

Introduction

Antiquities in the Nazi Era: Contexts and Broader View

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Abstract

This introduction presents an overview of the research questions and the challenges involved in studying the fate of Middle Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities during the Nazi era. Since the antiquities markets and the methods of trade, disappearance, and confiscation of ancient archaeological objects varied a great deal across Europe and the Middle East during the Nazi pe-

riod, this article examines the evidence in individual countries, both in source countries where the archaeological objects originated and in market countries where antiquities were collected, traded, or confiscated—including the United States. Finally, some conclusions gleaned from this broader study are presented, including from the articles in this special issue.

Research questions and challenges of examining the provenance of antiquities

[1] Despite the important role that antiquity—especially classical antiquity—and archaeology played in the ideology of the “Third Reich”¹, the fate of Middle Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities during the Nazi era is only now being presented here using a holistic approach². Previous research on this subject has been directed mostly at specific categories of objects, such as coins³; evidence of losses from individual countries, mainly in immediate post-World War II reports (e.g., in Italy and Greece); or specific cases of individual museum objects or collections about which ethical or legal ownership questions have been raised. Questions of national antiquities laws in source countries were largely ignored by Western museums until the spirit of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property of 1970 became widely implemented and accepted by museums and professional organizations in the late 1990s and early 2000s⁴. Until well after the 1998 Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art had been signed by 44 countries⁵, provenance questions regarding antiquities had mostly been rather single-mindedly

¹ See Johann Chapoutot, *Greeks, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe’s Classical Past*, Oakland, CA 2016, for a recent discussion of Nazi theories of the origins of the German race and the relationship to ancient Greece and Rome. Even the ancient Egyptians played a role in the German pedigree since Egyptians were construed as Aryan at a time before they supposedly mixed with Semitic and Asiatic peoples (32).

² The Nazi-era history of ancient objects from other cultural areas, including from China and other parts of Asia, Africa, and Central and South America, is also an important topic for exploration (see the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Asian Art [Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, DC] provenance research project related to its East Asian collections, <https://asia.si.edu/collections/provenance-research/> [accessed 10 June 2020]; these studies are beyond the scope of this publication).

³ For example, the work of Sbardella, including his paper in this special issue on the Greek and Roman coin trade during the Nazi period: Emanuele Sbardella, “The Annihilation of the German Numismatic Market during the Nazi Era, with Some Observations on the Countermeasures Adopted by Jewish Ancient Coin Dealers”, *RIHA Journal* 0288, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92804>.

⁴ For example, the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) in the US first issued guidelines on the acquisition of antiquities in 2004: “New Acquisitions of Archaeological Material and Works of Ancient Art”, <https://aamd.org/object-registry/new-acquisitions-of-archaeological-material-and-works-of-ancient-art/more-info> (accessed 3 August 2020). Issues related to laws on the export of antiquities are discussed in a number of papers in this publication, including in Maria Obenaus, “Export Regulations and the Role of Ancient Objects in the German List of Nationally Important Artworks”, *RIHA Journal* 0287, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92771>, and Irene Bald Romano, “Collecting Classical Antiquities among the Nazi Elite”, *RIHA Journal* 0283, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92736>.

⁵ Office of the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues, “Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art”, 3 December 1998, US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/washington-conference-principles-on-nazi-confiscated-art/> (accessed 3 August 2020).

focused on whether the ethical principles of the 1970 UNESCO Convention had been met⁶, often neglecting other histories of these objects, including their possible Nazi past.

[2] The topic of antiquities in the Nazi era is an expansive one, and the papers in this collaborative international publication still represent only part of the picture. In approaching this research, some of the major questions we have explored are as follows:

- To what extent were Mediterranean and Middle Eastern moveable antiquities or archaeological objects subjected to confiscation, forced sale, theft, looting, loss, illegal sale and exportation, and trade in general in various countries in Europe and the Middle East from 1933 to 1945?
- Who were the major state actors or private collectors and dealers of antiquities in the prewar period and earlier, as well as during the Nazi era?
- What were the market mechanisms for antiquities during the Nazi era and the World War II period in Europe, the Middle East, and the US? What happened to them at the conclusion of World War II?
- Can we trace any of these objects to their ancient contexts?
- Can we fill the gaps in provenance to the present day?

[3] The answers to these questions are challenging. Among the many difficulties we face are the linking of these antiquities to their specific ancient contexts in the Mediterranean and Middle East and understanding how and when these objects were removed from their place of manufacture and/or archaeological deposition. In this regard, archaeologists generally use the term *provenience* to denote the archaeological find spot, while *provenance* refers to the history of that object, its transfers, locations, and owners from the time of its unearthing to the present day⁷. Only in rare cases have moveable antiquities never been buried and passed down through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and succeeding centuries in religious, royal, private, or, eventually, public museum collections. Identifying the provenience of antiquities once they have been removed from their ancient context is complicated. Although we might be able to pinpoint the general place of manufacture by style or technique, the archaeological deposition context is more problematic—especially for Greek and Roman objects, both small and large, which were widely transferred around the ancient Mediterranean. For example, a Greek vase might have been created in Athens but deposited in an Etruscan tomb in central Italy; a marble sculpture may have been made in a workshop in Rome for a temple in Roman Spain; Roman coins and categories of ceramics traveled widely. Thus, without excavation records and unless an ancient object is unique

⁶ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), “Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970”, 14 November 1970, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed 3 August 2020).

⁷ See Rosemary Joyce, “From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance, and Archaeology”, in: Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Jackson Reist, eds., *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, Los Angeles 2012, 48-60. See also Reed, in this special issue, for additional comments on the challenges of researching the provenance of ancient objects: Victoria S. Reed, “A Case Study in Plunder and Restitution”, *RIHA Journal* 0293, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92737>.

with its deposition restricted to one locale (e.g., very distinctive inscribed Palmyrene funerary reliefs), it is often not possible to identify even the site from which an ancient object originated once that critical archaeological information becomes separated from the object. In rare cases, dealers have recorded information about an object's find spot, but often this information is questionable, dangerously and misleadingly labeled "said to be from" in museum records, or only revealed many years later⁸.

[4] Antiquities have generally been ignored in provenance studies relating to the Nazi era, dismissed as "multiples", or categorized with decorative arts, mostly with no associated artists' names, and thus regarded as not worth pursuing. In addition, antiquities are inconsistently or inadequately described in databases, with few or conflicting cultural affiliations or dates, sometimes with misidentifications, and few photographs⁹. It seems even the Allies' Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program (MFAA) prioritized the identification of European paintings, sculpture, and treasure arts found in various Nazi repositories, giving antiquities rather cursory attention.

[5] It is, moreover, impossible to separate the antiquities trade from the rest of the art trade during the Nazi period. Dealers, for the most part, did not exclusively sell antiquities¹⁰, and most individuals and families with the financial means collected various categories of works of art. It is problematic, therefore, for scholars to isolate the ancient objects and neglect other categories of

⁸ See below, [paragraph 57](#), for the relief in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA Boston 37.100), whose archaeological find spot appears in the records of the recently digitized Brummer archives.

⁹ Caroline M. Riley's forthcoming book on the photographs of Thérèse Bonney (1894–1978) includes her images of works of art recovered by the MFAA at the monastery at Buxheim and at Neuschwanstein Castle, with some photos of shelves that show unidentified antiquities. She presented these photos in "The Life of Nazi-Looted Antiquities in Thérèse Bonney's Photography" at the Annual Conference of the College Art Association on 12 February 2021.

¹⁰ For example, it seems that the well-known and problematic dealer of Modern art and one of Hitler's agents for identifying art for the "Führermuseum" in Linz and monetizing "Degenerate Art", Hildebrand Gurlitt (1895–1956) (and/or his wife), were also collectors or dealers of antiquities. This is indicated by the around 70 ancient Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman objects (including some fakes) found among the properties of his son, Cornelius Gurlitt. Many of these objects show signs of burning, which suggests that they may have been in Hamburg, where Hildebrand and his wife had an apartment and dealership, *Kunstkabinett Dr. H. Gurlitt*, that was largely destroyed in 1943, or they may have been stored with Hildebrand's property in Dresden in 1945 when the city was bombed. In either case, the burning damage rendered these objects unsellable by father or son, the probable reason they remained with Cornelius. They may represent only a fraction of the antiquities trade conducted by Hildebrand Gurlitt. The provenance of these is being studied by the Kunstmuseum, Bern: "Nachlass Gurlitt – Salzburger Kunstfund", database, https://www.kunstmuseumbern.ch/admin/data/hosts/kmb/files/page_editorial_paragraph_file/file/1021/141127_gurlitt_salzburg.pdf?lm=1417098980 (see antique objects under "Varia"), or <https://gurlitt.kunstmuseumbern.ch/de/> (both accessed 23 May 2022). See also Andrea Baresel-Brand, Meike Hopp and Agnieszka Lulińska, eds., *Gurlitt Status Report. "Degenerate Art" – Confiscated and Sold. Nazi Art Theft and Its Consequences*, exh. cat., Munich 2017; Andrea Baresel-Brand, Nadine Bahrmann and Gilbert Lupfer, eds., *Kunstfund Gurlitt. Wege der Forschung* [Gurlitt Art Trove: Research Pathways], Berlin 2020 (= *Provenire*, Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Zentrums Kulturgutverluste Magdeburg, 2). I am grateful to Dr. Nikola Doll and Mrs. Regina Buehlmann at the Kunstmuseum, Bern, for allowing me to examine some of these objects in June 2022.

cultural objects or art when research questions call for a more inclusive approach¹¹. Finally, antiquities were (and still are) often sold not through auctions or dealers but through an illegal or black/gray market in source countries, making tracing their provenience and provenance very difficult.

[6] Despite all the challenges, it is a good time to undertake such a study with many museums proactively conducting provenance research, making their collections' databases available online, and producing exhibition catalogs with full provenance information. Research institutions, like the Getty Research Institute (GRI) and Heidelberg University Library¹² or the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (ZI)¹³, as well as museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Met)¹⁴, have digitized dealer records and auction catalogs. Also, more and more relevant finding aids for archival documents (and the documents themselves) from Nazi and Allied agencies and other institutions are being made available online¹⁵. Moreover, what makes the study of the provenance of archaeological objects in general so interesting, and perhaps more difficult than other categories of art and cultural objects, is that many of these objects have led very complicated lives over many centuries, sometimes with a colonial-era past (e.g., in the Ottoman Empire for Mediterranean and Middle Eastern antiquities)¹⁶—a topic that has moved to the forefront of provenance research in recent years—and a Nazi-era or more recent history. Some of these complicated histories are unraveled in this special issue.

¹¹ See, e.g., the contribution to this special issue, in which the authors consider both pre-Islamic and Islamic objects: Anne Dunn-Vaturi, François Bridey and Gwenaëlle Fellingner, "'Unclaimed' Artworks Entrusted to French Museums after World War II: The Case of Near Eastern Art and Antiquities", *RIHA Journal* 0291, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92790>.

¹² Getty Research Institute (GRI), Los Angeles, "German Sales Catalogs, 1900–1945", https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/german_sales.html (accessed 28 July 2020), available also on the www.arthistoricum.net platform provided by Heidelberg University Library, see <https://www.arthistoricum.net/themen/portale/german-sales>.

¹³ Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (ZI), Munich, "Dealers, Collectors and Museums. The Julius Böhler Art Gallery in Munich, Lucerne, Berlin, and New York. Cataloguing and Documentation of Art Bought and Sold, 1903–1994", <https://www.zikg.eu/forschung/projekte/projekte-zi/kunsthdlgung-julius-boehler/julius-boehler-art-gallery-in-munich-lucerne-berlin-and-new-york> (accessed 25 February 2021).

¹⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Met), New York, Thomas J. Watson Library Digital Collections, Cloisters Archives Collections, Brummer Gallery Records, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections/the-brummer-gallery-records> (accessed 28 July 2020) (hereafter, Brummer Gallery Records).

¹⁵ E.g., "Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ('Ardelia Hall Collection'): Munich Central Collecting Point, 1945–1951", compiled by M'Lisa Whitney, National Archives, 2009, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m1946.pdf> (accessed 22 February 2022).

¹⁶ See, e.g., the very recent publication revealing the ways in which finds from the German excavations at Samos reached the Royal Museum in Berlin in the pre-WWI era: Laura Puritani, Martin Maischberger and Birgit Sporleder, eds., *Konstantinopel – Samos – Berlin. Verpfändung, Fundteilung und heimliche Ausfuhr von Antiken am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Heidelberg 2022 (= *Schriften zur Geschichte der Berliner Museen*, 7), <https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.1014>.

The fate of antiquities in individual countries

[7] Since the antiquities markets and the methods of trade, disappearance, and confiscation of ancient archaeological objects varied a great deal across Europe and the Middle East during the Nazi period, with the United States serving as one market, it is necessary to examine the situation in individual countries or regions to grasp the fuller picture. In Greece, for example, there were no official confiscations from museums, though many cases of theft or illegal excavations have been well-documented¹⁷. The possessions of Jews in northern Greek communities were inventoried and confiscated, but they seem to have included few, if any, antiquities. This is in contrast to the conditions in France and elsewhere in Europe where the collections of wealthy Jews targeted for confiscation comprised at least some antiquities. In the following sections, I summarize some of the information regarding the antiquities markets, dealers, collectors, wartime losses, and Nazi confiscations in specific countries, beginning with Greece and Italy, main source countries for classical antiquities. Details about the antiquities dealers in other source countries or regions, including Egypt and the Middle East, are included in the discussion of the US market.

Greece

[8] In Greece, the occupying forces made no official confiscations of the important antiquities collections such as those in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens or the Acropolis Museum. The majority of the collections in the major museums had been well hidden and protected; for example, when German troops arrived in Athens on 27 April 1941, they found the galleries of the National Archaeological Museum more or less empty (Fig. 1)¹⁸.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Alexandra Kankeleit, “Stolen and Returned: The Marble Statue of *Philippe* from Samos”, *RIHA Journal* 0286, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92770>, in this special issue.

¹⁸ Kosta Paschalidis, “Τα Θαμμένα αγάλματα του πολέμου”, in: *Lifo* (March 28, 2013), <https://www.lifo.gr>, and translated into English as “The Buried Statues of War: The Hiding of the Ancient Treasures of the National Archaeological Museum on the Eve of the German Occupation of Athens, 1941” by Diana Issidorides, Margarita Ovadia, and Ares Kalandides, at <https://theplayfulmind.wordpress.com/tag/kostas-paschalidis/> (March 31, 2013), (both accessed 20 January 2020); Nina Nikolakea, “Η Προστασία των Αρχαιοτήτων Κατά τον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο” [The protection of antiquities during World War II], in: Metaxia Tsiropoulou, ed., “... ανέφερα εγγράφως”. *Θησαυροί του ιστορικού αρχείου της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας* [“... I reported in writing”. Treasures of the historical archive of the archaeological service], Athens 2008, 57-59; Vassilis Ch. Petrakos, “Τα Αρχαία της Ελλάδας κατά τον πόλεμο, 1940–1944” [The antiquities of Greece during the war, 1940–1944], in: *Ο Μέντωρ* 31 (1994), 73-185; Semni Karouzou, “The National Museum after 1941”, in: *To Mouseion* 1 (2000), 5-14 [original publication in the proceedings of the first conference of the Association of Greek Archaeologists, Athens, March 30 – April 3, 1967, 52-63. For a discussion about safeguarding the collections in Athens and Delphi, see Alexandra Kankeleit, “The Charioteer of Delphi in the Clutches of World War II,” March 16, 2022, published on the website: From the Archivist’s Notebook. Essays Inspired by Archival Research in Athens Greece, <https://nataliavoegikoff.com/2022/03/16/the-charioteer-of-delphi-in-the-clutches-of-ww-ii/> (accessed 29 March 2022).



Fig. 1. Sculpture collections of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, under preparation for safekeeping beneath the floors of the museum, 1940–1941 (photograph courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens/Photographic Archive, reprod. by author from text panel in National Archaeological Museum, Athens, February 2019)

The Nazi occupation of Greece (28 October 1940 to December 1944) was framed by the Nazis as “a fourth wave of Nordic migration to defend and rejuvenate Greek soil after a long period of racial decay”¹⁹. Because the Nazis regarded themselves as the legitimate guardians of an ancient Greek culture that was part of their own legacy, they were not inclined to officially plunder or damage antiquities²⁰. However, there were still losses, especially from smaller museums and archaeological sites all over Greece, from the many cases of random plunder during the triple occupation by German, Italian, and Bulgarian officers and enlisted men²¹. These losses (and some returns) of antiquities were documented in 1946 in Greek and British reports²², but it is clear from

¹⁹ Chapoutot (2016), 91.

²⁰ Gunnar Brands, “Zwischen Island und Athen. Griechische Kunst im Spiegel des Nationalsozialismus”, in: Bazon Brock and Achim Preiß, eds., *Kunst auf Befehl? Dreiunddreissig bis Fünfundvierzig*, Munich 1990, 103–136; Alexandra Kankleit, “The German Archaeological Institute at Athens in the Nazi Era” (excerpted from a lecture that was held at various places in Germany and Greece in 2015 and 2016), 2016, <http://www.kankleit.de/occupation.php> (accessed 20 January 2020); see also Chapoutot (2016), 91–97.

²¹ For a recent comprehensive, four-volume study of the history of the Greek Archaeological Service, the activities of some curators of antiquities (*ephors*) during WWII and Nazi occupation of Greece, and the fate of antiquities during this period, see Vassilis Ch. Petrakos, *Τὸ Παρελθὸν σὲ Δεσμά. Οἱ Αρχαιοτητες της Ελλάδος κατά τον Πολέμου και την Κατοχή*, Athens 2021.

²² See British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and Other Material in Enemy Hands, ed., *Works of Art in Greece, the Greek Islands and Dodecanese. Losses and Survivals in the War*, London 1946 (hereafter, British Report); Διεύθυνσις Αρχαιοτήτων και Ιστορικών Μνημείων [Directorate of Antiquities and Historical Monuments], *Ζημιαί τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν στρατῶν Κατοχῆς* [Damage to antiquities caused by the war and the armies of occupation], Athens 1946 (hereafter, Greek Report). Both the British and Greek reports include site-by-site discussions of losses of antiquities and other works of art, as well as damage to monuments. These combined reports, as well as a 1945 one by Wilhelm Kraiker on the Kunstschutz in Greece (Bundesarchiv, Berlin, RW40-116, “Der Kunstschutz in Griechenland”, final report by Wilhelm Kraiker, 13.02.1945, with commentary) and a 1947 letter from Kraiker, were republished by Vassilis Ch. Petrakos, ed., *Ζημιαί τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου*

subsequent reports that the information was only preliminary since the surveys of losses were continuing as the reports were going to press²³. For example, accounts of the losses at ancient Corinth differ in the Greek and British reports and in the report of the director of the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens²⁴. German archaeologist Roland Hampe reviewed these reports and provided some rebuttals and corrections to them, calling for objectivity and verifiable information; he was especially concerned with the characterization of the situation with the material from the German Archaeological Institute's excavations at the Heraion on Samos²⁵.

[9] Recent repatriations illustrate the diverse nature of the thefts in Greece during this period. For example, Hermann Göring participated in 1934 in the smuggling of a collection of antiquities that Werner Peek, a Nazi sympathizer and later a famous Greek epigraphy specialist, purchased in Greece in 1933. One of these objects was a black-figure skyphos with a scene of long-distance runners; it had been awarded to Spyridon (also: Spyros) Louis, the winner of the first Olympic marathon in 1896. The cup was rediscovered in the collections of the University of Münster and repatriated to Greece in November 2019, where it is today exhibited in the Museum of the Olympic Games in Olympia²⁶.

[10] In May 2022 a Mycenaean (12th-century BC) gold signet ring with a representation of two confronting sphinxes was returned to Greece from the Nobel Foundation in Sweden. The ring had been excavated in 1927 from a Mycenaean chamber tomb in Ialysos, Rhodes, by the Italian Archaeological School at Athens and published a few years later by the excavator, Giulio Jacopi,

καὶ τῶν στρατῶν Κατοχῆς [Damage to antiquities caused by the war and the armies of occupation], Athens 2021, 189-294. See also Eleni Pipelia, *The Looted Antiquities in Greece during World War II: Case Studies of Return and Restitutions*, European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI), Athens, June 2014, 1-8: https://www.academia.edu/9907132/The_looted_antiquities_in_Greece_during_World_War_II_case_studies_of_return_and_restitutions (accessed 11 February 2023).

²³ Thomas W. French, "Losses and Survivals in the Dodecanese", in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 43 (1948), 193-200: 193.

²⁴ Greek Report, 13-14 (Germans), 24-25 (Italian thefts); British Report, 10; Oscar Broneer, "Investigations at Corinth, 1946-1947", in: *Hesperia* 16 (1947), no. 4, 233-247: 243 (lion head spout and some antefixes from the South Stoa stolen).

²⁵ Roland Hampe, reviews of I. Ζημία τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν στρατῶν Κατοχῆς (1946); II. *Works of Art in Greece, the Greek Islands and Dodecanese. Losses and Survivals in the War* (1946); IIa. Thomas Worden French, "Losses and Survivals in the Dodecanese" (1948), in: *Gnomon* 22 (1950), 1-17. Various documents in the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) archives in Berlin show that archaeologists from the DAI worked in the postwar period to try to recover and return antiquities stolen from Greece (see DAI Ordner 10-40, "Griechenlandumfrage, ca. 1946-1960"). See Kankeleit, in this special issue (as in n17), on thefts from Samos.

