



Short notice

Meissen Porcelain from the Oppenheimer Collection at the Rijksmuseum

• FEMKE DIERCKS IN COOPERATION
WITH THE RIJKSMUSEUM PROVENANCE TEAM* •

The Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer Collection of Meissen porcelain is one of the most important in the world when it comes to the factory's early output. It is a major cornerstone of the Rijksmuseum's international ceramics collection and of European cultural heritage in the Netherlands. It also bears witness to the collecting passion, the lives, and the persecution and flight of the Oppenheimers, and to the forced sale of their collection.

The collection had been held by the Dutch State since the end of the Second World War. The lion's share was housed in the Rijksmuseum, while smaller ensembles were held in the Kunstmuseum Den Haag and Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam. In 2016, Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer's heirs submitted a claim to the Restitutions Committee, which advises the Minister of Education, Culture and Science (ocw) about Nazi looted art in the Netherlands. In 2019 the Committee concluded that the couple had been forced to sell their collection under threat of persecution during the war and recommended that the claim, which related to 107 object groups, should be granted.¹ Accordingly, the collec-

< Detail fig. 8, p. 189.
All Meissen porcelain objects from the Oppenheimer Collection were purchased with the support of the Rembrandt Association, the Mondriaan Fund, the National Acquisition Fund of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the VriendenLoterij, and H.B. van der Ven/Rijksmuseum Fonds.

tion was handed over to the heirs in 2021 and was sold at Sotheby's in New York that same year.²

Sixty-one object groups were acquired at this sale, with support of the Rembrandt Association, The Mondriaan Fund, the National Acquisition Fund of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the VriendenLoterij and H.B. van der Ven/Rijksmuseum Fonds. By mutual agreement, the Rijksmuseum acted on behalf of the other two institutions with regard to fundraising and during the sale itself. The objects from these museums acquired will be given to them on long-term loan.³ The group of objects that has been acquired represents the majority of the originally much larger collection that the couple built up. The ensemble is an enduring representation of the importance and quality of the Oppenheimer Collection. This remarkable acquisition prompts an in-depth account of the history of Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer as collectors and their fates during the Nazi regime. Highlights among the acquired objects are discussed against the backdrop of the early development of the Meissen porcelain factory.

THE HISTORY OF THE OPPENHEIMER COLLECTION

• MARA LAGERWEIJ •

Franz Oppenheimer was born in Hamburg in 1871. After obtaining a law degree he went to work at Emanuel Friedlaender & Co, a major player in the Silesian coal industry, where he was given a management position in 1902. That same year, he married Margarethe Knapp (1878-1949) from Vienna. Their first-born child was their daughter, Marie Louise, who in due course was followed by their son, Karl.⁴ This Jewish family lived at Regentenstrasse 2, in the Tiergartenviertel of Berlin. It was the diplomatic quarter with a flourishing cultural life, and was home to a large number of collectors and art lovers, primarily of Jewish descent, with whom the couple presumably had regular contact (fig. 1).⁵

During this period, Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer laid the foundations for their extraordinary collection of Meissen porcelain. They also collected furniture, paintings and other works

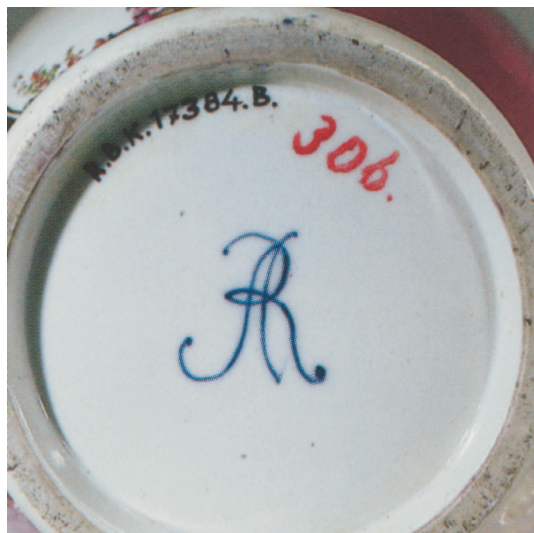
of art, but porcelain was the core of their collection. In 1927, they asked Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, the porcelain expert and curator with Berlin's Schlossmuseum, to compile a collection catalogue. At that time there were 239 objects in their collection.⁶ After the publication of the catalogue the couple added a further ninety-three pieces.⁷ The objects listed in the catalogue have a black inventory number on the bottom; the acquisitions after 1927 have a red inventory number (figs. 2a, b).

Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer collected Meissen porcelain at a very interesting time. In 1904, the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin hosted a major exhibition of European porcelain, which generated interest among collectors. During the same period, important and rare pieces could be bought at sales of duplicates from the Porzellansammlung in Dresden,⁸ and of porcelain held by the Russian State. Starting in the nineteen-tens, this resulted in the establishment of illustrious private porcelain collections, such as those of the Von Klemperers and the Von Goldschmidt-Rothschild family.⁹

When the Nazi regime came to power in Germany in 1933, the persecution of Jews meant that the couple came under great pressure. Franz Oppenheimer converted to Catholicism in 1936 in an attempt to escape this.¹⁰ In the same year, they decided to flee to Vienna, where Margarethe had been born and where their daughter was living.¹¹ Before they were permitted to leave

Fig. 1
Photograph of the Oppenheimer family, 1 August 1931. Oppenheimer Family Collection. Back row: Franz Moritz Herzberg and his wife Marie Louise Herzberg-Oppenheimer (daughter), Karl Oppenheimer (son). Front row: Margarethe Oppenheimer, Karl (later Charles Francis) Herzberg, Dr Franz Oppenheimer, Hans (later John) Peter Herzberg.





Figs. 2a, b
Numbers on saucer,
c. 1730 (BK-17346-B,
bottom) and
vase with purple
ground, c. 1725-30
(BK-17384-B, bottom)
(for credit line
see p. 179).

Germany, they had to pay a million Reichsmarks in *Reichsfluchtsteuer* (Reich Flight Tax).¹² This was an exorbitantly high tax that the Nazis imposed on wealthy Jews wishing to flee the country. Many Jews had already been prohibited from practising their professions and had no other sources of income, so in many cases they had no choice but to sell some of their possessions. This was probably also the case for Franz Oppenheimer, although it is not known exactly how he was able to continue in his position with Emanuel Friedlaender & Co until the mid-nineteen-thirties.

The Oppenheimers were able to take part of their collection with them when they fled to Vienna but were forced to leave the rest behind. After they had left Berlin, their house and its contents were seized by the Nazis. Upon their arrival in Vienna, they decided to put the objects they had brought with them in a customs warehouse at the Austrian border. An inventory of these objects has survived. Number thirteen is a coffee and tea service bearing the coat of arms of the Venetian Morosini family (BK-17421). The description of this family coat of arms makes it possible

to identify this item unambiguously as the service that the Rijksmuseum acquired in 2021.¹³

At the beginning of 1937, Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer moved into an apartment at Reisnerstrasse 48 in Vienna, which they furnished with furniture and possibly part of their porcelain collection from the warehouse. In September of that year, they had the rest of the collection removed from the warehouse at the border. It is not clear whether these objects were then taken to their apartment, stored somewhere else or sold directly from there. It is certain that part of the original collection was exported from Germany, but never imported into Austria.¹⁴ On 12 March 1938 – one day before the annexation of Austria by Germany (the *Anschluss*) – the couple fled again. This time they went to Budapest, taking only hand baggage.¹⁵ The Nazi financial authorities tried to get the couple to pay Reich Flight Tax again, this time approximately 780,000 Reichsmarks, a sum which in the end, after a court case that dragged on for years, they did not have to pay.¹⁶ Their apartment in Vienna was seized by the SS shortly after their departure.¹⁷

