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# THE PRE-MODERN MANUSCRIPT TRADE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, ca. 1890–1945

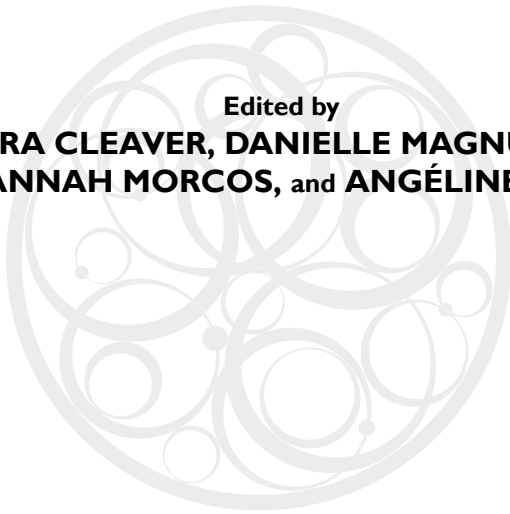
Edited by **LAURA CLEAVER,**  
**DANIELLE MAGNUSSON,**  
**HANNAH MORCOS,**  
and **ANGÉLINE RAIS**

**ARC** HUMANITIES PRESS



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**LAURA CLEAVER, DANIELLE MAGNUSSON,  
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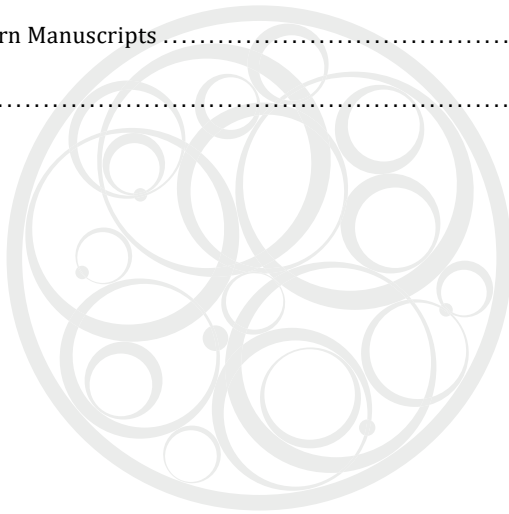
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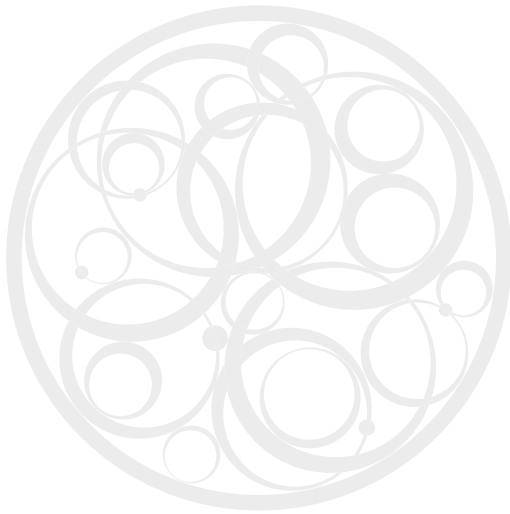
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## Chapter 21

### PAUL DURRIEU (1855–1925)

#### ART COLLECTING AND SCHOLARLY EXPERTISE

NATHALIE ROMAN

PAUL DURRIEU WAS a key figure in art history at the turn of the twentieth century. His more than six hundred publications shaped research on illumination considerably and are still essential references today. During his lifetime, Durrieu built up an extensive personal art collection, which is now scattered throughout the world. Until now, his collection has not been thoroughly studied as a whole.<sup>1</sup> However, based on new documents and archival studies, a large part of his collection can be reconstructed, showing that he was an ardent collector. His friend and biographer Alexandre de Laborde noted: “Durrieu avait rassemblé de précieux manuscrits, pieusement conservés par la famille, qui, sans être des têtes de colonnes, représentent une collection des plus estimées chez un particulier, collection qui, tout en faisant sa joie, lui servait de champs d’études.”<sup>2</sup> The findings of my research show that he did acquire first-rate manuscripts and paintings. Unlike John Pierpont Morgan or Calouste Gulbenkian, Durrieu had limited financial resources. However, his specialized knowledge and research enabled him to discover new objects. By examining acquisition dates, buying opportunities, and prices paid, this chapter aims to outline Durrieu’s acquisition strategies. It pays particular attention to his relationships with art dealers, focusing on personal correspondence and the content of manuscript descriptions, which have significantly shaped our modern scholarly approach when dealing with medieval and Renaissance manuscripts.

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**1** For an overview of Durrieu’s collection, see Ariane Bergeron-Foote and Sandra Hindman, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts from the Collection of Comte Paul Durrieu*, cat. 11 (Paris: Les Enluminures, 2004).

**2** Alexandre de Laborde, *Le Comte Paul Durrieu (1855–1925): Sa vie – ses travaux* (Paris: Picard, 1930), 23–24. (“Durrieu assembled precious manuscripts, carefully preserved by the family, which, without being the very best examples, represented a highly esteemed collection, moreover a collection that while giving him joy served his field of study.”)

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**Nathalie Roman** is an art historian working at Lausanne and Neuchâtel Universities. She is completing a thesis on illuminated manuscripts made by Jean Pucelle in the early fourteenth century. She is particularly interested in women’s patronage in France and Savoy, the history of art history, and how the history of illuminated manuscripts was shaped at the turn of the twentieth century. She is deeply grateful to the experts who helped identifying several manuscripts: François Avril, Bodo Brinkmann, Gregory Clark, Christopher de Hamel, Sandra Hindman, Inès Villela-Petit, and Roger Wieck.