²⁶ Giorgos G. Kavvadias, "Το χαμένο κύπελλο του Σπύρου Λούη", in: Katja Sporn and Alexandra Kankeleit, eds., *Die Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und die Aktivitäten deutscher Archäologen in Griechenland 1874-1933*, Wiesbaden 2019, 219-230. On the cup's repatriation to Greece in November 2019, see Helena Smith, "From Thebes to Nazi Germany: Ancient Vase Returned to Greece", in: *The Guardian*, 14 November 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/14/from-olympia-to-nazi-germany-ancient-vase-returned-to-greece> (accessed 13 May 2020).

with a photograph and drawing²⁷. It had been stolen from the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes while the city was under Italian occupation during World War II. In 1975 Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, former director of the Swedish Institute at Athens (1963–1970) and then director of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm (1971–1989), wrote to Christos Doumas, then curator of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, to inform him that the ring in his Stockholm museum was likely from Rhodes. The ring had entered the museum in 1974 from the Nobel Foundation, to which it had been bequeathed by the late Nobel laureate Georg von Békésy, who had bought it in the United States in the 1950s or 1960s. It wasn't until recently that this correspondence was rediscovered by the Directorate of Documentation and Protection of Cultural Goods of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, and the ring was returned to Greece by the Nobel Foundation. Hundreds of other finds were stolen during World War II from the Rhodes museum (coins, gold and silver jewelry, and other small items), which are still missing²⁸.

[11] Thefts in 1941 by Austrian general Julius Ringel at the Villa Ariadne and the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos on Crete have also been well-documented, with a 2017 repatriation of some of these objects from the University of Graz²⁹. There were also losses from illicit exports from German or Austrian excavations that were not sanctioned by the Greek Archaeological Service, especially on Crete³⁰ and in the central Greek region of Thessaly³¹. Nazi archaeologist Hans

²⁷ Giulio Jacopi, "Nuovi scavi nella necropoli micenea di Jalisso", in: *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, 13-14 (1933 [covering 1930–1931]), 253-345, esp. 259, fig. 4 (contents of the chamber tomb 61), 262, fig. 8 (drawing of the ring). Archaeological Museum, Rhodes no. 12612. I am grateful to Elena Vlachoyianni for bringing this case to my attention and forwarding the press release of the Nobel Foundation dated 20 May 2022: <https://www.nobelprize.org/press-english/> (accessed 23 May 2022).

²⁸ See Petrakos (2021), 114.

²⁹ See British Report, 25. On the repatriation in November 2018 from the University of Graz, see Yiannis Papadopoulos, "Return of Stolen Antiquities Puts a WWII Hero in the Spotlight", in: *Ekathimerini* (12 January 2018), <http://www.ekathimerini.com/224787/article/ekathimerini/life/return-of-stolen-antiquities-puts-a-wwii-hero-in-the-spotlight> (accessed 20 January 2020). See also Yiannis Papadopoulos, "The Wehrmacht Excavations on Nazi-Occupied Crete", in: *Greece Is* (1 June 2018), <http://www.greece-is.com/wehrmacht-excavations-nazi-occupied-crete/> (accessed 20 January 2020). For a collection of pottery from Crete that Austrian archaeologist and *Kunstschutz* officer August Schörgendorfer exported to Graz, see Maria Christidis, Gabriele Koiner and Peter Scherrer, "Kulturgüterraub und der schwierige Weg zur Restitution. Kretische Keramik in der Archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Graz", in: Markus Helmut Lenhart and Birgit Scholz, eds., *Was bleibt? Bibliothekarische NS-Provenienzforschung und der Umgang mit ihren Ergebnissen*, Graz 2018 (= *Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Nachkriegsjustiz*, 5), 33-41.

³⁰ Georgia Flouda, "Archaeology in the War Zone: August Schörgendorfer and the *Kunstschutz* on Crete during World War II", in: *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 112 (2017), 341-377. A young Austrian archaeologist in the *Kunstschutz* in Crete, August Schörgendorfer, undertook illicit excavations in the Mesara of Crete in 1941–1942; see also Alexandra Kankeleit, "Archäologische Aktivitäten in Griechenland während der deutschen Besatzungszeit, 1941–1944", transcript of a lecture, held in Berlin, Frankfurt and Athens in 2015/2016, https://www.kankeleit.de/pdfs/Vortrag_Archaeologie_Besatzungszeit_Griechenland.pdf (accessed 22 January 2020).

³¹ These 1946 illegal excavations are also documented in the Greek Report; see above, n22.

Reinerth, head of the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (*Reichsbund* for German Prehistory) and of the *Sonderkommando Griechenland* (Special Task Force Greece) of the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR), conducted large-scale excavations at the Neolithic (5000–8000 years BP) site of Visviki-Magula in Thessaly, undertaken in an effort to find proof of the presence of Nordic people who might have migrated to Greece in prehistoric times³². Large numbers of archaeological objects were removed to Germany and housed in the Pfahlbaumuseum Unteruhldingen on Lake Constance. Around 10,000 pottery sherds and other artifacts from both excavations and surveys in Thessaly were returned to Greece in 2014 from this museum³³. In addition, some repatriations were successful immediately after World War II as a result of the work of Spyridon Marinatos, who was deputized by the Greek government to be its emissary in the recovery of material taken from Greece to Germany, Austria, or Italy, though he was never admitted to Germany³⁴. More information about Greek antiquities gleaned from dealer records of sales, especially to American buyers, in this period is discussed below.

Italy

[12] One of the most difficult issues to summarize regarding the Fascist period in Italy relates to Jewish art and antiquities dealers, Jewish collectors, and the fate of their ancient collections. Italy and Italian museums have been criticized until recently for having done little to advance provenance research on Jewish collections that changed hands during the period, especially from 1938 to 1944³⁵: In the immediate postwar period, when Rodolfo Siviero, the charismatic, self-promoting, and dogged *ministro plenipotenziario*, was assigned the diplomatic mission to bring back to Italy art treasures that had been taken by the Nazis, little attention was paid to stolen Jewish collections, except for the libraries of the Jewish communities in Rome and Florence, which were found and restituted³⁶. Following the 1998 Washington Conference and its resulting Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art, to which Italy was signatory, Italy established a governmental

³² Gunter Schöbel, “Hans Reinerth, seine Forschungen und Grabungen zum Neolithikum in Thessalien”, in: Eva Alram-Stern and Angelika Dousougli-Zachos, eds., *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen 1941 auf der Visviki-Magula/Velestino: Die neolithischen Befunde und Funde*, Bonn 2015 (= *Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturräume*, 36), 17-49. See the review of the publication, including a history of Reinerth’s work by Agathe Reingruber, in: *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 92 (2018), no. 2, 444-453, <https://doi.org/10.1515/pz-2017-0022> (accessed 20 January 2020).

³³ “Artefacts Removed by Nazis Returned”, in: *Neos Kosmos* (15 July 2014), <https://neoskosmos.com/en/24302/artefacts-removed-by-nazis-returned/> (accessed 20 January 2020).

³⁴ Eleni Mantzourani, “Στα ίχνη των κλεμμένων ελληνικών αρχαιοτήτων από τις κατοχικές δυνάμεις (1940–1945): η συμβολή του Σπύρου Μαρινάτου” [Tracing the stolen Greek antiquities by the German occupation forces (1940–1945): the contribution of Spyros Marinatos], in: *Athens University Review of Archaeology (AURA)* 1 (2018), 187-220; Eleni Mantzourani and Nanno Marinatos, eds., *Spyridon Marinatos (1901–1974): His Life and Times*, Athens 2014.

³⁵ See the introduction to the publication of a model transnational project that addresses translocations of Jewish-owned cultural objects in the Alpe Adria region, a broad geographical area that comprises parts of today’s northern and northeastern Italy, Austria, Slovenia and Croatia: Daria Brasca, Christian Fuhrmeister and Emanuele Pellegrini, eds., *The Transfer of Jewish-Owned Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region*, Florence 2019 (= *Studi di Memofonte. Rivista on-line semestrale*, no. 22 [2019], 1-8), <https://www.memofonte.it/studi-di-memofonte/numero-22-2019/> (accessed 2 August 2022).

advisory commission (named after the chairwoman: Anselmi Commission) to move forward the return of cultural objects seized during the Nazi era to the rightful owners or legitimate heirs of mainly Jewish owners. The commission produced a 2001 final report that included a brief section entitled “Looting of Artistic, Cultural and Religious Assets”, but little has been done in its wake³⁷.

[13] In the Fascist period (1922–1943) and during the German occupation of the former ally between September 1943 and April 1945, thousands of Jews were compelled to flee Italy, especially after the implementation of the racial laws in 1938. Moreover, Italy—in particular Trieste—played a major role as a port of transit in the process of emigration. As a matter of fact, more than 8,200 Jews in Italy were murdered in the death camps, but we have no clear accounting of most of these individuals’ assets, the confiscations, or the duress sales, in which Jews were forced to sell their property at diminished value. Scholars have recently explored questions surrounding the fate of cultural objects that belonged to Jewish individuals and institutions in Italy—a topic that was largely ignored, indeed brushed under the table, by Italian museums and governmental bodies, minimizing the role the Fascist government of Mussolini played in the persecution of Jews and allowing the mistaken presumption to exist that Italy was a victim of the Nazis and that the only persecution and theft of cultural property from Jews in Italy took place under coercion of the Nazis or by the Nazis themselves³⁸.

[14] The dispersal of one Jewish-owned antiquities collection in Italy, that of Ludwig Pollak (1868–1943), the Prague-born Jewish art dealer, archaeologist, connoisseur, and director of the Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica in Rome, is an important case study in this regard. Pollak was highly

³⁶ Rodolfo Siviero, in his book *L’Arte e Il Nazismo: Esodo e ritorno delle opere d’arte italiane, 1938–1963*, Florence 1984, mentions the Jewish libraries: e.g., in October 1943 the SS, being interested in racial questions, moved Jewish manuscripts to Germany (32-33); Captain Francisco Ruiz watched over the EGELI (Agency for Real Estate Management and Liquidation) and requisitions of Jewish property (37); on 23 February 1944, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the sequestration of the treasure of the Jewish community of Florence (146); the Vicenza division entered the Villa Ca’ Bianca at Longa di Schiavon, headquarters of the Fascist SS, and recovered the treasure of the Jewish community of Florence; and the recovery on 5 February 1948, of the libraries of the rabbinical college and of the Jewish community in Rome that had been moved to the Central Collecting Point (CCP) in Offenbach (153). See also Dario Tedeschi, “La spoliazione dei beni ebraici in Italia: Il lavoro di due commissioni nel Dopoguerra”, in: *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 75 (2009), no. 1/2, 27-36.

³⁷ Commission for the reconstruction of the events in Italy related to the acquisition of assets from Jewish citizens by public and private bodies (Anselmi Commission), General Report, April 2001; official English translation <http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/EnglishAnselmiReport.pdf> (accessed 16 February 2022).

³⁸ For scholarly investigations, in addition to Fuhrmeister et al. (2019), in chronological order, see Ilaria Pavan, “Indifference and Forgetting: Italy and Its Jewish Community, 1938–1970”, in: Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, and Philipp Ther, eds., *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe*, New York, 2007, 171-181; Daria Brasca, *The Fate of Jewish-Owned Cultural Property: Florence during WWII* (PhD thesis, School for Advanced Studies (IMT), Lucca, 2016); Ilaria Pavan, “La depredazione dei beni ebraici: Italia e Polonia. La spoliazione dei beni ebraici in Italia. Occasioni mancate e reticenze (1997–2017)”, in: *Italia contemporanea* (2017), no. 284, 123-133; Bianca Gaudenzi, “The ‘Return of Beauty’? The Politics of Restitution of Nazi-looted Art in Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, 1945–1998”, in: *European Review of History* 28 (2021), no. 2: “Property Rights in Wartime: Sequestration, Confiscation, and Restitution in 20th Century Europe”, 323-346.

respected and well-connected in the art world in Rome as well as internationally. He was famous for having identified the right arm of the *Laocoön*, found not far from the site of the statue's 1506 discovery in Rome³⁹. His *Tagebücher*, with the last entries written just a month before his death, demonstrate the extent to which he intimately understood the Roman art trade, including fakes on the market, the major dealers of antiquities and their networks, and the important institutions; these diaries are also a gold mine of information on the cultural life of Rome from the end of the 19th century to 1943⁴⁰.

[15] Persecution of Jews in Italy officially began in the winter of 1938–1939 with prohibitions on Jewish-owned businesses and employment and confiscation of Jewish property, with increasing levels of persecution until 1943–1944, when all Jewish businesses were shut down⁴¹. As a Jew in Rome feeling the increasing pressure of the Fascist and Nazi anti-Semitic policies, in 1940 Pollak began to disperse some of his personal collection by depositing for safekeeping eleven ancient sculptures in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva⁴². He consigned the remainder of his collection of paintings, as well as ancient gems, jewelry, bronzes, vases, and small marble sculptures, for sale in three auctions in Rome in 1942 and 1943, the first comprising 118 objects at the Casa di vendite Palazzo Simonetti in May 1942. Only 23 of Pollak's objects sold⁴³. The objects that did not sell at the first auction were put up for sale again at the Galleria d'Arte L'Antonina in March and April 1943, but only 30 items sold⁴⁴. In the marginalia of the sales catalog, Pollak noted that those that did not sell were put in a deposit "*bei Romiti*"; it is not clear who (painter Gino Romiti 1881–1967?), what, or where Romiti is⁴⁵. Despite overtures to assist his escape, Pollak

³⁹ Ludwig Pollak, "Der rechte Arm des Laokoon", in: *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 20 (1905), 277-282.

⁴⁰ Ludwig Pollak, *Römische Memoiren: Künstler, Kunstliebhaber und Gelehrte*, ed. Margarete Merkel Guldan, Rome 1994, esp. 129-149 for antiquities dealers. For Pollak, see also Virginia Napoleone, "Between Florence and Berlin: The International Art Market in Post-unification Rome", in: Lynn Catterson, ed., *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Late Nineteenth-Century Art Markets and Their Social Networks*, Leiden 2020: 181-208, esp. 191-192, 195-196, 201-204.

⁴¹ See Pavan (2007), 171-174.

⁴² Orietta Rossini, ed., *Ludwig Pollak: Archeologo e mercante d'arte*, Rome 2018, 34-35. The collection was later (1949?) donated by Pollak's heirs to the Geneva museum (34, n68: a list of the sculptures). See also Margarete Merkel Guldan, *Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak*, Vienna 1988: 222-224.

⁴³ Pacifico Guido Tavazzi and Casa di vendite Palazzo Simonetti, *Catalogo delle vendite all'asta per liquidazione totale negli studi terreni di via Margutta, 53-B (Palazzo Patrizi): marmi classici e decorativi, mobili [...], da lunedì 11 maggio a giovedì 21 maggio 1942*, Rome 1942. See Rossini (2018), 35 for a description of some of those that sold: a female head in green basalt; a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original, which Pollak had acquired in 1927 from Augusto Jandolo; an archaizing male head of the Augustan period; a copy of the Polycleitan ephebe of the Westmacott type; the head of a boxer of Lysippan type.

⁴⁴ Galleria d'Arte "L'Antonina", *Catalogo delle vendite all'asta di pregiate raccolte private, Roma 22 marzo – 3 aprile 1943*, Rome 1943. According to Rossini (2018), 35, the antiquities included Hellenistic funerary stelae; a third-century AD sarcophagus; and other Roman marbles.

⁴⁵ According to Rossini (2018), 35, these included an Egyptian cinerary urn imported into Rome in the second century AD; a sleeping Eros of the Trajanic period; a statue of Hercules with his club; and a sixth-century BC Attic female torso.

remained in his beloved Rome; he, his wife, and two children were rounded up with other Roman Jews on 16 October 1943 and murdered at Auschwitz-Birkenau shortly thereafter⁴⁶. In addition to the sculptures in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire—three purchased from Pollak's heirs in 1949 and 1951 and eight donated by Pollak's sister-in-law, Margaret Süßmann-Nicod, in 1957⁴⁷—parts of Pollak's personal collection are located today in the Musei Capitolini, the Museo Barracco, and the Museo di Roma⁴⁸. Those auctioned off in 1942 and 1943 are scattered to various locations unknown to me.

[16] Many of the antiquities plundered by the Nazis from public institutions and non-Jewish private collections in Italy have been located and restituted. The list of known items lost or still to be recovered includes archaeological material from the Finaly Collection in a villa in Florence (six antiquities) and from the Museo della Torre di Pandolfo Capodiferro, near the ancient site of Minturnae in Campania (23 ancient items)⁴⁹. Twelve other antiquities are listed in Morozzi and Paris's 1995 catalog of missing works of art from Italy, but several of these have since been repatriated⁵⁰.

[17] A second-century AD marble statuette of Artemis/Diana of the Versailles-Leptis Magna type with a dog beside the goddess, excavated at Minturnae in the 1931–1933 University of Pennsylvania/Soprintendenza in Naples campaign, was acquired by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier in 1963 from a private collection in Trier; it had almost certainly gone missing during World War II⁵¹. It was repatriated to Italy in January 2003⁵² and is on display in the Antiquarium at Minturno today (Fig. 2).

⁴⁶ Pollak's refusal of interventions to save him are discussed in Olga Melasecchi, "Ludwig Pollak e l'ebraismo", in: Rossini (2018), 219-220.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of Pollak's ancient collection and the list of ancient sculptures in the Geneva museum, see Guldan (1988), 223-224: a Hellenistic maenad; a draped Aphrodite; a portrait head of Septimius Severus; a Silvanus statue; a seated child; two male busts; an Asclepius head; a female head; a grave relief with a Greek inscription; and a bearded male head (17th century?). Jørgen Birkedal Hartmann ("Chronache Romane", in: *L'Urbe: Rivista romana bimestrale* no. 3-4 [sett.–nov. 1988], 64-69, esp. 68) also mentions that the Hellenistic maenad sculpture was acquired by the Geneva museum in 1949. I am grateful to Béatrice Blandin, curator in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, for confirming the information about the acquisitions of the sculptures in the former Pollak collection in the museum in Geneva (personal communication, 5 April 2022) and for allowing me access to study the objects in June 2022.

⁴⁸ Simonetta Tozzi, "Oggetti del desiderio. Collezionisti e antiquari a Roma nella prima metà del Novecento", in: Rossini (2018), 111. Pollak's sister-in-law, Margaret Süßmann-Nicod, donated parts of his collection to the Italian state and museums. Among Pollak's ancient objects in the Musei Capitolini, see Rossini (2018), 240 (Portrait of Claudius), 245-246 (Acrolithic head of Athena), 254 (small head of Jupiter Serapis), 257 (head of Zeus); and in the Museo di Roma, 251-252 (Etruscan black-figure amphora; Attic red-figure bell krater).

⁴⁹ Luisa Morozzi and Rita Paris, *L'opera da ritrovare. Repertorio del patrimonio artistico italiano disperso all'epoca della Seconda Guerra Mondiale*, Rome 1995, 247-292 (Finaly Collection), 299-320 (Museo della Torre di Pandolfo Capodiferro); Ilaria D. Brey, *The Venus Fixers. The Remarkable Story of the Allied Soldiers Who Saved Italy's Art during World War II*, New York 2009, 260.

⁵⁰ Morozzi and Paris (1995), 23-28. See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 18-20 for the repatriated Venus from Leptis Magna.



Fig. 2. Marble statuette of Artemis/Diana with a hunting dog, second century AD. Antiquarium of Minturnae, Minturno, Italy (photograph by Carole Raddato, 1 July 2014, [Wikimedia Commons](#), [CC BY-SA 2.0](#))

Another sculpture from these same excavations, a marble portrait head of the late third to early fourth century AD, possibly of the emperor Maximianus Herculeus, was purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA Boston), in 1961 from Münzen und Medaillen AG in Basel, deaccessioned by the museum on 8 October 2020, and transferred to Italy in April 2022⁵³. Rodolfo Siviero provided some details of the movement of the Minturnae collections, including that in a five-month period in 1944, when the Kunstschutz was moving collections from regional museums and deposits to Rome, selected artifacts were removed, with some sent to Germany⁵⁴. Another orchestrated plunder of antiquities in Italy during the Nazi period is illustrated by the

⁵¹ Achille Adriani, “Minturno. Catalogo delle sculture trovate negli anni 1931–1933”, in: *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 16 (1938), 159-226: 165-166, no. 2, fig. 3; Karin Goethert-Polaschek, in: Wolfgang Binsfeld, ed., *Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier*, Mainz 1988, 32-33: no. 50, pl. 13; Karin Goethert, in: Hans-Peter Kuhnen, ed., *Religio Romana: Wege zu den Göttern im antiken Trier*, exh. cat., Trier 1996 (= *Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier*, 12), 118: no. 10b; Erika Harnett, “Some Lost Sculptures from Minturnae”, in: Kim Hartswick and Mary C. Sturgeon, eds., *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, Philadelphia 1998, 101-104: 103-104, n. 7 (3).

⁵² Personal communication, Karl-Uwe Mahler, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, August 8, 2019.

⁵³ Adriani (1938), 221-222: no. 77, fig. 43; Harnett (1998), 103, n. 7 (2). MFA Boston 61.1136. The Minturnae provenance of this head was noted on the museum’s website, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/151372/portrait-of-a-man-perhaps-the-emperor-maximianus-herculus?ctx=f1f76d39-e1f1-4b58-b545-328e06581ef8&idx=0> (accessed 4 October 2021), where it was listed as deaccessioned. The transfer to Italy was announced in a press release on 28 April 2022; see “MFA Boston Transfers Antique Marble Head to the Republic of Italy”, <https://www.mfa.org/press-release/minturno-head-return> (accessed 29 April 2022).