Correspondence in 1939 between the Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz (Central Commission for the Preservation of National Heritage Sites) and the occupying forces about the seizure of the Oppenheimer Collection in Vienna shows that the Nazis were aware that parts of the collection were missing: ‘The latter items (were) could not be identified so far. Among the objects found in the apartment there were a number of extremely valuable pieces ... It is unlikely that individual objects were removed by Oppenheimer himself before the seizure of power, because Oppenheimer only went abroad for a few days before the upheaval, and only took small hand luggage. Oppenheimer has not returned to Vienna since then.’¹⁸

The couple had been looking for a safe destination for parts of their collection before they had to flee Austria. A month after he had had part of his collection removed from customs storage, Franz Oppenheimer wrote a letter to Dr Seiberl, the director of the Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz. In this letter he asked whether Dr Seiberl could contact Dr Richard Ernst, director of the Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Museum of Applied Arts) in Vienna, on his behalf about the possible loan of a tapestry from his collection. Oppenheimer continued: ‘May I also take this opportunity to ask you to send the photographs of the porcelain back to me this week, because a friend is coming to see me in the middle of the week and I would like to show him these pictures.’¹⁹ This friend was in all likelihood the collector and banker Fritz Mannheimer (1890-1939), who lived in Amsterdam. Mannheimer was staying in a sanatorium in Vienna in September 1937. Presumably the couple sold him the greater proportion of their Meissen collection that same year. Precise details of the transaction are not known.²⁰

Dr Fritz Mannheimer left Berlin for Amsterdam in 1915. In 1920, he moved into a large house at Hobbemastraat 20, across from the Rijksmuseum, and became director of the Dutch Mendelssohn & Co bank. At around the same time as he moved into the house, Mannheimer, who was of Jewish descent, laid the foundations of his exceptional collection of European decorative arts. Meissen porcelain was a cornerstone of Mannheimer’s collection. At some point prior to his death in 1939, Mannheimer must have brought the Meissen porcelain he had bought from Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer in 1937 to Amsterdam.²¹ The bank Mannheimer worked for was declared insolvent shortly before his death in 1939. That was also true of his personal property, part of which, under the terms of a complex financial structure, was the art collection. Under pressure from the occupying forces, the administrator sold the collection to a Nazi looting organization, the Dienststelle Mühlmann (Mühlmann Agency). It was intended for Hitler’s planned Führer Museum in Linz.²² The Mannheimer Collection, which also included the Meissen acquired from the Oppenheimers, was first taken to a monastery in Bohemia, and from 1943 it was stored in a salt mine in Altaussee. The entire collection was discovered there after the liberation by Allied Monuments Officers (also known as the Monuments Men) and taken to the Central Collecting Point in Munich. From there, the artworks were returned to the Netherlands and placed in the custody of the Dutch State. The collection was still the responsibility of the administrator because of Mannheimer’s insolvency and death just before the war. He reached a settlement with Mannheimer’s widow. As she did not claim the estate or any restoration rights, the Mannheimer Collection reverted to the Dutch State, which decided to sell part of it at auction

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
List **6**

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES

ALL ALIENS arriving at a port of continental United States from a foreign port or a port of the insular possessions of the United States, and all aliens arriving at a port of said insular possessions from a foreign port, a port of continental United States (pink sheet is for the listing of

S. S. SANTA ROSA Passengers sailing from BARRANQUILLA, DECEMBER 14, 1941

1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8			9	10	11		12		13	14	15			
		Family name	Given name					Yes	Married to U.S. citizen	Profession			Had the license for a certain business or the same?	Was	Nationality, country of which citizen or subject?	Place of birth				Immigration Visa, Passport No., or Entry Permit number (This column to be filled in by the collector at the port of arrival)	Issued	Date
NOT PAID	1	DIPLOMAT	FRANCO HOLQUIN	ERNESTO	35	M	S	LAWYER	Y	SPANISH	Y	COLOMB.	SPA-AMER	ERANDE	PN #15	16 3(1)	BOGOTA	12/9/41		COLOMB.	BUGOTA	
PAID	2		FRANK	JOSEF	56	M	M	ARCHITECT	Y	SWEDISH	Y	SWEDEN	HEBREW	BADEN	686 NP		STOCKHOLM	10/4/41		SWEDEN	STOCKHOLM	
PAID	3		FRANK	ANNA REGINA	61	F	M	H/WIFE	Y	SWEDISH	Y	SWEDEN	SCANDINAV.	FILAND	DRAGSFJARD 1 NP		STOCKHOLM	10/4/41		SWEDEN	STOCKHOLM	
PAID	4		FRANKFURT	BORIS	30	M	M	CHEMIST	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	MUSSTIA	KIEV	102 NP	GOTEBORG	11/5/41		SWEDEN	MOENLYCKE	
PAID	5		FRANKFURT	EVA CLARA	28	F	M	H/WIFE	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	BERLIN	893 NP		GOTEBORG	11/5/41		SWEDEN	STOCKHOLM	
PAID	6		NORDSTRAND	FABIAN	19	M	M	ARCHITECT	Y	SWEDISH	Y	SWEDEN	SCANDINAV.	VINTROSA	1561207		WASH, DC.	9/17/41		U.S.A.	CHICAGO, ILL.	
PAID	7		OPPENHEIMER	FRANZ	70	M	M	NONE	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	HAMBURG	916 NP		STOCKHOLM	11/10/41		SWEDEN	STOCKHOLM	
PAID	8		OPPENHEIMER	MARGARETTE	63	F	M	H/WIFE	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	VIENNA	949 NP		STOCKHOLM	11/10/41		SWEDEN	STOCKHOLM	
PAID	9		SODKVIST	ESTHER MARGARET	32	F	S	MASSEUSE	Y	SWEDISH	Y	SWEDEN	SCANDINAV.	MARKARYD	14(8)		GOTEBORG	11/10/41		SWEDEN	GOTEBORG	
PAID	10		STUMM	CHAJE	37	F	M	H/WIFE	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	ROPEZYCE	395 NP		BOGOTA	10/30/41		COLOMB.	BOGOTA	
NOT PAID	11		UNDER 16	ERNEST	9	M	S	STUDENT	Y	GERMAN	Y	GERMANY	HEBREW	VIENNA	318 NP		AS ABOVE			U.S.A.	PORT WASH, N.Y.	
PAID	12		VAN NYMEGEN	DIONYS	57	M	M	NONE	Y	DUTCH	Y	HOLLAND	DUTCH	WONKUM	1561062		WASH, DC.	9/15/41		U.S.A.	PORT WASH, N.Y.	
PAID	13		WILLIAMS	WILLIAM REES	40	M	M	ENGINEER	Y	ENGLISH	Y	ENGLAND	HELBH	GLAWORGRAH	132 3(2)		BOGILLA	12/10/41		COLOMB.	SEGOVIA	
PAID	14		WILLIAMS	MARGARET ELLI	35	F	M	H/WIFE	Y	ENGLISH	Y	ENGLAND	HELBH	WALEST	HAMBROACH	133 3(2)		BOGILLA	12/10/41		U.S.A.	AS ABOVE

Total passengers 14
U. S. citizens 0
Aliens 14

* Permanent residence within the meaning of this manifest shall be actual or intended residence of one year or more.
† List of names will be found on the back of this sheet.

in 1952. The remainder was placed in the aforementioned Dutch museums.

Following their flight from Budapest, the Oppenheimers had meanwhile moved to Stockholm. In 1941, they decided to emigrate once more and left for Barranquilla in Colombia. From there they boarded the ship the *Santa Rosa* in December 1941 and ultimately reached the United States (fig. 3).²³ They both spent the rest of their lives in New York. Margarethe died in January 1949, and Franz the following year, in April 1950.

