

**ERC Consolidator Grant 2018**  
**Research proposal [Part B1]**

**Cultural Values and the International Trade in Medieval European Manuscripts, c. 1900-1945**

Proposal Acronym: CULTIVATE MSS  
Principal Investigator (PI): Dr Laura Cleaver  
Proposal duration in months: 60



J. Keppler Jr., 'The Magnet', *Puck Magazine* (1911)

CULTIVATE MSS aims to assess the significance of the trade in medieval manuscripts for the development of ideas about the nature and value of European culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a crucial period for the development of modern European nation states. Although recent technological developments have facilitated quantitative analyses of provenance data, charting in increasing detail the early-20<sup>th</sup>-century movement of manuscripts, including an exodus of works to America, qualitative analyses have failed to keep pace, leaving questions of *how* and *why* particular books were valued underexplored. The PI's role in the development of the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, which has begun to make available historic data about books, has revealed the need for a reassessment of the relationship between collecting and scholarship, and the potential for existing data about the manuscript trade to be used, with unpublished archival sources, to identify and compare the economic and philosophical values projected onto books. Thus the project uses the PI's expertise to develop a multi-disciplinary approach to assess the roles of collectors, scholars and dealers in the formation of collections of medieval manuscripts, and the impact of this on scholarship, comparing the English-speaking world, France and Germany. It will analyse published and unpublished accounts of manuscripts, together with price data, to reconstruct values projected onto books. It will seek to contextualise these values within the history of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, assessing the impact of two world wars and other political and economic shifts on the trade in books and attitudes to manuscripts as objects of national significance. The Middle Ages are often identified with the emergence of European cultural identities, thus a reappraisal of the historiography of the study of medieval manuscripts has the potential to impact research about attitudes to European culture and identity in a wide range of disciplines.

**Section a: Extended Synopsis of the scientific proposal (max. 5 pages, references do not count towards the page limits)**

The starting hypothesis of this research is that a small network of collectors and dealers of medieval manuscripts had a significant impact on the development of English-language scholarship about medieval books in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which in turn has had unappreciated consequences for attitudes to medieval manuscripts and culture. The period 1900-45 saw major changes in manuscript collecting, with the dispersal of aristocratic libraries facilitating the formation of collections by newly-wealthy individuals, many of whom were American. New collectors pushed up prices for manuscripts, particularly in the 1920s, making it difficult for museums in Britain to acquire books, and fuelling debates about the importance of these objects as “national monuments”. Surviving catalogues produced for auctions, dealers, and private collectors, together with unpublished documentation, record the values projected onto books, which are expressed both through the ways in which manuscripts are described (philosophical values) and through the prices paid for them (economic values). This research will bring a new, multi-disciplinary, approach (utilising methodology from the Humanities and Cultural Sociology) to bear on these sources. The project will compare texts about manuscripts created by collectors, dealers, and scholars with each other and with the manuscripts themselves to examine how the manuscripts were described. The project will also use unpublished and largely unstudied documentation, including letters and dealers’ records, to document relationships between those involved in the trade in manuscripts and assess the impact of social connections on the description of manuscripts. It will contrast accounts of manuscripts with an analysis of the prices paid for books, and will chart changes in philosophical and economic values over time, during a period of significant political and economic shifts. This work will allow the project to answer its **central research question: to what extent did the taste of private collectors in the period c.1900-45 have a significant impact on the development of scholarship about medieval manuscripts?** The answer to this question is important because the Middle Ages have often been identified as the horizon line of the emergence of European cultural identities, thus a reappraisal of the historiography of the study of medieval manuscripts has the potential to impact current scholarship concerned with attitudes to European culture and identity across a range of disciplines.