⁵⁴ Rodolfo Siviero, *L’arte e il nazismo: esodo e ritorno delle opere d’arte italiane, 1938–1963*, ed. Mario Ursino, Florence 1984, 37, 43-44.

October 1943 theft by the 1st Paratroop Panzer Division “Hermann Göring” of collections from Naples museums, which were recovered in Altaussee and repatriated to Italy⁵⁵.

[18] Cases of random plunder in Italy during the war have been highlighted by a recent research project and restitution. The project is being jointly conducted by the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli and St. Mary’s University, Halifax, Canada, on the archaeological collection of indigenous, Greek, and Etruscan objects found on the estate of Baron Marcello Spinelli at ancient Suessula in the Piana Campana (inland Campania, northeast of Naples). During World War II, first German and then American troops occupied the Baron’s estate with Spinelli’s private museum, the Casina Spinelli, used from October 1943 as an Allied cinema and barracks. During this period, the museum was looted, with objects dispersed⁵⁶.

[19] Another case of random plunder is illustrated by a Roman marble portrait of Drusus Minor that was deaccessioned by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 2016 and repatriated to Italy in 2017 after it was proven to have been excavated at the Campanian site of Sessa Aurunca in 1925 or 1926 and published in the report of the excavations. It went missing in 1944 from the archeological museum in Sessa Aurunca in Caserta province (Fig. 3)⁵⁷. It was likely looted under cover of war, and its removal from Italy without a permit would have been prohibited under Italian laws 364/1909 and 108/1939, although we know these laws were sometimes bypassed with permits approved by Fascist officials, including Mussolini himself in high-profile cases⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 27.

⁵⁶ Paper delivered by Sveva Savelli and Emanuela Santaniello, “The Spinelli Archaeological Collection at MANN [Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli]”, at Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 7 January 2022. Amedeo Maiuri, in his *Taccuino napoletano* (Naples 1956, 162), mentions this case in his entry for 17 April 1944, where he says the Spinelli Casino was found with smashed doors, and the exhibition cases and small objects were thrown into two smaller rooms in the attic. In overtly racist comments, Maiuri suggests that African American troops were responsible for the destruction.

⁵⁷ See website of The Cleveland Museum of Art, “Deaccessioned Art”, <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/collections/deaccessioned> (accessed 5 April 2022); Steven Litt, “Cleveland Museum of Art Returns Ancient Roman Portrait of Drusus after Learning It Was Stolen from Italy in WWII”, in: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 18, 2017, http://www.cleveland.com/arts/index.ssf/2017/04/cleveland_museum_of_art_return_2.html, reprinted in *lootedart.com* in April 2017: <https://www.lootedart.com/news.php?r=SEMIX1784181> (accessed 11 April 2021). For the complicated and illicit transfers/sales of the portrait, see “Repatriation: The Cleveland Museum of Art returns WWII Looted Bust of Drusus Minor to Italy”, April 20, 2017, Association for Research into Crimes against Art (ARCA), <https://art-crime.blogspot.com/2017/04/repatriation-cleveland-museum-of-art.html> (accessed 11 April 2021). See also in this special issue: Daria Brasca, “The Role of Antiquities between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Diplomatic Gifting, Legal and Illegal Trades”, *RIHA Journal* 0284, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92761>.

⁵⁸ See Brasca, in this special issue (as in n57).



Fig. 3. Marble portrait of Drusus Minor, excavated in Sessa Aurunca, Campania, repatriated from the Cleveland Museum of Art to Italy in 2017 (photograph by David Brichford, Cleveland Museum of Art, Gallery 103, 14 August 2012, with permission of Cleveland Museum of Art)

[20] The antiquities trade in Italy and the taste for Italian antiquities showed few signs of diminishment during the Fascist and Nazi periods in Italy. The looting of ancient sites there continued, and antiquities were plundered under cover of war in both random and systematic ways. Italian antiquities dealers⁵⁹, art advisers, and agents were enriched by sales to the Nazis and to foreign dealers, museums, and collectors, despite attempts by the Italian state to regulate the exportation of culturally significant works of art⁶⁰.

France

[21] To gain a sense of the relative interest in antiquities among Jewish collectors in France in the pre-Nazi period and, therefore, the availability of various categories of ancient art for Nazi looting, we can examine the database of art objects confiscated from late 1940 through August 1944 by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) in France and Belgium, the vast majority of which were stored in the Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume in Paris⁶¹. In his report in July 1944, Robert Scholz, head of the *Sonderstab Bildende Kunst*, enumerated 21,903 works of art confiscated by the ERR from about 250 private collections and institutions. Only 239 of these works of art are

antiquities⁶². We now understand that this was not a comprehensive statistic since a search through just two of these collections produces over 300 antiquities. For example, Alphonse Kann's

⁵⁹ See also below for a discussion of the Italian contacts of the Brummers, and see Laura Puritani's paper in this special issue for the Italian dealers from whom Göring purchased some collections: Laura Puritani, "Göring's Collection of Antiquities at Carinhall", *RIHA Journal* 0285, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92769>.

⁶⁰ See Brasca, in this special issue (as in n57) for the role of antiquities in the Fascist and Nazi periods in Italy, and see below for the Brummer records of sales.

⁶¹ "Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume" (5 February 2020), <https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/> (hereafter, ERR Database).

collection of 1,614 works of art, confiscated in October 1940 from his mansion in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (assigned “Ka” inventory numbers by the ERR), comprised at least 150 ancient objects, including Egyptian (Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, and Coptic periods; ca. 65), Middle Eastern (ca. 10), Greek (ca. 51), Etruscan (some red-figure vases or sherds labeled Etruscan, but are possibly South Italian; ca. 7), Roman (ca. 13), and Byzantine (ca. 6) objects for around 9 percent of Kann’s eclectic collection (Fig. 4)⁶³. The incomplete descriptions of some of the objects and the lack of photographs make further identifications of ancient objects in this collection impossible, especially works in glass and ceramic, which are categorized as decorative arts with no further descriptions in the ERR database.

⁶² Robert Scholz, “Sonderstab Bildende Kunst: Arbeitsbericht über die Zeit vom Oktober 1940 bis Juli 1944” / “Rapport sur l’activité de l’état-major special pour l’art de la peinture durant la période d’octobre 1940 à juillet 1944”, 14 July 1944, Nuremberg document 1015-PS b * (US-385, RF-1323), published in IMT (International Military Tribunal) “Blue Series”: *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (English and French eds.), vol. 26, Nuremberg 1947, 524-530; English translation in IMT “Red Series”: *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, ed. Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, vol. 3, Washington D.C. 1946, Document 1015-GG-PS, 671-674: https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llmlp/2011525363_NT_Nazi_Vol-III/2011525363_NT_Nazi_Vol-III.pdf (accessed 27 May 2023). See Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot”, ERR Database, https://www.errproject.org/guide/ERR_Guide_France.pdf, FR6-7 (accessed 15 February 2021).

⁶³ In ERR Database: https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_search.php?Query=Kann (accessed 17 May 2022). This collection was cataloged by Bruno Lohse, von Behr’s assistant in the Jeu de Paume. In a 1927 auction in New York, Kann sold around 121 antiquities, including Greek and Etruscan pottery and sculpture of the highest quality, terracottas, Greek and Etruscan bronzes, Egyptian stone sculpture, canopic jars, wooden and bronze statuettes, and an Assyrian relief. The sale catalog is available at Internet Archive, “Full text of ‘The Alphonse Kann Collection’”, https://archive.org/stream/alphonsekanncoll00amer/alphonsekanncoll00amer_djvu.txt (accessed 27 May 2023). See Hector Feliciano, *The Lost Museum: The Nazi Conspiracy to Steal the World’s Greatest Works of Art*, New York, 1997, 110-111, 207-210, 228-231 for more on Kann; he was an important figure in the Paris art-collecting scene before he fled to England from France in 1938. For the recovery of Kann’s manuscripts, see Alan Riding, “Collector’s Family Tries to Illuminate the Past of Manuscripts in France”, in: *New York Times*, 3 September 1997, <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/03/arts/collector-s-family-tries-to-illuminate-the-past-of-manuscripts-in-france.html> (accessed 5 February 2021).

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					(UMBRITZ)
EINSATZSTAB RL, Sonderinst. Bildende Kunst, Berlin, W 5, Sachkennz. 3					

Fig. 4. Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) catalog card (Ka 517) for an Egyptian bronze bowl on a tripod with two upright handles, decorated with three bird heads, from the collection of Alphonse Kann, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France (photograph from “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume”, https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_view.php?CardId=1085 [accessed 5 February 2020])

[22] In addition, more than 5,000 works of art were confiscated from the collections of the French Rothschilds in Paris (all of the collections of the various Rothschild family members were labeled “R” in the ERR catalog system). Of the 1,288 objects cataloged from Maurice de Rothschild’s confiscated Paris estate, there are at least 154 ancient objects (almost 12 percent of the collection), with the largest category being Greek and Roman jewelry (135 entries), including some labeled with a Southern Russian provenience, possibly from tombs on the Crimean peninsula (Fig. 5)⁶⁴. At least six Greek vases from Rothschild’s collection are documented in Hermann Göring’s Carinhall, as Laura Puritani outlines in her paper in this publication and in her major publication of the Carinhall antiquities⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ In ERR Database: https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_search.php?Query=Maurice+de+Rothschild&MaxPageDocs=50&StartDoc=1 (accessed 17 May 2022). Many of these were restituted; some remain missing.

⁶⁵ See Puritani, in this special issue (as in n59) and Laura Puritani, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation des Fremdbesitzes*, vol. 3: *Antikensammlung. Antiken aus Carinhall aus dem Eigentum der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Berlin 2017, 123-129, 140-149.

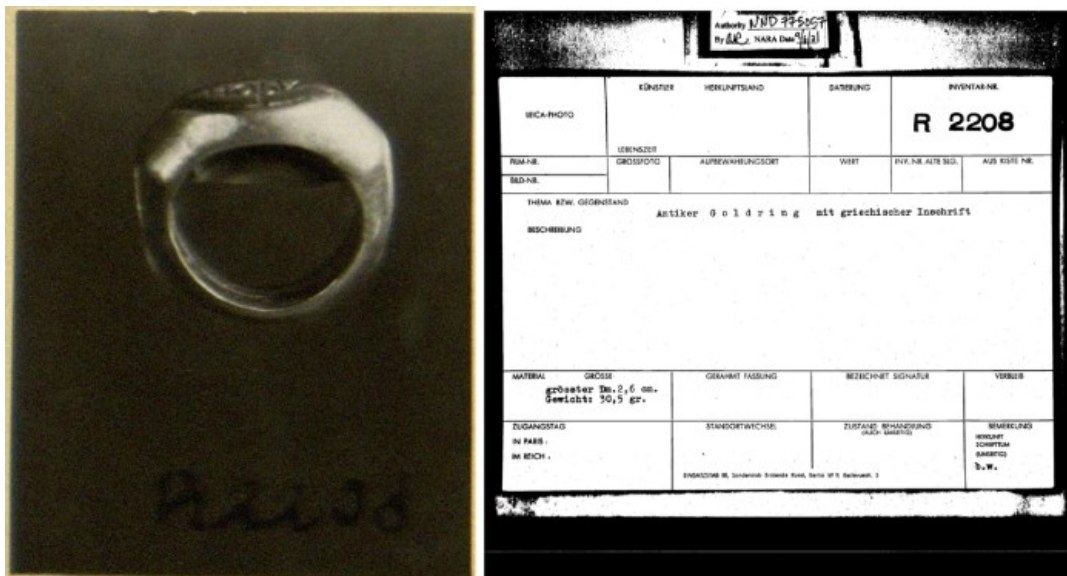


Fig. 5. Ancient gold ring with a Greek inscription from the collection of Maurice de Rothschild, Paris, and ERR catalog card (R 2208) (photographs from “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume”, https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_view.php?CardId=14132 [accessed 11 April 2021])

[23] Moïse Lévy de Benzion (1873–1943), a Sephardic Jewish department store owner in Cairo with property in and around Paris, amassed a large collection of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine (Coptic) antiquities, some of which he acquired in his native Egypt and some in Europe. In 1940–1941, the ERR confiscated over 1,000 works of art and objects from Lévy de Benzion (designated “LB” in the ERR’s inventories) in his Chateau de la Folie in Draveil, outside Paris; more than 275 of these were antiquities⁶⁶. Part of this collection was restituted to Lévy de Benzion’s widow in 1946–1948, and a portion was sold at an auction in Cairo in 1947⁶⁷. Some of his collection have entered various American and European collections—for example, the Antonine bust of a woman now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts that was purchased at the 1947 sale of Lévy de Benzion’s collection (Fig. 6)⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ In ERR Database: https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_advanced_search.php?Card_OwnerId=46 (accessed 28 August 2020).

⁶⁷ *Catalogue des tableaux, aquarelles, dessins, bronzes, objets d’art, pierre dure, porcelaine & bronze de Chine, ivoires, antiquites Egyptiennes & Greco-Romaines, bijoux anciens, monnaies Greco-Romaines, tapis, meubles, lustres, appliques, argenterie, livres, etc. dont la vente aura lieu à la Villa Benzion à Zamalek. Succession de feu M. Moïse Levy de Benzion, Vendredi 14 Mars 1947 et jours suivants à Zamalek, 6, Rue El Amir Omar, 6., Cairo, 1947.*

⁶⁸ “Antonine Portrait of a Woman”, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (VMFA), <https://www.vmfa.museum/piction/6027262-121933436/> (accessed 30 October 2020). Peter Schertz, curator of ancient art at the VMFA, presented a paper on this portrait at the 2021 College Art Association Annual Conference and is continuing to study the provenance of the piece.



Fig. 6. Marble bust of a female, Antonine period, ca. AD 150. Former collection of Moïse Lévy de Benzion, now in Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Endowment, 2017.4 (photograph by Travis Fullerton © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

[24] In addition, the *Möbel-Aktion* (“Furniture Operation”), an arm of the ERR, plundered 69,619 homes in France, some 38,000 in Paris alone. The confiscated household goods comprised much more than furniture, however, and included some ancient Mediterranean and Middle Eastern objects. The ERR database lists lots (sometimes with groups of objects listed under one entry) of 4 Egyptian antiquities (ERR inv. nos. MA-AEGY); 152 Asian antiquities (i.e., Middle Eastern [pre-Islamic and Islamic] and Indian), 59 of which are pre-Islamic (listed variously as Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Luristan⁶⁹, with East Asian objects listed separately); 102 “*Antik(e)*”, in general (inv. nos. MA-AN), which include an array of objects of various periods and types, only some of which are ancient (pointing to the problems interpreting the German use of the adjective *antik* or the noun *Antike*); and 63 coins (inv. nos. MA-MÜ), only seven of which are ancient⁷⁰. Such a limited number of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern antiquities in comparison to the very large total of confiscated objects speaks perhaps to a minor interest in ancient artifacts among average Jewish families in France, as opposed to wealthy collectors.

⁶⁹ Anne Dunn-Vaturi discussed some of these Middle Eastern objects and the problems of misidentification/misdating and lack of photographs in trying to describe these antiquities in her oral presentation, “Middle Eastern Antiquities and the ERR”, at the Annual Conference of the College Art Association, 10–13 February 2021. See also Dunn-Vaturi, Bridey and Fellinger, in this special issue (as in n11).

⁷⁰ In ERR Database: https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_advanced_search.php?ErrId=MA-MÜ&MaxPageDocs=50&StartDoc=1 (accessed 15 February 2021).

Germany

Notable German collectors of antiquities in the later 19th century and the first half of the 20th century

[25] There were several notable German collectors of the later 19th century and the early 20th century whose interests were focused primarily on antiquities; all of them were Jewish. Friedrich Ludwig von Gans (1833–1920), a Frankfurt am Main industrialist, was one of these. We know a great deal about his collecting preferences from publications of the part of his collection that he donated to the Berlin Königliche Kunstsammlungen (Antikensammlung today) in 1912⁷¹ and from a catalog of the Bachstitz Gallery in The Hague, which had acquired von Gans's collection en bloc after his death⁷². His Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Late Roman/Byzantine jewelry, gems, and glass collections are especially notable. His name is mentioned repeatedly throughout this special issue⁷³.

[26] Beginning in 1902 with purchases, especially of Greek vases from the English collection of William Henry Forman, the German-American James Loeb (1867–1933) formed a collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities that was bequeathed just at the beginning of the Nazi era to the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst (Staatliche Antikensammlungen today) in Munich. It comprises some 800 objects—primarily small items such as jewelry, gems, glass, and other luxury objects, bronze statuettes and terracotta figurines, Roman ceramics—as well as around 180 Greek vases and fragments and three large Etruscan bronze cauldrons on stands, the latter excavated from the Tomba di Fonte Ranocchia near Perugia in 1904 and bought in Rome in 1905 (Fig. 7)⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Robert Zahn, "Die Sammlung Friedrich Ludwig von Gans im Antiquarium", in: *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 35, no. 3 (3 December 1913), 1-33, and "Antikenabteilungen. Zur Sammlung Friedrich I. von Gans", in: *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 38, no. 1 (October 1916), 1-27.

⁷² Robert Zahn, *Sammlungen der Galerie Bachstitz*, vol. II: *Antike, byzantinische, islamische Arbeiten der Kleinkunst und des Kunstgewerbes. Antike Skulpturen. Die Sammlung Friedrich L. von Gans*, Berlin 1921. For a view of von Gans's collecting practices and connections, see Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, "'Into the hands of a well-known antiquary of Cairo': The Assiut Treasure and the Making of an Archaeological Hoard", in: *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 21 (2014), no. 2, 264-265.

⁷³ See Claire L. Lyons, "A Goddess of the Night, a Roman Gem, and the Bachstitz Gallery", *RIHA Journal* 0294, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92750>.

⁷⁴ Florian S. Knauss, "Raising the Spirit and Feasts for the Eyes: James Loeb's Antiquities Collection", in: Hermann Mayer and Brigitte Salmen, eds., *James Loeb: Collector and Patron in Munich, Murnau and Beyond*, Munich 2018, 204-217; Richard De Puma, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Etruscans: Collecting from the 1870s to the Present", in: Alexandra Carpino et al., *Collecting and Collectors from Antiquity to Modernity*, Boston 2018, 33.



Fig. 7. Etruscan bronze tripod (tripod A), ca. 540–530 BC, found in the Tomba di Fonte Ranocchia in San Valentino di Marsciano, near Perugia. Acquired by James Loeb in 1905, now in Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (photograph: from [Wikimedia Commons](#), 22 October 2016 [accessed 11 April 2021])

[27] Archaeologist Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938), from a distinguished Berlin family of antiquarians and patrons of Egyptology and founder of the German Archaeological Institute's Cairo department in 1907⁷⁵, acted as an agent or middleman in Egypt for the acquisition of antiquities for German museums.⁷⁶ Borchardt is most famous for his excavations at Tell el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten), where from 1907 to 1914 he directed archaeological research for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and in 1912 discovered the bust of Nefertiti in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose⁷⁷. Controversy over the presence of the bust in Berlin (now in the Neues Museum) has continued on and off from soon after its discovery⁷⁸. A patron for those excavations was James Simon (1851–1932), son of a prominent textile manufacturer. Simon, a major donor to Berlin museums, donated the bust of Nefertiti to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin along with other

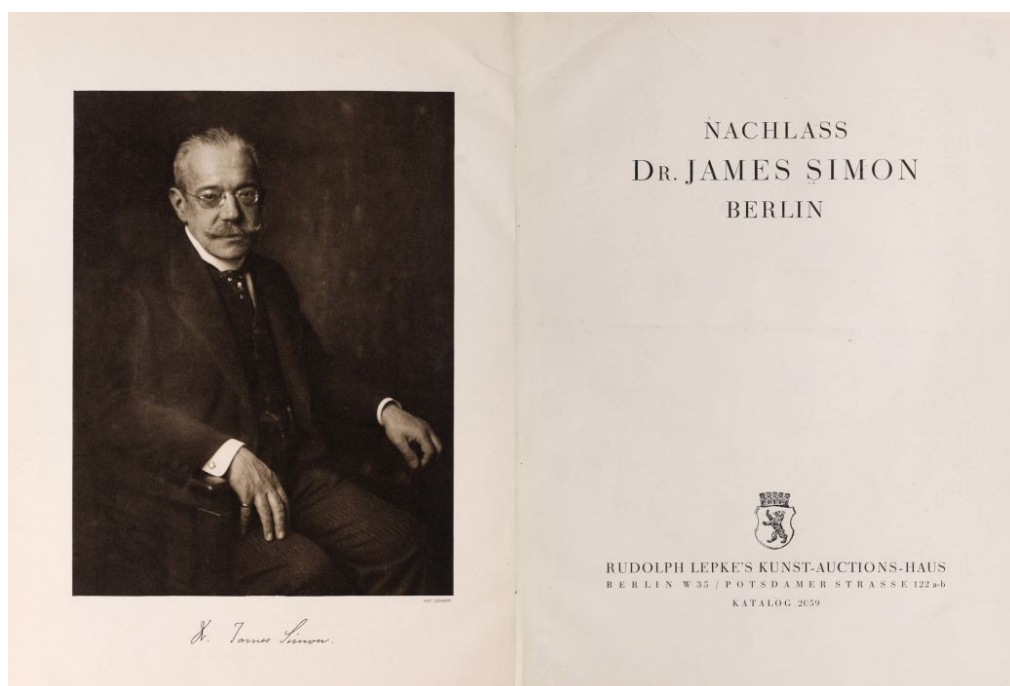
⁷⁵ Donald M. Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*, Cairo 2015, 273-278.