Fig. 3
Passenger list of the S.S. *Santa Rosa*, from Barranquilla, Colombia, to New York, United States, 14 December 1941. National Archives Washington (see note 23). The Oppenheimers are listed as numbers 7 and 8.

EARLY MEISSEN PORCELAIN AND THE OPPENHEIMER COLLECTION

• FEMKE DIERCKS •

The Mannheimer Collection, of which the Oppenheimer Collection had been a part since 1937, represents the core of the Rijksmuseum's decorative arts collection. Mannheimer had a particular interest in grand pieces of Meissen porcelain, usually made for members of the circle around the founder of the factory, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony (1670-1733). The Oppenheimer Collection, by contrast, attests to a quite different preference. The Oppenheimers collected mainly relatively small and very refined objects made for the bourgeois market. In particular, they concentrated on objects with pseudo-Chinese or Chinoiserie decorations, produced in the first twenty years of the factory's existence. This focus makes the Oppenheimer Collection a perfect reflection of the factory's early output.²⁴ The ensemble furthermore contains a number of masterpieces of European decorative arts.²⁵ The following describes highlights of the collection against this backdrop.²⁶

Royal Porcelain Factory

Augustus the Strong was obsessed with ceramics. He was the driving force behind the establishment of the first porcelain factory in Europe. Under his auspices, the young alchemist Johann Friedrich Böttger worked with the mathematician and physicist Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus and a number of others on 'discovering' the secret formula for making porcelain, the *arcanum*. After Von Tschirnhaus's death in 1707, Böttger continued experimenting on his own

and in 1708 succeeded in making porcelain, which he presented to Augustus the following year. The *Königlich-Polnische und Kurfürstlich-Sächsische Porzellan-Manufaktur* was established in January 1710, soon after the first successes. In order to safeguard the proprietary formula, the equipment in Böttger's laboratory in the centre of Dresden was relocated to the Albrechtsburg in the nearby village of Meissen. Böttger was appointed as the factory's first director.²⁷

Fig. 4
Tankard with
lacquered decorations, c. 1715-20
(BK-17320)
(for credit line
see p. 179).



The first objects sold by the factory were not porcelain, but a red stoneware known as Böttger stoneware. The factory did not succeed in producing true porcelain on a scale large enough to sell until 1713. Böttger stoneware is much rarer than porcelain because production virtually ceased after his death in 1719. Most of this stoneware is not painted, but it is polished to give it extra gloss. Some pieces have applied decorations, designed by the silversmith Johann Jakob Irminger, who was appointed as the factory's first artistic director in 1712. Gilded decorations were often applied in pseudo-Chinese or Chinoiserie style in Meissen or Augsburg (BK-17321).²⁸ Even rarer is a tankard covered in European lacquer in the style of Japanese lacquer and Chinese mirror black porcelain (BK-17320, fig. 4).²⁹

Commissions from Augustus the Strong and the Saxon court placed substantial demands on the factory, but they also prompted technical and stylistic advances that enhanced the quality of the output for the rapidly growing European market.³⁰ The factory's early production was closely linked to Augustus's plans for his Japanese Palace. He purchased this palace on the north bank of the Elbe in 1717 to display his porcelain collections.³¹ The building was intended to exhibit both his extensive holdings of Asian porcelain and his growing Meissen collection.

The fashion for decorating rooms with porcelain started in Europe in the sixteenth century. It reached maturity in the stadholder's court in the Netherlands, and was introduced to the German States thanks to the marriages of the daughters of Frederick Henry and Amalia van Solms.³² Furthermore, while on his Grand Tour in 1687, Augustus the Strong must have seen the Trianon de Porcelain and the display of Chinese porcelain given to Louis XIV during the Siamese embassies of 1684 and 1686.³³

The Japanese Palace was intended to be the superlative manifestation of a porcelain room. The ground floor rooms were to be filled with Asian pieces. The first floor rooms were to hold Meissen porcelain grouped by ground colour. The highlight was the porcelain menagerie in the Long Gallery. The palace's pediment has a relief of the goddess Minerva, who evaluates porcelain from Asia and Meissen and – needless to say – prefers Saxon porcelain. When Augustus the Strong died in 1733, the refurbishment of the Japanese Palace was still far from complete. There were over 20,000 pieces of porcelain in the basements awaiting placement. His son, Augustus III, lost interest in the project, however, and although orders were delivered by the factory until 1738, the porcelain palace was never completed.

Asian Inspiration³⁴

One of the first orders Augustus placed with the factory for the Japanese Palace was for a number of copies of Asian porcelain. In 1709 he lent porcelain from his own collection to the factory for this purpose.³⁵ With the exception of a small dish with three Chinese figures in a landscape with gilded and red details (BK-1968-116),³⁶ no copies of blue and white Chinese porcelain from the Oppenheimer Collection have been retained in the Rijksmuseum. There are, however, a number of objects that have been directly derived from Asian porcelain, either in form or decoration. The decoration of a goblet inspired by Chinese *famille verte* porcelain has a colour scheme of green, purple and red, which is most unusual for Meissen porcelain (BK-17338-B).³⁷ The shape of the goblet was inspired by Asian porcelain, which in turn was based on glass or wooden models supplied by the Dutch East India Company.³⁸ The seated figure of a Budai monk (BK-17476)³⁹ was known in the



Fig. 5
Toilet box on
stand, c. 1730
(BK-17353-A and B)
(for credit line
see p. 179).

eighteenth century as a 'pagod', after the temples with which such figures were associated.⁴⁰ The openings in the mouth and ears made the figures suitable for use as covers for incense burners. The factory produced two types of seated figure with a bare torso and open mouth. The first was based directly on Chinese soapstone examples.⁴¹ The second variant – which was also produced in Böttger stoneware – is adapted to European conventions in the plastic rendition of the torso and the textural treatment of the robe, and therefore probably does not have a direct Chinese predecessor.⁴² Meissen Budai figures were very popular. The factory's weekly reports between 1722 and 1728 show that they made more than 1,800 examples in different sizes.⁴³ Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer owned over thirty of these small Budai figures, with various accoutrements and decorations.

A number of objects are directly related to Japanese art, which was avidly collected in Europe.⁴⁴ A leaf-shaped cup and saucer (BK-17346-A and B)⁴⁵

and a small tureen with rectangular handles (BK-17355) are copies of Kakiemon porcelain objects present in the Porzellansammlung.⁴⁶ A five-lobed toilet box on a stand was inspired by Japanese lacquerware (BK-17353-A and B, fig. 5). The scene on the lid, taken from the eleventh-century novel about the life of Prince Genji, is found on both Japanese porcelain and lacquerware.⁴⁷ The box and the stand have not always been together. The 1927 Oppenheimer collection catalogue describes only the box. Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer acquired the stand later.⁴⁸ It is difficult to say whether this specific box and stand originally belonged together or whether this is a case of a 'marriage'. The fact that these two parts were brought together is nevertheless evidence of the Oppenheimers' connoisseurship.

