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# The Nazi Confiscation of Wanda Landowska's Musical Collection and Its Aftermath

CARLA SHAPREAU

WHEN THE GERMANS invaded France in May 1940, Wanda Landowska was at the height of her career. She was an internationally renowned harpsichord and piano soloist and an accomplished scholar, writer, teacher, and composer. She had amassed an extensive music library, including manuscripts, rare printed music, and books, and an impressive antique musical instrument collection.<sup>1</sup> Landowska fled her home and music school at 88 rue de Pontoise, Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, four days before the Nazis occupied Paris. She and her assistant and, later, biographer Denise Restout carried only what they could quickly save, 'a few indispensable books and music scores and some notebooks', the latter representing Landowska's fourteen years of teaching.<sup>2</sup> The Nazis wasted little time, targeting her musical treasures for plunder in September 1940.<sup>3</sup> By one estimate, the library contained approximately 10,000 objects.<sup>4</sup> These objects reflected Landowska's intellectual and aesthetic

I would like to acknowledge the thoughtful assistance of Christopher Hartten, music archivist, and the other staff of the Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères, Paris (hereafter MEAE), RA, Box 389, Folder P24 'Exportation Douane', 'Wanda Landowska': 'Liste des instruments de musique et de la bibliothèque', n.d.; see also W. de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam, 1996), 217–29; C. Shapreau and F. Gétreau, 'The Loss of French Musical Property During World War II, Post-War Repatriations, Restitutions, and 21st Century Ramifications', in *France Berkeley Fund Annual Report 2012–2013* (Berkeley, Calif., 2013), 72–83.

<sup>2</sup> W. Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, ed. and trans. D. Restout (New York, 1964), 21.

<sup>3</sup> MEAE, RA, Box 389, Folder P24: 'Liste des instruments enlevés par les autorités allemandes chez Madame Wanda Landowska', n.d.; Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris, CXL-83; Herbert Gerigk, memorandum to Sonderstab Musik, Oct. 1940.

<sup>4</sup> D. Marty, 'Wanda Landowska à Saint-Leu-la-Forêt', in *Wanda Landowska, et la renaissance de la musique ancienne*, ed. J.-J. Eigeldinger (Paris, 2011), 100. For several additional inventories in various forms, see Library of Congress, Washington DC (hereafter LC), Music Division, ML31.L356 'Wanda Landowska and Denise Restout Papers, 1843–2002'. All references to the Wanda Landowska and Denise Restout Papers are to the unprocessed collection.

sensibilities, her eclectic interests, and to some extent her heritage. Many of these looted musical materials remain missing. They may still be discovered, perhaps recovered, if they have not been completely forgotten.

#### WANDA LANDOWSKA: THE EARLY YEARS

Landowska was born on 5 July 1879 in Warsaw to Marian Landowski, an attorney, and Ewelina, née Lautenberg, a linguist.<sup>5</sup> She was of Polish Jewish descent: Restout reported that her family had converted to Catholicism two generations earlier.<sup>6</sup> Landowska began musical studies at the age of 4 under Jan Kleczyński, a Chopin scholar and performer, and later with Aleksander Michałowski, a Chopin and Bach expert at the Warsaw Conservatory. In 1896 Landowska moved to Berlin to study composition under Heinrich Urban and piano with Moritz Moszkowski.<sup>7</sup>

In Berlin, Landowska's fascination with historical instruments was ignited when she gained access to the collection of antique musical instruments at the Hochschule für Musik and considered their role in performance and the music written for them. These investigations would lead her to collect historical musical instruments for performance purposes. Her library reflected these interests and included many books on musical instruments and organology.<sup>8</sup> Landowska would later work with the French keyboard manufacturer Pleyel to design a harpsichord based on her study and analysis of antique harpsichords.<sup>9</sup>

In 1900, at the age of 21, Landowska eloped to Paris with Henryk Lew, a Polish actor, journalist, writer, and ethnologist with an expertise in Hebrew folklore.<sup>10</sup> Restout reported that Landowska shared Lew's interest in folklore and recalled childhood summers in Poland singing and dancing mazurkas and polonaises.<sup>11</sup> In Paris Landowska performed several of her own compositions in concerts on 23 November 1901 and 14 March 1902 at her publisher, Enoch & Cie, and at other

<sup>5</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Wanda Landowska, death certificate, 19 Aug. 1959.

<sup>6</sup> H. Haney, 'Conversation with Harpsichordist Denise Restout', *The Harpsichord*, 7/1 (1974), 11. Landowska appears to have identified her race or people as 'Hebrew' on a ship manifest in Ellis Island records (Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Foundation, *Paris* ship manifest, 20 Oct. 1923).

<sup>7</sup> H. Schott, 'Wanda Landowska: A Centenary Appraisal', *Early Music*, 7 (1979), 467–72.

<sup>8</sup> MEAE, RA, Box 389, Folder P24: 'Liste des instruments de musique et de la bibliothèque', 20–2. <sup>9</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 11. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Half a century later Landowska released a record of Polish dances called *Landowska Plays for Paderewski* in 1951 (reissued in 1965 as the *Dances of Ancient Poland*). Landowska wrote, as part of her discussion of Chopin, the Polish mazurka, and her childhood musical recollections: 'The Polish people are naturally musical. Music is part of their life, their work, love and pleasures. The peasant sings while working, scratches the fiddle while drinking at the inn, blows the flute while herding the animals. The reapers go to the fields and return singing. Singing, they bring in the last cart load. They sing while threshing the grain. The girls who go to pick berries in the woods sing. All farm work is done while singing, the whole village participates' (W. Landowska, *Landowska Plays for Paderewski*, liner notes (RCA Victor LM 1186, 1951)).



**Figure 1.** Wanda Landowska, Polish passport no. 2569, 1919  
Library of Congress, Washington DC, ML31.L356.

events (see Fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> She performed internationally, including in Russia, where she took her harpsichord to perform for Leo Tolstoy.<sup>13</sup> In the early 1900s she published many scholarly articles on her evolving theories of interpretation, and in 1909 wrote a ground-breaking book, in collaboration with her husband, about the harpsichord and its music, *Musique ancienne*.<sup>14</sup>

Landowska and Lew moved to Berlin in 1913 when she was invited to teach harpsichord at the Hochschule für Musik, but after the First World War broke out the couple were held as ‘civilian prisoners on parole’. Landowska was free to continue teaching, and gave occasional concerts.<sup>15</sup> Before their return to France Lew was tragically killed in a car accident in 1919. Landowska continued to perform, teach, and write, focusing considerable efforts on J. S. Bach and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers and the interpretation of their music on the instruments for which it had been composed. She moved back to

<sup>12</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 8–9. The owner of Enoch & Cie, Daniel Enoch, and his wife were deported in 1943 and perished in Auschwitz (Danièle Enoch-Maillard, granddaughter of Daniel Enoch, interview with author, 6 Oct. 2017). After the war Daniel Enoch’s son, Jacques, recovered the family music publishing business, which continues in Paris today.