⁷⁶ Fredrik Norland Hagen and Kim Ryholt, "The Antiquities Trade in Egypt during the Time of Rudolf Mosse", in: Jana Helmbold-Doyé and Thomas L. Gertzen, eds., *Mosse im Museum. Die Stiftungstätigkeit des Berliner Verlegers Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920) für das Ägyptische Museum Berlin*, Berlin 2017, 63, 65.

⁷⁷ See Anna Stevens, "The Archaeology of Amarna", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Topics in Archaeology* (online edition, 2 Oct. 2014), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.013.31> (accessed 15 July 2020).

⁷⁸ German excavations in Egypt were suspended for nearly a decade because of this controversy (Reid [2015], 356).

important ancient Egyptian objects in 1920⁷⁹, while parts of his collection, including the ancient jewelry, were sold at Lepke auction house in 1932, just on the cusp of the Nazi era (Figs. 8a-b)⁸⁰.



Figs. 8a-b. Facing title pages for auction catalog for sale of James Simon's collection, *Nachlass Dr. James Simon, Berlin. Miniaturen, Gemälde, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe und Textilien, antiker Goldschmuck, Möbel, Bücher*, Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, 29 November 1932 (photographs: from [Internet Archive](#), 12 December 2016, [accessed 11 April 2021])

[28] Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920), a Berlin publisher, arts patron, philanthropist, and sponsor of archaeological excavations in Egypt, donated a large Egyptian collection (ca. 700 objects) to the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin between 1892 and 1894. In 1933 his daughter and heir, Felicia Lachmann-Mosse, and her husband, Hans Lachmann-Mosse, the publisher of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, fled Germany because of Jewish persecution. Remaining parts of the Mosse collection were confiscated and auctioned in 1934 by the Berlin auction house Lepke. That auction comprised 63 ancient works of art, including Egyptian stone sculptures, bronze statuettes and vessels, wooden objects, faience amulets, terracottas, as well as several Greek and Roman

⁷⁹ Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *James Simon. Sammler und Mäzen für die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 2001. For a biography of Simon, see the website of the James Simon Stiftung, <http://james-simon-stiftung.de/biographie.htm> (accessed 22 July 2020). See also Thomas L. Gertzen and Jana Helmbold-Doyé, "The Patronage of Berlin's Egyptian Museum by German-Jewish Press Tycoon Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920) and the Sequestration of His Art Collection During the "Third Reich", *RIHA Journal* 0289, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92780>.

⁸⁰ Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, *Nachlass Dr. James Simon, Berlin. Miniaturen, Gemälde, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe und Textilien, antiker Goldschmuck, Möbel, Bücher*, Berlin 1932, <https://archive.org/details/miniaturengemlde00rudo/mode/2up> (accessed 10 June 2020).

objects⁸¹. The formation, provenance, and dispersal of Mosse’s private Egyptian collection and his donations to the Egyptian museum in the context of Jewish patronage of excavations and museums are discussed in this special issue by Thomas L. Gertzen and Jana Helmbold-Doyé⁸².

The Linz museum and antiquities

[29] The database of works of art that were bought or confiscated for the planned *Gemäldegalerie* (“Führermuseum”) in Linz includes very few antiquities—around 30 known, in addition to coins, from a total of some 6,755 works of art. Surviving Linz photo albums, in which the art works procured for Hitler were documented, show only seven antiquities⁸³. Some of these are from the former collection of the prominent Frankfurt industrialist and art collector Friedrich Ludwig von Gans (1833–1920) (Fig. 9). In her article in this special issue, Claire L. Lyons traces the history of two of these antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum today: a Roman bronze statuette of the moon goddess Luna and a cornelian intaglio gem with a depiction of Venus and Anchises⁸⁴. The latter has a long and well-documented history since the 18th century, once part of the famous Marlborough collection. Both were bought from a sale of von Gans’s collection by Kurt Walter Bachstitz (1882–1949), a prominent German-Austrian art dealer in The Hague, following von Gans’s death. In 1941 Bachstitz sold a number of works of art at below-market prices to Hans Posse for the “Führermuseum”, including important antiquities such as the Luna statuette and the gem⁸⁵.

⁸¹ The auction was held on 29–30 May 1934 at Mosse-Palais, Berlin. See Rudolph Lepke’s *Kunst-Auctions-Haus*, ed., *Kunstsammlung Rudolf Mosse, Berlin*, Berlin 1934, nos. 131-179, pls. 18-20; digitally available at <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.5360>. The Lepke auction house was co-owned by Karl Haberstock and Hans-Carl Krüger. See also “Mummy Portraits: A Visual Record of Changing Fashions in Roman Egypt”, 21 October 2016, Christie’s, New York: <https://www.christies.com/features/Mummy-portraits-A-visual-record-of-evolving-styles-in-Roman-Egypt-7723-1.aspx> (accessed 11 February 2023) and “An Egyptian Encaustic on Wood Mummy Portrait of a Bearded Man”, Christie’s, New York: https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6029281&lid=1 (accessed 11 February 2023).

⁸² See Gertzen and Helmbold-Doyé, in this special issue (as in n79). See also the Mosse Art Research Initiative (MARI), <https://www.mari-portal.de>, and the Mosse Art Restitution Project of the Mosse Foundation, <http://mosseartproject.com>.

⁸³ See Angelika Enderlein, Monika Flacke and Hanns Christian Löhr, Database on the “Sonderauftrag Linz (Special Commission: Linz)”, Berlin 2014, <https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/linzdb> (accessed 20 January 2020); Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, “Database on the ‘Munich Central Collecting Point’”, https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/ccp/dhm_ccp.php?lang=en (hereafter, CCP Munich Database). See below, fig. 12b and also Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 21-22, figs. 11a, 11b.

⁸⁴ Lyons, in this special issue (as in n73).

⁸⁵ Also among the von Gans’s jewelry items sold to Posse by Bachstitz for the Linz museum in May 1941 are a small gold Serapis head (CCP Munich Database, Munich-No. 2255/5; Linz-No. 3872a), a gold bracelet with lionhead terminals (Munich-No. 2255/4; Linz-No. 2255/4), and a pair of gold snake armlets (Munich-No. 2255/1; Linz-No. 3873). These were recovered from Altaussee and restituted to the Netherlands in 1946.



Fig. 9. Portrait photograph of Friedrich Ludwig von Gans, unknown date, shown with three antiquities: a Greek vase behind his head, a Roman sculpted head at the left edge of the photo, and an Egyptian dark stone head on the mantle (photograph “Friedrich von Gans” provided by Angela von Gans, [Wikimedia Commons](#), [CC BY-SA 3.0 DE](#), 24 January 2009 [accessed 11 April 2021])

CCP Munich records

[30] From the online database of the restitution cards of the Munich Central Collecting Point we get a general picture of the antiquities recovered by Allied forces. Approximately 170,000 catalog cards (including duplicates) show that around 2,000 ancient objects were recovered, with the largest category being coins (“Coins” and “Greek”: 5 entries for a total of 1,213 objects; “Coins” and “Roman”: 42 entries)⁸⁶. Roman (535 objects, including gold jewelry and sculpture from the Rothschild collection), Greek (411 objects), and Egyptian (162) antiquities, in that order, comprise the majority of them, with Etruscan (18) and Middle Eastern (2) artifacts among the fewest. In fact, the topic of Middle Eastern antiquities during the Nazi period in general has not been well studied until very recently⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ This information derives from searches of the CCP Munich Database (accessed 4 June 2020).

⁸⁷ In their article in this special issue, Dunn-Vaturi, Bridey and Fellinger (as in n11) discuss some of the main dealers of Middle Eastern art from the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, especially in Paris in the 1920s through 1940s, including Yervant (Eduard) Hindamian, the Kalebjian Frères, Dikran Kelekian, Joseph Enkiri, the Kevorkians, and Walter Bornheim, while Lammert shows that the antiquities market in Nazi-occupied Paris was mostly controlled by dealers of Armenian descent who had fled persecution at the beginning of the 20th century (Mattes Lammert, “The Antiquities Trade during the German Occupation of France, 1940–1944”, *RIHA Journal* 0290, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2.92784>, in this special issue).

Major dealers of antiquities in Germany

[31] Berlin and Munich were the most important loci for the art trade in Germany at the turn of the 19th century into the 20th, including during the Nazi period. In the catalogs for the “Große Deutsche Kunstausstellungen” (Great German Art Exhibitions) from 1938 to 1944 (but not in the 1937 catalog), there are advertisements for various art-related and other businesses (such as travel and spas), including ads in the 1942, 1943, and 1944 catalogs for the Berlin auction house Hans W. Lange at Bellevuestraße 7. Lange advertised his expertise in paintings, antiques/antiquities, and carpets, coinciding with the height of his prominence as an important dealer for sales to Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, Hermann Göring, and Albert Speer⁸⁸. His use of the word *Antiquitäten* on his business card and in his advertisements may be misleading, however, as it could refer to antiques that might include decorative arts and furniture from the 19th century or earlier, as well as objects from the ancient world. The vagueness of the term antique in various languages is a general problem in provenance studies of this period, especially in searching databases. Moreover, the descriptions in inventories or in auction catalogs are often not sufficient to identify the objects and distinguish the meaning of the term.

[32] The large archive of about 7,800 photographs and associated object cards documenting works of art bought and sold from 1903 to 1994 in some 61,500 transactions by Julius Böhler, the leading Munich art dealership (with joint businesses in Lucerne (Böhler and Steinmeyer, 1919–1976), Berlin, and New York (Böhler and Steinmeyer, Inc.), was acquired in 2015 by the ZI in Munich⁸⁹. This remarkable resource, combined with the company’s stock ledgers in the Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv (Archive of the Bavarian Chambers of Industry and Commerce), provides evidence for the activities of one of the major players in the German art market, including to a limited extent in the antiquities trade, before and during the Nazi period. Irrespective of the preliminary state of research, it is already known that Böhler’s activities were complicated, with collaboration (half ownership) with the Nazi auction house owner and dealer Adolf Weinmüller (1886–1958) in Munich and Vienna⁹⁰ to sell collections belonging to Jews who

⁸⁸ *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [year] *im Haus der Deutschen Kunst zu München. Offizieller Ausstellungskatalog*, Munich 1937–1944: (1942), 17; (1943), 13; (1944), 20. Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*, Chapel Hill, NC 1996, 142, 182, 200, 234, 268, 283. Lange’s dealership held some 35 auctions between 1937 and 1943, including the sale of the looted Dutch collection of Jewish dealer Jacques Goudstikker in December 1940. On Lange, see Caroline Flick, “Hans W. Lange. Antiquitäten als Lebensinhalt”, in: Christine Fischer-Defoy, ed., *Gute Geschäfte: Kunsthandel in Berlin 1933–1945*, exh. cat., Berlin 2011, 59-66.

⁸⁹ The archive is currently being processed in a project initially funded by the Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung, and since 2019 funded by the German Lost Art Foundation (overall duration of the project: January 1, 2017, to Mai 31, 2024). A beta-version of the database regarding the years 1903 to 1948 has already been launched: <http://boehler.zikg.eu/>. For a brief biography of the firm and the involvement of various members of the family, see “Böhler, Julius”, National Gallery of Art, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/provenance-info.8492.html#biography> (accessed 28 July 2020).

⁹⁰ Meike Hopp, *Kunsthandel im Nationalsozialismus: Adolf Weinmüller in München und Wien*, Munich 2012, esp. 112-121 for the Böhler-Weinmüller partnership. For the digitized auction catalogs, see “Dealer Records: Annotated Auction Catalogues of Adolf Weinmüller (Munich/Vienna) on Lostart.de”, <https://www.lootedart.com/QO7883867911> (accessed 29 July 2020).

were forced to liquidate their property in order to raise cash for their “flight tax” to flee Nazi-occupied lands. Böhler profited greatly during the Nazi era. The portion of Böhler’s business devoted to antiquities, however, has not been systematically studied; nevertheless, it appears to be minor compared to other categories of art. Although the majority of the 26 antiquities thus far identified in the archival photographs and stock cards were purchased by Böhler in the 1910s and 1920s, some must have been sold by him over the next decades⁹¹. In her paper in this publication and in her major publication on the antiquities at Carinhall, Laura Puritani mentions the 1941 sale by Böhler to Göring of a Roman imperial marble portrait of a woman, probably Vibia Matidia, that was formerly in the collection of Hugo Liebermann-Rosswiese in Vienna and acquired by Böhler in 1939⁹².

Switzerland

[33] The art trade during the Nazi era was enhanced and complicated by activities in Switzerland, which took advantage of its neutrality and protective banking and business laws to serve as a major hub for art sales and transfers of stolen art and a haven for hidden assets⁹³. As Emanuele Sbardella discusses in his paper, the Jewish coin dealers and the ancient coin trade moved from Germany to Switzerland during this time⁹⁴. Julius Böhler effectively used his branch business in Lucerne (1919–1976) and his Swiss relationships during the Nazi period. Hans Wendland (1880–1972), a Nazi dealer who moved easily between Germany, Switzerland, and France, was a key mastermind of the Swiss art networks, in general acting as an intermediary between Walter Andreas Hofer, Göring’s chief purchasing agent, and Theodor Fischer, whose Lucerne gallery conducted the infamous 1939 auction of “degenerate art”⁹⁵. British art historian, art critic, collector, and MFAA officer Douglas Cooper, along with MFAA officers James Plaut and Theodore Rousseau Jr., produced reports on the Swiss market for the Allies in 1945 and concluded that at

⁹¹ Personal communication, Birgit Jooss, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, 4 August 2020. I am very grateful for the assistance of Birgit Jooss with information from the Böhler archive (as in n13).

⁹² See the full provenance and references in Puritani (2017), 130-131, 135-136; Puritani, in this special issue (as n59). Photos and stock cards for this Roman portrait are also in the Böhler archive, M_39-0216 (as in n89). We also know from Birgit Jooss’s examination of the Böhler archive that in 1934 Adolf Hitler purchased from Böhler a neoclassical sculpture of a young woman by the Swiss artist Heinrich Maximilian Imhof (1795–1869), now in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne.

⁹³ Georg Kreis, “Switzerland: Market or Hub”, in: *Gurlitt Status Report* (2017), 56-65; Jonathan Petropoulos, *Göring’s Man in Paris: The Story of a Nazi Art Plunderer and His World*, New Haven 2021, esp. 155-167.

⁹⁴ Sbardella, in this special issue (as in n3).

⁹⁵ Feliciano (1997), 156; Jonathan Petropoulos, “Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period”, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 52 (2017), no. 3, 546-565, esp. 553-554; Petropoulos (2021), 200-202.

least 16 Swiss dealers were involved in trafficking in stolen art during this period⁹⁶. The largest buyer was Emil Georg Bührle (1890–1956), for many years managing director and majority shareholder of machine tool factory Oerlikon, and as such an arms manufacturer and supplier to the Wehrmacht, though it seems there were no antiquities in his collection⁹⁷.

[34] A well-known name in the postwar Swiss (Geneva) as well as Paris antiquities trade, Nicolas Koutoulakis (1910–1996), began his career in the late 1930s with his uncle Manolis Segredakis (1891–1948) in the Paris antiques shop that Koutoulakis inherited on his uncle's death. Segredakis, in collaboration with another Parisian dealer with Greek ties, Jean Mikas, and Ernest Brummer sold Joseph Brummer a lot of 20 Greek vases on 24 September 1935, which Joseph then sold to William Randolph Hearst in April 1936 (Fig. 10)⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (hereafter, NARA), RG 239, Entry 73, box 82, Douglas Cooper, "Report of Mission to Switzerland" (18 October 1945); RG 239/82, OSS/ALIU, Report of Plaut and Rousseau, "Memo on Investigations in Switzerland" (9 December 1945). See also the Douglas Cooper Papers in the archives of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Series IV, box 42, folders 3-5, http://archives2.getty.edu:8082/xtf/view?docId=ead/860161/860161.xml;chunk.id=aspace_ref684_nb8;brand=default. See Petropoulos (2016), 9.

⁹⁷ Feliciano (1997), 199-211. Laurie Stein researched the collection's provenance for the Emil Bührle Collection with the summarized information available online: [Provenances · Foundation E.G. Bührle Collection \(buehrle.ch\)](https://www.buehrle.ch) (accessed 2 August 2022). See also Catherine Hickley, "An Arms Dealer Casts a Shadow over Kunsthaus Zurich", in: *The Art Newspaper*, January 27, 2021, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/an-arms-dealer-s-shadow-over-kunsthaus-zurich> (accessed 1 February 2021).

⁹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library Digital Collections, Cloisters Archives Collections, The Brummer Gallery Records (hereafter, Brummer Gallery Records), <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/mikas%20segredakis%20e.%20brummer!Segredakis/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc> (accessed 10 August 2020). See below for more on Hearst's antiquities collection.

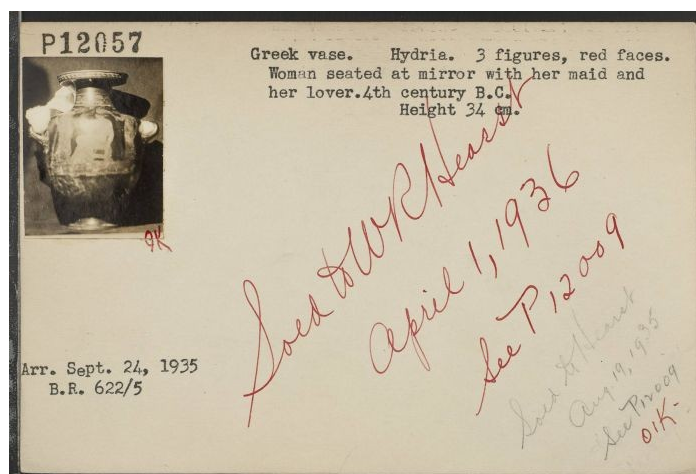


Fig. 10. Stock card from Brummer Gallery Records for a fourth-century BC Greek hydria, one in a lot of 20 vases sold by Manolis Segredakis with Jean Mikas and Ernest Brummer to Joseph Brummer on 24 September 1935, then sold to William Randolph Hearst in April 1936. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library Digital Collections, Cloisters Archives Collections, Brummer Gallery Records, P12057_recto (photograph from Brummer Gallery Records, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/39796/rec/1> [accessed 11 April 2021])

Koutoulakis kept the Paris establishment but moved to Geneva, where he ran his antiquities business from his home. The majority of Koutoulakis's documented antiquities dealings began in the 1950s and continued through the early 1980s, during which he developed close relationships with a number of collectors of antiquities, such as J. Paul Getty and George Ortiz, as well as with US museums, including The Met and the J. Paul Getty Museum⁹⁹. Koutoulakis is known as the dealer through whom the illicitly excavated Keros Hoard of Cycladic figurines became dispersed throughout American and European collections¹⁰⁰, and he is among the infamous dealers and collectors in the chain of looting outlined in the organigram recovered in a raid on the premises of

⁹⁹ Over 150 objects in the J. Paul Getty Museum were acquired from Koutoulakis (or passed through his hands) from ca. 1955 through ca. 1982: [Search for keyword: 'Koutoulakis' \(Getty Museum\)](#) (accessed 10 August 2020). J. Paul Getty also bought the Roman *Mazarin Venus* (54.AA.11) directly from Koutoulakis in 1954: <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNC> (accessed 30 October 2020). For the complicated provenance of the statue, see J. Barr, "Provenance as Palimpsest: The Mazarin Venus", in: Jane Milosch and Nicholas Pearce, eds., *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Lanham, MD 2019, 113-125.

¹⁰⁰ David W. J. Gill, "Context Matters: Nicolas Koutoulakis, the Antiquities Market and Due Diligence", in: *Journal of Art Crime* 22 (2019), 71-78. See Patricia Getz-Gentile, "Forum Response: The Keros Hoard Revisited", in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008), 299-305. On 3 July 2019, Christie's London sold 34 objects acquired by Koutoulakis, that had passed to the anonymous European seller by descent, including 17 Cycladic objects; 6 Minoan-Mycenaean; 5 Greek vases and terracottas; 1 Villanovan spearhead; and 4 Greek and Roman sculptures. No provenience was listed for any; see Christie's, *Antiquities. London, 3 July 2019*, https://www.christies.com/PDF/catalog/2019/CKS17198_SaleCat.pdf (accessed 10 August 2020). For a colorful description of Koutoulakis, see Herbert Krosney, *The Lost Gospel: The Quest for the Gospel of Judas Iscariot*, Washington, DC 2006, 66-70.

Danilo Ziccho in Italy in September 1995 by the Carabinieri; there is a direct line from dealer Robert Hecht's name to Koutoulakis and collector George Ortiz¹⁰¹.