**The challenge:** The potential for the study of medieval manuscripts to shed light on a wide range of cultural and historical questions has led to an explosion of interest in manuscript studies in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> This has been fuelled by technological developments including the digitisation of manuscripts. Although most current research focuses on the circumstances of manuscripts’ production and initial use, the provenance of these objects has long been recognised as part of their interest and appeal. As digitisation has made some books available to global audiences, research has also sought to develop new ways of documenting and mapping the provenance history and movement of these objects.<sup>2</sup> Yet whilst significant progress has been made in collecting and quantitatively analysing provenance data, qualitative analyses in the Humanities have failed to keep pace, leaving the questions of *how* and *why* manuscripts were valued underexplored. The proposed research addresses this problem, focusing on a period of major change in the history of manuscript collections, which coincided with developments in ideas about European national identities and manuscripts as objects of national significance, and with shifts in academia, notably the foundation of the first specialist Art History institute in Britain by a group of collectors. This period also saw the creation of many catalogues of manuscripts and studies of individual volumes in public as well as private collections. That work was undertaken by a small group of scholars, who were employed both by private collectors and public institutions. The research thus aims to identify the value-judgements made about medieval manuscripts in the era that laid the foundations of the modern study of medieval books and to assess their consequences.

The potential for aesthetic, historic, economic, and nationalistic values to overlap in the formation of private collections was captured in a cartoon of 1911, in which the American J. P. Morgan was shown gathering objects including books with a giant magnet in the form of a dollar sign (see p. 1). Informed by preliminary evidence collected by the PI as part of a study of the collection of Alfred Chester Beatty, the research will focus on London as a major centre of the international book trade.<sup>3</sup> However, the project will contrast its findings about the development of English-language scholarship with evidence for the relationship between the book trade and scholarship in France and Germany, where previous scholarship has suggested that relationships between collectors, dealers and scholars were less influential.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in France legislation was developed to designate works as national monuments and allow the Bibliothèque nationale to acquire them.<sup>5</sup> The research is high risk because it involves the development of a new methodology, bringing together approaches used in the Humanities and Cultural Sociology, and because it relies on large amounts of unpublished archival material, the full scope and contents of which are, as yet, unknown. However, it is high gain because it has the potential to make a major contribution to our understanding of the development of ideas about European cultural identities, as well as to the history of

collecting and the study of manuscripts. This in turn will lay foundations for reconsiderations of the development of modern historiography about the Middle Ages.

**The four main aims of the project are:**

- A1. to evaluate the significance of the commercial trade in medieval manuscripts in the early 20th century for the development of the academic study of medieval manuscripts and culture.
- A2. to identify and analyse the values (both philosophical and economic) applied to medieval manuscripts.
- A3. to document and evaluate rhetoric around manuscripts as objects of “national significance” and their interpretation as symbols of European identities.
- A4. to develop a new methodology for the study of collecting that will be of use beyond the study of medieval manuscript provenance.

The design of this project is informed by exploratory research conducted by the PI into the collection of Alfred Chester Beatty and his wife Edith, and the PI’s role as an advisory group member for the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, which has begun to make available historic data about manuscripts (in a consistent, readily usable form). In addition to establishing the need and potential for qualitative as well as quantitative analyses of existing data, the PI has identified limitations in the existing literature on the collecting of manuscripts. Most studies of the English-speaking world have focused on individual collectors or institutions. Moreover much of the literature has been written by friends and colleagues of those in the book trade, and thus has tended to cast their activities in a broadly positive light.<sup>6</sup> Notable exceptions include the work of Christopher de Hamel and Stella Panayotova, but these studies are of restricted scope, and have not engaged in depth with the relationship between the manuscript trade and the development of scholarship.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, no study to date has attempted to compare the development of collections and scholarship in the English-speaking world with the situation elsewhere in Europe. The PI’s preliminary work indicates that a significant amount of unpublished primary source material is available in archives, which will serve to contextualise and facilitate new analyses of the data made available through the Schoenberg Database. The PI’s previous experience with medieval manuscripts is an essential foundation for the proposed research, as it will enable her to identify manuscripts referred to in primary source materials and analyse the choices made by collectors, scholars and dealers in describing these complex objects. In addition, the PI’s secondment to the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale in 2017 enabled her to engage with methodologies being developed by sociologists, and illustrated the potential for a new methodology combining approaches used in the Humanities and Social Sciences to be applied in the conduct of the proposed research.