Gilding

Each of the rooms in the Japanese Palace would display Meissen porcelain with a specific type and colour of decoration. One room was dedicated to porcelain with gilded ornaments in pseudo-Chinese or Chinoiserie style.⁴⁹ These decorations were applied by specialized silversmiths because in the factory's early years the painters struggled with applying gilding and enamel paint to porcelain. Initially, this was done in Dresden, but when the scale of production increased after 1720, pieces were sent to Augsburg to be gilded and mounted. This Bavarian town was an important centre of gold- and silversmithing.⁵⁰ Two workshops, belonging to the Seuter and Aufenwerth families, were largely responsible for gilding Meissen, while the silversmith Elias Adam was the main supplier of silver-gilt mounts.⁵¹

Details were added to the gilded figures using ink or an agate burnish pen. They made the scene livelier by creating shadows, depth, and suggestions of texture (BK-17327, fig. 6, detail). In 1725, the head of the painters' work-



Fig. 6
Tankard, c. 1725-30,
with gilded decorations,
c. 1735
(BK-17327, detail)
(for credit line
see p. 179).

shop, Johann Gregorius Höroldt, also succeeded in applying gilded decorations on porcelain. The Oppenheimer Collection contains a Meissen decorated teapot (BK-17387).⁵² The gilded decorations were not applied on top of the purple ground but reserved. This method called for very careful planning and close cooperation between the painter and the gilder; that would not have been possible had the piece been sent to Augsburg. The standing figure with the knapsack on the teapot is derived from the sample book that the Höroldt studio compiled around 1723/24 – the so-called Schulz Codex – which was the basis for many polychrome Chinoiserie scenes on Meissen.⁵³

Höroldt 'Chinoiseries'⁵⁴

The fashion for Asian decorations on European ceramics – and in European decorative arts in general – had been well established when production of Meissen porcelain started in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Johann Gregorius Höroldt, who became head of the painters'

workshop in 1720, brought technical expertise to the application of enamel colours. He also introduced a new design idiom. His typical style with small, elongated figures, depicted in exuberant colours and surrounded by gilded strapwork, is very particular. It reflects a fascination with Asia, but is fanciful and caricatural in nature.

The fascination with Asia in European decorative arts is known as Chinoiserie. This term was used as a neutral stylistic designation, but has been scrutinized in recent years because of the racist and othering undertones.⁵⁵ Although Höroldt used Chinese woodcuts and porcelain as sources of inspiration,⁵⁶ most of his scenes were fantasies, directly or indirectly inspired by European depictions of Asia. A figure on a pair of vases with a yellow ground can be traced back directly to a print by the Amsterdam engraver Pieter Schenk II (BK-17376-A and B, fig. 7).⁵⁷ The limited and as such exoticizing image of Asia portrayed in European travelogues was further interpreted in ornamental prints for decorative arts. Artists 'transposed [sic] something they had never seen into something decorative and ornamental'.⁵⁸ The image that emerged was whimsical and alienating – including, for instance, the exaggeration of 'strange customs' connected to the tea ceremony, and relationships between masters and servants.

Traditionally, collectors and scholars of Meissen porcelain have not emphasized the cultural implications of what is depicted but have focused virtually exclusively on the quality of the decorations and the attributions to different hands in Höroldt's studio. The structure of the Oppenheimer Collection reflected this pattern. As well as the Morosini Service, eleven cups and saucers with pseudo-Chinese scenes were acquired during the Oppenheimer Sale (BK-17423-A and B to BK-17429-A and B, BK-17382-A and B, BK-17393-C and D,

Fig. 7
 Pair of vases
 with yellow
 ground, c. 1735
 (BK-17376-A and B)
 (for credit line
 see p. 179).



BK-2021-208, BK-2021-210. This group of similarly shaped objects shows the seemingly endless variety and remarkable quality of the Chinoiserie paintings that came out of the Höroldt workshop. In the studio's heyday more than forty painters were employed in Meissen.⁵⁹ Höroldt gave them technical training and drawing lessons. Several painters were therefore able to create scenes in Höroldt's style independently without having to rely on source prints or his sample book.⁶⁰ Some works from the Oppenheimer Collection can be attributed to a specific painter active in the studio. One example is a tankard with the initials of Höroldt's star pupil, Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck (BK-17361). The three Chinese figures whose hands and faces are depicted only in outline are typical of his style.⁶¹ Another example is a jug attributed to Johann Christoph Horn. It combines landscapes and a few details in underglaze blue with three figures in a soft palette of overglaze red (BK-17460).⁶²

It is almost certain that Höroldt himself decorated a beaker that bears the name of his mother-in-law, Beate Christine Keol (BK-17406). The beaker is one of a small group of dated objects that Höroldt gave to family members.⁶³ The shape with applied acanthus leaves harks back to the early designs made by the silversmith Johann Jakob Irminger.⁶⁴

The quintessential pseudo-Chinese decorations in Höroldt's idiom were supplemented in the course of the seventeen-thirties by other European print sources. The factory amassed a large collection of engravings.⁶⁵ Meissen decorated with European scenes is much less represented in the Oppenheimers' collection because of the couple's focus on Chinoiserie objects. A few pieces in the collection, however, herald the introduction of European sources. Gilded strapwork and Chinese figures were increasingly combined with European landscapes during the seventeen-thirties. A small dish, possibly the stand of a small tureen or porringer (BK-17446), is an

exceptional example of this.⁶⁶ The central scene is based on prints by Dutch engraver Jan van de Velde II depicting the months of December and January.⁶⁷ Impressions of these prints are still in the factory's archive.⁶⁸ The Chinese figures in the strapwork on either side of the landscape are warming their hands and thus reinforce the wintry theme. It is relatively uncommon for the theme of the Chinese scenes to be harmonized with other decorations or an object's use. Another example is provided by a chocolate set on a tazza (BK-17454-A/D).⁶⁹ The ensemble, which includes a trembleuse and a bowl on a foot, was used for tea, chocolate and sweetmeats at breakfast. The port and trading scenes in the cartouches reference the way these luxury drinks reached Europe.⁷⁰

Fig. 8
One vase (of a pair)
with Orientalist
scenes, c. 1730-35
(BK-17440-A)
(for credit line
see p. 179).



The source used for a number of figures on a pair of hexagonal vases, whose form was inspired by Kakiemon porcelain, is unique for Meissen porcelain (BK-17440-A, fig. 8).⁷¹ Four of the large figures painted on the sides are based on a series of French prints by Charles François Silvestre, *Different Habillements de Turcs*. This makes the vases particularly early examples of an Orientalist fashion in the European decorative arts.⁷² Around 1750, the pair was copied by the porcelain factory in Chelsea, England. This underlines the popularity of Meissen porcelain throughout Europe and also makes an English provenance of these vases in this period plausible.

The Road to Colour

Around 1730 Höroldt was able to expand the palette of enamel colours to sixteen. Starting in 1726, he also experimented with coloured surfaces that could be applied to large parts of an object (ground). The light blue vase is one of the few surviving examples of the first phase of these experiments (BK-17459), where the colour was not applied as a layer over the glaze, but added to the clay itself. The vase has applied grapevines with leaves and bunches of grapes in white, which creates an effect reminiscent of Roman cameo glass.⁷³ The grapevine motif harks back to designs by the silversmith Johan Jakob Irmingier.⁷⁴ Chinese figures are painted between the grapevines. There are only a handful of known objects with coloured clay, of which a garniture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is by far the most similar to this vase.⁷⁵ Höroldt was presumably not satisfied with the result of decorations on the blue ground because he soon abandoned the technique.⁷⁶ Unpainted parts, such as hands and faces, appear blue instead of white. The colour of the ground furthermore influenced the tone of the other enamel colours.



Fig. 9
Coffee and tea
service with the
Morosini coat
of arms, 1731
(BK-17421)
(for credit line
see p. 179).

Two pairs of vases with bold ground colours that were acquired from the Oppenheimer Collection stand out because of their size. The pair in yellow has lobed and leaf-shaped reserves with Chinese figures after Petrus Schenk and *Indianische blumen* that are painted on the yellow ground (BK-17376-A and B, fig. 7). The other pair has a purple ground with shield-shaped reserves (BK-17384-A and B). The strikingly small painted figures amplify the contrast between the dark ground colour and the bright white of the cartouches and the necks of the vases, which are also left white. Both pairs of vases are marked with the monogram

AR (Augustus Rex), an indication that they were made for the Saxon court.

