

Notes

For the title of abbreviated literature, see pp. 323–29. The original texts of quotations from other languages than English can be found on the website of the author, garyschwartzarthistorian.nl.

1. U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 3.
2. U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 8.
3. BRD 2002: Akten, pp. 930–31.
4. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baroness_Elisabeth_of_Wangenheim-Winterstein [accessed 28 June 2020].
5. National Gallery of Art 1967.
6. Nieuwenhuijs and Sassen 1993, p. 72.
7. While it should have been entered into the stock books of Smith's gallery, preserved in the National Art Library in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, a search by the staff there was unable to find it. Email from the head of the department, Dr. Catherine Yvard, of 8 November 2021.
8. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 84.
9. See Sale catalogue F-A106 in the Getty Provenance Index [accessed 10 August 2021].
10. Nieuwenhuijs and Sassen 1972, p. 73.
11. Sebag-Montefiore 2013, p. 53. See there too for the following particulars. The affair is cited and commented on in Friedenthal 2013, pp. 8–9.
12. Friedenthal 2013 and 2019.
13. Recounted in Sebag-Montefiore 2013, pp. 52–55.
14. Smith 1830, p. 229.
15. Friedenthal 2013, p. 8.
16. Nieuwenhuijs 1834, p. 202.
17. Sebag-Montefiore 2013, p. 55.
18. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, pp. 9–10 and note 19.
19. Online at <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/193427> [accessed 25 April 2020].
20. Sander 1989.
21. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 60, nr. 20.
22. The Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie (literally Government Bureau for Art-Historical Documentation), founded in 1932, was for a long time known in English simply as “the rkd in The Hague.” At a given moment the generic name Netherlands Institute for Art History began to be employed, a title which in the 2010s was adopted for a Dutch name change, so that the institution now calls itself rkd-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis.
23. Van Zanten 2013, p. 25.
24. Van Zanten 2013, p. 219.
25. Brenninkmeijer and Hartkamp 1988.
26. Ellinoor Bergvelt, with whom I corresponded about this section of the book, does not agree. She argues that the collecting practice of Willem I and II had nothing to do with nationalism or politics. I stand by my own conviction that their behavior with regard to collecting had deep significance for the pretensions of their rule, Willem I as benefactor of arts and education, Willem II as an adherent of the pan-Netherlandish polity over which he hoped to reign. The apotheosis of both in the allegorical print seem to me to support this interpretation.
27. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, pp. 12, 74.
28. Bergvelt 1998, p. 95 and in other publications. She notes that Willem provided more funding for the purchase of coins and medals than for paintings. The most expensive object whose acquisition, for the Koninklijk Penningkabinet in Leiden, he supported was the magnificent Gemma Constantiniana, a fourth-century imperial Roman cameo that once belonged to Peter Paul Rubens.
29. Van Zanten 2013, p. 254 for the father-son issue. Bergé 1993 is an excellent source for Willem's houses in Brussels.
30. Luttenberg 1841, p. 167.
31. Bergé 1993, pp. 112–13.
32. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 17.
33. Bosscha 1852, p. 461.
34. An earlier visit was paid in 1828 by Johanna Schopenhauer, who published a longish account of what she saw, without however mentioning the Rembrandt. Schopenhauer 1831, pp. 142–49. Regrettably, neither did Karl Schnaase, who visited Brussels in 1830. His *Niederländische Briefe*, published in 1834, is mainly devoted to early Netherlandish painting, but he says nothing about Willem's collection, which may have been shuttered up at the time of his visit.
35. Passavant 1833, p. 347.
36. Passavant 1833, p. 383.
37. Passavant 1833, p. 395.
38. Smith 1836, p. 88.
39. Sebag-Montefiore 2013, p. 30.
40. Friedenthal 2013, p. 11, also for the following quotation from Smith.
41. Nieuwenhuijs 1837, p. 1.
42. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 16.
43. Van Zanten 2013, p. 356.
44. Van Zanten 2013, p. 383.
45. Van der Wijck 1974, p. 212.
46. Van der Wijck 1974, p. 212.
47. Van Zanten 2013, p. 67.
48. Van Zanten 2013, p. 21 and note 69.
49. Van der Wijck 1974, pp. 214–15.
50. See Bergvelt 2013, p. 225, cat. nr. 121, for more specifics.
51. Dordrecht 2016, nr. 202.
52. Dordrecht 2016, nr. 18. The painting after which it was made is now called by the Hermitage an eighteenth-century copy after Murillo: <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/32646> [accessed 16 October 2020]. The original by Murillo is in the National Gallery, London, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/bartolome-esteban-murillo-the-infant-saint-john-with-the-lamb> [accessed 16 October 2020].
53. Van Zanten 2013, p. 388.
54. Nieuwenhuijs 1843.
55. Zeelander 1826.
56. <http://sammlungonline.kunstmuseumbasel.ch/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=3472&viewType=detailView> [accessed 16 October 2020].
