

A Goudstikker van Goyen in Gdańsk: A Case Study of Nazi-Looted Art in Poland

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Abstract: This article traces the provenance and migration of a painting by Jan van Goyen (1595–1656), *River Landscape with a Swineherd*, from the Jacques Goudstikker Collection and now in Gdańsk Muzeum Narodowe. After the “red-flag sale” of the Goudstikker Collection in July 1940 to German banker Alois Miedl, and then to Hermann Göring, this painting—after its sale on Berlin’s Lange Auction in December 1940 to Hitler’s agent Almas-Dietrich—was returned to Miedl-Goudstikker in Amsterdam. Miedl then sold it (with two other Dutch paintings) to the Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig, Albert Forster, among many wartime Dutch acquisitions for the Municipal Museum (Stadtmuseum). Evacuated to Thuringia and captured by a Soviet trophy brigade, it thus avoided postwar Dutch claims. Returned to Poland from the Hermitage in 1956, it was exhibited in the Netherlands and the United States (despite its Goudstikker label). Tracing its wartime and postwar odyssey highlights the transparent provenance research needed for Nazi-era acquisitions, especially in former National Socialist (NS) Germanized museums in countries such as Poland, where viable claims procedures for Holocaust victims and heirs are still lacking. This example of many “missing” Dutch paintings sold to NS-era German museums in cities that became part of postwar Poland, raises several important issues deserving attention in provenance research for still-displaced Nazi-looted art.

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INTRODUCTORY ISSUES AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Twenty years after the Washington Principles, and ten years after the Terezin Declaration, this article traces the provenance and wartime migration of a charming painting by Jan van Goyen (1595–1656), now hanging in the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk (one of Poland’s National Museums), but still “missing” since World War II from the Collection of Jacques Goudstikker (1897–1940) (see [Figure 1](#)).¹ As an initial, practical purpose, this article first serves to correct my earlier published allegation in this journal (and in a Czech conference presentation) that Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring (1893–1946) had sold this painting to Erich Koch (1896–1986), Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia in the fall of 1940.² Accordingly, in turn, it corrects that erroneous allegation (and several others) in the US Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Art Looting Investigation Unit (ALIU) 1945 “Consolidated Investigation Report no. 2: The Goering Collection” (“CIR: Goering Collection”), thus calling for further scrutiny of such oft-quoted sources.³

Simultaneously, while fulfilling that immediate corrective purpose, this analysis presents an example of the wartime trans-European migration of a Dutch painting of prewar provenance in the collection of a highly respected Dutch Jewish dealer in Old Masters, which, following “red-flag” Nazi elite “purchase,” first by German banker Alois Miedl (1903–90) and then by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, was sold by Miedl’s Germanized Dutch firm of Goudstikker-Miedl (with two other Dutch paintings) to the National Socialist (NS) Gauleiter of Danzig (now Polish Gdańsk), Albert Forster. That sale in December 1941 was a year later than Göring was erroneously reported to have sold the painting to Gauleiter Koch.

The complicated trans-European migration of this painting (and those that travelled with it) is better understood with a bit of historical context. Between 1918 and 1939, Danzig was a Free City, with a large German population and strong German pretensions; Albert Maria Forster (1902–52) was named Gauleiter (a function of the National Socialist German Workers Party [NS]) already in 1930.

¹Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art, 3 December 1998, <https://www.state.gov/washington-conference-principles-on-nazi-confiscated-art/> (accessed 2 November 2019); Terezin Declaration on Holocaust Era Assets and Related Issues, 30 June 2009, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/126162.htm> (accessed 4 November 2019).

²See Grimsted 2015, 28–37. I later repeated that allegation in concluding my published report (Grimsted 2016c, 181–91) as well as in several subsequent unpublished lectures.

³Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Art-Looting Investigative Unit (ALIU), “Consolidated Investigation Report no. 2: The Goering Collection,” compiled by Theodore Rousseau, 15 September 1945 (“CIR: Goering Collection”). A US copy is available at <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/231998983>. I owe much appreciation to Nina Senger, during a 2016 workshop on “Looted Art as Memory,” in Berlin for questioning my earlier allegation that this painting was sold by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring to Gauleiter Erich Koch, and for acquainting me with alternate provenance data that I have now further verified. Koch is incorrectly cited in several places as Gauleiter of Danzig, but he never held that National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) office.



FIGURE 1. Jan van Goyen (1595–1656), *Huts on a Canal* (*Chalupy nad kanałem* in Polish), Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk, 1638. Earlier *River Landscape with a Swineherd*; *Landschap met Hofstede* (*Brug en varkens*, Goudstikker BB no. 1692), sold to Albert Forster, Gauleiter of Danzig for the Stadtmuseum in December 1941, following Alois Miedl's takeover of the Goudstikker Gallery, Amsterdam (courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk; see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goyen_Cottages_by_the_canal.jpg [accessed 4 November 2019]).

The initial German invasion of the Polish Corridor (1 September 1939), with the bitter battle for the Polish munitions depot of Westerplatte at the Danzig harbor entrance, was the first step in the invasion of Poland at the start of World War II (80 years ago). Gauleiter Forster, who then helped engineer the annexation of the Free City of Danzig and the Polish Corridor to the German Reich, became the Reichsstatthalter (governor) of Danzig-West Prussia. He brutally pursued Germanization and extinguished the large Jewish and Polish population, as well as Poles

throughout the area. He lavishly promoted Nazi art preferences in the Municipal Museum (Stadtmuseum), which became a gathering place for Nazi-looted works of art during the war. With the Red Army “liberation” of Danzig in March and April 1945, which left the city in rubble, Forster fled to the Hamburg area that became part of the British Occupation Zone. The British captured and extradited Forster to Poland, where he was condemned to death for war crimes in 1948 and hanged in Warsaw in 1952.

In the fall of 1941, Forster personally journeyed to the Netherlands and, in December, purchased the van Goyen (along with the two other Dutch paintings) in Amsterdam from Alois Miedl (that is, Goudstikker-Miedl). The van Goyen (and the other two) were registered in the Danzig Municipal Museum (Stadtmuseum), among no fewer than 29 works of art “purchased” in the occupied Netherlands through 1944 by Forster and/or the Danzig museum director Willi Drost (1892–1964), along with others acquired elsewhere. The van Goyen in focus here, as we shall learn, was twice evacuated from Danzig; the second 1944 evacuation was to a castle in Thuringia (in the postwar Soviet Occupation Zone), where it was captured by one of Stalin’s “trophy brigades” in 1946. After a 10-year sojourn in the Hermitage (thus avoiding postwar Dutch claims), the painting returned to Poland in 1956. Meanwhile, with the Potsdam Agreement (August 1945), Danzig (with its Polish name Gdańsk) had become part of Poland with its extended western frontier.

Tracing more details of the wartime and postwar odyssey of this painting simultaneously highlights several important issues deserving attention today in provenance research for still-displaced Nazi-looted art. First, it shows an example of the Polish government’s silence and neglect of potentially “red-flag” wartime cultural acquisitions by Nazi elite currently held in Poland; the lack of needed transparent provenance research on such NS-period acquisitions, especially in cities annexed to the NS-period German Reich; and an unwillingness to deal with potential claims, especially from Holocaust victims, according to European Union (EU) and other international agreements and resolutions that the Polish government has signed.

Since the fall of the Communist regime, and given the extensive Polish wartime cultural losses, Polish government attention and tremendous funding has been devoted (successfully) to the retrieval of many Polish cultural losses abroad. However, Poland still offers no reciprocity in terms of its willingness transparently to identify Nazi-looted (including illegally purchased) and otherwise displaced foreign-owned cultural property acquired during the NS regime that is now in state museums. This Danzig case may focus on one important painting from a well-known collection in the Netherlands, purchased during the war (with two others) by the Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig-West Prussia, but it reflects a much larger problem: Poland still lacks a viable procedure for processing restitution claims from Holocaust victims throughout the country and from abroad. No wonder that, in 2014, Poland was listed by the Claims Conference among those Eastern European

countries “that do not appear to have made significant progress towards implementing the Washington Principles and the Terezín Declaration.”⁴

Second, the article also contrasts the recent neglect by the Dutch government in continuing to seek repatriation and restitution of cultural losses belonging to private Dutch Jewish owners (including, in this case, a prominent Dutch Holocaust-victimized dealer). Dutch authorities claimed the van Goyen painting (and the two others sold with it) during the immediate postwar years (as will be shown below), along with at least 23 others purchased by Danzig Nazi officials on the wartime Dutch art market, but, at that time, the van Goyen, along with many other Danzig purchases from the Netherlands, had been captured by a Soviet trophy brigade near Gotha, East Germany (where they were evacuated from Danzig).

To Dutch credit, the postwar Netherlands Art Property Foundation (Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit [SNK]) had one of the most detailed registration systems of any victimized country for individual wartime art losses, public and private.⁵ Already in 1946–47, an SNK compilation lists the van Goyen among 29 “missing” works of art sold by various Dutch dealers during German NS occupation to the Nazi governor and museum director in Danzig (see [Figure 11](#)), along with 25 sold to art dealer Galerie Steinecker in Posen (now Polish Poznań), nine paintings purchased by Nazi leaders for the Germanized museum in Breslau (now Polish Wrocław), and five to a collector in Liegnitz (now Polish Legnica). Further provenance research is needed about those art works, many still presumed to be in Poland, listed with dealers from whom they were purchased, and many with the names of their original Dutch owners.⁶ The van Goyen painting was also listed (among others on that SNK list) on Dutch claims to US restitution authorities in Germany. The recently launched database of the Bureau Herkomst Gezocht (BHG) / Origins Unknown Bureau, together with online databases of the RKD-Netherlands Institute for Art History / Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, provide exemplary sources for provenance research on these and other Dutch-owned and still displaced works of art.⁷

Finally, the above issues, woven together within the narrative that follows, serve as a call to arms for more careful provenance research, especially with attention to forced or “red-flag” wartime sales, and for the need to verify the reliability of otherwise trusted sources. And they also reflect a hope that Polish authorities will begin to realize that foreigners would be much more sympathetic to the retrieval of

⁴See, e.g., Fisher and Weinberger 2014, 5; see also note 98 with reference to the European Council Resolution of 17 January 2019 that will put Poland in violation if these issues are not addressed.

⁵See the retrospective study of the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (SNK) by Muller and Schretien 2002.

⁶See the Danzig list in [Figure 11](#): “Documentation regarding the search in Poland and recuperation of cultural assets lost in the Netherlands,” SNK 2.08.42, inventory no. 327, Dutch National Archives (Nationaal Archief [NA]), The Hague. Separate lists cover purchases for Danzig and other cities in postwar Poland, including Breslau (Wrocław) and Posen (Poznań), as discussion below, with notes 73–74.

⁷See Bureau Herkomst Gezocht (BHG), now under the NIOD: <https://www.niod.nl/nl/expertisecentrum/herkomst-gezocht>; English: <https://www.niod.nl/en/origins-unknown>; for the RKD, see <https://rkd.nl/nl/> (Dutch and English) (both accessed 19 May 2020).

Polish lost cultural valuables (amidst the horrific Polish wartime losses) if Polish authorities would offer reciprocity and show a bit of sympathy for other Nazi victims, in identifying the provenance and honoring claims for foreign-owned wartime losses and “missing” art and other cultural property now in Poland.

GÖRING’S ALLEGED SALE OF THIS GOUDSTIKKER VAN GOYEN TO ERICH KOCH DENIED

According to the “CIR: Goering Collection,” in the fall of 1940, Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring sold to Erich Koch, Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia, a painting by Jan van Goyen, *River Landscape*, from the Goudstikker Collection.⁸ Now known in Polish as *Chalupy nad kanałem* (*Peasant Huts on a Canal* and, earlier, as *River Landscape with a Swineherd* or *Landscape with Peasant Farm*), I admired the charming painting in the summer of 2014 as it hung proudly in the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk (Danzig in German), where Polish colleagues had kindly arranged for my visit (see [Figure 1](#)). It is the only van Goyen in Gdańsk, a former Hanseatic port with close medieval and early modern ties to the Netherlands.

When I presented my paper about the paintings from the Koch Collection now “hidden in the Hermitage” at a workshop in Berlin in 2016, with due respect to our Berlin workshop sponsors from the Polish Ministry of Culture, I concluded my presentation with a few remarks about this van Goyen painting now in Gdańsk. I introduced it as “the only painting in the Koch Collection that I had actually seen” and one that had emerged after a 10-year sojourn “hidden in the Hermitage.” Now, with the correction that it had never belonged to Erich Koch, it falls into a different category than the twice-looted paintings that Koch had appropriated from French and Dutch dealers and a Kyiv museum for his personal collection in Königsberg, but that have yet to emerge from hiding (presumably still in the Hermitage) after similar postwar capture in East Germany. The images I showed of the painting included the verso with its stretcher bearing a well-preserved Goudstikker label and a visible number 1692. In discussion thereafter, Nina Senger, a German provenance researcher with Christie’s, cast serious doubts on my claim of Göring’s sale of that painting to Koch, also questioning its inclusion in the Koch Collection, as I had also alleged in a 2015 article in this journal.⁹ Thus, Senger also cast doubt on the same allegation in the postwar “CIR: Goering Collection.” The account that follows is in part an effort to correct those allegations with more extensive research and consultation.

The alleged sale to Koch, according to the testimony of Göring’s principal art curator, Walter Andreas Hofer (1893–1971), supposedly took place after Göring’s newly acquired Goudstikker paintings arrived in Berlin. However, instead of selling

⁸See “CIR: Goering Collection,” 79, 154–55.

⁹See my two published articles on the Koch Collection (Grimsted 2015, 2016c). Nina Senger had been preparing provenance reports on Goudstikker paintings on behalf of the New York attorneys for the Goudstikker heirs.

the painting to Koch as Hofer had suggested, the van Goyen painting in question here, now known as *Peasant Huts on a Canal*, in fact went to the auction block in Berlin in December 1940, as Senger suggested, together with other paintings, in what has been termed the “Old Goudstikker” inventory that Göring did not appropriate for his own collection. Then, despite its reported sale in that Lange Berlin auction, as we shall see, the painting returned to Amsterdam in 1941 to the former Goudstikker Gallery then controlled by Alois Miedl.

