

Collection Fritz Mannheimer (1890-1939)
Provenance Research Report, Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam



Project team Museum Acquisitions
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Introduction

This is the report of the provenance research on works in the collection of Dr Fritz Mannheimer (Stuttgart 1890-Vaucresson 1939). It fits within the framework of the provenance research undertaken by the Rijksmuseum from 2012, in keeping with the guidelines of the Dutch Museums Association. The decision to look into this collection separately issued from the fact that Dr Mannheimer acquired many objects in German and occupied areas in 1920-1939; accordingly, there is a risk that he purchased objects whose provenance is unclear. Over a two-year period a team of three provenance researchers conducted structured provenance research into Mannheimer's entire collection for the first time. This yielded new results and in-depth information regarding the collector and his collection.

The provenance of 1703 inventory numbers from the former Mannheimer collection have been thoroughly researched for the period 1933-1945 and published on the Rijksmuseum website. The research identified 185 inventory numbers with unresolved questions regarding their ownership history. These comprise all of the objects from the collection of Franz and Margarete Oppenheimer, and a single object (BK-16920) from the collection of Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1843-1940).¹

Fritz Mannheimer's manner of acquisition was the primary focus of this research. This presented a challenge, because none of Mannheimer's own administration or information regarding his acquisitions has been preserved. Insight into his way of collecting was attained by consulting a large number of publications and archives.²

Dr Fritz Mannheimer left Berlin in 1915 and settled in Amsterdam in that same year. He first lived at 113 Kloveniersburgwal and in 1920 bought a villa at 20 Hobbemastraat, across from the Rijksmuseum. In that year he was made responsible for establishing the Amsterdam branch of the Berlin Mendelssohn Bank.³ He applied for Dutch nationality in 1936.

Mannheimer began collecting around the time he moved into the Hobbemastraat mansion. His collection would be famed for its enormous scope, exceptional quality, and rich history. Mannheimer financed his acquisitions with money from the Amsterdam branch of Mendelssohn & Co. Bank. On 25 June 1934, Mannheimer transferred ownership of the art collection to the English firm Artistic & General Securities Company Ltd.⁴ The art was then given on loan to him so that it could remain in his house. In 1936 Mannheimer had a catalogue of his collection written by the art historian Otto von Falke. Every object was catalogued in great detail and included all of the provenance information known at the time.

In the final years of his life Mannheimer suffered health problems and was cared for by Marie Annette Reiss (1917-2004) from the end of 1938. The two married in 1939 and following Mannheimer's death that same year, she gave birth to their daughter, Anne France Mannheimer (1939-). Due to outstanding debts his estate was declared bankrupt shortly after his death.⁵ Legal expert E.J. Korthals Altes was appointed trustee administrator of the financial affairs.

¹ See Potentially problematic collections, p. 6 of this Report.

² See Appendix 1.

³ Janssen 2011, p. 166.

⁴ Korthals Altes 1974, p. 4.

⁵ NHA, no. 233, Archive of the District Court in Amsterdam, 1931-1939, inv. no. 1365, image 17, p. 16. By way of illustrating how high this amount was, this source mentions that the total debt of bankruptcies in 1938 was more than 73 million guilders.

By order of the trustee administrator, in 1939 Miss Hudig, curator of decorative art at the Rijksmuseum, drew up an expert valuation list of all of the objects found in 20 Hobbemastraat.⁶ This was not Mannheimer's only house. Already in 1933 he had purchased a villa in Vaucresson, close to Versailles, where he spent much time and collected art as well.⁷

The objects of decorative art in Mannheimer's collection, which are now in the Rijksmuseum, are individually recorded in the 1939 valuation list. This means that these objects were present in the Netherlands at that time.⁸ It is not known precisely what kind of collection was in Vaucresson. It is clear, however, that several drawings and one painting, now also in the Rijksmuseum collection, were from 'the French part' of his collection and came into German possession in the Second World War.⁹

In 1940 the art in the Hobbemastraat house was sold to the Dienststelle Mühlmann, destined for Adolf Hitler's Führermuseum in Linz. The remaining objects were divided over three Amsterdam auction houses and sold in 1941. After the war the Mannheimer collection was recuperated to the Dutch State. From 14 to 21 October 1952, 476 lots of this recovered collection were auctioned at Frederik Muller in Amsterdam.¹⁰ In addition, a number of objects were parcelled out among various Dutch museums. The majority of the Mannheimer collection, however, was transferred to the Rijksmuseum, where it continued to set the tone for the present museum collection. Close to 500 of the approximately 8000 objects on view in the permanent display are from Mannheimer's collection. It has contributed greatly to the importance of the Rijksmuseum's decorative art collection.

