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**Wilhelm von Bode and the International Art  
Market: the Unpublished Correspondence with  
Rudolphe Kann and Joseph Duveen**

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## Introduction

The presented dissertation is predominantly structured around Wilhelm von Bode's interactions with the German banker and dedicated art collector based in Paris, Rudolphe Kann (1845-1905), based on a thorough analysis of unpublished archival material, particularly their extensive correspondence preserved at the Zentralarchiv of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, consisting of over 200 letters, telegrams, and private notes exchanged between 1887 and 1905.

Considering that Kann's collection was later sold to Duveen and the majority of the artworks were divided between various American collections, the focus on this particular collector also provides a valuable opportunity to observe Bode's course of action when facing such a disappointing development. Wilhelm Bode dedicated much time and effort cultivating private collectors, such as Rudolphe Kann, sharing his extensive knowledge and expertise, writing lavish catalogues, and using his influence in the art market when negotiating the deals for collectors. However, Bode was, first and foremost, a museum director, and for his service to collectors he expected to see at least part of the collections being eventually donated to Berlin's national museum. The sudden death of Rudolphe Kann, however, disrupted his plans and Bode had to find other ways to justify his excessive involvement in building the Kann collection and enable profit for the museum – a task that involved collaborating with the art dealers, Duveen Brothers.

While the dissertation will be centred around exploring the relationship between Wilhelm von Bode and Rudolphe Kann, to better understand Bode's personality and his tendency to cultivate close relationships with private collectors, it is crucial to also show parallels in Bode's approach with other private collectors, therefore two other European collectors will be of primary interest – Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein and Adalbert Ritter von Lanna.

After Rudolph's passing on 14 February 1905, it quickly became clear that the heirs would sell the entire collection. This was a great disappointment to Bode, who had hoped to see the collection donated to a public museum, preferably the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin. Bode was convinced that what happened to the Kann collection, i.e., its sale to America, was exactly what Kann had tried to avoid. Following the sale of the entire collection, Bode published numerous articles highlighting his views about the fate of some of the artworks. In the context of the sale, it was also very important to study the correspondence between Bode

and Rudolphe's heirs, his brother Maurice and nephew Édouard, and Bode's private correspondence with the company Duveen. Furthermore, what proved to be of significant relevance were the diligently kept records of Duveen Brothers, preserved at the Getty Research Institute and comprising of stock books, financial correspondence and notes on selling strategies. Because of all of these archival documents, I was able to further elucidate the negotiation process of the Kann sale's conditions.

Moreover I explored the fate of some of the most important artworks from the Kann collection. Who the main buyers were and what they managed to acquire reveals a lot, not only about their personal preferences as art collectors, but also about the current state of the art market.

At last I focused on exploring Bode's relationship with Duveen and with selected American Collectors. It is especially Bode's association with Duveen that requires thorough exploration, as it has not been previously studied. Following the sale of Kann's collection, Bode soon realised that his best and, as a matter of fact, only chance, to compete with wealthy American collectors and secure some of the artworks from the Kann collection for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum was by cultivating good relations with Joseph Duveen, who was, in return, willing to sell him, at cost, the artworks for which he could not find buyers overseas. Questions of how exactly Bode assisted Duveen in selling the collection to Americans and whether the museum's board was aware of these circumstances are of particular interest. A chronological survey of significant articles related to America that Bode wrote and published will be put in parallel with important milestones in his life and career and the general developments in the international art market in order to showcase how Bode's opinions and perceptions of American collectors changed over time. I also looked into the discrepancies between how Bode presented his opinions in publicly printed articles versus his private correspondence with the American collectors and with Duveen.

## State of Research

Primary literature, particularly when viewed in the context of the information extracted from archival documents, is essential in reconstructing how the events in question unfolded and, more importantly, what the viewpoints of the people involved were. Bode's extensive autobiography, entitled *Mein Leben*, which was published in two volumes following his death in 1930, remains until today one of the most relevant and most often quoted sources of information on Bode and his relationship with hundreds of his acquaintances.<sup>1</sup>

The more influential Americans became on the European art market, the more Bode wrote about them and their threat to European institutional and private art collecting.

Bode's article output grew rapidly after his first trip to the United States in 1893, and we can see a gradual shift in his opinion of American collectors. The tone of his first article, written in 1895 and entitled *Alte Kunstwerke in den Sammlungen der Vereinigten Staaten* (Old Masters in Collections in United States),<sup>2</sup> was rather neutral. Seven years later, in 1902, Bode commented on American collecting again. The title itself indicates that Bode's attitude was changing dramatically: *Die Amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa* (*The American Competition on the Art Market and its danger for Europe*).<sup>3</sup> In this article, Bode was very critical of the new generation of American millionaire collectors and the dealers who served them.