My attention to this van Goyen painting and my trip to Gdańsk to pursue more data about the Koch Collection, were part of my attempt to verify the paintings that Göring had sold to Erich Koch as Gauleiter of Königsberg and Präsident of East Prussia, and whom Göring subsequently recommended as Reichskommissar of Ukraine. My research about the hitherto unknown collection of Nazi-looted art that Koch brought together on his palatial estate outside of Königsberg started in 2009, when I found reports about the Soviet removal of remains of the Koch Collection from a Weimar bank in the fall of 1948, among recently declassified documents in a Moscow archive. The Hermitage curator who was involved claimed that Koch had stolen all of the paintings from Ukraine. I had recently published an article about the massive collection of art from Kyiv that Koch had ordered be taken to Königsberg in the fall of 1943 during the German retreat from Ukraine. I had earlier assumed that almost all of those paintings had been intentionally destroyed on a German estate south of Königsberg when the Red Army arrived in February 1945.¹⁰ Could these Koch paintings that the Hermitage curator found in Weimar possibly be Ukrainian survivors?

In the meantime, I have uncovered and scrutinized several lists of Koch’s personal collection deposited on his behalf in Weimar by his Schutzstaffel (SS) estate manager from Königsberg in February 1945. I reviewed the Hermitage’s published documents about the arrival of the Koch paintings in Leningrad in early 1949, as well as the original archival files on which the publication was based. Those lists and Hermitage reports, together with additional archival documentation in Moscow, Berlin, and Weimar, have enabled me to reconstruct considerable details about the Western (Dutch and French) provenance of many looted paintings in that collection and the postwar fate of some of them. As will be clear from what follows, other than the “CIR: Goering Collection,” there is no evidence that the van Goyen painting that I saw hanging in Gdańsk was ever part of Koch’s collection of looted art.

GOUDSTIKKER PROVENANCE DENIED AND CONFIRMED

More careful provenance research is needed today by museums throughout the world, especially for their wartime acquisitions, to assure the public that the legitimate property of Holocaust victims is not hanging on their walls or hidden away in their storage rooms. Apparently, that has not been a concern for the National Museum in Gdańsk; even since my 2014 visit, the director Wojciech Bronisławski,

¹⁰See Grimsted 2013, 47–91; see also the briefer coverage Grimsted 2016b, 281–307.

who received me, was in place through 2019. To my knowledge, he never revised his denial of the Goudstikker provenance of the van Goyen hanging in the museum, but we can hope the situation will change with a new director starting in January 2020. Images of the many paintings needing transparent provenance disclosure on the basis of their wartime purchase by the Nazi museum director and the Gauleiter of Danzig were earlier displayed on the museum website, but are no longer pictured there five years later.¹¹ Provenance research has recently become a more serious issue in the context of Nazi art looting, given the plentitude of “forced” or dubious art sales and Nazi elite “purchases” during World War II and recent claims by Holocaust victims. The need for such research and transparency about wartime acquisitions is even greater in Poland, which is one of the former Eastern Bloc countries now in the EU that has not enacted a viable claims procedure for tainted cultural property illegitimately purchased from another EU member country during the war, especially the property of Holocaust victims.

The present case study also provides revealing examples of inconsistent sources that may be involved, complicated by opposing attitudes of those who apparently deny the need for such transparency about provenance; in this case, the unwillingness of a Polish museum director to look beyond the immediate wartime purchase on behalf of his predecessor, a Nazi museum director. When I first visited the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk in the summer of 2014 on the trail of suspected looted paintings that Koch had “purchased” from Göring, I was gratified that a meeting could be arranged with the Museum director, Wojciech Bronisławski. During our first encounter, Bronisławski emphatically denied any Goudstikker or Göring connections for the van Goyen painting in question. Even before my arrival, a Gdańsk colleague had sent me a newspaper reference in which Bronisławski had earlier denied any Goudstikker or Göring connection to a local journalist. However, neither he nor his staff could provide an alternative provenance for the painting, claiming only that “it was purchased by the wartime Danzig Museum director Willi Drost on the Dutch art market,” as if that fact legitimized the museum acquisition.¹²

Yet during that same visit, the museum curator of Dutch and Flemish paintings, Beata Purc-Śtępnia, kindly presented me with a compact disc with several quality images of the van Goyen painting, including its verso with the Goudstikker label intact on its stretcher. That label immediately confirmed my homework before arrival in Gdańsk and, hence, led me to quite a different conclusion than the museum director had presented; even the Goudstikker no. 1692 I suspected was still clearly visible on the label (see [Figure 2](#)).

¹¹Some of the Dutch paintings, including the van Goyen, and photographs of that gallery in the Gdańsk National Museum, however, are now still available online in the Wikimedia Commons website, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Dutch_paintings_in_the_National_Museum_in_Gda%C5%84sk (accessed 6 November 2019).

¹²See the context and further discussion of this assertion in notes 63–64 and accompanying text. My disagreement with the director and concern about the Goudstikker provenance of the painting also encouraged further research.



FIGURE 2. Jan van Goyen—Goudstikker label on stretcher—with Black Book no. 1692 (courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk).

GOUDSTIKKER PROVENANCE FURTHER CONFIRMED, EVEN WITHOUT KOCH

Aside from Theodore Rousseau's listing in the "CIR: Goering Collection," based on Walter Andreas Hofer's assertion, I have found no evidence that Göring sold the van Goyen to Koch or that the painting was ever in Königsberg. No van Goyen appears on the list of paintings deposited on Koch's behalf in Weimar in February 1945.¹³ Yet, quite coincidentally, as I have since learned, at the time of Koch's Weimar deposit, the van Goyen in question was a little over 50 kilometers (30 miles) from Weimar—among the 53 paintings evacuated from Danzig and deposited in 1944 in Schloss Reinhardsbrunn (close to Gotha). That was where a Soviet trophy brigade seized the Danzig treasures in 1946; the van Goyen spent the next 10 years presumably hidden in the Hermitage.¹⁴

¹³The available lists of the Koch Collection, including the Weimar 1945 deposit list, are cited in Grimsted 2015.

¹⁴Akinsha and Kozlov 1995, 147, with reference to a Soviet report of the removal from Gotha in fond 962/*opis'* 6/file 1291, folio 23, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva, Moscow); (this series [*opis'*] has since been reclassified).

Even if the name of Erich Koch should not be included in the painting's pedigree of provenance, there is no question about the prominent name of Jacques Goudstikker, who purchased it in 1924 from the Dutch painter and dealer Dorus Hermsen (1871–1931) in The Hague. The 1923 expert listing of the painting by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in his respected *Catalogue raisonné* of Jan van Goyen (1595/6–1656) gave the English title *River Landscape with a Swineherd* (*Fluszlandschaft mit einem Schweinehirten* in German), noting that it was signed and dated 1630; he provided two earlier provenance attributions from London in 1917 and 1919.¹⁵ The Dutch RKD registration card gives the Dutch title as *Landschap met hofstede (brug en varkens)*. Goudstikker exhibited the painting in Rotterdam in 1926 and 1927, using the French title *Le Porcher (The Swineherd)* in two of his catalogues (nos. 31 and 32), with images and a tracing of the date and signature as “VGoien 1638 [sic].”¹⁶ Apparently, Goudstikker greatly admired the painting, and, reportedly, it was one of his prime examples in a lecture he prepared on paintings with representations of swine!¹⁷

The painting appears as no. 1692 in Goudstikker's small notebook known as the “Black Book,” which he had with him when he fled the Netherlands in May 1940.¹⁸ No suggestion has been found that he sold that van Goyen before his death on 16 May 1940 aboard the ship that was carrying him and his family to safety across the English Channel.¹⁹ That was just two days after Göring's Luftwaffe bombed Rotterdam at the start of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands.

THE VULTURES DESCEND: MURKY SHIFTS OF PROVENANCE, MAY 1940–DECEMBER 1941

Immediately after the German invasion, the vultures descended in search of major Dutch Jewish art collections with a sequence of under-the-table and backroom deals

¹⁵Hofstede de Groot 1923. The van Goyen in question was listed as no. 783. Note Goudstikker's dating of the painting as 1638.

¹⁶Goudstikker 1926, 1927. The Goudstikker “Black Book” (under 1692) also lists dimensions of 100 x 93.5 cm, and notes van Goyen's signature and 1638 date. See the RKD card on the painting, which is available at <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/archives/scans/NL-HaRKD-0374/2.5/start/175/limit/25> (accessed 9 November 2019).

¹⁷I am grateful to Christine Koenigs, Amsterdam, for this relevant tidbit.

¹⁸I have consulted several different copies of the Goudstikker “Black Book,” including one held by the Herkomst Gezocht Bureau in The Hague. The original is held with the Jacques Goudstikker Archive in the Amsterdam City Archive (Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam). Another copy is available in the Restitution Research Records from the Munich Central Collecting Point (MCCP), RG 260 (OMGUS) in the US National Archives in College Park, now online at Fold3.com from *National Archives and Records Administration Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 128; the van Goyen 1692 listing appears in the Goudstikker “Black Book” Catalogue (1939), A–M, <https://www.fold3.com/image/270329645> (accessed 6 September 2019).

¹⁹Details about Goudstikker's departure from the Netherlands and death aboard the ship are recounted by Shendar, and Goldberg 2008, 36–40.

that are difficult to untangle, let alone fully comprehend, during the year and a half after Goudstikker's death.²⁰ As key dates of importance, on 1 July 1940, Alois Miedl (1903–90), a German banker and businessman resident in the Netherlands, underhandedly acquired the entire Goudstikker legacy (against the wishes of the Dutch heirs), in what today would be considered a “forced sale,” purchasing the assets of the Goudstikker firm and rights to the J. Goudstikker name, against the wishes of Goudstikker's widow. That acquisition was quickly countered on 13 July 1940 by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, who, in another highly questionable transaction, commandeered “all paintings ... that were in the Netherlands on 26 June 1940 and that were the property of the said public limited company at that time.”²¹

Subsequently, on 15 July 1940, many of the “Old Goudstikker” paintings were sold back to Miedl at a fraction of their value and, hence, under German occupation authorities, were considered part of the Goudstikker/Miedl inventory. The second in a series of lists for “Sales of Miedl to Göring during the period 1 July to 13 September 1940,” covering the “Oude N.V. Goudstikker” legacy, includes the painting under consideration: “1692 ... J. v. Goyen Landsch.m.hofstede 100 x 93.5” (with a value of 1000 Reichsmarks); it appears on “Liste nr. 2: ‘Door Göring behouden van aankoop’ [Retention of purchase by Göring].”²² This would affirm the painting was among those that passed to Göring ownership.

After Göring commandeered the Goudstikker Collection in a somewhat questionable arrangement with Miedl, most of the paintings were shipped to Berlin in July 1940. Many of them were delivered to Göring's Carinhall estate, while others remained in Berlin with Göring's principal art agent, Walter Andreas Hofer. Existing lists (including the copy cited above), leave no doubt that the van Goyen painting—at least in theory—passed to Göring, through Hofer. The Black Book no. “1692 J. v. Goyen Varkens” appears (with a value of 8,000 Reichsmarks) among the “Old Goudstikker” paintings Göring “purchased.”²³ There is no evidence,

²⁰See the insightful description of the Dutch art world context and the Göring take-over by Nicholas 1994, 101–10.

²¹See Dutch Government Advisory Committee on the Assessment of Restitution Applications for Items of Cultural Value and the Second World War, “Investigative report Goudstikker,” RC 1.15, n.d., translated from the original Dutch, Adviescommissie Restitutieverzoeken Cultuurgoederen en Tweede Werldoorlog, The Hague. I am grateful for several meetings and consultations with those associated with the Commission (now reorganized by the Dutch government as of January 2017), most particularly Robbert A.M. Nachbahr and, earlier, Evelien Campfens. Regarding the recent Dutch Restitutions Commission use of “involuntary” or “forced sale,” see Kunert and Marck 2012, especially 146–49.

²²A carbon copy of the list “Verkopen Miedl aan Göring, Periode van 1 Juli–13 September 1940,” 28 September 1945, Bureau Bestrijding vermogensvlucht, Amsterdam, is held with restitution records from the MCCP in one of the files covering the Göring Collection, B 323/72, folios 79–86, Bundesarchiv-Koblenz (BArch) (online in Invenio); List 2 “Door Göring behouden van aankoop” (retention of purchase by Göring) with the van Goyen on folio 81.

²³“Rapport inzake de N.V. v/h Goudstikker i/opr. te Amsterdam,” report on the art trade of v/h J. Goudstikker N.V. established on 13 September 1940 (Miedl), Annex III, “Bijlage III Staat van Schilderijen, gekocht M. Göring van de ‘Oude’ Goudstikker,” SNK 2.08.42, inventory no. 186, NA. Many of the paintings on the same page with no. 1692 have penciled lines through the numbers, but not

however, that the painting was actually delivered to Göring at Carinhall, which presumably explains why no “RM”—Reichsmarschall (RM) catalogue—number was assigned to it within the Göring Collection, as was the case of others actually acquired at Carinhall. That also explains why this van Goyen painting was not included in the original Göring catalogue of his collection, now held in the French Foreign Ministry Archives (AMAE) in La Courneuve.²⁴

Those dealings during the early years of German occupation still remain confusing, which may have affected the initial postwar 1953 settlement of the Dutch government with Goudstikker’s widow, whereby the Dutch government retained many of the paintings recovered after the war and returned to the Netherlands from the Göring Collection.²⁵ The fact that a large portion of the Goudstikker inventory remained with the Dutch government led to renewed legal proceedings in 1996–97 about the fairness of the Goudstikker postwar settlement. Indeed, it was not until 2006, after eight years of legal proceedings, that the Dutch government’s Advisory Committee on Restitutions finally agreed to the restitution of 202 paintings of Goudstikker provenance to his daughter-in-law Marei von Saher, a US citizen.²⁶

CORRECTING THE “CIR: GOERING COLLECTION”: GÖRING’S AUTUMN 1940 SALE TO KOCH

My initial allegation that Koch had purchased van Goyen’s *River Landscape* from Göring was based on its listing in the “CIR: Goering Collection.” The compiler, US Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives art specialist, Theodore Rousseau, later chief curator at New York’s Metropolitan Museum, recorded a Göring sale “to Gauleiter KOCH, Danzig,” with four entries (with eight or more Dutch paintings). Rousseau’s quoted source was none other than Walter Andreas Hofer, Göring’s agent for the acquisition—or would-be “purchase”—of the entire Goudstikker inventory in July 1940. Under the heading “Sales of Objects Purchased on the Open Market,” the sale

no. 1692. Another copy is in Stadsarchief Amsterdam SAA 1341, inventory no. 75 ‘Elte Rapport.’ The context of this transfer could benefit from further analysis.

²⁴The Göring catalogue was published in a French translation. Dreyfus et al. 2015. The original German manuscript is now held in file 209SUP 585/R43 at the French Foreign Ministry Archive (AMAE), La Courneuve.