⁶ C.D. Hudig, *Recapitulatie der geïnventariseerde kunstvoorwerpen van wijlen Dr. F. Mannheimer* (NHA, 476 Rijksmuseum and legal predecessors in Amsterdam, 2142 inventory of the Mannheimer collection, with photographs).

⁷ Baarsen 2013, p. 17.

⁸ C.D. Hudig, *Recapitulatie der geïnventariseerde kunstvoorwerpen van wijlen Dr. F. Mannheimer* (NHA, 476 Rijksmuseum and legal predecessors in Amsterdam, 2142 inventory of the Mannheimer collection, with photographs).

⁹ These objects were returned to France after the war, from where they subsequently came to the Netherlands. See: NHA, no. 233, Archive of the District Court in Amsterdam, 1931-1939, inv. no. 1365, image 317, letter from Korthal Altes to the Minister of Finance, 26 April 1951. The database of the Jeu de Paume (ERR) with confiscated objects from French territory does not give a reliable image in the case of the Mannheimer collection; listed in this database are objects which were known with certainty to be in the Hobbemastraat in 1939, based on: RMA Archive, Photographs of the Dr F. Mannheimer collection by C. Vierveijzer 1939.

¹⁰ *Antiquités du XVIIe au XVIIIe Siècle provenant de la célèbre collection du Dr. F. Mannheimer, Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 14-21 October 1952.

Selection and methodology of the provenance research on the Mannheimer collection

The selection of 1703 inventory numbers from the former Mannheimer collection was based on information in the museum's inventory register. At the start of the research, this selection was split into 82 smaller research groups based on the collecting history mentioned in his 1936 collection catalogue. This selection was made on the basis of the last known owner before Mannheimer. The objects with no known previous owner formed a separate group.

Beyond this division, one other subdivision proved possible during the research, which had an impact on the methodology. This resulted in two separate groups for which, upon consulting Dr R.E.O. Ekkart, reduced research could be conducted.

The first group consists of all of the objects with an 'Artistic number'. They could be singled out because it was ascertained that they were in Mannheimer's collection during the Artistic transaction of 25 June 1934. The chance of an unclear provenance was thereby reduced.¹¹ The second group for which reduced research was conducted consists of all of the objects known to have come from Russian collections. In the course of the research various indications were found that Mannheimer bought these objects directly from the Russian State.¹²

Before focussing on the individual objects, the collection in its entirety had to be explored. Intensive research was conducted on Fritz Mannheimer's life and background, and how he went about collecting art. In so doing, an attempt was made to find a key source whereby the gaps in the provenances of all of the objects could be filled in. Although not all of the uncertainties have been resolved, we were able to increase the knowledge about this collection and disclose remaining unsolved questions regarding his manner of collecting. Subsequently extensive research was done on the previous collections. They were examined with a focus on a possible relationship to Mannheimer and on tracking down a moment before the transaction. When research on Mannheimer's ownership, like that on the preceding ownership history, yielded no results, attention then shifted to the individual objects. This research was designed on the basis of a previously determined, structured working method.¹³

Results

Category	Items
Total Mannheimer collection	1703
1. Subdivided into:	
Objects with a provenance without gaps in the period 1933-1945	196
Objects with a provenance with gaps in the period 1933-1945	1507
2. Subdivided into:	

¹¹ See Appendix 2.

¹² See Appendix 3.

¹³ See Appendix 1.

Objects whose provenance prior to Mannheimer is known	940
Objects whose provenance prior to Mannheimer is not known	763
3. Subdivided into:	
Objects whose provenances gives no reason to think they are not clear	1518
Objects with an unclear provenance	185

From these numbers it emerges that the final result includes many provenances with gaps. This intensive two-year research, however, made it possible to bundle a vast amount of information, yielding greater insight into Mannheimer's collection. Hardly any sources regarding direct acquisitions by Mannheimer are known. However by consulting indirect sources, a context could be created that demonstrated the probability of numerous transactions.

