

The Demise of the World of the Gutnajers: The Warsaw Art Market in World War II

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A substantial number of Jewish art and antiques dealers operated in pre-World War II Warsaw. Particularly respected were the salons of the brothers Bernard and Abe Gutnajer. Virtually everyone in their milieu perished in the Warsaw ghetto or Treblinka. Taking their place were new “Aryan” dealers and a clientele of “new” money. The Warsaw art market under the German occupation experienced a particular growth between the start of the Jewish ghetto’s liquidation in mid-1942 and the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, as “abandoned” property flooded the market. After decades of subsequent turbulent history, researchers can hardly hope to document the provenance of more than a fraction of tens of thousands of surviving works of art and valuable antiques.



We are looking at a group portrait of three men¹ whose poses suggest that they are family, probably brothers. Elegantly dressed, they face the camera with composure. The man on the left, balding slightly, sports an impressive moustache and the bi-colored sash of a professional association along with a large pearl tie pin. He is the eldest. The middle brother stands on the right, a badge in his lapel, his left hand holding a roll or a thin tube that extends beyond the frame. The youngest brother

sits in the middle, left elbow on the arm of his chair, his dark beard and steady gaze lending him a solemn air. A subtly patterned, probably gold-threaded, silk tapestry hangs behind them.

We don't know the occasion of this formal photograph, probably marking a familial celebration. The youngest brother appears to be its central figure; perhaps he enjoys special respect for adhering to the Jewish faith, the only one to have kept his full facial hair.² Neither do we know when exactly the photograph was taken, presumably sometime between 1910 and 1920. But we do know the subjects' names: the brothers Bernard (Baruch), born in 1880, on the left; Abe (Abel), born in 1888, on the right; and Józef Gutnajer, in the middle (date of birth uncertain). At the time, the two older brothers, Bernard and Abe, were already established art dealers in Warsaw. They would not only maintain, but bolster their standing in sovereign Poland between 1918 and 1939. Józef, the youngest, who specialized in selling antique furniture, would settle for a more modest status. In fact both elder Gutnajers were acknowledged widely by museums and private collectors of Polish and Jewish origin alike for their professionalism and the high quality of artifacts they sold.

The family business began in the used merchandise trade, a specialty dominated by Jewish merchants, in the neighborhood of Pociejów in a *tandeta* (flea market), the first sieve in the selection of antiques. It was in this part of Warsaw that the brothers' father, Ludwik (Eleazar), opened an antiques shop "in a small, one-story house, an annex." From the end of the nineteenth century, his widow Lea ran the shop with her adolescent sons' help.³ "You came in through the kitchen, which was full of copper pots, the way it usually is with the Jews. After crossing the kitchen, you walked into a fairly large room with cupboards and beds, which were arranged as if it were a private home, and behind these cupboards and beds, and also on the walls, were lots of paintings. And what paintings! Falat, Malczewski, Żmurko, who must have been in vogue then, Kossak father and son, Gierymski, and others of that kind"⁴—in other words, canvases by the most respected Polish painters of the era.

The first antique store, opened before 1914 by middle brother Abe, was "a little shop . . . with many touches of the Pociejów tradition."⁵ But in 1916, the Warsaw papers reported that the business had moved into larger and more elegant quarters. "Abe Gutnajer's salon is being run very expertly. It is worth paying him a visit and looking at his acquisitions. Mr. Gutnajer specializes in the Polish masters."⁶ A year later a group exhibition of contemporary Polish painters, accompanied by a catalogue, corroborated this praise. In 1920 Abe transferred his salon to even more elegant rooms on the second floor of a building in the most fashionable Warsaw street of the era. He and his family moved into an equally chic apartment upstairs. A subsequent visitor confirmed that this had been a qualitative leap when he recalled not initially realizing that this was Abe's new location: "When . . . I went to Mazowiecka Street to see an exhibition of beautiful paintings by Chełmoński, the Gierymski brothers, Malczewski, and other painters that A. Gutnajer had bought from [Ignacy Korwin-] Milewski's collection, as I strolled around the rooms, which were beautifully decorated with carpets, I had no inkling that I was witnessing the [same] business thriving brilliantly."⁷

Abe Gutnajer's Art Salon at 16 Mazowiecka, which operated until the outbreak of World War II, functioned primarily as a gallery. The dealer put on exhibitions of canvases he had bought himself, as well as pre-Christmas auctions of as many as a thousand objects of various art genres and handicrafts, which were attended by an elite clientele. Professional illustrated catalogues were printed for some of the shows, and newspapers published advertisements for all of them and reviewed many. In the mid-1920s Abe opened "Antykvarnia," nearly opposite his salon, at 11 Mazowiecka Street. It sold etchings, handicrafts, and decorative objects (furniture, tapestries, porcelain, glassware, silver, figurines, and old jewelry), and the shop was more affordable. He later organized several large

commercial shows in Łódź and Katowice. He loaned paintings to prestigious exhibitions in Poland, mainly to promote his business.

Abe Gutnajer was well-liked in Warsaw cultural circles. He was respected for his knowledge, his competence in acquiring artistically valuable items, and the high standards he maintained with customers. The latter included tycoons and the prosperous intelligentsia of the free professions, as well as people working in museums and government offices. Though he did not shun old European masters, Russian and Jewish painters, or even religious icons, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Polish painting took pride of place. In the 1930s Abe's conservative selection, dictated not only by demand but presumably also by his own taste, gave Warsaw society an ironic neologism: *abegutnajeryzm* (Abegutnajerism).⁸ In Warsaw's art circles, some people expressed surprise that "Gutnajer, a Jew, did not touch modern art,"⁹ despite the fact that he traveled frequently to Paris, Vienna, and Berlin.

But Gutnajer won renown for bringing home Polish works auctioned by private collections outside Poland, and for his inquisitiveness, professional contacts, and sophisticated eye. Most spectacularly, in 1923 and 1924 he bought several dozen works from the legendary collection of Count Korwin-Milewski in Vienna, and a dozen or so works from Fournier's collection in Paris. A few years later Abe acquired a large selection of Polonica from former tsarist and private collections that had been nationalized by the Soviets and auctioned in Berlin. In 1933 his salon at 16 Mazowiecka hosted an exhibition of such paintings. Early on in his ambitious foreign pursuits Gutnajer would take out bank loans to buy what interested him, but as he grew wealthy loans became unnecessary. What he brought to Warsaw included not only a large number of high-quality works—many of which he sold to Polish museums—but also many that Polish art lovers were less familiar with.

Only a small number of foreigners patronized the Mazowiecka Street Art and Antiquities Salon, partly because of the significant restrictions on exporting antiquities. It is possible that Abe Gutnajer—aware of the limitations of the Polish art market—considered moving to Berlin. This speculation is supported by his purchase of several investment properties there, and even more by the fact that between 1933 and 1936 he was spending most of his time in the German capital. Even if he really had such plans, he ultimately dropped them in 1937 or 1938, in the wake of Nazi pressure on Jews to sell their property to "Aryans." In the remaining prewar years, Abe Gutnajer focused on his business in Poland. As well as running the salon, putting on exhibitions, and attending auctions (the last one, in June 1939, of Henryk Loewenfeld's collection), he visited manor houses and palaces—even in remote areas—in search of interesting objects. People remembered this elegant gentleman examining furniture with a flashlight and magnifying glass, or climbing ladders to inspect a tapestry's weave.¹⁰

Little is known about Abe's private collection apart from the fact that the family's residence above the salon boasted paintings, antique furniture, tapestries, and other rare objects.¹¹ It was not clear which belonged to the company and which to the family. He had purchased the majority of the objects on sale at the salon at 16 Mazowiecka and many at Antykwarnia at 11 Mazowiecka.