57. <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/298428> [accessed 16 October 2020].
58. See <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/mediabank/beeldcollectie/detail/ef38b4b6-9bcc-49ab-b8ec-45a59804d2ae/media/7498c21d-59c2-433b-adf8-5889291a800a> [accessed 21 June 2021].
59. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 25.
60. Brenninkmeyer and Hartkamp 1988, p. 217.
61. Brenninkmeyer and Hartkamp 1988, p. 217.

- 62 Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 26, note 95.
- 63 Notice 1850, pp. 3–4.
- 64 Schwartz 2018.
- 65 Ellinoor Bergvelt touches insightfully on these points in Bergvelt 1998, pp. 91 and 142, without 6going as far as to attribute to Willem, as I do here, of a purposeful artistic-political strategy.
- 66 A recent attempt to identify the author of the reviews signed with the letter B. has not led to concrete results. The possible authors named are Jeronimo de Vries and Nicolaas Beets. De Wit 2012, p. 71.
- 67 *Kunstkronijk* 1844, p. 49.
- 68 Ten Kate 1846, pp. 103–04.
- 69 Jonckbloet 1843, pp. 25–26.
- 70 Van Zanten 2013, p. 579.
- 71 “Commissie ter vereffening van de nalatenschap van koning Willem II.” Hinterding and Horsch 1989, pp. 38–45, tell the story of the sale well.
- 72 Van Zanten 2013, p. 586.
- 73 Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 42.
- 74 Van Zanten 2013, p. 586.
- 75 “Konsequenterweise hielt Sophie an dem einmal gefassten Entschluss über den Umgang mit der Sammlung fest, und versuchte im Gegensatz zu ihrem Bruder nicht mit ihrem Privatvermögen einzugreifen, um für sich selbst vielleicht einen Teil der Bilder zu sichern.” Werche 2008, p. 343.
- 76 Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 84, note 1.
- 77 She and Hendrik did withhold from the sale a number of drawings. Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 54.
- 78 See entry in the Ringling Museum catalogue online: <https://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/objects/24448/virgin-and-child-with-saints-sebastian-and-roch?ctx=714c77ef-625f-4418-a38d-e4582a1fa320&idx=1>.
- 79 Bosscher 1975, p. 25. The purchase was the superlative Munnicks van Cleeff Atlas. It remained with the House of Orange until 2012, when the family sold it privately and confidentially to the Dutch billionaire John Fentener van Vlissingen. When the sale became known in 2016, it ignited widespread outrage.
- 80 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28 May 1852. Online at Delpher.nl.
- 81 Amsterdam 1867, p. [iv].
- 82 Amsterdam 1867, p. [iv].
- 83 Online at https://books.google.nl/books?id=0AJVAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false [accessed 7 May 2020].
- 84 Vosmaer 1868, front matter.
- 85 Vosmaer 1868, p. 413.
- 86 Vosmaer 1868, p. 190.
- 87 Vosmaer 1868, pp. 190–91.
- 88 Vosmaer 1866, p. 191. The collection to which Vosmaer refers belonged to Herman de Kat, lord of Barendrecht and Canisse (1784–1866). Upon his death his paintings were auctioned at Drouot in Paris, but only after they were shown in de Kat’s city of Dordrecht.
- 89 Vosmaer 1868, pp. 191–92.
- 90 *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres*: seconde édition, entièrement refondue et augmentée, The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff) and Paris (Librairie Renouard) 1877. Available online at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/Rembrandt%2C_sa_vie_et_ses_%C5%93uvres_%28A_rembbrandtsavieet0vosm%29.pdf. Accessed 15 November 2021.
- 91 See [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_von_Preu%C3%9Fen_\(1855%E2%80%931888\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_von_Preu%C3%9Fen_(1855%E2%80%931888)). Accessed 9 December 2020.
- 92 The Hague, Royal Collections, A43-IX. Stukken betreffende het Beheer en de Vereffening der Nalatenschap. A search is underway for the inventory said to be appended to this document. With kind thanks to Francisca Ambachtsheer-Vullers of the Royal Collections for guiding me to materials in that major archive.
- 93 The Hague, Royal Collections, A43-IX.
- 94 Wurzbach 1886, p. 79.
- 95 Bode 1883, p. 455.
- 96 Gregor Weber, in Kassel 2006, cat. nr. 27, p. 198.
- 97 *Meyers Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, 6th edition, vol. 14, Leipzig and Vienna (Bibliographisches Institut) 1909, p. 402.
- 98 <https://blog.klassik-stiftung.de/weimarer-stadtschloss-am-ende-der-monarchie/> [accessed 2 August 2020].
- 99 With kind thanks to Sebastian Dohé for receiving me in these rooms.
- 100 With thanks to Quentin Buvelot and Marie Mundlinger of the Mauritshuis for locating in the museum archives and scanning these documents and the following ones to be cited.
