

Chapter 5

FUELLING THE MARKET

SALES FROM AUSTRIAN MONASTERIES 1919–1938

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THE FIRST PART of this chapter is based on a recent book we edited, which explores the book sales from Austrian monasteries in the inter-war period,¹ while the second part introduces new information on some of the most important players in the Austrian manuscript trade.

Approach

Unlike other European countries, Austria still has a large number of monasteries with an uninterrupted tradition dating back to the Early and High Middle Ages. While the late eighteenth century dealt a significant blow to the monastic landscape of the Habsburg Empire, the process of dissolution started by Joseph II was never completed.² Many of the oldest and most important houses, such as St. Peter in Salzburg, Melk, Klosterneuburg, or Admont, escaped and are still active today. Consequently, large collections of manuscripts and early printed books remain where they were originally copied and collected, in private monastic hands. Up to the early twentieth century, these libraries were usually kept more-or-less intact. Disaster struck only in the 1920s and 1930s with the global depression that saw many monasteries fight for their economic survival. In a frantic search for valuables to sell to consolidate their finances, monasteries turned towards their cultural heritage and especially their libraries. They were helped by a

¹ Katharina Kaska and Christoph Egger, eds., *„dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen“: Bücherverkäufe österreichischer Klöster in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2022).

² For a short overview see Friedrich Buchmayr, “Secularization and Monastic Libraries in Austria,” in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 145–62.

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busy manuscript market that sent dealers and brokers, chiefly from overseas, scouting for new material throughout Austria. As the famous dealer E. P. Goldschmidt put it “In those years Austria was my principal happy hunting ground, and the financial straits in which the ancient monasteries and abbeys there found themselves afforded extraordinary opportunities for buying from them books which had stood on their shelves for centuries.”³

Researchers have mainly been interested in looking for the current resting place of valuable manuscripts sold decades ago or, in more recent scholarship, to determine their path through various auction houses, dealers, and collectors.⁴ This ties in with wider European research on the topic which, as this volume shows, mainly focuses on the fate of well-known manuscripts or important collectors and dealers. What has been missing, at least for Austria, is an investigation of the processes that led to the sales of manuscripts and, to a far greater extent, also of incunables and early print.

Our involvement in this research was by chance: in 2015 we came across a rich trove of material from the Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria. Among various other documents, mainly correspondence, was a library journal, which detailed sales and included personal observations by the then librarian Severin Grill. It gave an insight into the struggles with dealers, as well as within the convent during financial hardship in the 1920s. Thanks to the generous support by the monastery’s manuscript librarian, Heiligenkreuz became the first monastery whose sale history was discussed in detail in a publication.⁵

After this initial success, we decided to continue and expand our bottom-up approach. In 2018 we invited scholars and librarians from monasteries all over the country to contribute to a conference on book sales from Austrian monasteries in the inter-war period. Using material from monastic archives, the Austrian National Library, and the Monuments office (*Denkmalamt*), they produced extensive case studies, which showcased general trends and important players in the trade in manuscripts and rare books. These contributions were collected in the 2022 publication and supplemented by articles on the economic situation of Austrian monasteries at the time, as well as on the

3 Ernst Philip Goldschmidt, “Recollections of Harvey Cushing and his Book-Collecting,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 1 (1946): 229–34 at 232. For Goldschmidt’s involvement in sales from Melk, see Christine Glassner, “In those Years Austria was my Principal Happy Hunting Ground: Zu den Handschriftenverkäufen des Stiftes Melk in der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in “*dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen*”, 117–32. For similar sentiments, see Hans Peter Kraus, *A Rare Book Saga: The Autobiography of H. P. Kraus* (New York: Putnam, 1978), 50.

4 Christine Glassner, “Schmerzliche Verluste: Zu den Handschriftenverkäufen des Benediktinerstiftes Seitenstetten in der Zwischenkriegszeit,” *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden* 131 (2020): 561–76.

