

Nazi-Looted Art from East and West in East Prussia: Initial Findings on the Erich Koch Collection

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Abstract: The article contrasts long-suppressed details of German art seizures during the Second World War from Ukrainian state museums and Western Jewish dealers, ordered to Königsberg by Erich Koch, Gauleiter of East Prussia and Reich Commissar of Ukraine. While most of the art from Kyiv was destroyed by retreating Germans when the Red Army arrived (February 1945), here we investigate “survivors.” Initial provenance findings about the collection Koch evacuated to Weimar in February 1945 reveal some paintings from Kyiv. More, however, were seized from Dutch and French Holocaust victims by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring and his cohorts, including Jewish dealers Jacques Goudstikker (Amsterdam) and Georges Wildenstein (Paris). Many paintings deposited in Weimar disappeared west; others seized by Soviet authorities were transported to the Hermitage. These initial findings draw attention to hitherto overlooked contrasting examples of patterns of Nazi art looting and destruction in the East and West, and the pan-European dispersal of important works of art.

Nazi art looting in Western and Central Europe focused principally on private holdings owned by Jews, as declared “Enemies of the Reich.” These involved seizures from families and individuals who fled or were deported, “forced sales” from those attempting

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to flee the Nazi regime, as well as Jewish dealerships forced to “Aryanize.” They ranged from the world-class collections of the Rothschilds—from renowned family estates and bank vaults—to paintings hanging “over the mantelpiece” in more modest, abandoned Jewish homes emptied by the Möbel-Aktion. By contrast, in the Soviet Union, especially within pre-1939 borders, where private collections had all been nationalized and some sold by the state abroad, significant Nazi art looting victimized state collections of the declared “Bolshevik” enemy. Some initial trophy seizures were carried out by the Königsberg Battalions from the German Foreign Office and the German Army Art Protection (Kunstschutz) officers, such as the Amber Chamber and other treasures from the Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad, most destined for Königsberg. The most serious art looting from occupied Soviet territories, however, occurred during German retreat after defeat in Stalingrad in February 1943.

Königsberg (now Rus. Kaliningrad) was a special case on the Eastern Front, because the surrounding Baltic countries, with bordering Lithuania and eastern Poland, were annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939, while East Prussia remained part of the German Reich. Königsberg and most of East Prussia was annexed to the Soviet Union following the Potsdam Conference in August 1945 as Kaliningrad Oblast of the RSFSR, while the southern area became part of Poland. During the N-S regime, East Prussia was ruled by Erich Koch (1896–1986), whom Adolf Hitler had appointed NSDAP Gauleiter of East Prussia in 1928 (Figure 1). After the N-S Party came to power, recognizing Koch’s administrative and economic talents, Hitler appointed him Oberpräsident of East Prussia in 1934. Koch had arrived in East Prussia with hardly a pfennig in his pocket. He found more than ample personal “living space” and developed a fortune (no less that 400 million Reichsmarks) to match the economic development of the area he helped engineer before the German invasion of Poland in 1939.¹ Subsequently, Koch was also charged with German administration of the Polish region centered in Bialystok.

Following invasion of the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa, Hitler appointed Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, Reichsminister of the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO) in July 1941. Following occupation of Ukrainian lands, Rosenberg, in turn, against his will but urged by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, appointed Koch Reich Commissar of Ukraine. Running disputes between Koch and Rosenberg continued throughout the war, with Rosenberg even complaining to the Führer on occasion about Koch’s policies and excessive brutality.² While the Reich Commissariat was headquartered in Rivne (Rus. Rovno), Koch spent most of his time in Königsberg, where he continued to hold forth as Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia until his escape to Denmark in April 1945. Although Lutheran by background, as an ardent convert and defender of the Nazi cause, Koch himself had no more respect for Slavs than he did for Jews, considering all of them *üntermenschen* (literally sub-human). He showed particular contempt for Ukrainians, whose only purpose in life, he stated, was to serve the German Reich.³ Meanwhile, Koch, or Grand Duke Erich as he was often dubbed, pursued his brutal command of Nazi-occupied areas from the Baltic to the Black Sea, where the Holocaust and art looting ran rampant.⁴



FIGURE 1. Erich Koch, Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia, Reich Commissar of Ukraine. A) in East Prussia, 1944; B) on his estate of Gross Friedrichsburg, near Königsberg, 1945.

Courtesy of Avenir Ovsianov, from his book, U nikh est' rodina (2010).

Already in the fall of 1941, Koch had ordered the famous amber panels in the Catherine Palace in Tsarskoe Selo (renamed Pushkin during the Soviet period) dismantled and shipped to Königsberg, where they had originally been crafted. The Amber Room was installed in the impressive Teutonic Castle under the direction of German art historian Dr. Alfred Rohde (1892–1945), a world-renowned specialist in amber.⁵ Koch had hopes, with Rhode’s help, of making Königsberg—with its magnificent castle—a major art center. Rohde was in charge of all of the artistic treasures arriving from occupied Soviet territories as well as the castle art gallery. The leading Kaliningrad regional studies specialist, Avenir Ovsianov, tends to believe that the legendary amber panels were undoubtedly destroyed in the castle bomb shelter—in part by the British bombing raids in August and September 1944, and definitively by the Soviet assault on Königsberg in 1945. Rhode had no desire to evacuate the amber, even at the end of the war. He had refused to leave the city himself when his family fled early in 1945, and he died there in December 1945.⁶ Koch also tried unsuccessfully to have some of the Czartoryski treasures from Kraków and Łancut shipped to Königsberg, but he ran into resistance from Reichsmarschall Herman Göring and Adolf Hitler’s chief art looter, Kajetan Mühlmann, both of whom nonetheless furnished Koch with paintings in Königsberg, some of which he probably co-opted for his own collection.⁷

Koch had an impressive new palace constructed and heavily armed on the estate of Gross-Friedrichsburg, just outside Königsberg, with English gardens surrounding a private lake and all the trappings of the high Nazi elite. He also appropriated a neighboring estate for hunting; his dacha on the Baltic coast had a private landing strip and additional bunkers. Before he fled in 1945, he ordered all the buildings and contents destroyed. Following Soviet annexation, his main estate became a Soviet state farm—Sovkhoz “Maiskii,” now virtually abandoned with a few scattered, rundown houses and an agricultural cooperative. Thanks to minute details in the long-secret records of the top-level Moscow Commission with the Kaliningrad Geological-Archeological Expedition that unsuccessfully combed the area for the Amber Chamber (1958–1983), we even have floor plans of Koch’s palace and underground bunkers.⁸ The post-Soviet writings of Ovsianov, who participated in that Commission and other expeditions, provide many details of Koch’s extensive real estate, all destroyed by the “scorched earth” the Germans left behind.⁹ Postwar investigators found an 80 kg bomb in one of the bunkers but no sign of the cultural treasures that many speculated were stored there at the end of the war.¹⁰ Today, not even the mangled ruins of Koch’s luxurious underground bunkers were publicly accessible when Ovsianov escorted me to the locale, while Koch’s dacha on the coast is still in a forbidden military defense zone.

Like many of the Nazi elite, Koch had his own personal collection of art and amber, which has gone unaccounted for until recently. Ovsianov, now retired, has found only a few hints. He published a Russian version of a German list of the paintings Koch evacuated to Germany in 1945, but he had no idea of their

provenance.¹¹ While Kaliningrad has tried to forget the names of Koch and Königsberg, the still-unfinished House of Soviets now symbolically dominates the central open square with a host of temporary market booths. An elderly woman in a shabby kiosk collects admission fees for viewing the covered excavation area of the ruined Teutonic Castle, destroyed more definitively by Soviet dynamite under 1958 orders from Leonid Brezhnev. Today, a progressive local architectural firm has plans to rebuild the castle to rival the impressive restored Malbork (*German* Marienburg) Castle, an even larger stronghold of the Teutonic Order, now a bustling tourist mecca, a few hours' drive to the southwest across the Polish frontier (between Elblag and Gdańsk).

Here we focus on the art collection that Koch assembled in Königsberg during the war, part of which he succeeded in evacuating to Weimar. As a case study, this attempt to identify provenance necessarily remains a work in progress, given the hitherto lack of access to the paintings themselves. To set the historical context, we should recall the estimated 900 paintings and 450 icons from three Kyiv museums Koch ordered to Königsberg at the end of 1943, when the Germans were hastily retreating from Kyiv. The Germans intentionally destroyed most of those art treasures when the Red Army arrived in East Prussia in February 1945.¹² Koch had already appropriated some choice paintings arriving from Kyiv for his personal collection, which he evacuated to Weimar that same month. Others had been seized by Göring in Western Europe, from Jewish dealers such as Jacques Goudstikker (Amsterdam) and Georges Wildenstein (Paris). None of the paintings Koch sent to Weimar have been seen in public since: one surfaced briefly at Western auctions; two are reportedly in private collections (London and the United States); and those remaining in Weimar were transported to the Hermitage in 1948/49. Meanwhile, one early Dutch painting that Koch “purchased” from Göring in 1940 is hanging today in the National Museum in Gdańsk. As far as is known at this stage of research, that is the only looted painting Koch acquired during the war now on public view.

ROSENBERG ON TRIAL, KOCH IN HIDING

Erich Koch was still in hiding in February 1946 when Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg stood trial at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg for war crimes under his Ministry (RMbO) and his special Einsatzstab (ERR) for cultural plunder. Yet Erich Koch was in fact the one implicated in an RMbO report to Rosenberg, dated 14 September 1944, cited against Rosenberg by the Soviet prosecutor in the IMT session of 21 February 1946:

The Reich Commissioner for Ukraine has stored the paintings and art objects which were brought back from [Kiev and Kharkov] in East Prussia in the following safe places:

1. The estate of Richau near Wehlau,
2. Wildenhoff Manor (owner Count Schwerin).

Exact list of the contents of 65 wooden crates is attached. As to the other twenty crates, fifty-seven portfolios and one roll of engravings, their inventory has not been taken to date.... Among the paintings there are a great number of very early icons, works by famous masters of German, Italian and Dutch schools of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as works of the best Russian masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [They comprise] the most valuable works of the known Ukrainian art possession ...the only collections of this sort with international repute now within German territory.¹³

The Soviet prosecutor failed to mention that most of the art listed from Kyiv had been intentionally destroyed a year earlier by retreating Germans when the Red Army arrived in February 1945. He submitted the document quoted as an official IMT exhibit (USSR-372/ 055-PS), which accordingly was published with the trial records, but the attached inventories of the art destroyed were never made public. The “exact list of the contents of 65 wooden crates” supposedly “attached” has still not been located.¹⁴ In fact, archival copies of the IMT exhibit (USSR-372/ 055-PS) in Moscow and other Allied archives contain German inventories for only 37 crates from the Kyiv Museum of Russian Art shipped to Königsberg.¹⁵

The four missing pages, we now know from other sources, should have contained existing German inventories for 7 crates with 47 Western European paintings and 4 crates with sculptures from what is today the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Art shipped at the same time.¹⁶ Known in the Soviet period as the Museum of Western and Oriental Art, its present name honors the most important prerevolutionary art collectors in Ukrainian lands. During occupation, initially under control of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), the Germans combined the two neighboring Kyiv museums as divisions of the Kyiv Provincial Museum (Landesmuseum Kiew) in 1942, under the Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries and Museums (LV ABM), under the RKU. They transferred to the Eastern (Russian) Division the most important icons from the Kyivo-Pechers'ka Lavra (Kyiv Monastery of the Caves), which were also among the 78 crates (with inventories for only 47) that arrived in Königsberg.

Copies of those 47 crate lists were apparently originally attached to the shipping papers for the 78 crates of art sent from the initial German evacuation center in Kamianets-Podilskyi (southwest Ukraine) to Königsberg at the end of January 1944, signed by LV ABM chief Georg Winter. Winter's original outgoing memorandum, but not the inventories, remains in Kyiv.¹⁷ An original German copy of the inventories remains attached to a July 1944 version of the IMT document prepared by an American unit for a subsequent US war crimes trial.¹⁸ I first found copies of those 47 crate lists in another Moscow archive, among the records of the top-secret Soviet Commission mentioned above. Those copies had been furnished by the Stasi from US Nuremberg microfilms in Potsdam (East German State Archive) with Russian translations.¹⁹

LOOTED ART FROM KYIV DESTROYED

The 78 crates from Kyiv contained most of the remaining paintings from both museums, along with icons from the Lavra, seized as the Germans were retreating from Kyiv in September and October of 1943. Accompanying the shipment to Königsberg was Ukrainian art historian Polina Kul'zhenko, who directed the combined museum during German occupation. She was apparently responsible for the 37 crate lists from the Russian Museum in Kyiv. Winter expected her to prepare inventories for the rest after arrival in Königsberg, but there is no evidence that she did.²⁰

The first shipment to Königsberg arrived on the 19th of December 1943. Quite possibly, some paintings were removed before Kul'zhenko and the second shipment arrived in mid-January 1944.²¹ Kul'zhenko and the 78 crates of art in her care were first housed on the Richau family estate—70 kilometers east of Königsberg (now Rus. Tel'manova). Today, there are open fields where the manor house once stood; a hamlet with three small family homes and sheds remains down the road. In mid-November 1944, Rohde moved Kul'zhenko and the 78 crates of art to the impressive baroque palace on the Von Schwerin estate of Wildenhoff (now Polish Dzikowo Hławeckie), 70 kilometers south of Königsberg (Figure 2a).²² Rohde had good relations with the family, and probably had no better alternative. During the summer of 1944, he had refused the Berlin-recommended evacuation of the art from Ukraine to central Germany.²³ In December 1944, he also evacuated 21 second-priority paintings from Königsberg Castle to Wildenhoff, which has led to unsubstantiated speculation that the crates with panels from the Amber Chamber had also been evacuated there.²⁴

Wildenhoff was clearly in the path of the Red Army en route to Königsberg from the South. Kul'zhenko declined Countess von Schwerin's offer to accompany her when she fled to her family estate in Brandenburg on the 22nd of January 1945 (her husband had just been killed at the front). When the Germans turned the mansion into a military hospital, Kul'zhenko supervised Polish prisoner-of-war laborers on the estate move the crates of plundered art to the cellars.²⁵

The Red Army started bombardment of Wildenhoff in mid-February. On the fateful night of 17–18 February when Soviet soldiers arrived, the Germans fled. But not without an SS commando setting the mansion ablaze, reportedly remarking that they could not “leave all this for Ivan.” Kul'zhenko was arrested and taken to a neighboring Red Army post by Soviet SMERSH officers.²⁶ Under interrogation in Kyiv later in 1946, she explained (as quoted from her KGB file): “On the 18th of February, together with a colonel and major of the Red Army, we returned to Wildenhoff, but it was impossible to save the museum exhibits.... On the 19th I was taken to Bartenstein [now Polish Bartoszyce] to a filtration-repatriation center and there was interrogated extensively.”²⁷ Sentenced in Kyiv to ten years in prison as a collaborator, she served nine and was subsequently exiled to Kostroma, where she died in 1983. Following her rehabilitation after Ukrainian



FIGURE 2A. The Baroque palace on the Von Schwerin estate of Wildenhoff (now Polish Dzikowo Haweckie), 60 km south of Königsberg, intentionally destroyed with crates of art and icons from Ukraine by retreating Germans in February 1945.

Image from a nineteenth-century engraving by Alexander Duncker.

independence, her 1946 memoir about her trip to East Prussia was published in Ukrainian in 1998.²⁸

While the Assumption Cathedral in the Lavra was undoubtedly the most symbolic monument destroyed in Kyiv during German occupation, the paintings from the Kyiv museums and icons from the Lavra that perished in Wildenhoff were among the most substantial Ukrainian cultural losses in the Second World War. Perhaps most symbolic was the twelfth-century Ihorivs'ka icon *Mother of God*. Symbolically, too, its gilded cover was found after the war in the rubble of the dynamited cathedral, but the more elaborate jeweled cover had been sold abroad in the 1920s, when the icon itself was restored.²⁹ Germany contributed significantly to the restoration of the Assumption Cathedral in the Lavra, although many still claim it was destroyed when the Germans attempted removal of the dynamite laid down by Soviet partisans.

Not only did the Soviet prosecutor in Nuremberg not mention the destruction of the art from Ukraine in Wildenhoff, Soviet authorities never thoroughly investigated the area for surviving fragments, similar to the Commission investigations in Kaliningrad Oblast in search for the Amber Chamber. Lands of

the former estate ended up on the Polish side of the frontier (now Polish Dzikowo Hławeckie). A Polish investigation of the ruins in August 1960 found “a folder of charred drawings and etchings, some Chinese porcelain fragments, remnants of seven other badly destroyed sculptures ... and metal pieces used in icon frames. But no sign of the Amber Room” (Figures 2b and 2c).³⁰ At present, those surviving remnants could not be located in Poland, although an illustrated Polish report survives.³¹ When we visited the site of the former estate in August 2014, my son found



FIGURE 2B. The same lake in the present village of Dzikowo (August 2014),
Photograph by Almon John Grimsted.