- 101 Van Duijn and te Marvelde 2016, p. 812 call him “the first professional restorer in the Netherlands.” With special thanks to Esther van Duijn for finding confirmation of the address Ruyschstraat 9.
- 102 The following extracts are to be found on the remarkable website of Dutch newspapers and journals managed by the National Library in The Hague, Delpher.nl.
- 103 *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en ’s Gravenhage*, 4 June 1894.
- 104 Archive of the Mauritshuis.
- 105 *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en ’s Gravenhage*, 8 June 1894.
- 106 Van Duijn and te Marvelde 2016, p. 813.
- 107 Van Duijn 2006, p. 35.
- 108 For the fascinating life and often controversial accomplishments of Pettenkofer, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Joseph_von_Pettenkofer [accessed 18 October 2020].
- 109 Van Duijn 2006, p. 35.
- 110 Pettenkofer 1871.
- 111 Pettenkofer 1871, pp. iv–v.
- 112 Van Duijn and te Marvelde 2016, p. 816: “Internationally the regeneration method was suspect from the time of its invention, so that, for example, the National Gallery in London never adopted the method after Sir Charles Eastlake ran some trials.”
- 113 Schwartz 1999. Incorporates quotation from Jaap Boon et al., *Molart: a multidisciplinary nwo prioriteit project on molecular aspects of ageing in painted works of art: progress report 1995–1998*. MOLART 1998.
- 114 *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en ’s Gravenhage*, 14 August 1894.
- 115 *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en ’s Gravenhage*, 19 October 1894.
- 116 Sophie 1895. With thanks to Bernhard Post for help in reading the document and providing the proper reference.
- 117 Van Thiel 1992, p. 24.
- 118 Information from Sebastian Dohé in a mail of 18 September 2020.
- 119 Van Thiel 1992, pp. 54–56.
- 120 Copy of Hofstede de Groot 1898 in

- the Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague (rko), <https://rkd.nl/explore/library/45841>.
- The English translation, by F.M. Daendels Wilson, is in Bolten 1967, pp. 15–16.
- 121 Hofstede de Groot 1898, text to plate 13.
- 122 Hofstede de Groot 1898, text to plate 13.
- 123 Scallen 2004, pp. 132–53.
- 124 Veth 1898.
- 125 Nicolle 1898, p. 548. "Rembrandt armed with a saber" (Bredius 235) is no longer considered to be a self-portrait or a Rembrandt.
- 126 Scallen 2004, p. 171.
- 127 Bode-Hofstede de Groot 1900, p. 24.
- 128 Bode-Hofstede de Groot 1900, pp. 105–07, nr. 257.
- 129 <https://www.arthistorians.info/wurzba> (accessed 23 June 2020).
- 130 Wurzbach 1910, p. 394. See also the discussion in Scallen 2004, pp. 215–19.
- 131 Scallen 2004, p. 219.
- 132 Post and Werner 2006, p. 56.
- 133 Post and Werner 2006, pp. 375–456.
- 134 Post and Werner 2006, p. 377.
- 135 https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry_Kessler (accessed 17 July 2020).
- 136 Post and Werner 2006, p. 406.
- 137 Bothe 2005, pp. 9–15.
- 138 "Eigentum Sr. K.H. des Großherzogs [aus Besitz der Großherzogin Sophiel], überwiesen 1909." Weimar catalogue 1913, p. 73, nr. 298.
- 139 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Ruland (accessed 17 July 2020).
- 140 <https://sammlung-online.berlinischegalerie.de:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectid=231862&viewType=detailView> and <https://www.geni.com/people/Felix-Graefe-Dr-phil/600000025141325684> (accessed 18 September 2020).
- 141 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_von_der_Gabelentz (accessed 17 July 2020).
- 142 Post and Werner 2006, p. 134.
- 143 Post and Werner 2006, p. 412.
- 144 Post and Werner 2006, p. 428.
- 145 Post and Werner 2006, pp. 105–07. See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caroline_Reu%C3%9F_zu_Greiz (accessed 2 August 2020).
- 146 <https://blog.klassik-stiftung.de/weimarer-stadtschloss-am-ende-der-monarchie/> (accessed 2 August 2020).
- 147 Weimar catalogue 1910, p. xi.
- 148 Inspiration for the project is credited in the foreword to "Professor Simon of Königsberg," who also supported the publication financially, as he also financed the seventh edition of the museum catalogue in 1913 (Weimar catalogue 1913, p. 5). The person referred to is the Jewish banker and historian Walter Simon, who exercised widespread charitable, educational and cultural philanthropy. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Simon_\(philanthropist\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Simon_(philanthropist)) (accessed 11 August 2020).
- 149 Weimar guidebook 1910, p. 4.
- 150 Weimar guidebook 1910, p. 45.