5 Katharina Kaska, “Also muss die Bibliothek dran glauben: Versuchte und gelungene Handschriften- und Inkunabelverkäufe des Stifts Heiligenkreuz in der Zwischenkriegszeit,” *NÖLA: Mitteilungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv* 17 (2016): 387–417; Katharina Kaska, “Verkaufte Inkunabeln aus Stift Heiligenkreuz,” *Iter Austriacum* (blog), December 27, 2016, www.iter-austriacum.at/bibliotheksgeschichte/verkaufte-inkunabeln-aus-stift-heiligenkreuz/, accessed September 20, 2023.

provisions of state and church law that made the sales possible. Additionally, two key institutions, the Monuments Office and the Austrian National Library, and their role in the sales were discussed. In what follows we give an overview on the topic based on our publication.

The Economic Situation of Austrian Monasteries

Monastic economy, especially that of the oldest and most well-known Austrian monasteries, was traditionally based on income from land and forests. This model was already challenged by the agrarian reforms of 1848 (*Grundentlastung*). However, in the region of modern Austria the *Grundentlastung* did not lead to significant changes and monasteries mainly held onto their traditional ways. In several houses at least some additional income was generated by investment in local industries, electric power plants, and from rents and leases.⁶

In the aftermath of the First World War some monasteries found themselves on the periphery of a now greatly reduced country, cut off from their traditional trade routes, and struggling to sell their products (especially wood). Others lost control over their holdings, which were now part of another state. Income was reduced even further due to social reforms, which regulated working hours and provided social securities for workers on farms and in forests. At the same time hyperinflation and strict rent control made rents and leases practically worthless in the 1920s. While these world events were outside the monasteries' control, the decline of their economic situation was in many cases furthered by risk aversion, outdated administrative structures, and general lack of attention to economic matters. Furthermore, some abbots, perhaps influenced by patriotic fervour, invested large sums into war loans, which could never be recovered. However, even shrewd investments by enterprising abbots and a general overhaul of administrative procedures could not fully prevent sales of lands, real estate, and cultural heritage to secure their livelihood and preserve monastic buildings.

Protection of Cultural Heritage

Thanks mainly to the efforts of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, state institutions, chiefly the *k. k. Zentralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale* (later *Denkmalamt*, Monuments Office), had been well aware of the dangers to Austrian cultural heritage from international sales since the early twentieth century.⁷ Implementing stricter laws, however, proved to be difficult, and details were still

⁶ Early modern monastic foundations that were not central to our research had a different economic structure based mainly on endowments. This section of the chapter is based on Peter Wiesflecker, "... ist somit mit einem Abgang zu rechnen: Zur wirtschaftlichen Lage österreichischer Ordensgemeinschaften in der Zwischenkriegszeit – ein Überblick," in "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", 15–26.

⁷ For the role of the Monuments Office, see Anneliese Schallmeiner, "In den meisten Fällen sind es Handschriften und Inkunabeln, die abgestoßen werden: Die Rolle der Denkmalbehörde bei den

being discussed when a sharp increase in sales became noticeable after the fall of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918. Within the first month of the new Austrian Republic a new law to prevent the sale and export of objects of historical, artistic, and cultural importance was implemented (*Ausfuhrverbotsgesetz*). The Monuments Office was put in charge of assessing these objects and overseeing exports. After further adjustments and amendments, in 1923 a Heritage Protection Law (*Denkmalschutzgesetz*) was passed that included rules on sales and exports.⁸ It defined cultural heritage to include immobile as well as mobile objects and thus also manuscripts and printed books. The preservation of these objects of historical, artistic, or cultural value, which were owned by public or church institutions, was seen as being in the public interest unless determined otherwise by the Monuments Office. It was therefore not possible to sell them without explicit permission, which could be given by the Monuments Office under special circumstances.