An example of this is the identification of the dealers around Mannheimer. This network varied from dealers who owned objects in the 1920s and 1930s that were later found in the Mannheimer collection to dealers known to have done business with Mannheimer. The archive of Duveen Brothers, a firm of prominent art dealers, yielded the greatest amount of information in this respect. It contains correspondence with and about Mannheimer, affording general insight into his purchases and his character. The information in this archive provided definitive provenance data for 17 inventory numbers.

On the basis of three sources it proved possible to determine when 1375 objects were actually in the Mannheimer collection.

The earliest source, datable to 1928-1933, is a photo album of the interior of Mannheimer's mansion on Hobbemastraat made by the German photographer Hanna Elkan. It consists of 52 photographs of the various rooms, including their furnishings and decoration, in which individual objects can be clearly identified.¹⁴

The second source providing a date of ownership is the presence of an Artistic number.¹⁵ This proves the object was in Mannheimer's collection on 25 June 1934, the date of the transaction. There is a lack of documentation regarding this transaction; the Artistic numbers can only be traced from the valuation report drawn up by Miss Hudig in 1939.

This report also includes the sentence 'Oud bezit buiten Artistic gehouden' (Old property excluded from the Artistic transaction), indicating that the objects must have been in Mannheimer's collection already before 25 June 1934. Miss Hudig possibly had at her disposal some administration relating to the Artistic transaction.

Finally, the presence of an object in the collection catalogue drawn up by the art historian Otto von Falke is proof that it was in the collection in 1936. Von Falke began working on this catalogue in 1935 and completed it in March 1936.¹⁶ Unfortunately, no additional information was found in his archive, which is kept at the Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.¹⁷

¹⁴ Four factors underpin the dating of the album: Hanna Elkan established herself in Amsterdam from 1928; Mr Jaffé indicated that he received this album as a gift from Dr Mannheimer around 1930; during the research not a single object was encountered that was acquired after 1933; a suite of furniture that Mannheimer bought in 1934 and had on view in his house at 20 Hobbemastraat in 1933, is not photographed. It is likely that Mannheimer changed his interior shortly after this album was made. A completely renewed interior can be seen in the photographs taken in 1939-1940, when his collection was evaluated,

¹⁵ See Appendix 2.

¹⁶ Von Falke, 1936.

¹⁷ Deutsches Kunstarchiv im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. File: Falke, Otto von. File number: 69, ZR-Number: 422. Call number: DKA, NL Falke, Otto von.

The chart below gives the number of objects whose presence in Mannheimer's collection could be dated. Not surprisingly, there are multiple mentions: it is possible that an object present in the photo album also has an Artistic number and is also included in the collection catalogue. There are 328 inventory numbers that are not mentioned in the written sources.

Category	Items
Objects in the album of photographs of the interior of 20 Hobbemastraat taken between 1928 and 1933	173
Objects that were part of the Artistic transaction in 1934	818
Objects with the annotation 'oud bezit buiten Artistic gehouden' (old property excluded from the Artistic transaction) in the inventory list drawn up by Miss Hudig in 1940	10
Objects included in the catalogue of the Frits Mannheimer collection written by Dr Otto von Falke in 1936	1197

Potentially problematic collections

The Mannheimer collection includes objects that had been in private collections whose owners or their families faced difficulties as a result of the Nationalist Socialist regime's rise to power. The collections to which this applies are those of Mr and Mrs Franz and Margarete Oppenheimer, the Von Rothschild family, the Von Goldschmidt-Rothschild family, Mrs Hermine Feist-Wollheim (1855-1933, Berlin), and Mrs Milly Antonie von Friedländer-Fuld (1866-1943, Berlin/Amsterdam).

Research on the objects from these collections concentrated in particular on determining the moment when and manner in which the objects changed hands. It emerged that the provenance history of the collection of Franz and Margarete Oppenheimer was unclear, as was the case of an object from the Von Goldschmidt-Rothschild collection. Both collections are discussed at greater length below. For the time being, there is no reason to assume that the objects from the remaining collections have an unclear provenance. These collections are here nevertheless treated separately to afford insight into why they, as a group, required greater vigilance.