- 151 The Hague, rko, copy of Weimar guidebook 1910, Exemplarnummer 201011653, Catalogusnummer 209894, p. 45. With thanks to Freek Heijbroek, author of an indispensable biography of Lugt, for help in reading the annotation. Lugt traveled so widely and frequently, he told me, that he could not date the visit to Weimar.
- 152 Post and Werner 2006, p. 538.
- 153 Vossische Zeitung 1921.
- 154 Jenaer Volksblatt 1921 [1].
- 155 Munich, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, shelf number Kat. Mus. We 80/1905. On the title page the printed number of the edition – "Vierte" – is crossed out and replaced by hand with "Fünfte." The date is penciled in as "ca. 1905."
- 156 Jenaer Volksblatt 1921 [2].
- 157 *The Dayton Herald*, 10 February 1947, pp. 1, 10: "Art Institute holding pictures. Three stolen German paintings recovered here: One is Rembrandt worth \$140,000, U.S. Aid says. Taken at Weimar in 1922, charge." *Dayton Daily News*, 10 February 1947, p. 1: "\$140,000 missing Rembrandt found here: is one of 3 paintings sold to Dayton man." *Dayton Journal*, 11 February 1947, p. 1: Andrew J. Drysdale, "Stolen German art seized here. \$143,200 value placed on three famed portraits: Dayton plumber tells bizarre story of buying Rembrandt and 2 other old masters from a sailor in 1934"; "They tell amazing story of smuggled art"; "Woman's perseverance led to art 'discovery'; "German art stolen in '22, letter tells." *Dayton Daily News*, 11 February 1947: "New York waterfront café site of 'Conference' on Rembrandt portrait"; "Art Institute will exhibit paintings." *The Dayton Herald*, 11 February 1947: "Stolen Rembrandt will be displayed at Art Institute here"; "U.S. seizure explained"; "Believed they were 'junk': paintings bought by chance." *Journal Herald*, 11 February 1947: "\$143,200 value placed on three famed portraits: Dayton plumber tells bizarre story of buying Rembrandt and 2 other old masters from a sailor in 1934." *The Dayton Herald*, 17 February 1947, p. 14: Marj Heyduck, "Third and Main: paintings' seizure irks Art Institute students." *Dayton Daily News*, 18 February 1947, p. 15: "Stolen art shown at Art Institute." *Dayton Daily News*, 24 February 1947, p. 15: "Rembrandt portrait, other oils, shipped to Washington." *The Dayton Herald*, 24 February 1947: "Paintings go to capital." All are available on the paid website newspapers.com. With thanks to Sally Kurtz, registrar of the Dayton Art Institute for her help in researching this episode.
- 158 Goodrich 1973, p. 85.
- 159 "Justice officials said they did not believe there was any possibility of the Dayton resident getting his 'investment' back since, according to them, he knew the paintings were stolen." *The Dayton Herald*, 11 February 1974.
- 160 Goodrich 1973, pp. 85–86.
- 161 U.S. Senate committee 1966, p. 12. Quoted there without a specific source.
- 162 Bredius 1937. For the date of the undated publication, see the entry in the online catalogue of the New York Public Library: <https://catalog.nypl.org/record=b13923440-S1> (accessed 18 May 2020).
- 163 U.S. American Commission 1945–1946.
- 164 The catalogue of an exhibition of prints and drawings by Weng gives some basic biographical information. See <http://www.tfaoi>.

- [com/aa/2aa/2aa172.htm](https://www.fold3.com/image/270534275) [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 165 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534275> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534276> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 166 <https://www.nytimes.com/1937/08/24/archives/art-firm-leases-6-story-building-peikin-galleries-to-spend-over.html> [accessed 20 November 2021].
- 167 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534274> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 168 See the extensive reconstruction of his doings in the war and post-war years by Greg Bradsher, in a series on Monuments Men: <https://text-message.blogs.archives.gov/2014/07/21/monuments-man-charles-sawyer-i/> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 169 Continuation of the above at <https://text-message.blogs.archives.gov/2014/07/22/monuments-man-charles-sawyer-ii/> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 170 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534263>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534264> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534265> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 171 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534273> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 172 Goodrich 1973, p. 86.
- 173 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534272> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 174 For entries on this admirable person, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanns_Swarzenski and <https://arthistorians.info/swarzenskih> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 175 See the entry on him in the online *Dictionary of Art Historians*: <https://arthistorians.info/koehlerw> [accessed 18 June 2020].
- 176 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534271> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 177 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534270> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 178 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534254>. Transcript of handwritten letter [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 179 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534269> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 180 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534267> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534268> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 181 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534252> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 182 "The Division of Economic Security Controls was established in March 1945. It assumed the functions of the former Division of World Trade Intelligence, such as the responsibility for American controls over foreign funds and properties mandated by the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals [Executive Order 8389]. Among its new responsibilities were development of measures to prevent concealment or flight of enemy assets and looted property." State Department and Foreign Affairs Records, online at <https://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/finding-aid/civilian/rq-59-3.html> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 183 Online at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1917Supp/02v02/d101> [accessed 18 May 2020].
