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Tracing the public of the first Parisian library for art and archaeology: on the readership at Doucet's library (1910-1914)¹

Claire Dupin de Beyssat

In June 1909 an art and archaeology library opened in Paris, at 16-18 rue Spontini:

Discreetly, in a quiet ground floor of the Porte-Dauphine district, rue Spontini, [...] a new library has just opened its doors to historians and artists. It is the beautiful collection of documents, magazines, and books relating to the history of fine and decorative arts gathered by M. J. Doucet in the course of his private research.²

At the time, Jacques Doucet was already well known within the art world as a collector and patron.³ Indeed, since the end of the nineteenth century, he had put together a remarkable collection,⁴ specializing in eighteenth-century art and including paintings and sculptures as well as prints, ephemera, decorative objects and books. Parallel to his art and book collections, Doucet seems to have gathered a large number of documents, including registers, inventories and index cards: these archival materials, along with his book collection, expanded with Doucet's interests, and together probably form the foundations of the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie (BAA).

Doucet, already generous towards scholars and curious, decided around 1908 to open his library to the public. He recruited a librarian from the Union

¹ I would like to express my grateful thanks to Jeanne-Marie Musto for inviting me to present a first draft of this essay in her CAA Session on *Historic Libraries and Art Historiography* (Chicago, 12-15 Feb 20) and for her thorough review of the revised version. I would also like to thank Pamela Fletcher, Erin McGuirl and Léa Saint-Raymond, who served as peer reviewers, for their valued comments and insights on my essay. Last but not least, I should also like to thank my colleagues at the INHA, Pascale Cugy and Sophie Derrot, for their sustained assistance in writing this paper and for sharing their expertise in the subject.

² 'Discrètement, dans un tranquille rez-de-chaussée du quartier de la Porte-Dauphine, rue Spontini, [...] une bibliothèque nouvelle vient d'entrouvrir ses portes aux historiens et aux artistes. C'est la belle collection de documents, de revues, de livres ayant trait à l'histoire des beaux-arts et des arts décoratifs réunie par M. J. Doucet au cours de ses travaux personnels.' *Le Figaro*, 22 June 1909.

³ Concerning Doucet as a collector and patron, see Chantal Georgel, ed, *Jacques Doucet: collectionneur et mécène*, Paris: les Arts décoratifs and INHA, 2016.

⁴ In 1912, he sold his art collection at auction and soon started a new one, composed of contemporary works.

centrale des arts décoratifs (UCAD), René-Jean (pseudonym of René Hippolyte Jean),⁵ to help him organize and develop the library⁶ and rented a large apartment in his mansion's neighbourhood to accommodate it. The library opened during the summer of 1909. Researchers, curators and even connoisseurs were now welcome by appointment,⁷ on the condition that they be recommended by an individual or an institution, such as a school, university or museum, that could vouch for the seriousness of the aspiring reader. At the library, they could circulate freely and browse open shelves organized by themes—with the help of the librarian René-Jean and/or the methodical catalogue.⁸ When a book was missing, readers could ask the library's personnel to acquire it;⁹ when they were unable to come, René-Jean would accommodate them by sending books to their home¹⁰—though if loan files were created, they do not survive. The library demonstrated its value broadly and quickly. This was true even for art historians and archaeologists accustomed to using the long-established Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)—especially its *Cabinet des estampes*; the library of the École nationale des beaux-arts, serving artists since 1864; the UCAD's library, also opened in 1864 and moved in 1904 to the Palais de Marsan in the Louvre; or even the Bibliothèque Forney, opened in 1886 to serve artisans. Doucet's Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie was the first specialised library entirely dedicated to the study of art history and archaeology, with subject-specific catalogues and directories. His private initiative, with significant expert assistance from René-Jean, quickly gained a reputation for scholarly depth and utility such that it would constitute a substantial new resource for the University of Paris upon its donation in 1917.¹¹

Nowadays, Doucet's collection is still at the core of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA) library, which has launched a research program in order to better understand the library's early stages, from its creation around 1908 to its

⁵ Concerning René-Jean, see Sylvie Maignan, *René-Jean, critique d'art et bibliothécaire*, Paris: INHA, 2005.

⁶ Letter from Doucet to René-Jean, 2 June 1908, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 13124, available online: <ark:/12148/btv1b9066501z>.

⁷ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris: letter from J. de Basily-Callimaki, 8 August 1912, box 143/1/8; letter from Arthur Boucher, 24 June 1913; box 143/1/67; letter from Louise Clément-Carpeaux, 2 April 1912, box 143/2/170.

⁸ Methodical catalogue of Doucet's library, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried). This catalogue is composed of boxes for each identified theme, containing handwritten cards referring to books and articles corresponding to the theme.

⁹ Charles Étienne, 'Une fondation de M. Jacques Doucet. La Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie', *La Liberté*, 9 June 1912.

¹⁰ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris: letter from Émile Bertaux, 1911, box 143/1/23; letter from Émile Bertaux, n.d., box 143/1/30; letter from Émile Bertaux, n.d., box 143/1/48; letter from Émile Bertaux, 13 December ?, box 143/1/50; letter from Paul Boyer, 10 July 1914, box 143/1/71; letter from Édouard Chavannes, 4 May 1912, box 143/1/117; letter from Alfred Foucher, 23 March ?, box 143/2/244; letters from Daniel-Marie Fouquet, 15 July and 4 August 1910, box 143/2/272-273; letter from Paul Perdrizet, 28 November 1909, box 144/2/635; letter from Paul Perdrizet, 28 May 1911, box 144/3/735; letter from Raphaël Petrucci, 10 May 1910, box 145/1/1000; letter from Belleud, 11 May 1910, box 145/2/1193.

¹¹ Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, AJ/16/8387.

donation in 1917.¹² A challenge for this program is that the only institutional archives documenting Doucet's library are book inventories,¹³ René-Jean's correspondence,¹⁴ a methodical catalogue¹⁵ and a reader's register, which is preserved at the Archives nationales.¹⁶ This register, however, has proved highly informative. Known as the file of 'very old readers', since it documents the period from 1910 to 1914¹⁷, it has been combined with the archives of the Académie de Paris, which documents the library after its arrival at the University of Paris.