FIGURE 2C. Part of the overgrown ruins of the Von Schwerin mansion above the lake in
Figure 2b.

Photograph by Almon John Grimsted.

the overgrown ruins of the foundation with the help of a Polish art student, and we identified the stone entry posts of the former driveway.

Although among the worst, if not the worst war criminal on the Eastern Front, Koch managed to avoid the Nuremberg trials and remained at large until the British finally captured him as Ralf Berger, disguised as an agricultural worker in a village near Hamburg in 1949.³² The British turned him over to Poland for prosecution rather than complying with the Soviet extradition demands.³³ Koch managed to avoid the death sentence handed down by the Warsaw Court and lived until the age of 90 in 1986 in a Polish prison in Barszewo (earlier German Wartenburg), symbolically midway between the ruins in Dzikowo Iławeckie and the ruins of Hitler's Eastern Front headquarters, Wolf's Lair (Ger. Wolfsschanze; Pol. Wilczy Szaniec), dynamited a month before the destruction of Wildenhoff. Despite many interrogations before his death, Koch never revealed any credible secrets about the fate of the Amber Chamber, much less about the art treasures from Kyiv or the collection he had evacuated to Weimar.³⁴

SAVED FROM WILDENHOFF? KYIV ART "SURVIVORS" EAST AND WEST

Suspicious arose during the Soviet period about possibly surviving art "saved" from destruction in East Prussia. The most significant came when two seventeenth-century paintings from the Khanenko Collection surfaced in Perm in the 1960s and 1970s. Ovsianov and others mistakenly assumed they were from Wildenhoff.³⁵ It turns out, however, both had been "borrowed" on behalf of the Kiev General Commissar as listed on a German receipt dated 23 March 1942. No one has paid adequate attention to the surviving German "borrowed" receipts for items from Kyiv museums, most of them hidden away in Moscow archives that were opened for public research only in the late 1980s. There is no evidence that either were in the 78 crates in Wildenhoff, although they had apparently been brought by the Germans to Königsberg. They were acquired there by Soviet soldiers at the end of the war in the active black market and then gifted to a museum in Perm, whence they returned to Kyiv.³⁶

Finally, in 1998, the Kyiv Museum published an English-language catalogue describing 474 Western European paintings lost as a result of the Second World War (some with images), correcting the earlier 1944 ChGK report.³⁷ More recently, a copy was submitted to the Art Loss Register in London and entered in their database. Thanks to the German-Ukrainian Commission on War Losses, that data was also submitted to the Magdeburg database lostart.de.³⁸ Those submissions are already paying off. Thanks to those postings, two paintings from the Khanenko Museum that were long feared lost in the war recently surfaced in the West.

First, a seventeenth-century Dutch painting by Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1586–1667) from the Khanenko Collection, when recently consigned to auction in Western Europe, was identified by the Art Loss Register as corresponding to the

oil-on-panel entitled *Acadian Landscape* listed in the Khanenko catalogue.³⁹ The museum curator in charge of European painting, Olena Zhyvkova, authenticated the painting in Amsterdam as the first to have turned up among the many cultural trophies removed by the retreating Germans. The painting is listed (with registration number) on both the September 1943 German receipt for the first crate shipped to Kamianets-Podilskyi and similarly in the first crate shipped to Königsberg. It is not listed among the paintings Koch evacuated to Weimar in February 1945. Gaps in its post-1944 provenance, or its route to London, where it first surfaced at auction, have yet to be discovered. The Dutch “good-faith” purchaser, when confronted with its Khanenko provenance, offered to sell the painting to the Khanenko Museum for a reasonable sum, and the museum found a private Ukrainian sponsor.⁴⁰

Second, an early eighteenth-century French painting, *Loving Glance* (earlier known as *An Amorous Couple*), attributed to Pierre-Louis Goudreaux (1694–1731), surfaced at auction in New York in January 2013 (Figure 3). Fortunately again, when identified by the Art Loss Register, it was withheld from auction.⁴¹ It does not appear on any of the German wartime inventories or receipts for “borrowed” art, nor was it listed with the paintings Koch evacuated to Weimar, so we cannot be



FIGURE 3. *Loving Glance*, attributed to Jean-Pierre Goudreaux (1694–1731), seized during German occupation from what is today the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Art, Kyiv; now held by Doyle New York pending restitution to Kyiv.

Image courtesy of Doyle New York.

sure it reached Königsberg. Reportedly, it had also first surfaced in London in 1953, but details are not available. Given the convincing provenance documentation submitted by the Khanenko Museum, US and New York laws should enable its eventual return to Ukraine.⁴² Its wartime and postwar migration have yet to be determined.

These two cases raise lingering hope of retrieval abroad of more Ukrainian wartime survivors with “just and fair solutions” for restitution to Kyiv. Clearly, however, those wartime losses from Ukrainian state museums contrast sharply with the private Holocaust-related Jewish losses predominating in recent restitution cases in the West.

KOCH’S “SURVIVORS” FROM KÖNIGSBERG TO WEIMAR

In contrast to the art treasures from Kyiv museums the Germans intentionally destroyed in Wildenhoff in February 1945, ironically, that same month, Gauleiter Koch succeeded in evacuating at least part of his personal art collection from Königsberg to Weimar (soon to be under Soviet occupation in Germany). Transported by Koch’s trusted estate administrator, SS-Standartenführer Albert Popp (1904–1978), the collection was deposited in the Weimar Provincial Museum under the care of the director, Walther Scheidig (1902–1977), a well-known German art historian.⁴³ An inventory of the 67 paintings and estimated 100 engravings, together with an impressive collection of silver received, is preserved in the Weimar State Archive.⁴⁴ As noted earlier, Avenir Ovsianov published a Russian translation in 1998 and briefly described the collection.⁴⁵ He attributed the inventory to Günther Wermusch, who had earlier published a German version in his popular account of the search for the Amber Chamber. Wermusch provided no archival attribution, but we now know that he was one of the head Stasi investigators in what was known as “Operation Pushkin.”⁴⁶ The Stasi had launched that major effort to help—and/or surpass—the secret Soviet Commission find the Amber Chamber, following allegations that Popp’s transport also included crates with the amber panels. While the Stasi did not find the Amber Chamber, they did find considerable information about the Koch Collection and SS officer Popp, along with inventories from the Weimar State Archive.⁴⁷

The 9 February 1945 list of items Popp originally deposited in Weimar has several sections, the first listing six tapestries, four of which were antique—the earliest from Flanders (1580). One is described as seventeenth-century; two are from the eighteenth century, one from Brussels (1730) and another ca.1750. One of the two contemporary works was a large representation of Koch himself.

The second section, “Paintings (Gemälde)” —numbered in the Weimar original—lists surnames of artists, titles, and dimensions for approximately 67 painting. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch painters predominate, as they were undoubtedly the most valuable. Named artists include Pieter Aertsen (1507/08–1575), Marten van Cleve (1520–1570), William Claesz Heda (1594–1680), Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691), Jan Weenix (1642–1719), Ludolf Backhuysen (1630–1708),

and Godfried Schalcken (1643–1706). The names of Rubens and Rembrandt appear, but only with paintings “of their school.” From Italy are seven views of Venice by Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canale, 1697–1768), and three paintings by Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691–1765) depicting ruins of antiquity. German landscape painters Andreas Achenbach (1815–1910) and his brother, Oswald Achenbach (1827–1905), are also represented, and a Romantic landscape by Carl Spitzweg (1808–1885). Several paintings are labeled “French” but none are by known artists; number 6 is a set of mid-eighteenth-century French paintings representing the four seasons. Approximately 100 graphic works included “92 framed facsimiles of Ridinger engravings” (no. 65)—undoubtedly referring to the eighteenth-century German painter and engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698–1767).⁴⁸

A third large section listing some 106 items of “Silver” and other metalwork provides no provenance details, nor does the fourth section for “Non-precious Metal.”⁴⁹ Only the paintings will be subject to further analysis here.

After a bomb hit part of the Weimar Museum in March 1945, Popp returned 9/10 April in a Red Cross van with Swiss registration plates and absconded with almost two-thirds of the paintings; that was just when Koch himself was fleeing to Denmark. Only one painting Popp removed in April has since surfaced at auction in the West—namely, *Still Life with Fowl* (*Geflügelstilleben*), attributed to Jan Weenix and probably from the Goudstikker Collection, which Göring had sold to Koch, though its present whereabouts is unknown. Two others are reported to be in private collections.⁵⁰

Thanks first to Scheidig and then to the Stasi, we nonetheless now also have a February 1947 listing of the 27 paintings that remained in Weimar just before their deposit in a Weimar bank safe.⁵¹ That list includes one tapestry and 99 graphic works (intermixed with the paintings). Scheidig noted one painting (and four with questions) had markings from a Kyiv museum; four had markings from the occupied Netherlands and three from occupied France.⁵²

A separate document in the Stasi files lists 11 items (all on the February 1945 list) of apparent personal relevance to Koch. These include the large wall hanging of Koch (Tapestry no. 5—*Seinem Gauleiter Erich Koch das Heimwerk Samland*, 1.35 x 2.00 cm); portraits of Erich Koch and an elderly woman (possibly his mother) by the [Dusseldorf?] artist Willy [sometimes Wilhelm] Reetz (1892–1965); and a portrait of Koch’s wife, *Frau Koch*, along with portraits of Adolf Hitler and Hermann Göring. The graphics include engravings of Elberfeld (Koch’s birthplace), a *Portrait of Copernicus*, and *Napoleon at Wagram*.⁵³ The portraits of Hitler, Göring, and Koch and his wife, were missing from the 1947 Weimar list, presumably removed under Allied occupation denazification regulations.

Several other removals from the Koch Collection in Weimar are noted (without documentation) in a short register for the collection. Notably, one tapestry (Gobelin) was sold to an American Army lieutenant on 15 May 1945 for office décor; a receipt has not been found. Later in July 1945, a Russian officer and Weimar painter, on orders from the Restitution Office, took “various paintings and tapestries,” but again, no details are available.⁵⁴

While we now know more about the composition of the collection, conclusive identification and provenance data cannot be provided in many cases. Hardly the world-class collections of Hitler or Göring or rivaling collections of other high-ranking Nazis, the Koch Collection nonetheless reveals the artistic taste of the Nazi elite. More importantly, it reveals patterns of Nazi art looting—not only from Ukraine and but also from Western Europe, and the resulting pan-European migration of looted art during and after the war.

KYIV “SURVIVORS” AMONG KOCH’S LOOT

No fewer than 13 paintings from the Western Division, the Kyiv Museum of Western and Oriental Art, can be provisionally identified on the list deposited in Weimar in February 1945. Following Nazi art preferences, Koch gave priority to Western Old Masters and German artists. In addition to the 78 crates sent by rail to Kamianets-Podilskyi and then Königsberg, the Germans earlier evacuated five priority crates (65 paintings) from the Western Division by truck to RKU headquarters in Rivne. Surviving German shipping inventories in Moscow (copies in Kyiv) for all five crates give artists, titles, museum registration numbers, and dimensions for the paintings they contained.⁵⁵ Later shipping papers have not surfaced, but we assume safe arrival in Königsberg because four nineteenth-century German paintings from Crate I match listings for paintings deposited in Weimar.⁵⁶ There was a Dutch seventeenth-century painting by Godfried Schalcken in Crate II entitled *Game of Cards*, but the Schalcken on Koch’s 1945 deposit list was *The Lacemaker (Spitzenklöpplerin)* and was 5 centimeters narrower. Yet the 1947 list suggests the Schalcken Koch sent to Weimar had “markings from a Kyiv museum,” so questions remain. While none of those paintings have returned to Kyiv, we do not know if others sent via Rivne that did not reach Weimar survived.⁵⁷ Only an estimated eight from Kyiv remained when the collection was deposited in the Weimar bank in 1947.

No paintings by known Russian or Ukrainian artists or icons appear on the list that reached Weimar, but then, Koch had only contempt for Slavic culture. Only three items on the 1945 list are labeled Russian, and all are by unknown late-nineteenth-century artists—two of the works depict maidens: *Oval Portrait of a Maiden* (1858) and *Maiden Binding Sheaves* (1877), and a third is *View of a Wide River* (1896).⁵⁸ None of those are found on the 1947 Weimar list, so probably either Popp took them in April 1945, or they were removed by Soviet officials in Germany.⁵⁹ Curators in the Russian Museum in Kyiv today are unable to match any of the three paintings with those lost during the war, nor do they appear on existing German shipping lists from Kyiv to Königsberg.⁶⁰

The Russian Museum published a rather sketchy and poorly printed list of their losses after Ukrainian independence in 1994. Museum registration numbers are given, but only a few of the lost icons from the Lavra could be identified with prerevolutionary catalogues, because only wartime museum acquisition numbers were available. There are no illustrations, and only a handful survive in Kyiv.⁶¹

During occupation in Kyiv, only one painting from the Russian Museum is known to have been seized personally for Koch. When he visited in August 1942, Koch took a fancy to a nineteenth-century painting, *A Maiden in a Red Peasant Dress* (*Debushka v krasnom sarafane*) (Figure 4); a surviving loan receipt specifically designates the Reich Commissar as borrower.⁶² That painting is still missing from the museum in Kyiv, but it does not appear on either of the Weimar lists of Koch's paintings.



FIGURE 4. *Maiden in Red Peasant Dress (Sarafan)* by an unknown artist from Vinnytsia Oblast, Ukraine, removed 'on loan' during German occupation for Reich Commissar of Ukraine Erich Koch, August 1942, from what is today the Kyiv National Museum of Russian Art, and never returned.

Image courtesy of the National Museum of Russian Art, Kyiv.

“TWICE SAVED” OR THRICE SEIZED IN WEIMAR

New Archival Revelations - I

Senior Hermitage curator Ksenia A. Agafanova was sent to Germany in 1948 to serve with the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG/SMAD) and investigate “looted artistic valuables taken out of the Soviet Union by the Germans during the war.” Thanks to Weimar Art Gallery director Scheidig, she learned about the “collection of the Fascist leader Koch,” then on deposit in a Weimar bank.⁶³ She was working in Germany with Sergei Sidorov, Chief Inspector for Visual Arts and veteran of several earlier Trophy Brigades.⁶⁴ She first mentioned the “fascist Koch collection” in Weimar (Thuringia) “containing paintings from Soviet museums” in a summary report dated 15 September 1948.⁶⁵ The SVAG discovery was soon followed by the removal of 27 paintings from the Koch Collection from the Weimar bank.

Agafonova later reported,

[On] 29 September 1948 . . . , nineteen crates were received in the Rummelsburg warehouse under [SVAG] Headquarters (Central Comendatura) in Berlin from the Senior Inspector of the Land of Thuringia.

In crates nos. 1 through 17 were packed various paintings, engravings, and objects of decorative art (154 items). . . .

The Koch Collection was comprised of cultural-artistic valuables stolen by him from Kyiv and other Ukrainian museums.⁶⁶

In a joint report with Sidorov in December, they concluded,

During occupation of the UkrSSR, the German Koch was the military governor of Ukraine. . . . All of those valuables were seized by the Thuringia Restitution Section and reported as belonging to the USSR, although a small part of the objects were registered as of unknown provenance.

It is such a small part that it should be considered the same as the rest, and hence all 17 crates should be considered as belonging to the USSR.

