


From a Prince, to Hermann Göring, to the Mauritshuis. The Provenance History of *Virgin and Child* by Lucas Cranach the Elder

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Abstract: When between April and June 1945 the Allies searched Carinhall, Hermann Göring's (1893-1946) country house at Schorfheide, they found a vast number of artworks. One of the artworks found was the panel painting *Virgin and Child* by the German Renaissance artist Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553). Today, the painting can be viewed at the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Netherlands. When I started my research on the provenance of *Virgin and Child*, a provenance reconstruction of the panel painting was published online by the Mauritshuis. However, the information provided was incomplete and left room for multiple questions. Using the back of the panel in combination with information found in databases such as the Munich Central Collecting Point, archival documents from the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, and other sources, I was able to verify and expand on the information provided by the Mauritshuis, as well as dismiss some false information. Through my research on *Virgin and Child* I was able to trace its provenance from the early 20th century until the present. My research also offers a hypothesis for what happened to the panel between June 1940 and 1946 – a period of the object history previously clouded in mystery.

Keywords: Provenance research; Hermann Göring; Carinhall; Lucas Cranach the Elder; Mauritshuis

“I fully admit I had a passion for collection.” This is what Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring (1893-1946) said from the witness stand during the Nuremberg Trials, with, according to *The New Yorker* journalist Janet Flanner (1892-1978), a sly smile.¹ During this trial, which took place from the 20th of November 1945 to the 1st of October 1946, Göring stood trial along 21 other high-ranking Nazi leaders for war crimes and crimes against humanity.² In addition to these crimes, Nazis of various ranks had obtained and transported artworks to Germany, both legally and illegally, before and during World War II. Besides Adolf Hitler (1889-1945),

Göring was one of the key players in this mass movement of art. With the help of art agents who obtained artworks on his behalf, the Reichsmarschall was able to greatly expand his art collection in a short period of time.³

One of the artworks that ended up in Göring's collection was the panel painting *Virgin and Child* (c. 1515-1520) by German Renaissance artist Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) (Figure 1).⁴ The panel shows a Mary depicted in bright colors holding the Infant Jesus who is reaching for a bunch of grapes. Today, the painting *Virgin and Child* can be

1 Sarah Wildman: The Revelations of a Nazi Art Catalogue, in: *The New Yorker*, February 12th 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/the-revelations-of-a-nazi-art-catalogue>, <22.11.2021>.

2 Steffen Radlmaier (ed.): *Het proces van Neurenberg. Oorlogsmisdadigers, sterreporters en het eerste internationale gerechtshof*, Amsterdam 2005, 9-10.

3 Göring's collection contained about 200 objects in 1939. Through his own efforts, as well as those of his art agents, his collection after the German surrender encompassed 1.375 paintings, 250 sculptures, 108 tapestries, 200 pieces of antique furniture, 60 Persian and French carpets, 75 stained-glass windows and 175 art objects. National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

4 Guido Messling / Kerstin Richter (eds.): *Cranach. The Early Years in Vienna*, Munich 2022, 13.

found at the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Netherlands. On its website, the museum has published the following provenance of the painting:⁵



Figure 1: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Virgin and Child*, c. 1515-1520, Oil on panel, 62,7 cm × 42 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, Inv.-Nr. 917.

Before 1906-1928	Prince Lichnowsky, Kuchelna, Silesia;
1929	Paul Cassirer Gallery, Berlin and Amsterdam;
1932-1940	Hans W.C. Tietje, Amsterdam (pledged by him to Daniel Wolf, Wassenaar);
June 1940	sold by Tietje to Miedl (35.000 guilders);
1940	Alois Miedl, Amsterdam;
1940	W.A. Hofer, Berlin;
Unknown date	E. Göpel, The Hague;
Unknown date	Hermann Göring, Berlin;
1946	Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (inv.no. NK 3071);
1953-1955	on loan to the Mauritshuis;
1960	transferred.

A closer look at this provenance reconstruction reveals missing information. For instance, it is unclear how the change of ownership took place in 1940 and from whom and when Göring received *Virgin and Child*. Moreover, it is unknown what happened to Cranach's panel in the period June 1940 to 1946.

This case-study shares the results on the provenance research of *Virgin and Child* from the period of the early 20th century to the present.⁶ For this research, the provenance reconstruction by the Mauritshuis was the starting point. Using databases from the Munich Central Collecting Point and archival documents such as the *O.S.S. Art Looting Investigation Unit-Consolidated Interrogation Reports, Report No. 2, The Goering Collection, September 1945* (further referred to as *Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2*), the provenance of *Virgin and Child* could be reconstructed. Because Cranach depicted the theme of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus very often (before 1520 about 16 times and after 1520 about 43 times), the dimensions of the panel, the iconography, and the various inventory numbers were used to check whether the sources refer

5 Mauritshuis: Lucas Cranach de Oude, *Maria met kind*, <https://www.mauritshuis.nl/ontdek-collectie/kunstwerken/917-maria-met-kind/#origin-artwork>, <18.11.2021>.

6 I have chosen to include the pre-war years in the research for after the war, Cranach's painting was returned to the Netherlands. By looking at the pre-war owners, it becomes clear how *Virgin and Child* ended up in the Netherlands in the first place.

to this specific Mary and child.⁷ Finally, the painting *Virgin and Child* itself provided an important point of reference for this research. On the back of the panel, several labels and inventory numbers have been added over time which has given some clues to the painting's provenance (Figure 2).

The Changes of Ownership before 1940

According to the provenance reconstruction on the Mauritshuis website, the painting had been in the possession of a prince Lichnowsky before 1906 until 1928. During research, this turned out to be the prince and diplomat Karl Max von Lichnowsky (1860-1928).⁸ *Virgin and Child* most likely hung in the castle Hradec nad Moravicí (Grätz) on his family's estate in Chuchelná (Kuchelna), Moravian-Silesia.⁹ When precisely von Lichnowsky took possession of Cranach's panel and where it had been before is unknown.¹⁰ However, there is evidence that von Lichnowsky already owned the panel in 1906. That year, the prince had lent the painting to the exhibition *Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*, which took place at the Redernsche Palais in Berlin from the 27th of January to the 4th of March 1906.¹¹ A label of this exhibition still sticks on the back of the panel. Because the exhibition started in January, it can be assumed that von Lichnowsky already owned *Virgin and Child* before 1906.



Figure 2: Lucas Cranach the Elder, The backside of *Virgin and Child*, c. 1515-1520, Oil on panel, 62,7 cm × 42 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, Inv.-Nr. 917.

That *Virgin and Child* had been property of von Lichnowsky until 1928 is not correct. During research, the Paul Cassirer & Walter Feilchenfeldt Archive was contacted.¹² Petra Cordioli, an administrator of the archive, shared the archive's stock card of *Virgin and Child* (Figure 3). This card shows that on the 30th of June 1926, the art galleries Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer and Galerie Matthiesen, both based in Berlin, jointly bought *Virgin and Child* from von Lichnowsky. Each paid 8.000 Reichsmarks, giving von Lichnowsky a total of 16.000 Reichsmarks for the panel.¹³ During the investigation, it could not be ascertained at which of the two art galleries Cranach's panel was stored.¹⁴

7 Bonnie Noble: *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation*, Lanham 2009, 165; Charles Talbot: *Cranach family*, in: Grove Art Online, <https://doi-org.proxy.uba.uva.nl/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T020110>.