Armorial Wares

Objects bearing coats of arms were produced to commission or made as diplomatic gifts. The Oppenheimers owned a number of important examples, including the coffee and tea service referred to earlier, made in 1731, bearing the coat of arms of the Venetian Morosini family. It is kept in the original presentation case, in which it was in all probability given to a member of this doge family (BK-17421, fig. 9).⁷⁷ It is not known by whom. Various members of the Saxon court,

including Augustus the Strong himself, but also his son and grandson, visited Venice during their Grand Tours.⁷⁸ The Morosini family owned a second Meissen service bearing the family coat of arms, dated 1743 and decorated with European landscapes.⁷⁹

A second important armorial object is a slop bowl from the service that was made around 1735 for Clemens August of Bavaria, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne (BK-17434). The Archbishop-Elector was a keen collector of porcelain. Following the example of Augustus the Strong's Japanese Palace, he built the *Indianische Haus* (Indian House) in the Gardens of Schloss Augustusburg and Falkenlust near Brühl (North Rhine-Westphalia). Clemens August owned no fewer than three personalized Meissen services.⁸⁰ The service from which the slop bowl came is known for the exceptionally high quality of the painted decorations. It is not known whether the Archbishop-Elector placed the order himself or whether the service was presented to him. The occasion was probably his thirty-fifth birthday in 1735. It was twice the size of normal services, with two coffee pots, teapots, milk jugs and slop bowls, twelve tea and chocolate cups and a preserve dish.⁸¹ The service was sold after Clemens August's death in 1761 and dispersed. The slop bowl in the Oppenheimer Collection is the larger of the two. The other one is held in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Cologne.⁸² On the front, Chinese figures hold a banner bearing Clemens August's name and birthday. His initials are incorporated in the scene on a pedestal as a sculpture. A large depiction of his coat of arms fills the back.⁸³ Clemens August's name and monogram are ingeniously worked into other parts of the service too.⁸⁴

Royal Clock Case

The clock case in the Oppenheimer Collection is one of the most ambitious and successful models from the

factory's early production (BK-17437, fig. 10). The case has an architectural form which includes pillars, a cornice, diagonally positioned legs with acanthus leaves and a domed roof. It is covered with very refined decorations; a combination of foliar work in a range of colours and pseudo-Chinese figurative scenes in cartouches.

Fig. 10
Clock case with
Arachne and Athena,
1727 (BK-17437)
(for credit line
see p. 179).



According to factory records, a model for a clock case was supplied in January 1727 and used by modeller George Fritsche. According to the records, if the clock survived testing in the kiln, more examples would be made. The model in question was probably from the hand of the clockmaker Johann Gottlieb Graupner. Around 1726/27 he made a movement that was set in a flat metal plate in the shape of a clock that looks very similar to the Meissen clock case.⁸⁵ The porcelain clock case is crowned by a figure group of Arachne and Athena. The group displays a sculptural expression that until then had not been achieved in the factory. Arachne, a weaver from Lydia, beat the goddess Athena in a weaving competition and was turned into a spider by her in revenge. The group is probably one of the first works made for the factory by the modeler Johann Gottlieb Kirchner who arrived in April 1727. Other examples of the clock have different, less successful finials. A slightly larger group of the same figures was also used on a goblet (BK-17438) in the Rijksmuseum's collection (from the Mannheimer Collection). The two pieces must have been made at around the same time.⁸⁶

The story of Athena and Arachne was also planned as a scene in one of the ceiling medallions in the Long Gallery of the Japanese Palace.⁸⁷ This has given rise to the hypothesis that the clock case was intended for that room. There is no certainty about this, however, because none of the objects for the Japanese Palace made it to their destination. It is clear, though, that the production of at least seventeen or eighteen clock cases was planned.⁸⁸ Three similar clocks are known today in addition to the one from the Oppenheimer Collection. The first was ordered by Maria Josepha for her father-in-law, Augustus the Strong. It is dated 12 May 1728, his






birthday. This object, which has more sharply defined openwork in the body and a top ornament of two putti, was later given by Augustus the Strong to Elisabeth Petrovna, the daughter of Catherine I of Russia (Hermitage in St Petersburg). A second version in the Hetjens-Museum in Düsseldorf is topped by an eagle that is probably not original. The third example, which is the most closely related to the clock from the Oppenheimer Collection, was in the Berlin collection of Hermine Feist in 1920. Its whereabouts since then are not known.⁸⁹








Due to its exceptional quality, the ensemble of sixty-one object groups from the Oppenheimer Collection provides a unique overview of the early output of the Meissen porcelain factory. The collection is furthermore a lasting reminder of the lives of the collectors who created it. As a direct consequence of the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis, the complete Oppenheimer Collection is no longer together, but the spirit and quality of the original collection are evident in the objects that were acquired. The history of the Oppenheimer Collection will forever be interwoven with that of the Rijksmuseum through its sale to Fritz Mannheimer. In its presentation of the collection, the museum will seek to do justice to both the art-historical context and the provenance.

APPENDIX








Concordance of the Oppenheimer Collection








*Oppenheimer Collection Restituted
and Purchased at the Sale*








Image	Basic Information	Object Number Rijksmuseum	Lot Number Sale	Catalogue Number Den Blaauwen
	Stoneware tankard with lacquered decorations, c. 1715-20	BK-17320	4	5
	Stoneware tankard, c. 1715-20, with gilded decorations, c. 1725-40	BK-17321	5	6
	Tankard, c. 1715-20, with gilded decorations, c. 1720-25	BK-17322	9	120
	Coffee pot, c. 1720, with gilded decorations, c. 1720-25	BK-17323	14	122
	Slop bowl, c. 1720-25, with gilded decorations, c. 1730-35	BK-17324	12	126








	<p>Stoneware tea caddy, c. 1730, with gilded decorations, c. 1735</p>	BK-17325	16	128
	<p>Cup and saucer, c. 1725-30, with gilded decorations, c. 1725-40</p>	BK-17326-A and B	21	21
	<p>Tankard, c. 1725-30, with gilded decorations, c. 1735</p>	BK-17327	15	121
	<p>Coffee pot, c. 1725-30, with silver decorations, c. 1730-35</p>	BK-17331	19	123
	<p>Tea caddy, c. 1730-35, with silver decorations, c. 1735-50</p>	BK-17332	18	129
	<p>Goblet inspired by Chinese porcelain, c. 1725</p>	BK-17338-B	25	19 (one of two)
	<p>Cup and saucer inspired by Kakiemon porcelain, c. 1730</p>	BK-17346-A and B	32	180








	Toilet box on stand, c. 1730	BK-17353-A and B	34	188
	Tureen on stand, c. 1730-35	BK-17354-A and B	40	198
	Tureen with cover, c. 1725-30	BK-17355	29	133
	Tankard with decorations by Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck, c. 1735	BK-17361	36	201
	Tea caddy with decorations attributed to Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck, c. 1730-35	BK-17364	37	206C
	Pair of vases with yellow ground, c. 1735	BK-17376-A and B	104	197
	Cup and saucer with spout and yellow decoration, c. 1730	BK-17382-A and B	99	73




	Pair of vases with purple ground, c. 1725-30	BK-17384-A and B	107	47
	Teapot with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17387	20	125
	Milk jug with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17388	112	209
	Coffee pot with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17389	113	207
	Cream pot with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17390-A and B	108	208
	Tureen on stand with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17391-A and B	109	84
	Cup and saucer with purple ground, c. 1730-35	BK-17393-C and D	110	222 (one of two)

	Cane handle, c. 1735	BK-17403	88	215
	Beaker decorated by Johann Gegorius Höroldt, 1726	BK-17406	58	41
	Beaker with cover, c. 1725	BK-17407	59	40
	Sugar box, c. 1725-30	BK-17412	70	60
	Pot with cover, c. 1725-30	BK-17416	63	58
	Coffee and tea service with the Morosini coat of arms, 1731	BK-17421	94	103
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725	BK-17423-A and B	84	63