They accordingly recommended “shipping all of the contents of the 17 crates from Thuringia to the USSR to the address of the All-Union Committee [i.e., Moscow].” They advised against sending two remaining crates (nos. 18 and 19) containing “only frames for paintings of French provenance.”⁶⁷

We know these details thanks to the long-missing SVAG cultural restitution/retrieval files that surfaced in 2009 in the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE) in Moscow, where they had become intermixed with the records of the Ministry for Foreign Trade. Originally they would have been part of the departmental records of the SVAG Administration for Reparations and Deliveries (*Upravlenie reparatsii i postavok SVAG*), and its subdivision for Restitution, which in the Soviet Zone of Occupation had been presided over by Major General Leonid Zorin, who later became Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.⁶⁸

We now know it was on the basis of a few documents from one or two files among those records that Russian art journalist Evgraf Konchin was the first to have broken a sensational note in the 1990s about Zorin's "finding 19 crates with canvases and other art objects from Soviet museums that had been brought together by Gauleiter Koch" in Thuringia.⁶⁹ Konchin explained that his story was drawn from documents Leonid Zorin had shown him privately in the mid-1970s, when those files were still under top-secret wraps in the agency archive of Zorin's Ministry of Foreign Trade. Finally declassified in 2006 in the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), those files were regrettably withdrawn from the series and again reclassified after my 2009 examination and identification.⁷⁰

Thanks to those same files, we also learned that Agafonova simultaneously was involved in the SVAG discovery and seizure of the fabulous collection of Impressionist paintings owned by German industrialist Otto Krebs (1873–1941), not far from Weimar. A US Army command had occupied the mansion on Krebs's former Holzdorf estate from April through June in 1945. Subsequently taken over by the Soviet command for Thuringia under General Vasilii Chuikov, it was not until Agafonova's visit in 1948 that the SVAG art prospectors gained access to the special climate-controlled basement strong room that preserved the Krebs Collection. The fact that Agafonova's initial description of the Krebs collection remains in the same file as her reports about the Koch Collection explains why art journalist Evgraf Konshin was also the first to reveal the story in Russia (in the early 1990s). Krebs' "Impressionist Masterpieces in a Cellar" was well-publicized internationally in a chapter by Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov in their book about the *Beautiful Loot* brought to the USSR by Soviet Trophy Brigades.⁷¹ That book came out five decades later in 1995, coinciding with the Hermitage exhibition *Hidden Treasures Revealed*, featuring 56 masterpieces from the Krebs Collection never previously seen in public.⁷²

FROM WEIMAR TO LENINGRAD: HIDDEN TREASURES NOT REVEALED

New Archival Revelations - II

Thanks to the Hermitage's 250th anniversary publication in 2014 of a revealing volume of long-secret documents on *State Hermitage: "Displaced Art", 1945–1958*, we can now confirm that the paintings SVAG removed from the Weimar bank arrived safely at the Hermitage in January 1949. In a report published later that year, Agafonova summarized the contents of the special echelon from Berlin under the auspices of the firm Raznoeksport, which, together with the Krebs Collection, also contained retrieved treasures seized from Soviet museums, including an "archeological collection from Kherson Oblast Museum and paintings and engravings from suburban Leningrad palace museums." Under the category of "Accessions by the State Hermitage for Temporary Storage," Agafonova continued:

Among the returned works of art it is worth noting the collection of Koch, ruler (Gauleiter) of Ukraine during the days of German occupation, found in a bank in Weimar (Soviet Zone), which he assembled of things with provenance in the Soviet Union and France. Koch was one of the greatest looters in the Hitlerite army, although the collection found in Weimar is undoubtedly only an insignificant portion of the treasures he looted. The collection includes paintings of Russian and foreign artists, among the most important being: Morland, *Landscape*, A. Cuyp, *Boy with a Falcon*, three paintings of the circle of Canaletto, *Views of Venice*, and Winterhalter, *Portrait of a Small Boy*.

It has been possible to establish only partially the provenance of the works seized by Koch.

1. Known paintings removed from Soviet museums in Kyiv, Yalta, and elsewhere.
2. Painting of Opie, *Portrait of a Woman*, listed in an album of items removed from France, from the Wildenstein Collection.
3. Paintings owned by Goudstikker antique dealer.⁷³

Agafonova also mentioned receipt of a medieval portal with sculptured drum found in the forest of Göring's Carinhall Estate, ten paintings from the collection of the Duke of Anhalt from Quedlinburg, and—most important—the Krebs Collection from Holzdorf, which she considered “the most significant collection acquired by the Hermitage in 1949.”⁷⁴

By contrast, the much more meager Koch Collection, consisting entirely of Nazi-looted art, had no such hidden masterpieces to reveal. The fact that its surviving Weimar portion arrived in the Hermitage together with the Krebs Collection in 1949 may explain why it was soon forgotten. Hermitage curators were too busy with the Krebs Collection and unable to determine provenance of all the paintings Koch had collected.

Agafonova's colleague Vladimir Levinson-Lessing, who then headed the Hermitage Division of Western Art, gave an equally glowing account of those 1949 receipts, but understandably, he had only a few words to say about the paintings from the Weimar bank: “Among items coming from the possessions looted by Gauleiter Koch,” he mentioned only one: “the most interesting is the *Landscape with Children*, by the English eighteenth-century painter George Morland.”⁷⁵ The reported Morland receipt remains puzzling, however, because no *Landscape* by Morland—or even a possible landscape to match that attribution—appears on either Weimar list for the Koch Collection. Neither Levinson-Lessing's, nor Agafonova's reports after her return to Leningrad, suggest they had realized that the Koch collection had been assembled in Königsberg during the war.

UNIDENTIFIED KYIV “SURVIVORS” AND VICTIMS

Once back in Leningrad, neither Agafonova nor Levinson-Lessing mentioned any specific paintings received from Weimar in their reports as being of Kyiv

provenance—or from other Soviet museums—at least in the Hermitage documents published thus far. Agafonova did name Franz-Xavier Winterhalter's (1806–1875) *Portrait of a Small Boy* (1859) among those received with the Koch Collection, although she neglected to mention its Kyiv provenance. Although number 51 on the 1945 list of Koch deposits in Weimar, it did not appear on the list of 27 remaining in Weimar in 1947.⁷⁶ That was also true of another German painting suspected of being in the Hermitage today, *Boy Fishing on the Beach* by Friedrich Fritz Hildebrandt (1815–1855). Two other nineteenth-century German paintings were also listed with Koch's deposit in Weimar in February 1945, but not on the 1947 list, although they may have remained in Weimar. All four were shipped from Kyiv in the first of the five priority crates the Germans had sent by truck to RKU headquarters in Rivne in September 1943.⁷⁷ Three of the four, including the Winterhalter, also appear on a surviving German “borrowed” receipt dated 23 March 1942.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, with the help of Kyiv curators, possible Khanenko Museum provenance can be established for 7 or 8 of the 27 paintings listed in 1947, which SVAG presumably removed from the Weimar bank. According to the 1947 Weimar list, Scheidig suggested five had “markings from a Kyiv museum,” including one by Godfried Schalcken, but the other four Scheidig had indicated lacked an artist name—two Dutch and one sixteenth- or seventeenth- century Italian. Another four or five presumably from Kyiv, including *Ship in Storm* by Ludolf Backhuysen and Canaletto's *Grand Canal in Venice*, were deposited in Weimar in February 1945 but not listed in 1947. Obviously, in the search for more Kyiv survivors, the “displaced” paintings from the Koch Collection in the Hermitage will require more provenance research.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was only minimally cooperating in Allied cultural restitution efforts. While internal restitution to Soviet museums was hardly a priority in 1949, efforts to retrieve and claim art seized from the Soviet Union continued until the Western Allies closed down their major restitution programs in 1949. However, unlike their Western Allied counterparts, no Soviet specialists were analyzing the many relevant German documents Soviet authorities had collected regarding German cultural seizures in the USSR. Besides, as far as is known, there was no central office tracking seized cultural property, nor were there centralized data files coordinating losses of Soviet museums with related retrievals that might have assisted appropriate restitution. That may explain why, in July 1949, SVAG restitution officers in Germany submitted claims to French authorities for 385 paintings seized during occupation from the Kyiv Museum of Western and Oriental Art, based on the 1944 ChGK report of losses from the museum.⁸⁰ Apparently they had not found the German shipping documents in Kyiv covering those paintings Koch had ordered to Königsberg, most of which were presumably destroyed in Wildenhoff. Nor were they taking into account the 1946 Kyiv KGB file with Polina Kul'zhenko's testimony about the destruction.

KOCH AND GÖRING'S CASTOFF WESTERN LOOT

Despite Agafonova's initial claim of "only a small portion" as being of non-Soviet provenance, in fact, probably at least two-thirds were from foreign sources and were undoubtedly the most valuable paintings in the collection Koch sent to Weimar. The American wartime intelligence agency, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Art-Looting Investigation Unit (ALIU), was admittedly not informed of developments on the Eastern Front during the war and immediately thereafter, nor were they aware of the collection Koch evacuated to Weimar. Nonetheless, their 1946 report on the Göring Collection (CIR #2) documented many paintings that "Gauleiter Koch (Danzig)" had "purchased" from Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring.⁸¹ In fact, he acquired no fewer than 16 or 17 paintings—10 or 11 in 1940 and 6 in 1943—mainly seized from the Netherlands. Koch also acquired several transfers of paintings seized in France. As the most significant component of Koch's collection, at least 13 of those from Göring were deposited in Weimar in February 1945.

We know that Göring was one of Koch's strong supporters for the post of Reichskommissar of Ukraine. Göring, as Master Huntsman of the Third Reich, spent much time in East Prussia, and had constructed his own hunting lodge near the traditional Prussian royal lodge in the Rominten Heath (Kurfürstliche Jagdbude Rominten), a game reserve of 40,000 hectares (c. 25 square miles) close to the Soviet border. Records remain of several paintings Koch gifted Göring on different birthdays. In Koch's personal collection evacuated to Weimar, a portrait of Göring was the only representation of a Nazi leader except for portraits of Adolf Hitler.⁸² A May 1943 memorandum from Göring to Kajetan Mühlmann outlining Hitler's instructions for disposal of Polish art treasures makes clear the extent of Koch's close involvement in such issues. Immediately following Hitler's confirmation that Leonardo da Vinci's *The Lady with the Ermine*, the Raphael [*Portrait of a Young Man*], and the Rembrandt *Landscape* from Kraków [Czartoryski Collection] were intended for the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, and the Viet Stoss Altarpiece for the City of Nurnberg, other cultural treasures (details not provided) were specified for Gauleiter Koch on behalf of the Königsberg Museum. A personal meeting with Koch was suggested to discuss the future disposition of cultural treasures at war's end, but for the present, the Czartoryski Łancut treasures, which apparently Koch had requested, were to remain in the local castle.⁸³

The impressive 2009 catalogue raisonné of the Göring Collection compiled by Nancy Yeide provides important leads regarding Göring's sales to Erich Koch, and it corrects some details in the ALIU report.⁸⁴ Expanded documentation in the Göring papers and Dutch records in The Hague augment provenance attributions from other sources, such as the Göring database on the website of the Deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM) in Berlin.⁸⁵

Among Koch's initial purchase from Göring in 1940, 10 and possibly 2 other paintings came from the well-documented collection of the Dutch Jewish art dealer

Jacques Goudstikker, an important specialist in Old Masters (Figure 5[inset]). The Goudstikker family fled the Netherlands the same day in 1940 that Göring’s Luftwaffe bombed Rotterdam, leaving the world-class art collection behind. Goudstikker himself lost his life in a tragic accident aboard the ship that was carrying him to safety across the English Channel. Göring hastily arranged seizure of some 1400 paintings that comprised the Goudstikker Collection, most of which were expedited to his Carinhall estate (see Figure 5a). The Goudstikker Gallery in Amsterdam (Heerengracht 458) and some of the inventory were “aryanized” and placed under control of Göring’s chosen agent Alois Miedl (1903–1990); some of those paintings went to auction in Berlin. A number of Göring’s “cast-offs” were subsequently “sold” to various chosen individuals, including Gauleiter Erich Koch. Goudstikker’s daughter-in-law and sole heir, Marei von Saher, now a US citizen, has recently successfully reclaimed many paintings in the lost Goudstikker legacy, including 200 returned to the family in the United States by the Dutch Government in 2006.⁸⁶ Her task has been aided by the survival of Goudstikker’s famous “Black Book,” a small notebook recording most of the paintings in his collection (Figure 5b). He had it in his pocket when he died aboard ship; the original is now preserved in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives.⁸⁷



A

FIGURE 5A. Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring exiting the Goudstikker Gallery, Heerengracht 458, Amsterdam, 1941. Inset is a business card from the Jacques Goudstikker Gallery, Heerengracht 458, Amsterdam.

Image from the National Archives of the Netherlands, Spaamestad Fotoarchief, courtesy Bureau Herkomst Gezocht (Origins Unknown Agency), The Hague.

Inset image courtesy of the Amsterdam City Archive.

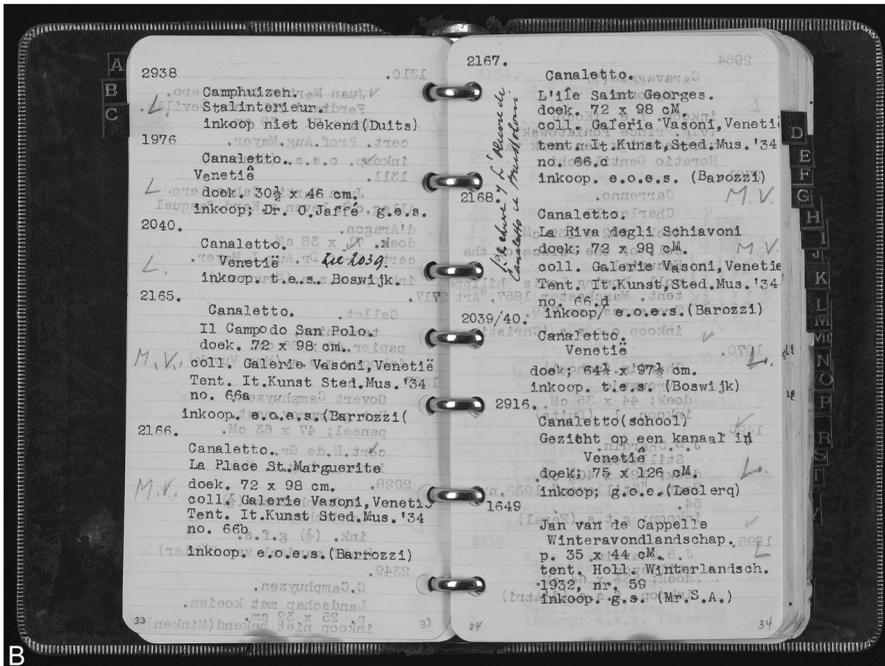


FIGURE 5B. Goudstikker's pocket notebook catalogue of his collection, the Black Book, here open to his listing of the *Four Views of Venice* by the School of Canaletto (Fig. 6), nos. 2165–2168.

Image from the original, courtesy of the Amsterdam City Archive.

KOCH, GÖRING, AND THE DANZIG CONNECTION

Of special interest, some paintings among Koch's initial purchase of 10 or 11 from Göring in 1940 were apparently intended for the Danzig Museum, although Koch's relationship to Albert Förster, Gauleiter of Danzig, or to the museum, is not clear. Göring's art agent and curator Walther Andreas Hofer (1893–1971?) named four items that Göring sold to "Gauleiter Koch, Danzig" in the summer of 1940.

The first consisted of *Four Views of Venice* by Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canale, 1697–1768), "all purchased from Goudstikker and numbered 2165, 2166, 2167, and 2168" (Figure 6).⁸⁸ Yeide's Göring catalogue further identifies them with images and documented provenance (Italian titles are added here):

- A332 – *Piazza Santa Margherita* – (Goudstikker #2166)
- A333 – *Il Campo di San Polo* – (Goudstikker #2165)
- A378 – *Isola San Giorgio* – (Goudstikker #2167)
- A379 – *La Riva degli Schiavoni* – (Goudstikker #2168).⁸⁹

The four Canalettos evidently went to Königsberg rather than Danzig, given the lack of Danzig museum listings and the fact that all four appear on the February 9, 1945

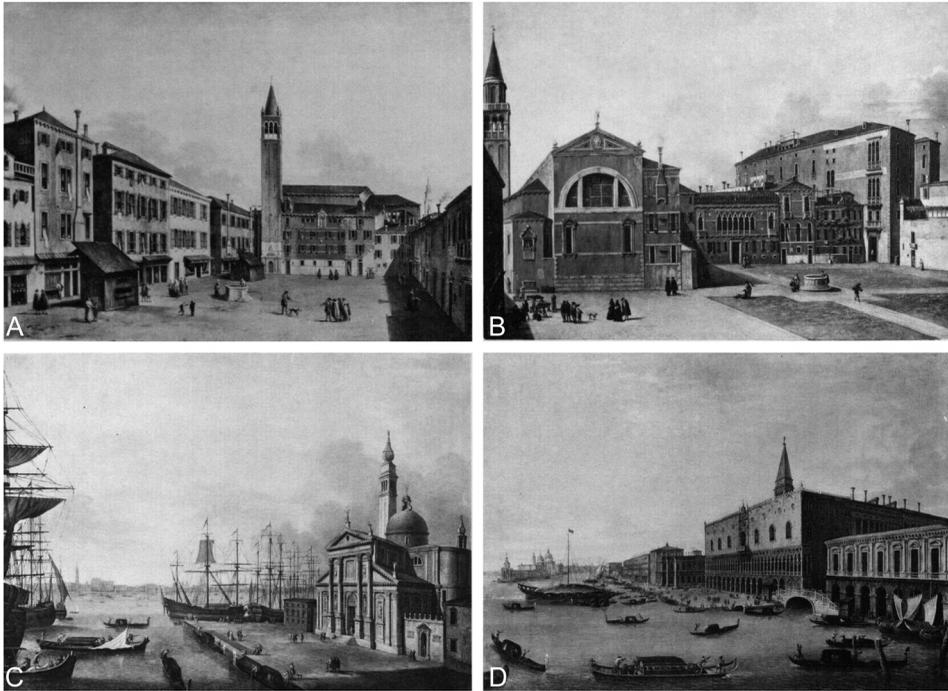


FIGURE 6. School of Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canale, 1697–1768), *Four Views of Venice*, from the Collection of Jacques Goudstikker, Amsterdam; last exhibited together at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1934. Seized following German occupation of the Netherlands, 1940, on behalf of Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring; sold to Gauleiter Koch, 1940. Evacuated to Weimar, February 1945, and subsequently dispersed.