<sup>13</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 12–13; Schott, ‘Wanda Landowska’, 468; A. Fauser, ‘Creating Madame Landowska’, *Women and Music*, 10 (2006), 11–12.

<sup>14</sup> W. Landowska and H. Lew-Landowski, *Musique ancienne: Le Mépris pour les anciens, la force de la sonorité, le style, l’interprétation, les virtuoses, les mécènes et la musique* (Paris, 1909); Eng. trans.: *Music of the Past*, trans. W. Aspenwall Bradley (New York, 1924).

<sup>15</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 16.



**Figure 2.** Wanda Landowska playing the harpsichord in Auguste Rodin's studio, on the anniversary of the death of French artist Eugène Carrière, 1908

Library of Congress, Washington DC, ML31.L356.

Paris, where she kept company with the luminaries of her day (Fig. 3). New works for the harpsichord were written for her by Francis Poulenc, Manuel de Falla, and others. In 1925 Landowska bought a house in Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, where she established her *École de Musique Ancienne*, regularly performing and teaching.<sup>16</sup> She also housed her substantial music library and antique musical instrument collection at Saint-Leu-la-Forêt.

With Hitler's rise to power on 30 January 1933, composers and musicians who did not comport with Nazi policies began to experience persecution based on religion, race, politics, aesthetic views, and other factors. In late 1937 the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, through its Music Chamber, issued an order requiring the clearance of music before publication, intended to weed out undesirable music through the Reichsmusikprüfstelle (Reich Music Examination Office), with an initial list of banned music beginning in August 1938.<sup>17</sup> In May 1938 an exhibition titled *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate Music) opened in Düsseldorf targeting various genres of music, such as jazz, atonal music, and music by Jews or Bolsheviks.<sup>18</sup> After the German attack on Poland, Landowska and Polish

<sup>16</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 19; see also W. Landowska, *Le Temple de la Musique Ancienne, Saint-Leu-la-Forêt: Recordings and Documents*, CD, DVD, and booklet (Paradizo PA0009, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> E. Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London, 1994), 94.

<sup>18</sup> 'Musical Note from Abroad', *Musical Times*, 79/1146 (Aug. 1938), 629.



**Figure 3.** Wanda Landowska and Rainer Maria Rilke, Paris, 1921  
Library of Congress, Washington DC, ML31.L356.

violinist Bronisław Huberman performed at a benefit concert in Paris to show support for Poland in January 1940.<sup>19</sup> Landowska was blacklisted in 1940 in the infamous Nazi-sponsored book, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, by German musicologists Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk.<sup>20</sup>

When the German army invaded France, Landowska did not immediately leave her home. Restout recalled: ‘We waited and waited, each day believing that something would happen and we would not have to go. We were still there when the Nazis invaded the north of France and that was on 10 May 1940. As they advanced, we could hear the bombing from our house in Saint Leu.’<sup>21</sup> On 10 June Landowska fled her home with Restout, stopping first at Blois on the Loire and continuing on to Banyuls-sur-Mer in the Pyrenees, where the sculptor Aristide Maillol found Landowska a place to stay. In November 1941 Landowska and

<sup>19</sup> MEAE, RA, Box 89, Folder 1 ‘Bunjes Kunstschutz (A28)’: Wolfgang Boetticher, letter to Chef des Militärverwaltungsbezirks regarding the Sonderstab Musik confiscation of Wanda Landowska’s property, 13 Jan. 1941.

<sup>20</sup> T. Stengel and H. Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin, 1940).

<sup>21</sup> Haney, ‘Conversation with Harpsichordist Denise Restout’, 14.

Figure 4. Sonderstab Musik inventory of Wanda Landowska's confiscated music library and musical instrument collection, 19 February 1941 Bundesarchiv, Berlin, NS 15/190.

Sonderstab Musik Paris, den 19.2.1941  
Vg.

**Notiz über Beschriftung von Kisten**

Wanda Landowska, St. Leu la Forest

<del>P 1</del> ✓		Verschiedene Literaturwerke
<del>P 2</del>		" " " u. Noten
<del>P 3</del>		" " " u. Privatakt
<del>P 4</del> ✓		Korrespondenz
<del>P 5</del>		Zeitschriften und Korrespondenz
<del>P 6</del> ✓		" " " u. Noten
<del>P 7</del>		" " " "
<del>P 8 - P 15</del>	✓ P 10	Noten
<del>P 16 - P 18</del>	16, 17, 18	Literaturwerke
<del>P 19 - P 24</del>	21, 22, 23	Literaturwerke und Noten
<del>P 25</del>		Schallplatten
<del>P 26</del>		" und Bücher
<del>P 27</del>		Noten
<del>P 28</del>		Noten, teils Bücher
<del>P 29</del>		Cembalo (79260/192406/48)
<del>P 30</del>		Cembalo (30463/192665/51)
<del>P 31</del>		Flügel (73 K/144/189344)
<del>P 32 - P 37</del>		a. Aufstellung Darius Milhaud

- 2 -

<del>P 38</del>		Noten und Bücher
<del>P 39</del> ✓		Cembalo, 17. Jahrhundert
<del>P 40</del> ✓		Cembalo, 1642 v. Hans Buchers
<del>P 41</del> ✓		Spinett, Pleyel 1807
<del>P 42</del> ✓		Tafelklavier, Carl Jac. Nordquist, Stockholm
<del>P 43</del> ✓		Cembalo (innen Bild nach Verracchio)
<del>P 44</del> ✓		Füße zu P 43
<del>P 45</del> ✓		Stimme Klaviatur
<del>P 46</del> ✓		Tafelklavier (Inchrift musica sagorum ut solam dulces laborum).
<del>P 47</del> ✓		Füße zu P 46
<del>P 48</del> ✓		Klavichord
<del>P 49</del> ✓		Tafelklavier (O. Gramfeldt, Stockholm)
<del>P 50</del> ✓		Tafelklavier
<del>P 51</del> ✓		Clabal
<del>P 52</del> ✓		Klavichord
<del>P 53</del> ✓		Untersatz zu P 51
<del>P 54</del> ✓		2 Viola d'amore
<del>P 55</del> ✓		Hausorgel 1757
<del>P 56</del> ✓		Piano (Joan Bauza, Palma)
<del>P 57</del> ✓		Klavichord
<del>P 58</del> ✓		Untersatz zu P 57
<del>P 59</del> ✓		Viola da Gamba, Clarinette, Flöte, Zither
<del>P 60</del>		Korrespondenz