Franz and Margarete Oppenheimer

Little is known about the Berlin Jewish couple Franz (1871-?) and Margarete (1878-?) Oppenheimer. They are very frequently confused with another couple living and collecting in about the same time, namely Margarete Reichenheim-Oppenheim (1857-1935) and Franz Oppenheim (1852-1929), Berlin. Given the untimely death of her husband, this collection, the majority of which was auctioned on 18 May 1936, is known primarily under the name Reichenheim-Oppenheim.

Franz and Margarete Oppenheimer collected chiefly Meissen porcelain, a catalogue which was written for them by Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld in 1927: *Sammlung Margarethe und Franz Oppenheimer: Meissener Porzellan*. The objects in this catalogue were thus certainly in the couple's possession already in 1927. All of the objects in this catalogue bear a black inventory number. At present the Rijksmuseum owns 93 inventory numbers mentioned in this catalogue that were later part of Mannheimer's collection. Written in pen in the copy of this catalogue in the Rijksmuseum Library is: 'Geschonken aan het Rijksmuseum door Mrs M.L. Palache te Londen, de dochter van de verzamelaars, april 1961' (Given to the Rijksmuseum by Mrs M.L. Palache of London, the daughter of the collectors, April 1961).¹⁸

In addition to the objects in the catalogue of 1927 are another 91 inventory numbers from the Oppenheimer collection that found their way into the possession of the Rijksmuseum via Mannheimer's collection. These acquisitions from after 1927 all bear a red inventory number.¹⁹ Assuming that the 1927 collection catalogue was complete, these objects must have been acquired between circa 1927 and circa 1936-1937. According to a notice in the archive of the Bundesdenkmalamt in Vienna, in 1937 Dr F. Oppenheimer lived at 48 Reisnerstrasse in Vienna, where he accommodated a part of his porcelain collection and pieces of expensive furniture. This source also includes a mention that the other part of the collection was exported from Germany, but never imported into Austria.

Mannheimer is known to have stayed in a sanatorium in Vienna that same year between 9 and 19 September. The two collectors could have possibly met at that time. Mannheimer must have acquired the 184 inventory numbers from Oppenheimer's collection after 1936, since none of them are included in the collection catalogue of 1936.

It is not clear from which part of Oppenheimer's collection the objects Mannheimer acquired came from: the part exported from Germany but never imported into Austria, or the part that was in fact

¹⁸ L. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Sammlung Margarete und Franz Oppenheimer: Meissener Porzellan*, Berlin 1927. Rijksmuseum Research Library, call number: 400 B 15-17.

¹⁹ Den Blaauwen 2000, p. 8.

housed in Austria. In this period, however, there was a ban on exports throughout all of Austria; should Mannheimer have bought from the part in Austria, an exception would have to have been made. Dr F. Oppenheimer left Vienna in 1938 and shortly thereafter the SS confiscated his former residence.

Hannah Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild collection and the Frankfurt branch of the Goldschmidt-Rothschild family

The Mannheimer collection includes 43 inventory numbers whose last known owners are given as the Jewish Hannah Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild (1832-1924), her son-in-law, or one of her grandchildren.

The objects of which Hannah Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild is the last known owner before Mannheimer are not included in the list of possibly unclear provenances, because it cannot be said with certainty whether they were in German or occupied territory between 1933 and 1939.²⁰ Hannah Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild died already in 1924 and Mannheimer could have bought these objects from her directly before the Nazi regime came to power. The same applies to the object from the collection of her granddaughter, Lili Jeanette, Baroness von Schey (née von Goldschmidt-Rothschild), who died in 1925. This theory is supported by the fact that all of the objects have an Artistic number, which means they were in Mannheimer's possession already in 1934.²¹

The daughter of Hannah Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild, Minna Caroline von Rothschild (1857-1903), married Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Goldschmidt (1843-1940) in 1878. They had three sons: Albert Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1879-1941), Rudolph Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1881-1962), and Erich Max Benedikt von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1894-1987). When the Nazi regime came into power, the Goldschmidt-Rothschild family suffered increasingly from the anti-Jewish decrees. The family had only limited access to their assets and were forced to pay exorbitant taxes.²²