[35] Several wealthy Swiss collectors may have augmented their antiquities collections during the Nazi era, though the full picture of their purchases is not clear. The Antikenmuseum Basel, opened in 1966, has one of the largest public collections of antiquities in Switzerland, and one of the two major sources of its collection is Robert Käppeli (1900–2000), a pharmaceutical executive from Lucerne. Part of Käppeli's collection was exhibited in Lucerne in 1963, and many objects were already included in Karl Schefold's catalog for a special exhibition of Greek masterpieces held in Basel in 1960¹⁰². The provenance for some of these objects indicates purchases at various auctions, mostly in Switzerland, from 1951 into the early 1960s. However, one Geometric bronze horse in Käppeli's collection was formerly in the private collection of Swiss classical archaeologist Ernst Pfuhl (1876–1940), whose collection was sold in 1941 at the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne¹⁰³. Pfuhl's father-in-law was the Greek antiquities dealer Athanasios Rhusopoulos (1823–1898), from whom he may have acquired ancient objects¹⁰⁴. One transfer of the complicated provenance of the bronze statuette of Luna in the Getty Villa can be traced to Käppeli¹⁰⁵. In addition, a Hellenistic marble torso of Aphrodite in the Cleveland Museum of Art, acquired in 1988 and said to have been found in Southern Italy (Tarentum) early in the 20th century¹⁰⁶, was

¹⁰¹ Peter Watson and Cecilia Todeschini, *The Medici Conspiracy: The Illicit Journey of Looted Antiquities – From Italy's Tomb Raiders to the World's Greatest Museums*, New York 2007, 16-18 (see also 198-199, 210, 246, 260). Robert Hecht (1919–2012) was an American antiquities dealer based in Rome who was the middleman for many antiquities' trades, including illicit ones such as the sale of the Euphronios krater to The Met in 1972, from the 1950s until he was brought to trial in Italy in 2005.

¹⁰² Ernst Berger, Herbert A. Cahn and Margot Schmidt, *Kunstwerke der Antike. Sammlung Robert Käppeli*, exh. cat., Lucerne 1963, with entries for vases, sculpture, bronzes, and coins; Karl Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Basel, 18 June – 13 September 1960, Basel 1960.

¹⁰³ Berger, Cahn and Schmidt (1963), B2, where it is compared to a Geometric horse from Olympia. Yet, a better comparison is with a group of Geometric bronze horses from the central Greek region of Locris (see Jean-Louis Zimmermann, *Chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique*, Geneva 1989, 218-229: pl. 51, 19). I am grateful to Dr. Susan Langdon for her assistance with this information. For Pfuhl, see *Dictionary of Art Historians*, <https://arthistorians.info/pfuhle> (accessed 19 August 2020); Galerie Fischer, ed., *Ägyptische, griechische, etruskische, römische Altertümer: Sammlung Prof. Dr. Ernst Pfuhl*, Basel; *Sammlung Dr. Philipp Lederer, Lugano und anderer Besitz: Vasen, Terrakotten, Bronzen, Marmorfiguren und -reliefs, Gläser, Schmuck. Auktion in Luzern, Mittwoch, 21. Mai 1941*, auction cat., Luzern 1941, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.7083>.

¹⁰⁴ For more on Rhusopoulos, see Yannis Galanakis, "An Unpublished Stirrup Jar from Athens and the 1871–2 Private Excavations in the Outer Kerameikos", in: *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 106 (2011), 167-200.

¹⁰⁵ See Lyons, in this special issue (as in n73).

¹⁰⁶ "Aphrodite Torso", The Cleveland Museum of Art, <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1988.9> (accessed 28 September 2020); "The Year in Review for 1988", in: *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 76 (1989), no. 2, 30-75: 41-43 (ill. p. 42), 68 (no. 3). The statue was exhibited in Basel in 1960 when it was in a private collection, see Schefold (1960), 97, 281-282: cat. 395. See Lyons, in this special issue (as in n73), fig. 2 for a portrait of Bachstitz with the torso in the background.

also in Käppeli's collection and, like the bronze statuette of Luna, was part of the von Gans collection that was bought by the Bachstitz Gallery in 1921 (Fig. 11).

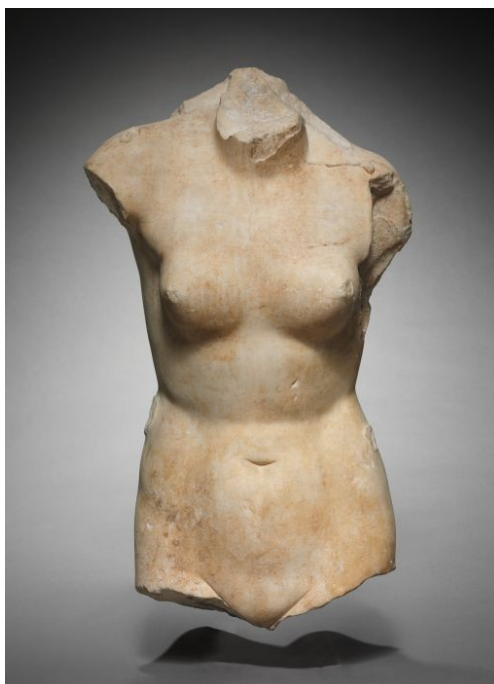


Fig. 11. Marble torso of Aphrodite, said to be from Tarentum, Hellenistic period. Formerly in the collections of Jacob Hirsch, Ludwig von Gans, Bachstitz Gallery, Max Emden, and Robert Käppeli, who sold it to The Cleveland Museum of Art in 1988 (acc. 1988.9) (photograph, "Aphrodite Torso", courtesy of Cleveland Museum of Art, <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1988.9> [accessed 6 April 2022])

According to the Cleveland Museum of Art's online information, before 1935 the marble Aphrodite torso was in the collection of Max Emden (1874–1940), a Jewish-German chemist, entrepreneur and owner of a department store group. The Emden family was persecuted during the Nazi era, with their German businesses, properties, and financial assets seized in 1934 and 1935. In 1937 Emden was forced to sell his art collection¹⁰⁷. In addition, the family's works of art at their villa on the Brissago Islands in the Swiss part of Lake Maggiore were stolen during World

¹⁰⁷ Two Bellotto paintings were restituted by German museums to the heirs of Max Emden in 2019. Catherine Hickley, "Panel Urges Return of Hitler's Bellotto Paintings to Heirs of Jewish Retail Magnate", March 27, 2019, in: *The Art Newspaper*, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/panel-urges-return-of-hitler-s-bellotto-paintings-to-heirs-of-jewish-retail-magnate> (accessed 15 July 2020). Another Bellotto in the Houston Museum of Fine Arts is being sought by the Emden heirs with the help of the Monuments Men Foundation. "Monuments Men Foundation Uncovers Evidence Indicating Nazi Era 'Forced Sale' Painting Currently on View at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston Belongs to Heirs of Dr. Max Emden", 21 July 2021, <https://www.lootedart.com/UY6CGW911311> (accessed 23 July 2021). There is also a case pending involving a Monet painting once in the Emden collection. David D'Arcy, "Heirs Battle Estate over \$30m Monet Painting from Emden Collection Sold during Nazi Era", 8 July 2020, in: *The Art Newspaper*, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/heirs-battle-estate-over-usd30m-monet-painting-from-emden-collection-sold-during-nazi-era> (accessed 15 July 2020). See also Elisabeth Eggimann Gerber, *Jüdische Kunsthändler und Galeristen. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Schweizer Kunsthandels mit einem Porträt der Galerie Aktuaryus in Zürich, 1924–46*, Cologne 2021, 306–326.

War II¹⁰⁸. The last name listed for the provenance of the Cleveland Aphrodite is Dr. Robert Käppeli, in whose hands the torso was by 1935, though it is not stated how he acquired it. He sold the torso to the Cleveland Museum of Art.

[36] Another collector in the Swiss art market was Josef Müller (changed to Mueller) (1887–1977) from Solothurn, a collector of primarily Modern art and African ethnographic objects but also antiquities. Some of these are displayed today, along with the collection of his son-in-law, Jean Paul Barbier-Mueller, in the Musée Barbier-Mueller in Geneva¹⁰⁹. The antiquities include Neolithic, Cycladic, Egyptian, European Bronze Age, Italic, Etruscan, and Middle Eastern objects. The provenance of many of them is not specified in the museum’s online catalog, but some are identified as having been acquired by Mueller “before 1939”¹¹⁰, while the provenance for others is listed as “before 1942”¹¹¹. Presumably, 1939 and 1942 are dates when inventories were taken of Mueller’s collection; thus we might infer that the “before 1942” objects were not in Mueller’s collection by the 1939 inventory but were acquired between 1939 and 1942. His son-in-law records that after Josef moved back to Switzerland in 1942, he made frequent trips to Paris in the 1942–1947 time period, where he bought ancient ceramics and marble and bronze sculpture from Koutoulakis, whose (mostly later) suspicious antiquities dealings are discussed above¹¹². After Josef’s death, part of his collection was sold at Christie’s London in 1978, and three of his

¹⁰⁸ “Max Emden and the Brissago Islands: The Story Continues”, on website of Organizzazione turistica Lago Maggiore e Valli, <https://www.ascona-locarno.com/en/What-s-on/stories/max-emden-and-the-brissago-islands> (accessed 16 July 2020, no longer accessible 31 May 2023).

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Paul Barbier et al., *A Life of Collecting: Josef Müller 1887–1977*, Geneva 1989. For descriptions and excellent photographs of individual objects (with very little provenance information), see Jean-Louis Zimmerman, *Art antique dans les collections du Musée Barbier-Mueller*, Geneva 1991, and Laurence Mattet, ed., *Arts de l’Antiquité. Le profane et le divin de l’Europe au Sud-est asiatique: Fleurons du Musée Barbier-Mueller*, exh. cat., Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève, Paris 2008. For the Cycladic figurines, see Jean-Louis Zimmermann and Pat Getz-Preziosi, *Poèmes de marbre. Sculptures cycladiques du Musée Barbier-Mueller*, Paris 1993. For a biographical summary, see Anna Jozefacka, “Josef Müller”, in: The Modern Art Index Project (January 2015), Leonard A. Lauder Research Center for Modern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57011/SLUJ5601> (accessed 7 June 2020). For an assessment of the provenance of the son-in-law’s collection of pre-Columbian antiquities sold at Sotheby’s Paris in 2013, see Donna Yates, “The Collection’s Issues: Sotheby’s Paris Barbier-Mueller Sale 2”, 4 March 2013, in her blog *Anonymous Swiss Collector. Thoughts and Opinions about the Complexities of Cultural Objects*, <http://www.anonymousswisscollector.com/2013/03/the-collections-issues-sothebys-paris.html>, and “The Sotheby’s Sale of the Barbier-Mueller Collection: Waxing and Waning on Peruvian Law”, 3 March 2013, <http://www.anonymousswisscollector.com/2013/03/the-sothebys-sale-of-barbier-mueller.html> (both accessed 10 August 2020).

¹¹⁰ The website of the Musée Barbier-Mueller has been changed since this information was accessed in June 2020; the online catalog is no longer accessible. E.g., Cycladic objects INV 202-7, 202-15, 202-17, 202-20.

¹¹¹ E.g., Egyptian platter INV 203-104; Egyptian Predynastic black-topped red ware beaker 203-88; Greek Geometric bronze horses 202-103, 202-104; several Cypriot objects 202-107, 202-115; and Roman sculptures 204-2, 204-4, 204-5, 204-10, 204-21, 204-26, 204-37.

¹¹² Barbier et al. (1989), 34.

antiquities were acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum: a Roman marble head of a philosopher¹¹³; a Roman marble head of Apollo¹¹⁴; and a fragment of an Archaic period horse head, probably from an Attic context, given the reference to Hymettian marble, which was donated to the museum in 1980¹¹⁵.

The Netherlands

[37] The various archival holdings that reveal the history of systematic looting of Jewish property, art sales, and transfers in the Netherlands during the Nazi period have yet to be examined with a specific focus on antiquities¹¹⁶. The primary Nazi looting agencies in the Netherlands were the *Dienststelle Mühlmann*, under the direction of the Austrian Kajetan Mühlmann (1898–1958) (also active in the plunder of art from Poland and Austria), and the *Möbel-Aktion*, though after the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in the spring of 1940 there was a flood of art dealers, museum directors, and private collectors ready to pounce on Dutch art at low prices¹¹⁷. Walter Andreas Hofer (1893–1971), Göring’s art adviser and buyer, was one of these. He was, however, already well acquainted with the art scene in the Netherlands because he was the brother-in-law and former employee (1922–1928) of the Jewish art dealer Kurt Walter Bachstitz (1882–1949), who founded a thriving internationally known art dealership in The Hague (Kunsthandel K.W. Bachstitz) in 1920¹¹⁸. Bachstitz ran the gallery with his Protestant wife, Lili Hofer, after the Nazi occupation in order to avoid the Nazi restrictions on non-Aryan businesses; he was imprisoned nevertheless and was forced to divorce his wife (1943) and flee to Switzerland (1944). Bachstitz’s name appears in various places in this special issue. In 1921 he purchased one of the great pre-

¹¹³ “Portrait Head of Kleanthes (?)”, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TKT> (accessed 7 June 2020).

¹¹⁴ “Head of Apollo”, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TKW> (accessed 7 June 2020).

¹¹⁵ “Fragment of a Relief of a Horse’s Head”, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TTC> (accessed 7 June 2020).

¹¹⁶ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot”, chapter 6: “The Netherlands” (last revised October 2015), at the website of the research project “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg” https://www.errproject.org/guide/ERR_Guide_Netherlands.pdf (accessed 30 July 2020).

¹¹⁷ Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry During the Second World War*, trans. Arnold Pomerans with Erica Pomerans, Oxford 2004, esp. chapter 2: “The Looting of Cultural Property”, 43–83, esp. 66–68 on the Dutch art market.

¹¹⁸ Art Looting Investigation Unit [ALIU], Detailed Interrogation Report [DIR] No. 9: Walter Andreas Hofer, 15 September 1945, in: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Otto Wittmann Papers, 910130, box 3, folder 8 [hereafter: ALIU, DIR No. 9]). For a sense of the international aspects, especially US, of Bachstitz’s business, see the finding aid “Bachstitz, Inc. records, 1923–1937”, prepared by Adrianna Slaughter, Karol Pick and Aleksandr Gelfand, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, 2013, http://libmma.org/digital_files/archives/Bachstitz_records_b18041048.pdf (accessed 31 July 2020). See also below for Bachstitz and the Brummer Gallery.

Nazi private collections of antiquities in Germany, that of Friedrich Ludwig von Gans, and in 1941 he sold several ancient objects from this collection to Hans Posse for the “Führermuseum” (Figs. 12a, 12b)¹¹⁹.



Fig. 12a. Tanagra terracotta figurine of a female with a fan, Hellenistic period. Formerly in the collection of Ludwig von Gans; bought by Kunsthandel K.W. Bachstitz, The Hague, 1921; sold to Hans Posse for the “Sonderauftrag Linz“, 1940; transferred to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden in 1953 (acc. 1953/3.1) (photograph “Tanagra-figurine met meloenkapsel, himation en spiegel”, courtesy of Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, <https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/search-collection/collection-piece/?object=59953> [accessed 6 April 2022])



Fig. 12b. Tanagra figurine in Linz album XX, reprod. from: Birgit Schwarz, *Hitlers Museum: Die Fotoalben Gemäldegalerie Linz: Dokumente zum "Führermuseum"*, Vienna 2004, 327, XX/4 (photograph © Birgit Schwarz, Vienna; photograph by Angelika Weidling, Berlin, with permission of Birgit Schwarz)

¹¹⁹ See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 21, and Lyons, in this special issue (as in n73).

Austria

[38] Massive confiscations of property belonging to Viennese Jews occurred in Austria; however, there were very few ancient works of art in the larger collections, including in the Rothschild's. We might surmise that antiquities were not particularly in vogue in these collecting circles. The Lanckoroński collection and that of the publisher Paul Zsolnay, inherited by him from his father, the collector Adolf (Wix) von Zsolnay (1866–1932), are notable exceptions. The Zsolnay collection included a Thasian votive relief (sixth century BC); a Thasian grave relief (third century BC) (purchased from the heirs by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna in 2014) (Fig. 13)¹²⁰; two terracotta sima architectural fragments; a collection of 65 items of Greek and Roman gold jewelry and gems; and ancient coins.



Fig. 13. Marble grave relief, Thasos, third century BC. Ex. collection of Paul and Andy Zsolnay, now in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Antikensammlung I 1553 (photograph: courtesy of KHM-Museumsverband)

Bernhard Witke, the Gestapo treasurer of the Austrian agency for the disposal of the property of Jewish emigrants, was named trustee of the collection in 1938 after the Zsolnays fled to London; he gave Hans Posse 14 pieces of jewelry and/or coins for the Linz museum; ten of these were given to Hitler as a birthday gift in 1944¹²¹. Paul Zsolnay must have managed to export some other antiquities from his collection before or when he fled to London, for some sculptures were sold at

¹²⁰ For a summary of these objects, see the Austrian Advisory Board's opinion regarding restitution on 26 September 2014, http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/beiratsbeschluesse/Zsolnay_Andy_Friedrich_Paul_2014-09-26.pdf (accessed 20 July 2020). For the grave relief in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, see <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/50637/> (accessed 20 July 2020).

¹²¹ Sophie Lillie, *Was einmal war: Handbuch der enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens*, Vienna 2003, 1356-1364, esp. 1364 n. 25; see also Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 7.

a Sotheby's London sale of 13 June 1944; two of these, both from Thasos, are now in the J. Paul Getty Museum¹²².

[39] Although Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) was an aristocrat of Polish descent and not Jewish, his collection was confiscated in 1939 from his Vienna palace, then owned by his son Antoni¹²³. This collection comprised more than 350 antiquities, including Greek and Roman marble sculpture, Greek vases, bronzes, terracotta figurines, glass, mosaic and fresco fragments, some Etruscan objects, and a few Egyptian antiquities. In this publication, Victoria S. Reed examines several of the Lanckoroński antiquities now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹²⁴.

Poland

[40] In Poland there was a great deal of looting of art collections, especially in the first weeks of the German occupation in September 1939, with Hans Frank, governor-general of occupied Poland, protecting collections for his own control¹²⁵. Polish collections in Warsaw and Krakow were especially vulnerable. Among the works of art lost in Poland during this period and still not accounted for, according to the database of the Polish government, are 345 ancient objects: Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Byzantine, and Egyptian ceramic vases, sculpture, jewelry, bronzes, and bone/ivory items¹²⁶. The majority of these are identified as having been in the National Museum in Warsaw, in the university collection in Warsaw, and in the Czartoryski collections in Gołuchów Castle near Poznań or in Krakow. The major private art collector in Poland was the Czartoryski family, whose collection was confiscated by the Nazis in 1940, with 85 important works of art selected for the Linz museum. The antiquities were mostly assembled by Princess Izabela Działyńska (née Czartoryska) (1833–1899), owner of the Gołuchów Castle. Some of these, especially the Greek vases, were transferred to her as a debt payment from her husband, Count Jan Działyński, who had formed a collection while in Italy in 1865–1867 (including from

¹²² *Catalogue of Antiquities, Etc.*, auction cat., London: Sotheby and Co., 13 June 1944, nos. 98-127, 10-13. The Getty pieces are given the inventory numbers 70.AA.111 (an unfinished Hellenistic head of Herakles, no. 107 in the 1944 sale, bought by J. Paul Getty from a 1951 Spink and Son sale, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SQB#full-artwork-details> [accessed 11 May 2022]) and 71.AA.283 (a Roman statue of Mercury, no. 109 in the 1944 sale, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XDB> [accessed 11 May 2022]). I am grateful to Judith Barr at the J. Paul Getty Museum for calling my attention to this Sotheby's sale.

¹²³ Jerzy Miziolek, "The Lanckoronski Collection in Poland", in: *Antichità viva* 34 (1995), no. 3, 27-49, https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/1476/1/Miziolek_The_Lanckoronski_collection_in_Poland_1995.pdf (accessed 18 October 2019); Joanna Wineiwicz-Wolska, *Karol Lanckoronski and His Viennese Collection*, Cracow 2014.

¹²⁴ Reed, in this special issue (as in n7); see also Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 26.

¹²⁵ Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust 1933–1945*, Cambridge, UK 2008, 177-191 (Poland); Hubert Fehr, "German Archaeology in Occupied Eastern Europe during World War II: A Case of Colonial Archaeology", in: Bonnie Effros and Guolong Lai, eds., *Unmasking Ideology in Imperial and Colonial Archaeology*, Los Angeles 2018, 29-59: 43-44.

¹²⁶ Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, The Division for Looted Art, "Objects Lost as a Result of the Second World War", search term "Archeology" (11-05-2016), <http://lootedart.gov.pl/en/> (accessed 11 February 2023).

excavations in Capua), and others were from the collection that she began in 1852¹²⁷. In the 1880s, Izabela began collecting Egyptian and Cypriot antiquities, and some artifacts from the excavations of Alfred Louis Delattre at Carthage were acquired by 1895¹²⁸. In this publication, Inga Głuszek and Michał Krueger reconstruct the complicated fate of this collection during World War II, with multiple bad actors removing parts of the collection. In 1945 part of the collection, including some objects already robbed by the Nazis, were plundered again—by the Soviet Trophy Brigades—from German repositories and shipped to the Soviet Union. They were mostly returned to Poland in 1956. However, the collections were not returned to their former owners or their heirs. The castle in Gołuchów, its surviving furnishings, and the artifacts were taken over by the Polish state, and Gołuchów castle eventually became a branch of the National Museum in Poznań. Now the objects from the important collection of Jan Działyński and Izabela Czartoryska are found in several museums in Poland. Other ancient artifacts from the collection are lost, possibly destroyed¹²⁹.

Hungary

[41] In Hungary antiquities were seized from at least four major collections in Budapest, lost first to Nazi robbing, then some to the Soviet Trophy Brigades and some to state museums in Hungary that kept the collections after the war. Baron Ferenc Hatvany's collection comprised a range of antiquities—including an Egyptian Saite-period bronze statuette, a mummy case, Greek Tanagra figurines, a fourth-century BC bull's head rhyton, Roman bronze statuettes of Venus and Eros, and a marble portrait of Alexander Severus¹³⁰. Baron Adolf Kohner's collection focused on carved gems (Roman cameos and intaglios) and jewelry¹³¹. Zoltan Mariassy's missing collection included a probable Greek fourth-century BC male torso¹³².