A) *Piazza Santa Margherita* (=Goudstikker #2166), received by the Hermitage, Leningrad, 1949; B) *Il Campo di San Polo* (=Goudstikker #2165), reported in a private collection, London, 1989; C) *Isola San Giorgio* (=Goudstikker #2167), present location unknown; D) *La Riva degli Schiavoni* (=Goudstikker #2168), present location unknown.

Images from Catalogue de la Collection Goudstikker, No 36 (1928–1929), Nos. 9–12. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

list of Koch paintings deposited in Weimar along with three others by Canaletto or his followers.⁹⁰ The latest edition of W.G. Constable’s *Canaletto* catalogue raisonné (1989) cites the set of four as being “by the same hand... from the school of Canaletto.”⁹¹ They were last exhibited together in 1934 in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.⁹² As further confirmation of their provenance and the fact that they were last together in Weimar, museum director Scheidig recalled in a later note that, among the Koch Collection, were “four large Italian city views in the art of Canaletto, landscape format, on the verso with signs and ownership marking of Goudstikker.”⁹³ Constable (1989) reports that the view of *Il Campo di San Polo* (Yeide A333) was in a London private collection, but that the “present location [is] unknown” for the other three.⁹⁴

Only two of the four Goudstikker Canalettos appeared on the 1947 Weimar list, which would suggest previous removal of two. Constable's 1989 report of *Il Campo di San Polo* in London would account for one of those.⁹⁵ A recently published Hermitage document noted the 1949 receipt of "three paintings from the Venetian School of Canaletto," and also several paintings with Goudstikker labels, but it was unclear if those two phrases referred to the same paintings. A Hermitage report with a list of receipts (1955) specifically mentions a Goudstikker label for a Venetian view of the *Piazza Santa Margherita*, which would correspond to the first of the four above (Yeide A323). The same list of four paintings with Goudstikker markings includes a second city view from the Italian School, but provides no further identification.⁹⁶ Presumably that would also be one of the set of four from Venice, but further investigation will be required to verify which one and if both of them still remain in the Hermitage.

Koch apparently liked Venetian scenes by Canaletto and his circle, as is evident in the seven "Art des Canaletto" entries on the initial 1945 Weimar list. At least one of those may have been from Kyiv: the Khanenko Museum lost a Canaletto painting of the Grand Canal and one by a follower depicting the *Piazza San Marco* in Venice.⁹⁷ Koch may well have purchased yet another Canaletto in 1942 from Walter Bornheim, an art historian and dealer in Munich who was well-protected by Göring. Koch was specifically listed by ALIU investigators as one of Bornheim's clients, with a Canaletto (title lacking) as one of his purchases, which Bornheim had in turn purchased in Paris from the dealer Joan Schmitt. An additional three paintings of Marieschi and his followers that Koch acquired from Bornheim may also suggest similar subjects, although details are as yet not available.⁹⁸

The other three named paintings Koch purchased from Göring in 1940 were all Dutch Old Masters, none of which apparently reached Weimar:

- (2) **Godfried Schalcken** (1643–1706), "*Girl Holding a Candle* – bought from Douwes";
- (3) **Abraham van Beyeren** (1620/21–1690) – "*Still Life* –bought from Hofer";
- (4) **Jan van Goyen** (1595/96–1656) – "*River Landscape* – bought from Goudstikker."

According to Hofer, three or four additional Dutch seventeenth-century paintings, the details of which he did not recall, were included in the sale for RM 130,000.⁹⁹

The fourth painting on that list by Van Goyen is the only painting Koch purchased from Göring that this author has been able to examine to date. Bearing the Polish title *Chałupy nad kanałem* (literally, *Huts by a Canal*), it currently hangs on the wall of the National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe) in Gdańsk (Figure 7a). The Goudstikker label bearing number 1629 is still intact in the middle of the stretcher, the same number listed for a painting with that title and dimensions in Goudstikker's "Black Book" (Figure 7b).¹⁰⁰ That number is also confirmed on



FIGURE 7A. Jan van Goyen (1595–1656), *Huts on a Canal* (Polish, *Chałupy nad kanałem*) or *Landscape with Peasant Farm* (=Goudstikker #1692); ‘purchased’ by Göring in 1940, following seizure of the Goudstikker Gallery in Amsterdam; sold to Gauleiter Koch, Danzig. Now exhibited in the National Museum in Gdańsk

Image courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk.

the Goudstikker Dutch loss registration document held by the Origins Unknown Bureau (Herkomst Gezocht) in The Hague.¹⁰¹ When a local Gdańsk journalist raised the issue of Göring-related provenance in June 2012, museum director Wojciech Bronisławski publicly denied that the Van Goyen painting had come from Göring or from the Goudstikker collection: “Absolutely not!” he replied, “*Huts by a Canal* was purchased during the war on the Dutch art market by Albert Forster [Gauleiter of Danzig],” naming a price of RM 50,000. “Willi Drost, director of the Danzig City Museum, thanked Forster in his catalogue of ‘New Acquisitions 1940/41.’”¹⁰²

To the contrary, purchase from Göring is indeed confirmed, as noted above, but neither current director Bronisławski, nor the German wartime director Drost



FIGURE 7B. Goudstikker label for *Huts on a Canal* on stretcher (with Goudstikker BlackBook #1692).

Image courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk.

before him, provided a name for the seller or previous provenance, let alone a bill of sale. After my several hours of discussion with the director and curator at the museum in Gdańsk, and with the documents from The Hague with which I furnished them, including a copy of the Dutch postwar SNK “missing” registration form confirming the Goudstikker number, the museum should be prepared to accept the Göring, and before him the Goudstikker, provenance attribution. The wartime evacuation lists the museum provided to me confirm that the painting was twice evacuated during the war, the second time to Schloss Reinhardsbrunn near Gotha in 1944. Seized there by a Soviet Trophy Brigade together with other Danzig paintings, it was returned to Gdańsk from Leningrad in 1956.¹⁰³ Some of the other paintings from Danzig taken at the same time, alas, still remain in Russia.

The German art historian Willi Drost (1892–1964), who directed the Danzig Art Gallery from 1938 to 1945, published in 1943 a glowing account of paintings acquired in the early 1940s, for most of which by implication he had been responsible. In his text and captions for accompanying images of the paintings purchased “on the Dutch art market,” however, he provides no provenance or other indications from whom the 13 Dutch Old Masters pictured, including the Van Goyen, were purchased.¹⁰⁴ Gauleiter Koch is not mentioned in Drost’s N-S Era wartime account, but Koch’s purchase from Göring is clearly indicated in other sources, as is noted above. As has become apparent today, wartime purchases need to be investigated thoroughly, because even “good faith” purchases from legitimate Dutch dealers during occupation raise “red flags” where the dealers’ sources cannot be documented by the holding museum.

Apparently the US State Department or the US borrowing museums’ scrutiny did not catch the Goudstikker label or the questionable provenance gap when the Van Goyen was exhibited in the Milwaukee Art Museum in 2002 in the exhibition, *Leonardo da Vinci and the Splendor of Poland*, with paintings from several Polish museums. The same exhibition featured two additional paintings from Gdańsk that Drost acquired at the same time—one by Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680) and

the other by Jan Ruttgers Niewael (1620–1661).¹⁰⁵ Postwar loss-registration documents in The Hague indicate both of them are likewise “missing” from the Netherlands. *Hagar and the Angel* by Ferdinand Bol, sold to Drost by D.A. Hoogendijk, was registered as being of Dutch ownership.¹⁰⁶ No evidence has yet been found that either went through the hands of Göring or Koch.

The fate of the other two named paintings purchased by Koch from Göring in 1940, or their possible acquisition by the Danzig Museum, remains unresolved though more complicated in terms of their identification. In the case of Schalcken’s *Girl Holding a Candle*, either of two different paintings may have been involved, both of them allegedly going to Koch. Yeide based her provenance notes on Hofer and the ALIU interrogation listing the painting as *Girl Holding a Candle* (or in German, *Madchen mit Kerz*), as purchased from Douwes (Amsterdam), sold to W.A. Hofer (Berlin), and then sold to Koch (Danzig), as likewise listed in the DHM Göring database. However, a Dutch SNK claim form for a painting with that same title gives the Goudstikker number 461, indicating it was acquired by Miedl and sold at the Lange Auction (Berlin) of December 3, 1940.¹⁰⁷ Alternate documents in the SNK files list a larger Schalcken painting, *Mandoline-speeletter bij karrslicht* (*Mandoline Player by Candlelight*), as having been purchased by Douwes (half owned by Laren Koetser) on 30 April 1940, and sold to Hofer (Berlin), 17 July 1940 [presumably for Göring] with a penciled note that it was purchased by Gauleiter Koch (Königsberg). Neither Schalcken painting is listed in the Gdańsk museum documents examined, nor has either painting been located elsewhere. As noted above, the only Schalcken on the Koch Weimar deposit list from Königsberg was entitled *The Lace-maker* (*Spitzenklüpplerin*), which also appeared on the 1947 Weimar list with a note that it had markings from a Kyiv museum. The Kyiv Museum, however, reported the loss of a Schalcken entitled *Game of Cards*, which was on a German shipping list to Rivne in September 1943 (see above). The Hermitage did not report a Schalcken among receipts from Weimar in documents available thus far.¹⁰⁸

Further analysis of existing Dutch documents likewise suggests that two different *Still Life* paintings by Abraham van Beyeren were involved: the first went to Koch, and later in 1943, a second went to the Danzig Museum. Van Beyeren’s *Still Life with Grapes* (*Stilleben mit Trauben*) was apparently purchased by Hofer for Göring in 1940 in Berlin and then sold to Koch, as confirmed in the Göring database; its subsequent disposition is unknown, and no Van Beyeren appears among Koch’s Weimar deposits.¹⁰⁹ A second Van Beyeren, *Marine Still Life* (*Vischstillevon*) from the Huygen Collection, was sold to the Danzig Museum in June 1943 by Dutch dealer Pieter de Boer; it would have arrived after the Drost 1943 volume was published, and hence not pictured there. Besides, by 1943, most of the paintings were evacuated from Danzig. No painting by Van Beyeren is listed in surviving Danzig museum registers or wartime evacuation lists, nor did Koch evacuate a Van Beyeren to Weimar.¹¹⁰

While neither the Schalcken nor the Van Beyeren on the 1940 Göring sale list to Koch appears to have been acquired by Danzig, questions also must remain about the “three or four other Dutch seventeenth-century paintings” Hofer intended in

Göring's 1940 sale to Koch. Possibly two of them went to Königsberg rather than Danzig, because two additional Dutch paintings, both with alleged Göring and Goudstikker connections, appear on both of Koch's Weimar lists. Besides, newly published Hermitage documents reference two such receipts in 1949. Both Agafonova and Levinson-Lessing report receipt with the Koch paintings of Aelbert Cuyp's (1620–1691), *Boy with a Falcon*, which Scheidig noted as having "markings from the occupied Netherlands" on the 1947 list (Figure 8). The Dutch SNK listing gives the Goudstikker number 1284 (with an image), as does the Göring database, also suggesting it went to Koch.¹¹¹ Also received on the 1955 Hermitage document under Goudstikker was a second Dutch painting, *Landscape with Windmill* from the Rembrandt School, which appears on both Weimar lists.¹¹²

Quite possibly, alternatively, one or more among the unnamed Dutch paintings sold by Göring to Koch in 1940 may have come to Danzig, even if such details would not be indicated in the now-incomplete Gdańsk Museum acquisition



FIGURE 8. Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691), *Boy with a Falcon* (=Goudstikker # 1284); seized from the Goudstikker firm on behalf of Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, 1940, and subsequently sold to Gauleiter Koch. Evacuated from Königsberg to Weimar, February 1945; receipt by the Hermitage, Leningrad reported in 1949.

Image courtesy Bureau Herkomst Gezocht, The Hague, from the Dutch National Archive.

records. Drost's images of 12 new Dutch acquisitions in 1940–41 open a number of possibilities, while corresponding Dutch SNK postwar registration documents can be matched to most of them. Unfortunately, the museum has yet to undertake adequate provenance research on its Nazi-era acquisitions.¹¹³

An initial check of Dutch loss registration/claim papers in the Origins Unknown files in The Hague reveals that Drost himself had purchased in the Netherlands many of the other 12 Dutch Old Masters described and pictured with titles and dimensions in his 1943 publication. Danzig N-S period acquisitions, however, did not stop with those pictured. As revealed, for example, an SNK file for the respected Dutch dealer D.A. Hoogendijk documents a total of nine paintings that he sold to Drost for the Danzig Museum, four of those not mentioned by Drost. Several are indicated as being of Dutch state ownership.¹¹⁴

Sales of three paintings to the Danzig Museum by the Amsterdam dealer Pieter de Boer (with no mention of Drost or Koch) have also been identified in the early years of German occupation, in addition to the 1943 Van Beyeren purchase mentioned above. One of them, *Interior with Dancing Couples* by Jan Miense Molenaer (c.1610–1668), names the purchaser as Gauleiter Förster; but none of those are included in the Drost volume.¹¹⁵ Drost is also not mentioned as purchaser on an SNK form for the painting by Johannes van Noort (1644–1676), *The Artist's Family* (Ger. *Die Familie des Künstlers*, or *Die Malerfamilie*) pictured in the Drost 1943 publication. But a red flag arises, because it came from Nathan Katz, another Dutch Jewish dealer forced to flee the Netherlands in 1940. A recent Dutch Restitution Commission ruling nevertheless found most of the Katz sales to be legitimate; so, in this case, the legal issues will need further analysis. Subsequently, the painting came into possession of the Goudstikker firm after it was “aryanized” and taken over by Alois Miedl and was then sent to the H.W. Lange auction in Berlin.¹¹⁶ Yet another handwritten note in the files of Kajetan Mühlmann in the NIOD suggests that another six paintings, including two by Bruegel, went to Gauleiter of Danzig Albert Förster, but details and confirming documentation have yet to be found.¹¹⁷

Koch was not named in these additional Dutch documents examined, but obviously the whole issue of sales to Danzig from the Netherlands and Göring's sales to Koch will require more expert analysis. While the Dutch component may have been the most significant among Danzig acquisitions, as is illustrated in the Drost volume, important Flemish and German acquisitions also pictured will likewise require scrutiny. So far, however, no indications have been found that either Koch or Göring were involved with other Danzig acquisitions during the N-S period, but research is only beginning.

MORE GOUDSTIKKER OLD MASTERS FROM GÖRING TO KOCH

Göring's art manager Walther Andreas Hofer also documented Koch's purchase of an additional six Dutch Old Masters from Göring in March 1943. Those had earlier been part of a lot slated for sale to Dr. Friedrich Flick (1883–1972), one of Germany's

wealthiest industrialists and a strong NSDAP supporter; Flick subsequently declined their purchase, as is confirmed by Yeide's research, which corrects the CIR #2 (Göring) listing regarding which paintings were involved in the sale to Koch.¹¹⁸

- (1 and 2) Two paintings by **Maerten van Cleve** (1527–1577/81), both entitled *Genrebild* (Yeide and the DHM Göring Database both suggest possibly from Goudstikker, but they are not listed in the Goudstikker Black Book);¹¹⁹
- (3) *River Landscape with Boats* (c. 1635) by **Salomon van Ruysdael** (1602–1670) (Goudstikker #1880);¹²⁰
- (4) *Still Life* (1638) by **William Claesz Heda** – 0.62 x 0.49 cm (probably Goudstikker #1952; notebook accession #1341); SNK 9308/752/9945. Most probably matching #44 on the February 1945 Weimar list; not on 1947 list;¹²¹
- (5) A1567 – *Still Life with Game* by **Jan Weenix** (1642–1719) – 1.23 x 1.04 cm (122 x 103 cm) (Goudstikker #720; notebook accession #1341); SNK 8044/762/9267). Weimar 1945 list #13; not on 1947 list;¹²²
- (6) A411 – *The Wedding Night* by **Pieter Aertsen** (1507/1508–1575) – 0.95 x 1.33 cm (93 x 133 cm) (Goudstikker–Nyenrode #464); SNK 0033/748/9268. Both Weimar lists (1945=#36; 1947=#14) suggest it may be a fake (Fälschung?).¹²³

Four of the six have been attributed to the Goudstikker Collection, with a question mark remaining for the first two paintings by Maerten van Cleve. Except for those two, all were registered in the Netherlands SNK files as belonging to the Goudstikker heirs in 1946. The fate of the one by Salomon van Ruysdael and the two Van Cleve paintings is unknown. The last three appear on the list Koch evacuated from Königsberg to Weimar in 1945. Only the last one, Pieter Aertsen's *The Wedding Night*, remained in Weimar on the 1947 list, but Weimar Museum director Scheidig thought it was a fake. If it was removed from the bank by Agafonova under SVAG auspices, she does not mention its receipt by the Hermitage in 1949. The Weenix, as mentioned earlier, is the only painting Popp removed with other Koch paintings from Weimar in April 1945 to have surfaced at auction since, although its current location is unknown.