The decision for or against sales was largely based on the suggestions by consultants to the Monuments Office.⁹ For manuscripts these were traditionally members of staff of the National Library. They determined whether books could be sold at all, whether they were allowed to leave the country, and finally, if that was not possible, whether they could be sold to Austrian private collectors or only to public institutions. This last case caused a large devaluation since Austrian public institutions could not pay market prices. Incidentally the National Library was the only institution that regularly bought manuscripts or expensive early printed books. It could therefore, at least in theory, directly influence the price it would have to pay, a fact that was rightly criticized by sellers at the time.

Another opportunity for the state to control sales of church property, even if not explicitly with respect to cultural heritage, was the *Katholikengesetz* of 1874,¹⁰ which was only superseded by the Concordat of 1934. Within this framework, certain provisions allowed the state officials (in the *Kultusverwaltung*) to stop sales.

However, even without state intervention, the church itself was keenly aware of its responsibility. By the nineteenth century state and church institutions collaborated on the protection of cultural heritage. This collaboration intensified in the early twentieth century and in 1911, when the basic statute for the Monument Office was published, the diocese of Vienna published its own document on cultural heritage protection. The 1917 Code of Canon Law itself does not explicitly mention cultural heritage, but discusses sales in general. It also determines a hierarchy of permissions for sales depending on

Veräußerungen und der Ausfuhr von Handschriften und Büchern aus kirchlichem Besitz in der Zwischenkriegszeit," in "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", 57–70.

8 *Österreichisches Bundesgesetzblatt* 1923/533, September 25, 1923.

9 On these consultants and their work, see Katharina Kaska, "Unabhängige Experten? Die Nationalbibliothek als Gutachter und Käufer von klösterlichem Buchbesitz," in "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", 71–96.

10 *Reichsgesetzblatt* Nr. 50/1874. The following is based on the detailed discussion of both church and state law: Stefan Schima, "Kirchenrechtliche und staatlich-rechtliche Aspekte klösterlicher Handschriften- und Buchverkäufe in der Zwischenkriegszeit," in "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", 27–56.

the value of the object in question. If the value was higher than 30,000 gold Lire, it was necessary to get permission from the Holy See (*Romgrenze*). Further and slightly stricter provisions were made for the sale of *res pretiosae*, which could be interpreted to include manuscripts and books.

Legal and Illegal Sales

In theory, therefore, provisions from state and church law and a clear administrative process were designed to prevent sales of cultural heritage. Yet in practice the system did not work. Church officials and especially the Holy See judged most sales necessary in the light of the imminent financial collapse of the monastery in question. State institutions could do little to support monasteries plunged into debts that could not be alleviated by real estate sales. Likewise, it was not possible for the state to secure the upkeep of cultural monuments without the support of the monastic communities that inhabited the buildings. The special circumstances that made it possible for the Monuments Office to permit the sales were therefore established quite often.¹¹ The main goal was to try to protect some of the most valuable objects by permitting the sale of others. Several times in the 1920s and 1930s scholars and state officials drew up plans for a larger scheme, by which the state itself would either directly support monasteries as custodians of cultural heritage,¹² or take art objects into its possession and pay off monasteries' debts,¹³ albeit to no avail.¹⁴

Furthermore, neither state nor church jurisdictions could prevent the large number of illegal sales that were either not registered by the Monuments Office or that reached it only after the fact. Manuscripts and especially printed books were sold illegally directly to dealers and brokers without the permission of state or church authorities. Almost all monasteries seem to have been involved at some point, some mainly selling off early modern print, others, like Lambach or Seitenstetten, parting with large numbers of manuscripts and incunables.

11 See reports by the art historian Hans Tietze from the late 1920s: Hans Tietze, "Die Kunstverkäufe der österreichischen Klöster," *Zeitschrift für Denkmalpflege* 2 (1927/1928): 99–109; Hans Tietze, "Der Ausverkauf der österreichischen Klöster," *Der Kunstwanderer: Zeitschrift für alte und neue Kunst, für Kunstmarkt und Sammelwesen* 9/10 (1927/1928): 197–201.