In 1907, when writing about the American danger on the art trade<sup>4</sup>, Bode reported on the rise in artwork prices with growing urgency, and he called upon European collectors to think of their domestic museums and to give them priority when selling their art collections. The willingness of American collectors to pay very high prices for Old Master paintings increased with each passing year, and by 1910 both European private collectors and museums were no longer able to compete with American collectors and dealers, such as Joseph Duveen, exploited

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<sup>1</sup> Bode started writing his autobiography in 1907. The first edition was published in 1930, see BODE 1930, Vol. I. & Vol. II. More recently Dr. Thomas Gaehtgens and Dr. Barbara Paul edited the second edition of Bode's memoir, adding a meticulously researched second volume, comprising of short biographies of all of the relevant people that Bode was in touch with during his very active life. See GAEHTGENS/PAUL 1997, Vol. I. & Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> BODE 1895, 70-76.

<sup>3</sup> BODE 1902a, 5-12.

<sup>4</sup> BODE 1907a, 3-6.

the situation to the maximum.<sup>5</sup> It is specifically the views like the above that will be thoroughly evaluated within this dissertation and put into context and compared with Bode's cooperation with Duveen Brothers and American collectors as recorded in their private correspondence.

While this dissertation is primarily based on the meticulous research of unpublished archival documents and primary literature, it also draws upon the research of other scholars whose work laid the foundation for my research and formulation of the presented subject.

For the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bode's birth in 1995, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin organised special exhibitions and hosted conferences in tribute to one of its most famous directors. This led to renewed scholarly interest in Bode and numerous published essays, catalogues and monographs. Notable is the biography by Manfred Ohlsen, *Wilhelm von Bode. Zwischen Kaisermacht und Kunsttempel*.<sup>6</sup> The catalogue for the exhibition at Bodemuseum, *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen*<sup>7</sup> was published in the same year, presenting Bode as benefactor of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and showcasing the numerous artworks Bode donated to the museum, most of them received as a „honorary“ for his advisory services to private collectors.

The monograph that deals exclusively with the phenomenon of the extensive American art collecting from 1880 to World War I was written by Cynthia Saltzman: *Old masters, New World. America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures*.<sup>8</sup> The book is a well-informed introduction to the subject, with a good overview of the main protagonists active on the art market in the late 19th and beginning of the 20th Centuries. The book is divided into three sections. The first part offers a good summary of the biographical information about the main American art collectors and their most famous acquisitions. In the two following sections, the author explains, in great detail, the pursuit of selected artworks, including notes on how the various personalities, dealers, sellers, buyers and art historians cooperated, each of them seeking to gain profit of some sort. However, while a whole chapter is dedicated to analysing the relationship between Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen, the partnership between Duveen and Bode is omitted entirely. The collection of Rudolphe and Maurice Kann is briefly mentioned, but only as a pretext to illustrate Duveen's increasing influence in the art market

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<sup>5</sup> BODE 1910, 81-84.

<sup>6</sup> OHLSEN 1995.

<sup>7</sup> STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN 1995.

<sup>8</sup> SALTZMAN 2008.

for Old Masters, with little emphasis on the collection itself or the impact the sale had on the art market in Europe.

More recently, Catherine Scallen wrote in her monograph, *Rembrandt, reputation and the practice of connoisseurship* published in 2004,<sup>9</sup> about the importance of Bode's role as a connoisseur of Dutch 17<sup>th</sup> Century art, Rembrandt especially, also in the context of the boom in the Old Master art market in North America. Scallen also specifically discusses the paintings attributed to Rembrandt that had been purchased by Duveen from the collection of Rudolphe Kann and their reception in America following the sale.<sup>10</sup>

When researching Bode's ties to America, two articles proved indispensable for my comprehension of the subject and provided important stepping stones for my own research. The paper by Julien Chapuis, *Bode und Amerika. Eine komplexe Beziehung*, published in 2006,<sup>11</sup> explored Bode's complex relationship with America from four viewpoints, including Bode's relationship with American collectors, his role in organising the exhibition of modern German art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1909, and Bode's influence on adopting new curatorial principles, as evident particularly in the realisation of *The Cloisters* in New York.