During the 2012 newspaper interview at the Gdańsk museum mentioned above in connection with the Van Goyen provenance, a question also arose about a possible red flag for the Jacob van Ruysdael, *Landscape with Ruin*, which Drost had purchased in the Netherlands, and which now hangs in Gdańsk. Was it also of Goudstikker provenance and seized by Göring? Again, the Gdańsk museum director Bronisławski denied that possibility, explaining that the painting had hung in Drost's office before being evacuated to Gotha with the other holdings from the Danzig Museum, whence it was seized by a Soviet Trophy Brigade and returned from Leningrad in 1956. The suggestion of Goudstikker provenance was undoubtedly an error, and may have arisen in confusion with Salomon van Ruysdael's *River Landscape with Boats* (no. 3 above), which was indeed purchased by Koch from Göring in 1943, and came from the Goudstikker Collection (Figure 9). Its present

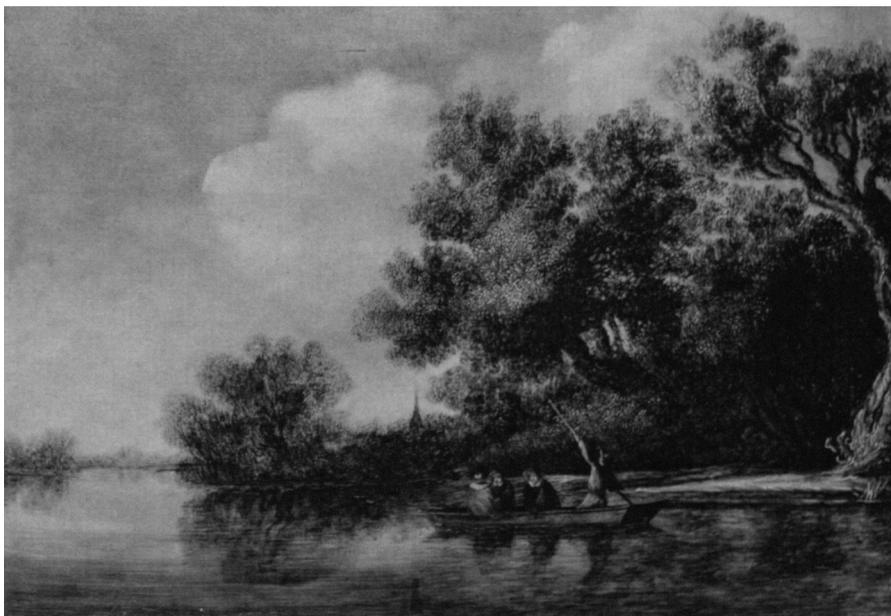


FIGURE 9. Salomon van Ruysdael, *River Landscape with Boats* (c. 1635) (=Goudstikker #1880); seized by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, 1940; subsequently “sold” to Gauleiter Erich Koch, 1943. Present location unknown.

Image from Catalogue de la Collection Goudstikker, No 36 (1928–1929), No. 69. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

location is currently unknown. While there is no suggestion of Goudstikker provenance for Jacob van Ruisdael’s *Landscape with Ruin*, now in Gdańsk, the postwar SNK registration form submitted by the Dutch art dealer Hoogendijk, from whom Drost purchased the painting, nevertheless does suggest Dutch ownership.¹²⁴ Its legal status vis-à-vis a possible Dutch claim needs further investigation together with the legal status of other Drost purchases in the Netherlands.

FRENCH CONNECTIONS FROM WILDENSTEIN AND BORNHEIM

Provenance for another seven paintings Koch evacuated to Weimar can now be traced to several possible sources in France, although migration routes are still hazy, with gaps in provenance. Most significantly, confirmation is possible that the Koch Collection evacuated to Weimar included four and possibly five paintings owned by the important Paris Jewish art dealer Georges Wildenstein (1893–1963). The Hermitage identified two arriving in 1949 with the Koch paintings from Weimar; quite possibly there was one more. Wildenstein and his notable family of art connoisseurs, collectors, and dealers fled the Nazi German invasion of France in 1940. They were stripped of French citizenship and the Paris gallery “aryanized.” Fortunately, the family had already set up a branch of the firm in New York. A large part of the Georges Wildenstein inventory seized from his Paris gallery, along with most of his private holdings

in the country, came under the control of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and was subsequently registered in the Jeu de Paume.¹²⁵ None of the four Wildenstein paintings identified in the collection Koch deposited in Weimar, however, were assigned ERR codes, or at least they do not appear on ERR inventories.¹²⁶

At least two of the Wildenstein paintings that never made it to ERR Jeu de Paume inventories are now identified in the Koch Collection but appear on the list of over 120 paintings seized by the German Field Police (GFP) from Château de Moyre (Colombiers) on 2 August 1940. Two elegant eighteenth-century women's portraits in question were soon co-opted by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring and transported with others to his Carinhall estate. The date and circumstances of their subsequent transfer to Gauleiter Koch in Königsberg has not been determined. However, four paintings owned by Georges Wildenstein can now be identified on the 1945 list of Koch's deposits in Weimar and are also listed as Georges Wildenstein losses in the official 1947 printed French *Répertoire* for property removed from France during the war. One of them was apparently removed from Weimar by Popp in April 1945, while the remaining three appear again on the 1947 Weimar list. Two of those have now also been identified as arriving at the Hermitage in 1949, but we do not know if the third was with them.

Within the 2014 published volume of documents cited above, in a May 1955 report, the Hermitage listed within its "Temporary" or "Special Collection" (total 822,631 items) three "displaced" paintings under "France," all three of them portraits bearing markings of the "antique dealer Wildenstein." The artist was named for only the first, identified as the work of well-known Swedish painter Alexander Roslin (1718–1793)—"*Portrait of Count [d'Arlincourt] (d'Alencour [sic]) and Son*, received in an echelon with paintings from Berlin" (Figure 10a).¹²⁷ That remark suggests it did not arrive with the other Koch paintings, and indeed, the Roslin painting of Count d'Arlincourt does not appear on either Weimar list. Nor was it recorded in the French *Répertoire* (vol. 2), although the Wildenstein firm confirms it was seized from Georges Wildenstein.¹²⁸

The Weimar 1945 list does, however, include the corresponding elegant depiction of the Count's wife, "*Portrait of Countess [d'Arlincourt] (d'Alincourt [sic])*" by Roslin (Rarsin [sic]) (Figure 10b). It was not on the Hermitage list, but it is listed (with image) in the French repertory of losses as belonging to Georges Wildenstein.¹²⁹ Both the Count and Countess were painted by Roslin in Nice in 1764, and the portraits long remained with the family. They came into the possession of Georges Wildenstein well before the Second World War. Roslin is well known for his many paintings of European royalty and aristocrats, including the Russian imperial family (among them portraits of Catherine the Great). The painting of the Countess was one of the two Wildenstein seizures to have reached Carinhall, and it is accordingly registered in the Göring Collection, unlike that of her husband, the Count. It is not known when the painting passed from Göring to Koch in Königsberg, but it was deposited in Weimar in February 1945 and apparently removed by Popp in April, as it does not appear on the 1947 list. The Göring DHM database

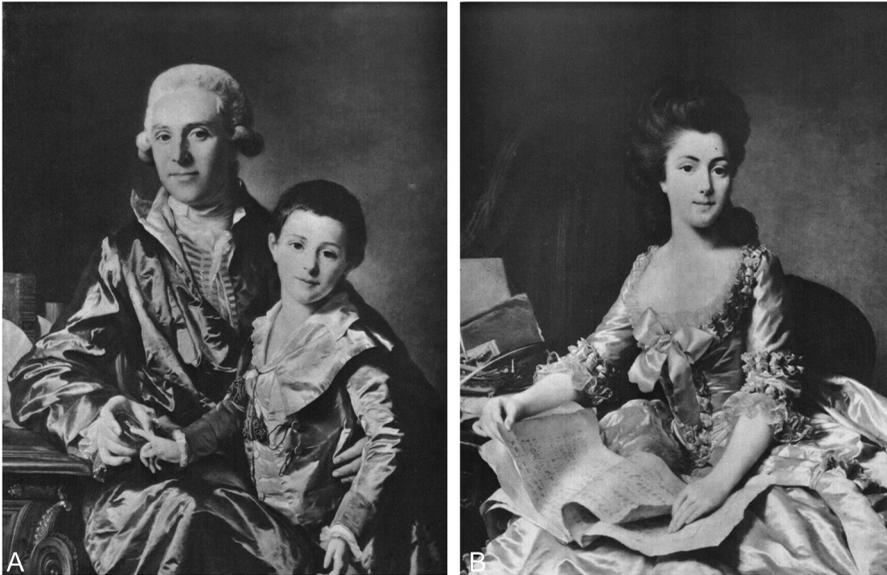


FIGURE 10. A) Alexander Roslin (1718–1793), *Portrait of Count d’Arlincourt and his Son* – seized from the Collection of Georges Wildenstein, 1940; subsequent gap in provenance; reported as received by the Hermitage, Leningrad, January 1949.

B) Alexander Roslin (1718–1793), *Portrait of Countesse d’Arlincourt* – seized from the collection of Georges Wildenstein in Château de Moyre (Columbières), 1940; passed to Göring and subsequently to Erich Koch, deposited in Weimar, February 1945; last reported in private collection in USA, 1957.

Images from Gunnar Lundberg, Roslin. Liv och verk (1957), Nos. 568 and 570, Images 165 and 166. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

and the Lundberg Roslin catalogue raisonné both note that after the war it was located in a private collection in the United States.¹³⁰ The Swedish Roslin catalogue raisonné similarly locates the portrait of the Count, but apparently they did not cross the ocean together, because that conflicts with the Hermitage 1949 and 1955 documents mentioned above.

The Koch paintings from Weimar were first sent to the SVAG Rummelsburg warehouse in Berlin, and then shipped via Brest by the firm Ranoeksport. That is specified for the two Wildenstein-owned portraits of women and four of the five Goudstikker paintings listed under “Holland” in the same Hermitage document (discussed above).¹³¹ It is not known, however, with what German collection “received from Berlin” the Hermitage acquired the Roslin portrait of Count d’Arlincourt. The same Hermitage 1955 report lists paintings from several German private collections as well as a few paintings from Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and Danzig.

The second Wildenstein painting listed by the Hermitage with no artist name, *Portrait of a Woman*, “French School, XVIII century,” received with the Ranoeksport shipment, probably corresponds to *Frauenbildnis*, no. 4 on the Weimar 1947 list with “markings from occupied France.” Further identification is impossible at this point,

because several French eighteenth-century portraits of women seized from Wildenstein are listed in the French *Répertoire* with no artist or further description; the only one for which dimensions are given does not correspond to the Weimar listing.¹³²

The recently released Hermitage documents are more explicit about another woman's portrait in the Koch Collection. Agafonova's 1949 published report that mentions the Koch Collection included receipt of "an Opie painting, *Portrait of a Woman*, listed from the Wildenstein Collection in an album of objects removed from France." That reference matches a portrait by John Opie (1761–1807), *Woman in White (Femme en blanc)*, lost by Georges Wildenstein, which indeed is pictured in the French *Répertoire* (Figure 11).¹³³ The 1945 Weimar equivalent "portrait of a woman," dated 1770, has neither artist nor title, while the 1947 list noted "markings from occupied France." That would appear to match the third portrait with Wildenstein markings on the Hermitage 1955 report, identified as "English School, XVIII century."¹³⁴

A final 1947 Weimar listing with "markings from occupied France" was "Régnaud, *Triumphzug* [sic]." Quite probably that would conform to the painting by Jean-Baptist Regnault (1754–1829), *Triomphe de Napoléon*, which the French *Répertoire* indicates among Georges Wildenstein losses. That may have been a smaller version of the much larger Regnault canvas with that title hanging in Versailles. A postwar Wildenstein claim for German compensation noted that the Regnault and two eighteenth-century *Portraits of Women* were seized in August 1940 from the Château de Marienthal, the Wildenstein residence in Verrières (10 km south of Paris).¹³⁵ The Hermitage did not mention it among receipts, but noted they were not able to identify all of the Koch paintings.

The date and circumstances for Koch's acquisition of the three or four Wildenstein paintings mentioned, at least two of which first went to Göring, will require further investigation. Likewise will the migration route and provenance for Roslin's *Portrait of Count d'Arlincourt and His Son*, also seized from Georges Wildenstein but not documented in the Göring Collection or among the Koch paintings deposited in Weimar.

More serious questions remain about the paintings of alleged French provenance among Koch's reported acquisitions from Walter Bornheim, a German art historian who ran the Galerie für Alte Kunst in Munich, and one of Göring's favorite dealers. Research is needed to determine the provenance of the paintings Bornheim reportedly "purchased" in France, and whether such sales were legitimate. The Erich Koch Foundation, Königsberg, was listed as the destination for seven paintings that Bornheim reportedly purchased in Paris in 1942, according to the postwar OSS ALIU "Detailed Intelligence Report" on Bornheim. All but the three Panini were identified as coming from specific dealers in Paris (listed on the right):

Canaletto	1 Painting (oil)	Joan Schmitt
Panini	3 Paintings	?
Marieschi	1 Painting	Pierre Landry
School of Marieschi	2 Paintings	Toulino. ¹³⁶



FIGURE 11. John Opie (1761–1807), *Lady in White* — seized from the collection of Georges Wildenstein in Château de Moyre (Columbiers), August 1940; passed to Göring and subsequently to Erich Koch, deposited in Weimar, February 1945; received by the Hermitage, Leningrad, 1949.

Image courtesy of France, Ministère des affaires Étrangères, Archives diplomatique, La Courneuve (209SUP).

Inadequate data makes it impossible to match any of these with specific paintings listed among Koch's deposits in Weimar. The name of Marieschi does not appear on the Weimar lists, and there were seven Canalettos on the 1945 list of Koch's Weimar deposits.

A French Foreign Ministry database index to Rose Valland's postwar research files investigating French art sold to German dealers confirms these listings and suggests that the three Panini paintings (unnamed titles or subjects) were of French

provenance, but the referenced document appears to be missing from the Foreign Ministry Archives, now moved to La Courneuve. The database entry also references a fourth Panini with the subject, *Landscape with Ruins*. The latter might well conform to either of the first two Panini paintings listed in the Koch Collection deposited in Weimar in February 1945.¹³⁷

40. Panini	<i>Charming Scene in Ancient Architecture</i> (<i>Zauberszene. In antiker Architektur</i>)	1.16 x 1.54 cm
43. Panini	<i>Landscape with Ruins, Roman Architecture</i> (<i>Ruinenlandschaft, Römische Architektur</i>)	1.77 x 1.25 cm
62. Panini	<i>Courtyard Arcade with a Game of Cards</i> (<i>Arkadenhof mit Kartenspielern</i>)	0.97 x 1.17 cm

Those three Panini paintings (without frames) deposited with the Koch Collection in Weimar were not listed in February 1947. Hence, presumably they were seized by Popp in April 1945, or otherwise removed before the collection was transferred to the Weimar bank and subsequently removed by SVAG. Five Panini paintings with ancient ruins are listed in the 1947 French *Répertoire* of paintings removed from France during the war, but the only one specifically described as *Landscape with Ancient Ruins* has smaller dimensions than either of the first two Panini landscapes on the Weimar lists for Koch's 1945 deposits.¹³⁸

THE CASE OF AN "ART-LOOTING SUSPECT"

As far as is known, the art collection Koch deposited in Weimar was presumably housed in Königsberg, but serious provenance and migratory analysis will be required for all of his known acquisitions, as is the case with the art collections of other Nazi elite. Toward the end of the war, the US Roberts Commission had good reason to list Erich Koch in its file for "Art-Looting Suspects," explaining that the "Gauleiter of Ostpreussen and Commissioner of the Ukraine, not only gave GOERING several pictures, but purchased confiscated art from the GOERING Collection."¹³⁹ Apparently neither the Roberts Commission nor the Soviet prosecutor at the Rosenberg trial in Nuremberg (cited at the outset) were aware that Koch, much more than the accused Rosenberg, was responsible for the seizure and destruction in East Prussia of an estimated 900 paintings and close to 450 icons seized on German retreat from Ukraine and transported under his orders to Königsberg. While a Polish court handed down a death sentence to Koch for crimes against humanity, crimes of art looting was not one of the counts against him.