12 Suggested in Tietze, "Ausverkauf," 201.

13 Suggested by the director of the Austrian National Library, Joseph Bick, in 1934, see Kaska, "Unabhängige Experten," 93–94. For similar suggestions, see also Schallmeiner, "In den meisten Fällen," 61–62.

14 Some small-scale attempts rescued the collection of St Lambrecht: Benedikt Plank, "St. Lambrecht," in "*dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen*," 277–79.

Key Players

Dealers involved in selling Austrian monastic manuscripts include such famous names as Jacques Rosenthal, Karl Hiersemann, Ernst Philip Goldschmidt, and Hans Peter Kraus. Sometimes they were in direct contact with the respective monastic houses, at other times they did not acquire the books directly but bought from people who acted as brokers. These brokers were sometimes professional dealers, but more often private individuals who had recognized a business opportunity and were trying to make a quick profit. Frequently, therefore, they pursued their goals with rather ruthless and questionable methods. One such person was a certain Eduard Arié, whose dealings with the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz are fairly well known.¹⁵ Another was the antiques dealer Emil Sokal, based in Baden near Vienna but in the 1930s active in Heiligenkreuz, St. Peter in Salzburg, Lambach, and Kremsmünster.¹⁶ The early business activities of Adolf Weinmüller, who later became a famous (and infamous) Munich art dealer, included deals with—among others—Göttweig and Lambach.¹⁷

Joseph Satinover, a Shady Broker

A particularly colourful and bustling person was Joseph Satinover. His Austrian activities and methods will be described here in more detail because they provide a vivid picture of the approaches and methods used by brokers. Satinover was active in Austria in the 1920s and early 1930s. He set up quarters in Vienna's posh nineteenth district, Hohe Warte 34, appearing in the Viennese address register from 1926 to 1931 as a *Kunsthandel* (art dealer).¹⁸ We will return to his earlier biography, which may provide an explanation for why he settled in Vienna. However first we will look at some records from monastic archives, which provide insights into the way he did business.

In December 1927 the abbot of the regular canonry of Vorau in Styria received a letter from Satinover, offering his services. The occasionally quite peculiar grammar and spelling of this and two more letters clearly indicate that German was not Satinover's mother tongue. According to the letter, Satinover was preparing to leave Europe but wanted to buy some objects (*einiges*) beforehand.¹⁹ He was particularly interested in

¹⁵ Kaska, "Also muss die Bibliothek."

¹⁶ "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", see index.

¹⁷ Meike Hopp, *Kunsthandel im Nationalsozialismus: Adolf Weinmüller in München und Wien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012) for his later career; for the early years see the index of "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen".

¹⁸ Adolph Lehmann's *Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger*, published annually. A digitized version is accessible through the Wienbibliothek, www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/periodical/titleinfo/2316398, accessed May 12, 2023.

¹⁹ Letter from Satinover to Abbot Berger dated December 12, 1927. Vorau, Stiftsarchiv, 06/1.02.026 Verkauf. Handschriften, Inkunabeln, Frühdrucke, Drucke: "Sehr geehrter Herr Abt, vor meiner Rückreise aus Europa, möchte noch einiges erwerben. Mein Interesse ist mehr für schöne frühe Zeichnungen, Holzschnitts, Stichen, sowie Handschriften mit Miniaturen und frühe Druckbücher. Für meine Person und strengst Discrezion, können Sie sich bei meinem lieben alten Freund Hofrat

early drawings, woodcuts, engravings, illuminated manuscripts, and early printed books. He proposed to come to Vorau with his son Freddy before Christmas, promising a good price and payment in American dollars or Austrian schillings in cash. Of course, the business would be done with strict confidentiality. Anselm Salzer (who is called a “very good friend”) and Abbot Theodor Springer, both of the Benedictine abbey of Seitenstetten in Lower Austria, could be approached to guarantee his integrity. The abbot of Vorau, Prosper Berger, politely declined the offer, telling Satinover that for the time being the canonry was not selling any art objects. Satinover immediately replied, again offering his services; should the abbot change his mind he or his son, who was well informed about his father’s preferences, would always be ready to come to Vorau, examine the items, buy, and pay cash for them on the very same day.²⁰