UNLIKE ABE, the eldest brother Bernard had no interest in publicity. Nonetheless, it was he whom those in the know considered Poland's wealthiest art dealer; his collections were legendary.¹² Bernard had at one time borne responsibility for the family antique business, which in the early 1900s still resembled a second-hand store. When Poland became independent, he moved it to a ground-floor space in the Hotel Angielski at 6 Wierzbowa Street, celebrated as a place where Napoleon had once stayed, across the street from the palace of the Foreign Ministry. Bernard Gutnajer's Art and

Antiquities Salon remained in this relatively small shop, where the owner “dealt mostly in old silver and china” to the end of its days in September 1939. According to contemporaries, it resembled a treasure-filled thrift shop, with its “few paintings [mostly] in the window for advertising.”¹³ His display “always held splendid objects that his visitors knew intimately, since to the surprise of those not in the know [these had] not changed for years.”¹⁴ Asked how his business was faring, Bernard would reply, “I am convinced that there are twenty-four people in Poland who have a daily income of several thousand zlotys. It is enough if every other year I sell each . . . just one object, a valuable piece of furniture or a piece of jewelry.”¹⁵ Bernard’s customers included U.S. businessman and diplomat Averell Harriman; the writer Sholem Asch; German diplomat Eberhard von Pannwitz; the Third Reich’s ambassador to Poland (until 1939) Hans-Adolf von Moltke; Polish diplomat and one-time minister of foreign affairs Stanisław Jan Patek; Polish diplomat, minister of foreign affairs, and banker August Zaleski; and the industrialist Mieczysław Zagajski.¹⁶ Bernard’s prices were usually too high for the National Museum in Warsaw, which bought only a few items, including one painting by Hendrick Terbrugghen.¹⁷

Bernard held on to his favorite items at the salon on Wierzbowa Street by setting prohibitive prices on them. This is confirmed in a letter dated November 27, 1936 from the eldest of his four sons, Ludwik, who worked in the shop with his father, to his brother Henryk in Paris: “We could be doing better were it not for Daddy’s stubbornness. . . .”¹⁸ This “stubbornness” is easier to understand when one knows what extraordinary objects were on display in both the salon and especially Bernard’s nearby apartment at 8 King Albert I Street.¹⁹ He owned several hundred pieces of silver by Peter Carl Fabergé (including a one-of-a-kind travel-toiletry case); some 200 rare fifteenth- to eighteenth-century Judaica objects; at least 140 silver items by famous European manufacturers, including sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cups produced in Augsburg and Nuremberg; and a collection of antique jewelry that included 75 eighteenth-century decorated gold snuff boxes as well as intricate rings and necklaces.²⁰ Bernard’s paintings included some Dutch and French masters (among them Isaac von Ostade, Hubert Robert, and Eugène Boudin), several *vedute* by Giovanni Antonio Canal (better known as Canaletto), numerous icons, and a canvas by the modernist Moïse Kisling. But the largest part of his collection consisted of Polish painters, as Stanisław Gebethner, the long-term pre- and postwar curator at the National Museum in Warsaw, confirmed after the war. Gebethner described the collections he had seen in Bernard’s apartment on King Albert I Street as seeming to surpass “in quality and quantity the things that could be found in the Wierzbowa Street shop”:

Apart from several hundred Polish paintings, Bernard Gutnajer owned a large number of decorative art objects. Outstanding among them was furniture, Polish as well as foreign, most importantly enormous Gdańsk [Gm. Danziger] wardrobes and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ones, sculpted or with intarsias, as well as other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century furniture with intarsias and sculptures, some gold-plated, some mahogany and smooth. Antique hanging mirrors and chandeliers put the finishing touches on the interior of this large apartment. Furthermore, Bernard . . . owned a huge number of rugs . . . mostly Persian but also from the Caucasus and Turkey. . . . Apart from other textiles, such as valuable tapestries, he also owned a large number of gold and silver-embroidered *kontusz* sashes. Finally, Bernard . . . had a very large collection of antique foreign . . . as well as Polish silver. Outstanding among his metalwork was an enormous collection of Jewish silver made both in Poland and abroad. Several hundred ceramic objects were a discrete, sizeable part of the collection. Apart from the valuable foreign porcelain objects from Meissen and Vienna, the largest collection, some of it very valuable, was Polish. . . . A few years before the war Bernard brought twelve plates from the so-called Sultan’s service (Service turque) [*sic*] from Paris. He also owned a large collection of Nieborów majolicas [tin-glazed earthenware]. . . .²¹

The Warsaw dealer bought the “sultan plates” at the À la vieille Russie shop in the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré in Paris. After the war, that establishment’s owner, Léon Grinberg, confirmed that “the [Bernard] Gutnajer company was regarded as the most important in this specialty in Poland,” and that “it maintained extensive commercial connections with the largest antique dealers and collectors in Europe.”²² The oldest Gutnajer brother was not only a business partner but often an excellent customer not put off by high prices. He could afford them, since apart from managing the salon and antique shop on Wierzbowa Street, he traded in both rough and cut diamonds, which he imported directly from Amsterdam and Antwerp. From the mid-1920s Bernard’s son Ludwik, a graduate of a trade school and a diamond-cutting course in Antwerp, assisted.

The salons of both Abe and Bernard were located in the elegant part of prewar downtown Warsaw. There were several other antique dealers in Wierzbowa Street, with Maison Kaftal at no. 3 and Benjamin Mintz at no. 11 (the latter collector of Judaica managed to leave Poland with the most valuable part of his collection in 1939).²³ Mazowiecka was a street of fashionable cafés, bookshops, restaurants, and art dealerships and antiquarians. These included Czesław Garliński’s (no. 8), Jakub Klejman’s (no. 3), and Natan Sakiel’s (nos. 9 and 7). Around the corner on a short stretch of Świętokrzyska Street “about thirty antique shops of all sizes and many bookshops had settled,” most of them Jewish-owned, as K. Uniechowska recalled.²⁴ “Some of the shops were small and dark, with deep back rooms inhabited by the owners and their families, and there were impressive stores that displayed furniture, paintings, and rugs. It would be impossible to compile a full list of the treasures hidden inside these stores, considering what they had on offer: products of East and West, of many centuries, countries, cultures, and religions.”²⁵ It was there that three antique shops owned by the Kleinsinger clan established themselves: Aron at no. 6, Symcha (Szyja) at no. 16, and Rafael at no. 32. Others included: at no. 1, Estera and Chaim Sztolcenbergs’ antique shop; at no. 2, Szyja Munk’s; at no. 5, Ala and Marcin Weinstein’s; at no. 19, Nuchim Frydman’s; at no. 20, Sz. Kirsztein’s; and at no. 22, Majer Landstein’s. One could buy old and new prints at the book antiquarians, Rubin Kleinsinger and F. Miller’s at no. 1; Szyja Zalcsztajn’s at no. 3 (including I. Czerwonabroda’s philatelic shop); at no. 4, H. Janasz’s and S. Kleinsinger’s; at no. 6, J. Baumkoller’s; and Rubin Miller’s at no. 13.²⁶ A little farther, at Świętokrzyska no. 52, the youngest Gutnajer, Józef, had his antique furniture shop.