²⁵See the introductory account regarding these transactions in Sutton 2008. Sutton’s introduction speaks of the “forced sale of the gallery’s inventory at a fraction of its value to the Reichsmarschall, which enabled him to secure for his own collection the works he most coveted. The gallery’s other assets were taken by Göring’s longtime German banking associate Alois Miedl, who ran the operation as his own throughout the war under the Goudstikker name” (31–32). See also the account of the “forced sale” by Shendar and Goldberg in the same volume, and the account of the Goudstikker attorney, Lawrence Kaye (2008, 46–50, 57–61).

²⁶See the online exhibition by the Contemporary Jewish Museum in San Francisco, “Reclaimed: Paintings from the Collection of Jacques Goudstikker,” <https://www.thecjm.org/exhibitions/36> (accessed 6 November 2019).

to Koch was one of several sales “to a group of friends” in the autumn of 1940, “immediately after arrival of the large shipment of works of art from Holland which included the Goudstikker Collection and pictures purchased from other Dutch dealers.” According to the “CIR: Goering Collection,” an oft-quoted source, although hastily prepared with little access to reference materials, the van Goyen was one of no fewer than 16 or 17 paintings from the Old Goudstikker Collection that Göring had sold to Koch—some in 1940 and others in 1943. Only the 1940 sale is in question here.²⁷

The fourth entry named in the “CIR: Goering Collection” was: “4. Jan van Goyen *River Landscape* bought from GOUDSTIKKER” (no Goudstikker number nor further details given).²⁸ Koch, the supposed recipient of all four entries named, who since 1928 was the NS Gauleiter of Königsberg, is incorrectly identified as Gauleiter of Danzig. As it turned out, the Danzig connection was quite appropriate since in fact, the painting actually was sold (although not by Göring) to the Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig, Albert Forster, by Miedl in December 1941!²⁹ Perhaps Hofer and/or Rousseau had simply gotten the Gauleiters mixed up, but, as it turns out, Koch did purchase the first set of four paintings on that sale list. The second and third paintings named in the same Göring sale to Koch, on the other hand, apparently never went to Koch or to Danzig, did not appear in the AMAE Göring catalogue, and were never assigned Göring “RM” catalogue numbers.

The first entry on that “CIR: Goering Collection” list that can be verified as being acquired by Koch—was Canaletto’s *Four Views of Venice*—“all purchased from GOUDSTIKKER and numbered 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168 in the original catalogue.”³⁰ According to the original AMAE Göring catalogue, these *Four Views of Venice* were initially hung in Carinhall—“two in the entrance hall (RM324 and RM325, acquired 28 July 1940) and two in a reception room (RM370 and RM371, acquired June 1940).” All are noted there as being “returned to Hofer”; in fact, they went to Koch in Königsberg and never went to Danzig.³¹

²⁷“CIR: Goering Collection,” 79, 154–55.

²⁸The sale with the list of paintings, as described by Hofer, appears in “CIR: Goering Collection,” 79, 154–55.

²⁹Koch is incorrectly cited in several places as Gauleiter of Danzig, but he never held that National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) office. After the successful German invasion of the Danzig area in 1939, Koch’s authority as Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia apparently extended to the Danzig area. Like Forster, a staunch anti-Semite, he brutally extinguished the Jewish as well as Polish population in the Baltic realm. He also took refuge in the British Zone of Occupation in Germany, where the British captured him as an agricultural worker in 1949; he was extradited to Poland and sentenced to death for war crimes, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

³⁰“CIR: Goering Collection,” 154–55. See Grimsted 2015, regarding the *Four Views of Venice*; all were among the Koch deposit in Weimar in February 1945; more recently, they are attributed to the “school of Canaletto.”

³¹See Dreyfus et al. 2015, RM324, RM325, RM370, and RM371. Göring’s initial retention of this set of four “Canaletto’s also appears with the same numbers in the ‘Oude Goudstikker’ lists.” B 323/72, folio 83, BArch Koblenz; each is listed with a value of 5,250 Reichsmarks.

All four can be matched with the 1945 list of Koch's Weimar deposit from Königsberg; two of them (matched with a later 1947 Weimar list of remaining Koch paintings and also with Hermitage documents) are reportedly now in the Hermitage, although now attributed to the School of Canaletto rather than to Canaletto himself.³²

This would explain why Nancy Yeide, author of the authoritative 2009 catalogue raisonné of the Göring Collection, has no entry for the Goudstikker van Goyen now in Gdańsk in her "Section A" for paintings that she had confirmed were acquired by Göring, whereas she does include the van Goyen in her "Section B—Likely in Göring's Collection":

B88, Jan Van Goyen (1596–1656), *Landscape with Farm*, 1638, Oil on canvas, 100 x 93.5 cm. Goudstikker 1692, ... Doros Hermson (The Hague); (Goudstikker, Amsterdam); acquired July 1940 by Göring;³ ...

³ ... This could be the picture of the same dimensions that was together with Doros Hermson and then Goudstikker, listed in Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Jan van Goyen*, Amsterdam, 1973 (II: no. 160) and now at the museum in Danzig (No. M/428/MPG).³³

Confirming Yeide's citation, already in 1973, Hans-Ulrich Beck's catalogue raisonné, *Jan van Goyen*, describes (with an image) the van Goyen painting now in Gdańsk with the title *A Swineherd Drives Three Pigs* (*Ein Schweinehirt treibt drei Schweine*). Curiously, however, neither the name Göring nor Koch appear in Beck's provenance notes. Following the provenance listing for the Dutch dealer Dorus Hermson in The Hague, from whom Goudstikker purchased the painting in 1924, and Goudstikker (in Amsterdam), he does not mention the Göring acquisition, nor does he mention the name of Miedl. He next cites an unidentified Berlin auction on 3 December 1940 with sale to the Danzig Museum (for 47,000 Reichsmarks).³⁴ Apparently he was not aware that the painting reverted to Miedl after the Hans W. Lange auction in Berlin on 3 December 1940.

³²More details about the Goudstikker *Four Views of Venice* are provided in Grimsted 2015, 28–30.

³³Yeide 2009, 428 (B88). She quoted the accompanying list: "Beilage III: Staat van schilderijen, gekocht door den Rijksmaarschala M. Göring van de 'Oude' Goudstikker." The inventory number she quoted from Beck was the Muzeum Pomorskie number, also displayed on the stretcher and in the museum catalogue Muzeum Pomorskie—1969—as opposed to the Danzig number (note 65). The current inventory number is MNG/SD/70/ME. See Yeide's explanation of items listed in "Section B: Likely in Göring's collection" (23). Her reference is to the postwar TVK Göring catalogue, B 323/317, BArch Koblenz.

³⁴Beck 1973. Beck's published image and description precisely coincide with the Gdańsk painting, although the dimensions that Beck gives are one centimeter larger (101 x 93.5 cm) than Goudstikker had noted in his Black Book, which was also the size recorded for the Leiden exhibition in 1960 (see discussion below). Beck's data obviously coincide with the Lange auction (Berlin, 3 December 1940) with the sale price of 47,000 Reichsmarks), but he mistakenly suggests that the sale was to Danzig (see details of the Lange auction below).

As yet another confusing twist, in her Göring catalogue, Yeide lists in “Section C—Uncertain Associations” a second entry for the same Gdańsk van Goyen (with the same title as in the “CIR: Goering Collection”):

C29 Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) *River Landscape* ... (Goudstikker/Miedl, Amsterdam); acquired by Goering; sold for 130,000, with RM 324, RM 325, RM 370, RM 371 and two other pictures to Gauleiter Koch, Danzig.³⁵

Here again, the only Göring “RM” numbers that Yeide gives in this alleged Göring sale to Koch are for the same four Canaletto *Four Views of Venice* (listed with Goudstikker numbers as in the “CIR: Goering Collection”), which we already now know Göring did sell to Koch. The Göring Database on the website of the German Historical Museum follows the Bundesarchiv Koblenz’s (postwar) copy of the Göring catalogue (noting the “CIR: Goering Collection”) about the sale to Koch, although with a parenthetical correction to the Danzig Gauleiter Albert Forster:

RMG00721: Jan van Goyen *Landschaft mit Bauerngut* (Goudstikker no. 1692) [with dimensions of] 100 x 93.5 [cm]; [with the date of] 13 July 1940 for receipt by Göring’s agent Walter Andreas Hofer; [and] a sale to Gauleiter Koch (Forster, Albert), Danzig Stadtmuseum; now in Poland.³⁶

SOLD ON AUCTION (BERLIN, 3 DECEMBER 1940) BUT RETURNED TO MIEDL (AMSTERDAM)

The inclusion of Erich Koch in any provenance history for the van Goyen must accordingly be discarded as erroneous; this allegation is definitely contradicted by the documented sale of the painting at auction on 3 December 1940 in Berlin, where there is no indication—or other suggestion—that Koch was in any way involved. The auction catalogue for Hans W. Lange’s large Berlin sale on 3–4 December 1940 of predominantly Goudstikker paintings was compiled by German art expert and collector Walther Bernt (1900–1980), who was based in Munich. Bernt’s personally annotated copy of the auction catalogue, part of his large collection gifted to the Fine

³⁵Yeide 2009, C29; see also Yeide’s explanation of her Section C listings (437). In this case, she also references a postwar Munich transcript of the Göring catalogue. This catalogue (now online from BArch Koblenz, B 323/317, vol. 2), gives the title as *Landschaft mit Bauerngut* and lists the provenance as “Gebr. Doves Amsterdam; 13.7.1940 mit den Beständen der Kunsthandlung Goudstikker Amsterdam (inventory no. 1692) an H. Göring” (with reference to “CIR: Goering Collection,” Attachment 17).

³⁶German Historical Museum (DHM) Göring Database, RMG00721. No corresponding Göring “RM” number is given, but the database source is given as the Munich copy of the Göring catalogue (one of the volumes of that postwar catalogue). The painting is not listed in the original AMAE Göring catalogue (Dreyfus et al. 2015). Noticeably, the sale to Koch becomes parenthetically a sale to Forster (which turns out to have been correct). The brief explanation of these sales by the main compiler of that DHM Göring Database are too imprecise to help clarify the discrepancies in other accounts. Löhr 2009, 113.

Arts Library of Harvard University, lists the van Goyen (Lot no. 72) with a full-page image (Plate no. 34) (see [Figures 3 and 4](#)).³⁷

Bernt's preface claims the works of art were from private collections, but (as appropriate in 1940 Berlin) Goudstikker is not named nor is Göring. The sale, allegedly engineered by Miedl in cooperation of Hofer and associates, was announced in Bernt's catalogue as being "on commission from a Berlin bank," which, given the offerings of Goudstikker provenance (not so indicated), might suggest the involvement of the Landvolkbank in Berlin, of which Miedl was a half owner. While no provenance notes in the catalogue mention the name of Goudstikker or any other current owner, a review of the many items with corresponding Goudstikker "Black Book" numbers suggests a major consignment of Oude Goudstikker paintings were being offered for sale—namely, those not appropriated by Göring. In the case of the van Goyen, even the provenance notes given for the Rotterdam exhibitions in 1926 and 1927, for which the painting was pictured in the Goudstikker catalogues, do not mention the name of Goudstikker for those years.³⁸ Yet, quite appropriately, the name "[J. Goudstikker]" appears (written by hand) on both the cover and the title page of another annotated copy of that Lange sale catalogue held by the RKD in The Hague.³⁹

On a loose printed sheet with estimated (anticipated) sale prices, the van Goyen is listed at 25,000 Reichsmarks. Bernt's personal annotated copy of the sale catalogue has that estimated price penciled in the margin beside the van Goyen entry, along with the sale price of 47,000 Reichsmarks (exactly the sale figure quoted by Beck in 1963, discussed earlier). However, Bernt noted "Almas" as the buyer in the margin beside Lot no. 72—namely Maria Almas-Dietrich, one of the principal buyers for Hitler's Linz Museum, who Bernt noted in pencil also purchased at least four other paintings in the sale.⁴⁰ The published compendium of auction prices gives a sale price of 42,000 Reichsmarks for Lot no. 72 (van Goyen), a difference of 5,000 Reichsmarks from the price noted by Bernt (quite probably the commission).⁴¹

³⁷Lange Auction 1940, 17; reference is to the copy in the Bernt Collection in the Fine Arts Library at Harvard University. Among 47,400 photographs of art works in the Bernt Collection is a quality black and white print of the van Goyen painting, which was probably the one used in the Lange sales catalogue ([Figure 4](#)). (The fact that Göring and Miedl were not mentioned may explain Beck's oversight, as queried above.)

³⁸The Goudstikker exhibition catalogues for 1926 and 1927 appear in the 1975 Beck provenance data for the van Goyen (see Beck 1973), but the name of Goudstikker is omitted from those Bernt references.

³⁹Perry Schrier of the *Herkomst Gezocht Bureau* in The Hague kindly verified the RKD copy of the catalogue and the notes described.

⁴⁰See Bernt annotations in Lange Auction 1940, 17; other "Almas" purchases noted are Lot nos. 10, 18, 152, and 219. A note in the front of the RKD copy noted "Mrs Almas was buying on commission for Adolf Hitler." Among other purchasers noted by Bernt, Albert Speer bought two, as did the now controversial Cornelius Gurlitt; the NS industrial magnate Günther Quandt bought 12 paintings.

⁴¹*Kunstpreisverzeichnis, 1940–1941. Auktionsergebnisse vom 1. Juli 1940 bis 30. Juni 1941* (Berlin: Weltkunst-Verlag), 129, no. 1780 (a copy is available in the Harvard Fine Arts Library Reading Room).