Figure 21.1. Le Jay Hours, Master of Jacques de Besançon. From Paul Durrieu, *Jacques de Besançon et son oeuvre un grand enlumineur parisien au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1892), pl. V. With permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

## Building a Connoisseur's Collection

A brief overview of Durrieu's career allows us to appreciate his scholarly background and understand how he became a central figure in the study of the history of illumination.<sup>3</sup> After graduating from the *École des chartes* (1874–1878), he joined the *École française de Rome* (1878–1880) and conducted research in Neopolitan archives. Having been trained as a historian, he dedicated himself to art history. Durrieu was then encouraged by Léopold Delisle to join the Louvre as curator of the Paintings and then Drawings and Engravings Departments (1881–1898). During this time, he also carried out significant research on manuscripts, sharing his findings with the learned societies to which he belonged: the *Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, *Société de l'École des chartes*, and *Société de l'histoire de France*. His insatiable appetite for scholarship is also attested in his building of a personal art collection.

Collecting was a family tradition: Durrieu's father also collected art.<sup>4</sup> In 1874 his family offered him money as a *baccalauréat* gift to buy his first manuscript.<sup>5</sup> No publication or archival document listing Durrieu's belongings has yet been found. I have therefore had to rebuild his collection by consulting provenance tools and catalogues.<sup>6</sup> Information on his collecting is also found in his publications, in which he referred to his own manuscripts and sometimes even provided reproductions (Figure 21.1).<sup>7</sup> He often

**3** Nathalie Roman, "Paul Durrieu (1855–1925), l'œil d'un historien: La leçon de méthode à Émile Mâle," *Histoire et civilisation du livre* 17 (2021): 139–54.

**4** In 1860 Henri Durrieu acquired a German Mystical Hunt tapestry (unlocated) dated to 1549, which he offered to his granddaughter, Gabrielle (married name: de Charnacé) probably as a birth gift. On this, see Paul Durrieu, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, February 4, 1894, 105 and March 21, 1894, 117; Paul Durrieu, "La légende du roi de Mercie dans un livre d'heures du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (1920): 149–82 (with a reproduction). Petrarch's *Triumphs* tapestries were acquired by his father in 1884.

**5** According to de Laborde, *Le Comte Paul Durrieu*, 4, Durrieu named it "le manuscrit de l'examen"; Véronique Long, *Mécènes des deux mondes: Les collectionneurs donateurs du Louvre et de l'Art Institute de Chicago, 1879–1940* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 70.

**6** For provenance databases and websites consulted, see Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, <https://sdbm.library.upenn.edu>; Bibale, <https://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr>; Peter Kidd, "Medieval Manuscripts Provenance," <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2022/>; Jean-Luc Deuffic, "Heures manuscrites identifiées," <https://sites.google.com/site/heuresbookofhours/>, all accessed May 15, 2023.

**7** The *Le Jay Hours*, dated to 1492 (unlocated) was attributed to Jacques de Besançon in Paul Durrieu, *Jacques de Besançon et son œuvre* (Paris: Champion, 1892), 38 (pl. XIX), 67–68 (pl. V). Durrieu identified a group of forty-seven manuscripts produced by this flourishing Parisian workshop, whose activities spanned the second half of the fifteenth century. Since Durrieu's publication, the composition of the workshop has been clarified to include Master of Jean Rolin, Master of Jacques de Besançon, and Master François. See François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures: 1440–1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 256–62; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), 2:214–29, entry 15; Mathieu Deldique, "L'enluminure à Paris à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Maître François, le Maître de Jacques de Besançon et Jacques de Besançon identifiés?" *Revue de l'art* 183 (2014): 9–18.





Figure 21.2.  
Diagram of the structure of Paul Durrieu's collection.  
Author diagram.

shared his comments first with his colleagues of the Société nationale des Antiquaires.<sup>8</sup> His notebooks and correspondence are also rich sources of information.

This chapter can only provide a short overview of Durrieu's collection.<sup>9</sup> It demonstrates that Durrieu started his collection as a student and continued it throughout his life. His collection was rich and large: to date, sixty-six works of art and manuscripts can be listed. The collection mainly included illuminated manuscripts, but also panel paintings, manuscripts without decoration, tapestries, sculptures, and incunabula (Figure 21.2). The nature of his collection bears witness to his approach as a connoisseur. His primary interest was French Renaissance art, with its major artists being Jean Fouquet, Jean Bourdichon, and the Claude de France Master. Durrieu acquired the so-called Baudricourt Hours (BnF, NAL 3187 and fol. 13bis) (Figure 21.3), as well as an Augustinian Breviary (private collection), a small Book of Hours (BnF, NAL 3203), and a fragment of the *Livre des secrets de l'histoire naturelle* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 124), all attributed by the scholar to Fouquet.<sup>10</sup> Throughout his life, Durrieu published

**8** Paul Durrieu, "La question des œuvres de jeunesse de Jean Fouquet," in *Centenaire 1804–1904. Recueil de mémoires publiés par la Société des Antiquaires de France* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1904), 111.