Once-quiet Świętokrzyska Street witnessed Polish fascist antisemitic intimidation in the years leading up to the war. “Sullen characters wearing student caps and gripping canes in their paws attempted to stop customers from entering [Jewish-owned] shops,” the writer and satirist Antoni Marianowicz (actually Kazimierz J. Berman) later remembered. “They shouted: ‘Don’t buy from Jews!’ and handed out (or perhaps sold for a few pennies) their little publication *Pod Pręgierz!* [To the pillory!], which included . . . photographs of ‘Aryans’ (the fascists’ new term for ‘Polish-Catholics’) who had disgraced themselves by buying from ‘non-Aryan’ businesses.”²⁷ The district’s Jewish antique and second-hand shops (some of which can be identified) were not spared extremist intimidation: on Warecka Street, I. Reingewirc; on Jasna Street, Landstein/Chana Ryfka Krell; on Kredytowa Street, Józef Poznański; on Żelazna Street, Marjem Gogut; and on Żurawia Street, N.D. Celmajster.²⁸

This incomplete list of prewar Warsaw’s Jewish art and antique dealers makes for a symbolic epitaph, since virtually all of them perished with their families in the Warsaw ghetto or in Treblinka. The only survivors I have managed to identify were Natan (Nachum) Sakiel, who acquired the title of honorary consul of a South American country; Jakub Klejman, who lived in hiding on the “Aryan” side; Abe’s only son, Ludwik; and Bernard’s son Józef (on whom more below).²⁹

ABE AND BERNARD GUTNAJER WOULD SHARE the tragic fate of 400,000 Warsaw Jews. But what happened to the collections of the Gutnajer brothers and other Jewish antiquarians and art dealers?

The outbreak of war and the Germans' rapid conquest of Poland must have surprised the Gutnajers, as it did most Poles. They would certainly have known what was happening to "non-Aryan" property-owners in the Reich. Indeed, they must have had no illusions about the threat to their collections that Polish defeat represented. Yet I could find no evidence that prior to the war either sought to transfer these collections out of the country, to hide them, or even to insure them.³⁰

Abe, aged fifty-one at the time, left Warsaw on September 7, 1939 in response to the government's call to all able-bodied men not already mobilized to head east. He had his forty-seven most precious canvases rolled up and deposited in the Bank Handlowy, and he ordered that all consigned objects be returned to their owners.³¹ He reached Lvov, where he spent the year and a half of Soviet occupation working as a framer in a producers' co-op.³²

During the siege of Warsaw, the salon and the apartment at 16 Mazowiecka Street suffered heavy fire damage. Abe's wife Regina managed to save her own jewelry, a large number of gold coins stashed away for emergencies, and some items of daily use. She moved in with her daughter Stefania, whose husband Józef Ruslender had also escaped east. It may have been then that a regular client, Edmund Mętlewicz, accepted these possessions for safekeeping.³³ The Gutnajers' eighteen-year-old son Ludwik, mobilized at the beginning of the war into the civilian defense, had landed in German captivity, managed to escape in January 1940, and joined his mother and sister. In February uniformed Germans searched their apartment and confiscated all of Regina's valuables. Severely beaten, in April Ludwik fled the Generalgouvernement (essentially, German-occupied but not incorporated Poland). Via Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece he reached Syria, where he joined the British-sponsored Polish Armed Forces in the West. He fought in the Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade at Tobruk in 1941, and then, from England, in the Royal Air Force.

Ludwik was the only member of Abe's family to survive. His mother and sister, like nearly all of Warsaw's Jews, were forced into the newly established ghetto in late autumn 1940. Abe joined them less than a year later after fleeing from Lvov, which had been occupied by the Germans on June 29, 1941. Distressed by his experiences, he became gravely ill, which prevented the family from crossing to the "Aryan side" as they planned after the Germans began the great "deportations" from the ghetto in summer 1942. Abe Gutnajer died in the ghetto before long, reportedly of natural causes.³⁴ Regina and Stefania were murdered in Treblinka in 1943.

Bernard, who remembered World War I, may have deluded himself into believing the Germans would leave civilians and their property alone. In any case, it was only in early September 1939 that, with his wife Sabina, three of their sons, and the oldest son's wife Luiza, he hastily moved rolled-up paintings and other valuable artworks from the salon on Wierzbowa Street to their apartment on King Albert.³⁵ On September 7 the sons Józef (a thirty-one-year-old architect) and Edward (still a teenager) were forced to leave them and go east, like their Uncle Abe and thousands of other men from Warsaw. They too ended up in Lvov under Soviet rule, where Józef worked as the city's chief architect.³⁶ The bombardment of Warsaw in September had significantly damaged the buildings on Wierzbowa Street, and whatever was not burned of Bernard's salon was looted. Around Christmas time men apparently belonging to Einsatzkommando z. b.V. IV (a special unit of the Sicherheitsdienst, or Security Service) confiscated the entire contents of the Gutnajers' apartment, operating with an inventory (Findbuch) prepared before the war. The only valuables that survived the search were Sabina's jewelry and Bernard's loose diamonds, deposited in a small safe that the

Germans did not find. The Gutnajers were expelled from their residence soon after that, and moved into Józef's small apartment. A few months later they were relocated to the ghetto, as were their oldest son Ludwik and his wife. After Germany attacked the USSR, their two youngest sons returned to Warsaw and joined the family in the ghetto.

Bernard Gutnajer died on July 22, 1942, the first day of the mass deportations from the ghetto. He was shot by the SS in the apartment of the ailing Lvov antique dealer Dr. Albert Schulberg (who had been buying gold and valuables in the ghetto on behalf of the Germans), together with the latter and a Polish professor of medicine, Franciszek Raszeja, there legally to treat Schulberg. News of the crime made the rounds of the panicked ghetto and quickly traveled outside it. (Rumor made Bernard's better-known brother Abe the victim.)³⁷

Sabina lived for three more weeks. On August 12, while the other family members were at work in Landau's workshop (one of the German-owned businesses in the ghetto that protected employees—for a time—from deportation), she fell into a sweep by ghetto police and was deported to Treblinka. She carried a small pouch of jewelry and diamonds, from which she never parted, under her blouse. Bernard's three sons, Ludwik, Józef, and Edward, and Ludwik's wife managed to escape from the ghetto, but Ludwik and Edward were shortly trapped in the so-called Hotel Polski provocation and perished at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Józef lived to see the end of the war as a member of the Communist People's Guard under the assumed name of Marian Bielaszewski. Ludwik's widow Luiza survived on the Aryan side under the name of Ludwika Galkowska.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE PROPERTY in the salons, antique shops, and private collections of their murdered Jewish owners? Who ended up with their "abandoned" possessions, and what did they do with them? More generally, how did the German occupation affect the Warsaw antique market? More to the point—a difficult question to answer—how much of the wartime art business consisted of the art, precious objects, and other artifacts previously belonging to those merchants and collectors? Were any sold in order to assist the people now confined in the ghetto, and if so, by whom and when? Or were most obtained through theft, appropriation of "abandoned" property, or blackmail by unscrupulous "Aryan" art dealers who knew or even ignored their merchandise's origins?