The second paper, Xavier-Pol Tilliette's essay *Between Museuminsel and Manhattan*, shed more light on Bode's collaboration with the staff at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, how Bode used the appointment of his then assistant Wilhelm Valentiner, which he personally facilitated, to act as his onsite informer on the current developments in the American art market, and how the collaboration between the two curators initiated the cultural transfer across the Atlantic.<sup>12</sup>

The most recent research on Wilhelm von Bode was presented by scholars during the international conference, *Wilhelm von Bode and the Art Market*, organised in 2018 by Joanna Smalcerz and Nadia Wipfli at the University of Bern, where the participants explored Bode's involvement in the Italian Art Market, his role as a tastemaker and his social network.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> SCALLEN 2004.

<sup>10</sup> SCALLEN 2004, 204-208.

<sup>11</sup> CHAPUIS 2006, 145-176.

<sup>12</sup> XAVIER-POL 2014, 192-203.

<sup>13</sup> *Wilhelm von Bode and the Art Market*, Bern, 8-9 November 2018, University of Bern, Institute for Art History, Department of Modern and Contemporary Art History..

The interplay between connoisseurship and the dealing of art is a subject that is also further analysed in this dissertation, through the detailed analysis of the largely unpublished Bode-Duveen correspondence. The relationship between Bode and Duveen, despite the hundreds of exchanged letters, has been rarely acknowledged in the primary literature and only briefly referred to in modern research. Furthermore, the Kann collection received more attention by scholars during Kann's lifetime, while current research only refers to Rudolphe Kann and his collection in the context of its sale to Duveen in 1907.

The first published monographs dedicated to the Duveen firm were written by Sir Joseph Duveen's nephew, James Henry Duveen (1873- unknown). The book, *Art Treasures and Intrigues*, was published in 1935,<sup>14</sup> and was followed by *Secrets of an Art Dealer* in 1937<sup>15</sup>.

Bode's relationship with Duveen and the purchase of Kann's collection is only briefly referenced in the publication by Samuel Nathaniel Behrman titled simply *Duveen*, first published in 1952.<sup>16</sup> This book consists a series of essays about the dealings of Joseph Duveen, the Lord of Millbank, which were originally printed for the *New Yorker*. While Duveen's collaboration with another contemporary expert Bernard Berenson is given an entire chapter, the advisory role of Bode is summarised in only one paragraph.<sup>17</sup>

Another anecdotal discussion of the acquisition of Kann's collection is offered by Edward Fowles in his monograph, *Memories of Duveen Brothers*, published in 1976. He describes the sale and the subsequent six months when Kann's residence at Avenue d'Iéna remained opened to provide potential buyers with the opportunity to view the artworks in their original setting, from the viewpoint of Duveen's assistant, H. F. Dawson.<sup>18</sup>

Most of the recent scholarship draws heavily from these early publications dedicated to Duveen Brothers and we often see the same anecdotes being repeated. The circumstances of the Kann sale and the internal conflicts it caused within the company described in 1986 by Colin Simpson in his book, *Artful Partners. Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen*,<sup>19</sup> have also been cited often. However, this book seems to contain a number of discrepancies when compared to the archival documents from the Getty Research Institute.

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<sup>14</sup> DUVEEN 1935.

<sup>15</sup> DUVEEN 1937.

<sup>16</sup> In this dissertation, I refer to the first American edition, published in 1972. BEHRMAN 1972.

<sup>17</sup> BEHRMAN 1972, 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> FOWLES 1976, 36-52.

<sup>19</sup> SIMPSON 1986, 106-114.

Meryle Secrest, in her thoroughly researched biography, *Duveen. A life in Art* published in New York in 2005 contains a more accurate account of Joseph Duveen, complete with new information retrieved from the original documents of the Duveen Brothers records.<sup>20</sup> Secrest gives a detailed account of Duveen's personality and also goes into the specifics of the sales of Rudolphe and Maurice Kann's collections to American collectors.<sup>21</sup> Here again, the professional relationship between Duveen and Berenson receives far more attention than that of Duveen and Bode.

The role of the House of Duveen in the process of transferring Renaissance art to America was furthermore explored by Manfred Holler and Barbara Klose-Ullmann in their paper *Art goes America* published in 2010. Once more, the attention was focused on Duveen's collaboration with Bernard Berenson and Bode's role was mainly associated with the preparation of catalogues for the collection Hainauer and Kann.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, as the current research stands, a study of Rudolphe Kann as a collector, his relationship with Wilhelm Bode, and Bode's expanding cooperation with firm Duveen following Kann sale still await a thorough analysis, a task that I wish to undertake through studying the private correspondence between the collector, his advisor and the dealer in particular.

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<sup>20</sup> SECREST 2005.

<sup>21</sup> SECREST 2005, 84-94.