In 1935 Albert Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild sold Grüneburg, the stately home in Frankfurt where he had lived after his grandmother. In 1938 his father Maximilian Benedikt von Goldschmidt-Rothschild also sold his home, the Goldschmidt-Rothschild Palace at 10 Bockenheimer Landstraße in Frankfurt. After the *Kristallnacht* the Frankfurt city government increasingly appropriated Jewish property. In 1938 Maximilian Benedikt von Goldschmidt-Rothschild sold his valuable art collection of approximately 1400 objects under coercion to the city of Frankfurt. In 1938 and 1939 Rudolph Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild and Albert Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, respectively, fled to Switzerland, where Albert Maximilian committed suicide in 1941. Their father stayed in Frankfurt and died in 1940.²³

Thorough research was conducted into the objects from the collections of Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild or his sons, Albert Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Rudolph Maximilian von Goldschmidt, or Erich Max Benedikt von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, because they were all living in Germany at the time of the Nazi regime. After extensive

²⁰ See Surcharge note, Mannheimer Report NMV, 2017.

²¹ See Appendix 2, Mannheimer Report NMV, 2017.

²² See Restitutions Committee Recommendation Regarding Von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, file 1.110.

²³ Website Deutsches Zentrum für Kulturgutverluste. 22 June 2017.

https://www.kulturgutverluste.de/Content/03_Forschungsfoerderung/Projekt/Museum-Angewandte-Kunst-Frankfurt/Projekt1.html

research, the provenance of one object (BK-16920, discussed below) has been deemed as unresolved because it is certain that Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild still owned it in 1935. As for the other objects owned by this family, however, to date no reason has been found that they had not left their ownership before 1933.

It was not possible to retrieve how the estate of Hannah Mathilde Freifrau Von Rothschild was divided or find a source for a direct transaction between her and Fritz Mannheimer. There is no information about her art collection or her estate in the Rothschild Archive at Windmill Hill. Nor did contact with museums in Frankfurt yield any supplementary information.²⁴ The provenance data of the objects from her collection that later entered Mannheimer's collection also provide no definitive answer to this question; in some cases they are traced through the collection of one of her descendants, and in others not.²⁵ No sources were found offering proof of a direct transaction between Fritz Mannheimer and the various members of the Goldschmidt-Rothschild family. The exception to this are the Riemenschneider sculptures (BK-16986-A/B) from the collection of Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, in which case there was proof of a direct transaction. Through the publication of four richly illustrated articles by the art historian Adolf Feulner in the periodical *Pantheon* in 1931 we know that a number of important pieces of furniture were still in the collection of the Goldschmidt-Rothschild family in that year. It is odd that the family made public their collection in that time.²⁶

Object number: BK-16920, Object title: Stand for an altar cross in the shape of two angels on a base

Maker: Anonymous

Inv.; ...; collection Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1843-1940), Frankfurt am Main, 1935;²⁷ ...; collection Dr Fritz Mannheimer (1890-1939), Amsterdam and Paris, 1936;²⁸ purchased from his estate, *en bloc*, by the Dienststelle Mühlmann, The Hague, for Adolf Hitler's Führermuseum, Linz, 1940;²⁹ war recuperation, SNK, 1945;³⁰ on loan, with xx other objects, from the DRVK to the museum, 1952;³¹ transferred to the museum, 1960

Gaps 1933-1945: yes

Comments: The provenance of this object is not clear because it is not known how the object left the possession of the Jewish Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt between 1935 and 1936, while he was in Germany.

²⁴ The Museum für Angewandete Kunst in Frankfurt is conducting large-scale research on the objects in its collection from the collection of Maximilian Benedikt Heyum Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild sold in 1938. This research might yield new information about the 'vroegere' (earlier) transactions.

²⁵ The facts provided so far by the lawyers of the Goldschmidt-Rothschild family, too, afford no clarity about the precise descent of the various objects within the family.

²⁶ Both Erich Max Benedikt and Albert Maximilian sold a substantial share of their collections via auctions in the early 1930s, in 1931 and 1933, respectively. Sale, Erich von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1894-1987, Frankfurt am Main), Berlin (Hermann Ball, Paul Graupe), 23 (25) March 1931 *sqg*. Sale, Albert Maximilian von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1879-1941, Frankfurt am Main), Berlin (Paul Graupe and Hermann Ball), 13 March 1933 *sqg*. Mannheimer did not buy any objects at the latter auction.

²⁷ Von Falke/Meyer 1935, p. 10, image 50.

²⁸ Von Falke 1936, p. 112, no. B.8.

²⁹ Korthals Altes 1974, pp. 21-22.