Yet under Koch and Rosenberg, Nazi destruction of cultural heritage in and from the former Soviet Union was even more brutal than any experienced in the West. German "scorched earth" policy carried out under Erich Koch in East Prussia may be seen symbolically as retaliation for Stalin's scorched earth policy, which greeted the Germans on arrival in Kyiv in 1941. But in 1945, it also anticipated Soviet annexation. The art from Ukrainian museums destroyed in East Prussia contributed to estimates that two-thirds of the extensive Soviet art

losses resulting from the war came from Ukrainian museums.¹⁴⁰ Yet in the case of the Koch Collection, not even one of the paintings seized from Ukraine and later retrieved by SVAG in Weimar has returned to Kyiv.

While analysis of the available Weimar lists suggests that many paintings in Koch's personal collection had indeed been seized by retreating Germans from Kyiv and transported, there were even more that Koch purchased from Göring or his cohorts that came from Western European Holocaust victims. Recently released Hermitage documents provide the examples above from the Netherlands and France that arrived in the Hermitage with Goudstikker labels and Wildenstein markings still intact. Still other paintings Koch evacuated to Weimar in 1945 came from as-yet-undetermined sources. Provenance for them will be more difficult to determine, given inadequate data on the Weimar lists and dispersal of the still-missing paintings themselves. International cooperative provenance research is needed with access to those paintings themselves now in Russia and those dispersed by Popp. Some paintings may have come from other Soviet museums, others from abroad. But even as the above examples make clear, identifying the paintings Koch acquired from different sources and tracing their migration and possible survival will not be an easy task.

While well demonstrating the pan-European migration of Nazi-looted art, the Koch Collection takes on added significance as the only known Nazi elite collection "retrieved" in part after the war by Soviet authorities. As far as is known, it is also the only Nazi elite collection combining questionable "purchases" of potentially looted art from private victims and Jewish dealers in the West with seizures from Soviet state museums. Thus it also provides an important case study underscoring the major divergence in patterns of Nazi art looting in Eastern and Western Europe. The significant art looting from private Jewish collections in the West stands in blatant contrast to German art seizures primarily from state collections in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Unlike the extensive private Jewish cultural losses in Western Europe, given Bolshevik nationalization and abolition of private property, Nazi loot from the Soviet Union was mainly from state institutions, especially from within pre-1939 borders, where the brutal Holocaust was rampant but not accompanied by the same measure of art looting from private Jewish collections and the world-class losses experienced in other parts of Europe.

Those differences also raise alternate moral and legal issues in terms of potential restitution East and West, as the Koch Collection itself likewise poses striking dilemmas. Today, a quarter century since revelations about the "beautiful loot" from Soviet secret repositories, there may now be less hope for art restitution from Russia. But even more serious has been the lack of publicly available information about the art in Russia—from victimized state museums, such as those in Ukraine and Poland, as well as the many thrice-seized or "twice-saved" art treasures belonging to Holocaust victims in the West. The new 2014 Hermitage publication of documents on "displaced art" is a welcome step forward; subsequent volumes are eagerly awaited. Perhaps the inconclusiveness of this case study and the many

questions remaining could encourage not only more international cooperative efforts in provenance research, but also an exhibition of some of the surviving artistic victims of war.

The Koch Collection is a striking example of the difficulties in tracing art treasures as victims as well as survivors of war. Obviously if we are to hope for eventual identification and public access to displaced art, much more international dialogue is needed in the art and museum world, instead of secret storage of unidentified “trophies” and confrontation or isolation in a renewed cultural Cold War. Seventy years after the end of fighting, too many cultural treasures remain “displaced” prisoners of the Second World War and victims of the silence, repression, and sensitivities that still often surround our subject. If the broader problems of displaced art throughout the European continent could become our focus, perhaps both East and West would be prepared for more transparent identification as well as “just and fair solutions” for the “survivors” among wartime looted art from state museums of the former Soviet Union as well as from Western victims of the Holocaust.

ENDNOTES

1. Regarding Koch and his political and economic exploits in East Prussia, see especially Meindl 2007 and Fuhrer and Schön 2010.

2. See examples of the Rosenberg-Koch duel in Dallin 1981, especially 84–85 and 123–51.

3. See for example, Koch’s 1942 speech, “Soveshchanie v Rovno, sostoiavsheesia s 26–28 avgusta 1942 g.,” translated from German, copy in GA RF, A-659/2/50, fols. 45–46.

4. See Petrovskii 2002, 57–67.

5. Rohde 1942. See the account of the seizure and fate of the Amber Chamber at <http://www.amberroom.org/history.htm>.

6. Ovsianov 2010, 85–102, leaves the fate of the amber panels with some questions, given all the speculation and alternate theories, although he makes clear that Koch was displeased that Rohde had not succeeded in evacuating the crates before rail lines were broken off to central Germany after January 1945. See especially his chapters on Rohde “Kto Vy, doktor Rode?” expanded in 2010 from Ovsianov 1997, 285–303. Cf. Morgner 2012, and his interview, based on the Stasi files, also concluding that it never left Königsberg.

7. Kajetan Mühlmann (1898–1958), in a postwar interrogation, boasted that he prevented the shipment from Łancut and other Polish treasures Koch had ordered to Königsberg, US National Archives in College Park, MD (*hereafter* NACP), RG 260 (OMGUS), *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 145.

8. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (*hereafter* GA RF), fond A-659: “Kolleksiia dokumentov po rozysku na territorii Kaliningradskoi oblasti Iantarnoi komnaty i drugikh muzeinykh tsennostei, pokhishchennykh v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny.” I am grateful to GA RF director Sergei Mironenko for arranging my access. Hryhorii Poliushko, the only Ukrainian to have consulted the fond, kindly advised me about the inventories of art from Kyiv that he had only been able to consult briefly. The collection was earlier held in Kaliningrad, where copies remain in the State Archive of Kaliningrad Oblast (GAKO), fond R-1173, with additional materials from earlier expeditions.

9. Ovsianov 1997 and Ovsianov 2010. See also Ovsianov 2001 about postwar expeditions searching for the Amber Chamber. I am very grateful to Avenir Petrovich for consultations on many details.

10. “Byvshee imenie E. Kokha v Noutive [Nertief],” GA RF, A-659/1/68, fols. 3–6 (cc. fols. 7–10); A-659/2/15, fols. 8–9 and 20–23, with ground plans and photographs.

11. Ovsianov 1997, Appendix 2, 392–97. See note 44 below.

12. See more details about the art from Kyiv brought to Königsberg in Grimsted 2013, 47–91. Available at http://www.huri.harvard.edu/images/pdf/grimsted_kyiv_loss_mar_13.pdf.

13. Presentation by Lt. Gen. M.Iu. Raginsky (Assistant Prosecutor for the USSR), Sixty-Fourth Day, Thursday, 21 February 1946, in *Niurnbergskii protsess*, 4: 414. An English translation of the proceedings is published in *Trial of German*, 8:61–62. No details have yet been found to confirm the Kharkiv component, except for Rhode's statement in a 1945 Soviet interrogation. Most of the Kharkiv paintings were sent by the ERR to Bavaria; reportedly, most were destroyed in transit.

14. The text of the document appears in English (without appended inventories) in US Office of Chief Counsel, *Nazi Conspiracy*, 3:99–101 (USSR 372/ 055-PS); RMbO, Director Group P4 Göpel to Chief of the Political Directorate Staff [SS-Ogruf Gottlieb Berger], RMbO (Berlin, 12 September 1944); with copy of same text addressed to the Reich Minister [Rosenberg] (14 September 1944). "Subject: Works of art shipped back from Ukraine [Secret]"; with a request for transfer to the Führer; Rosenberg authenticated the document before his trial, but claimed not to have seen it, as per US file for 055-PS, NACP, RG 238, War Crimes Trials Collection, PS Series. The document (with incomplete inventories appended) is in *NARA Microfilm Publication T988* (from British copy), identical to Soviet copies in GA RF, note 15. The document found by US Army was in PS Series from Paris office of Colonel Robert Storey.

15. GA RF, fond 7445/2/125, fols. 176–214; 7445/2/127, fols. 164–204; and 7445/2/138, fols. 311–48. The negative photostats of the German originals are now badly faded and some pages are out of order. All three copies of the inventories start on page 4 (section IIa), lacking the title and Section I (covering the Western Division). The same is true of the original 055-PS in the US Paris-Storey series (in NACP, RG 238), which was used as USSR-372. The German inventories list 646 paintings, 320 icons, 17 miniatures, and 11 watercolors; 19 crates lacked inventories.

16. See the copies of those crate lists in endnotes 17–19. Also included were Crates MW-11-26 with Oriental and glass figurines, and engravings in 21 large and 30 small cartons, 6 packets and one roll; Crates W 1-13 lacked inventories. These figures may explain the variance often found in the number of crates cited in different documents.

17. The draft and official German shipping report remains in Kyiv: Winter to RKU (Dr Köhlbach), Troppau, 29 January 1944, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchychk orhaniv derzhavnoi vlyady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (*hereafter* TsDAVO), fond 3206/5/8, fols. 120–21. Winter specifies enclosure of 48 inventories—11 for the Western Division and 37 for the East European Division, but copies of referenced inventories are not preserved with the out-going copy in LV ABM files. By late January 1944, Winter and the LV ABM had retreated from Kamianets-Podilskyyi to Troppau (now Czech, Opava), where Ukrainian archival scouts found the records in summer 1945.

18. Chief of Directing Group [Goepel] P 4 (Führungsgruppe P 4, Kulturfragen) to the Reich Minister [Rosenberg], Berlin, July 1944, attached to document NG-4353 with the title (in German) – "Inventory of Works of Art from the Kyiv Provincial Museum, brought to Kamianets-Podilskyyi and Forwarded to Königsberg," NACP, RG 238, NG Series. German lists of first ten crates of seized Western art from Kyiv are among Moscow ChGK records, GA RF, fond 7021, *opis'* 116.

19. [Goepel] (Führungsgruppe P 4, Kulturfragen) to Reich Minister [Rosenberg], Berlin, July 1944, NG-4353(a) (with English translation), *NARA Microfilm Publication T-1139*, roll 44. Printout copies from the microfilm and with typescript Russian translation (c.1980) of NG-4353, furnished by the Stasi to the Soviet Commission, GA RF, A-659/2/48, fols. 13–155. Lavra Museum Head Curator, Hryhorii Poliushko, the only Kyiv researcher to have had brief access, kindly told me about the inventories; he had not realized they were from US Nuremberg microfilms. In fact they are attached to NG-4353, an earlier version of the Sept. RMbO IMT document prepared (but never used) for another US war-crimes trial.

20. See the memorial article by Bilokin 1998, 134–53, with Polina Kul'zhenko 1998 – "Spomin" (Siniava, Kyiv Oblast, April 1946), 150–53, translated from her Russian report given to Ukrainian historian Serhii Bilokin before her death in Kostroma. Additional biographic data and copies of Kul'zhenko's wartime writings for the Germans in Kyiv are in her KGB file in Central State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine (Galuzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv – *hereafter* GDA SBU), fond 6, file 74305 fp. (Sled. fond, delo no. 148743).

21. Kul'zhenko 1998, 151. The referenced extract of Kul'zhenko's report is in GA RF, A-659/2/44, fols. 189–91. Kul'zhenko's travel orders were issued 31 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/24, fols. 284–85, 291, 293–96. Documents in the LV ABM files in TsDAVO confirm the shipping dates, Kul'zhenko's arrival in Königsberg, and other details: TsDAVO, fond 3206, *opis*' 5, especially file 8.

22. Kul'zhenko recounted details about her lost monograph on the icons, move to Wildenhoff, and subsequent developments in "Spomin," later reaffirmed in an interview in GA RF, A-659/2/44, fols. 194–95. A brief historical note and engraving of Wildenhoff estate and mansion is available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dzikowo_Ilaweckie; a nineteenth-century engraving (see Figure 2A) is available at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schloss_Wildenhoff_Sammlung_Duncker.jpg.

23. The German RmBO July 1944 report mentioned above (note 19) strongly recommended evacuation, inventorying, and photographs.

24. A fragmentary list of paintings from Königsberg Castle with penciled evacuation locations is in the Stasi Archive, Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR (*hereafter* BStU) – AR 8, Archiv der Centralstelle, Sekretariat Neiber 392, fols. 41–42 (initial page and title missing; source not indicated).

25. Kul'zhenko 1998, 152–53; later excerpt in GA RF, A-659/2/44, fols. 194–95.

26. Kul'zhenko 1998, 152–53.

27. Kul'zhenko interrogation of 11 November 1946, GDA SBU, fond 6/74305 fp, vol. 1, fol. 59. Reports of her interrogations in East Prussia have not been located.

28. Kul'zhenko 1998, above note 20.

29. Poliushko 2012 – Ihoriv'ska ikona – Kyiv Russian Museum registration # Zh-280. See also Bentchev [Benchev] 1997 with illustrations of several lost icons from the Lavra at <http://bentchev.tripod.com/Entschlafen-Ikone.htm>.

30. See the website report on "Dzikowo Ilaweckie – Wildenhoff", http://www.ostpreussen.net/index.php?seite_id=12&kreis=16&stadt=04. Ovsianov 2010, 119–20, briefly mentions the investigation. A Polish amateur treasure hunter has been collecting all available documentation, but has not located the remnants; he kindly furnished me with a copy of the Polish report.

31. I appreciate the assistance of archivists and curators from the National Museum and Archeological Museum in Warsaw, but they were unable to verify the fate of the fragments that were reportedly deposited in their museums.

32. See Ovsianov 1997, especially 186–200, and 2010, 72–73. Several Kyiv curators were quite surprised when I recounted in September 2010 that part of the Koch Collection was found in Weimar in 1948 (see below), although that fact and the availability of German lists had been noted by Tetiana Sebta at the Chernihiv conference in 1994 – Sebta 1996, 132–33.

33. I have so far been unable to locate the Polish extradition papers or the full file on Koch's British Hamburg Military Court extradition proceedings and transfer to Polish authorities in The National Archive in Kew (*hereafter* TNA). There is a reference to a 71-page transcript from the Hamburg Court in TNA, FO 1014/365, but the subsequent transcription could not be located. The Soviet petition, which the British rejected due to inadequate documentation, included only published Soviet ChGK reports on Nazi atrocities in Kyiv and Rovno – in TNA, FO 1060/798.

34. See Ovsianov 1997, especially 186–200; 2010, 72–73. See the Polish account of the trial, Orłowski 1959 and 1961.

35. Ovsianov 2010, 120.

36. See the article by Khanenko Museum curator Zhyvkova 2010, 5; she documents the borrowing on the basis of a receipt "Empfangsbescheinigung" (23 March 1942) in the museum archive; copy from GA RF, fond 7021/116/250, fol. 62.

37. Roslavets 1998, *Catalogue*. Roslavets 2002 recounts the loss in East Prussia.

38. A search on the term "Khanenko" in lostart.de will produce a display of the listings, although images are not available for many.

39. The painting from the original Khanenko Collection, entitled *Acadian Landscape* in the 1998 museum catalogue of losses – Roslavets 1998, no. 207. Listed in German on the wartime receipts and

shipping inventories as *Nimphen und Silen*. Olena Zhyvkova is preparing a detailed article on the painting to coincide with the presentation in Kyiv.

40. Listed on lostart.de with the ID: 237262; Kyiv registration #2610; 39 x 71 cm. The same image in the 1998 catalogue (no. 207, 60–61) is from an archival copy of the initial printed signature of an unfinished album of the Khanenko Collection, covering the Dutch paintings – *Tableaux des écoles néerlandaises* (Kiev, 1911–1913), 51; the title there in French was *Sylène et bacchantes dans un paysage*. Olena Zhyvkova kindly showed me that printed signature in 2012, but I have not been permitted to examine other relevant documents in the museum archive.

41. Doyle New York 2012, 21 (lot 84), with image, oil on canvas, 59.7 x 77.5 cm; since withdrawn from the website doylenewyork.com. Roslavets 1998, *Catalogue*, 100, no. 395 (with small image), entitled *An Amorous Couple*, oil on canvas, 67 x 82 cm; Kyiv inventory no. 5144. See also Magdeburg lostart.de, ID: 237450. I am grateful to Olena Zhyvkova for informing me of this painting in New York the day before my lecture on the subject at Columbia University. According to provenance indications supplied by Doyle and the current owner, the Spanierman Gallery in New York, it first surfaced after the war in 1953 in a private collection in London; later sold from a private collection at auction in Deerfield, Massachusetts, it was purchased by Ira Spanierman (see <http://www.spanierman.com/>), whose Spanierman Gallery in New York has been closed.