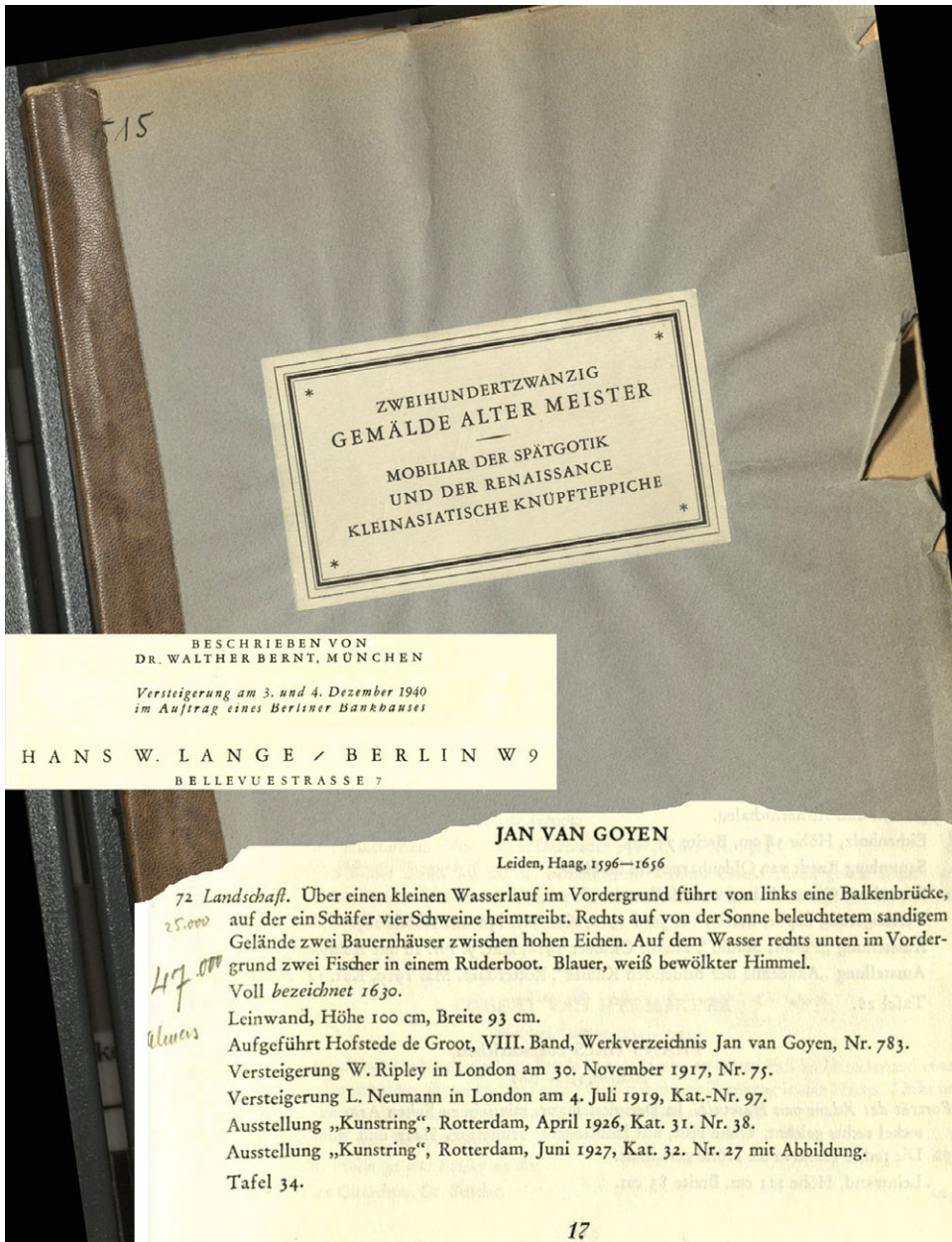


FIGURE 3. Hans W. Lange Auction, Berlin, Catalogue for Sale, 3–4 December 1940, compiled by Walther Bernt, Lot no. 72: JAN VAN GOYEN, *Landschaft* (*Landscape*). The presale estimate of 25,000 Reichsmarks, the sale price of 47,000 Reichsmarks, and the purchaser [Maria] Almas[-Dietrich] penciled in the left-hand margin by the compiler of the catalogue (reprinted from the personal copy of Walther Bernt, donated with his collection to the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).



FIGURE 4. Plate 34: 72 JAN VAN GOYEN, Lange Auction Catalogue, 3–4 December 1940. The sale price of 47,000 Reichsmarks penciled below by the compiler (reprinted from the personal copy of Walther Bernt, donated with his collection to the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

If the van Goyen went to the Almas Gallery in Munich, it did not stay there long, and it was not chosen for the Linz Museum. The RKD (Miedl) card for that van Goyen confirms that on 15 July 1941 the painting returned to Miedl in Amsterdam at the prestigious Goudstikker Gallery that he had taken over on the Herengracht.⁴² Although none of the “purchasers” penciled in the margin of Bernt’s annotated catalogue mention the name of Miedl, a 14 July 1941 covering note remains from the Berlin freight forwarder Schantung Handels-Aktiengesellschaft for paintings, tapestries, and various sculptures shipped to Miedl at Herengracht 458. These documents, including the list of paintings shipped, are publicly available among the wartime files of the Miedl-Goudstikker Amsterdam firm within the records of the

⁴²The RKD card for the van Goyen is on the website of the RKD at <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/archives/details/NL-HaRKD-0374/keywords/miedl> (accessed 6 November 2019).

postwar Netherlands Management Institute (Nederlandse Beheersinstituut [NBI]) in the National Archives in The Hague. The Miedl files from the postwar investigation of the wartime art market also have a summary tally of the results of the Lange sale and related documents.⁴³ Further clarification is needed, however, to understand how and why so many of the paintings that were supposedly “sold” at the Lange Auction in Berlin were returned to Miedl at the Goudstikker Gallery on the Herengracht. Nevertheless, these documents confirm Miedl’s acquisition of many of the paintings that Göring did not keep from the Goudstikker Collection, including the van Goyen.

Such details in the transactions between Goudstikker’s death in May 1940 and Miedl’s now-confirmed sale of the van Goyen to the Danzig Museum in December 1941 are still inadequately explained and arouse suspicions, particularly the Berlin auction and the transfers back and forth to Miedl. Given the complexity of the legal issues involved, it is not my intention to enter the judicial fray. However, even if Göring did not sell the painting to Koch, it does not lessen its “red-flag” status as a victim of Göring and Miedl’s hasty underhanded acquisition in what many today would consider a “forced sale,” if not an illegal wartime seizure, from the estate of a Holocaust victim within two months of his unfortunate death aboard the ship carrying him and his family to safety from the Nazi invaders.

SALE TO GAULEITER FORSTER, DANZIG, DECEMBER 1941

The postwar 1946 SNK loss-registration form for van Goyen’s *Landschap met hofstede, brug en varkens* (*Landscape with Peasant Farm, Bridge and Swine*) (Goudstikker no. 1692) in the SNK files in The Hague lists Göring’s acquisition (1 July–13 September 1940) followed by the sale to Danzig in December 1941. The Lange December 1940 auction is not mentioned, although, clearly, the various copies of the Lange catalogue, and reports of the sale, including annotated sales and published lists of sale prices, all indicate that the painting was sold on that Berlin auction. Kunsthandel Goudstikker/Miedl in Amsterdam is noted as the last owner on the SNK form (Figure 10).⁴⁴ The sale to the Danzig Museum (Stadtmuseum) dated December 1941 was a year after the Lange Berlin auction and over a year after

⁴³See the typed 10-page list with prices and reconciliation of the auction account. “Hans W. Lange – Berlin: 3. und 4.1940 Abrechnung über Ihren Aktionsbeitrag” as well as the list “Versand nach Amsterdam an 12. Juli 1941,” which includes “1692 van Goyen *Landschaft*” and many other paintings “sold” at the Lange auction. Nederlandse Beheersinstituut (NBI) 2.09.16, inventory no. 883(1), NA. The NBI handled postwar claims as well as investigating dissolved German-led wartime firms and institutions.

⁴⁴A copy from SNK 2.08.42/751/9274 (Claim no. 5779), 26 January 1946, NA, was kindly furnished to me by the Herkomst Gezocht Bureau in The Hague, with many thanks to Perry Schrier (see Figure 10). The Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (SNK) [Foundation for Netherlands Art Possessions] was the postwar Dutch agency handling registration of losses, claims, research, and restitution of art after the war.

Der Reichsstatthalter
in Danzig-Westpreußen
Z.V.2 - 10⁰²
Es wird gebeten dieses Zahlungsfrägen und dem
Gegensatz bei weiteren Schreiben anzugeben.

Danzig, den 19. Dezember 1941
Neugarten 12-16
Fernruf 23841 und 26641

An
die Fa. Kunsthandel v.h. J. Goudstikker N.V.
Amsterdam
Heerengracht 45B

Betr.: Rechnung vom 12.12.41
Den mir in Rechnung gestellten Betrag von 70.000 RM für den Ankauf
von zwei Gemälden (Nr. 1692 und Nr. 5162) habe ich heute zu Ihren
Gunsten der Buitenlandschen Bankvereinigung, Amsterdam, überwiesen.

Im Auftrag
[Signature]

FIGURE 5. Signed note from Albert Forster, Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter of Danzig-West Prussia, confirming payment to Kunsthandel v.h. J. Goudstikker (Miedl) for two paintings (No. 1692 and No. 5162) (courtesy of Nina Senger, Christie's, Berlin).

the Hofer-alleged sale of the van Goyen to Koch (in Danzig), as erroneously listed in the “CIR: Goering Collection.”

On 19 December 1941, Gauleiter Albert Forster, on the letterhead of his office of Reichsstatthalter in Danzig-West Prussia, addressed a notice of payment through a foreign bank to Kunsthandel v.h. J. Goudstikker N.V., Amsterdam, referencing an invoice of 12 December 1941 for the purchase of two paintings—“Nr 1692 and Nr 5162”—and naming the sum of 70,000 Reichsmarks (Figure 5). No. 1692 obviously was the van Goyen! The original incoming archival copy of this document has not yet been located.⁴⁵

Along with the Goudstikker van Goyen (no. 1692), the second Miedl no. 5162 turns out to be a painting then attributed to Pieter de Hooch (1629–84; sometimes referred to as de Hoogh), *Bei der Wahrsagerin* (*At the Fortuneteller*), of provenance in the collection of Nathan Katz in Dieren (see Figure 6). The painting was another Miedl “red-flag” purchase on 6 August 1940, along with some 500 paintings he acquired from the Katz brothers.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Nina Senger kindly furnished me with a copy of the document on Forster’s office letterhead. Presumably, the document is from one of the Miedl/Goudstikker NBI files held in the NA in The Hague, according to the Bureau Herkomst Gezocht, but efforts there to verify the archival original source have been unsuccessful.

⁴⁶I am greatly indebted to Lynn Nicholas, who has recently been researching the Katz Collection, for identifying the de Hooch painting.



FIGURE 6. Anonymous, *The Fortune Teller* (earlier attributed to Pieter de Hooch), from the collection of Nathan Katz, Dieren (The Netherlands), now in the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdansk. Sold by Miedl to Gauhauptman Reichgau Danzig Albert Forster for the Stadtmuseum, Danzig, 12 December 1941 with the van Goyen (courtesy of Muzeum Narodowe, Gdansk).

Some confusion might arise about that *The Fortune Teller* from the Katz Collection because another de Hoogh painting of a *Fortune Teller* appears next to the van Goyen on the list (cited above) of “Oude Goudstikker” paintings that Göring retained in the summer of 1940: “1693 P. de Hoogh [*sic.*] *Waarzegster* (96.3 cm x 129 cm ... [price 22,000]).”⁴⁷ This larger de Hoogh painting owned by Goudstikker (with those dimensions) also appears in the Goudstikker Black Book (no. 1693), coincidentally, one number after the van Goyen.⁴⁸ The *Fortune Teller* that Miedl sold to Danzig from the Katz Collection, however, has dimensions that are half this size (50.2 x 45

⁴⁷See the list in note 23 above. In the list of “Oude Goudstikker” paintings that Miedl sold to Göring, next to the van Goyen, Goudstikker no. 1693 is “de Hoogh *Waarzegster* [Fortune Teller]” among those “retained by Göring.” Göring Collection, B 323/72, folio 81.

⁴⁸The detailed Goudstikker Black Book entry for “1693. De Hoogh *Waarzegster*” is online from the MCCP file copy, <https://www.fold3.com/image/270329706> (accessed 5 November 2019). RKD data about the Goudstikker de Hoogh (now attributed to Ludolf de Jongh), *Landscape with a Man and Woman on Horseback with a Fortune Teller*, is recorded under “Ludolf de Jongh,” RKD, <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/25920> (accessed 19 May 2019). It was restituted to the Goudstikker heirs in 2006 and was subsequently sold at Christie’s in New York on 3 June 2015 (Lot no. 62).

centimeters), as confirmed (with image) in the 1943 Drost catalogue of recent purchases for the Danzig City Museum, which he directed under NS occupation.⁴⁹

The postwar SNK “missing from the Netherlands” registration document further confirms the D. Katz (Dieren) provenance of the de Hooch painting sold to Danzig. This document indicates its transfer to Goudstikker/Miedl in Amsterdam on 6 August 1940 and then sale to the Danzig Museum on 12 December 1941.⁵⁰ That same de Hooch(?) *Fortune Teller* from the Katz Collection sold to Danzig also appears on a list of the Dutch paintings that the Dutch government officially claimed after the war, as submitted to US occupation authorities in Germany.⁵¹ The curator of the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk in charge of early Dutch and Flemish art, Beata Purc-Stepniak, recently verified that this painting is now registered under Pieter de Hooch (1629–83) (Hoogh?) because there is a signature of “Pie. D. Hooch” in the lower left corner. However, she further explains: “[S]uch attribution cannot be maintained. By no means is this painting by de Hooch.”⁵² Indeed, currently, the RKD in The Hague no longer attributes Katz’s *The Fortuneteller* (49.5 x 44.5 centimeters) to de Hooch but, rather, cites an anonymous seventeenth-century artist from the northern Netherlands (1635–60). The RKD cites Peter C. Sutton’s 1980 catalogue raisonné *Pieter de Hooch*, in connection with the rejected de Hooch attribution; Sutton in turn notes for *The Gipsy Fortune-Teller*: “Old photographs reveal that the signature has been falsified.”⁵³ The RKD’s English title is *Gipsy Telling a Young Woman’s Fortune outside a Shed*, with provenance of D. Katz of Dieren (Rheden) and the present location is Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Drost 1943, 10; it is likewise confirmed (with image) in the 1969 Gdańsk catalogue, Muzeum Pomorskie 1969, 64.

⁵⁰SNK–20.08.42, inventory no. 753, claim no. 5813, NA. Again, with thanks to Perry Schrier and the BHG files.

⁵¹No. 66 (Dutch claim 5813), P. de Hooch, *The Fortune Teller*. “Panel 51x45[cm],” provenance “D. Katz 6.8.40; owner Goudstikker Amsterdam; sold to Museum Danzig, Dec. 1941 through Miedl; Could not be traced at the address mentioned.” Netherlands Claims, Alphabetical, *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 51, MCCC Administrative Records, RG 260 (OMGUS), US National Archives at College Park, <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/270331972> (accessed 13 November 2019). Several other Dutch paintings sold to Danzig also appear on that list, but neither the van Goyen nor the Esselens.

⁵²In answer to my query (in connection with the publication of this article), I am very grateful for detailed notes by Gdańsk Museum curator Beata Purc-Stepniak by email, 5 September 2019.