8 John G. Röhl: *Art. "Lichnowsky"*, in: *Neue deutsche Biographie* 14 (1985), <https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0001/bsb00016332/images/index.html?seite=457>, 443-445, here: 443, <23.11.2021>; Quentin Buvelot, e-mail to author, March 22, 2021.

9 This is the only castle of the von Lichnowsky family located in Chuchelná (Kuchelna). However, no inventory could be found proving that *Virgin and Child* had been in this castle.

10 Possibly, *Virgin with Child* was already part of the family art collection, which was characterized by old masters. Anna Jozefacka: *Princess Mechtilde Lichnowsky (born Countess Mechtilde Christine Marie von Arco-Zinneberg)*, in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Modern Art Index Project* (2017), <https://doi.org/10.57011/EDDJ7759>.

11 *Exh. cat. Berlin (Redernsches Palais Berlin, January 7 to March 4, 1906): Katalog der Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*, edited by Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, Berlin 1906, 11.

12 Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, March 25, 2021.

13 Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, May 31, 2022.

14 The current owner of Matthiesen Gallery was contacted for more information about the joint purchase of *Virgin and Child*. According to Patrick Matthiesen there are no existing records of this transaction. Matthiesen added in his e-mail that if records existed, they would be in the Berlin National Archive. After contacting the Bundesarchiv Berlin, there appear to be no further clues to the joint purchase with Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer. Patrick Matthiesen, e-mail to author, March 19, 2022; Simone Langner, e-mail to author, March 31, 2022.

The painting did not stay in Berlin for a long time. The mentioned stock card shows that on the 22nd of July 1926, Amsterdam'sche Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer bought the painting.¹⁵ Because the panel was the property of Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer as well as Galerie Matthiesen, each art gallery received half of the selling price, i.e. 10.250 guilders. It should be noted that this was not an internal sale. Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer was not a branch of Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer, but an independent art gallery founded in 1923 by Paul Cassirer (1871-1926).¹⁶ Supposedly, German economist Hans Wilhelm Christiaan Tietje (1885-1971) bought *Virgin and Child* at this art gallery.¹⁷

Nr. 5082		Preis	
Künstler Lucas Cranach			
Titel "Madonna mit Kind"			
Größe		Material	
Photo-Nr.			
Dat. 1926		Preis 16000,- Mark	
Von Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer		Beteiligung 1/2 2000,-	
Dat. 1926		Preis 1/2 10250,- fl.	
Käufer H. W. Christiaan Tietje		Einkauf Verkauf	
falsch 160		falsch 170	

Figure 3: Stock card of *Virgin and Child* from the Paul Cassirer & Walter Feilchenfeldt Archive, Inv.-Nr. 5082, Zurich. Scan: Petra Cordioli.

According to the Mauritshuis, *Virgin and Child* was owned by Tietje from 1932 to 1940. It is yet unknown when the painting came into Tietje's possession.¹⁸ Since the panel was evidently in Amsterdam in the summer of 1926, and Tietje was living there, I assume that he bought *Virgin and*

Child from the Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer.¹⁹ In addition to Tietje buying the panel in Amsterdam, I suspect he did so before 1932. The source cited to support the year 1932, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* by Max Jakob Friedländer (1867-1958) and Jakob Rosenberg (1893-1980), was published in 1932.²⁰ It is possible that Tietje had bought the panel in the same year the book was published, but it seems more likely to me that he acquired it earlier.

Apart from the question when Tietje bought the painting, there is a clue as to what price Tietje may have paid for it. The website of the RKD-The Institute for Art History contains a photograph of *Virgin and Child* taken by Friedländer.²¹ On the back of this photograph, the art historian wrote in pencil: "F[ür]st. Lichnowsky / P. Cassirer / VI. 1926. / 50000 fl. verk.[auft] / Deutsch. Privat".²² As it is known for what price the art galleries Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer, Galerie Matthiesen, and Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer had bought *Virgin and Child*, I suspect that the amount of 50.000 guilders on this document refers to the price Tietje paid for the panel to the Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer.

The new owner of the panel painting was known for his passion for collecting.²³ However, Tietje's interest in artworks should not be mistaken as affection towards art. In *Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2*, the report summarizing the interrogations of Göring's art agents after the war, Tietje is described as "He was essentially a business man and speculator rather than a collector, and looked upon his pictures as a type of security."²⁴ That

15 Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, February 8, 2022; Christine Koenigs, e-mail to author, March 17, 2022. Because of the sale date and the date of Cassirer's death (January 7, 1926), it is certain that von Lichnowsky sold *Virgin and Child* directly to the art dealer's shop and not to Cassirer himself. Art. "Paul Cassirer", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/349668>, <29.11.2021>.

16 Art. "Paul Cassirer", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/349668>, <29.11.2021>; Art. "Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/352926>, <25.11.2021>; Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, May 31, 2022.

17 Adriaan Venema: *Kunsthandel in Nederland 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 1986, 270; Family of Tietje: *Familiebericht*, in: *De Telegraaf*, 28th July 1971, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011196821:mpeg21:p006>, <07.12.2021>; Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, March 25, 2021.

18 According to Cordioli, the archive contains no information about when Tietje bought *Virgin and Child* from the art gallery. Petra Cordioli, e-mail to author, March 25, 2021.

19 City Archive of Amsterdam, archive cards, archive number 30238, Inv.-Nr. 812; City Archive of Amsterdam, alien register, archive number 5225, Inv.-Nr. 956; City Archive of Amsterdam, archive cards, archive number 30238, Inv.-Nr. 877.

20 Max J. Friedländer / Jakob Rosenberg: *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin 1932, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.11059>, 237; Art. "Max J. Friedländer," in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/29492>, <25.11.2021>.

21 Art. "Lucas Cranach (I)", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/imagenes/236645>, <07.12.2021>.

22 Art. "Lucas Cranach (I)", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/imagenes/236645>, <07.12.2021>.

23 Nicolaas Japikse: *Persoonlijkheden in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in woord en beeld*, Amsterdam 1938, 1471.

24 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227; Michael Hussey / Michael J. Kurtz / Greg Bradsher: *OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit Reports*, in: National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/art/oss-art-looting-investigation-unit-reports.html>, <04.01.2022>.