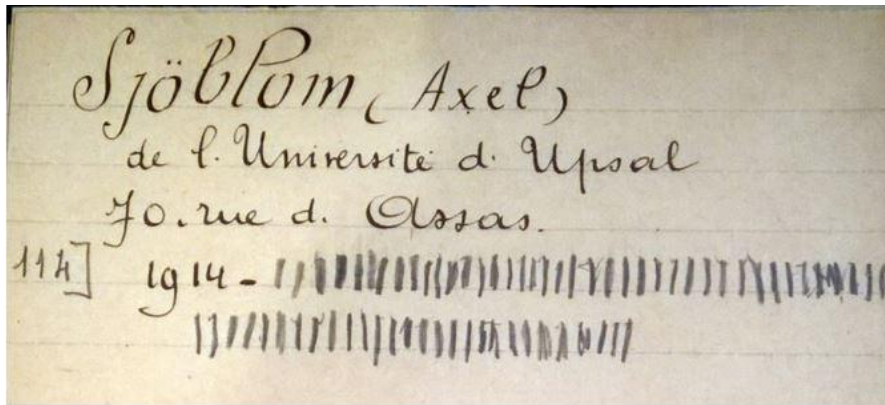


Figure 1 An example of an unusually complete reader card, A. N., AJ/16/8417.

The register is composed of 1,430 individual cards arranged in alphabetical order, one for each reader [fig. 1]. Readers are systematically identified by last name, but sometimes information such as first name, address or even profession can be found. Except for professional and institutional positions which, although not mandatory, are increasingly frequent, the presence or absence of personal details appears rather random;¹⁸ the cards' chronological distribution does not suggest a systemic change in library practices [fig. 2]. The years in which the reader frequented the library are indicated, followed by tally marks, sometimes as many as

¹² *La Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de Jacques Doucet: corpus, savoirs et réseaux*, under the supervision of Pascale Cugy at the INHA. For more information, see <https://www.inha.fr/fr/recherche/le-departement-des-etudes-et-de-la-recherche/domaines-de-recherche/histoire-et-theorie-de-l-histoire-de-l-art-et-du-patrimoine/la-bibliotheque-d-art-et-d-archeologie-de-jacques-doucet.html>

¹³ Inventory registers of Doucet's library, 1910-1917, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried). These four inventories, manuscripts and 200-page log document the modalities (purchase or donation, date, supplier) of entries of books to the library.

¹⁴ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143-145.

¹⁵ Methodical catalog of Doucet's library, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried).

¹⁶ Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, AJ/16/8416-AJ/16/8417.

¹⁷ The readers' register was interrupted after 1914 and resumed in 1919. However, it seems that the library remained partially open during the First World War.

¹⁸ Addresses appear on 745 readers' cards; indication of profession and/or institutional affiliation appear on 138 readers' cards.

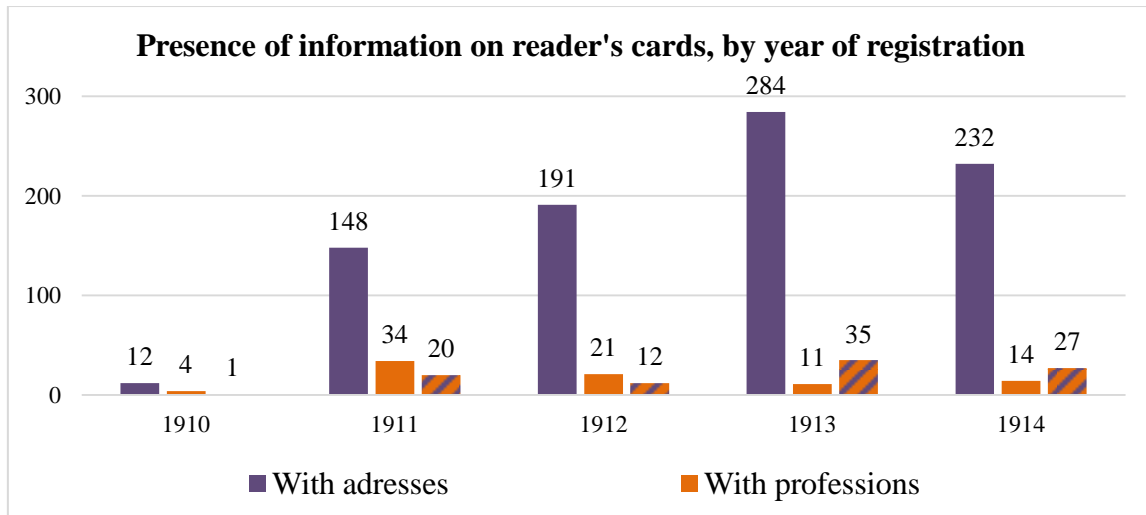


Figure 2: Presence of information on reader's cards, by year of registration

a hundred. Following the example of other historic Parisian libraries,¹⁹ which count the times a reader came, these marks clearly correspond to the visits of the readers, and not to book consultations and/or loans made by them. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that the library ever established a formal lending service. Loans were carried out in a very informal way, as a service between friends and apparently without notation, whereas documented visits of readers (through letters) coincide with tally marks on their cards.

Judging, therefore, from the tally marks, a total of 1,403 readers²⁰ and 9,272 visits are recorded by this register: on average, each reader came five times, but this statistic hides important disparities regarding attendance, as will be seen. Oddly, some 280 readers may have been registered without their visits being recorded, perhaps testifying to the creation of cards prior to actual visits. Moreover, some cards show an isolated number, often located between brackets at the top. Such numbers appear on 323 cards (22.6% of the register), for readers who came to the library at least in 1913 and 1914. This figure does not seem to obey to a pattern. It does not follow an order, starts at 0 from one year to the next, sometimes repeats itself on different cards; some readers even have two distinct numbers. All these elements make it impossible to recognize, for example, a reader's ID number: for now, its significance is still a mystery.²¹ But even with these open questions, the register of readers provides enough information to sketch a social history of the art history milieu in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century, and to analyse the relationship between scientists and their workplaces.²² Collected and put into a database, the register's information allows for a sociological study of the readership of this first Parisian library dedicated to art history and archaeology – one that

¹⁹ Such as the BnF's prints cabinet, or the UCAD's library in Paris.

²⁰ Some readers, as they changed names, address or profession, were registered with several cards.

²¹ Any hypothesis on this question would be welcome.

²² Lyne Therrien, 'Historiens de l'art et bibliothèques: des itinéraires croisés', in Nicole Picot, ed., *Arts en bibliothèque*, Paris: Electre et Éditions du cercle de la Librairie, 2003, 35-46.

reveals the profiles and practices of its readers as well as the position the library occupied in the institutional and scientific landscape of its time.