**9** This paper is part of a global research project regarding Durrieu's collection.

**10** These manuscripts are no longer attributed to Fouquet, but to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio, or to his workshop: François Avril, *Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle* (Paris: Hazan, 2003). On the Baudricourt Hours, see Avril and



Figure 21.3. Baudricourt Hours, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 3187, fol. 74v. With permission of the BnF.

on Fouquet, reconstructing his complete body of work.<sup>11</sup> As a Louvre curator, he purchased the St. Martin folio (Paris, Louvre, RF 1679) from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier and rediscovered at the Louvre the St. Margaret folio (Paris, Louvre, MI 1093). Durrieu's admiration for Fouquet was shared by his contemporaries: at the exhibition *Les primitifs français* in 1904, a whole section was dedicated to Fouquet.<sup>12</sup>

The second major focus of Durrieu's French collection was the king's painter Jean Bourdichon.<sup>13</sup> Durrieu acquired a luxurious manuscript of *Douze Césars* (BnF, NAF 28800) containing sixteen medal portraits of the emperors by the artist.<sup>14</sup> As early as September 1888, he saw a parent manuscript (Basel, University library, Historical Museum deposit, Comites Latentes 258) when visiting Sir Thomas Phillipps's library, and was the first to compare it to the *Grandes Heures* of Anne of Brittany (BnF, Lat. 9474), attributing it to Bourdichon.<sup>15</sup> From the same circle, he also owned two folios with representations of St. Mark and St. Luke painted by the Master of Claude de France.<sup>16</sup> In addition to these focal points of his collection, Durrieu also collected major French illuminators, such as Jacquemart de Hesdin and the Boucicaut Master (although now the manuscript is attributed to the Mazarine Master). He also brought to light several illuminators from the second half of the fifteenth century, such as the Master of Jacques

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Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures*, 147–48; on the Breviary (use of Augustinian Hermits), see Bergeron-Foote and Hindman, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts*, 4, 24–31; on the Hours (use of Paris) see Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures*, 151–52; on the fragment of the *Livre des secrets*, see Jean Porcher, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: BnF, 1955), 53–54; Eberhard König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450. Der Jouvenel-Maler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982), 11, 37, 253, 255; Adeline Ariane, *The "Livre des secrets d'histoire naturelle" or "Livre des merveilles du monde": The Durrieu Manuscript* (Paris: Livres anciens Ariane Adeline, 2021).

**11** Paul Durrieu, *Deux miniatures inédites de Jean Fouquet* (Nogent-le-Rotrou: impr. Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1902); Durrieu, "La question"; Paul Durrieu, "Découverte du 45<sup>e</sup> feuillet des Heures d'Etienne Chevalier," *Compte-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 67.1 (February 9, 1923): 58–59.

**12** 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), 16–25 (section "Louvre"), 43–45 (section "Bibliothèque nationale"). Durrieu played a major role in the discovery of Fouquet. See Paul Durrieu, *Les antiquités juaiques et le peintre Jean Fouquet* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit 1908), 84–86.

**13** Bouchot, *Exposition des primitifs français*, 57–58 ("Louvre"), 56–57 ("Bibliothèque nationale"); Émile Mâle, "Jean Bourdichon et son atelier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 32.2 (July 1904): 441–57.

**14** Jörn Günther sold Durrieu's manuscript in 2013. See Jörn Günther, Wilhelmina Wüstemfeld, and Erene Rafik Morcos, *Parchment and Gold. 25 years of Dr Jörn Günther Rare Books*, cat. 11 (Stalden: J. Günther Antiquariat, 2015), no. 43, pp. 222–29. The manuscript was listed as a "trésor national."

**15** Paul Durrieu, "Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham," *BEC* 50 (1889): 405–7 at 407: "Aucun des manuscrits français qu'il me reste à énumérer ne peut plus être comparé, comme intérêt, même de très loin, au volume des Douze Césars."

**16** The folio representing St. Mark is still untraced. That with St. Luke is in a private collection and was sold by Les Enluminures. See *France 1500: The Pictorial Arts at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, cat. 15 (Paris: Les Enluminures, 2010), 122–23.



Figure 21.4. Calendar miniature for January (second half) and February (first half) illuminated by the David Master. Durrieu Hours (now private collection, sold by Heribert Tenschert in 2022), © Heribert Tenschert. Courtesy of Heribert Tenschert.

de Besançon.<sup>17</sup> He explored French regional schools and illuminated manuscripts at the time when printing was thriving.<sup>18</sup>

Flemish illuminated manuscripts formed another large part of Durrieu's collection: a Calendar illuminated by the David Scenes Master (private collection, sold by Ten-

<sup>17</sup> For example, the Pseudo-Jacquemart de Hesdin Hours (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 36) and the Mazarine Master Hours (Cologne, Renate König Collection, MS 5). The Mazarine Master is now distinguished from the Boucicaut Master: Gabriele Bartz, *Der Boucicaut-Meister. Ein unbekanntes Stundenbuch*, cat. 42 (Ramsen: Heribert Tenschert 1999).

<sup>18</sup> For example, the Psalter-Hours of Jean II de Vy and Perette Baudoche (Metz, BM, MS 1598), see Bergeron-Foote and Hindman, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts*, 12–21; Pierre Sala's *Dits moraux des philosophes* (Lyon, BM, MS 7685), see Günther, Wüstefeld, and Morcos, *Parchment and Gold*, no. 42, pp. 218–21; the Cochon Hours (now dismembered in private collections), see, <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2019/05/a-dismembered-book-of-hours-once-owned.html#more>, accessed May 30, 2023; and *L'Ethiquette des Temps* (BnF, NAF 19736), see Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures*, 421.



Figure 21.5. Pieter Huys, *La tentation de saint Antoine*, ca. 1520–1577, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 3936. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/Gérard Blot. Used with permission.

schert in 2022, Figure 21.4), the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 37), which he attributed to Philippe de Mazerolles (now Lievin van Lathem), the so-called Gruuthuse Hours (private collection, sold by Günther in 2014), a Carthusian Book of Hours (private collection), and four folios painted by Simon Bening from Enriquez Ribera's Book of Hours (Last Supper at the Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002.52), a Book of Hours (use of Rome) painted by the Mildmay Master (private collection), and more.<sup>19</sup> As early as 1891, Durrieu had defined the Ghent-Bruges school, based on the Grimani Breviary, as a product of the southern Netherlands produced between the last quarter of the fifteenth and the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Durrieu's interest in Flemish illumination distinguishes him from his French contemporaries.