⁵³Sutton 1980, D35 (plate 188), under “D. Works wrongly attributed to De Hooch,” further suggests “the figure types are closer to those of A. Palamedesz.” The RKD, however, also rejects that possible attribution. “Gypsy Telling a Young Woman’s Fortune.” Sutton (1980) adds the earlier provenance note “Sale Viscount Hampden et al. [Christie’s], London, 28 November 1938, no. 139–Fenouil.”

⁵⁴The RKD website now lists the painting in their database as a “rejected attribution of Pieter de Hooch” (or P. de Hoogh by D. Katz), without naming an alternate artist. “Gypsy Telling a Young Woman’s Fortune outside a Shed, 1635–1660,” *RKD*, <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/205996> (accessed 6 November 2019). It gives a Gdańsk museum Catalogue no. MI.429, listing as P. de Hooch, but it also cites the catalogue listing works (Sutton 1980, no. D 35). As noted earlier, the Gdańsk museum website’s display of its Dutch paintings is no longer online.

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UITGEGANE STUKKEN

Volg-nummer	AAN WIEN	Datum van verzending	KORTE INHOUD	Opgelgd <u>DOEL</u>
1633. 1634.	Gen. Museum den Haag	9-12-141.	Sluyfers. Naakt voor sender. id. - Negerin met klapprozen.	Bestemmeling "
M.10. M.104. M.110.	de Goyker.	8-12-141.	Gen. Arrondmaatskappe. Keeuwsche kast m. Caryatiden. Keeuwsche kast.	ter verzending naar Danzig
M.186 1692. 5162. 6070. 6099.	de Goyker.	13-12-141.	Notenk. Kabinet. Jan v. Goyen - Landschap m. rookend. Pete Hoogh - Waanzegster. J. Edelens - Brandgezicht. A. v. d. V. - Koningin Maria van Engeland.	ter verzending naar Danzig.

FIGURE 7. Cropped clipping from Miedl transaction register, 13 December 1941, NBI 861, folio 36 (reprinted from the Dutch National Archives; courtesy of Bureau Herkomst Gezocht, The Hague).

Among the Miedl-Goudstikker business records during wartime German occupation (now held among the NBI records in the Dutch National Archives), remaining Miedl accounting registers confirm Miedl's sale of those two paintings in December 1941 to the Reichsstatthalter Danzig-Westpreussen, Albert Forster, for the Danzig City Museum. A separate stock register of Miedl's Oude Goudstikker holdings (below no. 5000) has not been located—that would have specifically recorded the sale of the van Goyen (Oude Goudstikker no. 1692) to Forster on 12 December 1941.⁵⁵ However, Miedl's stock register of paintings with running numbers starting with 5001 (that is, above the Oude Goudstikker numbers) lists the de Hoogh *Fortuneteller* (Miedl no. 5162) as being acquired from Katz on 6 August 1940 for 3,000 guilders. The corresponding facing page for outgoing transactions confirms its sale to the Stadtmuseum Danzig on 12 December 1941 for 15,071.59 guilders. These same data are repeated on the SNK's 1946 "missing" registration form (Claim no. 5813).⁵⁶

⁵⁵Perry Schrier and Annelies Kool of the Bureau Herkomst Gezocht both tried unsuccessfully to find such a register. See, however, inclusion of the van Goyen in the Miedl transaction register below (see note 60 below and Figure 7).

⁵⁶"Voorraadboek Schilderijen; Verkoopen – Verkoop-pryzen," folio 7: 5162: sold on 12 December 1941 to Stadtmuseum Danzig, receipt no. 223, NBI 2.09.16, inventory no. 867, NA. See the SNK "missing" form (Claim no. 5813). SNK-20.08.42, Inventory no. 753.

Miedl's 12 December 1941 sale of those two paintings to Danzig—van Goyen (no. 1692) and Pieter de Hoogh (no. 5162)—is also recorded in the Goudstikker-Miedl firm's chronological register including receipts (*Ingekomen stukken*) and outgoing items (*Uitgegane stukken*). There, we learn that a third Dutch painting by Jacob Esselens, *Strandgezicht* (Beach Scene) (Miedl no. 6070) was also included in the same December 1941 sale to Danzig (see [Figure 7](#)), although no price is indicated.⁵⁷ The Esselens painting was not mentioned in Forster's 19 December 1941 payment notification to Miedl mentioned above ([Figure 5](#)), but, as noted below, the Danzig Muzeum registration (March 1942) confirms its arrival.⁵⁸

Checking in the register of Miedl holdings above no. 5000 (in which the sale of the *Fortune Teller* to Forster was also recorded), we learn that Miedl had purchased the Esselens painting (Miedl no. 6070) at the Muller auction on 17 October 1941 (no price given), which he in turn sold on 12 December 1941 to "Gauhauptmann Reichgau Danzig [that is, Albert Forster]" for 9,042.95 guilders.⁵⁹ The Frederik Muller auction catalogue for the 17 October 1941 sale in Amsterdam indeed lists the painting *Strandgezicht* (*Beach Scene*), signed by Jacob Esselens (1626–87), as Lot no. 304 (oil on canvas, 84 x 108 centimeters), but provides no consignor or earlier provenance notes.⁶⁰ These data likewise appear on the SNK's 1946 "missing" registration form for the Esselens painting.⁶¹ A typewritten copy of that SNK registration form for the Esselens painting found in another SNK file includes a thumbnail image ([Figure 8](#)). This same SNK file contains a 1946 list of 29 paintings and other works of art sold to Danzig during the German occupation, prepared in connection with postwar Dutch claims, as will be discussed below. All three paintings that Miedl sold to Forster on 12 December 1941 appear on this list with similar data as given above.⁶²

⁵⁷"Uitgegane stukken," folio 36, NBI 2.09.16, inventory no. 861, NA. An antique cabinet (*Notesch Kabinet*) acquired from de Gruyter (stock number M186).

⁵⁸See note 65 below; also confirmed by Gdańsk curator Beata Purc-Stepniak to P. Grimsted by email, 5 September 2019.

⁵⁹"Voorraadboek Schilderijen," folio 47, no. 6070, NBI 2.09.16, inventory no. 867, NA. It shows a purchase price of 3,000 guilders; the facing page (folio 47 – "Uitgegane stukken,") gives a sale price of 9,042.95 guilders.

⁶⁰The Frederik Muller Auction catalogue, *Catalogus van oude en modern schilderijen*, 17 October 1941 (Lot no. 304), 24.

⁶¹The 1946 SNK "missing" registration form for the Esselens mistakenly dates the Miedl acquisition at the Muller auction as 1944 (instead of 1941), although it confirms the Miedl December 1941 sale to "Gauhauptmann Stadtgau Dantzig (Museum Danzig)" (see [Figure 8](#)). The 17 October 1941 acquisition from the Muller auction (note 60 above) is nonetheless confirmed in Miedl's "Ingekomen stukken" register (no price indicated), folio 33, NBI 2.09.16, inventory no. 861, NA.

⁶²The 1946 SNK 327 list of 12 Goudstikker-Miedl paintings sold to Danzig ([Figure 11](#)) includes the van Goyen with a French title *Paysage avec ferme, pont et cochons* (canvas, 100 x 93.5 cm)—Dutch Claim no. 5779 (noting that it was earlier sold to Göring on 1 July–13 September 1940). That list also includes the Pieter de Hoogh, with a French title *Diseuse de bonne chance avec femme et soldat* (panel, 51 x 45 cm)—Dutch Claim no. 5813. The Esselens is also included, with a French title *Vue sur une plage* (canvas, 64 x 108 cm)—Dutch Claim no. 6072 (The claim numbers all correspond to the SNK

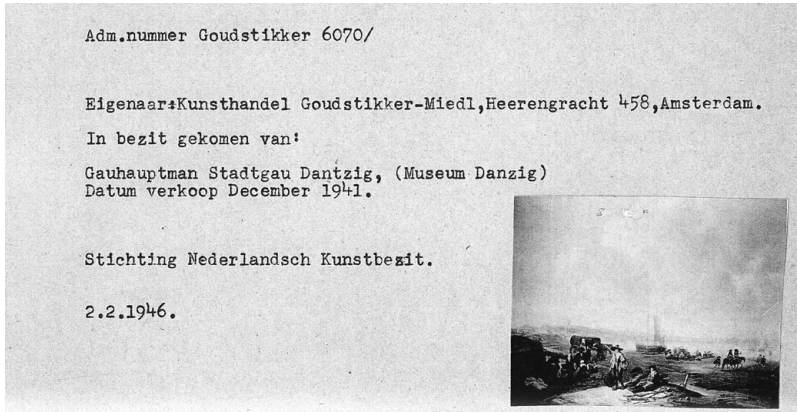


FIGURE 8. Bottom portion of a page with typewritten data from the SNK's "missing" form (no. 6072) for the Esselens painting (Goudstikker-Miedl no. 6070), NA SNK 327 (reprinted from the National Archives; courtesy of Herkomst Gezocht, The Hague).

VISIT TO GDAŃSK AND THE VAN GOYEN

When Polish colleagues in Gdańsk heard of my efforts to track down the Koch Collection and my earlier supposition (and theirs) that some of the paintings that Göring had sold to Koch might still be in Gdańsk, they kindly arranged a visit for me in July 2014. From what they were able to ascertain in advance, after I sent them an initial list of the paintings Koch had reportedly purchased from Göring (as per the "CIR: Goering Collection"), they informed me that only the van Goyen was now in Gdańsk. At that point, I had not known any details about the 12 December 1941 sale explained above, and, hence, neither the de Hooch(?) or the Esselens were on my agenda. My Gdańsk colleagues had warned me, even before I booked the trip, that the director of the National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe), Wojciech Bronisławski, had publicly denied that the van Goyen had come from the Goudstikker Collection or from Göring. They sent me a clipping from the local newspaper *Dziennik Bałtycki* (with an image of the painting) quoting Bronisławski's response to a journalist's inquiry, insisting that there were no Goudstikker or Göring connections. He had explained that the van Goyen "was purchased during the war on the Dutch art market by Albert Forster," naming a purchase price of 50,000 Reichsmarks.⁶³ An earlier 2007 article on "trophy art" in *Der Spiegel* pictured that same Goudstikker

"missing" forms cited above). See further discussion of this list below (notes 73 and 74). See discussion below of Annelies Kool, "Poland Report: Report Regarding Cultural Assets of Which the Possession Was Lost during the Occupation in the Netherlands with a Possible Link to Poland," internal report, 16 July 2018; these three paintings in the December 1941 sale are all included with copies of their SNK claim forms (note 96 below).

⁶³Grażyna Antoniewicz, "Gdańskie zabytki w Rosji. Czy powrócą?" *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 9 June 2012, <http://www.dziennikbaltycki.pl/artykul/651513.gdanskie-zabytki-w-rosji-czy-powroca,id,t.html> (accessed 6 November 2019).

van Goyen held in Gdańsk; also pictured there in color was another Goudstikker Dutch seventeenth-century painting now in Gdańsk by Willem van Nieulandt, *Italienische Landschaft*, which the Danzig Museum purchased from Miedl in March 1944 (following an elaborate trade with Göring).⁶⁴ There were enough questions demanding clarification to justify the trip, especially with those early reports suggesting that perhaps the director was not fully informed about the provenance of the museum collections or else was not prepared to reveal the whole story.

My 2014 visit to the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk included a lengthy meeting with Director Wojciech Bronisławski, the deputy director, and, as mentioned earlier, the curator responsible for Dutch and Flemish paintings, Beata Purc-Stepniak, who had kindly prepared considerable documentation for me on the van Goyen. They explained that they had no documentation about the purchase of the van Goyen by Gauleiter Albert Forster for the museum (many records did not survive the war). They quoted a 1942 newspaper account that announced the van Goyen acquisition at the end of 1941 or early 1942. However, they could provide no further provenance data before the painting was “purchased on the Dutch art market for the museum by Albert Forster.” Bronisławski again named the price as 50,000 Reichsmarks.

Even more important, the curator furnished me with a copy of a page from the wartime Danzig museum register showing the van Goyen was entered in March 1942 (Stm. 479). At the time of my visit, I had not known about the *Fortune Teller* and the Esselens that Forster had purchased together with the van Goyen from Miedl, but their acquisition is likewise confirmed on the same page of the museum register; the de Hooch painting (Stm. 478) immediately precedes the van Goyen, and the Esselens is entered several lines down (Kgm. 4632).⁶⁵ They also showed me the 1943 published catalogue of “New Acquisitions 1940/41” (mentioned above),

⁶⁴Wiedemann 2007 (with images), 136–39; Willem van Nieulandt (1560–1626), *Italienische Landschaft*—also spent 10 years in the Hermitage after the war. Yeide 2009, A374 (Goudstikker no. 1082/Hofer 72) purchased from Miedl for 22,500 florins, following Göring’s trade with Miedl. This painting was also earlier displayed on the Gdańsk museum website but is now inaccessible. It was likewise listed among the “Oude Goudstikker” paintings that Miedl sold to Göring and that were “retained by Göring” between 1 July and 13 September 1940, B 323/72, folio 81, BArch Koblenz. It likewise appears on the Gotha evacuation list (see note 68), with its Danzig registration number Stm. 561. This 1944 Miedl sale to Danzig involved other paintings as well, the full analysis of which is also badly needed, but cannot detain us here.

⁶⁵In a summary note (in Polish) about the van Goyen painting the Gdańsk Museum prepared for my visit, they quoted the daily newspaper, *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 8 February 1942, with mention of the van Goyen acquisition. In the Danzig Museum register, “Platten-Verzeichnis (1919–1941),” file 1384/60, folio 578, Gdańsk State Archive (Archiwum Państwowe Gdańsku [APG]); the van Goyen had the museum registration Stm. 479 (presumably “Stm.” is for the Stadtmuseum). That number also appears in a red marking on the van Goyen stretcher, together with later postwar registration numbers. The de Hooch purchased at the same time immediately preceded the van Goyen registration number Stm. 478. The Esselens is listed in the same register several lines down registered as Kgm. 4632. It is not clear what “Kgm.” stands for; reportedly it was also listed among “Paintings of the Gauleiter” (Gemalde Gauleiter); see note 69.

prepared by Danzig City Museum Nazi wartime director, German art historian Willi Drost. Both the van Goyen and the de Hooch are pictured, along with others purchased 1940 and 1941, including at least nine of them from dealers in the Netherlands, as since confirmed in SNK documentation. The Esselens, however, is not included.⁶⁶ This NS wartime publication itself, however, provides no earlier provenance or acquisition data for any of the paintings that Drost discussed or those pictured.