One-time visitors at the library: the trail of society life

Quite surprisingly, in its first five years, Doucet's library attracted a large and impressive number of visitors, with more than a thousand registered. Theoretically, the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie was only open to persons with a recommendation and/or an attested need for access to the library's collections. The correspondence of its curator, René-Jean, gives an account of how personal those recommendations could be.²³ Those of Edmond Pottier, himself recommended by Paul Perdrizet,²⁴ soon a contributor and a regular at the library,²⁵ are a significant testimony to this system of confidential endorsement:

M. Courtot, draftsman 1 rue Berthelot, Issy-les-Moulineaux, has asked you for an entrance to the Doucet library, recommending himself by my name. I replied, finding an honourable pretext, that I could not give him this introductory word. Indeed, I only want to introduce to you people who are very well known to me *personally* and for whom I can answer. Now, I have no bad information about Mr. Courtot, but I know him very little, only because he is the son-in-law of the former draftsman of the dict. of antiquities²⁶. I therefore replied that it was *agreed* with Mr. D. that I would send him only people known to me personally and belonging to the circle of students taking a course. This will, if you would like, be the rule I shall adopt in this respect; for one cannot be too careful, in the working conditions in which your readers are placed.²⁷

²³ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris: letter from Émile Bertaux, 16 November ?, box 143/1/40; letter from Bertaux, 30 September ?, box 143/1/49; letter from Alfred Foucher, 17 September 1911, box 143/2/228; letter from Georg Karo, n.d., box 143/3/343; letter from Gabriel Leroux, 24 March 1910, box 143/3/380; letter from Gabriel Millet, 14 November 1912, box 144/1/462; letter from Edmond Pottier, 14 June 1909, box 145/1/1021; letter from Pottier, 21 November 1912, box 145/1/1032; letter from Pottier, 21 February 1913, box 145/1/1039.

²⁴ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris: letter from Pottier, 14 June 1909, box 144/1/1021.

²⁵ Samuel Provost, 'Les bibliothèques de Paul Perdrizet' in Daniela Gallo and Samuel Provost, eds, *Nancy-Paris 1871-1939. Des bibliothèques au service de l'enseignement universitaire de l'histoire de l'art et de l'archéologie*, Paris: Éditions des Cendres, 2018, 93-107.

²⁶ Probably an abbreviation of Edmond Saglio and Charles Daremberg, eds, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, Hachette, 1873-1917.

²⁷ 'M. Courtot, dessinateur 1 rue Berthelot, Issy-les-Moulineaux, vous a demandé une entrée à la bibliothèque Doucet en se recommandant de mon nom. Je lui ai répondu, en trouvant un prétexte honorable, que je ne pouvais pas lui donner ce mot d'introduction. En effet, je ne veux introduire chez vous que des gens qui me sont très bien connus *personnellement* et dont

The readers' file also provides more routine recommendations: it was common for readers to register by specifying their profession and/or institutional affiliation. Thus, Henri Drouot and Albert Dubos registered as 'pupils of the École du Louvre'²⁸ while Harald Brising and Axel Sjöblom, both coming from Sweden, specified the institutions for which they worked: the former, for the National Museum; the latter, for the University of Uppsala.²⁹

Upon closer observation, most readers only came to the library once or twice (45.8 %) or didn't have any registered visit (19.7 %). This casts doubt on their interest, as professionals or amateurs, in the collection itself. Furthermore, the register records a surprising number of aristocrats (131 names) and women (195 readers) within the library's readership. Some of these were among the most highly engaged readers: the Austrian baroness Thilda de Kulmer, who came nineteen times between 1910 and 1912, regularly published art and exhibition reviews in the magazine *L'Art décoratif*,³⁰ while Conrad de Mandach, a doctor and an art history teacher at the Sorbonne, came thirty-six times and Jean-Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac, who had been curator of the Cernuschi Museum since 1905, came twenty-one. Others, such as the viscount Pierre de Ternas and the countess Corisande de Brigode, did not have any notable, much less professional, interest in art history, but were notably well integrated into the society life of pre-war Paris.

In view of the large number of one-time visitors to the library, and considering that Doucet was a *grand couturier* whose studio was, at the time, quite close to the library itself, a high society 'visitorship', if not readership, may be hypothesized. Cultural, literary and artistic curiosity was indeed an integral part of the practices and values of Parisian society at the beginning of the twentieth century, as Alice Bravard shows in her study devoted to the *Grand monde*.³¹ Among elite men and women, artistic societies, such as the *Cercle de l'Union artistique* or the *Cercle artistique*, were privileged gathering places, while literary salons were still frequently held and well-attended. Confirmation of high society visitorship to the *Bibliothèque d'art et*

je puis répondre. Or, je n'ai aucun renseignement mauvais sur M. Courtot, mais je ne le connais que très peu, seulement parce qu'il est le gendre de l'ancien dessinateur du dict. des antiquités. Je lui ai donc répondu qu'il était *convenu* avec M. D. que je ne lui enverrais que des personnes de moi connues personnellement, et faisant partie du cercle des élèves qui suivent un cours. Ce sera, si vous le voulez bien, la règle que j'adopterai à cet égard ; car on ne saurait être trop prudent, dans les conditions de travail où sont placés vos lecteurs.' René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris: letter from Pottier, 21 February 1913, box 145/1/1039.

²⁸ They came to the library thirteen times between 1912 and 1913, and twice between 1912 and 1913, respectively.

²⁹ Brising came to the library four times in 1914; Sjöblom came sixty-eight times in 1914.

³⁰ See the description attached to Fabienne Fravallo, 'L'Art décoratif (1898-1914)', *Répertoire de cent revues francophones d'histoire et critique d'art de la première moitié du XX^e siècle*, in AGORHA, Paris: INHA, 2011- [online database], URL:

<https://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/003100980> (consulted on 15 July 2020).

³¹ Alice Bravard, *Le Grand monde parisien. La persistance du modèle aristocratique, 1900-1939*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013.

