

For the compilation of *BMAM*, Rosenthal called on Schulz, who, before joining the firm, had completed a doctoral thesis on the twelfth-century chronicler Godfrey of Viterbo.³¹ Besides this, Schulz described rare books for booksellers, collaborated with the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, the Berlin cataloguing project of incunabula, and published several essays on medieval literature and history. This shows that Rosenthal employed a skilled cataloguer and talented scholar who was fascinated by the Middle Ages.

Schulz wrote the entries in a consistent manner. In a first paragraph, he gave the author, title, material of the leaves, place and date of production, notes on the script and the decoration, number of leaves, format, and description of the binding. Afterwards, he provided contextual information about the work and described aspects of the book that deserved clarification. He also recorded ownership inscriptions and the volume's state of conservation. Transcripts of the various parts of the text usually closed the entry. To support his descriptions, Schulz included bibliographical references to relevant studies, specialized catalogues, and related manuscripts in public libraries. The length of the

28 No. 173 (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ. 1001).

29 Pia Palladino, "Pilgrims and Desert Fathers: Dominican Spirituality and the Holy Land," in *Fra Angelico*, ed. Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 27–39.

30 Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938; repr. 1970), 2:159.

31 Hans Koch, "Ernst Schulz," in *Das Werck der Bucher: von der Wirksamkeit des Buches in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: eine Festschrift für Horst Kliemann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Fritz Hodeige (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1956), 242–53; Anton Löffelmeier, "Der Kosmos der Rosenthals: Bücherkenner, Künstler und Wissenschaftler," in *Die Rosenthals*, ed. Angermair et al., 137–64 at 144–47.

entries varied from half a page to several pages, when valuable books, such as highly decorated manuscripts and volumes with precious bindings, required exhaustive analysis, and were sometimes illustrated with reproductions.

As well as offering detailed records, Schulz indicated why these manuscripts were relevant sources for academic research. In the introduction to the first volume of *BMAM*, he argued that in intellectually turbulent times, as the 1920s were, people felt the need to connect to a culturally stable and unified past. In his view, the Christian Middle Ages represented such a moment, and this analogy explained why scholars worked so passionately on the period. He also observed that, although some researchers drew conclusions from large amounts of material, others interpreted specific historical sources to answer bigger questions.³² In *BMAM*, he adopted this second approach and produced comprehensive entries of the works, especially those where the texts were unedited or differed from a printed edition. Schulz's attitude to historical research therefore reveals why he described the manuscripts' contents at length: he considered that this information helped understand the society in which they were transcribed. Similarly, he paid great attention to annotations in the items because they provided evidence to analyse the book trade, the history of libraries, and readers' practices in the Middle Ages.³³

Yet, despite its undeniable contribution to scholarship, *BMAM* was primarily a dealer's tool. This function becomes evident when one compares the records with further descriptions of the items and the manuscripts themselves. It seems that Schulz excluded specific material evidence, such as modern ownership marks visible in the books, including Phillipps's stamp or inscription and the stamp of the Vienna *Bundesdenkmalamt*, the institution that granted permission for cultural objects to leave Austria.³⁴ Such omissions were intentional, since these marks identified the manuscripts' immediate provenance and thus provided information about Rosenthal's methods for finding rare books. This tactic also explains why Austrian religious provenance was not clearly stated in the entries for the volumes coming from Lambach and Seitenstetten Abbeys. In doing so, Rosenthal concealed one of his trade secrets from his clients and competitors.

Advertising the Books

Once Schulz completed the catalogue, Rosenthal sent it to the printers. Imprint information demonstrates again that he collaborated with skilled workers, including Dr. C. Wolf and sons, the University of Munich's official printers. For the illustrations, he called on F. Bruckmann, the Munich art publishers known for printing Kandinski's works, while Orell and Füssli of Zurich were responsible for the coloured reproductions. Besides contributing to *BMAM*'s elegant appearance, such partnerships emphasize Rosenthal's financial investment in this project. Although it is unclear how many copies of *BMAM*

³² *BMAM*, 1:1.

³³ See also Ernst Schulz, *Aufgaben und Ziele der Inkunabelforschung* (Munich: Mandruck, 1924).