³⁰ HNA, SNK Archive, 2.08.42, inv. no. 548.

³¹ Note RMA.

Hermine Feist-Wollheim

The Mannheimer collection includes five objects from the collection of Hermine Feist-Wollheim (1855-1933, Berlin). Correspondence between Hans Feist, the son of Hermine Feist, and the art dealer Duveen from 1937 makes it clear that Hans Feist was under enormous pressure to sell the collection because of Nazi persecution. At that time Hermine Feist's five objects were already in Mannheimer's collection. Nothing is known about the way in which Mannheimer acquired them. However, we do know when these objects were present in Mannheimer's collection: this varies from 'vóór 1934' (before 1934), 'in 1934,' and 'in 1936.'³² On the basis of an internal letter between the branches of the Duveen Brothers firm in Paris and New York, it emerges that Hermine Feist was gravely ill in 1933 and that her affairs were then handed over to her heirs.³³ This information comes from Heilbronner, an art-dealing firm in Berlin owned by a cousin of Mannheimer. It is therefore plausible that Fritz Mannheimer was aware of this situation. In addition, the Duveen archive mentions that Mrs Feist had already been selling objects from her collection at exorbitant prices for years. Possibly this was reason for Duveen not to buy them, but might not have discouraged Mannheimer.

Milly Antonie von Friedländer-Fuld

The Mannheimer collection includes six objects and a 175-piece service from the collection of Mrs Friedländer-Fuld (1866-1943). Mrs Friedländer-Fuld was the widow of one of the wealthiest men in Berlin, Friedrich Victor von Friedländer-Fuld (1858-1917), and had an extensive collection. She probably resided in Amsterdam between 1917 and 1936, where she was granted Dutch citizenship in 1921.³⁴ She only transferred her art collection to the Netherlands in 1939. She left for France in that same year, but warehoused her collection with the De Gruyter firm in Amsterdam. This stored collection was confiscated in 1941.³⁵ Except for two objects (inv. no. BK-17042-A/B), all of the objects are included in the 1936 Mannheimer collection catalogue.

³² Two objects (inv. no. BK-16941-A/B) are mentioned in the photo album with interior photographs of 20 Hobbemastraat and thus were in his possession already before 1934; one object was part of the Artistic transaction (inv. no. BK-17485); one object is characterized as 'oud bezit, buiten Artistic gehouden' (inv. no. BK-17487); and one object is included in the collection catalogue drawn up in 1936 (inv. no. BK-17079).

³³ GRI, Digital Collections, Duveen Brothers records, Series II. Correspondence and papers. Series II.A. Files regarding works of art: Feist Collection, c. 1937-1939.

³⁴ See Restitutions Committee regarding the application for the restitution of the painting *Charles, Prince de Rohan Soubise* by J.F. Voet (NK 1840) and four 18th-century Louis XV armchairs (NK 656 A-D), file 1.26.

³⁵ Idem.

Appendix 1: List of sources

Literature:

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- W. Bayer, *Verkaufte Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main 2001
- A. L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam 2000
- D. Cannadine, *Mellon: an American life*, London 2006
- M. Conway, *Art treasures in Soviet Russia*, London 1925
- J. Euwe, *De Nederlandse kunstmarkt 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 2007
- O. von Falke, *Katalog der Sammlung F[ritz] M[annheimer]*, Amsterdam 1936
- E. Fowles, *Memories of Duveen Brothers*, London 1976
- R. Gafifullin et al., *Selling Russia's treasures*, New York 2013
- P. Golenia et al., *Paul Graupe (1881-1953)*, Cologne 2016
- M. Gross, *Rogues' gallery*, New York 2009
- M.D. Haga, 'Mannheimer, de onbekende verzamelaar,' *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 22 (1974), pp. 87-95.
- U. Hartmann, *Kulturgüter im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Magdeburg 2007
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- J. F. Heijbroek, *Kunst, kennis en kwaliteit*, Zwolle 2007
- A. Heuss, *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub*, Heidelberg 2000
- A. Heuss, *Fluchtgut, Raubgut*, Zürich 2001
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- R. Janssen, *Grof geld*, Amsterdam 2011
- H.H. Josten, *Fulder Porzellanfiguren*, Berlin 1929