42. Olena Zhyvkova kindly shared with me her provenance account; I was able to examine the painting thanks to specialists at Doyle's. Zhykova is preparing a detailed article to be published when the painting returns to Kyiv.

43. Albert Popp, born in Brockau, 2 May 1904, died in hospital in Oberliderbackh (near Frankfurt), 13 August 1978. See Wiedemann 2000, and extensive documents in the Stasi Archive. Popp was a longstanding NSDAP member with a high rank in the NS Aviator Corps (NS Fliegerkorps – NSFK) and a cousin of Admiral Wilhelm Kanaris. He was also nephew and personal advisor to Gauleiter of Saxony, Martin Mutscmann, and had several other high posts. After escaping west, he married a wealthy German heiress and was based in Frankfurt.

44. “Verzeichnis der vom Gauleiter Koch – Königsberg am 9. Februar 1945 aus Museumsgut im Landesmuseum eingestellten Museumsgegenstände. Eingebracht von Hausverwalter Poppa,” a copy of the original was received by Nina Senger with accompanying memorandum addressed to the Thuringian Peoples Education Ministry (Thür. Volksbildungsministerium), Weimar, 15 May 1945, fols. 212–15 (penciled fols. 209–12), stamped as received 16 May 1945. Two copies are held in the Stasi Archive, BStU MfS, AB Neiber, 392, AK “Puschkin,” fols. 054–058, with the same Weimar foliation. I am grateful to Nina Senger for providing me with copies and assisting me with access to the Stasi Archive.

45. Ovsianov 1997, 189–90, and Appendix 2, 392–97. Ovsianov notes receipt in the 1990s from Gunther Wermusch in Berlin. No further information about the contents of Koch's personal collection was found in the Moscow/Kaliningrad Commission records in Moscow, nor among the additional archival records examined in Kaliningrad (GAKO).

46. Wermusch 1991, 145–51. The published version lacks running numbers and archival source. An abbreviated form is available at <http://www.amberroom.org/kaktus/kaktus-vertrag-deu.htm>.

47. See also the exposé based on documentation in the Stasi Archive by Wiedemann 2000, 84. Popp was reportedly accompanied on the Weimar mission by Gustav Wyst, a former postal official in Königsberg. See also the report of another major Stasi operative, Enke 1986.

48. Scheidig later recalled that there were 60 framed Ridinger engravings about which he commented, “Depot des ehem. Gauleiters Koch, Gemäldebestand, nach Erinnerung notiert Mai 1950 von Dr. Scheidig und Frl. Dr. Marchand,” BStU MfS, AB Neiber, 392, AK “Puschkin,” fol. 047; and also fol. 126.

49. Ovsianov 1997, 189–90, and Appendix 2, 392–97.

50. The painting is listed by Yeide 2009, *Goering* A1567 (with image); probably Goudstikker #720 as listed in the “Black Book.” Purchased by W.A. Hofer (for Göring) in July 1940, it was sold to Erich Koch, 27 March 1943. See also the 2012 DHM Göring Database, “Die Kunstsammlung Hermann Göring,” compiled by Hans-Christian Lohr, RMG 1685, available at <http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering>. A Dutch postwar claim is found in the Herkomst Gezocht (Origins Unknown) files, SNK 8044/762/9267. Nina Senger kindly informed me that it surfaced at auction in Zurich in

1982, Christie's in Amsterdam in 1989–1990, and then in Copenhagen (Rasmussen) in 1991. See below note 122; see notes 94 and 130 for those in private collections.

51. “Gemälde aus einen Weimarer Depot des ehem. Gauleiters Koch, Königsberg.” I first received a barely legible copy from Tanya Sebta in Kyiv, which she had found in the Bremen Collection, stamped by the Stasi Archive in Berlin with foliation BStU, 048–049, and which came from the Weimar State Archive, N. 4221, fols. 64–65, in files of the Thuringian Peoples Education Ministry (Land Thüringen, Ministerium für Volksbildung). An accompanying note attributes the list to Dr. Scheidig and Dr. Bergner, 25 February 1947. I subsequently acquired a better copy from the Stasi Archive, BStU, ar Z39167, fol. 459.

52. See more details below regarding the paintings so marked.

53. “Fragen und Gedankenstätzen für Koch, Erich,” BStU MfS, AB Neiber, 392, AK “Puschkin,” fol. 137.

54. “Depot Koch im Landesmuseum Weimar. Vorgänge,” 9 February 1945–September 1948, Koch file, BStU, MfS –Skr Neiber 392, fols. 102–103.

55. German shipping lists from the West European Division found in Moscow in 1990 (this author arranged copies for the Kyiv museum) provide details for 65 paintings and 38 frames, GA RF, fond 7021 (ChGK)/116/250, fols. 33–40, confirmed by a Khanenko Museum register. Confirmation of that shipment is also found in a report among MCCP research records from NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, available at <http://www.fold3.com/image/270055770/>, and the subsequent initial shipment from Kamianets-Podilskyi (note 17).

56. Those from Crate I from Kyiv that coincide with the German list from Weimar are: no. 3 – Abregarde [or Abrahrd?], *Geflügelhof* (reg. #6784); no. 7 – Friederich Hildebrandt, *Kinder am Strand* (reg. #6784); no. 8 – Franz Winterhalder, *Brustbild eines Knabens* (reg. #3706); and no. 10 – Andreas Achenbach, *Barlassen am Üjer* (reg. #6560).

57. Details regarding the Western paintings on Koch's list require further verification in Kyiv.

58. Those three paintings were numbered 50, 52, and 56, on the Weimar list (9 February 1945). Curators in the Russian Museum in Kyiv kindly reported no possible matches among their missing paintings.

59. Notation about such removals is on the memorandum “Depot Koch im Landesmuseum Weimar. Vorgänge,” 9 February 1945–September 1948, Koch file, BStU, MfS –Skr Neiber 392, fols. 102–103.

60. Several staff in the Kyiv Museum of Russian Art kindly assisted my research, showed me their surviving acquisition registers, searched for documents, and furnished me with available images.

61. Faktorovich 1994, *Katalog proizvedenii*.

62. A copy of the German receipt (4 July 1942) is preserved among the Moscow/Kaliningrad Commission collection, GA RF, A-659/2/47, fol. 146; the German title is given as *Mädchen in Bauertracht* (80 x 98 cm), dated 1872; original receipt in TsGALI (now RGALI), fond 962/6/1180, fol. 180 (now reclassified). The Koch withdrawal is noted in Faktorovich 1994, *Katalog proizvedenii*, 5. Museum curators report its inventory no. 1458 (oil on canvas, 98 x 78 cm), attributed to the Vinnitsa circle of A.P. Venetsianov.

63. K.A. Agafonova, “Raport” to Comrade Mikhnenkov, Nachal'nik Otdela restitutsii Upravleniia reparatsii i postavok SVAG, Berlin, 15 September 1948, RGAE, fond 413, *opis'* 16 (earlier file 292; since withdrawn and reclassified), fols. 195–96; cc [signed], fols. 217–18. The SVAG reports do not identify Agafonova, but a Weimar document from the Stasi file refers to her as an art specialist from the Hermitage in Leningrad; her specialty in Dutch art is confirmed from other sources. Gos. Ermitage 2014, Appendix 3, 363, has a short biographic sketch “Agafonova Kseniia Aleksandrovna (1903–1964).”

64. Major/Lt. Colonel Sergei Sidorov in civilian life headed the Department of Visual Arts in the All-Union Committee for Arts in Moscow. Having participated in several of the Trophy Brigades starting in spring 1945, he also headed the Art Restoration Center established in Moscow. See Akinsha and Kozlov 1995, *passim*.

65. Agafonova, “Otchet o komandirovke s 27 avgusta po 11 sentiabria po zemle Tiuringiia,” RGAE, 413/16 (earlier file 292), fols. 193–94; cc [signed] fols. 213–14).

66. Agafonova signed her concluding report “Zakliuchenie” (Berlin, 9 December 1948) as Expert from the Committee for Artistic Affairs under the Committee of Ministers of the USSR (Komitet po

delam iskusstv pri Sovmine SSSR), addressed to Lt. Colonel Ovchinnikov, Chief of the Administration of Reparations and Deliveries SVAG, RGAE, fond 413, *opis'* 16 (earlier file 292, fol. 192).

67. Agafonova and S. Sidorov, “Zakliuchenie,” 9 December 1948. Probably those frames belonged to some of the unframed paintings on the 9 February Weimar list.

68. Major-General Leonid Ivanovich Zorin (b. Kharkiv, 1906–1998?) headed the SVAG Division (Otdel) for Reparations and Deliveries, reorganized 10 December 1945 as the Administration for Reparations and Deliveries (Upravlenie po reparatsii i postavok). Before his assignment to SVAG, Zorin had risen to deputy director of a unit within the Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Trade. He continued its functions in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) heading the Soviet Trade Representation Office (Torgovaia predstavitel'stva SSSR).

69. Konchin 1999. He was quoted by Ovsianov 2010, 73 (attributed to *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, 30 June 1994, but that article could not be located). Konchin repeated the story in several other collected accounts; following declassification of the files, for example, Konchin 2009, 284–86.

70. Since my discovery of the documents about the Koch Collection (earlier file 292) and identification of those long-lost files within SVAG records, the entire series within the foreign trade records (fond 413, *opis'* 16) has been reprocessed in RGAE. Unfortunately not reunited with contingent SVAG files from the same department in GA RF (fond 3713, *opis'* 26; see Kunzel 2009), most of the documents relating to restitution and retrieval of cultural valuables have been withdrawn from public availability; a separate, sanitized “collection” now replaces the earlier *opis'* 16: “Kolleksiia dokumentov Upravleniia po postavkam iz Vengrii, Germanii, Rumynii, Finliandii za 1941-1952 gg.” (fond 413, *opis'* 16). Accordingly, citations here are based on 2009 signatures because I have been unable to recheck references.

71. Akinsha and Kozlov 1995, 142–43; their account is based on Konchin 1990.

72. See the exhibition catalogue by Kostenevich 1995. More detailed lists of paintings in the Krebs Collection are in Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 56 (7 May 1949), 236–47; details about additional receipts from German public and private collections are provided in the report attached to doc. 63, 262–81, which also covers several of the paintings from France and the Netherlands in the Koch Collection discussed below.

73. “Dokladnaia zapiska starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha K.A. Agafonova o postuplenii v Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh muzeinikh predmetov v 1949 g. so spetseshelonom ‘Raznoeksport’” [1949], Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 54, 232–33. Agafonova's finding of the Koch Collection is noted in the introduction by Aponasenko 2014, 57–58.

74. Agafonova, “Dokladnaia zapiska” [1949], Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 54, 233.

75. Vladimir Levinson-Lessing, “Dokladnaia zapiska” [1949], Gos. Ermitage 2014, no. 55, 235. See the biographic note about Levinson-Lessing (1893–1972), 370.

76. Roslavets 1998, *Catalogue*, no. 474 (dated 1859), oval without frame, 0.45 x 0.58 cm, inv. #3706.

77. Those from Crate I sent to Rivne from Kyiv that coincide with the German list from Weimar are: no. 3 – Abregarde [or Abrahrd?], *Geflügelhof [Chicken House]* (reg. #6784); no. 7 – Friederich Hildebrandt, *Kinder am Strand [Children on the Beach]* (reg. #6784); no. 8 – Franz Winterhalter, *Brustbild eines Knabens [Portrait of a Small Boy]* (reg. #3706); and no. 10 – Andreas Achenbach, *Bar-kassen am Üjer [Sailing Skiffs near the Coast]* (reg. #6564?).

78. GA RF, fond 7021/116/250, fol. 60. That “copy” of the list of 41 “borrowed” paintings is not dated, but the entries correspond to museum registration book notations for removal 23 March 1942, as confirmed in Kyiv.

79. I am grateful for assistance from the Khanenko Museum, although additional research will be required when more documents from the museum archive are available.

80. Soviet claims submitted 27 July 1949, Archives, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères RF, Archives (hereafter AMAE RF), 209SUP, carton 132/A76. Corresponding outgoing copies of the Soviet claims, related correspondence, and incoming French dismissals are among the SVAG files in RGAE, fond 316, *opis'* 16, but those documents have now been withdrawn and reclassified. The Soviet claims all erroneously stated the paintings had been seized from Kyiv by named ERR staff including Deitrich Roskamp, who had visited Kyiv briefly in 1942. Roskamp was no longer there in September and October 1943 when Winter's command seized the remaining art on their retreat first to Kamianets-Podilskyi.

81. Rousseau 1945, “Goering” (CIR, no. 2).
82. The artist name is not given for either the Göring or Hitler portraits. Both had been removed from the collection before it was deposited in the Weimar bank safe.
83. Göring to Mühlmann, 20 May 1943, NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs, Holocaust- en Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, Archief 281 (Van der Leeuw Collection), carton 123.
84. Yeide 2009. Yeide is Head of Curatorial Records at the National Gallery of Art (DC).
85. See the 2012 DHM Göring Database, above note 50.
86. See the online exhibit of the Contemporary Jewish Museum, San Francisco: *Reclaimed: Paintings from the Collection of Jacques Goudstikker*, <http://www.thecjm.org/on-view/in-the-past/reclaimed-paintings-from-the-collection-of-jacques-goudstikker/about>, including a video of the moving presentation at the museum, 28 October 2010, with Marei von Saher, Goudstikker’s granddaughter Charlène von Saher, and their New York attorney Lawrence Kaye.
87. The original of Goudstikker’s “Black Book” is available in the Amsterdam Municipal Archive. A photocopy is available in the Herkomst Gezocht Bureau in The Hague. Goudstikker numbers cited here are from that source.
88. Rousseau 1945, “Goering Collection” (CIR, no. 2), 79, 154–55.
89. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, nos. A332, A333, A378, and A379, notes Göring’s sale via Hofer to Koch; all (72 x 98 cm). The Goudstikker numbers cited are those from the Goudstikker “Black Book.” All four appear in *Catalogue de la Collection Goudstikker*, XXXVI, with images, nos. 9–12. Goudstikker numbers and titles appear in an archival copy of a Goudstikker 1932 catalogue with appraisal notes by Rosenberg of Rosenberg & Strebel (NY 1939) – copy in the NACP MCCC research records, RG 260, NARA *Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 148. Goudstikker purchased them from Barozzi; they were from the collection of Galerie Vasoni, Venice. See additional provenance data in Constable, note 91.
90. Variance in titles and dimensions, and the three additional Canaletto scenes of Venice on the Weimar 1945 list (note 44 above), makes precise correlation difficult: 1. *Venezianische Ansicht*, 0.73 x 0.19[?] cm; 3. *Canale Grande in Venedig*, 0.72 x 1.11 cm; 16. *Der Grosse Kanal in Venedig*, 0.72 x 1.11 cm; 17. *Venezianischer Klosterhof(?)*, 0.72 x 0.99 cm; 23. *Santa Maria Salute in Venedig*, 0.71 x 0.95 cm; 24. *Platz in Venedig*, 0.72 x 0.99 cm; 59. *Markus-Platz in Venedig*, 0.72 x 1.11 cm.
91. Constable 1989, *Canaletto*, provenance notes (with Yeide numbers added here) in 2: 226 #85(c) (A379); 327 #277 (A332); 328, #281 (A333); and 337, #302(b) (A378).
92. Stedelijk Museum 1934, exhibit, *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch bezit*, 55 (no. 66).
93. “Depot des ehem. Gauleiters Koch, Gemäldebestand, nach Erinnerung notiert Mai 1950 von Dr. Scheidig und Frl. Dr. Marchand,” a copy was earlier obtained by Nina Senger from the same Koch file in the Stasi Archive, BStU, MfS, AB Neiber, 392, AK “Puschkin,” fol. 047.
94. Constable 1989, 2: 328, *Canaletto* #281 (A333).
95. *Ibid.*
96. “Dokladnaia zapiska” [1955], Gos. Ermitage 2014, no. 63, p. 275.
97. Roslavets 1998, *Catalogue*, no. 291 (with image): “291. CANALE, Antonio (Canaletto). Canal in Venice. Venetian canal with crowded banks and many gondolas on it. Oil on canvas 114 x 71 cm. Inv. 6683.” The second Kyiv listing, no. 292 – “Follower of Canaletto, the Piazza San Marco in Venice, 114 x 71 cm,” could coincide by title of one the seven Canalettos on the first Weimar list (1945, no. 59), but the dimensions are significantly off. No Canaletto appears on any of the surviving lists of paintings removed from the Kyiv museum by the Germans, either those “borrowed” or those shipped to East Prussia, but not all of the paintings removed were inventoried before shipment, as explained above.
98. See Rousseau 1945, “Bornheim” (DIR, no. 11), Attachment 3, 4. The title and dimensions of the Canaletto are not provided. See other paintings on the list below, note 136.
99. Rousseau 1945, “Goering Collection” (CIR, no. 2), 154–55.
100. An image of the Van Goyen painting – 100 x 93.5 cm – is displayed on the museum website, inventory no. MNG/SD/70/ME. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, C 29 (lacks dimensions and image). The Gdańsk Museum kindly furnished me with images of the painting front and back.
101. It is listed with dimensions in the Goudstikker “Black Book” as #1692, with the Dutch title *Landschap met hofstede*, as also confirmed in the Dutch postwar claim file SNK 2.08.42/751/5779

(9274), as purchased from Dorus Hermsen in The Hague, sold to Göring, 1 July/30 September 1940, and then purchased for the Danzig Museum. I am grateful to Perry Schrier for locating this and subsequently cited SNK documents from the Dutch National Archives in the Herkomst Gezocht files in The Hague. The DHM Göring database listed it as purchased by W.A. Hofer (Berlin), 13 July 1940 and sold to Gauleiter Koch (Forster, Albert), Danzig Stadtmuseum.