To tackle the four main aims of the project, **eleven focused objectives** have been identified:

- O1. to identify the philosophical values projected onto manuscripts by *collectors* through comparisons of published accounts of manuscripts with the surviving books, analyses of the contents of collections, and analyses of unpublished sources.
- O2. to document relationships between individuals involved in the book trade and write a history of them as a community.
- O3. to assess the relationship between the book trade and contemporary scholarship through a comparison of descriptions of manuscripts in publications connected with sales and those in catalogues of private collections and other scholarly publications.
- O4. to reassess the role of well-known and lesser-known women in the formation of manuscript collections through an analysis of unpublished sources, contrasting the actions of women with those of their male contemporaries.
- O5. to analyse unpublished correspondence and published catalogues to assess the ways in which booksellers sought to interest clients in particular manuscripts, and their attitudes to the claims of museums or governments to acquire material in a national interest.
- O6. to conduct statistical analysis of the prices paid for manuscripts and identify patterns in the economic and philosophical values applied to manuscripts.
- O7. to identify the criteria being applied in connoisseurial approaches to manuscripts by *scholars* and compare these with descriptions of books created by collectors and dealers.
- O8. to evaluate rhetoric around works of “national significance” through an analysis of the books given to museums by collectors, the press coverage of these gifts, documentation about attempts to prevent manuscripts leaving a country, and unpublished correspondence between collectors and scholars.
- O9. to document the contribution of private collectors in securing works “for the nation”, and examine their motivations for doing so through an analysis of published and unpublished sources.
- O10. to contrast the impact of the book trade on scholarship in the English-speaking world with comparable activities in France and Germany.

O11. to develop a new methodology for the study of collecting through the development of an approach informed by theoretical frameworks in both the Humanities and Cultural Sociology.

**Methodology:** Although collecting has been a subject of significant academic interest, it has tended to fall between the boundaries of traditional academic disciplines, and relatively little attention has been paid to the trade in medieval manuscripts. As befits the study of a subject that has traditionally been seen as peripheral to many disciplines, the proposed research will develop a new methodological approach, bringing together approaches developed in the Humanities and Cultural Sociology. Susan M. Pearce's work has demonstrated the potential for inter-disciplinary approaches to collecting to enrich our understanding of the practice as a socially-embedded activity, but she paid no attention to medieval objects, and the proposed research therefore aims to refine and develop Pearce's ideas. The proposed research takes as its starting point Pearce's concept of 'collecting as politics', focusing on an analysis of the values associated with medieval manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> Using theories of semiotics, the project seeks to examine responses to the physical and aesthetic qualities of manuscripts, drawing a sharp distinction between the responses of 20<sup>th</sup>-century collectors and scholars and any intentions the manuscripts' makers may have had. In addition, the project draws upon the work of Roland Barthes on myth formation and the roles of narratives as means of understanding objects at particular moments in time.<sup>9</sup> Barthes' concept of myths is particularly valuable because it draws a distinction between accounts of objects and the works themselves, allowing for the accounts to be transmitted independently of the related object and to inform approaches to that object. For example, published descriptions of manuscripts may owe more to earlier descriptions of that manuscript than they do to the author's own engagement with the book. In addition, the research will critically evaluate the traditional Art Historical practice of connoisseurship, which underpinned much early 20<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship, and has recently experienced a revival of interest.<sup>10</sup> The research will not concern itself with the accuracy of early-20<sup>th</sup>-century connoisseurial judgements, but will examine the criteria applied in the era that saw the development of the "canon" of Art History. The research will also seek to challenge the "canon" of major collectors as currently represented in the literature, in particular by investigating the role of women in collecting in this period. Although there have been biographical studies of individual women involved in collecting manuscripts, notably Isabella Stewart Gardner and Belle da Costa Greene, they have been treated as exceptional cases.<sup>11</sup> However, it seems likely that the collecting activities of other women, such as Edith Beatty, were obscured behind the names of their husbands in contemporary publications, thus this research will explore unpublished archival material to re-evaluate the role of gender in collecting, as part of an attempt to understand the manuscript trade in a historical, intellectual, and social context.