<sup>22</sup> HOLLER/KLOSE-ULLMANN 2010.

## Research aims and Objectives

The aim of this dissertation is, through the meticulous research of yet unpublished archival material, to complement current research and to highlight some of the key aspects and tendencies of the European and American art markets in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly their mutual influences.

Of primary interest was the viewpoint of Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929). By studying his private correspondence with selected collectors and dealers, I intend to examine exactly in which capacities Bode served his prominent collectors, to what extent his broad network of influential connections helped collectors in negotiating their deals and what Bode was expecting in return for his services. Furthermore, I was looking into explaining how Bode navigated his role as the director of a public museum while serving as an advisor to private collectors and whether or not Bode was acting within his competencies and how he avoided a potential conflict of interest.

The collection of Rudolphe Kann, despite being one of the most refined and celebrated European private collections of its time, hasn't received much attention by modern scholars. This dissertation aspires to offer, therefore, the most systematic review of the Kann collection since 1907, the year when Bode compiled its second Kann's collection catalogue. Moreover, I intended to conduct an extensive provenance research and to retrieve new information on the current whereabouts of numerous artworks once included in Kann's collection.

Researching Bode's relationship with Duveen Brothers was also one of my main objectives, as it has not been sufficiently studied before and as such required thorough exploration.

Last but not least, the objective of this dissertation was to examine, organize, transcribe and edit the entire preserved correspondence between Wilhelm Bode and selected collectors, namely Rudolphe, Maurice and Eduard Kann, Johann II. Liechtenstein and Adalbert Lanna, which was then included in Appendix of the presented dissertation.

## Methodology and Scientific Contribution

In terms of methodology, first I established research topics of particular interest, such as how Kann built his art collections, what his preferences were, what artworks he was looking for, who his main competitors were and what his thoughts were about the contemporary art market, the dealers and other collectors, both in Europe and in America. In addition, I was interested in the role of Wilhelm von Bode as advisor, dealer, writer, curator and intermediary between Kann and local and international dealers and collectors, what reward he was expecting for his services, and whether his honorary was financial or in the form of donations of artworks.

The letters were then thoroughly examined and the most relevant content was summarised in a tabular format, with date of letter, brief summary of the content, and keywords including people and artworks mentioned. With this data, I was then able to cross reference the keywords in that correspondence with other archival material, including various stockbooks of the dealers, particularly Duveen<sup>23</sup>, and published catalogues of the Kann collection, written by Wilhelm Bode in 1900 and 1907.<sup>24</sup> In addition to learning more about the contemporary art market directly from the perspective of Rudolphe Kann, this extensive research also enabled me to retrieve new information on the provenance of some of the artworks that were once included in the Kann collection and are now displayed in museums and public collections all over the world.

While the archive of the correspondence with Rudolphe Kann in the Zentralarchiv is very extensive, it is not complete because only the letters addressed to Bode are preserved and not Bode's responses to the collector. We can still extract much information from these letters, however, in order to fully comprehend the various roles Bode played in his relationships with private collectors, it was necessary to extend the survey and look for parallels in communications with other collectors as well.

In subsequent research trips to Berlin and Vienna, Bode's correspondence with two other collectors was studied. I purposely selected collectors from different social backgrounds whose collecting activities were also meticulously recorded in the written correspondence with Bode: Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein and Adalbert Lanna.

Bode regularly corresponded with Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein from 1880 to 1925. A collection of 70 letters addressed to the prince or his associates are preserved in the Princely

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<sup>23</sup> GRI, Duveen Brothers. Stock Book, 1, Rodolfe Kann Collection, 1907 (Box 115)

<sup>24</sup> BODE 1900, Vol.I. & Vol. II.; SEDELMEYER (ed.) 1907, Vol.I. & Vol.II.

Archives in Vienna.<sup>25</sup> An additional 28 responses to Bode are at Zentralarchiv of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.<sup>26</sup>

Adalbert Lanna was in contact with Bode from 1885-1894. Because of Wilhelm Bode's diligence in keeping records, the majority of preserved letters in Berlin are those Lanna addressed to Bode.<sup>27</sup> Some of Bode's letters to Lanna are preserved at the Archives of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague.<sup>28</sup>

Having both the letters addressed to Bode and his responses available, I was able to conduct a thorough survey on Bode's influence of his clients' collecting and philanthropic activities. I also was able to better comprehend the various roles Bode played in the process of building their collections and facilitating donations to public institutions. In addition, some of these letters disclose Bode's uncensored opinions of the most prominent American collectors and their art advisors, specifically Bernard Berenson.