**19** On the Calendar, see Eberhard König, *Tage und Werke: illustrierte Kalendarien in Manuskripten aus Flandern 1270–1520*, cat. 87 (Ramsen: Heribert Tenschert, 2021), no. 8, pp. 389–428; Christopher de Hamel, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures ... 20th June 1995* (London: Sotheby's, 1995), lot 109, pp. 169–77; on Charles the Bold's Prayer Book, see <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RWT?tab=bibliography>, accessed May 15, 2023; on the Gruuthuse Hours, see Günther, Wüstefeld, and Morcos, *Parchment and Gold*, no. 52, pp. 272–75; on Bening's folios, see Sandra Hindman, Laura Light, and Matthew J. Westerby, *Ribera Book of Hours: Simon Bening and the Enriquez de Ribera Prayerbook* (Paris: Les Enluminures, 2021); on the Mildmay Hours, see *Importants livres anciens, livres d'artistes et manuscrits*, May 11, 2012 (Paris: Christie's, 2012), lot 61, pp. 4–5.

**20** Paul Durrieu, "Alexandre Bening et les peintres du bréviaire Grimani," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 409.6/3 (July 1, 1891): 55–69.

## Durrieu and the Art Market

Between 1877 and 1917 Durrieu obtained books from sales and dealers mainly in France, Germany, and Italy, and even in the United States. From French collections came the *Gien league chart* (Benjamin Fillon sale, 1877), Gregory's *Homilies* and *Liber pastoralis* and Vincent Ferrer's *Sermones* (Bachelin-Deflorenne sale, 1878), the Baudricourt Hours (Spitzer sale, 1893), *The Temptation of St. Anthony* painting by Pieter Huys (Mantz sale, 1895) (Figure 21.5), and the *Livre des secrets de l'histoire naturelle* (Gélis-Didot sale, 1897). From German dealers came a Book of Hours by the Mazarine Master, a Ferrara Hours bought from Jacques Rosenthal in 1905, the *Chroniques de Saint-Denis* bought from Rosenthal in 1907, a folio S by Belbello da Pavia from C. G. Boerner in 1908, and the Carthusian Book of Hours from Rosenthal in 1909. The Italian dealer Leo S. Olschki was the source of the Cochon Hours sometime after 1911, and *L'Ethiquette des temps* by Alexandre Sauvaige was in Robert Hoe's sale in New York in 1912. In addition Durrieu obtained the Psalter-Hours Perette Baudoche sometime before 1888, the Le Jay Hours, another small Book of Hours he attributed to Jacques de Besançon (before 1892), two paintings (a Flemish *Veronica* and *Abraham, Sarah and the Angel* by Jan Provost), folios by the Master Claude de France (before 1904), the Comeau Hours (before 1906), the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold (before 1910), folios illuminated by Philippe de Mazerolles (before 1910), a Ghent-Bruges Calendar, the Gruuthuse Hours (before 1913), and the *Douze Césars* before 1917.

Durrieu obtained a few manuscripts, such as Charles the Bold's Prayer Book, directly through a private contact, but he mainly bought at public sales. He was probably accustomed to attending auctions as a Louvre curator. Hence, in 1889 he purchased the St. Martin folio from the de Conche heirs, the *Matheron* diptych (Paris, Louvre, RF 665) at the Chazaud sale in 1891, and *The Parable of the Blind Men* (Paris, Louvre, RF 829)—recorded as by Pieter Bruegel the Elder—at Henri Leys's workshop sale in 1893.<sup>21</sup>

De Laborde's statement regarding Durrieu's possessions—"sans être des têtes de colonnes"—must be reexamined: not only are his illuminated manuscripts now in prestigious collections, but their purchase value was not that modest. In 1878, he purchased two books from the Silos Abbey: a Ferrer's *Sermones* for 35 francs and Gregory's *Homilies* (BnF, NAL 2616) for 180 francs.<sup>22</sup> Delisle's enthusiasm concerning Silos's library was likely a decisive factor in the purchase.<sup>23</sup> Durrieu's purchases increased in both volume and value: in 1893, he was able to pay 3,600 francs for the Baudricourt Hours, in 1907 6,500 marks for the *Saint-Denis chronicle* (private collection) with Jeanne de Bourbon's arms, and two years later he bought the Carthusian Book of Hours illuminated by Bening

<sup>21</sup> Durrieu's attribution of *The Parable of the Blind Men* to Pieter Bruegel the Elder was controversial.

<sup>22</sup> *Catalogue de livres rares ... et de manuscrits du IXe au XVIIIe siècle*, June 1, 1878 (Paris: Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1878), 20, lot 32, and 29, lot 49.

<sup>23</sup> François Avril et al., *Manuscrits enluminés de la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: BnF, 1982).