Tietje saw his paintings as security becomes clear from the following. At the time Tietje owned the panel, he pledged *Virgin and Child* to the Jewish businessman Daniël Wolf (1898-1943).²⁵ Wolf and Tietje did business with each other during which Tietje had accumulated debts to Wolf. Probably knowing that Wolf was a collector of antiques and old paintings, Tietje pledged some paintings to Wolf as a security for his debts.²⁶ One of these paintings was *Virgin and Child*. Wolf hung the panel in his house on the Groot Haesebroek estate in Wassenaar, the Netherlands, where Wolf lived with his family. This is where *Virgin and Child* was when the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May 1940.²⁷

The War Years

As mentioned in the introduction, there is ambiguity about when Göring received *Virgin and Child* and from whom. The sources that contain information on how Cranach's painting came into the possession of Göring almost all describe a different change of ownership. During the research, these sources were compared and a reconstruction of how these events played out was made. Moreover, based on these sources, Erhard Göpel's (1906-1966) involvement was rejected.²⁸ Göpel is neither mentioned in *Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2* nor in the catalogue Göring kept from 1933 to 1944 of the paintings that came into his possession.²⁹ These two sources are based on the information given by Göring and the art agents who were commissioned for his art collection and its expansion. The absence of Göpel's name in connection with *Virgin and Child* in these two sources leads me to conclude that Göpel was not involved in the panel's provenance history. What follows is what I assume happened to *Virgin and Child* during World War II based on the relevant sources.

Shortly after the invasion by the Germans, Wolf's estate was seized and the house was used as a residence by high-ranking Nazis.³⁰ During the confiscation, Wolf was in France on business, after which he travelled on to England and later during the war to the United States, where he died in New York in 1943. Before or after the confiscation of Wolf's home, Walter Andreas Hofer (1893-c. 1971) visited the house in the company of Alois Miedl (1903-1990).³¹ Both men were commissioned by Göring as art agents, with Hofer as Göring's chief advisor and most active agent. Since Wolf had not taken *Virgin and Child* with him on his business trip, Hofer and Miedl found the painting in Wolf's home when they searched it.³² With Göring in mind, Hofer instructed Miedl to buy the panel painting.³³ For this, Miedl approached not Wolf but Tietje and asked for permission to buy the panel. Tietje agreed, and in June 1940, the art dealer paid 35.000 guilders.³⁴ In the course of my research, I could not find out whether Tietje paid off his debts to Wolf, possibly with the money he had received.

After its purchase, *Virgin and Child* was taken to Miedl's art gallery Goudstikker-Miedl. The former art gallery of Jacques Goudstikker (1897-1940) was bought by Göring and Miedl on the 13th of July 1940, with Göring buying the art stock of the business and Miedl buying the real estate, a residual of movable property and the right to the trade name *J. Goudstikker*.³⁵ After the acquisition, the art gallery formed a gathering point for the art obtained by Göring's art agents. Here, Göring could inspect the artworks and decide which purchases he would agree on. Göring agreed to the acquisition of *Virgin and Child* and had Hofer pay 35.000 guilders to Miedl for the panel. Hofer then arranged for the transport of *Virgin and Child* from

25 Herkomst Gezocht: NK3071, Madonna met kind, Cranach, L., in: Herkomst Gezocht, <http://www.herkomstgezocht.nl/nl/nk-collectie/madonna-met-kind-22>, <21.11.2021>; Japikse 1938 (see FN 23), 1651.

26 Japikse 1938 (see FN 23), 1651.

27 Japikse 1938 (see FN 23), 1651; Willibrord Davids / Evelien Campfens: Advies inzake Wolf, in: Restitutiecommissie, <https://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/advies/wolf/>, <06.05.2022>.

28 Art. "Erhard Göpel", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/art-ists/339951>, <22.11.2021>.

29 This catalogue was published in book form in 2015. See Jean-Marc Dreyfus: *Le Catalogue Goering*, Paris 2015.

30 Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

31 Jonathan Petropoulos: *The Faustian Bargain*, London 2000, 101; Art. "Alois Miedl", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/art-ists/356292>, <22.11.2021>; National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

32 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227; Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

33 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

34 Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

35 Eelke Muller / Helen Schretlen: *Betwist Bezit. De Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit en de teruggave van roofkunst na 1945*, Zwolle 2002, 207.



Figure 4: One of the halls inside Carinhall. Source: Bildarchiv der Philipp Holzmann AG / Hauptverband der deutschen Bauindustrie e.V. im Berlin-Brandenburgischen Wirtschaftsarchiv, Signatur BBWA U5/03/K9/21. Photographer: Karoline Junkersdorf-Uhlenmuth.

Amsterdam to Berlin, where it arrived in Göring's private residence Carinhall (near Berlin) on the 10th of June 1940 (Figure 4).³⁶

After arriving in Carinhall, *Virgin and Child* was moved to Kurfürst, Göring's largest and most important shelter, located near Potsdam.³⁷ An artwork could end up in this bunker in one of two ways. Firstly, the normal procedure for an object arriving in Carinhall was to be placed in a room called the "Stuhlkeller". Here, Göring would examine the objects, after which they went straight to Kurfürst. Secondly, from 1942 on, after the first serious air raids on Berlin, the most important objects of the Göring Collection were stored in the shelter.³⁸ During my research, I was unable to find out when *Virgin and Child* was transported to Kurfürst. It is

possible that the painting moved shortly after its arrival in Carinhall, but since Göring already examined *Virgin and Child* at Goudstikker-Miedel, I am more inclined to think that the painting was relocated to the shelter from 1942.

It is unclear how long *Virgin and Child* was in Kurfürst, but after the German surrender, the painting was found by the 101st Airborne Division (further referred to as the 101st) of the US Army at Göring's house in Berchtesgaden near Obersalzberg.³⁹ In response to the British and US bombers attacking Berlin almost daily from February 1945 onward, Göring decided to transport a large part of the Göring Collection with one of his trains, known as the "Special Trains", to the safer south of

36 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227; Dreyfus 2015 (see FN 29), 153.

37 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

38 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

39 Thomas Carr Howe: Inventory list of looted art from the Göring Collection found at Berchtesgaden, 1945 July 26-Aug. 4, in: Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items-detail/inventory-list-looted-art-gring-collection-found-berchtesgaden-15082>, <10.01.2022>.

Germany.⁴⁰ This move, of which *Virgin and Child* was a part of, is described in detail in the *Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2*.⁴¹

Together with Hofer, Göring went through the art collection and indicated which artworks and objects had to leave immediately and which could be transported later. Once a selection had been made, Hofer had the objects for the first shipment packed and placed on one of the special trains at the station Forst Zinna. Originally, the collection was intended to be divided between Burg Veldenstein, the medieval castle in Neuhaus an der Pegnitz in which Göring grew up and which became his in 1939, and Berchtesgaden.⁴² However, as the shelters at Berchtesgaden were not yet ready, the objects were transported to Burg Veldenstein. In the first week of February 1945, the first shipment of objects left Berlin. Upon arrival in Burg Veldenstein, the objects were unloaded and stored in the castle.

The second shipment left from Hamelsprink Station on the 13th of March 1945 while the third was scheduled to leave from Vogelsang Station in early April. However, a last-minute order came that this shipment should remain in Berlin until further notice. Around the 15th of April 1945, Göring's personal adviser Friedrich "Fritz" Görnnert (1907-1984) arrived at Burg Veldenstein. He had orders from Göring to repack all the items and place them on a train, ready to wait for the order for another move.⁴³ Soon, the train left, first towards Piding (near Bad Reichenhall) to pick up the third shipment from Berlin, and then to Berchtesgaden, where it arrived on the 16th of April 1945. I could not identify which shipment included *Virgin and Child*, nor if it was temporarily stored at Burg Veldenstein, but the panel is mentioned on an undated list named *Bilder aus Kurfürst nach Veldenstein*.⁴⁴ For *Virgin and Child* was later found in Berchtesgaden, it can be assumed that the painting arrived in the south of Germany together with the other shipments on the 16th of April.