The most ambitious conceptual element of this research is its engagement with recent developments in Cultural Sociology, which have yet to be widely tested in the Humanities. Sociologists have long attempted to incorporate elements of Art History into analyses of collecting, and Art Historians, including some of those working with medieval manuscripts, have sought to engage with Social History, albeit usually focusing on the circumstances of a work's creation.<sup>12</sup> However, this has tended to result in the problematic attribution of active agency to inanimate objects, linked to reconstructions of the maker's intentions.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, Cultural Sociology treats culture as relatively autonomous, and seeks through "'thick description" of the codes, narratives and symbols that create the textured webs of social meaning' to assess 'how culture interferes with and directs what really happens'.<sup>14</sup> In this objects are not understood as having active agency, instead it is interactions with objects and values attached to them that are understood as significant. At the same time, the contents and appearance of the manuscripts themselves are understood as important (fixed) elements to which complex (shifting) values may be attached. Cultural Sociologists have attempted to incorporate aesthetic experience into their models, observing that 'aesthetic surfaces [...] are often experienced as seamlessly intertwined with the diverse social meanings or background scripts that establish an object's moral and intellectual depth', but the proposed research seeks to identify precisely how this was achieved for medieval manuscripts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> In the proposed research, manuscripts are understood as elements within a conception of medieval culture in the minds of actors (scholars, collectors, dealers, or individuals who performed a combination of these roles). Unlike the work of Pierre Bourdieu, the research does not treat scholars and collectors as being antagonistically opposed, but rather examines the relationships between individuals.<sup>16</sup> Engagement in the book trade is understood as a unifying factor that contributed to the construction of shared ideas about the past, aesthetic value, nationality, class, power, and individuals' place in the world. This element of the research is high risk, as Cultural Sociology has yet to be rigorously tested by Humanities scholars, however it has the potential to open up new methodologies for the study of collecting that should be applicable beyond the study of medieval manuscripts.<sup>17</sup>

**Risk management:** The development of a new multi-disciplinary methodology is inherently risky, as it may prove insufficient to answer the central research question. In addition, it carries practical risks.

Because the methodology draws on approaches from outside the PI's disciplinary experience it will necessitate the recruitment of a research team with diverse disciplinary expertise and willingness to engage with potentially unfamiliar approaches. However, the PI has a track record of co-ordinating cutting-edge research projects with multiple researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds, notably her *History Books in the Anglo-Norman World* project. Moreover, the PI's fellowship at Yale allowed her to engage in cross-disciplinary work, and has informed the design of the research. To manage the risk of the project, the PI will draw upon her research networks in the first six months to recruit an advisory board including scholars with diverse disciplinary perspectives, complementary to the PI's own expertise. The advisory board will be available to all the project's researchers to provide feedback over the course of the project. In addition, a key intermediate goal will be workshops that test the work-in-progress of each work package and enable the researchers receive feedback from the PI, project team, and invited external participants, including members of the host institution. The researchers will also present their findings at international conferences (such as the International Medieval Congresses, UK/USA, or the Association for Art History conference UK) to receive feedback from a range of disciplinary perspectives and raise the profile of the research.

Another high-risk element of the research is the archival work. The PI's work to date suggests that a large body of unpublished documents created by collectors, dealers and scholars survives in archives. Relevant archival holdings include, in Britain: the Quaritch Archives; the British Library (archives including those of the collector H. Yates Thompson, scholar S. Cockerell, and dealer Maggs Bros.); the National Archives; the Rothschild family archives; the Bodleian Library; and the Society of Antiquaries; in Ireland: the Chester Beatty Library; in France: the Archives Nationales; and the Bibliothèque nationale; in Germany: the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and archives in Munich; in the USA: the Morgan Library, New York; The Grolier Club, New York; and the Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia. However, the full extent of this material is unclear (e.g. the Maggs' Brothers' archive at the British Library has yet to be fully catalogued) and it is possible that the amount of material may be too great for the proposed timeframe or that it might not enable the researchers to achieve all the project's objectives (there are known archival gaps: e.g. Isabella Stewart Gardner destroyed her papers). Nevertheless, the PI's preliminary work suggests that consultation of multiple archives will answer the central research question within the project's timeframe, and her existing research network will enable efficient access to archival materials. In the first six months of the project the PI will liaise with her archival contacts about access to relevant holdings. In this period the PI will also recruit four post-doctoral researchers with relevant and complementary expertise and two PhD students.