Such questions belong to provenance research, as does the postwar fate of works by Jewish artists and collectors who had perished in the Holocaust. This research has not been much practiced among Polish art historians, museum curators, or other custodians, not to mention auction houses and private collectors.³⁸ The following seeks to answer at least some of these questions. The attempt must remain partly hypothetical due in large part to the dearth of archival sources, their dispersal, and the incompleteness of human recollections.

The available sources remain enigmatic not only because documents were destroyed or lost, or survive only in fragmentary form, but also because the art trade itself is founded in large part on discretion. During the occupation, when Jewish ownership of property was technically illegal and had to be concealed, the utmost discretion was required: hushing up or lying about provenance was essential. The considerations underlying that discretion were often blurred. Before the war, very few owners had taken systematic measures to secure, or even photo-document, their collections. It was only during the first days of September 1939 that consignments by private individuals, especially Jewish, began to arrive at the National Museum. And indeed, there was not one art dealer among the latter.³⁹ The bombing of Warsaw in September 1939 damaged the neighborhood where the

antique shops were located; the two Gutnajer salons did not escape the damage.⁴⁰ For the Jews, the realities of the first months of the occupation—even before establishment of the ghetto—surpassed all earlier fears. Not only were orders mobilizing Jewish forced labor, requiring armbands with the Star of David, and banning changes of residence quick to arrive. Further anti-Jewish regulations and mass actions by German military, security, and civilian authorities to appropriate Jewish property soon followed. Confiscations of “abandoned” (*herrenlos*) property and the property of the wealthy—including the Gutnajers—came first. The ban on holding cash, the freezing of bank accounts and deposits, and the dissolution or placement in receivership of Jewish businesses amounted to revocation of Jews’ right to own property, culminating in the January 24, 1940 regulation forcing Jews to “register” all their possessions. Governor-General Hans Frank’s order of December 16, 1939 on the confiscation by the Germans of artworks in the Generalgouvernement, followed by executive orders of January 1940, created the official basis for seizing private collections.⁴¹ Owners were to register their collections and even individual objects with appointed officials. “This brought on a panic among collectors, who preferred hiding their artworks to registering them,” recalled Bohdan Marconi, chief restorationist of the National Museum in Warsaw (before, during, and after the War; as the Stadtmuseum under the occupation it was closed to the public). “Indeed, it was primarily the collections of people of non-Aryan origin that were seized. I later saw many paintings I had known to belong to collections of this kind in the District Command’s Culture Department in the Brühl Palace, or when they came to the museum’s conservation workshop [i.e., during the War].”⁴²

Governor-General Frank’s directive encouraged theft, “which [soon] was practiced ‘privately’ by all military, police, and civilian occupational authorities. German government offices and administrators began to ‘confiscate’ artworks and to sell them en masse in different places where antiques were sold.”⁴³ The resurrected Warsaw market offered the best prices, especially for Polish paintings. This trade is one of the problematic issues that scholars have overlooked. Art and antiques salons began to reemerge in 1940—the best ones (continuing local tradition) on or near Mazowiecka Street. A few prewar shops reopened after the Chamber of Commerce certified their owners as “Aryans.” But it was new businesses, which inevitably filled the niche vacated by their non-“Aryan” predecessors, that set the tone. The best known and most respected were operated by members of the impoverished aristocracy and intelligentsia. Thus, on Mazowiecka (renamed Blumenstrasse), which soon became fashionable again, they were: at no. 2, Zofia Chomentowska’s Krynolina; at no. 4, the antique applied arts shop of Jakub Chomentowski; at no. 7, Salon Sztuki, managed by the prewar minister of agriculture’s wife, Zofia Leśniewska; at no. 12, the antique shop of Count Stanisław Mycielski; at no. 13, “Miniatura” of Countess Zofia Potocka and Counts Benedykt and Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz; “Pod Arkadami” of the architect Stanisław Kolendo; and around the corner at 9 Kredytowa Street, Wanda Czernic-Żalińska’s “Skarbiec.” Some lower-quality, often short-lived, shops also opened. Independent go-betweens—art historians, conservators, painters—were also active.⁴⁴ The market in used and antique books also revived: “the new antiquarians, with a few exceptions, knew little about books,” one wag observed, “but only how to buy them at fantastic rock-bottom prices and sell them at exorbitant prices.”⁴⁵

The perverseness of this spontaneous market was limited by a sort of oversight by the art *milieu*, combined with expert advice offered to the more important salons by a group of museum specialists affiliated with Stanisław Lorentz, director of the National Museum (renamed Stadtmuseum), who was responsible for culture and art policy in the underground Polish state.⁴⁶ Lorentz’s guidelines drove efforts to inventorize at least some of the paintings appearing on the market in order to

regulate prices and exclude forgeries. Respected collectors were put in touch with trustworthy sellers. Dealers striving for easy profits and targeting naïve customers were in principle ostracized, as were those who obviously wanted to do business with the Germans or openly took advantage of people living in the ghetto or in hiding. Despite fluctuations, the prices of Polish artworks were kept high, in part to discourage Germans from shipping them to the Reich. Such precautions were taken secretly to avoid attracting the attention of the Culture and Propaganda Department or the Gestapo's vigilance—but they were not very effective (inflation and investment by the wartime nouveaux riches made high prices normal). First in the antiquarian hierarchy came “Skarbiec” and the majority of the shops on Mazowiecka, while a handful of the others came in next. The top position of Czernic-Żalińska's salon certainly reflected the fact that it was relatively scrupulous in documenting provenance while nevertheless not revealing the identity of items' “former” owners.⁴⁷

The transparency valued so highly on the market evaporated almost completely under the Germans—something understandable, even necessary, in wartime. Disguising provenance not only protected an object's owner, but also prevented confiscation if it had not been officially registered as “Jewish,” in violation of Generalgouvernement regulations.⁴⁸ The Germans could seize formerly Jewish-owned property and punish Polish “Aryans” selling it. But obscuring provenance opened the market to major abuse. The only protection was the art dealers' or antiquarians' honesty, and their careful choice of sources, intermediaries, and advisers, supported by the appraisers in a milieu guided by Lorentz. Quality promoted trust, since certified provenance—be it confidential or not—served as one guarantee of a work's authenticity and therefore influenced its price.

Two other factors were crucial at this wretched time. First, the antiquarian elite were aware that because of the scale of destruction and the losses to culture caused by the war, works of art—especially Polonica—had to be saved for the sake of Poland: so many were at risk of destruction, being taken out of the country, or lost to the national community by falling into the wrong hands. Second, people convinced themselves that items orphaned by the murder of their owners belonged to no one. This notion became common after liquidation of the ghetto, and did not necessarily reflect individual Polish dealers' personal attitudes toward the Jewish tragedy. People holding such artworks came to consider them their own. It was no coincidence that as the Jewish district was being liquidated, their supply—which had increased gradually after the expulsions to the ghetto—swelled.

Mid-1940 should be considered the symbolic watershed in the demise of prewar professional standards in the antique business. At this point, the last antique shop operating under the name of its Jewish owner, Reingewirc, was taken over by the “Spółnota” cooperative, founded by former employees of the Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego, who pledged to send the profits to Reingewirc in the ghetto.⁴⁹ From this point on, respect for the Jews' rights to own or profit from objects circulating in the antique trade eroded gradually, albeit not immediately and not among all involved.