Satinover’s third and last letter to the abbot of Vorau was sent in August 1928 from Boulogne-sur-Seine.²¹ Again he urged the abbot to sell. He was especially interested in incunabula and illuminated manuscripts, and although he was now based in France he was very willing to receive the books by mail and would pay immediately by cheque. The abbot could be assured that the business would be conducted in absolute confidentiality—strictly *inter nos*—the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Seckau and again Abbot Springer and his dear friend Father Salzer from Seitenstetten could testify to his trustworthiness.²² After his first letter, Satinover was precise about the books he wished to acquire. Having studied the catalogue by Lampel,²³ and, *Handschr. in Steyermark etc.*, he gave a list of eight incunabula and six medieval manuscripts, two of which could hardly have been more prominent: Vorau MS 276 (XI) is the famous *Kaiserchronik* and MS 273 (VIII) the equally prestigious *Vorauer Volksbibel*. From the form of the references to the manuscripts it is possible to identify Satinover’s source: he had used the *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*.²⁴ It is not known if the abbot replied, but as all the books are still in the library at Vorau, Satinover was again unsuccessful. The letters are quite interesting for several reasons. Satinover’s

Pater Dr. Anselm Salzer in Seitenstetten oder S. G. Dr. Theodor Springer erkundigen um absolut vollständig sicher sein mit wem Sie zu thun haben. Ich würde noch vor Christmass mit meinem Sohn Freddy kommen und gleichzeitig einen Betrag Cassa in Dollars oder Schillings mitbringen und gut zahlen. Erwarte Ihre freundliche Antwort um mir meine Zeit zu arrangieren und mit sehr respectvollem Gruss ergebenst Joseph Satinover.”

20 Letter from Satinover to Abbot Berger dated December 15, 1927. Vorau, Stiftsarchiv, 06/I.02.026: “Er weiss was ich liebe und er wird zu Ihnen mit Bargeld kommen anzusehen, kaufen und zahlen am selben Tag.”

21 Letter from Satinover to Abbot Berger dated August 6, 1928. Vorau, Stiftsarchiv, 06/I.02.026.

22 Vorau, Stiftsarchiv, 06/I.02.026: “Ich sende Ihnen das Geld, check auf eine Bank in Wien oder Graz und Sie senden mir das Gekaufte – per Postpaket als Drucksache, eingeschrieben! Es ist sogar leichter und besser; da niemand davon was erfährt oder weiss. Habe viele Male auf diese Art gekauft..dass Sie mir ruhig verkaufen können und niemand wissen wird.”

23 Theoderich Lampel, *Die Incunabeln und Frühdrucke bis zum Jahre 1520 der Bibliothek des Chorherrenstiftes Vorau* (Vienna: Österreichischen Leo-Gesellschaft, 1901).

24 Paul Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark. Teil 1* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1911). The other manuscripts are MSS 130 (--), 195 (CXXV), 259 (L.A.), and 346 (XLVII).

repeated hints at the strictly confidential execution of the deals comes close to a criminal offence, as he was not only suggesting that they bypass the official procedure to request a license to sell objects of cultural value, but also to avoid the export tax due on all sales to foreign buyers. At least with respect to the medieval manuscripts the abbot was very well advised not to give in to Satinover's attempts because it would have been only a question of time before the sale would have been discovered and the abbey might have been prosecuted by the authorities.²⁵ Indeed Abbot Prosper Berger was well aware of the legal obligations and painstakingly observed them when in 1926 Vorau sold some forty incunabula to the Viennese antiquarian bookseller V. A. Heck.²⁶