**Research strategy:** The project is designed around four work packages, which are aligned with specific project objectives and focus on different archival holdings. Although each researcher has a clear research goal, their work is designed to contribute to the main aims of the project. The workshops, together with monthly project meetings, will facilitate collaboration between researchers and the ultimate synthesis of the research findings to be conducted by the PI under work package 4.

**Work package 1: Britain and America.** The project's primary focus on London as a centre of the book trade and the development of English-language scholarship means that work package 1 is the largest, both in terms of the amount of archival material to be surveyed and the number of researchers. The PI and two post-doctoral researchers (PD1 and PD2) will co-ordinate visits to archives in Britain, Ireland and America. PD1 will concentrate on the impact of American collectors on the European book trade, and attitudes towards them (objectives 1,5,8,9). A second post-doctoral researcher (PD2) will conduct statistical analysis of the prices paid for books (objective 6), and the PI will focus on the description of manuscripts and relationships between dealers and collectors (objectives 1,2,3,7). In addition, two PhD students will undertake focused research on groups of collectors and scholars. One of the theses will focus on the contribution of women (objective 4), the other will address the role of clubs and societies in the transmission of knowledge (objectives 1,2). This approach will ensure that the work package achieves breadth and depth in working towards the project's central research question.

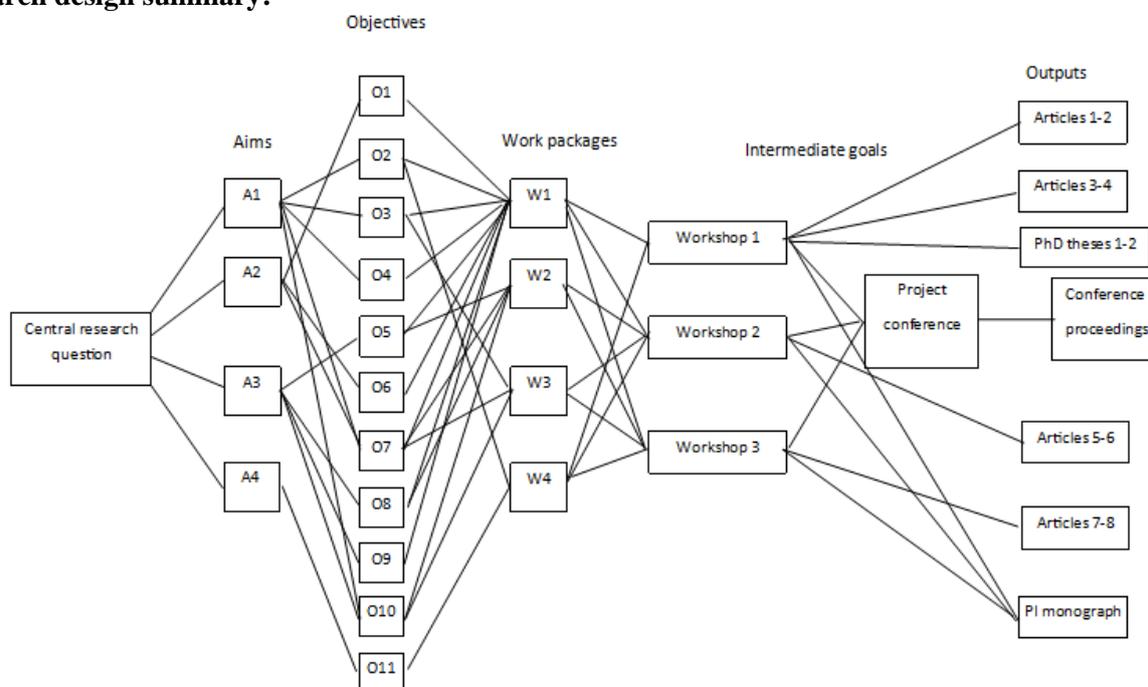
**Work package 2: France.** Work packages 2 and 3 together act as a control for the research of work package 1, but they have different foci, as well as tackling different regions. A post-doctoral researcher (PD3) attached to work package 2 will contrast the development of English-language scholarship with contemporary trends in French scholarship, through a comparison of the type, scope, and approach of published works (objectives 5,7,8,10). They will examine links between French collectors, scholars, and dealers, and their connections with the London-centric book trade, through an analysis of archival materials. In addition, collaborating with the wider project team, PD3 will contrast legislation and discussions about objects of "national" significance with those in Britain, America, and Germany. They will also test the hypothesis that the export of manuscripts (and particularly of "French" manuscripts) to France from Britain was perceived and reported differently to the export of similar works to America. PD3 will focus on archives