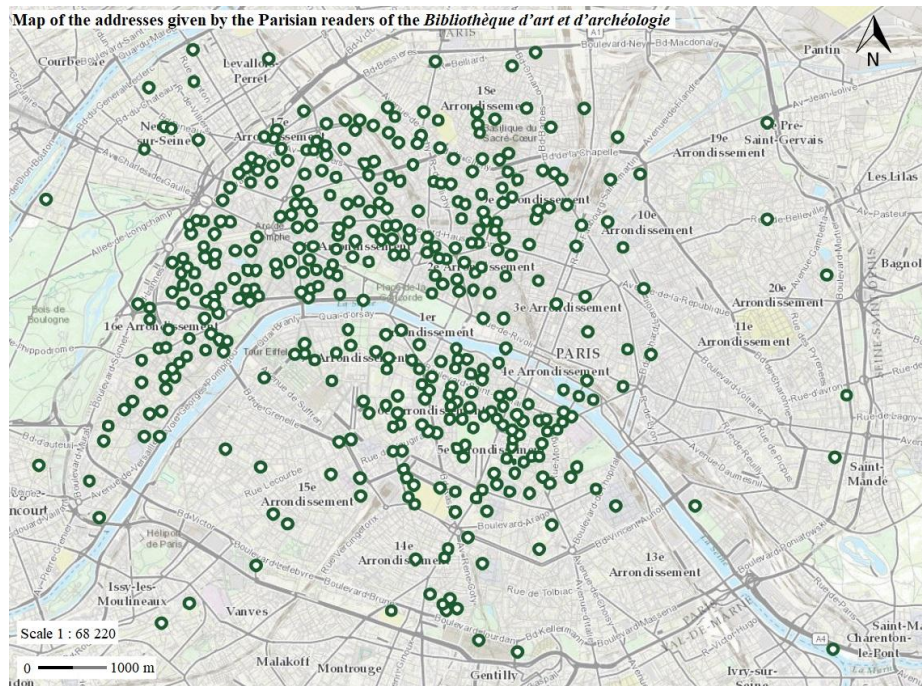


Figure 3: Map of the addresses given by the Parisian readers of the *Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie*.

d'archéologie can be found by analysing the addresses found in the register. The resulting map [fig. 3] clearly shows a concentration of readers living in the bourgeois districts of Paris, identified by Bravard as the favoured neighbourhoods of Parisian socialites.³² Readers in the sixteenth arrondissement include Mme Clos,³³ Mme Morian,³⁴ Mme Rossollin³⁵ or Mme Sartoris³⁶; readers in the eighth arrondissement include Mlle Vincent,³⁷ the lawyer Henri Roche³⁸ and the prince Wladimir Nikoghayos Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff.³⁹ Others lived near the Louvre Museum or in the *Quartier latin*, neighbourhoods traditionally occupied by an intellectual bourgeoisie: Fernand Schutz, who visited the library in 1914, lived on the banks of the Seine, in front of the Tuileries, at 25 quai Voltaire, while Édouard Massin, another one-time visitor of the library, was a neighbour of the Sorbonne University and the Jardin du Luxembourg, at 15 rue Soufflot. The socio-economic

³² Alice Bravard, *Le Grand monde parisien. La persistance du modèle aristocratique, 1900-1939*, 141-145.

³³ Madame Clos, wife to Jean Clos, lived at 3 rue Le Tasse. She was registered in 1914, with no visit recorded.

³⁴ Madame Morian, wife to Jacques Morian, lived at 7 avenue d'Eylau. She came to the library four times, in 1911.

³⁵ Madame Rossollin lived at 8 bis chaussée de la Muette. She was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded.

³⁶ Madame Sartoris lived at 17 boulevard Delessert. She came to the library once, in 1911.

³⁷ Mademoiselle Vincent lived at 9 avenue de l'Alma. She came to the library once, in 1914.

³⁸ Henri Roche, 'avocat à la Cour', lived at 8 rue de Berri. He was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded.

³⁹ Wladimir Nikoghayos Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff had a Parisian address at 7 rue François 1^{er}. He came to the library twice, in 1914.

profile suggested by these addresses further corresponds with that of Doucet's acquaintances – sixty-nine people registered as readers are indeed in Doucet's personal address book,⁴⁰ and half of these are one-time visitors at the library – or couture customers. For instance, Simone Le Bargy⁴¹ and Herminie Pardinel,⁴² were both registered readers and among Doucet's clientele when his store was located at 21 rue de la Paix, in the first arrondissement.⁴³ It is therefore likely that the rare visits of these readers to the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie served a mundane sociability rather than research and work purposes.

Regular and assiduous readers: which professional profiles?

But the library also attracted a more focused and loyal readership, characterized by its frequency and duration. While 282 readers (19.7 %) visited the library between three and ten times, 211 frequent readers (14.8 %) came more than ten times. Moreover, whereas a vast majority of the readers were registered for only one year (72.0 %) or two (15.6 %), 164 readers registered for more than three years (11.5 % of the readers). Obviously, some readers visited both frequently and over a long period of time: this is the case for 124 readers, who therefore constituted the core of the library's readership, and whose profiles are interesting to study in more detail. On average, those readers came to the library about forty times and were registered for at least four years. Unsurprisingly, among them are important names for early twentieth century art history, for instance, the curator of the Paintings department at the Louvre Museum, Jean Guiffrey, who had studied at the École du Louvre;⁴⁴ the academic historian and prolific author on nineteenth-century French art, Léon Rosenthal;⁴⁵ and the librarian in the *Cabinet des estampes* of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paul-André Lemoisne, who had trained at the École des Chartes.⁴⁶ These examples, however arbitrary, nevertheless reveal the variety of professionals who frequented the library.

⁴⁰ Doucet's address book, started around 1919, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried).

⁴¹ Simone Le Bargy came to the library once, in 1912.

⁴² Herminie Pardinel came to the library twice, in 1914.

⁴³ Doucet's archives, INHA Library, Paris, box 097/6/166/2.

⁴⁴ He came to the library fourteen times between 1910 and 1912. More generally concerning Guiffrey, see Anne Bariteau, 'Archives 029 – Guiffrey, Jean', *Documents d'archives et documents photographiques de la BINHA*, in AGORHA, Paris: INHA, 2011- [online database], URL: <https://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/0056549> (consulted on 15 July 2020).

⁴⁵ He came to the library forty-nine times between 1911 and 1914. More generally concerning Rosenthal, see Michaela Passini, 'Léon Rosenthal', in Claire Barbillon and Philippe Sénéchal, eds, *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*, Paris: INHA, 2011- [online], URL: <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/rosenthal-leon.html> (consulted on 16 July 2020).

⁴⁶ He came to the library fifteen times between 1910 and 1914. More generally concerning Lemoisne, see 'Archives 069 – Lemoisne, Paul-André', *Documents d'archives et documents photographiques de la BINHA*, in AGORHA, Paris: INHA, 2011- [online database], URL: <https://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/0056569> (consulted on 15 July 2020).