In order to better understand Bode's relationship with the American collectors and how his perception of their presence in Europe changed over time, I also consulted Bode's handwritten notes on his travels to the United States,<sup>29</sup> as well as articles in contemporary periodicals, either written by Bode or his colleagues; these are all thematically stored in Berlin's Zentralarchiv.<sup>30</sup>

Letters addressed to Bode from American collectors, including Benjamin Altman, Isabella Gardner, John G. Johnson and J.P.Morgan, also proved to be of significant importance in this regard. I studied the correspondence between Bode and these American collectors kept at the Zentralarchiv in Berlin,<sup>31</sup> as well as other relevant material regarding Bode's relationship with

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<sup>25</sup> HAL. FA 329.1, Johann II von Liechtenstein. Sammlungskorrespondenz mit Wilhelm von Bode.

<sup>26</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3318, Johann II. Fürst von und zu Liechtenstein, Korrespondenz 1889-1912.

<sup>27</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3186, Adalbert von Lanna 1885-1896.

<sup>28</sup> Archive UPM: Correspondence of Adalbert Lanna. I am very grateful to Dr. Wittlich from the archives for his help in conducting my research.

<sup>29</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 0369; Die Kunst in den Vereinigten Staaten. Eindrücke von einem Besuch der Weltausstellung in Chicago; SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 0370, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe hüben und drüben. Berichte zur Weltausstellung in Chicago 1893.

<sup>30</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 0438, Amerikanische Museumskonkurrenz 1902-1928; SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 0363; Ausstellungen und Kunsthandel in den USA 1901-1924.

<sup>31</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 487; SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 1987; SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 2786; SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 13290.

American collectors and public institutions preserved in the archives of Morgan's Library<sup>32</sup> and the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>33</sup> in New York City.

Apart from the correspondence between Bode and selected collectors, I also researched the records at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (Die Akten des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums), which helped me to better understand how Bode navigated both his roles as a director of a public museum and as an advisor to private collectors.<sup>34</sup> Of particular relevance were Bode's internal spending and other reports addressed to the minister of culture, in which Bode explains the political situation in Europe and refers to the growing competition from American collectors and dealers, such as Duveen.<sup>35</sup>

Because Rudolphe Kann's collection was sold to Duveen Brothers and then on to major American collectors, it was also necessary to study the correspondence between Bode and the company Duveen. Despite the existence of an extensive correspondence between Bode and Duveen Brothers, the relationship has been, to a large extent, overlooked by scholars and should be studied in much greater detail.<sup>36</sup>

Bode and Duveen Brothers exchanged hundreds of letters and while their correspondence began slowly with just a few letters sent between 1900-1901, the communication became more regular following the sale of the Hainauer and Kann collections in 1906, after Bode realised that his best chance to compete with wealthy American collectors and secure some sort of advantage for the museum was by cultivating a good relationship with Duveen Brothers.

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<sup>32</sup> Of particular relevance was the Morgan Collections Correspondence. ARC 1310: B Bode preserved at Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library. New York, NY.

<sup>33</sup> In the Metropolitan Museum archives, I studied letters Bode addressed to the museum's officials: Bode, Wilhelm, 1907-1908, 1911-1912, Office of the Secretary Records, as well as material referring to the Loan Exhibition of German Art Bode initiated in 1909: Loan exhibition - 1909 - German art - Bode corres., 1908-09, 1993, Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York.

<sup>34</sup> SMB-ZA, Die Akten des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums, Findbuch- Teil II. Gemäldegalerie 1830-1945, particularly: I/GG 204, Erwerbungen von Gemälden aus den im Jahre 1884 und ferner bewilligten außerordentlichen 2 Millionen.

I/GG 205, Erwerbungen von Gemälden aus den im Jahre 1884 und ferner bewilligten außerordentlichen Mitteln.