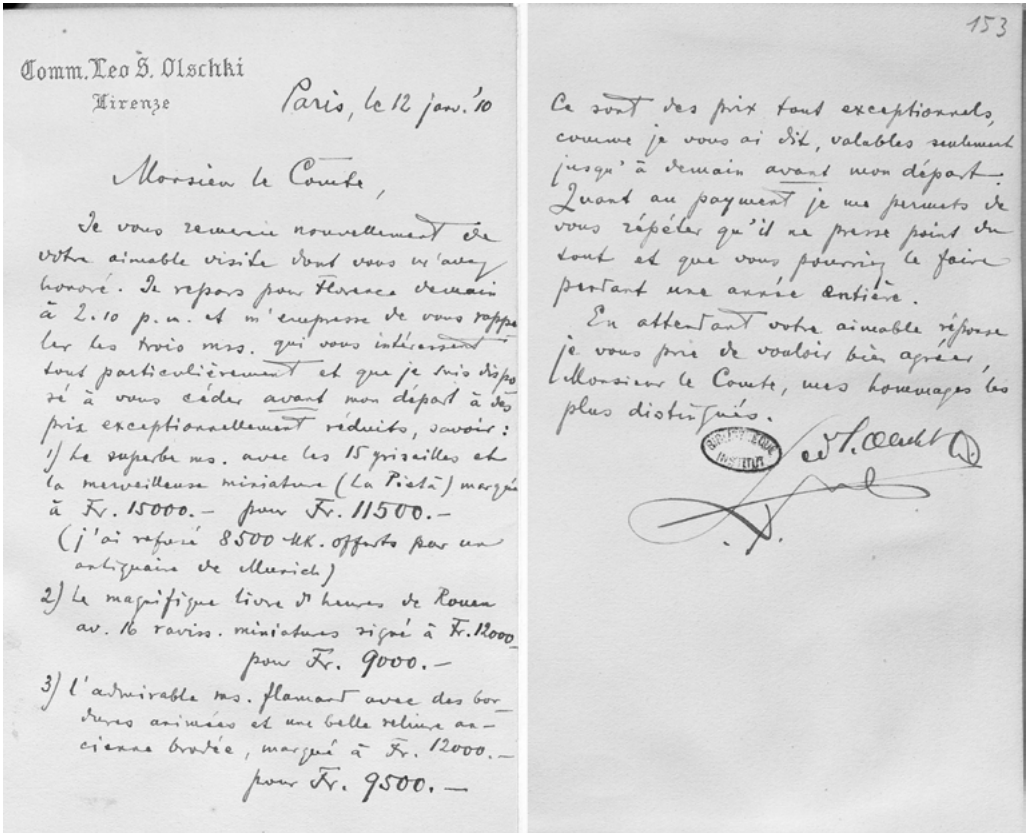


Figure 21.6. Letter from Leo S. Olschki to Paul Durrieu, January 12, 1910.  
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 5723B pièce 153.

probably for 12,000 marks.<sup>24</sup> His collection grew in value as he made it his field of study, through the fame of his publications. The amounts for which several works of art lent to the 1913 Ghent exhibition were insured show substantial increases: for instance, the Carthusian Hours were insured for 30,000 francs and *The Temptation of St. Anthony* for 18,000 francs.

Sometimes, Durrieu could not afford a manuscript: in 1919, he commissioned Bernard Quaritch Ltd. to purchase Henry Yates Thompson's *Boethius* with a price limit of £800.<sup>25</sup> Durrieu was probably interested in this volume because he believed that it was illuminated by the Master of the Coëtivy Hours (Vienna, Österreichische National-

<sup>24</sup> Bergeron-Foote and Hindman, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts*, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Durrieu to Quaritch dated May 28, 1919, London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd, Sc 1354; letter from Quaritch to Durrieu, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondance 5722-A-H, 160.

bibliothek, Cod. 1929), whose style he had identified in 1892.<sup>26</sup> In the end, Calouste Gulbenkian acquired it for £900 (Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, LA136).<sup>27</sup>

Although Durrieu could not compete with very rich collectors like Gulbenkian, the Rothschilds, or Henry Walters, he had a substantial personal fortune. The wages he earned while working at the Louvre (1881–1898) were not sufficient for his collector's appetite.<sup>28</sup> It should not be forgotten that the annual salary of a textile worker was around 1,300–1,800 francs between 1896 and 1914.<sup>29</sup> Durrieu's purchases can also be analysed by comparing them with acquisitions made by public institutions, which had limited means compared to private buyers at that time. In the 1870s, the national museums could not spend more than 150,000 francs a year and the Bibliothèque nationale had at its disposal 31,500 francs in 1906 (a budget considered insufficient given the high prices).<sup>30</sup>

### Relationships between Dealers and Connoisseur-Collectors

Durrieu was a well-known collector: several archival documents indicate that he was regularly contacted by dealers prior to sales. Thus, Olschki sent him a letter from Paris, with photographs, dated January 12, 1910. Thanking Durrieu for a visit, Olschki proposed three manuscripts offered “à des prix exceptionnellement réduits” until the following day (Figure 21.6).<sup>31</sup> The first was a small Book of Hours priced at 15,000 francs offered to Durrieu for 11,500; Olschki emphasized its grisaille miniatures and “wonderful Pieta.” There were no photos to accompany this comment, but these two characteristics allow its identification with a Book of Hours produced in Flanders around 1480–1490 with eight full-page miniatures, two in blue grisaille and the others in full

**26** Paul Durrieu, “Notes sur quelques manuscrits français ou d’origine française conservés dans des bibliothèques d’Allemagne,” *BEC* 53 (1892): 119–22.

**27** See François Avril, “Consolation de la Philosophie,” in *European Illuminated Manuscripts in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*, ed. João Carvalho Dias (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2020), 302–5. On Gulbenkian's collection, see François Avril, “Calouste Gulbenkian, Collector of Painted Manuscripts,” *European Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Dias, 19–26.

**28** Long, *Mécènes des deux mondes*, 43: “À Paris un diplomate bénéficie d’un traitement de base [annuel] de 40,000 francs, tandis qu’un attaché à la conservation d’un musée gagne en moyenne 2000 francs et qu’un conservateur peut recevoir jusqu’à 11,000 francs.”

**29** Hansjörg Siegenthaler and Heiner Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, *Historical Statistics of Switzerland* (Zurich: Chronos, 1996), 448. At this time Swiss and French francs were equivalent.