- 184 See the Wikipedia entry https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Office_of_Alien_Property_Custodian [accessed 18 May 2020].
- 185 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534250> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534251> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 186 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534246> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 187 <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/moore-lt-lamont> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- 188 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534244> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 189 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534242> and 3 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534243> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 190 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534241> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 191 <https://www.fold3.com/image/270534240> [accessed 26 August 2020].
- 192 U.S. Senate committee 1966, pp. 10–11.
- 193 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walther_Scheidig [accessed 10 July 2020].
- 194 "Three German paintings confiscated by U.S.," *The New York Times*, 11 February 1947, in an error-ridden note. Online at <https://nyti.ms/3cfyTe6> [accessed 9 June 2020]. Text of vesting order in U.S. Federal Register 1947.
- 195 Online at <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32437000545281> [accessed 18 June 2020].
- 196 Joe Holley in *The Washington Post*, 13 December 2006. Online at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2006/12/13/anthony-mondello/9e922587-8554-44c9-b2a2-b5c9d547d1a5/> [accessed 20 May 2020].
- 197 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 5.
- 198 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 10.
- 199 Chernick 2019.
- 200 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiesbaden_manifesto [accessed 28 August 2020].
- 201 Attendance at the National Gallery of Art was 964,970. See "Paintings from the Berlin museums." Online at https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/1948/berlin_paintings.html [accessed 19 May 2020]. Total attendance in all venues was "a record-breaking 2.5 million Americans." McGreevy 2021, writing on an exhibition in the Smithsonian Institution devoted to the matter.
- 202 U.S. Senate subcommittee 1948, p. 14.
- 203 *The Dayton Herald*, 10 February 1947, p. 1; the same, 11 February 1947, p. 1. For an explanation of sealed-bid auctions, see <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/sealed-bid-auction.asp> [accessed 29 August 2020].
- 204 Hoenigswald 2001.
- 205 Hoenigswald 2001, p. 26.
- 206 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 12.
- 207 Information from Elizabeth Walmsley of the National Gallery of Art, conveyed in an email of 23 April 2020 from Melanie Gifford. Concerning Mario Modestini, see a charming and informative article about him: Aronson 2007. Documentation concerning Francis Sullivan's work for the Gallery and the government, including the expensive restoration in 1967 of four paintings in the Capitol that were damaged by a mentally disturbed visitor, can be found online through searches on his name. For summary information on, and references concerning

- William Suhr, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Suhr [accessed 22 November 2021].
- 208 Email to the author of 23 September 2021.
- 209 U.S. Public papers 1965, pp. 653–655.
- 210 <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/10478888> [accessed 19 June 2020].
- 211 "Ely Maurer, who repatriated art looted by the Nazis, dies at 84," *The New York Times*, 29 June 1997. Online at <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/06/29/nyregion/ely-maurer-who-repatriated-art-looted-by-nazis-dies-at-84.html> [accessed 11 June 2020].
- 212 Alessandro Chechi, Anne Laure Bandle and Marc-André Renold, "Two Dürer paintings: Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar v. Elicofon," Geneva (Art-law Center, University of Geneva) 2011. Online at <https://plone.unige.ch/art-adr/cases-affaires/2-durer-paintings-2013-kunstsammlungen-zu-weimar-v-elicofon> [accessed 21 June 2020].
- 213 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 12.
- 214 Email from Robert G. Shackleton, Jr., 3 September 2021. The praise was well deserved.
- 215 U.S. Senate committee 1966. The committee meeting at which the matter was discussed was not public, and could not yet be accessed.
- 216 The listing goes on. It is too long for the text, but I cannot refrain from printing it in this note. Writing in August 2021, with the Democrats holding a one-vote majority in the Senate so fragile that they hardly dare breathe, this brings tears to my eyes: "It increased the federal minimum wage. It passed the Higher Education Act and provided federal aid to elementary and secondary education. It passed the Water Quality Act, the Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act, the Highway Beautification Act, the Highway and Motor Vehicle Safety Acts, the Demonstration Cities Act, the Clean Waters Restoration Act, and a major amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act. Does anyone seriously think that the country is not better off for what that Congress accomplished?" Menand 2021, p. 73.
- 217 U.S. Senate committee 1966, p. 2.
- 218 U.S. Senate committee 1966, p. 2.
- 219 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 6.
- 220 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 7.
- 221 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 8.
- 222 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, pp. 16, 21.
- 223 U.S. Public law 1966. Passed by the Senate on 26 September (U.S. House calendars 1967, p. 241) and the House on 27 September (idem, p. 166).
- 224 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 12.
- 225 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 12.
- 226 U.S. Treaties 1966, TIAS 6169, pp. 2279–2280.
- 227 U.S. Senate committee 1966, pp. 5–7.
- 228 Email of 23 September 2021.
- 229 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J._William_Fulbright, with sources.