“I was asked to serve as an adviser in evaluating prints and drawings during the period of increased activity in the art salons and antique shops, which were full of objects from abandoned homes,” remembered Maria Mrozińska, a curator of the print collection of the National Museum. “In view of our starvation wages, [this] was a source of income approved by the Director's Office [i.e., Stanisław Lorentz]. I would go to the salons of B[enedykt] and K[rzysztof] Tyszkiewicz [Miniatura] in Mazowiecka Street (English etchings); W[anda] Czernic-Żalińska's Skarbiec on Kredytowa Street (Polish drawings and prints); W. Grzybowski's salon in Moniuszko Street (seventeenth-century prints of Dutch painters, etchings by [Giovanni] A[ntonio] Canaletto).”⁵⁰ But paintings, old furniture, and Persian carpets made their way to antique shops more often and even earlier than etchings, since

there was no room for them in the crowded ghetto dwellings. Until mid-November 1940 the prices of the items acquired from the ghetto, even though they came down, were still usually set by their owners and the latter were still being paid much of the time. After the sealing off of the ghetto, however, Jewish collectors and owners could count only on the decency of the intermediaries and shop owners on the “Aryan side.”

Skarbiec had an impeccable reputation. The antique dealer Jakub Klejman, who survived the war in hiding, gave it the best reference when he said to its owner immediately after the war: “Mrs. Żalińska, you sold my paintings at an excellent price.” Answering her question about what he did with the money, he said, “I bought paintings of the old school”—adding that they had burned in 1944 during the Warsaw Uprising.⁵¹ In her memoirs published more than twenty years later, Żalińska listed the names of some of the Jewish collectors and their paintings that had passed through her shop. In some cases she could even remember who had bought them. The largest group of canvases came from Edward Rejcher’s collection. His daughter had sold them off gradually between the spring of 1940 and the spring 1943 ghetto uprising:

We could smell the smoke, and the glow in the sky never disappeared. We were terribly worried, especially since we had sheltered several people in our salon throughout the war. But we did not manage to save Janina Rejcher-Grossman. She was an exceptionally gentle and kind person, well-educated, and a talented miniature painter. She moved around Warsaw very courageously and calmly, disregarding the deadly danger at every step. She died together with her son, an underground activist. . . . Dr Alfred Lauterbach, an art historian we liked and valued very much, who [also] visited our salon often, died a martyr’s death.⁵²

Zofia Leśniewska’s salon helped a number of Jews, in some cases smuggling them to the Aryan side. Helena Korzeniewska testified at length to Yad Vashem in 1963 about its owner’s efforts, partly sponsored by the (underground, and later insurgent) Home Army.⁵³ She believed that this dangerous activity was possible only due to the cover afforded by the German clientele: “the regular clients of the ‘Art Salon’ included many top officials of the German administration and the Gestapo . . . even Governor Franck [*sic*] himself once bought a service there.”⁵⁴ According to Korzeniewska, they came here because the two official co-owners, Professors Svatoslav von Novicky and Kazimierz Truskawski, had enjoyed “high-level connections in German circles.” The Germans were also said to have had “considerable respect” for Leśniewska, “the widow of a general, who for a time had served as minister of war.”⁵⁵ But her connections must have been quite high up, because in 1941 Leśniewska’s salon maintained its own official representative inside the ghetto, who even advertised in *Gazeta Żydowska*, the Generalgouvernement’s approved ghetto daily.⁵⁶ This was the antique dealer Dr. Albert Schulberg, originally from Lvov, who worked in the Warsaw ghetto for the Germans but was murdered in the ghetto along with Bernard Gutnajer and Professor Raszeja on July 22, 1942, the first day of the “Great Deportation” that would send 200,000 people to Treblinka.⁵⁷

The price for doing legal business in the ghetto was collaboration with the Germans. According to Generalgouvernement regulations, Jewish property became the property of the German state: any and all transactions between the ghetto and the Aryan side had to go through the Transferstelle, the agency charged with overseeing goods entering or leaving the ghetto.

Strangely, Leśniewska’s antique shop was officially managed by a Jew, the prewar owner Marcin Weinstein, until early 1944, when he was murdered by the Gestapo; Weinstein had not even been obliged to wear an armband or live in the ghetto.⁵⁸ It seems likely that the Abwehr (military intelligence) used the salon for its work.⁵⁹ In any case, there is no doubt that Leśniewska and

Weinstein took ruthless advantage of Jews living under extreme duress. Antoni Marianowicz wrote about the experience of being forced to sell the family villa in the spa of Konstancin outside Warsaw to Leśniewska in order to procure cash to go into hiding on the Aryan side with his mother:

She had heaps of dough and liked to invest it in Jewish real estate: she clearly liked all things Jewish. Since dealing in “non-Aryan” property was prohibited, [Leśniewska] bought houses and villas for less than half their value. As there was . . . a risk that after the war it would not be easy to retain them (for instance, because of the contracting partners’ physical extermination), she protected herself by producing lots of ante- and post-dated sale-purchase agreements. . . . [She once] received us in a tantalizing see-through peignoir, in the midst of beautiful furniture and objects whose provenance I preferred not to think about. But . . . she treated us kindly, even though we were acting outside the law. . . . My mother and I signed dozens of documents, which gave us an amount of money that was large for that time—but the property was worth nearly three times as much.⁶⁰

In a second book, Marianowicz cites a letter he received after publishing the above from a person who had lived in the Warsaw ghetto:

Many Jewish families knew the antique business you describe and its owner, Mrs. L. [Leśniewska]. She did indeed buy various valuable items, jewelry, paintings, etcetera in the ghetto. These objects had no value whatsoever on “our” side. Who would buy them. . . ? Many Jewish families managed to survive somehow thanks to their transactions with Mrs. L, and even to help others. . . . Moreover, Mrs. L, thanks to her relations with the Germans, often got [people] passes to the Aryan side, prescription drugs one couldn’t get in the ghetto, and other necessities. . . . You couldn’t say that her activity was disinterested, that it came from the heart. . . . Everyone knows that Mrs. L. paid below-market prices. . . . But to use commercial terminology, I must say that in her own way she was an honest merchant. . . . People weren’t afraid that she would blackmail or denounce them.⁶¹

What did the Polish regulars in Leśniewska’s salon know about all this? And how did they react?

This antique shop . . . was the largest and most splendidly stocked of all the shops in Mazowiecka Street. Everyone was thrilled by the jewelry collections, top-quality old weapons, rugs, and porcelain, which were exhibited splendidly in its enormous windows. To go in was to feast your eyes. . . . But suddenly . . . someone learned and upset everyone else with the news that the lady who owns these treasures acquires them in the ghetto. Using trusty intermediaries and bribing the Germans, she buys and brings it all out. People no longer stopped outside her windows, no one went in to the shop—a kind of underground boycott thanks to the odd solidarity that was universal then.⁶²

Other survivors contacted the author of this memoir and agreed with her on everything, but pointed out that Leśniewska had saved them and their nearest and dearest.⁶³

What is interesting in Leśniewska’s case is not that she took advantage of the persecuted or did business with the Germans. This was not rare among the ordinary antique dealers. What is remarkable is that she did not fear ostracism among the antiquarian milieu, despite what some of the foregoing might suggest. But Czernic-Żalińska listed Leśniewska’s salon as one of the honest, “patriotic,” antique shops; the Lorentz group did not excommunicate it; and the respected conservator Jerzy Remer was her principal consultant. Two obvious reasons stand out: Leśniewska’s prewar social position and connections; and the word in trusted circles that she was connected to the Home Army, which required a high degree of secrecy and justified contacts with the Nazis.