in France, but they will also need to undertake research visits to archives in London, and elsewhere in the UK (e.g. the Rothschild archives), and America (e.g. the Morgan Library archive).

**Work package 3: Germany.** Like work package 2, this work package will contrast the development of English-language scholarship with that by scholars in Germany (as many Austrian scholars also trained in Germany they will also be included), through a comparison of the type, scope, and approach of published works (objectives 3,7,10). Collaborating with the wider project team, a post-doctoral researcher (PD4) will compare the educational training of scholars and booksellers in Germany with those in Britain and France. Building on existing literature through an analysis of archival sources, the researcher will also examine the impact of the exodus of book dealers and scholars from Germany in the 1930s on the book trade in Britain and America.<sup>18</sup> PD4 will focus on archives in Germany (notably in Berlin and Munich), but they will also need to undertake research visits to archives in London and America, not least because of the relocation of some German dealers and scholars in the 1930s.

**Work package 4: the impact of the book trade.** Given the importance of methodology for this research, in this work package the PI will develop and refine the multi-disciplinary approach for the study of collecting, which will be tested by the PI and the researchers in work packages 1-3. The methodology, together with a synthesis of the results of work packages 1-3 will then form the basis for a monograph on the history of manuscript collecting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to answer the project's central research question. The synthesis of the project's research will be facilitated by the project conference, in month 42, at which all the researchers will present their findings, and the subsequent publication of the proceedings.

### Research design summary:



**Outputs and impact:** The project will produce a monograph, conference proceedings, 8 focused research articles (by the post-doctoral researchers), and 2 PhD theses. The articles and theses will provide in-depth studies linked to specific objectives within the umbrella of the project's overall aims, for example the economics of the manuscript trade, concepts of "national significance", regional variations in manuscript scholarship, and links between London and the continent. Wherever possible these publications will be made available on open access platforms, and a copy will be deposited with the host's open access repository TARA. The PhD students will each produce a thesis, which will form the basis for subsequent publications.

The new multi-disciplinary methodology, together with the attempt to develop comparative analysis between countries, will mean that the research opens up new research questions about collecting, attitudes to medieval objects, historiography, and concepts of national culture. It is anticipated that the findings of this project will be applicable to Art History, History (both medieval and modern), and Cultural Sociology. In particular, the research should prompt reappraisals of the premises on which the study of the Middle Ages, and of manuscripts in particular, were constructed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the impact this has had on subsequent scholarship about medieval culture. Beyond academia, the findings of this research are likely to be of interest to curators and archivists, particularly those working with collections formed by individuals in this period, and to those working in the contemporary trade in medieval books, where provenance continues to contribute to value.