**30** Véronique Long, “Les collectionneurs d’œuvres d’art et la donation au musée à la fin du XIXe siècle: l’exemple du musée du Louvre,” *Romantisme* 112 (2001): 45–54 at 46: “Les faiblesses du musée [du Louvre] résident également dans l’insuffisance des crédits d’acquisition: de 100 000 francs par an entre 1852 et 1870, ils passent à 75 000 francs par an entre 1870 et 1877, pour remonter et se stabiliser à 150 000 francs annuels dès 1878.”; see also Henry Marcel et al., *La Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Renouard & Laurens, 1907), 31. I thank Hannah Morcos for this reference.

**31** Letter from Leo Olschki to Durrieu, January 12, 1910, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondance 5722- N-Z, 153. On Olschki see Bernard M. Rosenthal, “Cartello, clan or dinastia? Gli Olschki e I Rosenthal 1859–1976,” *La Bibliofilia* 114 (2012): 39–60; Federico Botana, “The Card Index of Leo S. Olschki: The Inner Workings of an Antiquarian Book Business,” *La Bibliofilia* 123 (2021): 157–77.



colour, in Olschki's later catalogues (1910 and 1911).<sup>32</sup> The photographs published in the catalogue and the access number make it possible to identify the manuscript as that bought by Walters in November 1912 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.431).<sup>33</sup> Walters acquired more than 250 manuscripts from Olschki and was certainly able to pay the catalogue price. If that was the case, Olschki would have made a good profit: he had paid 4,500 francs for the manuscript ca. 1908–1910.<sup>34</sup> The artistic merits of the manuscript—the use of grisaille and the quality of the Pietà—are described with enthusiasm in the catalogue. Olschki also underlined its perfect state of conservation and sixteenth-century purple velvet embroidered binding. Durrieu could certainly have been interested in the artistic quality of the manuscript, as well as its area of production.<sup>35</sup> Or perhaps he was looking for a manuscript for his daughter, as this was a small-format manuscript (115 mm × 85 mm), in an embroidered binding. By 1913, she owned the very small Gruuthuse Hours (80 × 61 mm) and practiced embroidery.<sup>36</sup>

Olschki proposed another northern manuscript in his letter to Durrieu—priced at 12,000 francs but offered for 9,500 francs—and added a photograph (of the folio representing the scene of the Flight to Egypt). Produced by the Ghent-Bruges school (as defined by Durrieu), this Flemish Book of Hours also appeared in Olschki's catalogues (in 1910 and 1911), where it was described as being in perfect condition with twelve large miniatures, twenty-three smaller miniatures, richly decorated borders, and an English sixteenth-century binding.<sup>37</sup> The layout and style of this manuscript are similar to the Gruuthuse Hours. This manuscript, now in the Walters collection (MS W.435), is attributed to illuminators active around 1470–1490, whose style was influenced by the

**32** *Manuscrits sur vélin avec miniatures du Xe au XVIe siècle*, cat. 74 (Florence: Olschki, 1910), 35–36, no. 22, pl. IX; Leo S. Olschki, "Quelques manuscrits fort précieux (continuation)," *La Bibliofilia* 13 (1911): 18.

**33** Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1988), 105 (fig. 75), 136 (fig. 131), 217 (entry 101). Produced in Flanders, this manuscript was probably painted by a group of artists referred to as the Associates of the Master of Antoine Rolin in whom Durrieu was interested. On this, see Paul Durrieu, *Les miniaturistes franco-flamands des XIVe et XVe siècles* (Gand: Siffer, 1914).

**34** I thank Federico Botana for photographs of Olschki's cards relating to this manuscript with its access number (31351) and price code. On Olschki's indexing system and price codes, see Botana, "Card Index," 161–62, 165–66. On the use of codes by merchants, see Peter Kidd, "The Use of Price-Codes (and Associate Marks) in Provenance Research," in *Chamberpot and Motherfuck. The Price-Codes of the Book Trade*, ed. Exhumation [Ian Jackson] (Narbeth: McKittrick, 2018), 61–90.

**35** Lilian Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery/Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3:455–459, no. 285.

**36** Durrieu owned the Gruuthuse Hours from at least 1913, since he lent it to the Ghent exhibition (April 26 to November 3, 1913) and insured it for 18,000 francs. On this, see Paris, Institut de France, notebook, MS 5726-5. In 1917, Louis de Farcy mentioned Durrieu's daughter's needlework. On this, see Paris, Institut de France, Correspondence 5722 A–H, 178.

**37** *Manuscrits sur vélin*, no. 23, pp. 36–37, pl. VIII; Olschki, "Quelques manuscrits," 15–17.

Master of Edward IV.<sup>38</sup> Purchased by Olschki shortly before he offered it to Durrieu, it shows the contemporary enthusiasm for Flemish and Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, which were regularly offered for sale.<sup>39</sup> For instance, in 1912, Ludwig Rosenthal offered six “superb” fifteenth-century Flemish Books of Hours in his small catalogue.<sup>40</sup> In addition to Durrieu’s known interest in the Ghent-Bruges school, Olschki, who also emphasized the marginal decoration in his letter, may also have offered him this manuscript because of its beautifully embroidered binding.<sup>41</sup> With a third offer, a Book of Hours (use of Rouen) (unlocated), priced at 12,000 francs with special price of 9,000, Olschki encouraged Durrieu’s research on French sixteenth-century book illumination. The style of the miniatures reproduced indicates that it was done most probably by Master Ango.<sup>42</sup>

Olschki was not the only dealer to offer works of art to Durrieu: in 1919, Martin Namias wrote to him about a painting probably painted by Parmigianino and in 1922 Ulrich Hoepli brought another grisaille Book of Hours to his attention.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes, the proposals were not so direct and show how thin the division between collector and scholar was.

### From Collector to Scholar and Vice Versa

On March 19, 1913, Morton Bernath in Leipzig reported the sale by Hans Boerner of a French Book of Hours to Durrieu and attached two photographs.<sup>44</sup> The tone of the letter indicates a personal relationship between the scholar and the young art historian.