[42] One of the largest private art collections (ca. 2,500 works) in Hungary, however, was owned by Baron Mór Lipót Herzog (1869–1934) and inherited by his wife (d. 1940) and then by their two sons and daughter. It comprised paintings by El Greco, Corot, Velázquez, Courbet, and Cranach the Elder, as well as some 330 ancient objects¹³³. At least some of the antiquities, including five relief sculptures, may have been collected in Greece by Baron Herzog's father, Peter Herzog

¹²⁷ Inga Głuszek and Michał Krueger, "Carthaginian Pottery in the Collection of Izabela Działyńska, née Czartoryska", in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 31 (March 2019), no. 1, 171-179; see 172, fig. 2 for a photograph of the Hall of Greek Pottery and 78, note 7 for a discussion of four of her vases purchased in Naples in 1867.

¹²⁸ Głuszek and Krueger (2019), 174.

¹²⁹ Inga Głuszek and Michał Krueger, "The Fate of the Antiquities Collection of Izabela Działyńska (née Czartoryska)", *RIHA Journal* 0292, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2023.2.92774>.

¹³⁰ László Mravik, ed., *The "Sacco di Budapest" and Depredation of Hungary 1938–1949: Works of Art Missing from Hungary as a Result of the Second World War [...]*, Budapest 1998, 224.

¹³¹ Mravik (1998), 351-352.

¹³² Mravik (1998), 367.

¹³³ Mravik (1998), 10, 18.

(1838–1914), owner of a major tobacco company in Kavala in northern Greece¹³⁴. The family's villa and collection in Budapest were confiscated by the Nazis in 1944. Some items were handed over by the Nazis (or later returned by the Allies to Hungary) to the Hungarian National Gallery and Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; the Museum of Applied Arts; and the Budapest Technological University, which have held on to some of these artworks to this day; much of the collection is still missing¹³⁵, a fate not dissimilar to that of the Działyński-Czartoryska collection in Poland. Among the artworks sought by the Herzog family in legal actions against the Republic of Hungary are several antiquities, including an Attic marble relief, a so-called *Totenmahl* or funerary banquet relief, of the second half of the fourth century BC. Framed by pilasters and a roof with antefixes, it depicts a reclining, partly draped hero with a *polos* on his head, holding a rhyton aloft, with a female seated on the end of the couch (*kline*), a banquet table and amphora in front, four assembled family members, and a horse head as a heroic attribute in the upper left. It is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (Fig. 14a)¹³⁶. The family also seeks 177 items of gold jewelry, coins, and other objects of daily life; four Egyptian items, statues, stelai, and a first-century AD

¹³⁴ Juhász Sándor, “Domborművek története: Falba épített műtárgyak” [History of reliefs: Artifacts built into the wall], in: *Műértő* (November–December 2020/January 2021), 26. These five marble relief sculptures were once built into a wall in the family's villa on Andrassy Avenue in Pest and are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (nos. 50.958 to 50.962). For a Roman marble funerary stele of the so-called Heros Equitans type, inscribed for a young man named Berotas, dating to the third century AD (50.962), see the entry on “Tombstone of a Youth” on the joint platform of Hungarian public collections, *Hyperión*, http://hyperion.szepmuveszeti.hu/en/targy/7181?screen=search&search_mode=detailed&material=196&page=1&order_dir=rand (accessed 19 April 2021); for a Macedonian funerary relief of the third century AD with four portrait busts in the main area and a Heros Equitans hunting with a boy behind in the register above (50.961), see “Marble Funerary Relief Depicting a Family of Macedonia”, *Hyperión*, http://hyperion.szepmuveszeti.hu/en/targy/1447?screen=search&search_mode=detailed&material=196&page=1&order_dir=rand (accessed 19 April 2021).

¹³⁵ Tom Mashberg, “Martha Nierenberg, 96, Entrepreneur Who Fought for Family's Art, Is Dead”, in: *New York Times*, 2 August 2020; online ed. 31 July 2020: “Martha Nierenberg, Entrepreneur Who Sought Art's Return, Dies at 96”, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/30/arts/martha-nierenberg-entrepreneur-who-sought-arts-return-dies-at-96.html> (accessed 3 August 2020).

¹³⁶ Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, no. 50.960; see website *Hungary on Trial*, “Art Gallery”, http://hungarylootedart.com/?page_id=34, no. 4. If acquired by Peter Herzog in Macedonia, there is a possibility that this Athenian relief was an ancient import to the Macedonian region and could be from Amphipolis, for example, where there were many Attic imports. I am grateful to Demi Andrianou and Elena Vlachogianni for their assistance with the closer identification of this relief.

female mummy mask (Fig. 14b)¹³⁷; four silver coins; and 78 ancient cameos, intaglios, other carved stones¹³⁸.



Fig. 14a. Marble relief with a Heroic Banquet Scene, Greek, second half of fourth century BC. Collection of Baron Mór Lipót Herzog, now held in Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (no. 50.960) (photograph from website *Hungary on Trial*, see “Art Gallery”, no. 4, http://hungarylootedart.com/?page_id=34, with permission of Agnes Peresztégi)

¹³⁷ Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, no. 9818: stucco, glass and gold leaf, dated to the second half of the first century AD, based on the Flavian hairstyle, probably from Middle Egypt, possibly Tuna el-Gebel or Antinoopolis. See website *Hungary on Trial*, “Art Gallery”, http://hungarylootedart.com/?page_id=34, no. 6. Günter Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1974, 77, n. 165; Asja Müller, “New Research on Roman Period Mummy Masks: The Case Example of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts Collection”, in: Katalin Anna Kóthay, ed., *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Proceedings of the International Conference held at Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 17–19 July 2014, Budapest 2017, 293-306: 296, 299, 303, pls. 62, 63.4, 65.2, 67.5: the Herzog collection is not referenced; on p. 303: “acquired 1979 from Mrs. Patay”, yet on p. 299, n. 57: “bought from the collection of Mrs. Patay in 1946”. The latter date is probably accurate.

¹³⁸ Discussion of the legal case since 2010 to gain restitution of the collection from Hungary: Mia Guttmann, “Case Review: de Csepel v. Republic of Hungary”, in: *Center for Art Law* (3 May 2019), https://itsartlaw.org/2019/05/03/case-review-de-csepel-v-republic-of-hungary/#_edn8 (accessed 3 August 2020). For a summary of the case and the list of artworks, see website *Hungary on Trial*, “About the Lawsuit”, <http://hungarylootedart.com> (accessed 3 August 2020). Three photos of Herzog antiquities are included in the website’s online art gallery: no. 4, Greek hero relief; no. 6, Egyptian mummy portrait; no. 7, ancient Greek jewelry and coins. For the Herzog collection and the quest for restitution by the Herzog heirs, see Milton Esterow, “After 75 Years and 15 Claims, a Bid to Regain Lost Art Inches Forward”, in: *New York Times*, 16 October 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/arts/design/herzog-art-collection-nazis.html> (accessed 17 October 2020). I am grateful for the assistance of Agnes Peresztégi in providing images of some of the antiquities in this collection and pointing me to some other sources of information (personal communications, 16 and 20 April 2021).



Fig. 14b. Egyptian mummy mask, first century AD. Collection of Baron Mór Lipót Herzog, now held in Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (no. 9818) (photograph from website *Hungary on Trial*, “Art Gallery”, no. 6, http://hungarylootedart.com/?page_id=34, with permission of Agnes Peresztegi)

[43] These cases represent just a fraction of the losses of ancient art in Hungary: those from well-documented collections. The inventories of the confiscated property of other Jewish families of Budapest also included antiquities, but these have not been comprehensively examined for this purpose¹³⁹.

The Soviet Union: Losses and transfers from Germany

[44] The Soviet Union’s losses during World War II were immense and devastating. More than 427 museums were plundered by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and other groups in the USSR, including 173 in Russia, in addition to the palaces of Leningrad and its suburbs¹⁴⁰. It is

¹³⁹ Personal communication, Clara Garbon Radnoti through Feiga Weiss, 9 May 2019. Garbon Radnoti has been translating the property declarations and other documents related to the Jews from Hungary during the Nazi period, available on microfilm at the Holocaust Memorial Center in Farmington Hills, MI, and has compiled an index of these resources: <https://www.holocaustcenter.org/visit/library-archive/special-collections/hungarian-documents-microfilm/> (accessed 17 July 2019). See Oralandar Brand-Williams, “Holocaust Survivor Helps Track Art Looted from Hungary”, in: *The Detroit News*, 29 January 2019, <https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/oakland-county/2019/01/29/holocaust-survivor-helps-track-art-looted-hungary/2514670002/> (accessed 17 July 2019).

¹⁴⁰ Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Russian Federation, “The Cultural Values – The Victims of the War”, <http://www.lostart.ru/en/index.php> (accessed 22 June 2020); Mikhail Shvidkoi, “Russian Cultural Losses during World War II”, in: Elizabeth Simpson, ed., *The Spoils of War: World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property*, New York 1997, 67-71; Van Kirk Reeves and Cassandra Garreau, “Restitution or Pillage?”, in: *Museum Management and Curatorship* 31 (2016), no. 5, 418-439: 425.

difficult, however, to be very precise in assessing the Soviet losses of works of art at the hands of the Nazis, including the number and nature of the antiquities that might have been destroyed or stolen, because the prewar inventories of Russian museums were incomplete, removed by the ERR, or destroyed—and information about these losses was regarded as classified by the Soviets, only recently having been made more transparent¹⁴¹. Yet, a searchable online summary catalog of the lost valuables of the Russian Federation includes some antiquities¹⁴².

[45] As is well-known, German public museums also suffered major losses, including of antiquities, from bombing, fire, theft, and looting. Despite the return of more than 1.5 million items from the Soviet Union to East Germany (German Democratic Republic) between 1955 and 1958, including the Pergamon Altar, there are more than 2,000 ancient objects still in Russia. Most of these were formerly in the Berlin Antikensammlung and were taken by the Soviet Trophy Brigades in 1945–1946 from bunkers and other storage areas¹⁴³. These include Priam’s Treasure, excavated by Heinrich Schliemann at Troy in 1873¹⁴⁴. The majority of these ancient collections remaining in Russia are now curated in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts and the State Historical Museum in Moscow, though a few antiquities have found their way to the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. In the 2005 exhibition *Archaeology of War: The Return from Oblivion*, the Pushkin Museum displayed 552 ancient works of art, many shown for the first time since their disappearance from Berlin in 1945–1946¹⁴⁵. One more recent rediscovery is the gilded bronze statue of “Victoria of Calvatone” that turned up in 2015 in the Hermitage, having been mistakenly cataloged and housed with the French decorative arts collections and not recognized as the second-century AD statue that disappeared from the collections of the Altes Museum in

¹⁴¹ Konstantin Akinsha and Grigoriï Kozlov, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe’s Art Treasures*, New York 1995, 24-29.

¹⁴² Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Russian Federation, “The Summary Catalogue of the Lost Valuables of the Russian Federation”, <http://www.lostart.ru/catalog/en/> (accessed 5 November 2021).

¹⁴³ See Akinsha and Kozlov (1995), esp. 96-104.

¹⁴⁴ Ursula Kästner, “Collection of Classical Antiquities”, in Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Günther Schauerte, eds., *Cultural Assets – Transferred and Missing: An Inventory of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation 60 Years after the End of World War II*, Berlin 2004, 20-23.

¹⁴⁵ Günther Schauerte, ed., *Archäologie des Krieges: archäologische Sammlungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin und des Staatlichen Puschkin-Museums Moskau [...]. Kolloquium aus Anlass der Ausstellung “Archäologie des Krieges. Rückkehr aus dem Nichts”, 5.–6.10.2005, Staatliches Museum der Bildenden Künste A.S. Puschkin, Moskau (= Arkheologija voïny: arkhelogicheskie sobraniia Gosudarstvennykh muzeev Berlina i Muzeiia izobrazitel’nykh iskusstv im. A.S. Pushkina v Moskve)*, Berlin 2010.

Berlin in 1946¹⁴⁶. A gilded plaster cast of the statue is on display today in the Altes Museum, while the original remains in the Hermitage, exhibited for the first time there in December 2019 (Fig. 15). Analysis and conservation of the statue in the Hermitage have revealed that the wings were fashioned in 1844 after the statue had been purchased by the Prussian Royal Museum. That information, coupled with the bearskin worn by the female figure, suggests that the statue is not a Victoria but more likely a Diana.

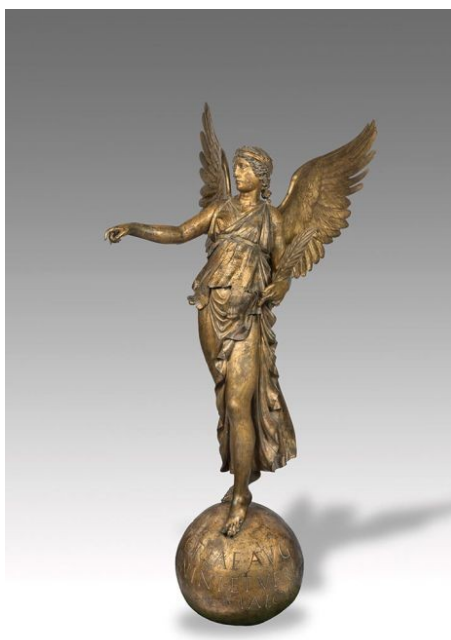


Fig. 15. “Victoria of Calvatone”, second century AD. Ex. collection of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, now in The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 3Cca-574) (photograph—as well as preview image for this essay—from website of State Hermitage Museum, “[The Calvatone Victory: The Fate of a Masterpiece](#)” [accessed 13 April 2021])

¹⁴⁶ Martin Miller and Ursula Kästner, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste*, vol. 5.1: *Antikensammlung. Skulpturen, Vasen, Elfenbein und Knochen, Goldschmuck, Gemmen und Kameen*, Berlin 2005, 36, 39: no. SK 5. For its rediscovery see Anna V. Vilenskaya and Anna N. Aponasenko, “The Calvatone Victory: The Fate of One Artefact” [in Russian], in: *Transactions of the State Hermitage* 74 (2016), 106-113; *Hermitage News*, 27 December 2016, <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/news/news-item/news/2016/news> (accessed 3 September 2019; no longer accessible 4 August 2022). For the restoration of the statue, see Catherine Hickley, “Looted in Germany by Stalin’s Brigades, a Restored Goddess Goes on View at the Hermitage”, in: *The Art Newspaper*, 10 December 2019, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/looted-in-germany-by-stalin-s-brigades-a-restored-goddess-goes-on-view-at-the-hermitage> (accessed 11 December 2019). For the exhibition of the statue from 7 December 2019 to 8 March 2020, see “Opening of the Exhibition ‘The Calvatone Victory: The Fate of a Masterpiece’”, on the website of The State Hermitage Museum, 6 December 2019: https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/news/news-item/!ut/p/z1/pZLLbslwEEV_pSxYRjN-kDhLi6ZBUlooTUO8i dJgQipiHrVIP7-GquqiD1TqhTWWZ3Rm7lxQMAAdlikNdFbbemGLt3pny84mUPmF9HMYj9FHGSCdyTFkc-fAICtT aVJBpcwy3Zb2AjPb8QDyFS49rLTwueOkJFKFXLhAOFISxhbH7NLYrV1BttL7prZFpa-06WK5MVYb20Wj25ePmy IJ3-OcCcxJCOM53pT7xh-ORFevzqVkdHf8ljdHEUoxuyPBLSc4opAeat1CYjb7xqk1-6MCgy-E-Ca-dkOE077gE4pJ7 ztC2h_n0yS6d7WXXK8GGvxzrOFJ1l8W41xVP-92SjoHHHf9amF-kQW2TSNY483Ry4aHtn0YNPk4Yr11JTudNxxv R4Tc!/dz/d5/L2dBISEvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/?Ing=en (accessed 26 May 2023).

[46] The current Russian position on the matter of restitution of any works of art and other cultural objects that were taken from Germany to the Soviet Union and are in Russia today is uncompromising: “Everything that the Soviet Union took as compensation, which includes Schliemann’s gold as well, is not subject to return”¹⁴⁷. The Russian position is backed by a law passed in the State Duma in 1996 and reaffirmed in 1998 that does not allow for the repatriation of any collections taken from Germany¹⁴⁸. Yet, there has been a collegial spirit among the curators in Berlin and in Russia, sharing information and collaborating on joint projects to conserve, publish, and exhibit collections that were once in Germany¹⁴⁹.

Antiquities entering American collections: Mining the Brummer archives

[47] An important avenue to explore concerning the fate of antiquities is the American market for them from the end of World War I to the end of World War II. There were cases of random plunder by American troops during World War II, including (probably) a Roman portrait head found in 2018 in a Goodwill store in Austin, Texas, that was looted from the Pompejanum, King Ludwig I’s (1786–1868) recreated Roman villa in Aschaffenburg, Bavaria¹⁵⁰. Many sales of antiquities during this period were on the American market or to American collectors. We gain a view into the development of American antiquities collections, the dynamic European and American trade in this period, including in the immediate post-World War II period, and the major players in the source countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East in the period from 1933 to 1945 by examining the digitized archives in the Cloisters Library and Archives of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Met) of the records of the galleries in Paris and New York of the Hungarian-born Brummer brothers (Joseph [1883–1947], Ernest [1891–1964], and Imre

¹⁴⁷ Anatoly I. Vikov, deputy chief of the Russian federal agency for the preservation of cultural heritage, quoted in Steven Lee Myers, “In Moscow, A Proud Display of Spoils of War”, in: *New York Times*, 17 May 2005, citing an interview in *Moskovskiy Komsomolets*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/17/arts/design/in-moscow-a-proud-display-of-spoils-of-war.html> (accessed 4 May 2021).

¹⁴⁸ Konstantin Akinsha, “Restitution as Diagnosis: Political Aspects of the ‘Trophy Art’ Problem and Russian-German Relations”, in: *New German Critique* 44 (2017), no. 1 (130): *Nazi-Looted Art and its Legacies*, eds. Andreas Huyssen, Anson Rabinbach and Avinoam Shalem, 75-86, esp. 79-80.

¹⁴⁹ For example, the Greek vases in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, formerly in the Berlin Antikensammlung, are being jointly studied by Russian and German curators, with planned exhibitions and publications. Personal communication, Dr. Denis Zhuravlev, keeper, Greek and Roman antiquities, State Historical Museum, Moscow, March 2019. These collaborations have likely been altered since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Grant, “Looted Roman Bust, Bought from Texas Secondhand Store for \$34.99, Will Be Returned to Germany”, in: *The Art Newspaper*, 4 May 2022, <https://www.lootedart.com/VFN882556491> (accessed 6 May 2022); Michael Levenson, “Goodwill Sold a Bust for \$34.99. It’s an Ancient Roman Relic”, in: *New York Times*, 6 May 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/06/us/roman-bust-goodwill-san-antonio-museum.html> (accessed 7 May 2022).

[1895–1928]) (Fig. 16)¹⁵¹. Though the Brummers were not the only antiquities dealers supplying the American market during this broad period¹⁵², they were the most important source, especially Joseph. Around 1909 he began his antiquities business with the founding of a gallery in Paris, in which all three brothers became involved. In 1914 the main business shifted to New York; Ernest remained in Paris until just before the Nazi occupation, when he joined his brother.



Fig. 16. Joseph Brummer Gallery, 43 E. 57th St., NY, ca. 1918 (photograph from Brummer Gallery Records, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/65884/rec/3> [accessed 13 April 2021])

Their galleries had various names and addresses, but the Brummer Frères were well-known for the sale of various categories of fine art, including Middle Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities, in the years from 1909 until 1947, when Joseph died. The Met augmented its Middle Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine collections with the purchase of many objects from Joseph’s private collection in 1947; another sale of the Brummer estate was held at

¹⁵¹ Brummer Gallery Records, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections/the-brummer-gallery-records> (accessed 23 July 2020). See also a brief summary of the brothers and their galleries on the website of Dumbarton Oaks, “Joseph Brummer (1883–1947)”, <https://www.doaks.org/resources/bliss-tyler-correspondence/annotations/joseph-brummer> (accessed 23 July 2020). Also instructive are the lectures given at a conference held at The Met, 13–14 October 2017, “The Brummer Galleries in Paris and New York: From Antiquities to the Avant-Garde”, <https://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/video/lectures/brummer-galleries-symposium-3> (accessed 4 August 2022, not accessible 26 May 2023). See Lammert, in this special issue (as in n87) for more on the Paris market and the involvement of Ernest Brummer in the sale of Egyptian antiquities, including to the Egyptian Museum of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

¹⁵² See Lyons, in this special issue (as in n73), paragraph 6 for Kurt Walter Bachstitz’s dealing activities in New York.

Sotheby's Parke-Bernet in 1949¹⁵³. Joseph's widow, Ella, sold medieval objects to the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University in 1966¹⁵⁴, and the rest of the collection was sold in Zurich in 1979.

[48] Through the digitized archives in The Met we have an unusually complete picture of from whom the Brummers acquired antiquities, as well as to whom they were selling them. The Met used the Brummers as intermediaries in purchases, including Joseph in their attempt to purchase the Lancellotti Discobolus¹⁵⁵. The names of their clients included some of the wealthiest American collectors. William Randolph Hearst (1860–1951)—son of Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842–1919), prodigious collector of antiquities and anthropological objects, patron of archaeological expeditions, and philanthropist¹⁵⁶—was practically born a collector, especially of antiquities. Although he was already an established collector from 1899 to 1901, Hearst purchased around 540 works of art from the Brummers in the 1920s and 1930s and made a few purchases in the early to mid-1940s, of which over 100 are antiquities, including 43 Greek and Roman marble/stone objects, 13 Greek and Roman bronzes, and 9 Egyptian objects¹⁵⁷. Hearst purchased antiquities and other collections through many dealers, however, and most significantly acquired many important classical antiquities from old British collections, such as those of the Duke of Buckingham, Sir William Hamilton, Thomas Hope, and the noble Lansdowne family (from a sale in 1930)¹⁵⁸. With his financial situation deteriorating, Hearst began liquidating his collections in

¹⁵³ Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., New York, *The Notable Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer*, auction cat., 3 vols., New York 1949.