	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725-30	BK-17424-A and B	54	69
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725-30	BK-17425-A and B	55	70
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725-30	BK-17426-A and B	56	71
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725-30	BK-17427-A and B	57	72
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1735-40	BK-17428-A and B	82	93 (one of two)
	Chocolate cup and saucer, c. 1725	BK-17429-A and B	51	65
	Coffee pot with <i>trompe l'oeil</i> decorations, 1729	BK-17432	61	53

	<p>Slop bowl from Clemens August of Bavaria's service, 1735</p>	<p>BK-17434</p>	<p>78</p>	<p>107</p>
	<p>Clock case with Arachne and Athena, 1727</p>	<p>BK-17437</p>	<p>64</p>	<p>48</p>
	<p>Pair of vases with Orientalist scenes, c. 1730-35</p>	<p>BK-17440-A and B</p>	<p>79</p>	<p>75</p>
	<p>Tureen on stand, c. 1730-35</p>	<p>BK-17441-A and B</p>	<p>83</p>	<p>85</p>
	<p>Two tureens on stands, c. 1730-35</p>	<p>BK-17442-A and B</p>	<p>72 and 73</p>	<p>83</p>
	<p>Dish, c. 1735</p>	<p>BK-17445-A</p>	<p>74</p>	<p>89 (one of two)</p>
	<p>Dish with scene after Jan van de Velde II, c. 1730-35</p>	<p>BK-17446</p>	<p>77</p>	<p>227</p>

	Chocolate set, c. 1735	BK-17454-A/D	71	90
	Light blue vase with applied decorations, c. 1727-30	BK-17459	47	37
	Jug with decorations attributed to Johann Christoph Horn, c. 1720-25	BK-17460	48	32
	Budai monk, c. 1715	BK-17476	1	306
	Dish, 1725-30	BK-1968-116	22	20
	Coffee pot, c. 1725	BK-2021-204	66 (former Boijmans Van Beuningen collection B 9 a-b (KN&V) / NK 2953)	-
	Tea caddy, c. 1730	BK-2021-205	68 (former Boijmans Van Beuningen collection B 8 a-b (KN&V) / NK 2952)	-

	Box with gilded decorations, c. 1720-25	BK-2021-206	11 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152261 / NK 3011-A1-2)	-
	Tankard with <i>trompe l'oeil</i> decoration, c. 1750	BK-2021-207	62 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152245 / NK 3021)	-
	Cup and saucer, c. 1728	BK-2021-208	85 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152255 / NK 3019)	-
	Beaker, c. 1725	BK-2021-209	95 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152244 / NK 3013)	-
	Cup and saucer with spout and yellow ground, c. 1730-35	BK-2021-210	101 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152254 / NK 3016-A-B)	-
	Tureen on stand with celadon ground, c. 1735	BK-2021-211	106 (former Kunstmuseum collection 0152260 / NK 3014)	-

Oppenheimer Collection Restituted and not Purchased at the Sale

Object Number	Sale Lot Number	Catalogue Number Den Blaauwen
<i>Rijksmuseum</i>		
BK-17328-A and B	8	131
BK-17333	17	124
BK-17334-A and B	6 and 7	15
BK-17335	23	136
BK-17338-A	24	19 (one of two)
BK-17343	27	160
BK-17344	26	158
BK-17345	28	162
BK-17347	33	181
BK-17348	31	182 (cup only)
BK-17349	115	199
BK-17350	41	194
BK-17352-A and B	44	213
BK-17356	114	212
BK17362	39	206 A
BK-17363	38	206 B
BK-17365-A and B	42 and 43	203
BK-17368	45	202
BK-17369	35	191
BK-17378	102	214
BK-17379	103	210
BK-17380	98	57
BK-17381-A and B	96	67
BK-17383-A and B	100	74
BK-17393-A and B	111	222
BK-17394-A and B	50	35
BK-17395-A and B	49	43
BK-17404	89	99
BK-17408	86	96
BK-17409	87	97
BK-17411	65	59
BK-17413	52	61
BK-17417	46	211
BK-17419	116	106
BK-17428-C and D	81	93 (one of two)
BK-17431-A and B	92 and 93	104
BK-17433	60	56
BK-17435	53	55
BK-17445-B	75	89 (one of two)
BK-17449	80	76
BK-17461-A and B	91	112
BK-17462	90	38
BK-17477	2	307
BK-17479	3	309

Object Number	Sale Lot Number	Catalogue Number Den Blaauwen
<i>Kunstmuseum Den Haag</i>		
0152239 / NK-3022-A and B	76	-
0152246, 0152248-0152250 / NK-3008-A/D	69	-
0152259 / NK-3024	105	-
0152262 / NK-3012-A and B	10	-
0152263 / NK-3018-A and B	13	-
0152268 / NK-3011-B1 and 2	30	-
0152272 / NK-3015	97	-
<i>Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen</i>		
B 6 (KN&V) / NK 2950	117	-
B 7 A and B (KN&V) / NK 2951	67	-

- * Starting in 2012, a team of some five full-time provenance specialists has been actively investigating the provenance of objects in the Rijksmuseum's collection whose owners (in most cases Jewish) lost possession of them involuntarily as a result of persecution by the Nazi regime. The provenance team conducted research into the Mannheimer Collection between 2015 and 2017 and, in the report, the Oppenheimer Collection was classified as having a problematic provenance. For more information about the investigation and the report see www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/onderzoek/ons-onderzoek/overkoepelend/herkomstonderzoek-museale-verwervingen-vanaf-1933 (consulted 2 March 2022).
- 1 Restitutions Committee Advice, in the case of Dr Franz Oppenheimer (RC. 1.164), version of 8 April 2019: www.restitutiecommissie.nl/advies/dr-franz-oppenheimer/ (consulted 2 March 2022).
 - 2 Sale, Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer (†), New York (Sotheby's), 14 September 2021. The auction contained 117 lots because a few pairs and ensembles were sold separately. See *Sammlung Oppenheimer: Important Meissen Porcelain*, sale cat. New York (Sotheby's) 2021, p. 10.
 - 3 Among the sixty-one object groups that were bought, two were formerly held by Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and six by the Kunstmuseum Den Haag.
 - 5 Correspondence with the Oppenheimer heirs' lawyer, e-mail L. Fremy, Berlin, to M. Lagerweij, Amsterdam, 21 January 2021.
 - 5 Katrin Wehry, *Quer durchs Tiergartenviertel: Das Historische Quartier und Seine Bewohner*, Berlin 2018.
 - 6 Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Sammlung Margarete und Franz Oppenheimer: Meissener Porzellan*, Berlin [1927].
 - 7 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Provenance and Prestige: The Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer Collection', in sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 10.
 - 8 In this article there are frequent comparisons with objects in the Porzellansammlung, part of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden (SKD, PS); these can be viewed online at <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum> (put the inventory number between quotation marks).
 - 9 Adolf Brüning, *Europäisches Porzellan des XVIII. Jahrhunderts 15 februari-30 april 1904*, exh. cat. Berlin (Kunstgewerbemuseum) 1904, referred to in Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 4.
 - 10 Correspondence, e-mail from Peter Geiger (Unabhängigen Historikerkommission Liechtenstein Zweiter Weltkrieg) to L. Grüter (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), 8 November 2019.
 - 11 Restitutions Committee Advice Oppenheimer (note 1), p. 2.
 - 12 Bern, Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (BAR), E 2001 (E) 1969/262, vol. 38, B.24. Liecht. Liechtensteinische Interessen: Einzelfaelle A-Z, Oppenheimer-Knapp, Franz, Dr. & Margarethe, New York, Annex to the letter from Dr. Richert Koch, attorney-at-law, Berlin, to the Government of Vaduz, 15 March 1943.
 - 13 Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt Oostenrijk (BDA), Personal Franz Oppenheimer restitution material (K. 42/1): Inventory 1937.
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 BDA, K. 42/1: Correspondence between Vienna City Council and the Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz about the confiscation of the Oppenheimer Collection (March 1938), Vienna, 3 May 1939.
 - 16 A ruling was issued by a senior financial administrator in Niederdonau on 25 May 1942, in a lengthy lawsuit concerning this amount that the Oppenheimers allegedly still owed, in the couple's favour. A few months later, however, the tax office in Moabit in Berlin declared this ruling null and void and, invoking anti-Semitic legislation, attached Oppenheimer's entire domestic wealth for the benefit of the 'Third Reich'. The Swiss embassy in Berlin refused the lawyer's request to intervene. See Bern, Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (BAR), E 2001 (E) 1969/262, vol. 35-38, B.24. Liecht. Liechtensteinische Interessen: Einzelfaelle A-Z, Oppenheimer-Knapp, Franz, Dr. & Margarethe, New York, Annex to the letter from Dr. Richert Koch, attorney-at-law, Berlin, to the Government of Vaduz, 15 March 1943.
 - 17 Stefan Karlen, *Untersuchung zu nachrichtlosen Vermögenswerten bei liechtensteinischen Banken in der NS-Zeit*, Bericht der Ernst & Young AG gemäss Mandatsverträgen vom 9. Juli 2002 und 5. Mai 2003 zwischen der Unabhängigen Historikerkommission Liechtenstein Zweiter Weltkrieg und der Ernst & Young AG, Studie 5 2005, p. 115; Hanspeter Lussy and Rodrigo López, *Finanzbeziehungen Liechtensteins zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Studie im Auftrag der Unabhängigen Historikerkommission Liechtenstein Zweiter Weltkrieg, vol. 1, 2005, pp. 270 ff.
 - 18 'Die letztgenannten Gegenstände (wurden) konnten bisher nicht ermittelt werden. Unten in der Wohnung befindlichen Objekten befanden sich eine Reihe äußerst kostbarer