Curator Purc-Stepniak came to the meeting with documentation and a compact disc prepared for me, which she eagerly demonstrated, even before they escorted me to the gallery. When she showed me the images, including details of the verso of the van Goyen painting, I was fully reassured about the importance of my visit: I could immediately point out to her the familiar Goudstikker label in the center of the stretcher! What a coincidence, I explained, as the no. 1692 inscribed thereon corresponds precisely to the number I had noted from the Goudstikker “Black Book” catalogue and other Dutch sources for the van Goyen.⁶⁷ I then showed them my copy of the SNK’s loss registration form from The Hague, which also confirmed the Goudstikker provenance and that same number for the van Goyen.

WARTIME EVACUATION AND SOVIET SEIZURE

The Gdańsk museum also kindly gave me photocopies of their relevant wartime evacuation lists, which indeed included the van Goyen. Along with many other important paintings from Danzig, including many of those purchased by Forster and Drost, the van Goyen was first evacuated on 13 July 1942 to Senslau (now Polish Żeliszawki, not far from Danzig) and then, on 2 August 1944, to Schloss Reinhardsbrunn near Gotha (close to Weimar) in Thuringia.⁶⁸ They told me that a Soviet trophy brigade had seized the van Goyen and other Danzig paintings from Schloss Reinhardsbrunn and transported them to the Hermitage. Hans Memling’s *Triptych of the Last Judgement*, Danzig’s most famous painting from Saint Anne’s Church, was among the Soviet seizures. The de Hooch painting purchased with the van Goyen is likewise listed on the same wartime evacuation lists and was among the

⁶⁶Drost 1943; the van Goyen is described on p. 8, with a full-page image on p. 13. The de Hooch is mentioned on p. 6, with a full-page image on p. 10, *Bei der Wahrsagerin*, 50.2 x 45.5 cm (see the better postwar Gdańsk image, Figure 6). Since its return from Leningrad, the de Hooch painting is entitled, in Polish, *U wróżki*. See further reference to the additional Dutch purchases below.

⁶⁷The curator told me she had heard about the Goudstikker “Black Book” but had not recognized the label on the van Goyen stretcher or realized that the number shown was related to the Black Book.

⁶⁸These summary dates were in the note on the van Goyen painting prepared for my visit by the Gdańsk Museum. The van Goyen is listed (no. 14) on the handwritten Danzig museum evacuation list (1942) to Senslau, together with the deHooch (no. 20) and, likewise, on a typed list “Bilder nach Senslau,” 23 July 1942. Those two paintings also appear on a mostly typed evacuation list to Gotha (1944), where they were housed in Schloss Reinhardsbrunn. Copies of those lists are courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku.

Soviet seizures. That seizure is well confirmed by other sources, although the relevant Soviet documentation is currently reclassified in Russia.

In contrast to these two paintings, the Esselens was reportedly evacuated in July 1942 to the village of Russoschin (Rusocin in Polish), 16 kilometers south of Danzig. One wartime listing in the Danzig Museum files includes the Esselens among “Paintings of the Gauleiter” (no. 4632).⁶⁹ While it was not listed with those other Danzig paintings evacuated to Gotha (Thuringia) in 1944, its subsequent fate is unknown. In any case, it did not return to Gdańsk, and is most recently pictured in the 2017 catalogue among 405 paintings lost during the war by the Stadtmuseum Danzig. That catalogue notes its provenance as “Purchased in wartime in the Amsterdam art market” and also a more specific reference that it was “purchased ‘Goudstikker Amsterdam’” as well as a note that it is “signed in the lower right corner” (see [Figure 9](#)).⁷⁰

Both the van Goyen and the painting then still attributed to Pieter de Hooch, along with the Memling and a number of other paintings from Gdańsk, were pictured in the extensive 1949–50 published *Catalogue of Paintings Removed from Poland by the German Occupation Authorities*, prepared by the Polish Ministry of Culture (also in English for international circulation). The introduction claims the Danzig Stadtmuseum collections were taken to the Hamburg area, but says nothing about the 1944 evacuation of Memling’s *Triptych*, the van Goyen and others to Thuringia, or the 1946 seizure by a Soviet “Trophy Brigade” in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany.⁷¹ Meanwhile, Danzig and its surrounding region became part of Poland in August 1945. When that catalogue was issued (first in Polish in 1949), Poland was firmly in the Soviet orbit, and, at that point, those paintings were in Leningrad. The catalogue gave no provenance data for the van Goyen or the other Danzig paintings that Forster and Drost had also “purchased on the Dutch art market” during the war.

SNK WARTIME “MISSING” REGISTRATION AND DUTCH POSTWAR CLAIMS

Meanwhile in the Netherlands, following liberation, Dutch specialists immediately started registering war losses in an effort to retrieve Dutch art and other cultural

⁶⁹“Kgm. 4632,” *Gemalde Gauleiter, zespol (fond) 1384/55*, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku. I have as yet been unable to obtain a copy of this document, which might suggest that Forster had his own Nazi elite collection.

⁷⁰Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku 2017, 131, Entry 88, Jakob Esselens, *Nad brzegiem morza/Strandansicht* (with image), including additional data by Kowalska 2017. I am very grateful to Gdańsk museum curator Beata Purc-Stepniak for summary details about the Esselens painting, received by email, 5 September 2019, which are confirmed in the Kowalska (2017) catalogue. The Esselens was not mentioned in the earlier compendium of museum losses, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku 2005.

⁷¹Tomkiewicz 1950, 3 (repeated on 8); the Memling (39); plates 80, 81, and 82; of the van Goyen (no. 146), plate 140, entitled *A Cottage by the Canal*, 1630 (101 x 93.3 cm); the de Hooch, entitled *At the Fortune Tellers* (no. 153), plate 146. The only provenance given for both was the Drost 1943 catalogue.

valuables of the royal family and government institutions as well as private organizations, families, and individuals. The SNK organized one of the most thorough item-level art registration systems of any victimized country for individual wartime art losses, seized or sold, and taken abroad during the NS occupation.⁷² Item-level forms were collected reflecting the extensive Dutch losses through German seizure as well as foreign sales through the active Dutch art market, involving a number of ‘Aryanized’ dealers.

Danzig provides a key highly revealing example, which is apparent from a recent initial search of the paintings pictured in Drost’s 1943 catalogue of the Danzig museum new acquisitions. Many of those that Drost pictured, along with others sold to Danzig during wartime occupation, now appear in the *Herkomst Gezocht* database in The Hague, which incorporates copies of those Dutch SNK registration forms. Copies of postwar report forms for many of the paintings sold to Danzig could easily be found, thereby determining the seller for those purchased on the wartime art market and “removed from the Netherlands during German occupation.” Most of those sales by NS-approved (that is, Aryanized) dealers operating during the occupation doubtless involved what today would be considered “red-flag” sales, but further provenance research will be required in each case. The SNK’s “missing” form for the van Goyen in question (see [Figure 10](#)) is a good example, where provenance prior to the sale to Danzig is provided, because 80 years after Danzig was invaded and annexed to the Third Reich, that painting sold in December 1941 is still “missing from the Netherlands.” And even though it has hung in the Municipal or Regional—and, since 1972, National—Museum in Gdańsk for the last 50 years, its real provenance has never been openly revealed.

Symbolically in Amsterdam, the SNK office occupied the premises of the former Goudstikker (and wartime Miedl) Gallery on the Herengracht. Already in 1946–47, given the large quantity of Dutch-owned art revealed in the SNK’s registration forms that were sold during occupation to Nazi leaders or museum directors, or dealers, in the cities of Danzig, Breslau, and Posen, all annexed to the German Reich, but that became part of postwar Poland, the SNK staff prepared a compilation listing some 75 works of art sold to those three major Germanized cities.⁷³ Our focus on the Goudstikker van Goyen can be seen in the context of 26 paintings (plus a watercolor, a drawing, and a tapestry) “sold” to Nazi authorities in Danzig on the SNK combined list of sales to Poland, all purchased for the Danzig museum, either personally by Nazi Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter of Danzig-West Prussia Albert Forster or by Nazi German museum director Willi Drost. Of the two-page Danzig

⁷²As noted earlier, the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (SNK) (Foundation for Netherlands Art Possessions) was the postwar Dutch agency handling registration of losses, claims, research, and restitution of art after the war. For more background on the SNK, see Muller and Schretien 2002 (only in Dutch).

⁷³The SNK file, now held in the NA, retains an English title, “Documentation Regarding the Search in Poland and Recuperation of Cultural Assets Lost in the Netherlands,” NBI 2.08.42, SNK inventory no. 327, NA.

list (see [Figure 11](#)), half of the paintings—the initial 12 paintings listed—were sold by Miedl’s firm of Goudstikker-Miedl; included are the two other paintings Albert Forster purchased at the same time as the van Goyen—namely, de Hooch(?)’s *Fortune Teller* and Esselens’s *View on the Beach*.⁷⁴

Similar lists as part of the same SNK document cover 25 paintings sold to a dealer in Posen (now Polish Poznań), which had been annexed to the Third Reich in 1939 as the capital of Reichsgau Wartheland, where the Wielkopolskie (Greater Poland) Museum had become a branch of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, as well as nine paintings and additional antique furniture and porcelain sold to Breslau (now Polish Wrocław), where the museum in that prewar German-dominated major city of Silesia was directed by Gustav Barthel, one of Kajetan Mühlmann’s main assistants.⁷⁵ (Several additional paintings listed were sold to Hans Haid in Bischdorf, near Liegnitz [now Polish Legnica], which became the Soviet military headquarters after the war.) These three major cities were annexed to the Third Reich, and all had major museums during the war, and, as with the Danzig example, their Nazi-elite leaders and museum directors had generous financial allocations to enrich their museum holdings with Nazi-approved art. With Dutch and Flemish Old Masters among the most sought-after paintings in Nazi artistic taste, there was plenty of quality on the Dutch art market.

Most of those sales or transfers out of the occupied Netherlands initially came from German seizures and forced sales from wealthy Jewish collectors and art dealers obliged to flee their home countries, whose galleries were Aryanized during the NS rule. The holdings of those Germanized firms, such as the case of the Miedl takeover of the Goudstikker firm, greatly expanded during the war. Further research on these issues and particularly specific cases will be needed to determine which items sold to those cities now in Poland may have been the property of victimized Dutch Jews who fled the country or were deported. For the Netherlands, special attention is needed on items previously owned by those Jews forced to deposit their art and other valuables with the so-called “robber bank” Lippmann, Rosenthal and Company. Notably, the Lippmann-Rosenthal name appears as an earlier source for many works of art on the SNK wartime Polish sale lists, especially for items sold to a dealer in Posen.⁷⁶

⁷⁴The two-page Danzig portion, “Liste de tableaux, vendus à Danzig,” SNK 327 (1946–1947), folios 3–4 (see [Figure 11](#)); those three paintings are among the total of 12 that Miedl sold to Forster or Drost for the Danzig Museum, together with 15 additional sales by other Aryanized wartime dealers. Items listed in most cases name the collection of most recent dealer of provenance and, in a few cases, the names of previous Dutch owners.

⁷⁵Regarding the Nazification and Germanization of Polish museums during the war, see e.g. Nicholas 1994, 62–77.

⁷⁶See the description by Gerard Alders, of Lippmann, Rosenthal and Company (LiRo) and its functions in regard to the forced collection and distribution of Jewish property during occupation. Alders 2004, especially 126–201. *Herkomst Gezocht* retains copies of many of the LiRo wartime registers.

As evident from other documents in the same SNK file, Dutch diplomatic officials in 1946 and 1947 were in direct contact with their relevant Polish counterparts, who were anxious to recover Polish property seized during the war. By then, however, the new Polish government had already enacted a decree in 1946 forbidding the export of cultural items recovered within the territories of postwar Poland.⁷⁷ That would have made repatriation to the Netherlands extremely difficult, if not virtually illegal, even if the van Goyen and other paintings had been returned to Gdańsk immediately after the war. As far as is known, that decree is still in effect today. Most probably in 1946, neither Dutch nor Polish diplomats or other officials knew the fate of those paintings from Danzig in Schloss Reinhardsbrunn (near Gotha) that had fallen prey to a Soviet trophy brigade. That would also explain the lack of success for Dutch postwar retrieval efforts.⁷⁸ Claims filed with Western Allied restitution authorities in occupied Germany for those Dutch-owned paintings sold to Danzig were likewise in vain.⁷⁹

RETURN FROM LENINGRAD: GDAŃSK AND EXHIBITION TOURS

A 2014 publication of selected documents from the Hermitage Archive related to postwar “displaced” or “trophy art” in the Leningrad Museum from 1945 to 1955 provided limited insights before the volume was withdrawn from circulation three years later. The frontispiece of a small section with only limited documents relating to art removed from Poland, featured Hans Memling’s *Triptych of the Last Judgement*, the most famous Soviet-seized painting from Gdańsk, pictured on exhibit in the Hermitage.⁸⁰ Other paintings, including the Goudstikker van Goyen, that had

⁷⁷See the Polish decree enacted in early 1946 requiring registration and prohibiting export of objects of artistic, historical, or cultural value: *Dekret z dnia 1 marca 1946 r. o rejestracji i zakazie wywozu dzieł sztuki plastycznej oraz przedmiotów o wartości artystycznej, historycznej lub kulturalnej*, 1 March 1946, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19460140099> (accessed 6 November 2019). I am grateful to Kamil Zeidler and Julia Stepnowska for reference to this decree, which appears to be still valid in Poland today because it has yet to be replaced by a viable restitution law covering movable property.

⁷⁸More research will be needed on the Dutch side to follow the negotiations in Dutch diplomatic files.

⁷⁹See, e.g., the Dutch claim to US occupation authorities for the Katz de Hooch as Claim no. 5813, noting its sale to Danzig in Netherlands Claims, Alphabetical, *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 51, <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/270331972> (accessed 6 November 2019) (note 51). The Esselens and the van Goyen do not appear on that particular list but have been noted in other files; the van Goyen is listed as Dutch Claim no. 5779, while the Esselens had Claim no. 6072.