Restout booked passage on a ship in Lisbon bound for the United States, arriving in New York the day of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941.<sup>22</sup>

#### EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG AND SONDERSTAB MUSIK

Landowska's home and music school were looted by the Sonderstab Musik (Special Music Taskforce), led by musicologist Herbert Gerigk, which carried out musical confiscations and was a subdivision of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Reich-Leader Rosenberg Taskforce; ERR) (Fig. 4).<sup>23</sup> The ERR, led by Alfred Rosenberg, was the Nazi taskforce that plundered material culture in various nations in occupied Europe. It became operational in France in July 1940. In addition, a programme known as Möbel Aktion was established by Hitler on 31 December 1941, under which the contents of the homes of those who had fled or had been deported were seized, garnering musical property, among other property, for the Nazi regime.<sup>24</sup> Rosenberg initially implemented Möbel Aktion under the ERR but transferred its operations to a new agency created on 17 April 1942, called the Dienststelle Westen (Western Service), under the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories.<sup>25</sup>

The Sonderstab Musik packed up Landowska's property and moved it to the Louvre depot before shipment to Germany.<sup>26</sup> The French authorities protested against the confiscation on 5 December 1940, asserting that Landowska's property constituted French artistic heritage.<sup>27</sup> But this claim was rejected by the Sonderstab Musik, which remarked that Landowska was a Jew, a Polish national, and anti-German, and that 'her collection could not be considered as part of the French artistic heritage and had been seized in the normal way as an "ownerless Jewish possession" following the Führer's order'.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Haney, 'Conversation with Harpsichordist Denise Restout', 14; Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 21; Bundesarchiv, Berlin, NS 15/190: Sonderstab Musik, inventory of Wanda Landowska's confiscated music library and musical instrument collection, 19 Feb. 1941.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Nurnberg Trial', *Federal Rules Decisions*, 6/69 (1946), 157; National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC (hereafter NARA), Office of Strategic Services, Art Looting Investigation Unit, CIR 1, RG 239, M1782/1: J. S. Plaut, 'Activity of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France', 15 Aug. 1945; J. Matteoli, *Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France: Rapport général* (Paris, 2000); A. Wiewiorka and F. Azoulay, *Le Pillage des appartements et son indemnisation* (Paris, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> J.-M. Dreyfus and S. Gensburger, *Nazi Labour Camps in Paris: Austerlitz, Léviton, Bassano, July 1943 – August 1944*, trans. J. Hensher (New York, 2011), 14–17.

<sup>26</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Herbert Gerigk testimony, *Schunicke et al v. German Reich*, Bochum-Langendreer, 24 Feb. 1971; see also LC, ML31.L356: Denise Restout, 'W.L.'s Library and Instruments'.

<sup>27</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 121: M. de Boissieu, Délégation Générale du Gouvernement Français dans les Territoires Occupés, letter to Colonel Wilhelm Otzen, 5 Dec. 1940.

<sup>28</sup> MEAE, RA, Box 89, Folder 1: Wolfgang Boetticher, letter to Chef des Militärverwaltungsbezirks, 13 Jan. 1941. NARA RG 239, M1944, roll 6: Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Branch,

Once in Germany, Landowska's collection was transferred to various locations. Fifty-four crates reportedly reached Berlin from Paris in 1940, and on 15 August 1941 were transferred to the Amt Musik office located at 79 Oranienburgerstrasse in Berlin.<sup>29</sup> The inscription on a packing crate containing Landowska's looted musical property discovered after the war by the US army in Bavaria listed an additional Berlin address not far away: 'An die NSDAP Reichsleitung, Amt Musik, Berlin, Charlottenburg, Bismarck-str. 1'.<sup>30</sup>

Max Unger had first-hand knowledge of Landowska's looted property in Germany, having worked with her collection under the Amt Musik during the war. He wrote to Landowska's assistant, Diana Mathot, on 27 July 1946, in response to Landowska's recovery efforts, stating that her collection was probably first brought to Berlin and then taken to Leipzig in or around September 1943, where it was stored in the 'höhere jüdische Schule' at Gustav Adolph Strasse 7.<sup>31</sup> Unger further explained that in December 1943 a bomb had hit the Leipzig storage location and the musical materials that survived had been evacuated to Langenau Castle near Hirschberg (Jelenia Góra) in Silesia in February 1944, where they were catalogued.<sup>32</sup> Unger did not know what had become of these objects after the area came under Russian and Polish control in the spring of 1945. The post-war disposition of this cache remains unclear today. But Langenau Castle was not the only location where Landowska's property surfaced after the war. Evidence confirms that it was scattered across different locations, including a monastery in the Bavarian countryside.

#### MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES SECTION OF THE US ARMY AND THE DISCOVERY AT RAITENHASLACH

Long before the war ended, the fine arts community, museum directors, curators, and scholars became alarmed at the potential of the war for the destruction of material culture in Europe. In the United States these concerns were brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, who on 20 August 1943 established the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historical Monuments in War Areas, known as the Roberts Commission. To carry out the mission of the Roberts Commission, the US military established the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section of the US army (MFA&A, also referred to as the Monuments Men).

After the war, the MFA&A was involved in locating, protecting, and returning looted and displaced cultural property in war-torn Europe. It was in this capacity

Control Commission for Germany (British Element), Report: 'The Bunjes Papers: German Administration of the Fine Arts in the Paris Area During the First Year of the Occupation', Feb. 1945.

<sup>29</sup> De Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 223, 231.

<sup>30</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 187: Munich CCP property card, 8138 Raitenhaslach 45.