**38** On this, see Walters MS W.435, Book of Hours, [www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W435/description.html](http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W435/description.html), accessed May 15, 2023; Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 2:447–55, no. 284; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 132–33, 217.

**39** On Olschki’s card number (31457) used between 1908–1910, see Botana, “Card Index,” 162.

**40** *Bibliotheca liturgica Pars. I*, cat. 150 (Munich: Ludwig Rosenthal’s Antiquariat, 1912), 25–26.

**41** At the time of this transaction, the artists of these manuscripts had not been identified. In the following years, their work was identified. In 1913, it was mainly Friedrich Winkler who characterized the style of an artist and definitively named him the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, according to the manuscript he illustrated that was then in the Dresden Saxon State and University Library (MS A.311). Considered today as one of the most important Flemish miniaturists, this master was active from 1460 to 1515 in Bruges, Amiens, and for clients in Hainaut. He collaborated with many other illuminators and new works are still assigned to him. Although the manuscript proposed by Olschki may not have been decorated by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, it was produced in his circle and follows the codes of the Ghent-Bruges school with its large borders combining objects and figures with naturalistic flowers.

**42** It is not in Myra D. Orth, *Renaissance Manuscripts: The Sixteenth Century* (London: Harvey Miller, 2015).

**43** Letter from Martin Namias to Durrieu dated February 4, 1919, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondence 5723 I–M, 143; letter from Ulrich Hoepli to Durrieu dated July 14, 1922, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondence 5722 A–H, 256.

**44** Letter from Morton Bernath to Durrieu dated March 19, 1913, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondence 5722 A–H, 345. On Boerner, see Georg Jäger and Reinhard Wittmann, “Der Antiquariatsbuchhandel,” in *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ernst Fischer, 3 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010–2020), 1:250.

Bernath had obviously already met Durrieu's wife and daughter, as he mentioned the latter's interest in music history.<sup>45</sup> Bernath likely met Durrieu when he was working on Leipzig's library holdings for his dissertation, in which he mentioned a manuscript of Valerius Maximus, attributed to the Master of the Golden Fleece, discovered by Durrieu in 1903.<sup>46</sup> The manuscript briefly mentioned in Bernath's letter appeared in Boerner's catalogue, with a complete record and photographs.<sup>47</sup> It was a Book of Hours with full-page miniatures probably illuminated by the workshop of the Master of Rohan; I propose to name this manuscript the Thouroulde Hours (after the Rouen family it belonged to). It is no surprise that it was brought to Durrieu's attention, as he had published a facsimile of Martin Le Roy's Hours in 1912 for the Société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures. The miniatures of that manuscript were attributed to the Rohan Master.<sup>48</sup> Durrieu reconstructed and extended the Rohan Master's corpus and proposed identifying him as an illuminator from the Angevin Lescuier family.<sup>49</sup> The creativity of the Rohan Master was already well-known and had been praised by Emile Mâle in 1904.<sup>50</sup> Boerner had advertised the Thouroulde Book of Hours in 1912, but he did not establish a link with the Rohan group.<sup>51</sup> In 1913, Boerner was aware of Durrieu's

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**45** In 1912, aged twenty-six, Bernath completed a thesis entitled "Studien über die Miniaturhandschriften der Leipziger Stadtbibliothek" at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). In the following years, he travelled to the United States, then launched a journal, *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte* in Leipzig, which was stopped by the war. He published *Die Malerei des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1916), as well as several articles in well-known art history journals. In the 1920s, he worked in the art trade in Stuttgart, but had to stop this activity in 1933, because he was a Jew. See Anja Heuss, "Morton Bernath: Ein Kunsthistoriker wird Kunsthandler," in *Ausgrenzung, Raub, Vernichtung: NS-Akteure und Volksgemeinschaft gegen die Juden in Württemberg und Hohenzollern 1933 bis 1945*, ed. Heinz Högerle et al. (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2019), 407–14.

**46** Paul Durrieu, *L'histoire du bon roi Alexandre, manuscrit à miniatures de la collection Dutuit* (Paris: Librairie de l'art ancien et moderne, 1903); Morton H. Bernath, "Notice sur quelques beaux manuscrits à peintures conservés en Allemagne," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peinture* 2 (1912): 108–14.

**47** *Gotische Miniaturmalerei*, cat. 25 (Leipzig: Boerner, 1913), no. 9, pp. 15–17, Ill. X.

**48** Paul Durrieu, *Les Heures à l'usage d'Angers, de la collection Martin Le Roy, reproduction des plus belles miniatures du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, accompagnée d'une notice* (Paris: Société française de reproduction des manuscrits à peintures, 1912). Durrieu saw this manuscript during a trip to Strasburg with Delisle for the Hamilton sale. He suggested that this item's decoration was similar to the Grandes Heures de Rohan (BnF, Lat. 9471). On this, see "Notes sur quelques manuscrits précieux de la collection Hamilton, vendus à Londres au mois de mai 1889," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* [8] (1889): 160.

**49** Paul Durrieu, "Le maître des 'Grandes Heures de Rohan' et les Lescuier d'Angers," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 32 (1912): 161–83.

**50** Émile Mâle, "La miniature à l'exposition des primitifs français," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 32.2 (July 1904): 52–53.