When the train arrived in Berchtesgaden, it was parked in the station tunnel and guarded by Hofer. After one or two days, the train was split up and eight wagons left for Unterstein, Germany, while two or three of the wagons remained in the tunnel. After blowing up Carinhall once all his valuables were gone, Göring arrived in Berchtesgaden on the 21st of April 1945. Once there, Göring had to make a decision on what to do with his collection.⁴⁵ He did not have much time, for on April 30th both he and Görnnert were arrested by the SS for possible treason and taken to Mautern-dorf.⁴⁶ The next day, Görnnert was released and he returned to Berchtesgaden to help Hofer hide the collection in the air raid shelters and on the property of a local Nazi officer. The eight wagons returned from Unterstein and their contents were hidden too. Where exactly *Virgin and Child* was hidden in Berchtesgaden is unknown.



Figure 5: Still photography from *Berchtesgaden at liberation* – 101st Airborne Division; *Goering's art collection moved* film; accessed at United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of National Archives & Records Administration, Accession Number: 2000.620.1.

40 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

41 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

42 Yeide 2009 (see FN 2), 7.

43 WorldCat: Art. "Fritz Görnnert", in: WorldCat Entities, <http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-no2015126635/>, <19.01.2022>.

44 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.

45 Lynn H. Nicholas: *The Rape of Europa. The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War*, London 1994, 319.

46 Göring was arrested for alleged treason. On the 23rd of April 1945, Göring sent a radiogram to Hitler in response to having heard the situation in Berlin was dire. In his radiogram, Göring stated that he was prepared to step in and lead the Nazi Party and if Hitler did not respond by 10 p.m. that night, he would assume that Hitler was incapacitated and would take command. The next day Hitler responded furious and had Göring arrested for his disloyalty. Yeide 2009 (see FN 2), 4.

No.	Artist	Title	Dimensions	Room
229	Master, 16th Cen.	Portrait of a Man (Very dark panel) (Tietje, H. Coll.)	66 x 42 5b	(Wood Panel)
230	Master of Alkmaar	Meeting of Joachim & Anna Joachim's Offering Refused (2 Panels) (Tietje, Amsterdam)	71 x 24 "	(Wood Panels)
231	Cranach, Lucas	Madonna, (background-green curtain & Landscape) (Tietje, Amsterdam)	62 x 42 "	(Wood Panel)
232	Pesellino	Expulsion from the Garden of Eden (Kunigz Coll.)	49 x 69 "	(Wood Panel)
233	Master of St. Gudule	Marriage of Mary & Joseph (Tietje Coll., Amsterdam)	56 x 41 "	(Wood Panel)
234 a + b	Master of Frankfurt	Two Saints (2 panels) (Coll. of Mrs. Panwitz)	158 x 70 "	(Wood Panel)
235	Early English	Portrait of a Man, (background-green) (Tietje Coll., Amsterdam)	39 x 27 "	(Wood Panel)
236	Early English	Portrait of a Woman (Companion Piece) (Tietje Coll.)	39 x 27 "	(Wood Panel)
237	Master of Hoeskloof	Saint Werberus (Panwitz Coll.)	163 x 37 "	(Wood Panel)
238	Cranach, Lucas	Madonna with Christ Child & Kittle Saint John (Black background) (Panwitz)	64 x 42 "	(Wood Panel)
239 a + b	German-School of the Danube-16th Cen.	Portraits of Two Men Wearing Black Hats, (background-landscape) (Tietje) (2 Panels)	49 x 38 "	(Wood Panel)
240	Morvelse	Portrait of a Woman with Lace Buff & Red Table (Paech, Amsterdam)	110 x 90 8B	(Wood Panel)
241	Morvelse	Portrait of a Man with Goggles & Gloves in Left Hand	112 x 90 "	(Wood Panel)
242	Morvelse, Paulus	Juno (La voie Lattee) (Oval) (Paech)	84 x 73 (Canvas)	(Canvas)
243	Van Oude, Isaac	Exterior of Country Cottage with People (Red Seal) (Douwes, Amsterdam)	49 x 65 "	(Wood Panel)
244	Meervelt	Portrait of a Woman (Canvas)	91 x 81 "	(Canvas)
245	Cranach, Lucas	Lucrece (Paech) (Wood Panel)	65 x 71 "	(Wood Panel)
246	Flemish Master ca 1580	Suzanna & the Elders (Paech)	85 x 65 (Wood Panel)	(Wood Panel)
247	School of Fontainebleau (Art by a Flemish Artist)	Venus Before a Mirror (Paech Coll., Amsterdam)	107 x 88 (Wood Panel)	(Wood Panel)
248	Villarte, Adam	Landscape, Harbor with Boats & People (Douwes, Amsterdam)	98 x 70 (Wood Panel)	(Wood Panel)
249	De la Haye, Harri	Old Testament Scene (Rocky Landscape)	28 x 40 (Wood Panel)	(Wood Panel)
250	Steen, Jan	Village Scene with Peasants & Dancing (Paech Coll.)	80 x 69 (Wood Panel)	(Wood Panel)

(13)

Figure 6: *Virgin and Child* is listed third on page 13 of the *Inventory of the Hermann Göring art collection at Unterstein, Germany, 1945*. Thomas Carr Howe papers, 1932-1984. Source: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Inv.-Nr. (DSI-AAA)16201.

On the 4th of May 1945, US troops occupied Berchtesgaden and the artworks found were moved to – depending on the source – a Bavarian hotel or a small house in Unterstein for temporary storage.⁴⁷ In this building, from the end of May 1945, the 101st held an exhibition called *Hermann Goering's Art Collection, courtesy of the 101st Airborne Division* (Figure 5). With this exhibition, the 101st wanted to show what the Reichsmarschall's art collection contained. However, soon after its opening, the exhibition closed due to concerns about adequate security.⁴⁸ *Virgin and Child* too was housed in this building. Whenever an artwork was found in Berchtesgaden, the soldiers gave it an inventory number. Cranach's

47 Art. "Harry Vernon Anderson (1902-1983)", in: Monuments Men Foundation, <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/anderson-maj-harry-v>, <14.01.2022>; Nicholas 1994 (see FN 45), 343.

48 Art. "Harry Vernon Anderson (1902-1983)", in: Monuments Men Foundation, <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/anderson-maj-harry-v>, <14.01.2022>.