<sup>31</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Max Unger, letter to Diana Mathot, 27 July, 1946.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

that the US army, on 30 May 1945, discovered that the monastery in Raitenhaslach, Germany, contained a significant cache of looted French music-related property, including objects that had been confiscated by the Sonderstab Musik from Landowska's home and music school in Saint-Leu-la-Fôret (Appendix Table 1). These objects had been deposited in this monastery by the ERR and intermingled with German property, evacuated for safe-keeping during the war and placed under the protection of an ERR caretaker.<sup>33</sup>

The MFA&A reported about sixty-five pianos, spinets, harmoniums, and other instruments, modern and antique, in crates, as well as eighty crates of music and books. Many additional musical instruments and other musical materials were discovered in this location with French markings. 'Estimated about 25 truckloads for Rosenberg material alone.'<sup>34</sup> The US army described the conditions at Raitenhaslach as chaotic, with materials distributed throughout the building, some in locked rooms but others not; many of the crates had been opened, with some damage and loss of property reported. The United States further noted the lack of security and the fragile nature of the musical materials,<sup>35</sup> before transferring them by truck to the Allied-run Munich Central Collecting Point (Munich CCP) for inventorying, protection, and return. The number of items recovered from Raitenhaslach totalled 1,659.<sup>36</sup>

Few photographs of musical objects inventoried in the Munich CCP were taken. Six of these were of Landowska's war-battered keyboard instruments:<sup>37</sup>

- Ruckers 'Epinette'<sup>38</sup>
- Clavecin, Italian, sixteenth century (Fig. 5)
- Clavichord, seventeenth century
- Hans Ruckers Clavecin, 1642
- Psalterion, Italian, sixteenth century
- Clavecin, Italian, early sixteenth century

Landowska's Pleyel harpsichord was not found until 10 December 1945. An internal US memorandum states:

The Pleyel harpsichord now located in the second floor hallway of the Military Government quarters in Altötting, which is understood to have been removed from Raitenhaslach

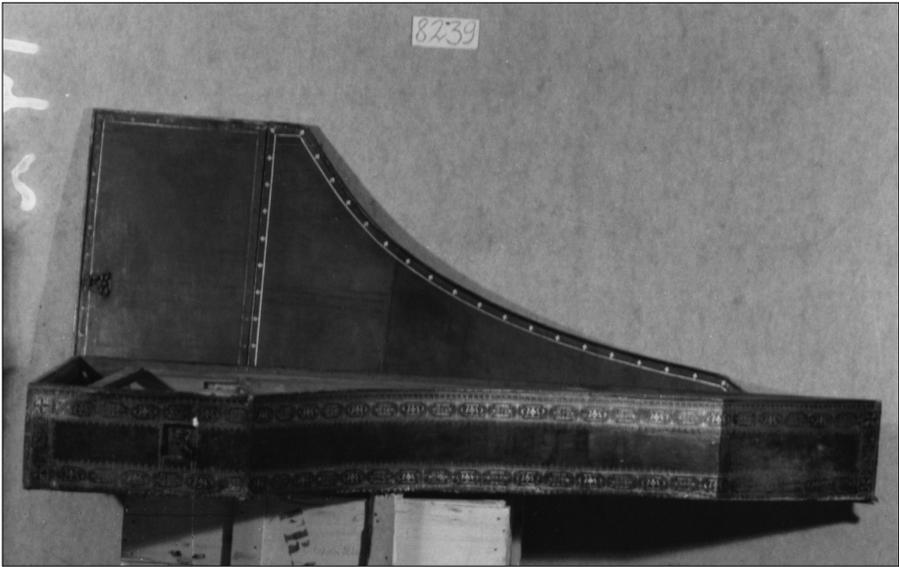
<sup>33</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 110: Jonathan T. Morey, memorandum 'Repository of Cultural Objects', 27 Aug. 1945. <sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.; NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 110: Jonathan T. Morey, letter to Monuments, Fine Arts & Archives Officer, 28 Aug. 1945.

<sup>36</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1947, roll 49: Munich CCP, monthly report, Apr. 1946.

<sup>37</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 188.

<sup>38</sup> This item is presently referred to as '6-voet muselar virginal, Andreas Ruckers, 1633, Inv. 1971.027 1633a AR'. It is now owned by the Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels. Pascale Vandervellen, *The Golden Age of Flemish Harpsichord Making: A Study of the MIM's Ruckers Instruments* (Brussels, 2017), 210–21.



**Figure 5.** Clavecin confiscated from Wanda Landowska, Italian, sixteenth century, Paris, September 1940

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC, RG 260, M1946, roll 188.

by the former Burghausen detachment, is a special model invented by Mme Landowska and played only by her. It is one of only three such instruments in existence, and its value, particularly to the artist herself, is very great. 1st Lt. Doda Conrad of OMG Bavaria will arrive in Altötting 12 December, bringing with him an expert packer from Munich, to crate this instrument for removal. It is requested that he be given all possible assistance.<sup>39</sup>

It is unclear whether additional instruments, music, and other purloined French materials were similarly picked off and separated from the larger collection stored in Raitenhaslach and other wartime evacuation storage locations. For the many thousands of objects that were processed for repatriation through the Munich CCP, property cards were filled out with the object description, condition and repair record, presumed owner(s), identity of the depot possessor, identifying marks, measurements, materials, history and ownership, and date of arrival at and exit from the collecting point. In many instances multiple objects were included in single card descriptions with multiple presumed owners. Descriptions were often summary in nature and too vague to identify the property with sufficient specificity.

#### POST-WAR RESTITUTION AND US POLICY

During and immediately after the Second World War, the US grappled with complex issues pertaining to restitution. It ultimately determined that looted

<sup>39</sup> NARA, RG 260, M1946, roll 110: Jonathan T. Morey, memorandum, 10 Dec. 1945.

property should be returned to the presumed country from which it came and not to the former owners. Questions of ownership could be complicated and were best left to the country of origin. Governments submitted lists of objects allegedly taken by the Nazis, including information regarding the circumstances of the theft. The US military evaluated these claims and permitted foreign 'missions' to enter the US Zone to identify allegedly looted property.<sup>40</sup> Once assets were delivered to representatives of claimant nations, the involvement of the United States came to an end.<sup>41</sup>

A shipment of Landowska's property from Munich to France was made on 31 July 1946 (the tally of looted French objects in this shipment was 1,178 items). It appears that most of the keyboard instruments were repatriated to France in this first shipment. A later shipment of Landowska's property was made on 27 April 1949. This was the thirty-fifth shipment to France of confiscated material, and there were 788 items in this transfer. Within this shipment from the Munich CCP to Paris are some of Landowska's music and books, although detailed descriptions, including titles, do not appear to have been noted for most objects.