The diversity of readers' education, training and institutional culture is made particularly visible through a network analysis, in which readers act as links between the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie and the other institutions with which they were affiliated. Network analysis has been chosen as an exploratory tool, best suited to capture and map the position taken by the BAA, among other institutions involved in the development of art history as a scientific discipline in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, if such an analysis does indeed reveal interesting phenomena worthy of investigation – as will be seen –, it has its limitations. The first is that network analysis only offers a diachronic approach when mapping the place taken by the BAA in the institutional landscape: it thus ignores possible shifts regarding influence, circulation of personnel and/or collaboration between the involved institutions. The second limitation is related more specifically to the quality and quantity of available data: unfortunately, the network analysis possible for the Doucet library suffers from frequent data gaps. Indeed, for some readers, basic information – for instance, positive identification – or supplementary information, such as a complete biography or curriculum vitae, are missing. As a result, readers for whom there is little or no available documentation could not be included in the network analysis. This situation tends to reproduce an invisibility bias towards certain profiles and/or practices. Typically, individuals with no known institutional affiliation are not visible in the network, thus obscuring their contributions to art history and distorting the representation of the discipline in favour of institutions. To achieve a more accurate representation, it would also be helpful to include other largely invisible participants that have not (as of yet) been incorporated into the Doucet library network analysis, such as journals or publishing houses. Finally, for greater clarity, the choice has been made not to weight the relationship between the BAA and the institutions with the actual number of visits made by the affiliated readers, and instead focus on revealing the institutional landscape surrounding the library. This focus enables the analysis to provide a useful social and institutional sketch of the field of art history at the beginning of the twentieth century, and of the position of Doucet's library within it. The resulting network visualization⁴⁷ [fig. 4] shows that, while most institutions only have a tenuous link with the library, i.e., not more than one individual in common (due in part, as mentioned above, to a lack of documentation on many readers), there are at least three dominant institutional milieus within its readership: academia, museums, and libraries.

Academia⁴⁸ constitutes the largest of the three: many readers were students or employees of academic institutions such as universities and research institutes (shown in yellow on the visualization) [fig. 5]. The Sorbonne University and the *École normale supérieure* form the main hubs, as they provided ten and fifteen readers to the library, respectively. This reflects the historic centrality of Paris for French research, which results in two phenomena: on the one hand, Parisian institutions

⁴⁷ Using Gephi software and the Force Atlas algorithm.

⁴⁸ Christophe Charle, *Dictionnaire biographique des universitaires aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Paris: CNRS, 1985; Christophe Charle, *La République des universitaires (1870-1940)*, Paris: Le Seuil, 1994.

d'archéologie were also frequently associated with the *École des Chartes*. The school, which had sixteen students registered at Doucet's library, trained archives and library curators: it is therefore no surprise that this institution should appear in the biographies of the archivists and librarians considered here. However, contrary to the academic and museum milieus, which were dominated by Parisian institutions, library curators seem to have been able to free themselves from this centralization. While the largest number of readers from the library milieu were associated with the *Bibliothèque nationale*, librarians from Monaco, Bordeaux and Caen, and even archivists from the *Alpes-Maritimes* and Orthez (in the *Pyrenees*) were also registered readers. The considerable interest shown by librarians and archivists in the *Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie* was likely not due solely to its suitability for their art historical research. The logistical and institutional aspects of Doucet's library were also significant. When Paul Cornu, curator at the *UCAD's* library, spoke in 1913 at the annual conference of the *Association des bibliothécaires français* he underlined the Doucet library's singular ambitions, means and organization.⁵⁵

Although these three milieus are distinctive, the network analysis reveals above all their high permeability, which is confirmed by readers' biographies. Philippe Lauer's profile is representative of the porosity between the library and academic worlds. He studied at both the *École des Chartes* and the *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes*. By the time he was a registered reader at Doucet's library he had become a curator at the *Bibliothèque nationale*, but he was also writing and defending two doctoral theses. Although he spent his entire career at the *Bibliothèque nationale*, he wrote more than a hundred books, belonged to various scholarly societies and received academic awards. Other readers, such as Pierre Marcel, moved between museum and university. After receiving his doctorate in art history, he launched his career as a secretary at the *École des hautes études sociales* and as a teacher at the *Sorbonne University*, before working for both the *Louvre Museum* and the *Chateau de Versailles*. His two roles found conciliation in 1912, when he was appointed professor at the *École des beaux-arts* and became highly involved in fine arts education.

The three intersecting milieus—university, museum and library—, permeable but distinct, provided the locus for French art history at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet a fourth, smaller milieu also regularly frequented the Doucet library: artists and artisans. Art schools were closely associated with museums, but this fourth milieu can nevertheless be set apart. On the one hand, numerous readers were studying or working in art schools (shown here in brown) [fig. 8]: the *École des beaux-arts*, in particular, was the institutional affiliation of at least seven readers.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the library also shared nineteen readers with the *UCAD's* library, dedicated from its foundation to artists and artisans. More generally, individuals having an artistic career were among the *Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie's* readers. For instance, the German goldsmith and architect Franz

⁵⁵ Paul Cornu, 'Les bibliothèques d'art de Paris', in *Bibliothèques, livres et librairies*, Paris: Librairie des sciences politiques et sociales, 1913, 97-126.

⁵⁶ These are: Pierre Gerquin, Pierre Lavallée, Henry Lemonnier, Pierre Leprince-Ringet, Pierre Marcel, Auguste Ravenel, Lucien Tropey-Bailly.

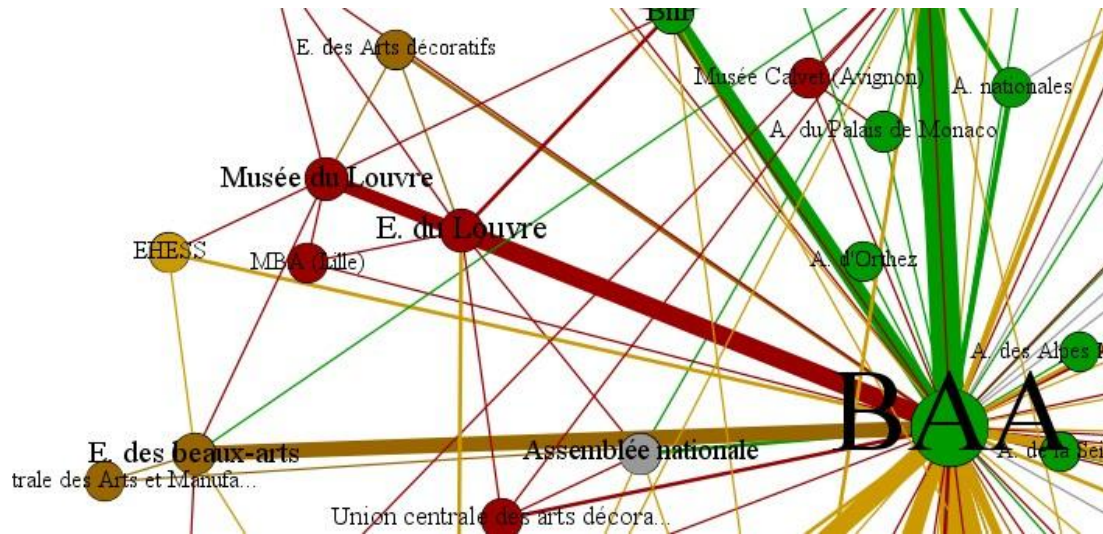


Figure 8 The artists' and artisan's milieu in the BAA's readership. Art schools are shown in brown.