⁸⁰*Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh 2014*, para. 282 (with no caption). Regrettably, by 2017, Russian censors had withdrawn that publication from libraries and further circulation. In a copy of that volume presented to me by the Hermitage in 2014, on the director’s 1955 list of only a few receipts in the Hermitage from Danzig, the Memling is named in Document 63 (273). The van Goyen is not mentioned specifically, but no full list of the paintings from Poland is provided. On a Gdańsk typewritten list of returned paintings to the Muzeum Pomorski from Leningrad, the van Goyen appears as no. 109, with its earlier inventory number Stm. 479. Copy courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku.

accompanied the Memling from Gotha to Leningrad, were not mentioned. Apparently, Hermitage specialists had taken no notice of the Goudstikker label on the van Goyen's stretcher, when they returned it to Poland in 1956. But, even if they had, under Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union was continuing Stalin's non-restitution policy to the Western Allies for cultural property found in the Soviet orbit, let alone to victims of the Holocaust. In contrast, 1956 was the same year that Moscow returned to Warsaw many of the books seized by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg from the Polish Library in Paris, along with some major returns of captured archives to Poland and other East European Communist-bloc countries. That same year, during the Khrushchev "thaw," the Memling, the Goudstikker van Goyen, as well as the de Hooch(?), and many other paintings were returned to Poland as part of a much larger Soviet political program of cultural returns to Eastern-bloc countries.

After 10 postwar years in the Hermitage with many other Polish victims of Soviet seizure, the van Goyen was among the fortunate ones that came back to Poland and its home since 1942 in Gdańsk, as Danzig was known in Polish after it became part of Poland in August 1945. In 1956, the van Goyen was first displayed in a Warsaw exhibition of art "rescued by the USSR."⁸¹ The Municipal Museum (Muzeum Miejskie) in Gdańsk in 1958 was renamed the Pomerania Museum (Muzeum Pomorskie), and the van Goyen was given a new registration number. Two years later, in October–November 1958, *Chałupy nad kanałem* (*Huts on a Canal* in English), as the painting was rebaptized in Polish, was included in a special exhibition of paintings of the seventeenth-century Dutch countryside in the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw, which included several other van Goyens, including the two van Goyens among the 25 paintings sold to Poznań during the war (and also returned from the Hermitage). As its only provenance note, the exhibition catalogue claimed the Goudstikker van Goyen came to the Gdańsk museum in 1940. "Without a doubt," the catalogue claimed, it was "one of the most beautiful paintings of Goyen."⁸²

In 1960, perhaps surprisingly in retrospect, for a painting that had official Dutch postwar claims, the van Goyen from Gdańsk was sent to the Netherlands for exhibition, first to Leiden—the Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal in June–July 1960—and then to Arnhem—the City Museum (Gemeentemuseum) in July–September.⁸³ The exhibition catalogue did not mention its Goudstikker provenance, although, presumably, its stretcher still bore the Goudstikker label. But then neither did Hans-Ulrich Beck mention this provenance in his 1973 catalogue raisonné of van Goyen paintings,

⁸¹ *Wystawy dzieł sztuki 1956*, 43.

⁸² Inventory no. M/428/MPG; 101 x 93.3 cm. The catalogue reports that the van Goyen was acquired by the Danzig Museum in 1940. *Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie 1958*, 46–47.

⁸³ *Stedelijk Museum 1960*. No. 13 in the small exhibition catalogue is "*Hutten bij een brug*" from the Muzeum Pomorskie in Gdańsk. Resulting from those exhibits, labels from both of these museums remain affixed to the stretcher. The Leiden label remains mostly intact, but the Arnhem label is partially torn away; both the labels give the dimensions as 101 x 93.3 cm, with its owner as the Pomorskie Muzeum in Gdańsk.



FIGURE 9. Jacob Esselens (1626–87), *Strandgezicht (Beach Scene)*. Sold by Miedl to Gauhauptmann Reichgau Danzig Albert Forster, 12 December 1941. Polish title: *Brzeg morza* (Danzig registration: Kgm. 4632), not returned from wartime evacuation (current location unknown) (reprinted from Helena Kowalska, *Straty wojenne Muzeum Miejskiego (Stadtmuseum) w Gdańsku*, Seria Nowa, vol. 1 [Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2017], 131).

published in Amsterdam a decade later (as noted above). With the centennial of the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk in 1972, the Muzeum Pomorskie was granted the status of a national museum—Muzeum Narodowe—with many of its art exhibits still located in the former Franciscan Monastery, dating from the fifteenth century.

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Poland’s entry in the EU, a 1992–93 exhibition in Gdańsk was entitled “European Dispersed Heritage (Europejskie Dziedzictwo Rzproszone).” The brief multilingual preface to the catalogue mentions early historical acquisitions of the museum; a brief concluding mention of wartime disruption and losses ends with a query that is in reference to paintings that disappeared at the end of the war including those not returned from the Soviet Union: “Is the restitution of this scattered collection still possible?” But not a word about the questionable Nazi wartime purchases by the City Museum.⁸⁴ That year also saw a well-illustrated Polish album, *Flemish and Dutch Art of the XVIIth Century in the Collections of the Muzeum Narodowe in*

⁸⁴Kukliński 1993.

Intern Aangifte formulier

Wordt opgeborgen in de kartotheek-map SCHILDERIJEN resp. VOORWERPEN. In map Schilderijen op naam schilder, in map Voorwerpen op naam van het voorwerp.

Volgno.: 5779.	
Dat.: 4 Februari 1946.	
1. Voorwerp: Schilderij.	SCHILDERIJEN Naam schilder: Goyen, J.v.
2. Kunstenaar, maker, auteur: Jan van Goyen.	Voorstelling: Landschap.
3. Voorstelling of titel en beschrijving: Landschap met hofstede, brug en varkens.	VOORWERPEN Groep: Naam:
4. Materiaal: Doek.	PERSONEN-EIGENAARS Naam oorspr. eigenaar (bewaarder): Houdstikker-Miedl, kunsth.
5. Afmetingen: 100 x 93,5 cm.	PERSONEN-KOOPERS Naam koper (laatste bezitter): Göring, H.
6. Handteekening, uitgever, merk: Voluit getekend.	KANTOOR DEN HAAG Toegezonden met adviesbrief d.d.: Bijlagen: 4.2.'46. 3 foto copien.
7. Dateering: 1638.	
8. Herkomst: Dorus Hermsen, Den Haag.	
9. Literatuur: Cat. Goudstikker 31, nr. 38.	
10. Tentoonstelling: Expertise C. Hofstede de Groot.	
11. Gefotografeerd of gereproduceerd: Foto hierbij.	
12. Naam fotograaf: Eilers 1935.	
13. Bijzonderheden: Adm. nr. Goudstikker 1692.	
14. Was oorspronkelijk in bezit van: schied. hermsen of onderz. van: (volledige naam en adres) Kunsthandel Goudstikker-Miedl, Amsterdam.	
15. Is door: oorspr. eigenaar of wettelijke (volledige naam en adres) Göring (op lijst 1 Juli/13 Sept.1940) Daarna verkocht aan Museum Dantzig.	
16. Toelichting: Datum verkoop Dec.1941.	
17. Deze aangifte geschiedt ingevolge Artikel 1, lid 1 of lid 2 der Verordening, door: (volledige naam en adres) Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, Heeregr. 458, Amsterdam.	
18. Datum: 26.1.'46.	

FIGURE 10. 1946 SNK “missing” registration form for the Goudstikker van Goyen (Oude Goudstikker no. 1692), Claim no. 5779, SNK 2.08.42/751/9274, 26 January 1946 [note 44 above] (reprinted from the National Archives, The Hague; courtesy Herkomst Gezocht, The Hague).

Gdańsk: Guide to the Exhibits, with a full-page picture of the van Goyen along with several other wartime purchases from the Netherlands.⁸⁵ Several years later, a 1996 souvenir album with trilingual text (Polish, German, and English) briefly outlines the museum history, bringing together several other Gdańsk museums. Colored plates highlight some of the artistic treasures, again including a full-page illustration

⁸⁵Górecka-Petrajtis 1993; the van Goyen is pictured on p. 19.

of van Goyen's *Huts on a Canal*. Memling's *The Last Judgement* is featured with images of the triptych as well as several enlarged fragments.⁸⁶

My Gdańsk museum proudly showed me an elegant exhibition catalogue from the Milwaukee Art Museum, *Leonardo da Vinci and the Splendour of Poland*, published in 2002, which included the van Goyen on a tour of several museums in the United States.⁸⁷ Among the other paintings from Polish museums were two other Dutch Old Masters that Drost had purchased for Danzig during the war—Ferdinand Bol's (1616–80) *Hagar and the Angel* (claimed after the war as Dutch state property)⁸⁸ and Jan Rutgers Niewael's (ca. 1620–61) *Young Woman Dressed as a Shepherdess* (1635).⁸⁹ Apparently, no concerns, let alone “red flags,” were raised by US authorities about the provenance of any of the paintings from Gdańsk at that time, although Bol's painting as well as van Goyen's were registered with the SNK as “missing” from the Netherlands as a result of questionable wartime sales. Disappointingly, that catalogue, published in the United States four years after the 1998 Washington Principles, provides no provenance notes.

CONCLUSION

As is clear from the foregoing case study about the wartime and postwar fate of the Goudstikker van Goyen now in Gdańsk, my findings invalidate the ALIU's allegation that Göring sold that van Goyen painting to Erich Koch. As mentioned, questions likewise arise about several other paintings included in the same sale listed in the “CIR: Goering Collection” that Göring allegedly sold to Koch, which should now also be corrected in accounts that cite that sale. There is no question, however, about the Goudstikker pedigree of the van Goyen painting in focus here. Lack of clarity may remain about the sequence of transfers between Goudstikker's death aboard a ship in May 1940 and the Miedl sale to Gauleiter Forster of Danzig in December 1941. Clearly, however, Miedl sold Forster a painting that he and Göring had acquired under “red-flag” circumstances in June 1940, following Goudstikker's death.

⁸⁶Grzybkowska 1996. The Memling is pictured (44–47), with textual comments (55–57). The van Goyen is pictured (71) with a paragraph about the painting (with the date of 1650 instead of 1638) (82).

⁸⁷Milwaukee Museum of Art 2002; see also Grimsted 2015, 32–33.

⁸⁸The Bol, *Hagar and the Angel* (Dutch, *De engel bij Hagar*), oil on canvas, bears the Gdańsk registration MNG/SD/269/ME (97.3 x 114.4 cm), with a colored image in the Milwaukee catalogue. Milwaukee Museum of Art 2002, 88–89 (plate 14). Dutch registered as lost during the war, SNK no. 4799; included (with image) in Kool, “Poland Report”; it was sold to Drost by the Dutch dealer D.A. Hoogendijk (Amsterdam), 1940–41 from an unknown Dutch collection. Image in Drost 1943, 9; also pictured in Muzeum Pomorskie 1969, 51 (no. M1421); also included in “Liste de tableaux, vendus à Danzig.” For an image, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bol_Hagar_meeting_the_angel.jpg (accessed 6 November 2019).

⁸⁹The Niewael, *Young Woman Dressed as a Shepherdess* (1635), oil on wood panel 63.8 x 49 cm, bears the Gdańsk registration MNG/SD/288/ME, with a colored image. Milwaukee Museum of Art 2002, 86–87 (plate 13). No Dutch SNK form has been found, while details of Drost's purchase have yet to be determined.

SNK 327 - Documentation regarding the search in Poland and recuperation of cultural assets lost in the Netherlands.

Liste de tableaux, vendus à D.A.N.Z.I.G.

Objet:	Artiste:	Description:	Matériel:	Dimensions:	Signature:	Date:	Provenance:	Volontairement vendu à:	no.
<u>Originalement en possession de HOUDESLIKER-MIENL à Amsterdam:</u>									
Tableau	Hendrik Gerrits Pot	Portrait d'homme	Fanneau	35 x 29,5 cm				Danzig: "Gauuseum f. Kunsthandwerk" 689 "Danziger Stadtmuseum" 11804	
"	P. Lastman	Scène pastorale (Decoré d'une le cat. Utrecht 1935, le no. 313)	"	51 x 45 cm	Au bas à gauche, en entier	1638		"Museum Danzig" 5815 Coll. part. en Aug- Letzte D.Katz, 6.8.40	
"	Pieter de Hoogh	Dieuse de bonne chance avec femme et soldat	"	100 x 93,5 cm	En entier	1638		"Museum Danzig" (d'abord vendu à Goring, liste du 1 juillet/13 septembre, 1940)	5779
"	Jean van Goyen	Payage avec ferme, pont et cochons. (Lit. Hofstede, 32, n° 27) (expertise Hofstede de Groot)	Toile	31 x 22 cm	Au bas à dr.			Fr. Muller, Amsterdam	6024
Aquarelle	Anton Mauve	Jeune laitière avec vache	Papier	84 x 108 cm	"		"	"Gaubauptman, Städtgen Danzig (Museum Danzig)" 6244	6072
Tableau	Jacob Bevelens	Vus sur un plage	Toile	50 x 22 cm	Au bas à gauche			"Danziger Stadtmuseum" 6244	6501
"	F. X. Micaris	Portrait d'un savant	Fanneau	46,5x 42,5 cm	avec monogr.			"Gaulleiter Forster" 7147 "Danziger Stadtmuseum" 7229	7229
"	A. v. d. Velde	Figures	"	51 x 68 cm				"Danziger Stadtmuseum" 7229	7229
"	V. v. Sluiflandt	Payage italien	"	56 x 107 cm	Au bas à dr.			"Danziger Stadtmuseum" 7229	7229
"	Jacob Grimm	Représentation biblique	"					"Prof. W. Drost, Danzig" 9251	9251
"	Judas van Jên	Payage	"						
"	J. de Wit	Signature de plafond	"						
<u>Originalement en possession de D.A. Hoogendijk & Co., à Amsterdam:</u>									
Tableau	Cornelis de Man	Intérieur d'une église. Gueux en filigrane; Indicateur	Toile	134 x 137 cm	En entier			Vendu à l'auktion de Christis, mars 1929	4631
"	Attribué à J. Jordaens	Portrait d'un enfant. L'index de la main droite dans la bouche	"	59 x 28 cm				"Prof. Drost pour Danziger Museum" 4843	4843
"	Ph. Wouwerman	Chevaliers près d'une tente. buvant de la bière. Au milieu du tableau 2 chevaliers. un cheval blanc et sesis sur un cheval noir	Fanneau	34,5x 41 cm	monogramme			"Prof. Drost pour Danziger Museum" 4932	4932
"	Scola italienne ou française (Jean Grimou?)	Portrait d'un dessinateur jeune. Buste. Les mains sont posées sur une portefeuille	Toile	76 x 63,8 cm				"Prof. Drost pour Danziger Museum" 4965	4965
"	A. V. Croos	Payage. A gauche des ouvriers construisant une maison	Fanneau	52 Lx 51 cm				"Prof. Drost pour Danziger Museum" 4966	4966
<u>Originalement en possession de P. DE BOER, à Amsterdam:</u>									
Tableau	Abt. v. Meyeren	Premier plan: Nature-morte avec poissons	Toile	33,5x 32,5 cm				Coll. Huyeen	1890
"	Jen M. Molenaar	Arrière plan: Vue sur une plage	Toile	33,5x 32,5 cm				"Museum Danzig" 1840 "Gaulleiter Forster, Danzig" 1163	1840
Dessin	Cæstiglioni	Coloris. Description inconnue	"					"Museum Danzig" 1163	1163
<u>Originalement en possession de G. de Bonté, à Amsterdam:</u>									
Tableau	Johan le Duq	Payage avec 2 garçons et des chiens de chasse	Toile	148 x 121,5 cm	En entier			Prof. Drost, pour Stadtmuseum Danzig" 4824	4824
"	A. V. Ostede	Un vieillard au milieu d'enfants devant une ferme (Lit. Hofstede de Groot, 446)	Fanneau	32 x 26,5 cm	En entier	1637		"Prof. Dr. W. Drost, Museum Danzig" 4801	4801
"	Jacob v. Huys-deel	Payage, à gauche un ruissseau. A droite une ruine dans le paysage et un ruissseau, un grand arbre.	Toile	54,5x 69,3 cm	monogramme			Hoogendijk & Co. Amsterdam	4798

FIGURE 11. "Liste de tableaux, vendus à Danzig," SNK 2.08.42, inv no. 327, National Archives, The Hague. Danzig portion of a 1946-47 SNK List entitled "Documentation Regarding the Search in Poland and Recuperation of Cultural Assets Lost in the Netherlands," with data on wartime sales to cities that became part of Poland after the war (courtesy of Herkomst Gezocht, The Hague).