Restout wrote in 1966 that 'Landowska's library contained almost every book written prior to 1939 on music of the 16th to the 20th centuries',<sup>42</sup> although only 'about two-thirds' of the catalogue of her library holdings were prepared before the collection was looted. Landowska provided a reconstructed inventory to the French government to assist in locating her looted musical property after the war.<sup>43</sup> Her music library reflected her passion for baroque music, performance, musical history, and the study of historical musical instruments, and also included several Polish references.<sup>44</sup>

#### LIST OF PROPERTY REMOVED FROM FRANCE DURING THE WAR 1939–1945

France published war-related property losses in its *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945 / List of Property Removed from France during the War 1939–1945* between 1947 and 1949, in eight volumes and six appendices, which was prepared by the Bureau Central des Restitutions with the co-operation of the Commission de Récupération Artistique. Each claimant was identified by a number from the Office des Biens et Intérêts Privés (OBIP); Landowska's OBIP number was 32.011 (Appendix Table 2).

The objects were briefly described in the list in an effort to put the world on

<sup>40</sup> 'Staff Report', in *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets*, Report to the President of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the United States (Washington DC, 2000), p. SR-142.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. SR-140–5.

<sup>42</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Denise Restout, letter to Mary-Lou McGuire, 28 June 1966'.

<sup>43</sup> Haney, 'Conversation with Harpsichordist Denise Restout', 10; MEAE, RA, Box 389, Folder P24: 'Liste des instruments de musique et de la bibliothèque'.

<sup>44</sup> MEAE, RA, Box 389, Folder P24: 'Liste des instruments de musique et de la bibliothèque'.

notice of these losses and to recover still missing property looted in France during the war.<sup>45</sup> The entries were adopted from the declarations of the claimants and Landowska provided detailed information to the French government. The *List of Property Removed from France* is not a complete inventory of confiscations. For example, it does not include information from those who perished in the Holocaust, unless a family member or other heir submitted a claim; objects returned before publication were often left out, which was the case with some of Landowska's property returned in 1946.

In March 1952 Doda Conrad, a member of the MFA&A, a tenor, and a long-time friend of Landowska's, located her copy of the complete works of Johann Sebastian Bach by the Bach-Gesellschaft in the French Administration des Domaines, 104 rue de Richelieu in Paris, which in the early 1950s liquidated cultural objects recovered after the war that were unclaimed or unidentified and not deemed to be of sufficient cultural significance.<sup>46</sup> But most of her music library remained missing, including some of her own compositions, such as *Hebrew Poem for Orchestra*.<sup>47</sup>

#### QUIESCENCE IN THE POST-WAR YEARS

After restitutions to Landowska in 1946, 1949, and 1952, it would be nearly another decade before any further official action was taken regarding her unresolved claims in the *List of Property Removed from France*. These, along with the claims of many others in France who were missing music-related property, came to a close in 1961 when, on 17 March, Dr Andrae of the German Federal Office for External Restitutions, Bad Homburg, concluded that unresolved French claims for musical materials could no longer be remedied by restitution.<sup>48</sup> Andrae's rationale for this finding was that French musical objects had suffered one of three fates: (1) They had been shipped to Berlin and Leipzig for the Hohe Schule der NSDAP but had been destroyed by Allied air raids. (2) They had been evacuated to a chateau close to Langenau in Silesia, which was occupied by the Soviet army in the spring of 1945. After the war these objects were outside the territory and control of the Federal Republic of Germany. (3) Those that had been safeguarded by the ERR at Raitenhaslach had been discovered after the war by American troops and repatriated to France.<sup>49</sup> Notably, Andrae stated that some of the musical instruments plundered in France had been provided to the 'Reichsschatzmeister der NSDAP' (Reich treasurer) and distributed to the 'Ritterkreuzträger' (recipients of the Knight's

<sup>45</sup> Bureau Central des Restitutions, *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939-1945 / Katalog imushchestva zakhvachennogo vo Frantsii vo vremya voiny 1939-1945 g. / List of Property Removed from France during the War 1939-1945 / Verzeichnis des im Kriege 1939-1945 aus Frankreich verschleppten Eigentums*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1947-9).

<sup>46</sup> J. S. Bach, *Werke*, 47 vols. (Leipzig 1851-1926). It was later sold to the University of Maryland (LC, ML31.L356: Restout, letter to John F. Pfeiffer, 15 Oct. 1994).

<sup>47</sup> Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 424.

<sup>48</sup> MEAE, RV, Box 499: Dr Andrae, restitution decision, 17 Mar. 1961.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

Cross), as well as to other individuals. These objects remain unaccounted for today. The French agreed with Andrae, and on 13 June 1961 marked as 'rejected' pending claims for restitution of music-related materials that had not yet been found.

Immediately preceding Andrae's findings the German government conducted tardy interviews in 1960 and 1961 of Herbert Gerigk, head of the Sonderstab Musik, and his assistant, Wolfgang Boetticher, seeking information regarding war-time musical confiscations.<sup>50</sup> It appears these interviews may have contributed, in part, to the conclusions Andrae reached in his report.

Speculation and uncertainty exist regarding the current whereabouts of Landowska's still missing musical property. In addition to the German and Silesian depot locations mentioned above, Ratibor (Racibórz) in Silesia and Banz Castle in Franconia were also believed to be repositories for looted French musical materials.<sup>51</sup> Willem de Vries posited over twenty years ago that 'the simplest and most speculative assumption suggests that some of Wanda Landowska's belongings (and the property of countless others) remain in Germany in private hands'.<sup>52</sup>

Rose Valland, France's most notable heroine in recovering French cultural objects plundered by the Nazis, worked for the French government after the war seeking recoveries for theft victims. She wrote to Restout on 13 January 1965, recalling her discussions with those in Leipzig and in the Russian Zone when searching for Landowska's property, stating that 'when Leipzig was bombed, things were sent in small deposits in the country, but may have been destroyed by regional thieves or occupation army. Discoveries might be made in private homes around Leipzig'.<sup>53</sup>

Gerigk also provided testimony in 1971 that he did not know where Landowska's musical collection had been taken but that he believed the materials had been transported to a 'field office in Leipzig'.<sup>54</sup> Walter Bargatzky, a legal administrator working with the German military commander in France during the war, reported that he overheard Herbert Gerigk talking about the 'expropriation of musical instruments and musical literature' of scientific and historical importance being 'brought to a School in Leipzig established as a depository for these articles'. Bargatzky also heard that additional musical instruments, music, and music books of all types 'arrived at the Rosenberg Office of the NSDAP in Berlin, which at that time was located in the "Am Knie" Hotel'.<sup>55</sup> Bargatzky did not know to which city Landowska's property had been sent, although he wrote that former members of the ERR reported that the musical objects in Leipzig had been evacuated to Langenau Castle and to a monastery at Raitenhaslach in Bavaria.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> De Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 234–42.