- 230 The two men were linked in connection with the investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicholas_Katzenbach [accessed 13 August 2020].
- 231 Email from Robert G. Shackleton, Jr., 3 September 2021.
- 232 As reported in the *New York Times*, 10 January 1967, "Rembrandt to go back to Germany," which appeared two days before the event.
- 233 https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/1967/lost_german.html [accessed 20 August 2021].
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- 240 Benesch 1935, p. 264.
- 241 <https://web.archive.org/web/20101127121651/http://dictionary.ofarthistorians.org/brediusa.htm> [accessed 29 June 2020].
- 242 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelm_Pinder [accessed 24 June 2020]. The source for the following passage on Pinder.
- 243 Pinder 1943, pp. 75–76.
- 244 https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hendrik_Enno_van_Gelder [directeur] with further references [accessed 24 June 2020].
- 245 Van Gelder 1948, pp. 33–34.
- 246 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt_Bauch, with further links. Accessed 26 June 2020.
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- 251 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakob_Rosenberg, with further links [accessed 26 June 2020].
- 252 Streicher 1995, pp. 5–12.
- 253 National Gallery of Art 1967.
- 254 Erpel 1967, pp. 173–74.
- 255 Gerson 1968, p. 486. The text to which the note refers, as Erpel says, is on p. 62.
- 256 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horst_Gerson, with links to more extensive materials.
- 257 U.S. House subcommittee 1966, p. 16.
- 258 *Thüringer Landeszeitung*, 30 March 1967. With thanks to Anja Sevcik of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum for sending copies of the documents in the museum files.
- 259 BRD 2002: Akten, pp. 930–31.
- 260 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baroness_Elisabeth_of_Wangenheim-Winterstein [accessed 12 July 2020].
- 261 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Augustus,_Hereditary_Grand_Duke_of_Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach_\(1912%E2%80%931988\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Augustus,_Hereditary_Grand_Duke_of_Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach_(1912%E2%80%931988)) [accessed 12 July 2020].
- 262 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feodora_von_Sachsen-Meiningen_\(1890%E2%80%931972\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feodora_von_Sachsen-Meiningen_(1890%E2%80%931972)) [accessed 12 July 2020].
- 263 That is if we can take literally the wording in the court judgments. In November 1973 the Bundesgerichtshof speaks of Elisabeth exercising "the assigned rights of her husband" ("aus abgetretenem Recht ihres Ehemannes." In November 1974 the Zivilsenat Köln says that "Hereditary Crown Prince

- Ernst August was the former husband of the plaintiff, from whom in the meanwhile she has been divorced" ("den Erbgroßherzog Ernst August, den früheren, inzwischen von ihr geschiedenen Ehemann der Klägerin"). Why Carl August is named Ernst August in some documents I do not understand.
- 264 BRD 1974, pp. 4–5. For the extract, see www.garyschwartzarthistorian.nl.
- 265 The following is based on BRD 1971: Zivilkammer Bonn, the anonymized transcript of the verdict, and Der Spiegel 1971. 1 June 1968 is mentioned in Stern 1973 as the date from which reparation payments would be due, which I presume refers to the initiation of Elisabeth's lawsuit.
- 266 Der Spiegel 1971.
- 267 Der Spiegel 1971.
- 268 For Larenz's qualifications as well as a discussion concerning his membership in the Nazi party and his work for its government, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Larenz (accessed 12 November 2020).
- 269 Die Welt 1971.
- 270 "Zwei meuternde Matrosen haften die Gemälde am 18. April 1921 mitgehen lassen. Ihr wertvollstes Beutestück, der Rembrandt, war als Hochzeitsgeschenk des Königshauses Oranien an den kunstsinnigen Weimarer Hof gekommen, als Prinzessin Sophie der Niederlande den Großherzog Karl Friedrich von Sachsen-Weimar 1846 ehelichte." Die Welt 1971.
- 271 Die Welt 1971.
- 272 The author was greatly helped in this section of the book by Anja Sevcik of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, who provided press clippings from the museum files, and Zoe Schoofs, art historian and lawyer in training from Leipzig, who researched and interpreted as many of the cases as possible.
- 273 Der Spiegel 1974.
- 274 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhard_M%C3%BCller-Mehlis [accessed 12 July 2020].
- 275 Stern 1973.
- 276 Reinhard Müller-Mehlis, *Stern*, 3 May 1973. By a funny coincidence, in 1942 Max Friedländer had used these very names to make a general point: "The quality of the works of art which drift about in the market is declining. The number of the dealers who want to live by the sales in the art market grows continuously. The difference in value between a picture by Rembrandt and one by Ferdinand Bol is increasing." Friedländer 1942, pp. 181–82.
- 277 *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 12 April 1973, p. 17.