¹⁵⁴ See the website of Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, "Gallery: Medieval European Art", <https://nasher.duke.edu/galleries/medieval-europe/> (accessed 23 July 2020).

¹⁵⁵ See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 11-16.

¹⁵⁶ For a summary of her collections at the University of California, Berkeley, see the website of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, "Phoebe Hearst's Collections", <https://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/collection/phoebe-hearst-collections/> (accessed 29 July 2020). See also Lisa C. Pieraccini, "Collecting Etruscans for California: The Story of Philanthropist Phoebe A. Hearst and Archaeologist Alfred Emerson", in: Alexandra Carpino et al., eds., *Collecting and Collectors from Antiquity to Modernity*, Boston 2018, 45-58.

¹⁵⁷ Brummer Gallery Records, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Hearst> (accessed 28 July 2020). See Catherine Larkin, "The William Randolph Hearst Archive at Long Island University: A Resource for Provenance Research", in: *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 38 (2019), no. 1, 78-94, for a discussion of the Hearst archives at Long Island University, the recent discovery among his purchases of works of art from forced sales during the Nazi period, and information about the other European dealers and agents through whom Hearst made purchases, including Georges and Lucien Demotte, Jacques and Arnold Seligmann, and Arthur Goldschmidt. See also Nicole Budrovich, "Digging in Digital Archives: Recovering Context for the Getty Museum's Orpheus Mosaic", in: Jane Milosch and Nicholas Pearce, eds., *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Lanham, MD 2019, 73-86. At the 1949 Brummer estate sale, J. Paul Getty purchased a Roman floor mosaic panel from Saint-Romain-en-Gal, France, that was once owned by Hearst (J. Paul Getty Museum 62.AH.2.13, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109F0D> [accessed 20 May 2021]).

¹⁵⁸ See Mary Levkoff, "Hearst and the Antique: An Exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Looks beyond the Citizen Kane Caricature to Portray the Media Mogul William Randolph Hearst as a Serious Connoisseur. At the Heart of His Collections at San Simeon and Elsewhere Was the Art of Antiquity, Writes the Exhibition's Curator", in: *Apollo* 168 (2008), no. 558, 52-60.

1937. He donated large portions to the Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art (that would become the Los Angeles County Museum of Art [LACMA]) from 1946 until his death in 1951, including at least 92 Greek, Roman, and Etruscan objects, 78 Egyptian objects, and 16 ancient Middle Eastern objects¹⁵⁹. In this way, the so-called Hope Hygieia and Hope Athena, two exceptional Roman sculptures, became part of LACMA's collection¹⁶⁰. After Hearst's death, his collections were further dispersed through sales by the Hearst Corporation, with The Met purchasing 65 Greek and South Italian vases in 1956, some of which had been bought by Hearst from the Brummer Gallery¹⁶¹.

[49] From the 1920s¹⁶² until his death, Henry Walters (1848–1931) purchased many antiquities from the Brummers, especially Middle Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, and Byzantine objects; his widow, Sarah, continued this practice into the 1940s, and the institution that resulted from the bequest of his home and collection, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, also continued to purchase antiquities from the Brummers, including from a 1941 sale and the 1949 estate sale¹⁶³.

[50] Robert and Mildred Bliss, with whom the Brummers became acquainted in Paris when Robert served as the US ambassador to France from 1912 to 1919, purchased their first Byzantine objects from the Brummers' Paris location. Altogether they acquired about 90 objects from the Brummers both in Paris and in New York, which are today in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC¹⁶⁴. In addition to The Met (42 objects from the ancient Middle East, 45 from Egypt, 109 Greek and

¹⁵⁹ See the website of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), "William Randolph Hearst", [https://collections.lacma.org/search/site/William%20Randolph%20Hearst?ff\[0\]=bm_field_has_image%3Atrue](https://collections.lacma.org/search/site/William%20Randolph%20Hearst?ff[0]=bm_field_has_image%3Atrue) (accessed 29 July 2020).

¹⁶⁰ "Hope Hygieia": LACMA 50.33.23, <https://collections.lacma.org/node/230223>; on the exhibition of the same title at the Getty Villa, April 10 – September 8, 2008, see: "The Hope Hygieia: Restoring a Statue's History", https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/hope_hygieia/; "Hope Athena": LACMA 51.18.12a-b, <https://collections.lacma.org/node/229951>. (All accessed 28 July 2020.)

¹⁶¹ For example, 56.171.63, a red-figure Apulian volute krater, ca. 320-310 BC, attributed to the Capodimonte Painter, has a provenance that can be traced to 1785, when it was in the garden of the Bishop of Polignano's refectory, and then until ca. 1800 in the collection of the Royal Museum of Capodimonte. Hearst bought it from Brummer, probably in 1930. See The Met, "Terracotta volute-krater (vase for mixing wine and water)", <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254922?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&deptids=13&ft=William+Randolph+Hearst&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=3> (accessed 28 July 2020).

¹⁶² For example, in 1923 Henry Walters purchased a large Neo-Assyrian relief from Nimrud from the Brummers (Brummer inv. no. N562), see Walters Art Museum, acc. 21.8, "Relief with Winged Genius (Apkallu)", <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/32526/relief-with-winged-genius/> (accessed 24 July 2020).

¹⁶³ Brummer Gallery Records, "Walters, Henry", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/50241> (accessed 23 July 2020).

¹⁶⁴ Brummer Gallery Records, "Bliss, Robert W.", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/42276/rec/42> (accessed 23 July 2020); Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, "The Brummers, the Blisses, and the Paris Exhibition of 1931", talk at The Metropolitan Museum of Art conference on the Brummers, <https://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/video/lectures/brummer-galleries-symposium-2> (accessed 23 July 2020, not accessible 26 May 2023).

Roman)¹⁶⁵, other major museums, especially the Brooklyn Museum of Art (especially Egyptian objects)¹⁶⁶ and the University of Pennsylvania Museum (12 objects)¹⁶⁷, sought ancient collections from the Brummers.

[51] The Brummers' sources for these antiquities were varied and included opportunistic sales such as the 1921 London sale of Egyptian and Oriental antiquities from Lord Amherst's (1835–1909) collection, where Ernest purchased six Egyptian and Assyrian pieces¹⁶⁸, and the 1927 sale of the French collector Alphonse Kann's collection at the American Art Association, New York, where the Brummers purchased 31 antiquities¹⁶⁹. They did not, however, make any purchases at the Lepke auctions of James Simon's (1932) or Rudolf Mosse's (1934) antiquities collections¹⁷⁰. In addition, the Brummers seem to have done no business with the prominent Berlin dealer and auctioneer Hans W. Lange, and they purchased only a handful of objects from the Munich dealer Julius Böhler: a marble Aphrodite figure from a fountain (N3526), bought in 1922¹⁷¹, and a wooden South German Gothic stall (N6012) purchased in 1931¹⁷². The Brummer Gallery had some dealings with Kurt Walter Bachstitz in The Hague; they bought or took on consignment from

¹⁶⁵ Joseph Brummer had a close working relationship with Gisela Richter: Brummer Gallery Records, "Metropolitan Museum of Art, Richter", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/50670/rec/61> (accessed 23 July 2020).

¹⁶⁶ For the sales to the Brooklyn Museum, see Brummer Gallery Records, "Brooklyn Museum", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/50375/rec/14> (accessed 23 July 2020).

¹⁶⁷ Brummer Gallery Records, "University Museum, University of Pennsylvania", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/50944> (accessed 23 July 2020).

¹⁶⁸ Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of The Amherst Collection of Egyptian & Oriental Antiquities*, sale catalog, 13–17 June 1921, London 1921; Brummer Gallery Records, "Amherst Sale", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/amherst%20sale%2C%20ernest!Amherst/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc> (accessed 24 July 2020).

¹⁶⁹ Brummer Gallery Records, "Alphonse Kann", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/alphonse%20kann!Alphonse%20Kann/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc/page/2> (accessed 23 July 2020); American Art Association Inc., ed., *The Alphonse Kann Collection, sold by his order*, 2 vols., New York 1927, vol. 1: *Objects of Art Consisting of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Persian, Moyen-Age, and Renaissance Works of Art*, 518 lots. See above for the confiscation of his collection in Paris in 1940.

¹⁷⁰ See Gertzen and Helmbold-Doyé, in this special issue (as in n79).

¹⁷¹ Brummer Gallery Records, "Bohler [sic], Munich", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/bohler%2C%20munich!Bohler/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc> (accessed 8 August 2020).

¹⁷² Brummer Gallery Records, "Gothic stall of pine wood. South German", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/20220/rec/7> (accessed 8 August 2020). According to the Brummer stock cards in The Met, Brummer sold Böhler just one object: an 18th-century bronze goat figure (P1169), on April 7, 1927, see Brummer Gallery Records, "Bohler", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Bohler> (accessed 25 July 2020). Yet, there is a discrepancy in the information in the Böhler archive in ZI (as in n13): on the same date, Böhler bought an 18th-century silver goat from the architect Hans Noris and Mrs. von Maffei (personal communication, Birgit Jooss, 6 August 2020).

Bachstitz 12 works of art, including some Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities (some from von Gans's collection), and they also sold 11 items to Bachstitz between 1919 and 1937¹⁷³. The names of dealers, collectors, and other contacts in Berlin or Munich are notably few in Joseph Brummer's card files; this certainly must reflect the geopolitical and practical realities of a dealer based in France and the US during or just after World War I, during the Nazi advances and occupation in Europe, and during World War II. The Brummers may also have made a conscious decision not to engage with the German dealers¹⁷⁴.

Egyptian antiquities

[52] The Brummers' main source for Egyptian antiquities (including those of the Byzantine/Coptic period) was the well-connected and highly respected Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman (1868–1948)¹⁷⁵. Nahman was born in Cairo and hailed from a family of Greek Jews from northern Greece who emigrated to Cairo in the mid-19th century¹⁷⁶. The heyday of his activities as a dealer of many categories of art and antiquities was the 1920s and 1930s, but as early as 1909 he was involved in the sale of parts of the so-called Asyut Treasure of Byzantine jewelry¹⁷⁷. The famous faience figurine of a hippopotamus, which has become a mascot of The Met, was excavated in 1910 at Meir in Middle Egypt by Sayyid Pasha Khashaba, who acquired it as a division of the finds; then acquired and sold by Nahman in 1911 to Dikran Kelekian, it was finally purchased by The Met in 1917 (Fig. 17)¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷³ Brummer Gallery Records, "Bachstitz", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Bachstitz> (accessed 25 July 2020).

¹⁷⁴ Lammert, in this special issue (as in n87), discusses the changes in the Paris art trade during the Nazi occupation, with the American collectors/dealers disappearing.

¹⁷⁵ For revealing details of the antiquities trade and the many active dealers in Egypt in the late 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century, see Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H.O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen 2016 (= *Scientia Danica*, series H, *Humanistica*, 4, vol. 8), 183-374 (Egyptian and foreign antiquities dealers active in Egypt between 1880 and 1930); 253-256 (Nahman); 137, 278-283 (1912 Egyptian Antiquities Law sought to control the export of antiquities); Hagen and Ryholt (2017), 66-67 (Nahman).

¹⁷⁶ In an American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) webinar/lecture of 18 October 2020 via Zoom, Iman R. Abdulfattah traced the history of Maurice Nahman: "Maurice Nahman: Antiquities Collector, Dealer and Authority", 25 October 2020, Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dclXZtWaFdM&feature=youtu.be> (accessed 12 August 2022).

¹⁷⁷ Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, "'Into the Hands of a Well-Known Antiquary of Cairo': The Assiut Treasure and the Making of an Archaeological Hoard", in: *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 21 (2014), no. 2, 259-260; Morris L. Bierbrier, ed., *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 5th rev. ed., London 2019, 337. See also Nahman's visitors book in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, illustrating the widespread links he had with many museums and collectors: https://archive.org/details/bml-SCR_N362_N14 (accessed 26 October 2020).

¹⁷⁸ "Hippopotamus ('William')", The Met 17.9.1, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544227?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=Hippopotamus&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=10> (accessed 13 April 2021).



Fig. 17. Faience hippopotamus (“William”), Middle Egypt, Meir, Tomb B3, ca. 1961–1878 BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, 17.9.1 (photograph: [The Met](#), [CCO 1.0](#) [accessed 21 April 2021])

The Brummers bought some 100 objects from Nahman between about 1921 and 1938. For example, the so-called Baker Dancer, a Hellenistic bronze statuette of a veiled and draped dancing woman, was acquired by Joseph Brummer from Nahman in 1926 and sold by Brummer in 1948 to Walter C. Baker¹⁷⁹. In addition to many individual transactions, Nahman sold his stock in various sales (in 1920 in Cairo; in 1937 in London; in 1947 in Cairo), and there were three posthumous sales of his collections: two in 1953 at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris and one in 2004 at Christie’s London by his daughter¹⁸⁰.

Middle Eastern antiquities

[53] For Middle Eastern antiquities the Brummers bought single items from many individuals, but two names stand out: Alexander D. Messayeh (with several New York addresses), from whom the Brummers purchased about 40 Babylonian, Sassanian, Egyptian, and a few Greek and Roman objects between 1918 and 1930¹⁸¹, and Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948), from whom the Brummers

¹⁷⁹ It was acquired by bequest by The Met in 1971. “Bronze statuette of a veiled and masked dancer”, acc. no. 1972.118.95, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255408> (accessed 27 July 2020).

¹⁸⁰ Hôtel Drouot, Paris, ed., *Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines. Succession de M. Maurice Nahman du Caire, Egypte, 26-27 février 1953 and 4-5 Juin 1953*, auction cats., Paris 1953; Christie’s South Kensington Ltd., *Antiquities, Including the Heidi Vollmoeller Collection, Part 2, and Property from the Maurice Nahman Collection, 28 April 2004*, sale cat., London 2004.

¹⁸¹ Brummer Gallery Records, “Messayeh”, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Messayeh> (accessed 24 July 2020). Messayeh was also selling Middle Eastern antiquities to the British Museum from 1928 to 1931, see the website of the British Museum, “Messayeh, Alex D”, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62606> (accessed 24 July 2020).

purchased 17 Babylonian and Sassanian objects in 1944¹⁸². Herzfeld was a German archaeologist who was forced out of his professorship in Berlin in 1935 because of his Jewish background. He was a monumental figure in the development of the field of Middle Eastern archaeology and excavated widely in Turkey, Syria, and Persia (Iran), yet his role as a dealer and purveyor of antiquities while a practicing archaeologist makes him a controversial individual, with the probability that the objects he owned and sold were illegally exported from Iran and Mesopotamia¹⁸³. By 1944, when he sold these objects to the Brummers, he was in the US as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey¹⁸⁴.

Greek antiquities

[54] Among the various dealers from whom the Brummers purchased Greek antiquities, the name Theodoros Zoumboulakis (Zoumpoulakis; Zoumpoulakis in partnership with several other dealers/owners) (birth/death dates uncertain) stands out, with more than 550 purchases between 1924 and 1946, but with a gap during the period of the triple occupation of Greece and major political upheaval from 1940 to 1945¹⁸⁵. Zoumboulakis opened his antiquities shop on Edward Law Street in Athens in 1912, and he seems to have been active up until the 1960s (Fig. 18)¹⁸⁶. Another member of the family, Byron Th. Zoumboulakis, had a business in Geneva and was selling some of Theodoros's inventory into the early 1960s¹⁸⁷. Peggy Zoumboulakis gifted many Greek vases and sherds to the Benaki Museum, Athens, in 1986 and 2005, that were acquired by her father-in-law, Theodoros, probably at the height of his business in the 1930s. Many of these are Attic, Boeotian, and Corinthian red-figure vases depicting nuptial scenes, suggesting they came from the graves of

¹⁸² Brummer Gallery Records, "prof. ernst herzfeld", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/prof.%20ernst%20herzfeld!Babylonian/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc> (accessed 24 July 2020).

¹⁸³ Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, eds., *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950*, Leiden 2005; website of the British Museum, "Prof Ernst Herzfeld", <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62322> (accessed 24 July 2020). See the "Ernst Herzfeld Papers" in the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: https://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?fq=data_source%3A%22Freer+Gallery+of+Art+and+Arthur+M.+Sackler+Gallery+Archives%22&fq=object_type:%22Collection+descriptions%22 (accessed 25 July 2020).

¹⁸⁴ See Dunn-Vaturi, Bridey and Fellingner, in this special issue (as in n11) for a discussion of some of the main dealers of Middle Eastern art, especially in Paris in the 1920s through 1940s, including Yervant (Eduard) Hindamian, the Kalebdjian Frères (Hagob and Gabris, *floruit*, ca. 1900–1956, who were also important in the Egyptian market), Dikran Kelekian, Joseph Enkiri, the Kevorkians, and Walter Bornheim.

¹⁸⁵ Brummer Gallery Records, "Zoumpoulakis", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Zoumpoulakis> (accessed 25 July 2020).

¹⁸⁶ Zoumboulakis Galleries, www.zoumboulakis.gr (accessed 24 July 2020). The advertisement shown in Fig. 18 records "Rue Eduard Low" [sic]. The street in Athens, in Greek Οδός Λω Εδουαρδου, is named after Sir Edward FitzGerald Law (1846–1908), an Irish Philhellene.

¹⁸⁷ For example, MFA Boston 64.979, 64.980, and 64.981, all Boeotian by manufacture and likely from tombs in the region of Boeotia, were acquired from Byron Zoumboulakis in this period.

women, some likely from Boeotia¹⁸⁸. Theodoros's shop in Athens was raided by Greek authorities in 1938, with the confiscation of objects, especially terracotta figurines and vases, that were taken to the National Archaeological Museum, Athens¹⁸⁹. The precise reason for this raid is not specified, but we can infer that the objects had been illegally obtained¹⁹⁰.



Fig. 18. Advertisement for Zoumboulakis & Co., Maison d'Antiquités, Rue Eduard Low 13, Athens, unknown date after 1912 (photograph from website of Zoumboulakis Galleries, "[Our History](#)" [accessed 13 April 2021])

[55] That Zoumboulakis took advantage of all possibilities to acquire antiquities is also illustrated by the acquisition and sale of a seventh-century BC bronze griffin cauldron attachment that had been accidentally found in the Kladeos River near the gymnasium of ancient Olympia in December 1914 and deposited in storage in the Olympia Museum (Fig. 19a). How and when it left Olympia is not clear, but in the summer of 1936, the same year in which the object appeared in a prominent publication by Ernst Buschor¹⁹¹, Joseph Brummer purchased it from Coomber (Coomber and Dickin?) and Zoumboulakis for \$25. It was reported missing from the Olympia Museum in a 1937–1938 publication, about which Brummer was aware since a transcription of the relevant page of

¹⁸⁸ Victoria Sabetai, *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Greece*, vol. 9.1: *Athens, Benaki Museum*, Paris 2006, 10-11.

¹⁸⁹ Sabetai (2006), 10-11: n. 11; Christina Avronidaki and Evangelos Vivliodetis, "La collection des figurines en terre cuite du Musée National d'Athènes: formation et muséographie", in: *Les Carnets de l'ACoSt (Association for Coroplastic Studies)* 17 (2018), 1-15, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/acost.1130> (accessed 4 August 2022).

¹⁹⁰ See Obenaus, in this special issue (as in n4) for a summary of Greek antiquities laws for this period.

¹⁹¹ Ernst Buschor, *Die Plastik der Griechen*, Berlin 1936, 19-20.

the German publication was found among the Brummer Gallery's papers (Figs. 19b-c)¹⁹². Brummer put the griffin attachment in storage in Manhattan in 1937 and held onto it for more than a decade, perhaps in order to avoid calling attention to its loss from Olympia and/or to allow this rare and important object to appreciate in value. He finally sold it on 15 January 1948 to Walter C. Baker for \$27,000—an astounding profit. It was acquired in 1971 by The Met as a bequest from Baker's estate¹⁹³.