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. Bundesarchiv, Berlin, NS 30/64: Herbert Gerigk, memorandum, 22 Nov. 1943; De Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 214–16, 226, 233.

<sup>52</sup> De Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 228.

<sup>53</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Denise Restout, 'W.L.'s Library and Instruments', n.d.

<sup>54</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Herbert Gerigk, testimony, *Schunicke et al v. German Reich*, 24 Feb. 1971.

<sup>55</sup> LC, ML31.L356: extract from Walter Bargatzky's 'Secret Report', *Restitution Matter Wanda Landowska v. Deutsche Reich*, 30 May 1962.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 6.** Wanda Landowska playing a seventeenth-century clavichord.  
It has never been recovered

Library of Congress, Washington DC, ML31.L356.

Willem de Vries, who communicated with Denise Restout, said of the library that ‘only the Bach-Gesellschaft was returned to Paris’.<sup>57</sup> Shipment records from the Munich CCP to France and records in the archive of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggest that other music library materials belonging to Landowska were also returned to France, although many specific descriptions are lacking. Many of the music library items and musical instruments stolen by the *Sonderstab Musik* from Landowska in France remain missing.

Forty years after the return of Landowska’s complete works of Bach, in 1992 Willem de Vries discovered two looted letters from composer Manuel de Falla to Landowska in the collection of the German National Museum in Nuremberg, which had been found after the war by a man who claimed to have rescued them from being burned as fuel for heating. The letters were variously reported to have been discovered in a stone cellar near Bamberg and in the cellars of Banz Castle,<sup>58</sup> notable proof of the scattering in Germany of objects stolen from Landowska in France in September 1940. The letters were returned to the Landowska Center in Lakeville, Connecticut, operated by Denise Restout.

<sup>57</sup> De Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 224.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 214–15, 226.

## CONCLUSION

Landowska died on 16 August 1959 in Lakeville, Connecticut at the age of 80, identified as Wanda Landowska Lew on her death certificate.<sup>59</sup> Her ashes were buried next to her brother Paul's grave in the churchyard at Taverny near Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, in France, as she wished.<sup>60</sup> Upon Denise Restout's passing in 2004,<sup>61</sup> she bequeathed to the US Library of Congress the musical collection she had inherited from Landowska, consisting of approximately 41,000 items, as well as two Pleyel harpsichords, a Challis clavichord, a Steinway piano, and Restout's own musical property, stating in a letter to a friend in 1994 of the Library of Congress: 'It seems to me that it is one of the most durable and responsible institutions.'<sup>62</sup>

Wanda Landowska's music-related losses provide insights into the Nazi era and the Holocaust as well as Landowska herself. More than seventy years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, yet little progress has been made regarding the location and return of musical losses. Documentary evidence is not readily accessible, being spread across multinational boundaries in many languages. Commercial practices have not sufficiently evolved in the musical sphere to address gaps in provenance for objects that are offered for sale. In some nations political barriers undermine research into and return of confiscated and displaced cultural objects. The knowledge of Landowska's remaining losses both haunts and provides hope that these musical objects will one day surface (Fig. 6). This will only happen if we remember them.

<sup>59</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Wanda Landowska, death certificate.

<sup>60</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Wanda Landowska, handwritten will, 31 July 1953; *Die Dame mit dem Cembalo: Wanda Landowska und die Alte Musik*, ed. M. Elste (Mainz, 2010), 210.

<sup>61</sup> 'Paid Notice: Deaths. Restout, Denise Theresa', *New York Times*, 21 Mar. 2004.

<sup>62</sup> LC, ML31.L356: Denise Restout, 'Last Will and Testament', 23 Mar. 1999; Denise Restout, letter to John F. Pfeiffer, 15 Oct. 1994.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1.** Provisional list of Landowska property recovered by the US military at Raitenhaslach<sup>a</sup>

Munich accession number	Description	Entry and exit dates <sup>b</sup>
8138 Raitenhaslach 45	‘Various parts + papers of an organ’; ‘Identifying marks: P40 Landeroska, cembalo v. H. Rücker 1642’; ‘Inscription on crate: An die NSDAP Reichsleitung, Amt Musik, Berlin, Charlottenburg, Bismarck-str. 1’	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8145 Raitenhaslach 52/2	‘6 vol of partiturs’; ‘Mozart-Requiem, Bach-Cantaten and other very valuable press of 18th c.’; Landowska is listed among the presumed owners	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8172 Raitenhaslach 79	‘ca. 42 vol. books notes’; ‘4 vol. opera, 3 vol. about violins, 1 vol. ‘Musik Landowska’, 30 vol. Mozart (German edition), 1 case containing correspondence of Mrs. Rubinstein’; ‘Identifying Marks: Noten, Mozartwerke Bücher aus Paris’; Landowska is listed among the presumed owners	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8173 Raitenhaslach 80	‘23 vol. Bach opera and Mozart, Gluck etc.’; ‘Noten . . . 10 vol. Bach, 10 vol. Gluck, 10 vol. Mozart’; Landowska is listed among the presumed owners	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8179 Raitenhaslach 86(1)	‘60 voliums books and notes’; ‘Bücher Paris’; ‘ca. 17 vol. various owners . . . 14 vol. Wanda Landowski’; ‘partly valuable old editions’; Landowska is listed among the presumed owners	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8183 Raitenhaslach 90	‘Bach and Schütz-opera 135 voliums’; Landowska is listed among the presumed owners	11 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949
8237 Raitenhaslach 129	‘Piano, mahogany, 19th c., slightly damaged’; ‘History and Ownership: confiscated 1940 probably by ERR’; ‘Presumed owner: France, Wanda Landowska, id. acc. to Wanda Landowska catalogue No. 41 B’	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8238 Raitenhaslach 130	‘Spinette’; ‘Rückers’; ‘wood, partly painted’; Landowska Catalogue No. 37 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8239 Raitenhaslach 131	‘Clavecin’; ‘Italy, 16th c.’; ‘wood, leather, slightly damaged’; Landowska Catalogue No. 34	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8244 Raitenhaslach 136	‘Clavichord,’ ‘17th c.’; ‘considerably damaged’; Landowska Catalogue No. 38	13 Sept. 1946 [recte 1945] 31 Sept. 1946