- Stücke ... Unwahrscheinlich ist es, dass einzelne Objekte schon vor der Machtergreifung durch Oppenheimer selbst entfernt wurden, da Oppenheimer sich vor dem Umbruch nur auf wenige Tage ins Ausland begeben und nur kleines Handgepäck mitgenommen hatte. Oppenheimer ist seither nicht mehr nach Wien gekommen.' BDA, K. 42/1: Correspondence from Vienna City Council etc. (note 15).
- 19 'Darf ich Sie bei dieser Gelegenheit auch bitten mir im Laufe der Woche die Fotografien des Porzellans zurückzusenden. Es kommt nämlich Mitte dieser Woche eine Freund zu mir, dem ich diese Bilder gerne zeigen möchte.' BDA, K. 42/1: Letter from Franz Oppenheimer to the Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz, Vienna 18 October 1939.
 - 20 Correspondence forwarded to M. van Erp (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), email from M. Laichmann (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv) to Ms Stelzl-Gallian (Kommission für Provenienzforschung beim Bundeskanzleramt Hofburg), 31 October 2016.
 - 21 Everhardus Joannes Korthals Altes, *Lotgevallen van de verzameling Mannheimer in oorlogstijd: persoonlijke herinneringen van Mr. E.J. Korthals Altes*, Wassenaar 1974; M.D. Haga, 'Mannheimer, de onbekende verzamelaar', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 22 (1974), no. 2/3, pp. 87-95; Otto von Falke, *Katalog der Sammlung F[r]itz M[annheimer]*, Amsterdam 1936.
 - 22 Franz Kieslinger, *Verzeichnis der Restbestände der Sammlung Mannheimer, s.l.* [1941].
 - 23 National Archives Washington (NARA), Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957* (National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, roll 6599, vol. 14190-14191): SS Santa Rosa Passenger Manifest, 14 December 1941, list 6.
 - 24 Schnorr von Carolsfeld [1927] (note 6); Sebastian Kuhn, 'Collecting Culture: The Taste for Eighteenth-Century German Porcelain', in Maureen Cassidy-Geiger et al., *The Arnhold Collection of Meissen Porcelain 1710-1750*, exh. cat. New York (Frick Collection) 2008, pp. 22-119.
 - 25 Which objects were acquired depended in part on the sequence in which they were offered and the dynamics during the sale.
 - 26 For a description of all the individual pieces, see Abraham den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum*, Zwolle 2000, and pp. 193-203 in this *Bulletin*.
 - 27 Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Banz, *Triumph of the Blue Swords: Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie 1710-1815*, Dresden 2010, pp. 14-15. Von Tschirnhaus, Böttger and the miners David Köhler and Gottfried Pabste von Ohain had already worked in the Albrechtsburg around 1705.
 - 28 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), no. 6, pp. 26-27.
 - 29 *Ibid.*, no. 5, pp. 23-25. The old attribution to Martin Schnell has become more or less a collective description for European lacquering on Meissen. See Monika Kopplin, 'Allerlei lackierte Chinesen auf schwarzer Glasur: Lackmalerei auf Böttgersteinzeug und das Problem der Zuschreibung an Martin Schnell', in Monika Kopplin (ed.), *Schwartz Porcelain: Die Leidenschaft für Lack und ihre Wirkung aus das europäische Porzellan*, Munich 2003, pp. 170-93.
 - 30 Julia Weber, 'Von Moskau bis Lissabon, von Dublin bis Konstantinopel: Der Handel mit Meissener Porzellan im 18. Jahrhundert (1719-1773)', *Keramos* 216 (2012), pp. 3-105.
 - 31 The palace was refurbished for this purpose by Zacharias Longuelune and Jean de Bodt. For the building works and the decoration overview, see Samuel Wittwer, *Die Galerie der Meissener Tiere: Die Menagerie August des Starken für das Japanische Palais in Dresden*, Munich 2004.
 - 32 Femke Diercks, 'De Duitse connectie: Porselein en aardwerk in de keramiekverzamelingen van de dochters van Amalia', in Suzanne Lambooy (ed.), *Koninklijk Blauw: Het mooiste Delfts aardewerk van Willem en Mary*, exh. cat. The Hague (Kunstmuseum) 2020, pp. 37-56.
 - 33 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 13.
 - 34 Julia Weber, *Meissener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*. Stiftung Ernst Schneider in Schloss Lustheim, Munich 2013.
 - 35 Ulrich Pietsch, *Meissener Porzellan und seine ostasiatischen Vorbilder*, Leipzig 1996, pp. 64-65; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'The Japanese Palace Collections and their Impact at Meissen', in *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar*, London 1995, pp. 15-24.
 - 36 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 47. The object came from the Oppenheimer Collection, but it was sold in 1952 as part of the Mannheimer sale, Dr Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam (Müller & Co.), 14-21 October 1952, no. 412? (as one of a set of six). The museum bought it from the F.H.J. Elout Collection, Domburg, in 1968. The scene is a variant of a Chinese porcelain dish from the collection of Augustus the Strong. See Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 184.