I/GG 13/1 Einrichtung und Instandhaltung der Gemälde-Galerie

I/GG 182 Erwerbung von Gemälden in Frankreich, Spanien und England

I/GG 182 Vermächtnisse

<sup>35</sup>I/GG 204

Letters from various people associated with Duveen Brothers are held at Zentralarchiv in Berlin<sup>37</sup> and Bode's letters addressed to Duveen are archived at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.<sup>38</sup> Given the large number of letters, it was crucial to develop an effective methodology that allowed me to extract information relevant for this dissertation. Since my interest was predominantly oriented towards the circumstances surrounding the sale of the Kann collection and the subsequent purchases of artworks by American collectors, I particularly concentrated on the letters that showed how specifically Bode assisted Duveen Brothers in selling the collection to Americans, what specifically Bode received in return, and to what extent the museum's board was aware of and approved of this professional collaboration. In order to achieve this, first I organised the relevant correspondence from both archives in chronological order, removed the occasional duplicates and summarised the relevant content. Then I compared the new-found information with other archival material from the Getty Research Institute, where the business archive of the Duveen firm, known as the Duveen Brothers records, is preserved. The diligently kept records of the Duveen firm, comprising of stockbooks, financial correspondence and notes on selling strategies, proved to be of significant relevance.<sup>39</sup> Through all of these archival documents, I was able to not only further elucidate on the process of negotiating the Kann sale's conditions, but more importantly, I was able to uncover new information about Bode's relationship with Duveen Brothers.

In the Appendix of the dissertation were included transcribed letters between Bode and selected collectors. As this is the first time these letters are being fully published, they provide a rare opportunity for other scholars to study the correspondence and possibly retrieve new and important information for their own research of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century art market.

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<sup>37</sup> SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 6163, Duveen Brothers Ltd., Kunsthandel, New York, London, Paris 1900-1928.

<sup>38</sup> GRI, Duveen Brothers. Collectors' Files: Bode, Wilhelm Von, 1, Ca. 1910- 1925 (Folder 2); Duveen Brothers. Collectors' Files: Bode, Wilhelm Von, 2, Ca. 1919-1925 (Folder 3); Duveen Brothers. Collectors' Files: Bode, Wilhelm Von, 3, Ca. 1926-1939 (Folder 4); Duveen Brothers. Collectors' Files: W. Von Bode Letters, 1910-1922 (Folder 6). Getty Research Institute transcribed and made all of the Duveen Brothers records available online: Duveen Brothers records, 1876-1981 (bulk 1909-1964).

<sup>39</sup> GRI, Duveen Brothers. Stock Book, 1, Rodolphe Kann Collection, 1907 (Box 115); Duveen Brothers. Paris Ledger, 1, Kann Collection, Ca. 1906-1918 (Box 117); Duveen Brothers. Visitors' Book, Guest Signature Book of Rodolphe Kann, Paris, Ca. 1907-1908 (Box 200); Duveen Brothers. Files regarding Works of Art: Kann Collection, Alphonse, Maurice, and Rodolphe, Ca. 1909-1952 (Folder 2).

# Table of Content

Introduction	9
1. State of Research	14
1.1. Methodology and Archival Research	14
1.2. Primary Literature	19
1.3. Current State of Research	24
2. Historical Overview	37
2.1. The Art Market in the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	37
2.2. The Art Market in the early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	55
2.3. Europe's Effort to protect its Artworks	59
2.4. Motives for Collecting and Philanthropy	65
3. Rudolphe Kann as a Collector and Connoisseur	73
4. Building the Kann Collection	78
4.1. Rembrandt and the 17 <sup>th</sup> Century Dutch Masters	79
4.2. Flemish Baroque Art	94
4.3. Early Netherlandish Art	101
4.4. Art of German Renaissance	105
4.5. Italian Art	108
4.6. French and British 18 <sup>th</sup> Century Art	115
4.7. Spanish Art	118
5. The International Art Market	122
5.1. The Role of Wilhelm Bode	122
5.2. Bode's Motivation for Private Advice	136
5.3. Kann's International Network of Advisors	146
5.4. Kann's International Network of Dealers	148
5.5. American and European Competition	156
6. Sale of Rudolphe Kann's Collection to Duveen	177
6.1. The American Buyers of Kann's Collection	186
6.2. Artworks Acquired for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum	195
7. Bode's Association with Duveen and American Collectors	203
7.1. Bode's Advisory to American Collectors	218
7.2. Strengthening the Relationship with Duveen and Bode's Reward	234
Conclusion	253
Abbreviations	257
Bibliography	259
Archival Sources	277
Appendix	281
List of Illustrations	283
Illustrations	291
Transcribed Correspondence	331
Wilhelm Bode and Rudolphe Kann	333
Wilhelm Bode and Maurice Kann	450
Wilhelm Bode and Eduard kann	464
Wilhelm Bode and Johann II. Liechtenstein	471

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## Conclusion

The late 19<sup>th</sup> Century was characterised by tremendous change in the art market. The presence of American collectors led to a more competitive market, where the prices were constantly rising and new records in auctions and private sales were regularly achieved. In addition, new marketing strategies were being implemented, such as the use of contemporary press and art catalogues written by experts, to facilitate the sale of individual artworks as well as entire art collections. It became gradually more and more difficult to compete, not only for the European private collectors, but also for the museums. This dissertation explores these changing trends in the art market from the perspective of Wilhelm von Bode, whose expert opinion was trusted both in Europe and in the United States, and whose judgment of attribution had, at the time, the power to either seal or break the sale of any artwork.