Löhr was registered as a reader as early as 1912, while the sculptor Stanislas Lami came to the library more than a hundred times between 1910 and 1914. The latter example is particularly interesting: although Lami was well known as an artist, exhibiting at the Salon des Artistes Français and at world exhibitions, he was also recognized for his work as an art historian. His *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs*⁵⁷ was published in four volumes between 1884 and 1911, and quickly became a fundamental tool for the history of sculpture, still useful today. His profile thus reveals an additional component of art history as a discipline at the beginning of the twentieth century: that written by the practitioners themselves.⁵⁸

The library's register of readers also contains more surprising professional profiles. A minimum thirty-seven members of the clergy registered as readers; at least ten military personnel complete this unexpected readership. Although few in number, their presence is remarkable, as their profession did not *a priori* require them to study art history. Traditionally, however, members of the clergy carried out research on local and/or religious heritage. Father Paul Brune, who came fourteen times to the library between 1910 and 1914, is a typical example of this scholarly mission annexed to religious vocation. Appointed priest in 1884, then vicar the following year, he invested early on in heritage preservation and in an almost encyclopaedic erudition that he shared, starting in 1887, through the publication of numerous and frequent works. His expertise on local heritage led to his membership in several learned societies from 1885 and, above all, to his appointment as curator of antiquities and works of art in the Jura in 1910. Brune soon began his fundamental work, the *Dictionnaire des artistes et des ouvriers d'art*, which was to cover, volume by volume, all the regions of France, and was published, from 1912, by the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie itself.⁵⁹ Other readers, such as

⁵⁷ Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs*, Paris: H. Champion, 1884-1911, 4 vol.

⁵⁸ Eleonora Vratskidou, 'A third art history? The role of artistic practice in the shaping of the discipline', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 19, December 2018.

⁵⁹ The publication program of the *Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie* is discussed below.

the Capuchin friar Ubald d'Alençon,⁶⁰ confirm – albeit to a lesser extent – this profile of clerical scholars concerned with heritage issues, which explains their notable presence within the library's readership.

Members of the military could also have professional reasons for conducting research in Doucet's library. Archaeological missions in particular could be organised parallel to, or under the supervision of, military missions. Thus François-Maurice Allotte de La Fuÿe, registered as a reader at the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie in 1911 and 1912, was first of all a soldier by training: he had studied at the *École polytechnique* and at the Imperial School of Artillery and Engineering in Metz. He was also a soldier by career: appointed captain in 1870, he was promoted to commander in 1890 and to lieutenant-colonel in 1894, before obtaining the rank of colonel in 1899. At the same time, however, he developed a genuine expertise as an orientalist archaeologist and numismatist. His first publication in this area appeared in 1886 and addressed the mosaics of Tebessa, Algeria, where he was then stationed.⁶¹ After participating in the French Archaeological Delegation to Persia from 1897 to 1904, he retired from the military, not without being decorated as Commander of the French Legion of Honour.⁶² From then on, he assiduously pursued his work as an archaeologist, and was quickly recognized as such: he became president of the Société française de numismatique, published extensively in scientific journals such as the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, the *Revue numismatique* and the *Journal asiatique*, as well as proper monographs, and was elected, in 1914, corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.⁶³

The career of Émile Espérandieu, who came twice at the library in 1912, resembles that of Allotte de la Fuyé. Having studied at the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr, it was during military missions in Tunisia that he developed a passion for archaeology, and more specifically for epigraphy. In 1910 he retired effectively, albeit unofficially, from his military career to devote himself fully to epigraphy. He began publishing on this subject as early as 1883 and was appointed director of the *Revue épigraphique* in 1899. He, too, obtained parallel recognition. In 1919, when he officially retired from his military career, he was appointed Officer of the French Legion of Honour. In the same year, he was finally elected a free member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. The presence of military personnel among the library's readers thus seems to be explained by the colonial conditions in which French archaeology developed at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century,⁶⁴ and contributed to the great diversity of its

⁶⁰ He came to the library once in 1914.

⁶¹ François-Maurice Allotte de La Fuÿe, *Mosaïques de Tébessa découvertes en 1886 par Mr le commandant du génie Allotte de La Fuyé*, Paris: Monrocq, 1886.

⁶² Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, LH/24/65.

⁶³ See his eulogy by Charles Picard, 'Éloge funèbre du Colonel François-Maurice Allotte de la Fuyé, correspondant français de l'Académie', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 83-1, 1939, 85-91.

⁶⁴ Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Alexandra Galitzine-Loumpet, Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin, eds, 'Archéologie(s) en situation coloniale.

readership. The use of the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie by all these professionals, with their heterogeneous education, culture and practices, provided the basis for the reputation that Doucet's library rapidly acquired as a vital resource.

The library's international reputation

The Doucet library's burgeoning reputation is further confirmed by the library's numerous foreign readers, identified as such by their addresses and/or by their institutional affiliations: thus at least eighty-two registered readers came from abroad. Through those readers, the library forged links with prestigious foreign institutions, which, moreover, belonged to the same milieus previously described. Among the foreign librarians were Joaquim Folch i Torres and Friedrich Winkler, working, respectively, at Barcelona Museum's library and at the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin. The former was simply registered in 1913, while the latter came twelve times between 1911 and 1912. The visit of the Belgian bibliographer Paul Otlet, in 1912, would appear to reflect interest in the library as such. But academics and museum curators made up the bulk of the foreign readership. The Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie attracted professionals working in the most prestigious European museums, such as James Alfredovitch Schmidt of the Hermitage in Petersburg,⁶⁵ Douglas S. MacColl of the Tate Gallery in London,⁶⁶ or Paul Ganz and Ernst von Meyenburg of the Kunstsammlung in Basel, Switzerland.⁶⁷

Doucet's library was also appreciated by European academics: for instance, Josef Strzygowski,⁶⁸ professor at the University of Vienna, and Pier Francesco Casaretto,⁶⁹ on the Law Faculty of the University of Genoa. The library's international reputation reached beyond Europe. At least six registered readers worked or lived, for example, in the Americas: John R. Effinger from the University of Michigan, Miss A. Balduin from New York, and Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón, on a mission for the Chilean government. And at least one visitor arrived from Asia: Mr. Takeuchi, from Tokyo, made a visit to the library in 1911. These examples, however rare they may be, nevertheless demonstrate the scope of the library's fame.