There were less tangible reasons. The most important, already mentioned, was the public's tacit acceptance of trading in antiques "abandoned" by their Jewish owners—a growing share of the market. The fact that after the deportations of 1942 remaining qualms evaporated also underlay the vibrancy of the Warsaw art market from then until to the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944.⁶⁴

In this context, the case of Abe Gutnajer's prewar client Edmund Mętlewicz may be representative. For a time Mętlewicz sold Gutnajer's stashed art in the Skarbiec and Miniatura salons and sent the profits to him in the ghetto. After 1945, however, Mętlewicz never discussed the particulars of those collections or whether he had retained anything after Abe and Bernard Gutnajers' deaths.⁶⁵ Third-hand accounts suggest that Mętlewicz sold the majority to other dealers only after the ghetto's liquidation. By then, the trade no longer thought of missing provenance (even if known to the professionals) as an obstacle. Since their Jewish owners were no longer alive, such items automatically became the property of the Gentiles who had them in their custody.

People stopped regarding profits from art sales with embarrassment. Neither Leśniewska nor Mętlewicz hid their obvious fortunes. Stanisław Lorentz, universally respected during the occupation, was asked in 1943 by the Lvov–Cracow antique dealer and collector Tadeusz Wierzejski for assistance buying a mansion on Krakowskie Przedmieście, Warsaw's grandest avenue; in return Wierzejski promised to furnish it with Lorentz's merchandise and eventually donate everything to the National Museum.⁶⁶

The objects showcased in Leśniewska's vetrines were the most striking, jewelry and decorative items of precious materials in particular. People in the ghetto sold such valuables most frequently: easy to conceal and to sell fast, crucial attributes for endangered owners. They were also most desirable to the Germans, not much interested in Polish paintings (which, apart from battle and hunting scenes by Polish painters of the Munich School, were not worth much outside the Generalgouvernement). Canvases by European old masters were a different story; they appeared in the Warsaw market less often, and even Polish museum officials were not familiar with all of them.⁶⁷ They included works by Filippino Lippi, Palma the Younger, and Francesco Solimena; an oil sketch by Peter Paul Rubens; other canvases by Jan van Goyen, Gabriel Metsu, Philip Wouwerman, and Hans Makart; drawings by Eduard Manet and Claude Monet; and an Edgar Degas watercolor.⁶⁸ However, the majority of paintings by well-known European masters in the collections of prominent Jews had been seized by official German agencies or their agents fairly early in the occupation. Fine handicrafts such as tapestries, carpets, jewelry, silver, and porcelain remained plentiful—and represented an attractive investment to Nazi functionaries holding too many Polish zlotys, which could not be taken out of the occupied country. The shops sold them, of course, even if most Polish antiquarians did not earn a lot this way, afraid to draw the Germans' attention by offering high-priced wares, or possibly ashamed—at least at first. Some did manage to convince Germans to pay inflated prices for items of little value.⁶⁹

Somehow, German customers do not appear in the occupation-era antique shops one reads about in the memoirs of Warsaw antiquarians. Also missing are Germans selling stolen Polish paintings. Instead, the Germans we see outside the shop windows on crowded Mazowiecka Street are rounding up random pedestrians. In fact, Germans frequented the street for other reasons, not only to wend their way to the nearby Arbeitsamt (Labor Office), Haus der deutschen Kultur, or district administrative headquarters at the Brühl Palace. Yet the sign at one antique shop mutely testified to the foreign customers' presence: a Germanized version of its aristocratic owner's name, Graf von Mycielsky, the kind of tranquil clue that Polish art historians have passed over in silence.⁷⁰

Instead, postwar accounts suggest that owners and staff of the Warsaw antique shops offered cover for patriotic activities, in particular by rescuing valuable artworks (especially Polish), in many cases doing so by selling them to the war's *nouveau riche* and urging the latter to donate them to the National Museum after the war. With the future in mind, the antiquarians noted and catalogued valuable objects that turned up but that were little familiar to Polish art historians. Included frequently in these written recollections is empathy for departed Jewish friends and acquaintances, as well as instances of assistance to them. Yet they do not dwell on the saturation of the wartime market with items that Polish Gentiles acquired, the centrality of these items in the vibrancy of that market, or the fact that for the vast majority of such objects the art market—whether out of sellers' and buyers' fear, indifference, or bad faith—erased the memory of their former Jewish owners.

THE DESTRUCTION OF MUCH OF THE CITY consequent upon the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 marked the end of the antique dealers' wartime business. A large number of works were destroyed, and many were transported to the Reich. Some survived. Those that had belonged to Jews before September 1939 and survived until Liberation in January 1945 were orphaned, stripped of their history.

Of the Gutnajer family, only two of Bernard's sons (the architects Henry and Józef) and Abe's son Ludwik (who obtained a degree in chemistry in England) lived to see the end of the war. All three settled in the United States. The Jewish antique dealers Jakub Klejman and Natan Sakiel survived, emigrated, and opened businesses in New York.⁷¹ The last to continue the tradition in Warsaw was the son of Ala and Marcin Weinstein, Bernard, who had survived hiding outside the ghetto under the name Czesław Bednarczyk. After the war, he continued in the profession, first as a businessman and then as a member of a "cooperative," until the early 1960s, when he left Poland and started a successful antique shop in Vienna. Some of the non-Jewish antiquarians also tried to carry on after the war under conditions of economic devastation and increasing Communist domination, but the trade was nationalized in 1950, and reemerged only after the fall of Communism.

This story has had bitter consequences lasting until today. Memory of Warsaw's prewar Jewish-owned art and antique businesses was virtually suppressed after the war. The provenance of paintings and antiques that until 1939 had belonged to Jewish collectors, antique dealers, and aficionados, and that continue to be sold today, have been definitively forgotten.

Translated by Maya Latynski

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Notes

This article is a modified and updated version of "Habent sua fata libelli: Okupacyjny rynek sztuki w Warszawie a własność żydowska" in *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały* 10 (2014): 185–208. I am grateful to the Moe Radzyner Stiftung Brückenschlag in Düsseldorf for its support of the translation. The Jewish art dealers of prewar Poland (mainly in Warsaw, Kraków, and Lwów) and their fate during the Holocaust have not been extensively studied. Preliminary conclusions regarding the situation in Kraków and Lwów appear in my "Grabieżca ze znakiem Q. O rabunkowej działalności Pietera

Nicolaasa Mentena (1899–1987),” *Zagłada Żydów. Pismo Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów IfiS PAN* 11 (2015): 173–206, published in English as “Predator. The Looting Activity of Pieter Nicolaas Menten (1899–1987),” *Holocaust. Studies and Materials. Journal of the Polish Center for Holocaust Research, Warsaw* (2017 [2018]): 112–47.

1. When no other source is given, the detailed information about the two Gutnajers and their families derives from documents of the compensation lawsuit filed in the state court in Berlin: Henry and Joseph Gutnayer in the cases of Bernard and Sabina Gutnajer (WGA 3561/59 and 3562/59); and Ludwik Gutnajer in the case of Abe and Regina Gutnajer (WGA 525/60), Archive of the Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (BADV). I would like to thank Anne Hayden Stevens, owner of a house designed by Joseph Marion Gutnayer (1911–2004) in Wilmette, Illinois, for access to his legacy and permission to reprint the photograph of the three Gutnajer brothers.