³⁴ Nos. 10 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28673), 106 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28511).

were printed, Rosenthal's list of recipients attests to his enormous network, since almost eight hundred volumes were sent to individuals and institutions established all over the world. Among these were major American and European libraries, booksellers, collectors, and scholars, as well as lesser-known actors in the book trade, including the university libraries at Beijing and Tokyo, and His Eminence George Mundelein, cardinal and archbishop of Chicago.³⁵

To reach further potential buyers, Rosenthal advertised *BMAM*. He not only announced the new issue in his own catalogues, but inserted notices in specialized journals, such as the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*.³⁶ In addition, he invited experts to review *BMAM*, including Paul Lehmann, professor of medieval Latin philology at Munich, who praised the books offered and Schulz's scholarly achievements.³⁷ Further reports appeared in periodicals targeting researchers and book-collectors, such as *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* and *La Bibliofilia*, published by Olschki.³⁸ Scholars also examined individual manuscripts, including Alfred Stange, who produced a short study on a miniature in a Psalter decorated in the abbey of Herrenalb for the art history journal *Belvedere* in 1929.³⁹

However, Rosenthal's greatest effort to promote the books was to relaunch in 1927 *Beiträge zur Forschung*, the journal he had founded in 1913 but which had ceased publication during the war. As he explained in an introductory note, this new issue presented modern contributions, since research had greatly evolved over the last decade and catalogue entries, especially those for manuscripts, now contained updated scholarly information.⁴⁰ Experts wrote articles featuring books from Rosenthal's stock for this journal, including those offered in *BMAM*. For example, Ludwig Bertalot, a specialist in Renaissance manuscripts, edited Gasparino Barzizza's *Epistolae* and the art historian Hans Wegener studied the illustrated *Biblia pauperum*.⁴¹

35 For this list, see Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-20 (not foliated). For the copy of *BMAM*'s first volume that Rosenthal offered Olschki and which bears the inscription "S[ehr] l[ieben] langjährigen Freund u[nd] hervorragenden Kollegen Herrn Leo S. Olschki in Verehrung überreicht. München, Dez[ember] 1925. Jacques Rosenthal." London, Senate House Library, CC25.61 [Rosenthal].

36 Redaktion des Börsenblatts, "Verzeichnis von Neuigkeiten, die in dieser Nummer zum erstenmal angekündigt sind," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, December 18, 1925, 7.

37 Paul Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Handschriften," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, February 3, 1926, 1.

38 G. Ficker, [untitled review], *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Neue Folge* 8 (1927): 472–73; [untitled review], *La Bibliofilia* 30 (1928): 338–39.

39 No. 183 (Houston, Public Library, Finnigan 90 P (130884)); Alfred Stange, "Eine mittelrheinische Zeichnung von 1445," *Belvedere* 8 (1929): 1–3.

40 For this note, see copies of the first volume of *Beiträge zur Forschung* in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Hbh, Bb 410, NF 1/4, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Per. 25805 d.40.

41 Nos. 120 (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Philol. 132b), 123 (New York Public Library, Spencer Collection MS 31). Ludwig Bertalot, "Die älteste Briefsammlung des Gasparinus Barzizza," *Beiträge zur Forschung. Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat Jacques*

Selling Rare Books

The subsequent dispersal of the manuscripts helps assess Rosenthal's strategies. The firm's copies of *BMAM* and their stock-books indicate that some items sold quickly. Fifteen volumes found buyers before the publication of *BMAM*, thirty sold within a year, sixteen within two years, and seven within three years; nineteen remaining items sold at a slower rate up to 1935.⁴² It is hard to understand precisely why some volumes sold better than others, for neither their price, date of production, author, work, decoration, binding, or their presence in Rosenthal's stock for a long time seem to have played a role in their dispersal. One noteworthy element is the fact that two purchasers acquired several items on a single occasion: the German book-collector and dealer Otto Vollbehrl, established in the United States, bought fourteen books on May 18, 1926, and Olschki acquired ten on April 10, 1927.⁴³

Comparing these results with those of sales through catalogues issued before 1914, it is notable that the location of the purchasers had changed. Prior to this, Rosenthal's customers lived in today's Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.⁴⁴ From 1925 onwards, they were mainly established in Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The disappearance of numerous European clients reflects the global shift of economic power towards America following the war. This also illustrates the arrival of new buyers. Although Rosenthal had long-standing working relationships with Olschki, Maggs Bros., Wilfrid Voynich, the Königliche Bibliothek, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, purchasers such as the collectors Martin Bodmer of Zurich, Annette Finnigan and Edwin R. A. Seligman, both living in New York, the dealers Ernst P. Goldschmidt, based in London, and Lathrop C. Harper in New York, and public institutions, such as the Dortmund City and State Library, the Hamburg State and University Library, and the Library of Congress, all acquired manuscripts presented in catalogues for the first time.⁴⁵