Munich accession number	Description	Entry and exit dates <sup>b</sup>
8246 Raitenhaslach 138	'4 pipes of an organ'; 'Swiss 1737'; Landowska Catalogue No. 40 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8247 Raitenhaslach 139	'2 feet for clavecin 8239'; 'Italy, 16th c.'; 'carved wood, one broken'; Landowska Catalogue No. 34	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8248 Raitenhaslach 140	'2 feet for clavecin 8239'; 'Italy 16th c.'; 'carved wood'; Landowska Catalogue No. 34	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8249 Raitenhaslach 141	'2 feet for clavecin'; 'Italy 16th c.'; 'carved wood'; 'belonging to 8239'; Landowska Catalogue No. 34	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8250 Raitenhaslach 142	'feet for a piano'; '19th c.'; 'mahogany'; 'belongs to No. 8237'; Landowska Catalogue No. 4113	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8251 Raitenhaslach 143	'frame to Clavecin 8251'; 'Italy, 16th c.'; 'belongs to 8239'; Landowska Catalogue No. 34	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8252 Raitenhaslach 144	'foot for a piano'; '19th c.'; 'mahogany'; 'belongs to 8237'; Landowska Catalogue No. 4113	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8256 Raitenhaslach 148	'stand to clavichord 8244'; '17th c.'; Landowska Catalogue No. 38	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8257 Raitenhaslach 149	'4 feet'; 'Rückers'; 'belonging to 8238'; Landowska Catalogue No. 37 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8258 Raitenhaslach 150	'Piano'; 'Nordquist, Stockholm'; Landowska Catalogue No. 41 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8287 Raitenhaslach 151	'5 feet of a piano'; 'Rückers 1642'; 'carved wood, 1 foot broken'; 'belonging to 8288'; Landowska Catalogue No. 33	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8288 Raitenhaslach 152	'Clavecin'; 'Ruckers 1642'; 'carved wood, considerably damaged, signed Hans Ruckers me fecit 1642, cover printed: flemish Kermess'; Landowska Catalogue No. 33	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8289 Raitenhaslach 153	'part of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737'; 'wood, broken'; 'belongs to the organ Wanda Landowska Cat. No. 40 A'	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8290 Raitenhaslach 154	'2 pieces of piano'; '19th cent.'; 'Presumed Owner: France, Wanda Landowska, id. acc. to statement of the official French representative'	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8291 Raitenhaslach 155	'Stand to Psalterion 8295'; 'Italy, 16th cent.'; Landowska Catalogue No. 36	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8292 Raitenhaslach 156	'part of the ornament of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737'; 'carved wood, broken'; 'belongs to the organ Wanda Landowska Catalogue No. 40 A'	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8293 Raitenhaslach 157	'1 wooden case'; 'for an instrument'; 'empty'; 'Presumed Owner: France, Wanda Landowska id. acc. to labels'	19 Sept. 1945 27 Apr. 1949

Munich accession number	Description	Entry and exit dates <sup>b</sup>
8295 Raitenhaslach 159	'Psalterion'; 'Italy 16th cent.'; 'wood, in leather case'; Landowska Catalogue No. 36	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8296 Raitenhaslach 160	'Frontpiece of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737'; 'carved wood painted'; 'belongs to the organ Wanda Landowska Cat. No. 40'; also noted as 'No. 40 A'	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8297 Raitenhaslach 161	'part of the ornament of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737'; 'wood, broken'; 'belongs to the organ Wanda Landowska Cat. No. 40 A'	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8298 Raitenhaslach 162	'frontpiece of an organ'; 'I. G. M. Sterlinger'; 'wood, broken'; Landowska Catalogue No. 40 B	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8299 Raitenhaslach 163	'2 feet of a clavecin'; 'Italy early 16th cent.'; 'carved wood,' 'belonging to 8300'; Landowska Catalogue No. 35	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8300 Raitenhaslach 164	'Clavecin'; 'Italy early 16th cent.'; 'carved wood, heavily damaged'; 'cover painted (Christ preaching from the boat)'; Landowska Catalogue No. 35	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 46
8302 Raitenhaslach 166	'upper part of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737,' wood, considerably damaged'; Landowska Catalogue No. 40 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8303 Raitenhaslach 167	'piano'; 'Juan Bauza, Palma'; 'George Sand Univer à Majorque'; 'Chopin's Piano Valdemossa'; Landowska Catalogue No. 42	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8304 Raitenhaslach 168	'Lower part of an organ'; 'Suisse 1737'; Landowska Catalogue No. 40 A	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8305 Raitenhaslach 169	'4 feet of a piano'; 'Nordquist, Stockholm'; 'belonging to 3258'; Landowska Catalogue No. 41	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
8306 Raitenhaslach 170	'4 feet of a Clavecin'; 'Italy early 16th cent.'; 'carved wood, heavily damaged'; 'belonging to 8300'; Landowska Catalogue No. 35	13 Sept. 1945 31 July 1946
18376 Raitenhaslach 1659	'Harpisichord, Pleyel'; 'Presumed Owner: France, Wanda Landowska, acc. to ident. Mark and statement of Lt. Conrad'	8 Sept. 1945 <sup>c</sup> 9 Jan. 1946

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Source: NARA RG 260, M1946, rolls 187, 188, 208.

<sup>a</sup> The property cards included in this list mention Landowska as 'presumed owner'. Other cards listing the owner as 'unknown' may also refer to Landowska's property. The cards generally state that the items were suspected of being confiscated by the ERR.

<sup>b</sup> All exits to Paris.

<sup>c</sup> The arrival date appears to be incorrect because other records suggest that this harpsichord was removed from Altötting on 12 December 1945 (NARA RG 260, M1946, roll 66: Capt. Edwin C. Rae, memorandum to director of Office of Military Government for Altötting, 12 Dec. 1945).