GÖRING COLLECTION

TRIP NO. 3 BERCHTESGADEN TO MUNICH - 26 JULI 1945

TRUCK NO. 35

73 PAINTINGS; 4 SCULPTURES; 4 CASSONE

PAINTING NO. G-227	PAINTING NO. G-228	PAINTING NO. G-229
G-254	G-288	G-314
G-411	G-475	G-516
G-444	G-352	G-577
G-462	G-492	G-576
G-484	G-131	G-221
G-419	G-280	G-313.6
G-415	G-292	G-313.1
G-441	G-281	G-283
G-472	G-329	G-128
G-492	G-429	G-260
G-220	G-353	G-311.1
G-217	G-192	G-241
G-222	G-351	G-340
G-477	G-282	G-229
G-416	G-415	G-198
G-310	G-371	G-29.A
G-370	G-286	G-292.2
G-350	G-477	G-292.A
G-291	G-534	SCULPTURE NO. 155
G-490	G-575	179
G-452	G-576	205
G-262	G-577	207
G-261	G-573	
G-267	G-128	CASSONE
G-323	G-408	
G-311	G-728	

Figure 7: *Virgin and Child* (G231) on the *Inventory list of looted art from the Göring Collection found at Berchtesgaden, 1945 July 26-Aug. 4*. Thomas Carr Howe papers, 1932-1984. Source: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Inv.-Nr. (DSI-AAA)15082.

panel was given the number 'G231' (G referring to Göring), and was placed in the central room on the second floor in room '5B' (Figure 6).⁴⁹ On what date the panel arrived at Unterstein is unknown, but on the 26th of July 1945, *Virgin and Child* left with truck number 35 for the Central Collecting Point (CCP) in Munich (Figure 7).

After the German surrender, the Americans established collecting points where recovered artworks were housed, registered, photographed, and possibly restored for restitution.⁵⁰ The Munich Central Collecting Point was the most important of the CCPs, for this is where the artworks destined for the "Führermuseum" and those from Göring's collection were stored.⁵¹ The transport of *Virgin and Child* to the Munich Central Collecting Point was

49 Thomas Carr Howe: *Inventory list of looted art from the Göring Collection found at Berchtesgaden, 1945 July 26-Aug. 4*, in: Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/inventory-list-looted-art-gring-collection-found-berchtesgaden-15082>, <10.01.2022>.

50 Art. "CENTRAL ART COLLECTING POINT (CCP)", in: Jüdisches Museum Berlin: *Raub und Restitution*, https://www.jmberlin.de/raub-und-restitution/en/glossar_c.php, <03.01.2022>.

51 The other CCP's were located in Marburg, Wiesbaden, and Offenbach.

arranged by US officers from the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (MFA&A), a group set up in 1943 by the US War Department to protect cultural property in war zones.⁵² It is unclear whether the truck left at Unterstein or at Göring's residence with Unterstein as a stopover, but on the 1st of August 1945, the Munich Central Collecting Point registered and photographed *Virgin and Child* (Figures 8).⁵³ Upon arrival, the panel was given the inventory number 6124, which is written several times on the back of the panel. After arriving in Munich, the panel was returned to the Netherlands and eventually made its way to the Mauritshuis.

The Return to the Netherlands

The main organization in the Netherlands for the recovery of art was the Netherlands Art Property Foundation (Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, SNK). Established by the Dutch government in late 1945, the SNK saw the tracing and retrieval of art treasures, libraries, and archives from Germany that had disappeared from the Netherlands since the 10th of May 1940 as its main task.⁵⁴ Using SNK documents and the book *Betwist Bezit, De Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit en de teruggave van roofkunst na 1945* (2002) by Eelke Muller and Helen Schretlen, the return of *Virgin and Child* to the Netherlands has been reconstructed.⁵⁵ The SNK sent Dutch investigating officers to Germany in search of art that had been in the Netherlands before the 10th of May 1940. In the Munich CCP, the officers found *Virgin and Child*. This happened possibly on the 21st of October 1946, because that is when a so-called 'internal declaration form' was created for the panel (Figure 9). These declaration forms were created by the SNK and provided with information taken from declaration forms submitted to the foundation and from documentation from the SNK itself.⁵⁶

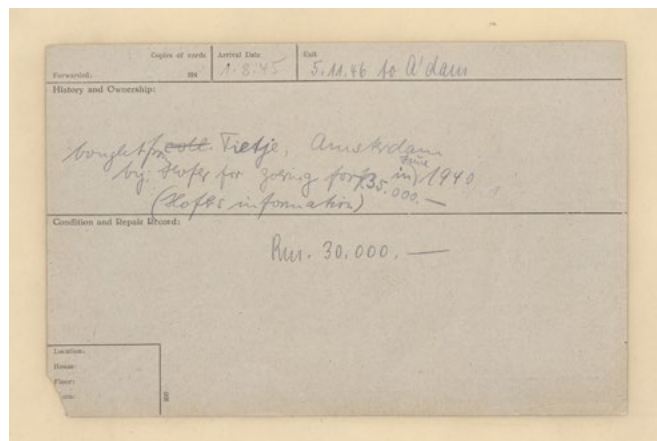


Figure 8: Registration document of *Virgin and Child* at the Munich Central Collecting Point. Scan: Database of the Central Collecting Point Munich, Inv.-Nr. B323/658.

On the 5th of November 1946, *Virgin and Child* left the Central Collecting Point.⁵⁷ From Munich, the panel, like the other artworks found there, was brought to the Netherlands by military convoy.⁵⁸ Cranach's painting was given the run number 3920 and was part of the eighteenth transport from Munich. This transport was arranged by the Headquarters European Theater of Operations U.S. Army (HQ ETOUSA), the army department that was responsible for the operational planning of the Allied invasion of Western Europe during the war.⁵⁹

When artworks arrived in the Netherlands, the SNK took charge of them, estimated their value, and stored them in Zandvoort or Heemskerk. Here, the artworks were stored in the state repositories that had protected the public art property during the war. For each returned artwork, the internal declaration form was stamped with "Back in the Netherlands", the SNK created an inventory card, known as a 'white card', and noted the art object in an inventory book.⁶⁰ According to this inventory book, *Virgin and Child* arrived in Zandvoort on the 8th of November 1946. The

52 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 44; Art. "Bundesarchiv Koblenz: Monuments, Fine Art and Archives Restitution Branch (MFA&A) Documents", in: Lootedart.com, <https://www.lootedart.com/MHF7UL13897>, <25.01.2022>.

53 Art. "Datenbank zum 'Central Collecting Point München'", in: Deutsches Historisches Museum, https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering/dhm_goering.php?seite=5&fld_0=RMG00482, <25.09.2023>.

54 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 33.

55 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35).

56 Rudi Ekkart / Eelke Muller: *Roof en restitutie: de uittocht en gedeeltelijke terugkeer van Nederlands kunstbezit tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Deventer 2017, 43.

57 Art. "Datenbank zum 'Central Collecting Point München'", in: Deutsches Historisches Museum, https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering/dhm_goering.php?seite=5&fld_0=RMG00482, <25.09.2023>.

58 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 15; National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

59 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553; Records of Headquarters, European Theater of Operations, United States Army (World War II), in: National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/498.html>, <20.01.2022>.

60 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 44, 51; Ekkart / Muller 2017 (see FN 56), 44.

Intern aangifteformulier

Wordt opgeborgen in de katotheek-map EIGENAARS op naam van den betreffenden persoon.