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J.H.W. Leliman, *Het stadswoonhuis in Nederland gedurende de laatste 25 jaren*, The Hague 1920

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S. Lillie, *Was einmal war*, Vienna 2003

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E. Muller and H. Schretlen, *Betwist Bezit*, Zwolle 2002

M. Müller, *Verlorene Bilder, verlorene Leben*, Munich 2009

L.H. Nicholas, *The rape of Europa*, London 1994

L.V. Prott, *Witnesses to history*, Paris 2009

S. Reuther et al., *Raubkunst?*, Hamburg 2014

A. Venema, *Kunsthandel in Nederland 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 1986

Der Welfenschatz, Frankfurt am Main 1930

Eighty-five Years of Art Dealing: A Short Record of the House of Durlacher Brothers, London 1927

Restitutionsersuchen 'Welfenschatz' Darstellung des belegten historischen Sachverhaltes auf der Grundlage der Provenienzforschungen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK), Stand: 30.11.2010, Website Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2017

Archives:

Archive Bundesdenkmalamt Vienna

File: Restitutions Material Franz Oppenheimer, K. 42-1

The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

Online archive: Duveen Brothers

The Archives of American Art, Washington/New York

Online archive: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978

Haberstock Archiv, Augsburg

Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden
File: Rothschild files

Bayerisches Wirtschaftarchiv, Munich
Böhler archive

Windmill Hill archives, Waddesdon Manor
File: Rothschild

Noord-Hollands archief, Haarlem
File: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
File: District Court Amsterdam

Stadsarchief Amsterdam

Archive Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam
Archive: Exhibition *Italiaanse kunst in Nederlands bezit, 1934*

Maria Austria Instituut, Amsterdam

Nationaal Archief, The Hague
Archive Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (no. 2.08.42)

Archive Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
File: Vierveijzer, Photographs taken in 1939-40 of the objects in situ, 20 Hobbemastraat
File: Exhibition *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch Bezit*
File: Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit

Archive Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
File: Otto von Falke

Dealers' archives
Consulted worldwide where relevant and possible.

International museum archives
Especially museums in Germany and Austria from which Mannheimer acquired objects.

Sources in the Rijksmuseum:

Inventory ledgers
Inventory cards
Documentation folders
Rijksmuseum archive
Rijksmuseum Annual Reports
Rijksmuseum *Bulletin*
Library

H. Elkan, *Album of photographs 'Het huis van dr. F. Mannheimer, Amsterdam,'* Amsterdam 1928-32.
Inventory numbers: B-F-1963-426. Part of the museum collection, gift of P. Jaffé, in 1963.

Standard sources for provenance research period 1933-45:

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague
-Library
-Databases
-Visual documentation (online and physical)
-Archives

Sales catalogues in institutes worldwide on the basis of Frits Lugt's *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressant l'art ou la curiosité, 1600-1925*

Universität Heidelberg
Database digitized sales catalogues

Bundesarchiv, Koblenz
Database of the Jeu de Paume, art confiscated in France by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg

Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste
Databases of Lostart.de

The Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property
Database of Lootedart.com

Deutsche Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte, Marburg
Database of visual documentation

Reports and findings of the (Dutch) Restitutions Committee

Database of the Origins Unknown Agency

Appendix 2: Objects with Artistic numbers

Dr Fritz Mannheimer financed his art collection with money from the Amsterdam branch of the Mendelssohn Bank, of which he was a managing partner. In 1934 the art collections was transferred in ownership to the English firm Artistic & General Securities Company Ltd.³⁶ The objects however were then given back on loan to Mannheimer so that they could remain in his house.

The administration surrounding this transaction remains unknown to this day. In the archives of the District Court in Amsterdam it is noted that during the transaction use was made of an existing list of objects drawn up in 1925.³⁷ This assumption is reinforced by various objects that were acquired between 1930 and 1934, but which were not part of the Artistic transaction.³⁸ However, this list of 1925 was not found in the course of the present research.

The selection of objects that were part of this transaction was based on a later list drawn up by Miss Hudig (curator of decorative art at the Rijksmuseum) in 1939. It was the result of the inventory and valuation of the Mannheimer collection commissioned after his death by the trustee administrator charged with settling the bankruptcy. Miss Hudig used a separate numbering for this inventory, but the objects were also linked to the existing Artistic inventory numbers.