**Table 2.** Wanda Landowska's music-related property claims in *List of Property Removed from France During the War 1939–1945*

Item number	Description
<b>Vol. iii, ch. 7, 'Pianos and Harpsichords'</b>	
367	Piano à queue no. 159.344 ou 189.344
448	Clavecin moderne, sept pédales, no 192.406
558	Ruckers, Epinette [with photo <sup>a</sup> ]
559	Clavichorde lié touches d'ébène et de buis, peint de couleur sombre à l'extérieur. L'intérieur du couvercle est décoré des scènes pastorales et des joueurs d'instruments de musique de XVIIe siècle [with photo]
<b>Appendix to vols. ii, iii, and iv, ch. 8, 'Musical Instruments'</b>	
2255	Non précisée, Cithare, origine Salzbourg, XVIIIe siècle. Décoration de l'époque [with photo]
2257	Clarinette. Début XIXe siècle [with photo]
2260	Flûte traversière [with photo]
2291	Viole d'amour, quatorze cordes [with photo]
2292	Viole d'amour, douze cordes [with photo]
2293	Viole de gambe, six cordes [with photo]
<b>Vol. vii, ch. 1, 'Archives and Autographs'</b>	
190	Rilke (Rainer Maria) Correspondance
201	Tolstoi (Sophie A. et A.) Documents, lettres et télégrammes
<b>Vol. vii, ch. 2, 'Manuscripts'</b>	
716	Reinken, Hortus Musicus
<b>Vol. vii, ch. 4, 'Rare Books'</b>	
1557	Bach (Anna Magdalena), La petite chronique. Traduction de Marg. et Edmond Buchet. Paris. R. A. Correa 1935
1558	Bach (Philipp Emanuel), Biographie de Bach. Musikalische Bibliothek de Mitzler. Vol. IV. 1754
1559	Bach (Philipp Emanuel), Versuch über die wahre Art, das Klavier zu spielen. Leipzig 1780
2734	Bonnet, Histoire de la musique. Paris, 1715. 2 exempl.
3013	[Brillat-Savarin], Physiologie du goût. Paris, 1834.–1865, 2 exempl.
4045	Corneille (Jean-Bapt.), La peinture. Paris 1684
5073	Dumesnil (René), Le Don Juan de Mozart. Librairie de France, 1927, dédicacé
5993	Gellert (Chr. F.), Briefe, nebst einer praktischen Abhandlung von dem guten Geschmacke in Briefen

Item number	Description
6754	Heinichen (Joh. David), <i>Der Generalbass</i> . Dresden, 1728
6870	Hie (Henri), <i>Vies parallèles de trois musiciens nés en 1685</i> , J. S. Bach, Haendel, D. Scarlatti, Rouen, Albert Laine, 1936, <i>dédicacé</i>
6988	Huete (Fernandes de), <i>Compendio numereoso de cifras armonicas, con teoretica y practica para harpa de una orden, de dos ordenes y de organo</i> . Madrid, Imprenta de Musica, 1702
7161	Jachimecki (Zislaw), <i>Josef Haydn 1732 à 1809</i> . Krakow ‘Czasu’, 1910
7380	Kinsky (Georg), <i>Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln. Katalog der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente</i> . Cöln, 1910. Rel. de luxe
8150	[Lesage et d’Orneval], <i>Le théâtre de la foire ou l’Opéra Comique</i> . Paris, Pierre Gaudouin, 1737, 6 vol.
8491	[Machiavel (Nicolas)], <i>Œuvres</i> . La Haye, 1743, 6 vol.
8805	Marpurg, <i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik, 1754–62–78</i> , 5 vol.
8806	[Marpurg], <i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, 1759–63</i>
8881	Mattheson (Joh.), <i>Œuvres diverses: Das neueröffnete Orchester, oder gründliche Anleitung, wie ein galant-homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Musik erlangen möge</i> . Hamburg, 1713.— <i>Grosse Generalbass-Schule</i> . Hamburg, 1731.— <i>Kern melodischer Wissenschaft, bestehend in den auserlesensten Haupt- und Grundlehren der musikalischen Setzkunst, 1737</i>
9692	Mozart (Leopold), <i>Violinschule</i> . Salzburg, 1758
9693	Mozart (Wolfgang Amadeus), <i>La flûte enchantée de W. A. Mozart. Poème de I. Giesecke et Em. Schikaneder. Traduction française complète par I. G. Prud’homme et Jules Kienlin. Dédicacé</i> . Paris, Librairie de l’Acacia, 1913
11274	Rousseau (Jean), <i>Traité de la viole</i> . Paris, 1687
11324	[Rousseau (Jean-Jacques)], <i>Dictionnaire de musique</i> . Lyon, 1796, 2 vol. Paris, 1823, 2 vol.
11327	[Rousseau (Jean-Jacques)], <i>Ecrits sur la musique</i> . Paris, 1823
11410	Saint-Foix (G.), <i>Les symphonies de Mozart</i> . Paris, Mellotée, 1932
11743	Silva Gaio (Manuel de), <i>Don Juan—Traduction de Raymond Bernard</i> . Paris. <i>Les belles lettres</i> , 1929, <i>Dédicacé</i>
11784	Sorge (Georg-Andreas), <i>Vorgemach der musikalischen Composition. 3 parties, 1745–1747</i>
12250	Tosi (Pierfrancesco), <i>Opinioni di Cantori antichi e moderni</i> . Bologna, Lelio dalla Volpe, 1723
13009	Werckmeister (Andreas), <i>Die notwendigsten Anmerkungen und Regeln, wie der General-Bass wol könne tractiret werden auss dem wahren Fundament der musikalischen Composition den Anfängern zu besserer Nachricht</i> . Aschersleben, Gottlob Ernst Struntz, 1698
14359	<i>Reglas y advertencias generales que ensenan el modo de tener los instrumentos mayores y mas usuales</i> . Madrid, Joachim Ibarra, 1754

Item number	Description
14523	Théâtre des Boulevards au recueil de parades. Mahon, Gilles Langlois, 1756, 3 vol.
Vol. vii, ch. 6, 'Scores'	
14830	Gerber (H. N.), Manuscrits d'environ 25 concertos pour clavecin et petit orchestre
Vol. vii, ch. 9, 'Libraries'	
16007	Bibliothèque importante comportant des ouvrages littéraires et musicologiques modernes et anciens, manuscrits documents précieux etc. et de très nombreuses partitions
© 2020 Carla Shapreau	
<sup>a</sup> For pre-confiscation photographs of several of the looted instruments, see Landowska, <i>Landowska on Music</i> , figs. 9–14.	