Liste d'objets d'art, vendus à L.A.N.Z.I.G.

Objet:	Artiste:	Description:	Matériel:	Dimensions:	Signature:	Date:	Provenance:	Volontairement vendu à: nr.
Originalement en possession de J. J. de W. d. S. Amsterdam								
Tableau Ferdinand Bol	Léange chez Hager	Toile		117 x 99 cm	En entier		Londres, 1889	"Prof. Frost pour la Musée de Danzig" 4799
Originalement en possession de J. J. de W. d. S. Amsterdam								
Tableau Jan Steen	Des enfants qui enseignent lira à un chat Lit. Fredius, Jan Steen, no. 97, Smith, partie IV, page 86, 89.	Panneau		41 x 46 cm	Signé		Saler Stevens, La Haye Auction 28. 7/83. A. Hayes, A'sax, auction "A" 15. 7. 1883. Coll. Emer- sen, Londres; Coll. H. Phillips, 1883. van Hees & Heemstede.	3618
Originalement en possession de J. J. de W. d. S. Amsterdam								
Tableaux Coenah	a. Portrait de Lambert Jan van Meester 1705-1778 b. Portrait de Marie Ida de Loyens 1724-1796 (Restaures par J. v. d. Wandal 1864)	Toile		100 x 60cm	Coenen			1753
Originalement en possession de J. J. de W. d. S. Amsterdam								
Tableau van Udenf	Rayage avec des charrettes	Toile		85 x 50 cm				2425
								11201
								4223
								2425
								11201

FIGURE 11. (continued)

The foregoing provenance analysis of the Goudstikker van Goyen in Gdańsk suggests that similar analysis would be advisable for many other NS-era acquisitions now in Poland, especially those sold to cities in areas annexed to the German Reich. Better scrutiny today in verifying provenance details of Nazi wartime transfers could help avoid potential injustices to Holocaust victims and their heirs as part of the horrendous Nazi cultural ravages and displacements during the war and its aftermath. Certainly, Danzig, which was newly annexed to Germany at the very start of World War II 80 years ago, experienced more than its share of wartime loss in both human and cultural terms, including reduction of much of the city and port to rubble.⁹⁰ In connection with this article, it was distressing to peruse the latest 2017 Gdańsk catalogue compiled by Helena Kowalska of 405 paintings from the wartime Danzig Stadtmuseum still missing since the war, including details and quality image of the Esselens (see Figure 9), sold to Danzig Gauleiter Forster together with the van Goyen.⁹¹ For those items not destroyed at the end of the war, it will take considerable provenance research in attempt to track their present location. Some that had been evacuated to Thuringia in 1944 may still be in Russia, along with many files from the Danzig City Archive that have never come home from the war. But many questions arise about the rest. For the incoming works of art acquired by Danzig's Nazi leadership in efforts to Germanize the Stadtmuseum, more research is also needed to determine their provenance before their sale to Danzig in the NS-controlled Germanized Dutch art market during occupation of the Netherlands. How many of them came from other Nazi victims abroad, including Holocaust victims or survivors? The items in the Drost 1943 volume registered as "missing" from the Netherlands in the SNK records in The Hague, together with the SNK 1946 list of paintings sold to Danzig (Figure 11), and the 2018 *Herkomst Gezocht* "Poland Report," to be discussed below (note 103), all suggest that the van Goyen and the *Gipsy Fortune Teller* may be only the tip of the iceberg.

In a preliminary check during numerous research visits to The Hague since my visit to Gdańsk, with the help of *Herkomst Gezocht* specialists, I identified postwar SNK loss-registration/claims and related documents for at least 10 of the other paintings Drost pictured in his 1943 published catalogue of early wartime Danzig Museum acquisitions.⁹² Colleagues in the BHG were quick to respond, recognizing

⁹⁰See for example the journalistic eightieth anniversary tribute to the German start of the war in Danzig, 1 September 1939, posted by the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI) website (Amsterdam): Colin Shindler "Danzig: The City Where Hell Began and Ended," *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 August 2019, <https://www.thejc.com/news/news-features/danzig-the-city-where-hell-began-and-ended-1.488006> (accessed 6 November 2019).

⁹¹See Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku. 2017; on paintings lost from the wartime Danzig Stadtmuseum, see vol. 1 by Kowalska 2017. *Malarstwo*. See also the earlier Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku. 2005, with three volumes devoted to Municipal Museum losses: *Straty wojenne Muzeum Miejskiego w Gdańsku*.

⁹²On subsequent visits to The Hague, I discussed the issue with the Bureau *Herkomst Gezocht* and other Dutch colleagues, who had not previously been aware of the extent of the Dutch paintings still in Gdańsk that had been purchased during the war. See the brief report on the Gdańsk holdings, including

and confirming the need for more serious attention to their Dutch provenance and suggesting willingness to assist Polish specialists in pursuing the needed investigation, if any were so inclined.⁹³ The initial findings suggested that sources are readily available for further analysis of more paintings, together with resources of the RKD for paintings by Dutch artists.⁹⁴ Possible joint collaboration in provenance research has already been suggested informally to specialists in the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage as well as the Foreign Office on several occasions since my visit to Gdańsk and my participation in the Polish Ministry of Culture-sponsored 2014 conference on Polish cultural war losses in Kraków.

Today, even more SNK and other sources relating to the wartime Dutch art market are readily and openly available for research in the Netherlands. Of particular importance in this context, the BHG completed an upgraded database in 2017 with online public searching capacity (in English and Dutch), providing access with images to postwar SNK registration forms for Dutch wartime art losses as well as the so-called NK Collection of art returned to the Netherlands but still held as Dutch state property.⁹⁵ The project resulted from support of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the National Archives, and the RKD, together with major initiatives and contributions from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany (Claims Conference).

Subsequent to the launch of this upgraded *Herkomst Gezocht* online facility, the Claims Conference sponsored an exploratory investigation by BHG specialists, using the new database with Dutch postwar SNK registration files of “missing” works of art, to list those involved in potentially suspicious wartime sales to Poland. To be sure, again reflecting the findings on the SNK’s 1946–47 lists, the “suspicious” sales were highest for the western Reich-annexed and wartime Germanized cities of Posen and Breslau, along with Danzig, which became part of Poland in August 1945. Understandably, many of the same missing art items on the SNK’s 1946–47 lists discussed above surfaced again. The resulting preliminary “Poland Report” lists 81 art items (many with images) sold to cities (including those three) that are now part of postwar Poland (since 1945); most of those items sold to Danzig during the war overlap with those on the SNK’s 1946–47 lists of art works “missing” from the Netherlands (Figure 11), which together with the lists for Posen and Breslau are

the van Goyen, in Grimsted 2016a. There again, I also inaccurately suggested that Göring had sold the Gdańsk van Goyen to Koch in 1940.

⁹³Notably, in December 2016, an upgraded database in Dutch and English covering important SNK files with documents regarding missing works of art alienated from the Netherlands during the war, including many of those Danzig wartime purchases, was then launched on the website of the *Herkomst Gezocht* in The Hague.

⁹⁴See the extensive research data available on the RKD website in Dutch and English, <https://rkd.nl/nl/> (accessed 9 November 2019).

⁹⁵The BHG online databases have recently been integrated into the new NIOD website for the Expert Centre Restitution: Dutch: <https://www.niod.nl/nl/expertisecentrum/herkomst-gezocht/>; English: <https://www.niod.nl/en/origins-unknown> (both accessed 19 May 2020).

included as Appendix III. The “Poland Report” also covers the Goudstikker van Goyen and the two other Dutch paintings sold to Alfred Forster in the same 12 December 1941 transaction; although as documented above, today the Esselens remains on the Gdańsk “missing” list. More paintings sold to Danzig may well be found as research continues. Half of the Danzig early wartime acquisitions purchased in the Netherlands are pictured in the Drost 1943 catalogue, but others were acquired after that publication. Five of the 20 missing Dutch paintings sold to Danzig, listed in the preliminary “Poland Report,” including the Esselens, never returned to Danzig after the war and appear in the 2017 Gdańsk catalogue covering some 405 paintings missing from postwar Gdańsk; but none of those 20 listed ever returned to their prewar homes in the Netherlands.⁹⁶

Dutch colleagues involved have subsequently expressed considerable interest in assisting Polish museum curators or advanced postgraduate students involved in further joint research on the Gdańsk items listed – if there would be a Polish inclination for a collaborative effort to establish transparent provenance attributions. Recently, more formal suggestions for such joint research have been raised in Poland through contacts of the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organization. Early in 2019, BHG operations were transferred and became directly coordinated with the newly established Expertise Centre Restitution (Expertisecentrum Restitutie) within the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam, under the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. Administrative reorganization affecting these research agencies in the Netherlands may alter working relationships and delay a possible joint project. Some informal contacts are already underway, encouraged, for example, by the fulsome assistance of the Gdańsk museum curator in response to editorial queries in connection with this article. It can be hoped that this newly reorganized Dutch Expertise Centre, which now incorporates the BHG, will encourage and further promote the joint cooperation in provenance research badly needed on these issues in the future.

At the time of my 2014 Gdańsk visit and subsequently, an image of van Goyen’s *Huts on a Canal* was displayed on the Gdańsk Muzeum Narodowe’s website along with quality images of the other Dutch and Flemish paintings held by the museum, including many of those that appeared in Drost’s account of his wartime acquisitions and in subsequent Polish publications. Disappointingly by 2017, and still currently in 2019, that webpage is no longer displayed. In September 2017, an unidentified image of the van Goyen painting could be found within a large sidebar collage on one of the museum webpages; by 2019, that collage has also disappeared.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Kool, “Poland Report.” I am grateful to both the BHG and the Claims Conference for making a preliminary draft of the report available to me and for their advice and assistance with my related case study. It is to be hoped that research can continue to expand and verify present locations for the preliminary listings in the “Poland Report” so that it can be released for open circulation.

⁹⁷A digital image of the van Goyen painting, formerly posted on the website of the National Museum in Gdańsk is now accessible on Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goyen_Cottages_by_the_canal.jpg (accessed 6 November 2019).

Gdańsk museum officials kindly and openly received me as an academic historian, not as a representative of any potential claimant or a specialist in restitution law, which I am not. In my own informal conversations with Polish specialists, as well as with Dutch specialists in the Netherlands, after my research uncovered so many “suspicious” Nazi-era acquired paintings in Polish museums, I have often suggested joining hands with Dutch and Polish specialists in a collaborative provenance research undertaking, if support could be found. Perhaps, as a start, further research would be in order on other paintings involved in “suspicious” sales acquired during the war by Forster and Drost as Nazi leaders in Danzig for its Stadtmuseum. Even with initial results, it might be worth considering restoration of the website display of the early Dutch and Flemish treasures in the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk with expanded already researched provenance data. The initiation of such efforts might help explicate earlier “red-flag” press inquiries and reassure the public internationally. It is not my place to adjudicate the legal status of the van Goyen painting now hanging as part of a lovely exhibit in the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk. But, at least for the sake of transparency in the near future, as a component of international Holocaust education and remembrance, it might be nice to see a plaque mentioning its provenance in the collection of a prominent Holocaust victim, who was perhaps one of the best-known and respected interwar Dutch dealers in Old Masters and who had a special personal interest in that painting.

Even in 2019, as we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Terezín Declaration and the eightieth anniversary of the start of World War II with the German armed annexation of Danzig, Poland still lacks a viable procedure for restitution claims from individual Holocaust victims and their heirs, both within the country and from abroad. Reference was accordingly made in the introduction to the 2015 criticism of the lack of progress in Poland “towards implementing the Washington Principles and the Terezín Declaration.”⁹⁸ In the years ahead, concerned specialists as well as the public at large will undoubtedly follow the extent to which Poland will conform to the 17 January 2019 European Parliamentary Resolution on *Cross-Border Restitution Claims of Works of Art and Cultural Goods Looted in Armed Conflicts and Wars*.⁹⁹ Until the Polish government is prepared to recognize and implement such European legal and moral standards with reciprocity, however, there is scant hope that

⁹⁸See, e.g., Fisher and Weinberger 2014.

⁹⁹European Parliament Resolution on *Cross-Border Restitution Claims of Works of Art and Cultural Goods Looted in Armed Conflicts and Wars*, 17 January 2019, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0037_EN.html (accessed 9 November 2019), with reference to earlier resolutions and background data, including relevant United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization documents. Notably, “[c]alls on the Member States and candidate countries to make all necessary efforts to adopt measures to ensure the creation of mechanisms which favour the return of the property referred to in this resolution and to be mindful that the return of artworks looted, stolen or illegally obtained in the course of crimes against humanity to the rightful claimants is a matter of general interest under Article 1 of Protocol 1 to the European Convention on Human Rights” (para. 30).

Goudstikker's charming van Goyen could easily return to the Netherlands, let alone to the United States, where the Goudstikker heirs now reside as citizens. But, in the meantime, without even a label of transparent provenance, can that charming painting still comfortably continue to hang proudly in the Gdańsk Muzeum Narodowe?

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