After exploring the general trends in the art market and comparing and contrasting the collecting preferences on both sides of the Atlantic, attention was narrowed to the collection of Rudolphe Kann, used as an example to illustrate how and to what extent the American collectors influenced the choices and opportunities of a European collector who was primarily advised by Wilhelm Bode.

The most important source of new information were the archival documents, particularly the private correspondence between collectors, predominantly Rudolphe Kann, but also Johann II of Liechtenstein and Adalbert Lanna, with their advisor Wilhelm Bode. The letters were thoroughly studied and their most relevant content regarding collecting practices and Bode's role as advisor was summarised and translated into English for the first time. The private correspondence studied for the purpose of this dissertation clarified not only how Bode served his collectors and what benefits and provisions he was seeking in return, but it also showed how influential he was in the international art market, often acting as an intermediary between collectors and art dealers. Furthermore, the letters disclosed Bode's private opinions on some of the most prominent American collectors.

In addition to learning more about the contemporary art market directly from the perspective of Rudolphe Kann and Wilhelm Bode, I also researched and determined the current whereabouts of the majority of the masterpieces once included in Kann's collection.

Moreover, such extensive research enabled me to retrieve new information on the provenance of numerous artworks now displayed in museums and public collections all over the world, which I either identified as a work once owned by Rudolphe Kann or otherwise

placed in the context of the art market from this period and herewith further developed the current state of provenance research.

By reviewing this new material, I was able to clarify how Kann built his art collection, what his preferences were, what artworks he looked for, who his main competitors were, and what his thoughts were about the contemporary art market, the dealers and other collectors, both in Europe and in America. The example of Rudolphe Kann's collection indicated that while the American collectors might have been responsible for increasing prices, whenever Kann actually lost a desired art piece, the competition usually came from Europe, most often his own brother Maurice, other private collectors or even museums. This status quo, however, changed rapidly following the sale of the collection to Joseph Duveen in 1907, when European collectors stood little chance in the face of American competition.

It is exactly this dramatic shift in influence on the market that is the focus of the second part of the dissertation, centred around exploring Bode's relationship with American collectors – John Pierpont Morgan, Benjamin Altman and John G. Johnson, among others, and with one of the most influential dealer houses of the time, Duveen Brothers. Also in this instance, extensive archival documents were consulted, many quoted here for the first time, hence presenting one of the most complex explorations of Bode's relationship with Duveen Brothers ever written.

From 1895 onwards, Wilhelm Bode regularly wrote about the presence of American collectors on the art market and while these articles remain a valuable source of information, the character of a private letter generally allows the author to express his opinions more openly than published articles. These letters, therefore, reveal a lot of insider knowledge and they paint a very clear picture of Bode's opinion on the taste and knowledge of some American collectors and their advisors, as well as his growing frustration caused by not being able to compete and acquire artworks for the museum or on behalf of his European collectors. When published articles and private correspondence are aligned with the milestones in Bode's life and career and viewed in the context of significant shifts on the art market, we can follow the dramatic changes in Bode's opinion and behaviour, from being a loud opponent to the American presence to becoming their advisor and trusted expert. Subsequently, it was possible to further clarify the role of Wilhelm Bode and show, with concrete examples, that he acted not only as an advisor, but also took upon himself the role of a dealer, writer, curator and intermediary between his collectors, both from Europe and from the United States, and international art dealers.

Furthermore, the examples used in this research reveal much about the personalities of both Wilhelm Bode and Joseph Duveen. Numerous aspects of their collaboration were discussed. It

becomes obvious quickly that while Bode was, at first, self-conscious about asking for any sort of reward or honorary for his services (and there are only very few requests for compensation in his correspondence with European collectors), Bode became much more direct when he started advising Duveen Brothers and American collectors at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. This change in attitude can be most probably traced back to his negative experience of the sales of the Rudolphe Kann and Oscar Hainauer collections. In both instances, Bode was very much personally involved in creation of their collections, yet the eventual donations to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum didn't sufficiently reflect the time and effort his spent advising these collectors.