Another interesting aspect is Satinover's repeated reference to the Seitenstetten monks. Salzer was a renowned philologist and literary historian who also served as librarian of the abbey,²⁷ and it may have been through this role that he came into contact with Satinover. Abbot Springer was an important personality in the history of the Benedictine order in Austria and succeeded in the financial consolidation of his monastery in the inter-war period.²⁸ Among other things Seitenstetten sold books and manuscripts, but it is not yet known to what extent Satinover was involved in these deals.²⁹ However, he certainly had a hand in the selling of an ivory plaque presented by Emperor Otto I to Magdeburg Cathedral. It left Seitenstetten sometime around 1926 and was acquired from Satinover by the American collector George Blumenthal, who in 1941 gave it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where it remains today.³⁰ In this case the abbey had attempted to bypass the official procedures and was found out, which caused a major scandal in 1929. Abbot Springer had to justify his actions and did so by putting the blame on Satinover: he had pretended to be a collector who wanted to keep the plaque for himself and was not planning to move the object outside Austria. Had Abbot Springer known what Satinover was up to, he would have never sold the ivory plaque. Abbot Springer and the government pressured Satinover, who at least pretended to try to get the ivory back, but to no avail.³¹ The Austrian government also considered legal

²⁵ See "dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen", index, for the cases of Lambach and Seitenstetten.

²⁶ Ample documentation in Vorau, Stiftsarchiv, 06/1.02.026. This deal is interesting in many respects and will be studied elsewhere.

²⁷ *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon* 9 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), 399–400. Salzer was born in 1856, entered religious life in 1875, and died in 1938.

²⁸ See "Springer, Theodor," *Biographia Benedictina (Benedictine Biography)*, January 15, 2021, [www.benediktinerlexikon.de/wiki/Springer, Theodor](http://www.benediktinerlexikon.de/wiki/Springer,_Theodor), accessed May 12, 2023.

²⁹ About the manuscripts, but unfortunately without the archival research necessary to find out about the background of the sales, see Glassner, "Schmerzliche Verluste," 565.

³⁰ Accession Number: 41.100.157; see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/467730, accessed May 12, 2023.

³¹ Letter from Bundesdenkmalamt, Zl. 7165/D ex 1929 to the Director of the Austrian National Library dated December 30, 1929, including a copy of Abbot Springer's report, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Archive, 15/1930: "Käufer ist in allen Fällen ausschliesslich Herr Satinover in Wien, Hohe Warte, gewesen. Die Absicht, die Objekte ins Ausland zu bringen, bestand natürlich bei

action against the dealer, but in the end the affair came to nothing. We do not know if the abbot of Vorau ever asked Abbot Springer about Satinover, but if he had done so in 1929, he would certainly not have received a favourable answer.

Apart from Seitenstetten and the failed approach to Vorau, we know that Satinover did business with Salzburg-Nonnberg, Göttweig,³² and Lambach.³³ At least in the latter case he immediately sold the acquired books to Jacques Rosenthal in Munich. It is therefore possible that he acted on Rosenthal's behalf or at least occasionally collaborated with him, but this remains to be verified. In May 1928 Satinover moved from Austria to France, perhaps to avoid prosecution by the Austrian authorities for tax evasion.³⁴ Interestingly, his earlier biography, patchy as it is, leaves a rather ambiguous impression, too.

According to an US draft registration card Satinover was born on May 5, 1880 in Galați, Romania.³⁵ It is very likely that a Giuseppe Satinover who in the early twentieth century was active in Genoa and Milan, is the same person. According to a newspaper article published in 1912,³⁶ he worked as representative of a French corn dealer in Genoa but also pursued private business interests, thus building a considerable fortune. Due to his dissolute lifestyle, he went bankrupt and had to leave Genoa.³⁷ In Milan he resumed his activities as a corn representative dealer and his private business activities, which involved dealing with jewellery, old paintings, and asset management for wealthy people. He soon ran into trouble again, being accused of fraud and embezzlement. The police tried to arrest him, but Satinover managed to escape. He resurfaced in New York, where in September 1918 he was registered for conscription. His profession was given