Volgnr: **15487.**
 Dat: **21 October 1946.**

1. Voorwerp: Schildery.
2. Kunstenaar, maker, auteur: Cranach.
3. Voorstelling of titel en beschrijving: Madonna met kind en engelen.

VOORWERPEN
 Groep:
 Naam:

PERSONEN-EIGENAARS
 Naam oorsp. eigenaar (bewaarder): **Tietje H.**

PERSONEN-KOOPERS
 Naam koper (laatste bezitter): **Göpel.**

KANTOOR DEN HAAG
 Toezonden met adviesbrief d.d.:
 Bijlagen: **Bygaand originele foto.**

4. Materiaal: Paneel.
5. Afmetingen: 61 x 40 cm.
6. Handteekening, uitgever, merk:
7. Datering:
8. Herkomst: Coll. Fürst Lichnowsky Kuchelna.
9. Litteratuur: Fräedländer & Rosenverg Nr. III.
10. Tentoonstelling: Kaiser Friedrich Museum Verein, Berlyn 1906, Nr. 13
11. Gefotografeerd: ~~ja~~ ja.
12. Naam fotograaf:
13. Bijzonderheden:
Prof. museum Amsterdam
1331
14. Was oorspronkelijk in bezit, ~~van~~ van: (volledige naam en adres) H. Tietje, Amsterdam.
15. Is door ~~van~~ van: ~~van~~ vrijwillige verkoop in bezit gekomen van: (volledige naam en adres) Göpel w.s. via Miedl.
16. Toelichting:
17. Deze aangifte geschiedt ingevolge Artikel 1, ~~1945~~ lid 2 der Verordening, door: (volledige naam en adres) Stichting Nederlandsch Kunstbezit,

23.10.1946.

Figure 9: The internal declaration form of *Virgin and Child*. Source: National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, access number 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

painting was valued at 12.000 guilders and was given the declaration number 15487 and the inventory number 1331 (Figure 10).⁶¹

With artworks returning to the Netherlands, restoring them to their original owners was the next step for the SNK. Owners who had lost their art during the war could make claims at the SNK via declaration forms. At two different times, Wolf's heirs applied for the restitution of *Virgin and Child*. The first claim was handed in in October 1945. As indicated in the introduction, Cranach depicted the theme of Mary with the Infant Jesus several times. Before the SNK could find out whether Wolf's heirs put their claim on this particular depiction of Mary with her son, a letter arrived. In this letter, dated the 22nd of January 1953, the heirs wrote: "that we waive all rights, which we could possibly claim in relation to our

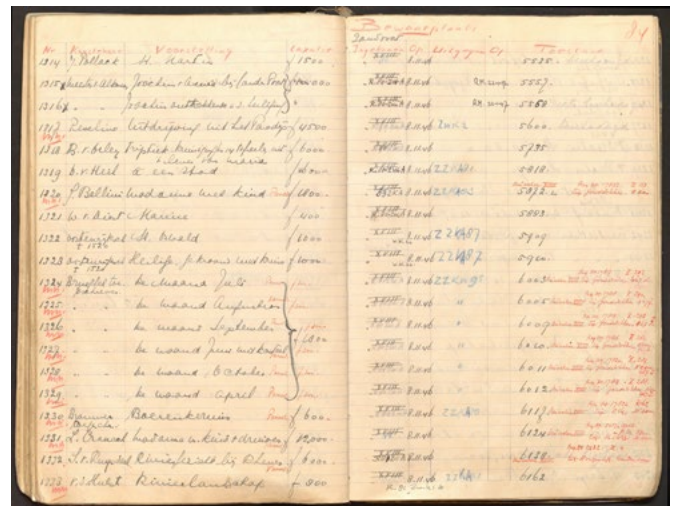


Figure 10: The SNK's inventory book with at number 1331 *Virgin and Child*. Source: National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, access number 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 790.

above-mentioned painting, formerly owned by the late Mr. D. Wolf [...]"⁶² Despite this letter, which suggests that the heirs viewed the Cranach painting as the property of Wolf, the Restitutions Committee determined that Wolf was a pledgee of *Virgin and Child* but not the owner.⁶³

On the 14th of November 2007, Wolf's daughters Henriette (1921-?) and Paula (1923-?) filed a new application for restitution.⁶⁴ The daughters believe that this artwork was their father's property and that the painting was sold without his consent or knowledge, for he was abroad when the panel was acquired by Miedl. As a result, the sale would not have been voluntary and therefore unjust.⁶⁵ However, what the daughters could not provide were documents proving that their father was the owner of the Cranach panel, and not just a pledgee. After investigation, the Restitutions Committee determined that it would be possible that Tietje had sold *Virgin and Child* to Miedl without Wolf's consent or knowledge in June 1940. However, since Wolf was only a pledgee and not the owner, the Restitutions Committee advised the Minister of Education, Culture and Science (Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, OC&W) to reject the application for restitution.⁶⁶

61 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

62 Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

63 Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

64 Japikse 1938 (see FN 23), 1651.

65 Japikse 1938 (see FN 23), 1651; Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

66 Davids / Campfens (see FN 27).

DESCRIPTION	PHOTO No.	OBJECT:	REG. No.:
Madonna with very long fair and waving hair; the child on her lap, grasping at a bunch of grapes. 2 Dutch holding up a cloth behind her. Landscape with mountain and buildings in the background.		Picture	19457-75072
ARTIST: <i>Luc Cranach</i>			
TITLE OR KIND OF OBJ.: Madonna with child and grapes.			
SIGN: DATE:			
MATERIAL: <i>panel, wood, light</i> SIZE: <i>62 x 48</i>			
ORIGIN: <i>Coll. Herz. Vorst Liebowitzky, Kuchelms.</i>			
LIT.: <i>Herzog Adolf von S. 113, (Handb. Kunstgesch.) Friedländer & Rosenberg nr. 111. Ost. u. die Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin 1906, nr. 19.</i>			
PHOTO DOC. CENTRE HOLLAND:			
OWNER: <i>H. Tietje, Amsterdam.</i>			
PRESENT FACTS: <i>Sold to Goppel through Hofer, June 1940.</i>			
APPROXIMATE DATE: <i>P. 1500.</i>			
PRESENT LOCATION: <i>Stadsh. nr. 612</i>			
Dutch run no.: <i>(Transport XVIII, 05/22) 390</i>			
DESCRIPTION OF PICTUREFRAME, LABELS OR STAMPS ON THE BACK: <i>8 31, 8124, 20176, F117, Luc. Friedl., 6997.</i>			

Inv. 151

Hellige Maagd met Kind, gezeten tegen een rood gordijn, dat door 2 engelen wordt opgehouden. Het kind houdt een druiventros vast. Berglandschap op den achtergrond.
F. 61 x 40

Lit. Friedländer, Rosenberg nr 111.
Herz. Vorst Liebowitzky, Kuchelms; Vers. Kunst. Cassirer, Berlin; Tietje, Amsterdam.