Despite having secured these customers, Rosenthal only sold eighty-seven of the two hundred manuscripts. The other books remained in his shop until its closure, and some can be traced in his successors' stock: twenty-five were offered by L'Art Ancien, seventeen by Albi Rosenthal, his grandson who worked in Oxford, and thirty-seven by Ber-

Rosenthal, München. Neue Folge 2 (1929): 39–84; Hans Wegener, "Die italienische Biblia Pauperum der Sammlung Rosenthal," *Beiträge zur Forschung...Neue Folge 3* (1930): 17–22.

42 Nos. 73, 96, 109, 132, 135, 137, 139, 141, 146, 152, 165–66, 180, 192, 198 (before publication); 1–2, 4–5, 16–18, 21, 25, 27, 29–30, 38, 54, 58, 68, 71, 77–78, 86, 105, 111, 120, 124, 128, 133, 144, 151, 167, 174 (within one year); 33–34, 37, 39, 51, 80, 85, 94–95, 98, 115, 147, 168, 173, 193, 196 (within two years); 6, 10, 40, 104, 108, 118, 183 (within three years); 8, 11, 19, 23, 28, 55, 70, 74, 90, 93, 106, 121–23, 127, 131, 172, 177, 199 (until 1935 and unknown date).

43 Nos. 33–34, 37, 39, 51, 80, 85, 94–95, 98 (Olschki); nos 1–2, 16–17, 21, 25, 27, 29–30, 38, 54, 68, 71, 78 (Vollbehrl).

44 For buyers' names, see the firm's annotated catalogues in Munich, Stadtarchiv, DE-1992-NL-ROS-1117, 1119–35, 1137, 1139–46, 1150–56, 1158–62.

45 Nos. 19, 58, 74, 77, 90, 96, 120, 141, 147, 151–52, 183.

nard M. Rosenthal, another grandson established in the United States.⁴⁶ The subsequent history of thirty-four further items has not yet been reconstructed.⁴⁷ Again, it is difficult to explain precisely why some books did not find buyer. Yet, the fact that Rosenthal managed to sell eight of the ten expensive manuscripts valued at between 10,000 and 50,000 Reichsmarks, as well as the two items priced at 60,000 and 100,000 Reichsmarks attests to his indisputable expertise.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The mixed results from the *BMAM* catalogue suggest that Rosenthal's firm never fully recovered from the war and its consequences, compounded by the political changes in Germany of the 1920s and the financial crisis in 1929. However, this analysis has shown that Rosenthal invested a lot of effort, money, and skill into selling the manuscripts. He not only offered volumes he had owned for a long time but increased his supply by buying books on the local and international market, as well as from Austrian and German owners, and by using his colleagues' stock. While it is hard to know whether he dismembered some items for preservation and/or financial reasons, Rosenthal tasked a meticulous cataloguer to produce state-of-the-art entries, which would appeal to scholars and collectors fascinated by the Middle Ages. Furthermore, besides reaching buyers all over the world, *BMAM* was advertised in the specialist press to make the manuscripts known to a learned readership. Developed over his fifty-year career, these sophisticated strategies contributed to the success of Rosenthal's firm. Although *BMAM* was one of his last catalogues, its preparation, Schulz's descriptions, and the provenance history of these books show that Rosenthal influenced how members of the antiquarian book trade valued these manuscripts.

46 Nos. 15, 22, 52, 60, 76, 107, 116–17, 126, 130, 138, 158, 160–61, 163–64, 171, 182, 185–86, 188–90, 194, 197 (*L'Art Ancien*); 7, 20, 31, 44, 53, 62, 91, 129, 145, 148, 157, 162, 169–70, 178, 187, 191 (*Albi Rosenthal*); 3, 35, 42–43, 45–48, 50, 56–57, 63–64, 66, 69, 72, 75, 81–82, 84, 87, 89, 92, 97, 99, 101, 114, 119, 125, 134, 140, 142, 155, 175, 179, 195, 200 (*Bernard M. Rosenthal*).

47 Nos. 9, 12–14, 24, 26, 32, 36, 41, 49, 59, 61, 65, 67, 79, 83, 88, 100, 102–3, 110, 112–13, 136, 143, 149–50, 153–54, 156, 159, 176, 181, 184.

48 Nos. 4, 40, 86, 123, 128, 135, 144, 147, 165, 167.