102. Antoniewicz 2012, “Gdańskie zabytki,” 9 June 2012. The Van Goyen painting is pictured in the article.

103. The Gdańsk museum kindly furnished me with copies of documents listing the two evacuations, first to Senslau, near Danzig, in 1942, and then to the castle of Reinhardsbrunn, near Gotha, in 1944. The museum revindication list and a page from the exhibit catalogue after its return from Leningrad in 1956 confirms Soviet seizure and restitution.

104. Drost 1943, 13.

105. Winters 2003, 78–79. Also included were *A Young Woman Dressed as a Shepherdess* by Jan Ruttgers Niewael, 86–87 (Drost 1943, 16); and *Hagar and the Angel* by Bol, 88–89 (Drost 1943, 9).

106. The Bol is listed as being of Dutch ownership in SNK 2.08.42/182 and 749/4799.

107. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, A 1537 (lacks dimensions and image); Hofer list quoted in ALIU, “Goering Collection” (CIR No. 2), 79 and 154, similarly *Girl Holding a Candle* (Ger., *Madchen mit Kerz*), as purchased from Douwes (Amsterdam), sold to W.A. Hofer (Berlin), and then sold to Koch (Danzig); as does the DHM Göring database, no. RMG 1467. However, a Dutch SNK claim form for that title (SNK 9848/5190/10055), gives dimensions of 32 x 28 cm. with the Goudstikker number 461 (corresponding to Goudstikker’s “Black Book” 461/1205), indicating it was acquired by Miedl and sold at the Lange Auction (Berlin) of 3 December 1940, no. 164, fol. 37.

108. Alternate documents – SNK 2.08.42, inv. 182 /714 (Douwes), 2915, and inv. 759/2915, list a larger Schalcken painting – 74.5 x 62.5 cm – entitled *Mandoline-speeletter bij karrslicht* (*Mandoline Player by Candlelight*), as having been purchased by Douwes (half owned by Laren Koetser), 30 April 1940, and sold to W.A. Hofer (Berlin), 17 July 1940 [presumably for Göring] with a penciled note that it was purchased by Gauleiter Koch (Königsberg). Neither Schalcken painting has been located, but the Schalcken on the Koch deposit list in Weimar was entitled *The Lacemaker* (*Spitzenklüpplerin*) – 35 x 42 cm, which, according to the 1947 Weimar list, had markings from a Kyiv museum. The Khanenko Museum lost a Schalcken entitled *Game of Cards* – 36 x 49 cm, which was on a German shipping list to Kamianets-Podilskiyi in September 1943. The present whereabouts of the two Schalcken paintings have not been located. I am exceedingly grateful to Perry Schrier for assisting in identification of these Schalcken paintings.

109. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, B10 (lacks dimensions and image), entitled *Still Life* or *Marine*. The painting by Van Beyeren, *Still Life with Grapes* (*Stilleben mit Trauben*) had been purchased in Germany from Josef Bloch (Berlin private collection) by W.A. Hofer [for Göring], 3 September 1939 for RM 6,000; sold to Göring, 30 September 1940 for RM 20,500, who then sold it to Gauleiter Koch (Förster, Albert), for the Danzig Stadtmuseum, July 1940. Slightly variant data is given in the DHM Göring database (RMG 223 – lacks image).

110. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, B10 (lacks dimensions and image), entitled *Still Life* or *Marine*. The *Marine* alternative probably refers to a second painting. An SNK (2.08.42) initial declaration form 178 (Pieter de Boer), lists Abraham van Beyeren (lacks dimensions) *Vischstilieven* (*Marine Still Life* – image attached), from the Huygen Collection, as sold by P. de Boer to the Danzig Museum, June 1943, confirmed by a later claim SNK 2.08.42/749/1890(0365). The DHM Göring database has two entries (RMG 225 and 226) entitled *Marine* by Abraham van Beyeren, which might conform to the second painting, both listed with the dealer Etienne Delaunoy (Amsterdam), 5 September 1940 – one RM No. 518 – 49.5 x 93 cm – and a second 519 – 52 x 83.5 cm (with no more provenance details). Locations are unknown for both, but no Van Beyeren is mentioned by Drost (1943), nor in documents furnished me by the Gdańsk museum. I am exceedingly grateful to Perry Schrier for locating Dutch documentation for these Van Beyeren paintings.

111. “Dokladnaia zapiska” [1949], Gos. Ermitage 2014, no. 63, 275. The Cuyp is numbered 28 on both Weimar lists. SNK 9127/750/14645 (with image) has Goudstikker #1284; DHM Göring RMG

00531 gives Goudstikker number 1284, from Erich Gritzbach (Berlin), 13 September 1940, to Gauleiter Koch (Königsberg?).

112. It was no. 14 (0.52 x 0.66 cm) without frame on the 1945 Weimar list; in 1947 it was no. 29 (seventeenth century). The Hermitage noted it as nineteenth century. A corresponding Rembrandt reference is not found in the Goudstikker “Black Book” but was possibly listed under a different artist.

113. Dr. Beata Purc-Stepniak kindly escorted me through the Dutch exhibits that included the Van Goyen in question.

114. I am grateful to Perry Schrier for furnishing me with copies of the SNK registration/claims forms for these paintings from the *Herkomst Gezocht* files in The Hague, together with a copy of the Drost book, and for further assisting my investigations.

115. De Boer file, SNK 2.08.42, inv. 178. The SNK form gives dimensions for the Molenaer panel, 33.5 x 32.5 cm (with image). Also included is an untitled painting by Castiglioni – and the *Marine Still Life* by Abraham van Beyeren mentioned above (note 109) from the Huygen Collection.

116. The initial SNK registration form – SNK (2.08.42)/757/4254 (7629) – gives the title as *Familiegroep*, 121 x 110 cm, corresponding to the caption with image in the Drost 1943 catalogue, 19. The Goudstikker-Miedl number is 5164; it was sold at the H.W. Lange auction (Berlin), 12 March 1941 (lot 71; image 71). It appears on the Gdansk restitution list from Leningrad in 1956, no. 151, entitled *Rodzian artysty* (earlier City Museum registration no. 417). The Dutch SNK form does not mention Danzig, but most probably that transaction would have been in Berlin.

117. This document was found in NIOD, Archief 281 (A.J. Van der Leeuw Collection), folder 347, which includes a series of dealer files from the Dienststelle Mühlmann. But too few details are given to enable identifying titles and artists.

118. A copy of the Hofer “Liste IV: 27.III.43 Verkauft an Gauleiter Koch” (signed Berlin 4.XI.43), fol. 190, is in NIOD, Archief 211 (Göring)/4 (now online); also in NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), M1946/roll 127, frame 804. This corrects listings by Rousseau, “Goering” (CIR no.2), 162, saying most of these paintings were sold to Flick, as further explained by Yeide 2009, *Goering*, 408 (A1423).

119. DHM Database RMG 00415 lists the two Van Cleve paintings as sold to Flick rather than Koch, but Yeide has corrected that on the basis of the Hofer “Liste IV” (note 85). Goudstikker’s “Black Book” has no listing for *Maerten van Cleve*.

120. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, A1534 (with image) – dimensions 36.5 x 50.5 cm, SNK 2.08.42, inv. 9833/759; 9428; The painting was earlier listed in Goudstikker, 1928–1929, *Catalogue*, XXXVI, no. 69 (with image).

121. Yeide has no photograph for the Claesz Heda, but her description mentions “oysters,” which would coincide with the title in the Weimar list: “Stilleblen mit Austern [oysters].”

122. Yeide lists the Jan Weenix with a photograph. The Hofer sale to Koch (27.III.43) lists the title as *Grosse Jagdstilleben*. While the Weimar 1945 list #13 reads “Geflügelstilleben Angeblich” [attributed to] Weenix, the two most recent sales listed it as “circle of Weenix”: Christie’s, Amsterdam, 12 June 1990 (lot no. 177), and Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, 12 April 1991 (lot no. 12). See above note 50.

123. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, lists the Aertsen (with a photograph) as A411. It is listed as a Göring purchase “IV” [n.d.], no. 9, NIOD, Archief 211, fol. 457[456], for RM 8,000. Both Weimar lists suggest it may be a fake. The DHM Database RMG 00009 does not note the sale of the *Brautnacht* to Koch, but Yeide has corrected that. The SNK claim lists the dimensions as 93 x 133 cm.

124. The Jacob van Ruisdael painting, *Landschaft mit Ruine*, 55 x 69.5 cm, is mentioned with image by Drost, 20–21. It appears on the Danzig 1944 evacuation list to Gotha-Reinhardbrunn, was taken to the USSR, and returned to Gdańsk in 1956. See the initial Dutch declaration form listing Dutch ownership, filed by the Dutch dealer D.A. Hoogendijk – SNK 2.08.42, inv. 128, listing the dimensions as 54.5 x 69.3 cm; another form for the same Ruisdael is in the file SNK 2.08.42, inv. 759.

125. See the collections of Georges Wildenstein and other members of his family included in the Jeu de Paume database at www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/, based on ERR registration cards in NACP and ERR photographs in the Bundesarchiv-Koblenz, Bestand B 323.

126. Original ERR inventories for Georges Wildenstein (ERR code “W”) remain in the Bundesarchiv-Koblenz, B323/291 and 292; copies remain in AMAE, 209SUP, carton 295/13.

127. Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 63, 274. That painting was not registered by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume. Lundberg [1957] *Roslin*, provides provenance details, 3:99 (no. 568), with image in vol. 2 (no. 165).

128. The Wildenstein firm was unaware that the painting is in the Hermitage, or of any restitution. I am grateful to Joseph Baillio, Senior Vice-President of the New York office, for consultations regarding the Wildenstein paintings.

129. The portrait of the “Countess” – but not the Count – is found with a photograph in France, *Répertoire*, 2:38, no. 320 (OBIP 32.129), as belonging to George Wildenstein, with dimensions (102 x 82 cm), Those dimensions correspond to those (0.82 x 1.03 cm) for “Rarsin [sic.], *Bildnis Grafिन d’Alincourt*,” on the 1945 Weimar list (no. 15); the portrait of the Countess does not appear on the 1947 Weimar list. See more details in Lundberg [1957], *Roslin*, 3:99, with image in vol. 2 (no. 166).

130. Yeide 2009, *Goering*, A1064 with image, notes it was seized with other paintings in the Wildenstein Collection from Château de Moyre (Colombiers), and under Göring was registered as RM 1052. Both the Göring DHM database (RMGO1382) and Lundberg locate the painting in a private collection in the United States. It is also listed in the lostart.de database, ID=265198, as one of the paintings for which the Wildensteins received compensation from Germany.

131. Aponasenko, “Peremeshchenoe iskusstvo,” in Gos. Ermitage 2014, 57–58.

132. The 1945 Weimar list (no. 4) gives dimension of 0.60 x 0.73 cm for the unframed portrait. France, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, no. 277, lists several lost paintings from Georges Wildenstein that could easily correspond to that one, but neither the Hermitage nor the French list provides more description or dimensions.

133. The “painting by [Opie] Olpi (sic),” is referenced in Agafonova’s report Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 54, 233; it is found in France, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, no. 1206 (with image), belonging to George Wildenstein, but no dimensions are given. See also Yeide 2009, *Goering*, A1059; RM 1047; DGM, RMGO1382; lostart.de=265198.

134. Gos. Ermitage 2014, doc. 63, 274.

135. It appears on both Weimar lists as Régnaud (sic), *Triumphzug* (0.28 x 0.51 cm) – 1945 (no. 32) and 1947 (no. 26), suggesting it would have been found by SVAG in the Weimar bank. France, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, no. 1742, also from Georges Wildenstein (OBIP 32.129). I am grateful to Thierry Bajou of the French Ministry of Culture for identifying it with reference to the Versailles painting. The data from the postwar claim came in a letter to this author from BADV, 10 March 2015.

136. Rousseau 1945, “Bornheim” (DIR, no. 11), Attachment 3, 4.

137. AMAE, 209SUP, Carton 183/A152, relating to German purchases in France. Reference was provided from the postwar Access database compiled by Marie Hamon at the Quai d’Orsay, which names Koch in connection with those listings; all of the artists listed coincide with those in the Bornheim sale to Koch. Unfortunately, neither I nor assisting archivists were able to locate the document.

138. France, *Répertoire*, 2:312, no. 7085, seized from Mme Louise Fabius.

139. “KOCH, Erich – Germany,” from “Card File on Art-Looting Suspects,” NACP, RG 239, American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (Roberts Commission), *NARA Microfilm Publication M1944*, roll 46. Available at www.fold3.com/image/273353508/.

140. See Eichwede 1997, 219.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALIU	Art-Looting Intelligence Unit, OSS
AMAE	Ministère des affaires étrangères RF, Archives diplomatiques (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, Diplomatic Archives), La Courneuve
BADV	Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (Federal Office for Central Services and Unsettled Property Issues), Berlin
BStU	Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service [Stasi] of the Former Germany Democratic Republic), Berlin
ChGK	Chrezvychnaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissii po ustanovleniiu i rassledovaniuu zlodeianii nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov i prichinennogo imi ushcherba grazhdanam, kolkhozam, obshchestvennym organizatsiiam, gosudarstvennym predpriatiiam i uchrezhdeniiam SSSR (Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of Crimes of the German-Fascist Aggressors and their Accomplices and for the Appraisal of the Losses Incurred by Citizens, Collective Farms, Social Organizations, State Enterprises, and Institutions of the USSR)
CIR	Consolidated Intelligence Report (issued by OSS ALIU)
DIR	Detailed Intelligence Report (issued by OSS ALIU)
DHM	Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum), Berlin

ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg)
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GDA SBU	Galuzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv (Central State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine), Kyiv
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IMT	International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg
KGB	Komitet gosudarsvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee on State Security)
LV ABM	Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museem (Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries and Museums) (under RKU)
MCCP	Munich Central Collecting Point (under OMGUS)
MFA&A	Monuments, Fine Arts & Archives (officers under OMGUS)
NACP	National Archives of the United States, College Park MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, USA
NG	(IMT document series in Nuremberg)
NIOD	NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs, Holocaust en Genocide Studies (NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies), Amsterdam
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
OBIP	Office des biens et intérêts privés (Office of Private Property and Interests), France
OMGUS	Office of Military Government for Germany, United States
OSS	Office of Strategic Services (US WW2 intelligence agency)
PS	Paris-Storey (IMT document series in Nuremberg)
RG	record group (fond in US National Archives)
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of the Economy), Moscow

RGALI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow, before 1992, TsGALI SSSR, Moscow
RKU	Reichskommissar/ Reichskommissariat Ukraine (Reich Commissar/ Commissariat for Ukraine), Rivne
RM	Reichsmark
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied [Soviet] Eastern Territories)
RSFSR	Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic
SMERSH	Soviet military intelligence agency (literally “Death to Spies”)
SNK	Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (Netherlands Art Property Foundation), The Hague
SVAG	Sovetskaia voennaia administratsiia v Germanii (Soviet Military Administration in Germany), <i>German SMAD</i>
TNA	The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), London, Kew
TsDAHO	Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads’kykh ob’ednan’ Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Social Organizations of Ukraine), Kyiv, formerly PA TsK KPU – Party Archive of the CC, Communist Party of Ukraine, Kyiv
TsDAVO	Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchychk orhaniv derzhavnoi vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of Power and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv
TsGALI	Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Central State Archive of Literature and Art of the USSR), Moscow, <i>after</i> 1992, RGALI, Moscow
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr’skoi Revoliutsii SSSR (Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR), now part of GA RF, Moscow
VGBIL	Vserossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka inostrannoï literatury im. M.I. Rudomino (All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature in the name of M.I. Rudomino), Moscow