Most foreign readers came from neighbouring countries, however. Belgian and German art historians are best represented among the readership, providing at least thirteen and fifteen readers respectively, followed by Italy and the United Kingdom, each with at least nine registered readers at the Bibliothèque d'art et

1. Paradigmes et situations comparées', *Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie*, 126, 2011; 'Archéologie(s) en situation coloniale. 2. Acteurs', *Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie*, 128, 2012.

⁶⁵ Schmidt visited the library once, in 1911.

⁶⁶ MacColl was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded.

⁶⁷ Ganz was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded; Von Meyenburg was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded.

⁶⁸ Strzygowski visited the library once, in 1911.

⁶⁹ Casaretto was registered in 1913, with no visit recorded. His interest in the library may have to do with his work on Genoese currency, *La moneta genovese in confronto con le altre valute mediterranee nei secoli XII e XIII*, Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1928, where he displayed artistic erudition.

d'archéologie. This distribution corresponds well with Michaela Passini's description of the geo-institutional position of art history at the time:

These two documents [dated 1912 and 1914]⁷⁰ paint a single portrait of the discipline being institutionalized in Europe. The map of university registration in art history is dominated by the German-speaking countries, where the chairs are the most numerous; followed by countries such as France, where, after the foundation of the chair at the Sorbonne, art history courses were created in provincial universities (Lille, Lyon, Grenoble), and Italy, where the first university courses began to be set up at the beginning of the century, first at the University of Rome, then in Turin and Bologna.⁷¹

The range of readers at Doucet's library also corresponds with her analysis of the mobility of professional art historians, who circulated throughout Europe both to consult documents and to observe other methodological models. Walter Friedländer⁷² provides a representative example of these practices: born in Poland, he became a doctor in Sanskrit at the University of Berlin in 1898;⁷³ he pursued his career in London as a postdoctoral fellow at the British Museum, where he took an interest in art history. On his return to Berlin, he resumed studies in art history under Heinrich Wölfflin and then settled from 1907 to 1911 in Rome, as a member of the *Deutsches Historisches Institut*, in order to study Italian Renaissance mural painting—the subject of his first essay in art history.⁷⁴ Starting 1911, he became a regular reader at the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie; he came seventy-five times until 1912. During his sojourn in Paris he was likely researching his second book, devoted to the French painter Nicolas Poussin and published in 1914.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Atti del X Congresso internazionale di Storia dell'arte in Roma. L'Italia e l'arte straniera* (1912), Rome: Maglione et Strini, 1922 and Henri Berr, ed, 'Numéro consacré à l'histoire de l'art', *Revue de synthèse historique*, February 1914.

⁷¹ 'Ces deux documents brossent un seul et même portrait de la discipline en cours d'institutionnalisation en Europe. On voit ainsi la carte de l'inscription universitaire de l'histoire de l'art dominée par les pays germanophones, où les chaires sont les plus nombreuses ; suivent des pays comme la France où sont créés, après la fondation de la chaire de la Sorbonne, des enseignements d'histoire de l'art dans les universités de province (Lille, Lyon, Grenoble), et l'Italie, où un premier enseignement universitaire commence à se mettre en place dès le début du siècle, d'abord à l'université de Rome, puis à Turin et Bologne.' Michaela Passini, *L'oeil et l'archive*, Paris: La Découverte, 2017, 24.

⁷² Concerning Friedländer, see Lee Sorensen, 'Friedländer, Walter F.', in *Dictionary of Art Historians*, Durham: Duke University, 2010- [online], URL: <https://arthistorians.info/friedlanderw> (consulted on 21 July 2020).

⁷³ Walter Friedländer, *Der Māhāvratā-Abschnitt des Cāṅkhāyana-Aranyaka*, Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1900.

⁷⁴ Walter Friedländer, *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1912.

⁷⁵ Walter Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin. Die Entwicklung seiner Kunst*, München: Piper, 1914.

If the example of Friedländer reflects the international character of the discipline itself, it also attests to the library's international standing. It is, however, worth noting that the library's foreign readership included individuals who were in fact French and/or working for French institutions but located abroad. Étienne Boubet, registered in 1913, was a clergyman in Notre-Dame de France, a church in Jerusalem; similarly, M. Lançon, registered in 1914, worked for the French government's Tunisian office, while Charles Dugas, a French archaeologist who had studied at the *École normale supérieure*, came three times at the library between 1911 and 1912 as a fellow from the *École française d'Athènes*, in Greece.

If these profiles confirm the mobility shown by French art historians, both professional and amateur, at the beginning of the twentieth century, they also offer an explanation of how the library managed to attract foreign readers: its French readers likely promoted the library and its services to their foreign peers. At least it appears so in René-Jean's correspondence:

Dear sir, I told Mr. Kano, professor of Chinese at the University of Kyoto, that you are pleased to receive us but that he would do well to ask you for an appointment.⁷⁶

Or else:

Dear friend, I especially recommend to your benevolence my friend José de Figueredo, director of the Lisbon Museum, author of the famous book on Nuno Gonçalves and the only art connoisseur in Portugal, [who] would like to be able to work a little among your books.⁷⁷

Such letters indicate that the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie's French readers acted as intermediaries between the library and art historians abroad. At the same time, the letters reveal the active engagement of some readers in supporting the library and its collections: these readers took on the library's advancement as a personal mission.

Working at or working for the library? Readers' involvement

Analytical and comparative reading of the Doucet library's reader's file and René-Jean's correspondence brings to light previously unremarked individuals who were important for the institutional and social history of art history, or for the history of

⁷⁶ 'Cher monsieur, J'ai dit à M. Kano, professeur de chinois à l'Université de Kyoto, que vous seriez heureux de nous recevoir mais qu'il ferait bien de vous demander un rendez-vous.' Letter from Édouard Chavannes, 12 November 1912, René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143/1/123.

⁷⁷ 'Cher ami, je recommande tout spécialement à votre bienveillance mon ami José de Figueredo, directeur du Musée de Lisbonne, auteur du livre fameux sur Nuno Gonçalves et l'unique connaisseur d'art du Portugal, aimerait pouvoir travailler un peu au milieu de vos livres'. Letter from Bertaux, 16 November ?, René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143/1/40.

the library itself, or for both. This is the case, for instance, for Louise Pillion,⁷⁸ today quite forgotten. Yet she was one of the first women to receive a doctorate in art history, having defended her thesis in 1904 at the École du Louvre. Although she evidently did not manage to get a position in a museum or university, her scientific production remains impressive: she published more than forty articles and essays between 1903 and 1956.⁷⁹ At the library, she was one of the most assiduous readers with two hundred and three visits recorded. Pillion transformed her presence at the library into an effective collaboration: in 1912, she announced the launch of a catalogue of Christian iconography for the library, which has recently been exhumed from the INHA archives:⁸⁰

Christian iconography

The Jacques Doucet Library is making a new work available to researchers. It is the catalogue of works concerning the Christian iconography of the West, drawn up on cards by Miss Louise Pillion. [...]