2. In an interview with the author on June 6, 2014 in Konstancin, Poland, Teresa Herse-Górska remembered her parents, who were clients of the Gutnajers, and said that two of the latter were “Europeanized,” one more conservative.

3. Kazimierz Lasocki, *Wspomnienia malarza*, Special Collections of the Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, inv. no. 46, pp. 657–59 (typescript of 1949).

4. *Ibid.*

5. Jan Michalski, *55 lat wśród księzek* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976), 25.

6. *Świat*, no. 37, 1916, p. 7; quoted after *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1915–1939*, ed. Aleksander Wojciechowski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974), 22.

7. J. Michalski, *55 lat wśród księzek*, 26.

8. The poet and columnist Antoni Słonimski (1895–1976) coined this term.

9. K. Lasocki, *Wspomnienia malarza*.

10. See n. 2 above.

11. Abe Gutnajer’s name appears twice in a Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage publication about wartime losses. Maria Romanowska-Zadrożna and Tadeusz Zadrożny, eds., *Straty wojenne. Malarstwo obce/ Wartime Losses. Foreign Painting* (Poznań: Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2000): *Still Life* by Jean Baptiste de Fontenay (p. 96, item 11), and *Young Man Reading* by Pieter de Grebber (p. 175, item 85). The latter painting was sold at a Christie’s auction in London in 2006 and the proceeds divided between the proprietors and the family of Abe’s son Ludwik in the United States.

12. Cf. statements by N. Sakiel of Feb. 3, 1964, and J. Klejman of October 15, 1963, BADV, WGA 2-3561/59, vol. I, files 116 and 94.

13. K. Lasocki, *Wspomnienia malarza*.

14. Krystyna Uniechowska, *Uniechowski opowiada czyli tajemnice mafii antykwarskiej* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1975), 348.

15. *Ibid.*

16. BADV, WGA 2-3561/59, vol. I, files 52, 97, 114, 115, 70, 6, 28.

17. Statement by Prof. Dr. Kazimierz Michałowski, deputy director of the National Museum in Warsaw, September 29, 1961, BADV, WGA 2-8040/59, file 14.

18. The author is in possession of a copy of the letter; see also n. 1.

19. Bernard bought many of them in 1929 in Berlin at the auction of tsarist objects and artworks nationalized by the Soviet government. In 1930 he also bought the majority of Edward Nepros's collection at auction.
20. Data from statements by H. and J. Gutnajer for the compensation lawsuit, cf. WGA, 3561/59 and 3562/59.
21. Gebethner's statement was written for the compensation trial. Quoted from Sławomir Bołdok, *Antykwaryaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne. Historia warszawskiego rynku sztuki w latach 1800–1950* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2004), 235–36. Bernard Gutnajer's Warsaw bookkeeper Moshe Borten testified in Tel Aviv on November 14, 1958 that "the number of objects in the inventory ranged from 4,000 to 5,000. Their value was around four–five million Polish zlotys (ca. US\$ 900,000 at that time). The value of individual objects topped 100,000 zlotys. The Persian rugs numbered at least 600. The total weight of the antique silver in the inventory was over several hundred kg." BADV, WGA 2-3561/59, vol. I, file 8.
22. Léon Grinberg's statement of Aug. 7, 1963, BADV, WGA 2-3561/59, file 89.
23. Bołdok's monograph, *Antykwaryaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*, includes extensive information about Warsaw's art antiquarians.
24. *Uniechowski opowiada czyli tajemnice mafii antykwarskiej*, 341.
25. *Ibid.*, 342.
26. Information about antique book dealers in J. Michalski, *55 lat wśród ksiązek*, 36–41, and Antoni Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1995), 272. Other well-known antiquarians in Świętokrzyska Street were Hermansztadt, Rubinstein, and Przeworski. Cf. Józef Galewski and Ludwik B. Grzeniewski, *Warszawa zapamiętana* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1961), 161–62. Most of their first names could not be found.
27. Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione*, 269.
28. Bołdok, *Antykwaryaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*.
29. *Ibid.*, 325–28 and 252–53. The second of Bernard Gutnajer's four sons, Henryk survived in occupied France.
30. The Vienna antique dealer Szymon Szwarz, originally from Cracow, who visited Warsaw often before the war and who almost certainly knew the Gutnajers, had brought the most valuable works to Czechoslovakia before the Anschluss, and after the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was created in March 1939 transferred them through Poland and France to Portugal. Uniechowska, *Uniechowski opowiada czyli tajemnice mafii antykwarskiej*, 301.
31. On the return of items left on deposit, see Jeremi Przybora, *Przymknięte oko opaczności: Memuarów część 2* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Tenten, 1998), 45–46.
32. Józef Sandel, *Abe Gutnajer*, typescript, n.d., Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, Spuścizna Józefa Sandla, file 29, p. 8.
33. For an account of the wartime relations between Abe Gutnajer and Edmund Mętlewicz, see Bołdok, *Antykwaryaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*, 229 and 233.
34. According to Tomasz Mętlewicz, son of Abe's close acquaintance Edmund Mętlewicz, Abe died in the Warsaw ghetto. Bołdok, *Antykwaryaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*, 229. There is a symbolic grave in the Jewish cemetery by Okopowa Street in Warsaw.
35. Bernard and Sabina Gutnajers' fourth son, Henry, an architect, was in Paris, where he had been living and working for some years.
36. USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Testimony of Joseph Gutnayer, viewed at United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Oral History Interview Code 8901, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/?utf8=%E2%9C%93>

9C%93&f%5Brecord_type_facet%5D%5B%5D=Oral+History&q=Gutnayer&search_field=Title (accessed August 30, 2019).

37. Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, “Śmierć antykwariusza na Chłodnej,” *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały* 12 (2016): 262–78.

38. I have been appealing for almost twenty years to the Polish authorities and museums (starting with the Jewish Historical Institute and the National Museum in Warsaw) to implement provenance research. See for example, “Who owns Bruno Schulz? The Changing Postwar Fortunes of Works of Art by Jewish Artists Murdered in Nazi-Occupied Poland,” <http://art.claimscon.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Cieślińska-Lobkowicz-Who-owns-Bruno-Schulz-21-March-2016.pdf> (accessed August 30, 2019); and “The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview,” in Julie-Marthe Cohen and Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, eds. *Neglected Witnesses: The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After* (Amsterdam: Jewish Historical Museum, 2011), 129–82.

39. National Museum in Warsaw painting curator Jerzy Sienkiewicz wrote: “The time of the first military operations, the siege of the city and the first days of the German occupation, was marked by a steady inflow of private deposits, including collections belonging to Jewish citizens, with the request to protect them for the duration of the war. Naturally, as far as possible, in fear of repressions by the occupation authorities, the museum covered up traces of their provenance. . . . Soon the occupier also began to [warehouse here] collections and furnishings of rich interiors that had been abandoned.” Jerzy Sienkiewicz, “Muzeum Narodowe. II. Malarstwo polskie,” in *Straty kulturalne Warszawy*, ed. Władysław Tomkiewicz (Warsaw: DN TNW, 1948), 139. Hotel Angielski on Wierzbowa Street and nearby buildings that lay in ruins were demolished only in the second half of October 1939. See Ludwik Landau, *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, vol. I, *Wrzesień 1939—listopad 1940* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), 33; and numerous mentions of the pillaging of Jewish apartments during the first months of the war.