der Stiftsverwaltung in keiner Weise. Im Gegenteile. Gerade die ausdrückliche Erklärung Satinovers, dass er die Bücher für sich kaufe und in Wien behalten werde, hat die Abschlüsse erst perfekt gemacht. Die Stiftsvorsteherung war diesbezüglich damals wirklich in gutem Glauben und musste erst nach der späteren Übersiedlung Satinovers nach Paris in der schmerzlichen Weise erstmals wahrnehmen, dass sie hierin getäuscht worden sei. Ueber den Verkauf des Elfenbeinreliefs, ebenfalls an Satinover, hat der Gefertigte schon einmal ausführlich berichtet; es kann jetzt nur hinzugefügt werden, dass die versprochene Bemühung zur Rückstellung offenbar gar nicht ernst unternommen worden ist."

32 Bernhard Rameder, "Stift Göttweig zwischen den Kriegen: Verkauf und Erwerb von Kulturgütern in Notzeiten," in *"dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen"*, 97–116. The abbot of Nonnberg recommended Satinover to the abbot of Göttweig.

33 Christoph Egger, "Irrungen und Wirrungen: Wanderungen Lambacher Handschriften im 20. Jahrhundert," in *"dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen"*, 161–203.

34 Egger, "Irrungen und Wirrungen," 181n110.

35 "United States World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," database with images, FamilySearch (www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K6J8-F5M, accessed December 26, 2021), Joseph Satinover, 1917–1918. Draft registration card, New York September 1918. We owe this document to Mitch Fraas. According to other documents he was born in Bucharest (Egger, "Irrungen und Wirrungen," 181), which is an error (see next footnote).

36 "Neuestes aus Rumänien," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, March 2, 1912, 2. As the article gives Galați as his place of birth and 32 years as his age, the identification of Giuseppe and Joseph Satinover is almost certain.

37 This information is in agreement with a newspaper report of June 8, 1910, about one Giuseppe Satinover's bankruptcy at Genoa: *Neues Wiener Journal*, June 8, 1910, 11.

as art dealer. In May 1918 he filed a declaration of intent to become a citizen of the United States, resulting in 1922 in a formal petition of naturalization, naming a wife and three children, but the petition was denied.³⁸ In 1923 he was again in trouble. On February 1 the *New York Times* reported court procedures against him in connection with the alleged theft of a tapestry. The matter was settled in court,³⁹ but Satinover went bankrupt again and fled his creditors, taking at least some of his stock of pictures with him.⁴⁰ He returned to Europe; in the mid-1920s he started his art business in Vienna and his dealings with Austrian monasteries, as described above.⁴¹ In the early 1930s he was back in Paris and resumed his art business there, then, so it seems, as a fairly respectable member of the profession. He died in Paris on June 8, 1936.⁴² Satinover's area of expertise was paintings. It is unlikely that he had expert knowledge in medieval manuscripts and old books. However, like many others, Satinover was enough of a businessman to recognize an opportunity—such as the market for old books and manuscripts created by the economic troubles of the Austrian monasteries in the inter-war period.

38 New York, County Naturalization Records, 1791–1980, database with images, FamilySearch, see entry for Satinover, Joseph.

39 *NYT*, February 1, 1923, 11; and February 8, 1923, 8. Satinover's age is given as 43, which is consistent with 1880 as year of birth. Again, we are indebted to Mitch Fraas who alerted us to these articles.

40 "Art Dealer Sought by his Creditors. \$ 150,000 Paintings Gone ...," *NYT*, August 24, 1923, 2.

41 The identity of the New York art dealer and the Viennese art dealer can be proven beyond doubt by a comparison of his signatures, for instance his signature on the draft registration card (1918) and on the letters to the abbot of Vorau (1927–1928).

42 Paris, Archives de Paris, 9D 154, État civil de Paris, Actes d'état civil, 9ème Arrondissement, March 19 to June 16, 1936, no. 626.