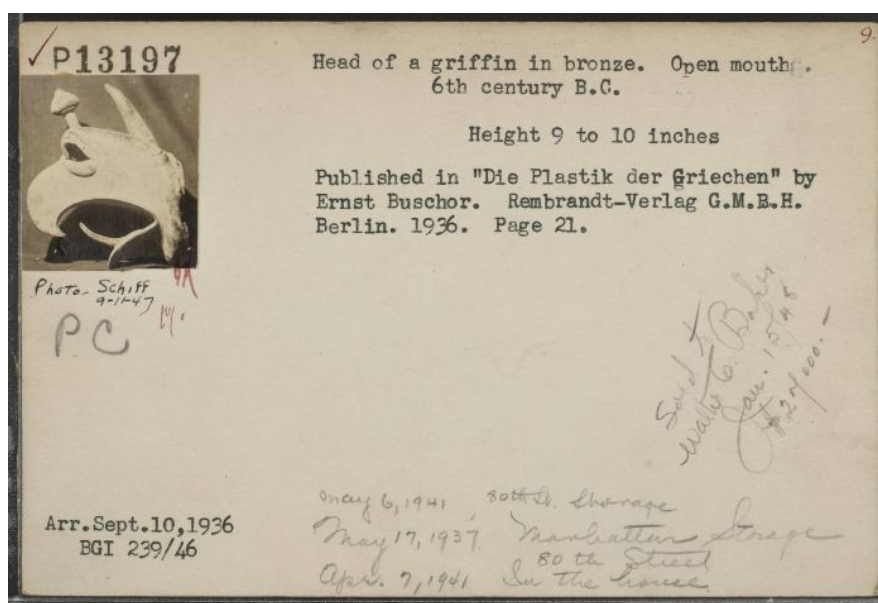
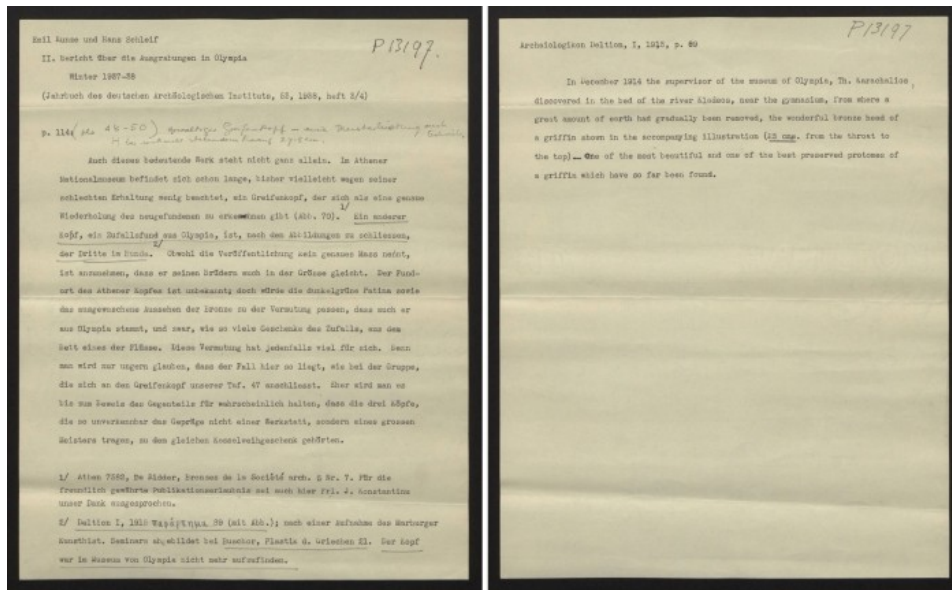


Fig. 19a. Stock card from Brummer Gallery Records for a bronze griffin cauldron attachment, sixth century BC, from Olympia, Brummer no. P13197 (photograph from [Brummer Gallery Records](#), “Head of a griffin in bronze. Open mouth. 6th C. B. C.” [accessed 12 April 2021])

¹⁹² Emil Kunze and Hans Schleif, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, vol. 2: *Winter 1937/38*, Berlin 1938, 114: n. 2; “Παραρτημα του Αρχαιολογικου Δελτιου 1915” [Supplement], in: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 1 (1915), “Τυχαια Ευρηματα” [Chance Finds], 87-89: 89; Brummer Gallery Records, “Head of a griffin in bronze. Open mouth. 6th C. B. C.” (Brummer no. P13197), <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/40830/rec/9> (accessed 27 July 2020). For a discussion of Geometric bronzes that went missing from Greece in the 1930s and 1940s with their entry into the market in the postwar years, see Susan Langdon, “Greek Geometric Bronzes and the Consequences of Esteem: The Case of the Menil Fawn”, in: John North Hopkins, Sarah Kielt Costello and Paul R. Davis, eds., *Object Biographies: Collaborative Approaches to Ancient Mediterranean Art*, New Haven 2021, 67-85: 70.

¹⁹³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1972.118.54, see: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255367> (accessed 27 July 2020).



Figs. 19b-c. Transcripts of Emil Kunze and Hans Schleif, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, vol. 2, Berlin 1937–1938, 114, and *Archaiologikon Deltion* 1 (1915), 89, found in Brummer Gallery files (photographs from [Brummer Gallery Records](#), “Head of a griffin in bronze. Open mouth. 6th C. B. C.” [accessed 12 April 2021])

[56] Museums were also buying directly from Theodoros Zoumboulakis, and the range of antiquities that can be connected to this dealer in the period of our study is broad. For example, the British Museum acquired from him in 1922 a Geometric-period bronze horse suckling a foal¹⁹⁴; Harold Woodbury Parsons purchased a marble Roman statue of Castor or Pollux for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri, from Zoumboulakis in 1933¹⁹⁵; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA Boston), purchased a Cycladic marble figurine from him in 1935¹⁹⁶ as well as an Archaic marble torso of a kouros in 1939¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁴ British Museum no. 1922,0314.1: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1922-0314-1 (accessed 27 July 2020).

¹⁹⁵ Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art acc. 33-1533: <https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/6051/castor-or-pollux> (accessed 27 July 2020).

¹⁹⁶ “Female statuette, early Spedos type”, MFA Boston acc. 35.60, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/201/female-statuette-early-spedos-type?ctx=09ed7653-68b0-45d0-8025-fea689a77d09&idx=10> (accessed 27 July 2020).

¹⁹⁷ “Torso of a youth (kouros)”, MFA Boston acc. 39.552, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/151014/torso-of-a-youth-kouros?ctx=3a953728-0d4e-4e83-88b4-dfc4abc57dc4&idx=5> (accessed 27 July 2020).

Antiquities from Italy

[57] For antiquities from Italy, the Brummers' main sources were Ugo and Aldo Jandolo, who owned a gallery in Rome at 53 Via Margutta¹⁹⁸. Hailing from a family of antiquities dealers, their names figure prominently in the provenance of many ancient objects, especially Roman sculpture, in American museums acquired from the 1920s to the end of World War II. The Jandolos were the go-betweens in the sale of the famed Discobolus by the Lancellotti family, with Joseph Brummer acting as The Met's agent (and working through the Jandolos) in trying to acquire the statue in the 1930s¹⁹⁹. Ugo's name appears in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Art Looting Investigation Unit's (ALIUD) "Red Flag List", compiled in 1945–1946, as someone who sold sculpture to Walter Andreas Hofer for Hermann Göring's collection, using as an intermediary the dealer Alessandro Morandotti (1909–1979), born from a Jewish-Viennese mother and an Italian father²⁰⁰. Among these objects are an Imperial Roman portrait of a woman and a kneeling Venus statue, both sold to Hofer in 1943, as well as a sarcophagus with lion imagery, sold in 1942²⁰¹. The Brummers bought approximately 140 items from the Jandolos between 1925 and 1946, including a marble head of Menander from Aldo Jandolo in 1943, sold to Dumbarton Oaks in 1946 (Fig. 20)²⁰².

¹⁹⁸ For the Jandolos, see Puritani (2017), 129, 138-139 (B.5 Lion Sarcophagus). See also Ludwig Pollak's description of the Jandolo family's antiquities business in Guldan (1994), 138-140: Salvatore, his sons Antonio and Alessandro, and Antonio's sons Augusto (b. 1873, "Aldo"?) and Ugo.

¹⁹⁹ See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 11-12.

²⁰⁰ For a nuanced and thorough approach to the activities of Morandotti, who, on the one hand, profited from his sales to Nazis and, on the other hand, hid Jews in his Rome gallery, see Antonia Bartoli, "Flagging a Red Flag: Contextualizing the Activities of Alessandro Morandotti between 1939 and 1945 in Light of the Art Looting Investigation Unit Report (1946–1947)", in: Brasca, Fuhrmeister and Pellegrini (2019), 174-197, <https://www.memofonte.it/studi-di-memofonte/numero-22-2019/#antonia-bartoli-flagging-a-red-flag-contextualizing-the-activities-of-alessandro-morandotti-between-1939-and-1945-in-light-of-the-art-looting-investigation-unit-report-1946-1947> (accessed 27 July 2020).

²⁰¹ "Art Looting Intelligence Unit (ALIUD) Reports 1945–1946 and ALIU Red Flag Names List and Index", <https://www.lootedart.com/MVI3RM469661> (accessed 27 July 2020); Consolidated Interrogation Report (CIR) No. 2: The Goering Collection, 15 September 1945, 104 (Getty Research Institute, Otto Wittmann Papers, 910130, box 1, folder 4). Another kneeling Aphrodite (Anadyomene) is documented in Puritani (2017), 4, but it is not the one from Morandotti. See also Puritani (2017), 129, 159 for Morandotti; the lion sarcophagus is documented in photographs of Carinhall, Puritani (2017), 138-139, B.5.

²⁰² Brummer Gallery Records, "Life-size head of Menander, in marble", <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/16532/rec/1> (accessed 25 July 2020); Dumbarton Oaks BZ.1946.2: For the complete provenance, see "Portrait of Menander" on the Dumbarton Oaks website, <https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/ancient-art-at-dumbarton-oaks/the-classical-world-at-dumbarton-oaks/portrait-of-menander> (accessed 25 July 2020).

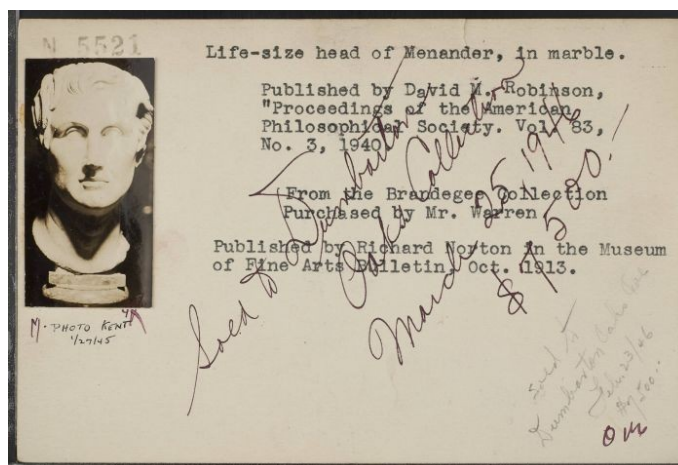


Fig. 20. Stock card from Brummer Gallery Records for a marble portrait of Menander, purchased from Aldo Jandolo in May 1943 for \$5,000; sold by Brummer to Dumbarton Oaks in 1946 for \$7,500; Brummer no. N5521 (photograph from [Brummer Gallery Records](#), “Life-size head of Menander, in marble” [accessed 15 April 2021])

The relationship went both ways, and the Brummers sold around 29 objects to the Jandolos²⁰³. The Jandolos were able to acquire newly excavated antiquities in Italy, such as the Roman tomb relief of the Publius Gessius family, in which transaction both Aldo and another member of the Jandolo family, Mario, were involved, along with another Roman art dealer, Armando Pacifici; the Jandolos sold the relief to the Brummer Gallery in 1936, and they, in turn, sold it in 1937 to MFA Boston. The relief was said by Aldo to have been excavated in September 1936 on the Via Cassia near Viterbo, but at the time of its acquisition, the MFA Boston was told by Brummer that it was excavated in Rome and exported with a permit²⁰⁴.

Conclusions

[58] We can conclude from our studies that there were many transfers of antiquities during the Nazi period (1933 to 1945), some as a result of confiscations (e.g., ERR activities in France from 1940 to 1944; the Zsolnay collection in Vienna in 1938; the Mosse collection in Berlin in 1934; the Czartoryski collection in Poland in 1940; the Herzog collection in Hungary in 1944) or as a result of duress or forced sales of Jewish collectors (e.g., Max Emden in 1934 and 1935) or through direct sales from dealers. Antiquities collections amassed before 1933 were also being disposed of during this period, some at auctions and some in individual sales through dealers (e.g., Bachstitz in The Hague). Antiquities were also still directly available from source countries, including Persia

²⁰³ Brummer Gallery Records, “ugo jandolo”, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/ugo%20jandolo!jandolo/field/purchb!all/mode/exact!all/conn/and!all/order/nosort/ad/asc> (accessed 25 July 2020). See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 12, regarding the intermediary role the Jandolos played with Joseph Brummer in the sale of the Lancellotti Discobolus.

²⁰⁴ “Tomb Relief of the Publius Gessius Family”, MFA Boston 37.100, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/151315/tomb-relief-of-the-publius-gessius-family;jsessionid=B54EDDCA1F9ABA3B96BAA3E96A48A4CE> (accessed 25 July 2020). See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 13, 16, for the Italian Antiquities Law 364/1909.

(Iran) and Mesopotamia (Iraq)²⁰⁵; Egypt (e.g., through Maurice Nahman in Cairo)²⁰⁶; and Greece (various dealers, but especially Theodoros Zoumboulakis) and Italy (e.g., the active Jandolos). In some cases, local dealers or Nazi military or civilian leaders were able to take advantage of loose antiquities regulations or to ignore those regulations to acquire newly (illicitly) excavated objects to satisfy demand. For example, the German presence in Egypt from 1939 to 1942 made possible the theft and sale of archaeological objects²⁰⁷. And Mattes Lammert has shown that German museums took advantage of the availability of ancient Egyptian collections in the Paris art market to augment their collections²⁰⁸. There were many cases of petty and large-scale theft or attempted theft from vulnerable museums or archaeological sites in Greece, as shown by Alexandra Kankeleit in this special issue²⁰⁹, in Italy, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. There were diplomatic/propaganda transfers such as the gifts of ancient art from Italian Fascist party members to Hitler (e.g., the 1938 gift of an Apulian vase in Rome) or to Göring (e.g., the 1938 gift of the Venus from Leptis Magna, Libya) and the purchases from the Lancellotti family in Rome of the Discobolus statue in 1938, with an export permit allowed by Mussolini²¹⁰, and from the Barberini family of the *Rape of Europa* mosaic in 1941²¹¹.

[59] In general, the art market was booming during the Nazi period in parts of Europe, especially in Paris and Switzerland, with the availability of confiscated Jewish collections or duress sales, the purging of “degenerate” Modern art from German museums, and the resulting status that art collecting conveyed to Nazi elites. The inventory was full, but the prices were, in general, low²¹². In the period from around 1940 to 1945, at the height of the military conflict in Europe, the legitimate antiquities market seems to have diminished in most parts of Europe (and in the US), as compared to the previous decade, with the exception of the Paris and Swiss trade. Armenian antiquities dealers in Paris continued to supply the market²¹³, and Switzerland was still a haven for many transfers of art, including antiquities, in this period. Emanuele Sbardella shows, for

²⁰⁵ See Dunn-Vaturi, Bridey and Fellingner, in this special issue (as in n11), for a discussion of some of the main dealers of Middle Eastern art and antiquities, especially in Paris in the 1920s through 1940s. For the controversial archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld, who also collected antiquities and sold off his collection, see above, note 183.

²⁰⁶ See above, note 177.

²⁰⁷ Betsy M. Bryan, “The Fragmentary Lintel of Ramesses-nakht and Usermaatre-nakht: A Case Study in Provenance, Old and New”, in: John North Hopkins, Sarah Kielt Costello and Paul R. Davis, eds., *Object Biographies: Collaborative Approaches to Ancient Mediterranean Art*, Houston 2021, 147-167, esp. 162-163.

²⁰⁸ Lammert, in this special issue (as in n87).

²⁰⁹ Kankeleit, in this special issue (as in n17). See also Langdon (2021), 67-85, esp. 70, describing a bronze group that disappeared from the Samos Museum during the Nazi occupation, and a spear-bearing bronze tripod attachment from the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, which found its way to the collection of Indiana University.

²¹⁰ See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 13.

²¹¹ Brasca, in this special issue (as in n57).

²¹² See above for discussion of Pollak’s sales.

²¹³ See Lammert, in this special issue (as in n87).

example, how the coin market with largely Jewish-owned numismatics dealerships was transferred to Switzerland²¹⁴. German dealers with business sense opened or turned to established dealerships and partnerships in Switzerland (e.g., Julius Böhler and Nicolas Koutoulakis). Antiquities stock bought in previous decades was sold (e.g., Bachstitz's 1941 sale of parts of Friedrich Ludwig von Gans's collection to Hans Posse for the Linz museum; the 1941 Brummer New York sale; or Ernst Herzfeld's 1944 sale to the Brummers after Herzfeld moved to the US). The upper echelons of the Nazi party, especially Hermann Göring, continued to enhance their collections of antiquities during this later period²¹⁵, and some dealers and art agents (e.g., Prince Philipp von Hessen) were able to negotiate and profit in the market because of their ties to Nazi authorities.

[60] Among collectors of the later 19th century and first third of the 20th century, there was a general preference for antiquities of *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* scale, such as jewelry, coins, bronze and terracotta statuettes, and smaller ceramics. Greek and Roman antiquities constitute the largest category, with Greek vases of special interest to many collectors, including Izabela Działyńska (née Czartoryska) in Poland and, to a lesser extent, Hermann Göring²¹⁶. During the Nazi period there were only a few collectors whose financial means, contacts, and interests allowed them to purchase impressive large-scale works of Greek and Roman art. Greek vases and marble sculpture were within the grasp of the wealthy American collector William Randolph Hearst in the first four decades of the 20th century. Göring, through his dealers, acquired large-scale statues, both original works of art and copies of famous works, as decoration for his hunting villa of Carinhall²¹⁷.

[61] Egyptian artifacts rank a close second to Greek and Roman antiquities in the collecting practices and transfers during the Nazi period. There is no doubt that there were illicit excavations conducted in Egypt during World War II, with collections eventually making their way to Europe and the US²¹⁸. Late Roman/Byzantine (Coptic period) antiquities, especially from Egypt and the Middle East and especially small items such as jewelry, appear often in the context of this special issue. It is difficult, however, to differentiate Roman from Late Roman/Byzantine antiquities in the imprecise language of many of the archival documents.

[62] Only a few Etruscan antiquities can be documented in the trade during the Nazi period, though this is difficult to accurately assess because of the confusion in the descriptions and

²¹⁴ See Sbardella, in this special issue (as in n3).

²¹⁵ See Romano, in this special issue (as n4), paragraphs 17-20 and 31, and Puritani, in this special issue (as in n59).

²¹⁶ See Puritani, in this special issue (as in n59).

²¹⁷ See Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 17-20, and Puritani, in this special issue (as in n59).

²¹⁸ For one example of this, see Bryan (2021), 147-167. See also Thomas Schneider, "Ägyptologen im Dritten Reich: Biographische Notizen anhand der sogenannten 'Steindorff-Liste'", in: Thomas Schneider and Peter Raulwing, eds., *Egyptology from the First World War to the Third Reich. Ideology, Scholarship, and Individual Biographies*, Leiden 2013, 120-247, for a discussion of German Egyptologists who supported and benefited under the Nazi regime.

identification of Etruscan objects²¹⁹. Two probable fourth-century BC Etruscan bronze situlae are shown on a shelf among an eclectic array of objects confiscated by the Allies and held in Neuschwanstein Castle; these were photographed by Thérèse Bonney in 1945 but have not yet been linked to a specific owner²²⁰. As I discuss in my article in this special issue, the Etruscans were not in favor among Nazi ideologues, and there is very little evidence that the Nazi elite were greatly interested in this category of antiquities²²¹. A composite (pastiche?) of a bronze vessel with an Etruscan warrior statuette atop the lid appearing in photos of Göring's Carinhall²²² and an Etruscan bronze helmet in Heinrich Himmler's collection, however, are exceptions²²³.

[63] As indicated at the outset, this study has scratched deeply into the surface of the topic of the fate of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern antiquities during the Nazi era, but it has become very clear as we have gathered these studies that there is still much more to be done: details to be uncovered and more data to be mined from the increasing numbers of digitized databases, auction catalogs, and dealer files. In addition, scholarly examination of archival documents in many repositories and provenance research in many museum collections remain to be conducted. These will certainly add to our picture of antiquities collecting and trade in the first half of the 20th century in Europe, the Middle East, and the US, as well as the methods and nature of antiquities transfers during the Nazi period.

²¹⁹ See, e.g., Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraphs 8-10 for a discussion of the gift to Hitler of a South Italian Greek red-figure column krater that was described as Etruscan.

²²⁰ Caroline Riley, "The Life of Nazi-Looted Antiquities in Thérèse Bonney's Photography", presentation at Annual Conference of the College Art Association (virtual), 10–13 February 2021. Bonney's photographs are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley: "Finding Aid to the Thérèse Bonney Photograph Collection circa 1850–circa 1955", Online Archive of California, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/k6f769g4/>. A book by Riley on Bonney's photographs is forthcoming.

²²¹ Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), paragraph 9.

²²² The bronze globular vessel with an Etruscan helmeted warrior figurine on the lid is a likely pastiche of ancient and modern. It is seen in a pre-1938? photo of Carinhall (Library of Congress lot 3810, box 3) on a table in front of a copy of a Neo-Attic relief of dancing hoplites (original in Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio-Clementino, Sala delle muse, 66) and in later photos (ca. 1940), as in Romano, in this special issue (as in n4), fig. 10, on top of a Roman Pavonazetto column in the long gallery (e.g., Library of Congress lot 3810, box 1, no. 4, embossed in lower right with name of photographer "Robert"). The column is listed in the February 1940 inventory of Carinhall and was purchased from the Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, in April 1939 (Günther Haase, *Die Kunstsammlung des Reichsmarschalls Hermann Göring: eine Dokumentation*, Berlin 2000, 252, no. 3). I am grateful to Dr. Laura Puritani (Antikensammlung, Berlin), Dr. Jean Turfa (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), Professor Maurizio Harari (University of Pavia), and Dr. Giacomo Bardelli (Römisch-Deutsches Zentralmuseum, Mainz) for helping to identify the mixed elements of the vessel.

²²³ Petropoulos (1996), 212-220.

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