- <sup>1</sup> See O. da Rold and M. Maniaci, 'Medieval Manuscript Studies: A European Perspective', in *Writing Europe, 500-1450: Texts and Contexts* ed. A. Conti, O. da Rold and P. Shaw (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-24.
- <sup>2</sup> For example Toby Burrows' recent Marie Curie funded work on the Phillipps Collection <https://tobyburrows.wordpress.com/> (accessed 20.06.2017); T. Burrows, 'Manuscripts of Sir Thomas Phillipps in North American Institutions', *Manuscript Studies* 1 (2016): 307-27; and M. Fraas, 'Mining and Visualizing Manuscript Provenance Data at a Large Scale', [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TdCM\\_OONVSg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TdCM_OONVSg) (accessed 20.06.17); <http://mappingbooks.blogspot.co.uk/> (accessed 20.06.17).
- <sup>3</sup> L. Cleaver, 'The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty (c. 1915-1930)', *Manuscript Studies* 2 (2017), pp. 445-82.
- <sup>4</sup> See, for example, F. Avril, 'The Bibliophile and the Scholar: Count Paul Durrieu's List of Manuscripts Belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild', in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. J. H. Marrow, R. A. Linenthal, & W. Noel ('t Goy-Houten, 2010), pp. 66-74.
- <sup>5</sup> *The Protection of Movable Cultural Property I: Compendium of Legislative Texts*, UNESCO report (Paris, 1984), pp. 129-30 (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000603/060309eo.pdf>, accessed 27.01.18).
- <sup>6</sup> See S. M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London and New York, 1995), p. 6; and, for example, R. J. Hayes, 'Contemporary Collectors XVIII: The Chester Beatty Library', *The Book Collector* 7 (1958), pp. 253-64; F. Wormald, 'Eric George Millar', in *The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings 1967* (London, 1968), pp. 3-6.
- <sup>7</sup> See, for example, C. de Hamel, *Hidden Friends: A Loan Exhibition of the Comites Latentes Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva* (London, 1985); B. P. Kennedy, 'The Collecting Technique of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty', in *Art is My Life: A Tribute to James White* ed. B. P. Kennedy (Dublin, 1996), pp. 107-19; C. de Hamel, 'Cockerell as Entrepreneur', *The Book Collector* 55 (2006), pp. 49-72; C. de Hamel, 'Cockerell as Museum Director', *The Book Collector* 55 (2006), pp. 201-23; C. de Hamel, 'Cockerell as Collector', *The Book Collector* 55 (2006), pp. 339-66; S. Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace: Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 2008); C. Horton, "'No Duds!' The Manuscript Trading of Alfred Chester Beatty', *The Book Collector* 65 (2016), pp. 207-34.
- <sup>8</sup> Pearce, *On Collecting*, pp. 32-3.
- <sup>9</sup> R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. A. Lavers (London, 2000).
- <sup>10</sup> See D. Ebitz, 'Connoisseurship as Practice', *Artbus et Historiae* 9 (1988), pp. 207-12; H. Opperman, 'The Thinking Eye, the Mind That Sees: The Art Historian as Connoisseur', *Artibus et Historiae* 11 (1990), pp. 9-13; D. Carrier, 'In Praise of Connoisseurship', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 61 (2003), pp. 159-69.
- <sup>11</sup> D. Shand-Tucci, *The Art of Scandal: The Life and Times of Isabella Stewart Gardner* (New York, 1998); H. Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life: Belle da Costa Greene's Journey from Prejudice to Privilege* (New York, 2007).
- <sup>12</sup> For example: P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (New York and London, 1979). In Art History the classic study is A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art* 2 vols (London, 1951), but the flaws in Hauser's approach were immediately recognised in E. H. Gombrich, 'Review of *The Social History of Art* by Arnold Hauser', *The Art Bulletin* 35 (1953), pp. 79-84. Recent attempts to use Social History to engage with medieval manuscripts include J. Coleman, M. Cruse and K. A. Smith ed. *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013), which draws upon A. Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986).
- <sup>13</sup> See for example, A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998).
- <sup>14</sup> <http://ccs.yale.edu/strong-program> (accessed 10.06.2017).
- <sup>15</sup> <http://ccs.yale.edu/about-us/strong-program-origins-achievements-and-prospects#Iconicity> (accessed 11.05.2017).
- <sup>16</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 12.
- <sup>17</sup> See also: L. Fuchsgruber & T. Skowronek, 'Introduction', *Journal for Art Market Studies* 1.2 (2017) <https://www.fokum-jams.org/index.php/jams/issue/view/3/showToc> (accessed 2.2.2018).
- <sup>18</sup> E. Fischer, *Verleger, Buchhändler & Antiquare aus Deutschland und Österreich in der Emigration nach 1933: Ein bibliographisches Handbuch* (Elbingen, 2011).