- 278 "Noch ist nicht bekannt, ob das Gemälde im Museum in Köln bleiben und ausgestellt werden soll. [...] Hauptkustos Dr. Horst Vey vom Wallraf-Richartz-Museum bestätigte gestern, daß sich das Bild immer noch im Depot des Museums befindet. Eine Überprüfung des Werkes auf seine Echtheit oder seinen Wert hat seines Wissens in dieser Zeit nicht stattgefunden." *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 12 April 1973, p. 17.
- 279 Letter from Friedrich Kratochwil to Ernst van de Wetering, 25 February 2011.
- 280 BRD 1973: Zivilsachen Bonn.
- 281 BRD 1973: Zivilsachen Bonn.
- 282 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basic_Treaty_1972 [accessed 15 August 2020].
- 283 *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* 1974(1)
- 284 BRD 1974: Zivilsenat Köln.
- 285 Der Spiegel 1974.
- 286 Mann 1974, p. 494. For Mann's background, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/F._A._Mann [accessed 9 December 2020].
- 287 Mann 1974, p. 496.
- 288 *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* 1974(2). The Augustinermuseum was unable to find any mention of the painting in its records. Email from the director, Tilmann von Stockhausen, to the author, 3 February 2021.
- 289 Original in possession of the owner of the painting.
- 290 Original in possession of the owner of the painting.
- 291 Original in possession of the owner of the painting.
- 292 New York 1995, vol. 1, pp. 94–99.
- 293 Gerson 1969, p. 600, nr. 513.
- 294 Extracted from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437393?> [accessed 13 October 2020].
- 295 Original in possession of the owner of the painting.
- 296 Original in possession of the owner of the painting.
- 297 Wright 1982, p. 28.
- 298 Rosenberg 1948, vol. 1, pp. 241–49.
- 299 Rosenberg 1964, p. 371.
- 300 Bredius 1899, p. 198.
- 301 Van Thiel 1994, p. 58. What Bredius says about the form of the number 4 I believe sight unseen. No historian of Dutch art has ever spent more time in the archives than Bredius.
- 302 "Uno dei numerosi autoritratti. Rembrandt lo ha dipinto nel 1643."
- 303 See Schwartz 2021.
- 304 Bleker 2011, p. 513.
- 305 Article by Serge Schmemmann, "Special to the New York Times," in the issue of 31 October 1987.
- 306 Email from Anja Sevcik, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 8 September 2020: "The Terborch and Tischbein have been handed over on 3 March 1988 to the ..Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", represented by a person, whose signature is not readable, but authorized with a stamp from 'Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar.'" 307 Amine Haase, "Bilderaustausch mit der DDR: Köln erhält 17 Gemälde und schickt zwei nach Weimar." *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 31 October/1 November 1987, p. 37.
- 308 From transcript of interview given to me by Louis van Gasteren's widow Joke Meerman, 4 February 2020. In his lifetime, van Gasteren had offered me access to the interview.
- 309 See entry in online catalogue of the Rijksmuseum: <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.5236>.
- 310 The literature on the RRP is vast. A good book on the project is Bailey 1994. See also van de Wetering 2015, chapters I and II, pp. 1–60. The following paragraphs are extracted from Schwartz 2006.
- 311 Letter to the editor of *NRC Handelsblad*, 24 January 1992, by Herman Colenbrander, secretary of the Foundation for Art History Research.
- 312 RRP Bruyn 1973.
- 313 RRP Bruyn 1973, p. 39.
- 314 RRP Corpus I, p. xi.
- 315 *Algemeen Dagblad*, 27 October 1982, p. 13 [accessed via Delpher on 8 September 2020].
- 316 Chicago symposium 1969, pp. 32–48.
- 317 RRP Corpus VI, p. 12.
- 318 File on the painting in RRP archive.

- 319 File on the painting in RRP archive.
- 320 For a circumstantial rehashing of events, see Ernst van de Wetering, "What is a Rembrandt? A personal account," RRP Corpus vi, pp. 36–47: "The break in the team."
- 321 Many of the points in the following pages were submitted to Ernst van de Wetering by Dr. Friedrich Kratochwil in a seven-page letter of 25 February 2011. In a response of 25 March 2011, van de Wetering wrote: "I take notice of your methodological excursions but alas do not feel obliged to answer accordingly." Copies in possession of the author.
- 322 RRP Corpus iv, p. 89.
- 323 RRP Corpus iv, p. 129.
- 324 Gerson 1969, p. 549. nr. 35. Govert Flinck: Kassel [22], Liechtenstein [25], São Paulo [26], the Wallace Collection [27], Glasgow [28], the Louvre [29], and seconds the supposition that nr. 40, in Leipzig, is by Carel Fabritius.
- 325 Grimm 1991, pp. 24–31. Among the candidates for authorship of such paintings proposed by Grimm are the Rembrandt pupils Gerard Dou, Isaac Jouderville and Ferdinand Bol.