Figures 11 and 12: The 'white card' of *Virgin and Child*. Source: National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, access number 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

Instead of being returned to an owner, *Virgin and Child* took a different path and eventually ended up in the Mauritshuis. Artworks that were not eligible for restitution remained in the custody of the state which then decided what to do with them. Ineligible artworks included those that had been sold voluntarily during the war.⁶⁷ Not only had Tietje sold *Virgin and Child* to Miedl, he was also friends with the art dealer and possibly even with Göring.⁶⁸ Because of these connections, I assume that Cranach's panel was considered as ineligible for restitution. Some of the objects covered by this arrangement were sold in public auctions in the 1950ies. The other artworks, known today as the NK-collection (Nederlands Kunstbezit-collectie), were intended to be loaned to, among others, Dutch museums.⁶⁹ To sort this through, in April 1947, the museum directors

67 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 16.
68 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 227.
69 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 16.

of the major Dutch museums were given the opportunity to view hundreds of recovered paintings at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and draw up 'wish lists'.⁷⁰ Possibly, this viewing also included *Virgin and Child*, as the 'white card' reads "received back from Rijksmuseum" (Figures 11 and 12).⁷¹

In 1953, the Mauritshuis received Cranach's painting on loan. Loans from the collection of recovered artworks were regulated from 1949 by the new Office for Dispersed State-Owned Works of Art (Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, DRVK).⁷² This service fell under the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, which in turn formed a committee to allocate these artworks to museums.⁷³ In late 1952, this committee came up with an allocation plan and the DRVK director was authorized to loan objects accordingly.⁷⁴ Through this procedure, the Mauritshuis accepted *Virgin and Child* as a loan in 1953 and held the painting under this arrangement until 1955.⁷⁵ During my research, the draft version of the loan contract was found (Figures 13 and 14).⁷⁶

70 Present here were works of art where it had not yet been found out whether there were rightful owners or whether the artworks had claims on them. Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 107.
71 There is another possibility as to why this remark is written on the 'white card'. Perhaps Cranach's panel was present at a so-called claims exhibition. In addition to the SNK receiving restitution claims, the SNK itself went out to investigate and track down rightful claimants. To speed up the restitution process, the SNK organized exhibitions with the recovered artworks. Possible rightful claimants could visit the exhibition to recognize their artworks themselves. These exhibitions were held three times, with one from the 20th of April to the 9th June 1950 at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam for paintings, drawings, and tapestries. It is unclear whether *Virgin and Child* was present at this exhibition as I could not find an exhibition catalogue during my research. The SNK had previously organized a similar exhibition in 1946 in collaboration with the RKD, so-called 'Herwonnen Kunstbezit' (regained art). This exhibition featured the finest returned works of art and was on display at three different locations in the Netherlands. *Virgin and Child* was not part of this exhibition. Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 58, 78-79; Exh. cat. 's Gravenhage (Mauritshuis, March to May 1964): Herwonnen kunstbezit: tentoonstelling van uit Duitsland teruggekeerde Nederlandsche kunstschatten: Mauritshuis, 's Gravenhage, maart-mei 1946, edited by Mauritshuis, 's-Gravenhage 1946, https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=urn:gvn:EVDO02:NIOD05_7872, <31.01.2022>; Exh. cat. Eindhoven (Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, October 1st to 30th 1946): Herwonnen kunstbezit: keuze-tentoonstelling van uit Duitsland teruggekeerde Nederlandse kunstschatten, edited by Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=urn:gvn:EVDO02:NIOD05_8713&role=pdf, <31.01.2022>.
72 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 82.
73 Ekkart / Muller 2017 (see FN 56), 157.
74 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 231.
75 Mauritshuis: Lucas Cranach de Oude, Maria met kind, <https://www.mauritshuis.nl/ontdek-collectie/kunstwerken/917-maria-met-kind/#origin-artwork>, <18.11.2021>.
76 National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, number access 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

concept
BRUIKLEENOVEREENKOMST.

De ondergetekendens

1. Mr. Hendrik Cornelis Oud, Plaatsvervangend Hoofd Directie Bevindering van het Ministerie van Financiën, ten deze de Minister van Financiën vertegenwoordigende, hierna te noemen bruikleengever,
2. De Heer D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Rijksinspecteur voor Roerende Monumenten, ten deze de Minister van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen vertegenwoordigende, hierna te noemen bruikleennemer,

zijn het volgende overeengekomen;

De bruikleengever staat in bruikleen af en de bruikleennemer aanvaardt in bruikleen:

de navolgende kunstvoorwerpen:

Inv. No.	Doss. No.	Schilder:	Omschrijving:	Taxatie:
332	7 a	P. G. van Aelst	Joseph en de vrouw van Potifar	f. 600,--
966	7 b	F. R. Unterberger	Golf van Napels	" 150,--
1331	7 c	L. Cranach	Madonna met kind	" 25.000,--
1844	7 d	A. Govaerts	Landschap	" 150,--
2289	7 e	S. van Ruysdael	Winterlandschap	" 4.000,--
59	7 f	L. Doomer	Berglandschap	" 300,--
157	7 f	Hroenige	Sneeuwlandschap met brug	" 50,--
176/Oer 91	7 f	Kofman	Vanitas (tegel)	" 10,--
177/Oer 91	7 f	Kofman	Naaiende vrouwen (tegel)	" 10,--
237	7 f	Chin.	Meisjesfig. op glas	" 40,--
180	7 f		Sparta 320 X 405 cm.	" 2.000,--
432	16		Tapijt 346 X 240 cm.	" 100,--
400	7 f		Tapijt 200 X 142 cm.	" 700,--
433	16		Afghan 350 X 246 cm.	" 1.000,--
434	16		China 257 X 158 cm.	" 300,--
674/5	16		Drie Chin. Draken	" 300,--
For 204/For 77	7 g		2 blauwe borden	" 10,--
2274	16	Paradijvogel	Stilleven	" 400,--
2275	16	Frans, 19e E.	Madame de Stael	" 1.750,--
330	6	Hollans 17e E.	Stilleven	" 500,--
471	6	J. V. Goyen	Storm op Haarlemmermeer	" 2.000,--
1175	11	P. P. Rubens	Procrustes	" 5.000,--
1402 A	12	School Metsu	Koekbakker	" 375,--
1403 A	12	J. Jordaens	De dokter	" 1.400,--
2321	12	Manier van Moss	Vrouw aan spinnenwiel	" 400,--
2333	12	D. Peeters Jr.	Vrouw met anjer	" 400,--
2351	12	Terborg	Man	" 800,--
2346	12	School Ostade	Vrolijk gezelschap	" 250,--
2805	19	A. Verhooen	Koelen	" 850,--
2808	19	A. Verhooen	Koelen	" 850,--
175	22		Joroghan 278 X 360 cm.	" 1.200,--
3513	26	Florentijnse Sch.	Madonna met kind	" 150,--
3514	26	Onbekend	Landschap nagev. op zee	" 200,--
840		J. C. Vermeyen	Manportret	" 700,--