**51** The Book of Hours mentioned was dismembered. On this, see *Manuscripte und Miniaturen des XII. bis XVI. Jahrhunderts, Handzeichnungen des XV. bis XVII. Jahrhunderts*, November 28, 1912 (Leipzig: Boerner, 1912) lot 7, pp. 6–7. I could not find the buyer and thank Carlo Schmid (C. G. Boerner) for checking their remaining archives. The Thouroulde Hours manuscript was

1912 publications, which surely allowed him to appraise the manuscript at 7,500 marks (equating to 6,080 francs).<sup>52</sup>

Through his network, Durrieu was informed of manuscripts about to be on the market in advance, as an expert and a potential client. His friend Jacques Rosenthal probably brought a Book of Hours (Cologne, Renate König Collection, MS 5) priced at 3,500 marks to his attention.<sup>53</sup> Durrieu had met Jacques in 1878, when the dealer was training in Paris under the guidance of Delisle.<sup>54</sup> Martin Breslauer had also most likely met Durrieu while training with the antiquarian Dorbon in Paris.<sup>55</sup>

As a major connoisseur, dealers often consulted Durrieu, and not necessarily as a potential buyer. In February 1913, as Breslauer was preparing his next catalogue, he proposed to send Durrieu photographs and a manuscript he had mentioned to him a few months earlier in Paris.<sup>56</sup> This manuscript was the Da Costa family's Book of Hours (KBR, MS IV 1260).<sup>57</sup> This important manuscript was described by Breslauer, who mentioned several famous painters from the Ghent-Bruges school, although he could not assign it with certainty.<sup>58</sup> The purpose of Breslauer's letter was likely not commercial, as the price, which was not mentioned in the catalogue, was certainly too high for Durrieu. Indeed, the value of manuscripts illuminated by Bening had skyrocketed: in 1910,

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dismembered after 1925. It was still complete in *Manuscrits avec miniatures...provenant du cabinet d'un amateur, vente par Jules Meynial*, November 30, 1925 (Paris: Librairie Jules Meynial, 1925), lot 71, p. 14, the manuscript was dismantled before 1937; see *Catalogue de dessins anciens...enluminures du XVIe siècle, composant la collection d'un amateur*, February 22, 1937 (Paris: Drouot, 1937), lots 36–52. Several leaves are in private collections, one leaf was acquired in 1964 by the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (NM B 1906), other folios are on the art market.

**52** *Historical Statistics of Switzerland*, 837.

**53** *Auswahl seltener und werthvoller Bücher Bildhandschriften, Inkunabeln und Autografen*, cat. 36 (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1905), no. 248a, p. 60. On the links between France and Flanders through travelling artists, see Paul Durrieu, "Jacques Coene, peintre de Bruges établi à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI 1398–1404," in *Les Arts anciens de Flandre*, 7 vols. (Brussels: Verbeke, 1906), 2/1:17; Durrieu, *Miniaturistes franco-flamands*, 10. Durrieu attributed it to the Boucicaut Master, nowadays, the manuscript is assigned to the Mazarine Master.

**54** Elisabeth Angermair et al., *Die Rosenthals. Der Aufstieg einer jüdischen Antiquarsfamilie zu Welt-ruhm* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 94.

**55** Jäger and Wittmann, "Antiquariatsbuchhandel," 254; Ernst Fischer, *Verleger, Buchhändler und Antiquare aus Deutschland und Österreich in der Emigration nach 1933: ein biographisches Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Verband Deutscher Antiquare, 2011), 39. On Breslauer, see Angéline Rais, "Trading Medieval Manuscripts in Berlin: Martin Breslauer, c. 1900–1945," <https://blog.sbb.berlin/trading-medieval-manuscripts-in-berlin-martin-breslauer-c-1900-1945/>, accessed May 15, 2023.

**56** Letter from Martin Breslauer to Durrieu dated February 6, 1913, Paris, Institut de France, Correspondance 5722 A–H, 62.

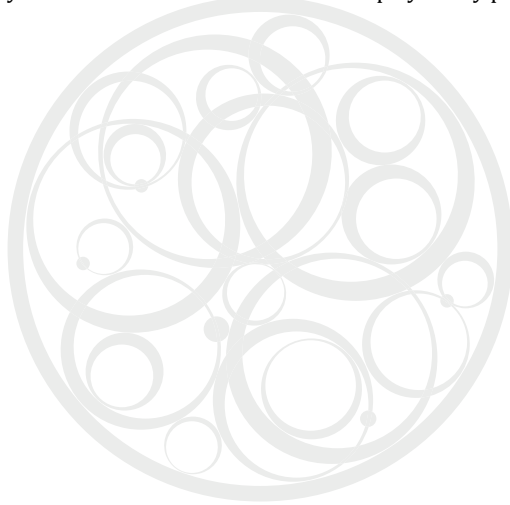
**57** Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 1:335–41, 384 and 2:ill. 61–62, fig. 354–65. The artists involved were the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, the Wodhull-Haberton Master, and the Edwards Master.

**58** *Das schöne Buch im Wandel der Zeit, nebst Anhang: Autographen*, cat. 22 (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1913), no. 1, pp. 1–2.

another Da Costa Hours (PML, MS M.399) was sold to Morgan for \$30,000!<sup>59</sup> In this case, Breslauer required Durrieu's expertise.<sup>60</sup> This correspondence shows how close and intertwined the contacts between dealers and scholars were and how they shaped the values of illuminated manuscripts.

## Conclusion

Through his expertise, Durrieu was both a client of bookdealers and a contributor to manuscripts' value. The development of the Flemish manuscript market shows how knowledge was closely interwoven between merchants and scholars and shaped the history of illumination by developing a new area of research. The field of manuscript collecting followed the progress of art history research. It is therefore clear that the permanent revision of the scale of values was driven by complex motivations, in which the progress of scholarly research and merchants' interests played key parts.<sup>61</sup>



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**59** Thanks to Roger Wieck for this information.

**60** Durrieu also helped numerous local archivists and librarians. On this, see Roman, "Paul Durrieu," 144.

**61** Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* (London: Phaidon, 1976).