- 37 Only six other examples are known. For an overview see sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), no. 24, p. 88.
- 38 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 47. Den Blaauwen describes the two goblets as a pair. BK-17338-A was sold separately during the sale and was not acquired by the Rijksmuseum. The Porzellansammlung in Dresden contains a number of Chinese and Japanese porcelain goblets on stands, see for instance inv. no. PO 5022. See also sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), no. 24, p. 88.
- 39 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 8; Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 420. See also Claus Boltz, 'Japanisches Palais-Inventar 1770 und Turmzimmer-Inventar 1769', *Keramos* 153 (1996), pp. 3-118, esp. p. 53. With thanks to Ching-Ling Wang (Rijksmuseum) for our discussion about this object.
- 40 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 420. Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, 'The Reign of Magots and Pagods', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 (2002), pp. 177-97, esp. pp. 177, 184; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Neue Erkenntnisse zum Specksteinkabinett August des Starken und seiner Bedeutung für das Meissener Porzellan', *Keramos* 145 (1994), pp. 3-10.
- 41 SKD, PS (note 8), inv. no. PE 2183/2186.
- 42 SKD, PS (note 8), inv. no. PE 2181.
- 43 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 170.
- 44 John Ayers, Oliver Impy and J.V.G. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe 1650-1750*, London 1990.
- 45 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), no. 180, p. 250. The scene of two seated small boys is also found on other pieces of Meissen porcelain and was probably copied from a Kakiemon example that is no longer in the Porzellansammlung in Dresden (previously inv. no. PE 5072a, b). It is also found on a Chinese porcelain cup and saucer with Dutch overdecorations, see S. Reichel, 'Hollandische Überdekore auf chinesischem Porzellan', *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 9 (1965), pp. 81-86, ill on p. 84. The Rijksmuseum owns a saucer with a fluted rim and the same decoration (BK-1966-107); the cup belonging to it was sold during the Oppenheimer sale under no. 31.
- 46 The Japanese tureen has ribbed feet and a lobed edge. The decorations are based on Imari porcelain. See Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 258. SKD, PS (note 8), inv. no. PO 5670. Earlier – around 1716 – under Böttger's direction a slightly smaller and undecorated Meissen version of the tureen was made with a lion for a handle. See Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 171.
- 47 The scenes were based on woodcuts that were used as book illustrations. With thanks to Menno Fitski (Rijksmuseum).
- 48 The object is described as a toilet box because a box and stand of the same shape are part of the toilet service of Empress Wilhelmine Amalia, wife of Joseph I. This service, now in the Residenzmuseum München, comprises twenty-two pieces with a celadon ground, decorated with the double eagle. The Porzellansammlung in Dresden (note 8) contains another separate base of a five-lobe box (inv. no. PE 5171). See Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 255.
- 49 Julie Emerson, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe*, Seattle 2000; Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 15. These decorations later became known by the German discriminatory term 'Goldchinesen'.
- 50 John D. Ward, 'Mounting and Meissen. Elias Adam: Enhancing the Precious', online publication Sotheby's, 31 August 2021, see www.sothebys.com/en/articles/mounting-and-meissen-elias-adam-enhancing-the-precious#_edn2 (consulted 2 March 2022).
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 An identical teapot with a pale green ground in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 54.147.74) has the same reserves. It has polychrome decorations, making even better use of the reserves. The teapot in the Metropolitan came from the part of the Mannheimer Collection that was sold by the Dutch State in 1952 and had probably also been part of the Oppenheimer Collection, although this is not explicitly mentioned in the sale catalogue. In sale, Dr Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam (Müller & Co.), 14-21 October 1952, no. 358.
- 53 R. Behrends, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien: Musterblätter aus der Malstube der Meissener Porzellanmanufaktur (Schulz-Codex)*, Munich 1978, no. 69.
- 54 Ulrich Pietsch, *Johann Gregorius Höroldt 1696-1775 und die Meissener Porzellanmalerei*, Leipzig 1996.
- 55 With thanks to Charles Kang, Ching-Ling Wang and Menno Fitski (all with the Rijksmuseum) for their views on this subject.
- 56 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 86. In 1720 Höroldt borrowed seven Chinese woodcuts from the Royal Library. That same year he was asked to imitate the decorations on Asian porcelain as much as possible.
- 57 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), no. 197. The Rijksmuseum did not acquire a group of plates with scenes after Schenk from the Oppenheimer Collection, see sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), nos. 42, 43.

- 58 Behrends 1978 (note 53), p. 63.
- 59 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 21. Other painters specialized in, for example, European landscapes, flower motifs or underglaze blue decoration, see Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 21.
- 60 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 87.
- 61 U. Pietsch, *Phantastische Welten: Malerei auf Meissener Porzellan und deutschen Fayencen von Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck (1714-1745)*, Stuttgart 2014.
- 62 There are only a few known objects in this combination of underglaze blue and overglaze red. For a list, see sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 138. Margarethe and Franz Oppenheimer also owned a tankard painted by Horn in this style. It was sold during the Mannheimer sale in 1952, i.e. sale, Dr. Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam (Müller & Co.), 14-21 October 1952, no. 311. See also Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), cat. nos. 68-75. For Horn see Elfriede Langeloh and Friedel Kirsch (eds.), *100 Jahre Porzellane und Fayencen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Weinheim 2019.
- 63 See Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), nos. 41, 60. A Chinese painter working at a table can also be found in the Schulz codex plate 12, see Behrends 1978 (note 53).
- 64 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), nos. 18, 19 and following numbers.
- 65 For the factory's print collection see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), pp. 99-126, esp. pp. 122, 126.
- 66 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 105.
- 67 The prints come from a set of the twelve months of the year (RP-P-1898-A-20322 to 20333), F.W.H. Hollstein et al., *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, XXXIII, Roosendaal 1989, nos. 57, 64. The majority of the scene is based on the month of December, whereas the figure in the foreground comes from the month of January, see Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 318.
- 68 K.A. Möller, "... fine copper pieces for the factory..." Meissen Pieces Based on Graphic Originals', in Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 84-93, esp. p. 87; Cassidy-Geiger (note 65), pp. 122, 126.
- 69 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 159.
- 70 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 222.
- 71 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 127. See for instance SKD, PS (note 8), inv. no. PO 351.
- 72 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 127.
- 73 A Roman vase in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (inv. no. AFO0137) is decorated with such grapevines. The well-known Portland Vase was a source of inspiration for the cameo technique in ceramics developed by Josiah Wedgwood.
- 74 For example London, the Chitra Collection, coll. no. 646; SKD, PS (note 8), inv. no. PE 2732a, b.
- 75 Jeffrey Munger, *European Porcelain in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, online coll. cat. New York 2018, acc. no. 64.101.154a, b, see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/203150> (consulted 30 January 2022).
- 76 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 273.
- 77 The family member to whom the service was given has never been established. Cassidy-Geiger identifies the service in the sale of the estate of the last descendant of this branch of the family, Lauredana Gatterburg-Morosini, see sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 240. Previously Den Blaauwen referred to another service with the Morosini coat of arms in this sale, see Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 177, in sale, Countess Lauredana Gatterburg-Morosini, Venice (Jules Sambon), 15-22 May 1894, no. 239-247.
- 78 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), p. 28.
- 79 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 177.
- 80 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), pp. 30-31. This concerns two Chinoiserie coffee and tea services and a dinner service with flowers and insects.
- 81 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 198.
- 82 Sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 210.
- 83 For a complete description of the service see Michael Unterberg, "Mit höchsten Nahmen, Wapen oder nahmenszug s(eine)r churfürst(liche) D(urch)hl(eüch)t gezeichnet undt schön bemahlet". Ein Meissener Kaffee-, Tee- und Schokoladenservice für Kurfürst Clemens August', *Keramos* no. 189/190 (2005), pp. 53-94.
- 84 Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), p. 198.
- 85 Sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 180; Pietsch and Banz 2010 (note 27), pp. 345-46.
- 86 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), pp. 49-99.
- 87 Cassidy-Geiger 2021 (note 7), pp. 17-18 and sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 178.
- 88 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), p. 95; sale cat. New York 2021 (note 2), p. 176. Cassidy-Geiger 2008 et al. (note 24), p. 235, quoting Jean Louis Sponcel, *Kabinetstücke der Meissener Porzellan-Manufaktur von Johann Joachim Kändler*, Leipzig 1900, p. 55.
- 89 Den Blaauwen 2000 (note 26), pp. 93-95.