40. The bombing of an apartment building did not automatically mean that all its furnishings would be lost. For instance, some of Hieronim Wilder’s collections (paintings and china) were damaged in September 1939 but print, manuscript, and antique glass collections survived intact. Antoni Trepiński, “Jak ratowano dobra kulturalne w domach prywatnych,” in *Walka o dobra kultury. Warszawa 1939–1945*, ed. Stanisław Lorentz (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), 2:119.

41. Verordnung über die Beschlagnahme von Kunstgegenständen im GG vom 16. Dezember 1939; Kajetan Mühlmanns, Durchführungsvorschrift vom 15. Januar 1940; Verordnung über die Beschlagnahme von privatem Vermögen im GG vom 24. Januar 1940.

42. Bohdan Marconi, “Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 11 (1967): 269. Cf. Karol Estreicher, *Straty kultury polskiej. Katalog strat kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1944 / Cultural Losses of Poland. Index of Polish cultural losses during the German occupation, 1939–1944* (London, 1944 [reprinted Cracow: Pałac Sztuki TPSP, 2003]), 436–52. Early on in the war the Germans usually issued receipts for collections officially confiscated from “Aryan” Poles, but not to Jewish.

43. Editors, “Zbiory muzealne,” in W. Tomkiewicz, *Straty kulturalne Warszawy*, 128. Estreicher reported that in Galeria Luksemburga on Senatorska Street “artworks confiscated from their Jewish owners were amassed. . . , later to embellish German government offices, homes, and clubs. But most often, as they looted Jewish homes, the Germans considered the confiscated objects their property and took it out of Poland or sold it.” Estreicher, *Straty kultury polskiej*, 452. Individual thefts resulted in punishment of some functionaries.

44. Stefan Kozakiewicz, “Wspomnienia z okresu wojny i okupacji i pierwszych miesięcy po wyzwoleniu (1939–1945),” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 11 (1967): 287–91.

45. Michalski, *55 lat wśród księzek*, 144.

46. Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, “Handel dziełami sztuki w okupowanej Warszawie 1939–1944,” in *Kryzysy w sztuce. Materiały Sesji SHS Lublin 1985* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988), 223–35. Cf. Wanda

Czernic-Żalińska, “Salon sztuki ‘Skarbiec’ w Warszawie,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 10 (1966): 471–510; Zofia Potocka, “Antykwarjat ‘Miniatura.’ Wspomnienie,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 11 (1967): 200–12; Stanisław Gebethner, *Wspomnienia z okupacji*, *ibid.*, 225–55; Marconi, “Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945,” 269–78.

47. Provenance was usually not something antique salons operated by aristocrats worried about since the growing pauperization of their class meant the objects being sold usually came from family collections.

48. In his memoirs Bohdan Marconi, chief restorationist at the National Museum in Warsaw (before, during, and after the War), recalled the phenomenon: “In 1942 Dr. Wilhelm von Lonsdorf, a gynecological surgeon from Vienna, came to see me. . . . [He] was the director of a hospital in Radom. He bought paintings in Dom Sztuki and did not resort to blackmail by asking whether the paintings he was choosing had been registered.” Marconi, “Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 11 (1967): 273.

49. Bołdok, *Antykwarjat artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*, 315–16.

50. Maria Mrozińska, “Wspomnienia z czasów okupacji,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, no. 10 (1966): 524.

51. Czernic-Żalińska, “Salon sztuki ‘Skarbiec’ w Warszawie,” 483.

52. *Ibid.*, 493.

53. Helena Korzeniewska, testimony of July 23, 1963, Yad Vashem Archives, 03.2518.

54. *Ibid.*, file 9. Bernard Weinstein, who used the name Czesław Bednarczyk during the war, also confirmed that Germans regularly visited Leśniewska’s shop. Cz. Bednarczyk, 20.09.1954: AIPN BU 01255/253/ J (MF 4037/3-17, vol. 5).

55. Korzeniewska, testimony of July 23, 1963. This was probably Gen. Józef K. Leśniewski (1867–1921), minister of military affairs in 1919–1920, but Leśniewska had been the wife of Wiktor Adam Leśniewski (1886–1963), minister of agriculture 1929–1930.

56. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 15, 1941, p. 6.

57. Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, “Śmierć antykwarjusza na Chłodnej.”

58. He came from an Orthodox family, but had renounced his religion decades earlier. At the beginning of the war he had reportedly won a lawsuit declaring him an Aryan who had been adopted by a Jewish family, which gave him the right to live outside the ghetto and not wear an armband. He was officially the manager of Leśniewska’s salon, and lived with her. Weinstein died in early 1944 after his ethnic origins were disclosed by his former wife, Alina, who had lived in hiding on the “Aryan” side, after she was arrested by the Gestapo. Korzeniewska’s account was corroborated by Marcin Weinstein’s son, Bernard, who continued to use his wartime name. Bednarczyk, 20.09.1954: AIPN BU 01255/253/ J (MF 4037/3-17, vol. 5).

59. I am grateful to Michał Wójcik, who has researched the Abwehr’s networks in the Generalgouvernement, for this information.

60. Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione*, 314–15. Cf. Bednarczyk, 20.09.1954: AIPN BU 01255/253/ J (MF 4037/3-17, vol. 5).

61. Antoni Marianowicz, *Polska, Żydzi i cykliści. Dziennik roku przestępnego* (Warsaw: Iskry, 1999), 44–45.

62. Monika Żeromska, “Moja ulica Mazowiecka,” *Rocznik Warszawski*, no. 25 (1995): 207.

63. *Ibid.*, 208.

64. All the authors of recollections note the boom in the Warsaw art market between the deportations of summer 1942 and the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, but none links it to the ghetto’s tragedy.

65. Ludwik Gutnajer, Abe's son, did not find this out from Edmund Mętlewicz or from his sons when he came to Poland in 1963 in connection with the compensation trial taking place in Berlin.
66. From a text found in Tadeusz Wierzejski's home during a search in 1974 (for smuggled art): AIPN BU, 01255/629.
67. Marconi, "Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945," 269–70.
68. Ibid., 269; Potocka, "Antykwarjat 'Miniatura.' Wspomnienie," 209. Potocka believed that these Impressionist works might have come from Jakub Klejman's collection.
69. Marconi wrote about being forced to accompany a top official of the Culture Department (Abteilung Kultur), the *Volksdeutscher* Dr. Karl Grundmann, to buy a birthday gift for Warsaw District Governor Ludwig Fischer: "All the antique shops knew me well, and so my appearance in the company of a uniformed Nazi was not confusing to them. As I entered with Grundmann, it was enough for me to wink, and the merchant would return a shadow of a collusive smile. People understood my situation perfectly well. If I remember correctly, we chose an etching by [Bernardo] Bellotto, a fairly common view of Warsaw, not in the best shape." Marconi, "Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945," 271.
70. Żeromska, "Moja ulica Mazowiecka," 206.
71. Bołdok, *Antykwarjaty artystyczne salony i domy aukcyjne*, 252–53 (about Klejman) and 325–28 (about Sakiel).