Along with the above-mentioned Artistic numbers, Miss Hudig's list also contains a reference to the Artistic transaction, which is important in relation to this ownership history research. There are eight objects without an Artistic number, but with the supplementary text 'oud bezit, buiten Artistic gehouden' (old property excluded from the Artistic transaction). This description suggests that Miss Hudig knew that these objects were in fact owned by Mannheimer before 1934, but were not part of the transaction. These objects were investigated in the same way as those with an Artistic number. The mention of this group and the use of the Artistic numbering suggest that Miss Hudig must have had some kind of administration at hand from the period of the Artistic transaction.

Within the framework of the Museum Acquisitions provenance research, the objects with an Artistic number have a gap in the period January 1933 to 25 June 1934. In consultation with Dr R.E.O. Ekkart, it was therefore decided not to subject this group of objects to a complete, intensive history ownership investigation. After the phase in which the internal sources were researched, a reduced number of sources were consulted for these objects. Only the database www.Lostart.de and the database of auction catalogues of Heidelberg University, and then only sales held in Berlin in 1933 and 1934, were examined.

³⁶ Korthals Altes 1974, p. 4.

³⁷ NHA, no. 233, Archive of the District Court in Amsterdam, 1931-1939, inv. no. 1365, image 003, p. 2.

³⁸ See the provenance of BK-16947 and BK-16940.

Appendix 3: Objects with a Russian provenance

Between 1928 and 1933, over 24,000 objects were sold by the Russian State to foreign countries. The vast majority of them came from noble, church, or museum holdings that had been nationalized as a result of the revolution in 1917.³⁹ Much of the nationalized objects were in the Hermitage, whether or not they were registered. Many objects, in particular from this museum and the Tzars' residences in and around Leningrad (now St Petersburg), were sold.⁴⁰ To facilitate this sale the Antikvariat was established. This 'art dealer' was in contact with Western dealers and individuals, and sold vast amounts of art. The number of sales increased rapidly: in 1928, 858 objects left the country via Antikvariat, and in 1929 the number of objects had already risen to 17,355.⁴¹ Administration relating to these sales has not been preserved, but in all likelihood was also never kept. Antikvariat was discontinued in 1935. Unsold objects were returned to the Hermitage until about 1937.⁴²

Many of the objects sold by the Russian State in this period found their way into Dutch museums and private collections. It is likely that the Dutch buyers were aware of the Russian provenances.⁴³ The precise provenances, however, are not documented in many cases, hence this information is lost.

Various sources, such as the archive of Duveen, indicate that Fritz Mannheimer acquired objects via the Paris branch of Antikvariat.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, it is not known whether some of the objects with a Russian provenance in the Mannheimer collection were acquired directly from Russia. Dealers who bought directly from the Russian State, also offered objects for sale to Mannheimer. A good example of this is the dealer Saemy Rosenberg, who bought many objects in Russia and frequently did business with Mannheimer. A third possibility is that Mannheimer acquired the objects with a Russian provenance only much later and that the pieces that were bought by dealers or private individuals from the Russian State subsequently circulated for years in other collections or on the art market. This seems unlikely, however, given his above-mentioned contact with Antikvariat.

For the objects from the Mannheimer collection it was decided to treat those with an old Russian provenance as a separate group. In consultation with Dr R.E.O. Ekkart it was therefore decided that this group of objects would not be subjected to a full intensive provenance research. A first argument for this, as noted in the brief historical sketch, is that there are strong indications based on the literature and various archives that Mannheimer acquired objects from old Russian collections via Antikvariat or certain dealers. A number of objects in this group that were researched, and for which we in fact succeeded in establishing the collecting history, confirms this. A second argument is that the specific Russian archives for this research proved to be difficult or impossible to access. For those archives that are consultable, it is highly questionable whether they contain additional information; particularly the sales at the time were mostly undocumented. Given that no archive of Mannheimer has been preserved, it is impossible to retrieve the precise transactions between the Russian State and Mannheimer. To test the arguments above, a number of objects, at random, were researched. These objects were found nowhere in the databases that were consulted.

³⁹ Solomakha 2009, p. 112.

⁴⁰ Jager 2002, p. 158.

⁴¹ Solomakha 2009, p. 122.

⁴² Solomakha 2009, p. 129.

⁴³ Jager 2002, p. 159.

⁴⁴ See BK-16672.

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