- 326 RRP Corpus v, p. 260, quoting Willem Goeree, *Inleiding tot de praktijk der algemene schilderkunst*, Middelburg 1697, p. 85: "Datmen de deugt van een beroemd meesters werk omtrent en in een nieuwe inventie geleerdelijk oefent."
- 327 To which I would only remark that Rembrandt may not have been after anatomical exactitude at all. In the newly published volume on Rubens's anatomical drawings in the Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Michael Kwakkelstein demonstrates that this was the case even in drawings by Rubens that have always been taken to be scrupulous studies from life.
- 328 RRP Corpus iv, p. 376.
- 329 Museum entry online at <https://www.fine-arts-museum.be/nl/de-collectie/rembrandt-harmensz-van-rijn-portret-van-nicolaes-van-bambeek>. Entry in the Rembrandt Database at <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/32172> [both accessed 23 October 2020].
- 330 Museum entry online at www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/405352/agatha-bas-1611-1658. Entry in the Rembrandt Database at <https://rkd.nl/explore/technical/5018272> [both accessed 23 October 2020].
- 331 Michiel Franken, "Sixty years of thread counting," in *Counting Vermeer* (Rkd Studies), online at <https://countingvermeer.rkdstudies.nl/3-sixty-years-of-thread-counting/> [accessed 23 October 2020].
- 332 Formulations like that concerning the Weimar self-portrait pertain to RRP Corpus iv numbers 2, 8, 13, 16, 24 and 26, while a rejected attribution with pentimenti is number 17.
- 333 RRP Corpus iv, p. 375.
- 334 RRP Corpus iv, p. 644.
- 335 RRP Corpus iv, p. 385.
- 336 Richardson 1792, p. 170.
- 337 In Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, nr. RMCC s24. See <https://adlib.catharijneconvent.nl/Details/collect/41266> [accessed 10 December 2020].
- 338 David de Witt and Leonore van Sloten, "Ferdinand Bol, Rembrandt's disciple," in Amsterdam 2017, p. 50.
- 339 See the portrait of a woman in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=868440&viewType=detailView> [accessed 10 December 2020].
- 340 See <https://www.theleiden.collecion.com/artwork/man-with-a-book/> [accessed 10 December 2020].
- 341 See <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/OrLb50yx1V> [accessed 10 December 2020].
- 342 See <https://dordrecht.adlibhosting.com/ais6/Details/collect/4436> [accessed 11 December 2020].
- 343 Schwartz 2019.
- 344 For an outstanding study of these propositions in the history of knowledge, see Goldman 2022.
- 345 1993: Letter to the editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 135, issue of November 1993, pp. 764–65. 1996: article in the *Burlington Magazine* (see Literature). 1997: on the reverse of the jacket of van de Wetering 1997; 2008: article in the *Burlington Magazine* (see Literature). 2011: vol. v of the *Corpus* (see below). 2015: vol. vi of the *Corpus*.
- 346 Van de Wetering 1996, p. 175.
- 347 "P. Horwich, *Probability and evidence*, Cambridge University Press 1982; C. Howson and P. Urbach, *Scientific reasoning: The Bayesian approach*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois 1989; D. Steel, "Bayesianism and the value of diverse evidence", in: *Philosophy of Science* 1996, Vol. 63, pp. 666–74. We gratefully acknowledge the help in this area we received from Sven van de Wetering, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver." *Corpus* iv, p. 109, note 46.
- 348 Matthijs Smit, "Verrassende draai in aanpak van het Rembrandt Research Project," *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 5 [September 1996], p. 7.
- 349 RRP Corpus iv, p. 109.
- 350 RRP Corpus vi, pp. 495–96. The case was discussed by the present author in a column of 8 May 2018: "The transparent connoisseur 5: keeping the Rembrandt Research Project to its word." Online at <http://www.garyschwartzarthistorian.nl/364-the-transparent-connoisseur-5-keeping-the-rembrandt-research-project-to-its-word/> [accessed 22 January 2021].
- 351 Liedtke 2007, vol. II, p. 709: "the panel was not reused [as is clear from X-radiographs]."
- 352 RRP Corpus i, C 38, p. 653.
- 353 He does quote the unspecific "Summary" of C 38. It must be said as well that the notion expressed in that entry that the painting was "a deliberate imitation" of Rembrandt, made "well after 1630," is unbiased and misguided.
- 354 Grimm 1991.
- 355 The Hague and London 1999, pp. 112–17.
- 356 RRP Corpus i, p. 652.
- 357 "Bayesian inference" on Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayesian_inference [accessed 28 January 2021].
- 358 "want deesen twee sijnt daer die meeste ende die naetuerelste beweegelijkheid in geopserveert." Strauss and van der Meulen 1969, nr. 1639/2, pp. 160–162; RemDoc; Van de Wetering 2016, p. 245.
- 359 Van de Wetering 2016, pp. 260–61.
- 360 RRP Corpus vi, pp. 36–37, with a complete transcription of the letter to the editor of the *Burlington Magazine* by the departing members of the RRP.

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