884		Manier v. Tischbein	Portret v. geleerde	F	500,--
957		C. Ouyt	Geleerde met globe	"	700,--
2612		A. v. d. Velde	Koelen in weide	"	400,--
2932		J. C. Ouyt	Damesportret	"	800,--
2807	19	W. Verschaer	Paard	"	500,--
2809	19	Rijsbrack Begijn	Landschap n. vesting	"	800,--
418	19	A. Schelfhout	Bij de Bron	"	60,--
647		Rubens	Portret van een jonge vrouw	"
Ek 62			Marmeren-portret	"

en zulks onder de navolgende voorwaarden:

1. de bruikleennemer is volledig aansprakelijk voor verlies of beschadiging der in bruikleen gegeven kunstvoorwerpen en verplicht zich in geval van verlies of beschadiging, hiervan onmiddellijk kennis te geven aan de bruikleengever;
2. de kosten van transport, verpakking en onderhoud, evenals die van herstel van schade, opgekomen in verband met de bruikleen, komen voor rekening van de bruikleennemer;
3. de bruikleennemer is niet gerechtigd de in bruikleen ontvangen kunstvoorwerpen zonder toestemming van de bruikleengever in het buitenland te doen tentoonstellen, met dien verstande dat de nummers 1402 A, 1403 A, 2321, 2333, 2346 en 2351 niet in het binnenland mogen worden tentoongesteld.

s-Gravenhage,

Figures 13 and 14: Draft version of the loan contract the DRVK negotiated with the Mauritshuis. Source: National Archives, The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, access number 2.08.42, Inv.-Nr. 553.

From the start it was the intention to transfer the artworks on loan to the borrower. These transfers were arranged by the Bureau for Recovery and Repossession Goods (Bureau Herstelbetalings- en Recuperatiegoederen, Hergo), which was sorted under the Ministry of Finance. In 1959 and 1960, the state museums permanently took over most of the artworks in full management, and in 1960, *Virgin and Child* was transferred to the Mauritshuis.⁷⁷ After the transfer, the panel left the Netherlands for one last time for the exhibition *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik* at the Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland, which took place from the 15th of June to the 8th of September 1974.⁷⁸ Since its return, the painting *Virgin and Child* with its turbulent history has been on display at the Mauritshuis.⁷⁹

77 Muller / Schretlen 2002 (see FN 35), 63, 235.

78 Art. "Lucas Cranach (I)", in: RKD, <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/236645>, <07.12.2021>.

79 Mauritshuis: Lucas Cranach de Oude, Maria met kind, <https://www.mauritshuis.nl/ontdek-collectie/kunstwerken/917-maria-met-kind/#origin-artwork>, <18.11.2021>.

Conclusion

Since Cranach completed his painting *Virgin and Child* between c. 1515 and 1520, the panel belonged to several art collections. On the basis of this research into the provenance of Cranach's painting from the early 20th century to the present, several discoveries were made. For instance, it was known that Göring acquired *Virgin and Child*, but not how he got it and when. Also, it was hitherto unknown where the painting had been during the period from June 1940 to 1946, and how *Virgin and Child* was returned to the Netherlands. Although this research provides various new insights into the (provenance) history of the Cranach panel, there is still much to investigate. For example, for many, but not yet all of the inscriptions and labels on the back of the painting it could be clarified what they refer to. In conclusion, the provenance history of *Virgin and Child* can be summarized schematically as follows:

Before 1906 until June 30, 1926	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is owned by Karl Max von Lichnowsky, Kuchelna, Moravian-Silesia;
January 27 until March 4, 1906	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is part of the exhibition <i>Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-Vereins</i> at the Redernsche Palais, Berlin;
June 30, 1926	Von Lichnowsky sells <i>Virgin and Child</i> to Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer and Galerie Matthiesen, both Berlin, for 16.000 Reichsmarks;
July 22, 1926	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is sold by Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer and Galerie Matthiesen to Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer for plausible 20.500 guilders;
Before 1932 until 1940	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is owned by Hans Wilhelm Christiaan Tietje, Amsterdam. Tietje presumably buys the panel from Amsterdam'sche Kunsthandel Paul Cassirer for 50.000 guilders. During this time, Tietje pledged <i>Virgin and Child</i> to Daniël Wolf, Wassenaar;
May or June 1940	Walter Andreas Hofer, in the company of Alois Miedl, visits Wolf's home and finds <i>Virgin and Child</i> there. Hofer orders Miedl to buy the painting;
June 1940	Tietje sells <i>Virgin and Child</i> to Miedl for 35.000 guilders;
June 1940	Miedl takes <i>Virgin and Child</i> to his art dealer's shop Goudstikker-Miedl in Amsterdam, where Hermann Göring agrees to purchase the painting. Hofer pays 35.000 guilders to Miedl for <i>Virgin and Child</i> and arranges the transport of the painting to Carinhall, near Berlin;
June 10, 1940	<i>Virgin and Child</i> arrives at Carinhall;
Between June 10, 1940 and early February 1945, possibly around 1942	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is moved to the shelter Kurfürst, near Potsdam;
Between early February and April 16, 1945	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is transported by Göring's special train from Kurfürst towards Berchtesgaden, Germany, possibly via Burg Veldenstein;
April 16, 1945	<i>Virgin and Child</i> arrives at Berchtesgaden;
Between May 4, and July 26, 1945	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is found in Berchtesgaden. The painting is taken to Unterstein for temporary storage where it is part of the exhibition <i>Hermann Goering's Art Collection, courtesy of the 101st Airborne Division</i> ;

July 26, 1945	<i>Virgin and Child</i> departs on truck number 35 from Berchtesgaden or Unterstein to the Munich Central Collecting Point;
August 1, 1945	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is registered at the Munich Central Collecting Point;
October 1946	Wolf's heirs apply for restitution;
October 21, 1946	the SNK creates an internal declaration form for <i>Virgin and Child</i> . This is possibly the date when the Dutch investigating officers find <i>Virgin and Child</i> at the Munich Central Collecting Point;
November 5, 1946	<i>Virgin and Child</i> departs from the Munich Central Collecting Point towards the Netherlands;
November 8, 1946	<i>Virgin and Child</i> arrives in Zandvoort, where it comes under the management of the SNK and is stored in a state repository;
1953	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is on loan from the DRVK to the Mauritshuis, The Hague;
January 22, 1953	Wolf's heirs waive all rights to <i>Virgin and Child</i> by letter;
1953 until 1955	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is on loan to the Mauritshuis;
1960	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is transferred to the Mauritshuis;
June 15 until September 8, 1974	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is part of the exhibition <i>Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik</i> at Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland;
November 14, 2007	Wolf's heirs apply a second time for restitution;
2009	the Restitutions Committee advises the Minister for Education, Culture and Science to reject the application for restitution;
1960 until present	<i>Virgin and Child</i> is part of the Mauritshuis' collection.

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Reference

Emma van Benthem: From a Prince, to Hermann Göring, to the Mauritshuis. The Provenance History of *Virgin and Child* by Lucas Cranach the Elder, in: *transfer – Zeitschrift für Provenienzforschung und Sammlungsgeschichte / Journal for Provenance Research and the History of Collection* 2 (2023), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48640/tf.2023.1.101812>, 203-217.