Readers will find in this new catalogue, methodically classified by order of subject, an attempt to group together books or journal articles written on iconographic questions in French, English, German and Italian.

[...] This catalogue, which may be published at a later date, will be kept up to date, and the author gratefully welcomes any communication of new entries.⁸¹

The transition from passive reader to active contributor to Doucet's library was not uncommon. The reader's register is full of names of individuals who are known to have participated in the library's development, mostly by donating books and periodicals. Among these donors⁸² were frequent library users such as Georges

⁷⁸ Concerning Lefrançois-Pillion, see Claire Dupin de Beyssat, 'Pillion, Louise', *La Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie de Jacques Doucet: corpus, savoirs et réseaux*, in AGORHA, Paris: INHA, 2011- [online database], URL: <https://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/002120123> (consulted on 21 July 2020).

⁷⁹ See her bibliography attached to Claire Dupin de Beyssat, 'Pillion, Louise', *La Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie de Jacques Doucet: corpus, savoirs et réseaux*.

⁸⁰ Lefrançois-Pillion's archives, INHA Library, Paris, box 047/2 (not inventoried).

⁸¹ 'Iconographie chrétienne. La Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet met à la disposition des travailleurs un nouvel ouvrage. Il s'agit du répertoire des travaux concernant l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Occident, dressé sur fiches par Mlle Louise Pillion. [...] Les lecteurs trouveront dans ce nouveau répertoire, classé méthodiquement par ordre de sujet, un essai de groupement des ouvrages ou articles de revues écrits sur des questions d'iconographie en français, en anglais, en allemand et en italien. [...] Ce répertoire, qui pourra être publié par la suite, sera tenu à jour, et l'auteur accueillera avec reconnaissance toute communication de fiches nouvelles.' *Gil Blas*, 31 January 1912, 4.

⁸² There are 70 readers whose name can also be found as donors in the inventory register of Doucet's library, 1910-1917, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried).

Keller-Dorian, who came fifty-nine times at the library between 1910 and 1913,⁸³ and Henri Boucher, who came forty-one times in between 1910 and 1912, and also infrequent ones, such as the art critic Gaston Varenne, who visited once in 1912, and the diocesan architect Charles Nizet, simply registered in 1914.⁸⁴ Others took a more active role in the development of the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie. Cornu, as mentioned above, had visited frequently⁸⁵ before being hired by Doucet to oversee the costume section, while Émile Deshayes,⁸⁶ André Fevret⁸⁷ and Arnold van Gennep,⁸⁸ among others, volunteered bibliographic information and helped René-Jean to expand and catalogue the library's collection. Finally, some readers contributed to the library as editors: as early as 1910, the library's mission included publishing books and periodicals in art history, most often in the form of reference works such as catalogues, dictionaries, indexes, directories and, sometimes, exhibition catalogues. Among the authors were Adrien Marcel,⁸⁹ Marius Audin,⁹⁰ and Georges Marteau,⁹¹ all of whom started as readers at the library, coming nine times in 1910, five in 1911 and twice in 1912, respectively. These numerous and heterogeneous contributions form a valuable indicator of the readers' investment in the library and, by extension, of its exceptional quality, both as a book collection and also as a service. The commitment of its readers indicates researchers' deeply-felt need for a research collection dedicated to art history and explains, in the absence of an official initiative, the extraordinary success of Doucet's project.

This is confirmed, more generally, by the extent and diversity of the readership that frequented the library between 1910 and 1914. The reader's register reveals how Doucet's initiative is situated at the crossroad of several milieux: high society one on the one hand, for whom visiting the library satisfied artistic and social curiosity; and professional circles on the other, both French and foreign, themselves separated by different institutional registrations – and perhaps by as many different reading and research practices. The INHA research program aims to document the use of the BAA by its readers and contributors, in addition to their social and intellectual circles. The study conducted here on the readership is

⁸³ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143/3/346-351.

⁸⁴ Inventory register of Doucet's library, 1910-1917, INHA Library, Paris (not inventoried).

⁸⁵ His reader's card recorded twenty-six visits from 1911 to 1913.

⁸⁶ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143/2/188. He visited the library eighteen times between 1910 and 1913.

⁸⁷ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 143/2/223. He visited the library fifty-eight times between 1910 and 1914.

⁸⁸ René-Jean's autographs, INHA Library, Paris, box 145/2/1172. He visited the library four times between 1911 and 1912.

⁸⁹ André Girodie, Adrien Marcel and Henri Vial, *Les artistes décorateurs du bois: répertoire alphabétique des ébénistes, menuisiers, sculpteurs, doreurs sur bois, etc., ayant travaillé en France aux XVII et XVIII siècles*, Paris: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1912-1922.

⁹⁰ Marius Audin et Eugène Viala, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du Lyonnais*, Paris: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1918-1919.

⁹¹ Georges Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures persanes: tirées des collections de MM. Henry d'Allemagne, Claude Anet*, Paris: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1913.

therefore a preliminary result of the INHA's research in progress,⁹² which has been conducted by means of a seminar⁹³ and a research blog⁹⁴. Eventually, the publication of a database will examine the careers of the personalities who contributed – directly or indirectly – to the development of the library. Thanks to its interoperability, this database will enable researchers to better grasp the position occupied by the library in the developing field of art history in the early twentieth-century. At the same time, it will answer the questions that the INHA research program tackles: how did a fashion designer, even one as famous and influential as Doucet, succeed in founding one of the most comprehensive and innovative libraries for art history?

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⁹² *La Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de Jacques Doucet: corpus, savoirs et réseaux*, under the supervision of Pascale Cugy at the INHA. For more information, see <https://www.inha.fr/fr/recherche/le-departement-des-etudes-et-de-la-recherche/domaines-de-recherche/histoire-et-theorie-de-l-histoire-de-l-art-et-du-patrimoine/la-bibliotheque-d-art-et-d-archeologie-de-jacques-doucet.html>

⁹³ Seminar 'Un laboratoire pour l'histoire de l'art: la Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie de Jacques Doucet', Paris, INHA, December 2020 – June 2021: <https://www.inha.fr/fr/recherche/programmation-scientifique/en-2020-2021/un-laboratoire-pour-l-histoire-de-l-art.html>

⁹⁴ *Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie Jacques Doucet. Un carnet de recherche de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art*, Paris, INHA: <https://baadoucet.hypotheses.org/>