All told, the quoted letters, as well as Bode's published articles, suggest that Bode tried to encourage European collectors to give priority to the national museums before accepting offers from American collectors. In those cases, when Bode didn't manage to persuade the collectors to preserve their art collection in Europe, and he couldn't include the desired pieces in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum mainly because of the lack of funds, he found alternative ways to enrich Berlin's public collections by utilising his personal influence and expert knowledge. Furthermore, when nothing else was left to do and Bode witnessed a cherished art collection he helped to build for many years being sold to America, he at least found comfort in the knowledge that the artworks were, thanks to the philanthropic nature of American collectors, often included in a public collection overseas.

In conclusion, the study of the art trade as presented in the previous pages offered significant insights into the functioning of the history of art. A large resource of previously unstudied archival material proves invaluable in filling the gaps in provenance research and helps us understand the taste of art collectors and all of the factors that influenced their purchasing policies, which can subsequently reveal why certain trends and tendencies in art emerged.

Finally, it needs to be clarified that one of the reasons why there is so much previously unpublished material available to work with is the exceptionally active professional life of Wilhelm von Bode, who wrote, on average, forty letters a day with countless different people from various aspects of the art market. With tens of thousands of letters preserved in his estate now at the Zentralarchiv-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, there still remains a lot to discover about this prominent art historian and celebrated museum director and I can only hope this dissertation manages to elucidate on some new aspects of his life, on those who worked and collected beside him, as well as the exciting but challenging times he lived through.

## **Anotace v českém jazyce**

Predkladaná dizertačná práca sa zaoberá problematikou Európskeho a Amerického medzinárodného trhu s umením a ich vzájomných vplyvov na prelome 19.a 20. storočia, prezentovaných z pohľadu Wilhelma von Bodeho, primárne skrze optiku jeho vzťahu so súkromným zberateľom Rudolphom Kannom a dilerom Josephom Duveenom. Svojho času bola zbierka Rudolpha Kanna jednou z najvýznamnejších súkromných zbierok v Európe. Wilhelm Bode sa aktívne podieľal na jej budovaní, o čom svedčí aj veľké množstvo doposiaľ nepublikovanej korešpondencie medzi Bodem a Kannom, ktorá tvorila základ odborného výskumu k predkladanej práci. Keď diler Joseph Duveen v lete roku 1907 kúpil celú zbierku tohto popredného parížskeho zberateľa a následne takmer všetky diela predal do Ameriky, otázky konkurencieschopnosti Európskych zberateľov a verejných inštitúcií boli stále naliehavejšie. Na príklade osudu vybraných diel sa podarilo objasniť ako boli podmienky predaja vyjednávané, ako sa postupne vyvíjal Bodeho vzťah s Duveenom a aké stratégie k obohateniu zbierok Berlínskeho múzea Bode volil. Vychádzajúc z Bodeho vlastných textov publikovaných v dobových periodikách a Bodeho súkromnej korešpondencie s Duveenom a s vybranými Americkými zberateľmi bolo možné ďalej ukázať meniaci sa postoj Wilhelma Bodeho k predaju Európskych starých majstrov do zahraničia a jeho názoru na znalosti a vkus Amerických zberateľov a zároveň načrtnúť niekoľko základných problematík zložitejšej situácie na Európsko-Americkom trhu s umením na prelome 19.a 20. storočia.

### **Klíčová slova**

Bode; Kann; Duveen; trh s umením; súkromné zberateľstvo; zberateľ; znalec; diler; súkromná zbierka

## **Anotace v anglickém jazyce**

This dissertation explores changing trends in the European and American art market in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, in particular their influences, presented from the perspective of Wilhelm von Bode, predominantly through his relationship with the private collector Rudolphe Kann and art dealer Joseph Duveen. At the time, the collection of Rudolphe Kann was considered to be one of the most refined among the European private collections. Wilhelm Bode was actively involved in building the Kann collection, as shown by the extensive numbers of private, previously unpublished, correspondence, which provided the foundation of this research. After the dealer Joseph Duveen bought the entire art collection of this

prominent Parisian collector in the summer 1907 and subsequently sold almost all of the artworks to American collectors, the competitiveness of European private collectors and the public institutions became questionable. By focusing on the circumstances of the sale and exploring the destiny of selected masterpieces, I was able to elucidate the process of negotiating the sale's conditions and further explore Bode's relationship with Duveen and the strategies he implemented in order to ensure Berlin's museums benefited from such relationship. In the context of Bode's published articles as well as his private correspondence with Duveen and selected American collectors, it was possible to further present Bode's changing views on the taste and knowledge of American collectors and, at the same time, outline some of the important issues of the more complex European-American art market dynamics in the early 20th century.

### **Klíčová slova**

Bode; Kann; Duveen; art market; American collectors; art dealer; art advisor; private collection; collection acquisitions; art dealing; arts patronage; art museums