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FROM THE STUDIES ON 'DEGENERATE ART' TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. SZCZECIN'S CASE (MUSEUM DER STADT STETTIN)

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Abstract: On 5 August 1937, fulfilling the orders of the Chairman of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (Reichskammer der bildenden Künste), a confiscation committee showed up at the City Museum in Stettin, and demanded to be presented by the Director of the institution the Museum's collection in view of 'degenerate art'. While 'hunting' for the Avant-garde and 'purging museums', the Nazis confiscated works that represented, e.g. Expressionism, Cubism, Bauhaus Constructivism, pieces manifesting the aesthetics of the New Objectivity, as well as other socially and politically 'suspicious' art works from the late Belle Époque, WWI, German Revolution of 1918–1919, or from Weimer Republic Modernism of the 1920s and 30s. The infamous Munich 'Entartete Kunst' Exhibition turned into a travelling propaganda display, presented in different variants at different venues. A three-week show (11 Jan.–5 Feb. 1939) was also held in Stettin, in the Landeshaus building (today housing the Municipality of Szczecin).

Provenance studies: biographies of the existing works,

often relocated, destroyed, or considered to have been lost, constitute an interesting input into the challenging chapter on German and European Avant-garde, Szczecin museology, and on Pomerania art collections. Side by side with the artists, it was museologists and art dealers who co-created this Pomeranian history of art. The Szczecin State Archive contains a set of files related to 'degenerate art', revealing the mechanisms and the course of the 'museum purge' at the Stettin Stadtmuseum. The archival records of the National Museum in Szczecin feature fragments of inventory ledgers as well as books of acquisitions, which provide a particularly precious source of knowledge. The published catalogue of the works of 'degenerate art' from the Museum's collections covering 1081 items has been created on the grounds of the above-mentioned archival records, for the first time juxtaposed, and cross-checked. The mutually matching traces of information from Polish and German archives constitute a good departure point for further more thorough studies.

Keywords: 'Entartete Kunst', 'degenerate art', Museum der Stadt Stettin, City Museum in Stettin, National Museum in Szczecin, provenance studies of museum exhibits, Washington Conference.

In December 2018, twenty years passed since the signing and adoption by 44 countries (Poland included) of the *Washington Principles*¹ related to the art works confiscated by the Nazis. In 1999, ICOM,² and soon afterwards the Council of Europe,³ formulated similarly spirited documents, confirmed by subsequent declarations.⁴ In compliance with the Washington agreement owners of public collections should investigate the provenance of their collections whose history throughout 1933–45 is doubtful, insufficiently known, or almost entirely unknown, and publicize the results. In the event when the pre-war owners (or their heirs) cannot be identified with perfect certainty, honest attempts should be made to solve the restitution claims. It was decided that the return of the looted cultural goods of European Jews to their original owners or heirs, or the countries in which they lived is important, since it allows to recreate the place and role of the Jewish culture in Europe.

The above-mentioned documents are quite particular about recommending provenance studies of museum collections: investigation that has constituted part of the rudimentary duty of museologists taking care of the collections, and which has not been cancelled despite the dynamic changes occurring in contemporary museology and new activity areas being assigned to museums. Although today this may sound like truism, in view of the poor investigation of the provenance issues of collections, reminding that apart from various scholarly, research, exhibition, and dissipation tasks, a reliable research into the history of museum exhibits is within the canon of curators' responsibilities seems an essential must. Particularly when one wants to get to know the role, importance, as well as custom- and idea-related context of the studied art work.

Twenty years after the signing of the *Washington Principles*, on 10 April 2019, for the first time the *Day of Provenance Research*⁵ was celebrated in five European countries. In different activities within the framework of the newly established museum holiday, falling on the second Wednesday in April, over sixty European institutions participated; in subsequent years the list of participants shall undoubtedly grow longer. Both the development of contemporary research trends in the humanities, as well as the advancing digitizing of museum inventories and of various archival sets constitute an impulse to deepen our outlook on the provenance of an artwork, and to critically reflect on the cultural legacy, collectorship, nationalization processes, reprivatisation, and restitution,⁶ helping to modify museum procedures and legal solutions, as well as to transform the art work market.

On 28 February 2012, customs officers entered the Munich flat of Cornelius Gurlitt, and confiscated the collection of over 1.500 pieces of art collected by his father Hildebrand Gurlitt, one of the few trusted art dealers of Adolf Hitler. The German prosecutor's office began suspecting that what was to be later called the *Schwabinger Kunstfund and Salzburger Fund* collection, namely the works purchased in the Third Reich, had been looted by Nazis. What started was an interesting, still ongoing fragment of the contemporary history of provenance research. 'The Gurlitt' case: media smear campaign against Cornelius Gurlitt, reporters' speculations as for the collection's worth, bluntly formulated suspicions of the illegal provenance of

the works, boosted emotions, however the suspicions were not fully confirmed later by the research conducted by the international team of specialists headed by Ingeborg Berggreen-Merkel, and officially completed in December 2015.⁷ A peculiar summing up of the Gurlitt case was the exhibition prepared by Agnieszka Lulińska, shown in two differing versions: first in Bern as 'Bestandsaufnahme Gurlitt. *Entartete Kunst – beschlagnahmt und verkauft*' (Gerliutt's Inventory. *Degenrate Art: Confiscated and Sold*), presented at the Kunstmuseum Bern, and later in Bonn as 'Der NS-Kunstraub und die Folgen' (Nazi Looting of Works of Art, and Its Results), this version displayed at the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Later, the Bonn variant was shown at the Martin Gropius Bau in Berlin.⁸ Apart from the aspect of coming to know the part of Gurlitt's collections, the Bonn and Berlin editions actually had a great educational value. The exhibition revealed numerous contradictions of Hildebrand Gurlitt's attitudes and actions, in many a case showing the recreated history of the work, in others leaving the issue of the provenance open, while multiplying Cornelius Gurlitt-related questions. At the same time, they inspired the debate on ethics and morality. There is no doubt that 'Gurlitt's scandal'⁹ demonstrated the need to consistently conduct provenance research also in relation to public collections. It made the debate leave the circle of academic congress discussions and museum offices, bestowing upon it a broad social dimension, inscribing it in a general social awareness. At the same time, the very display of the Gurlitt collection, similarly as the exhibition from several years ago: 'Raub und Restitution' ('Robbery and Restitution')¹⁰ and 'Gute Geschäfte. Kunsthandel in Berlin 1933–1945' ('Good Business. Trading in Art Works in Berlin 1933–45'),¹¹ or the recently opened, actually opposite in its assumptions and character, the display of Emil Nolde's works at the Berlin Hamburger Bahnhof: Museum für Gegenwart,¹² showing that the studies related to the questions of art in the Nazi period, particularly the provenance questions are difficult, not obvious, full of ambiguities, requiring investigative insight, and restraint of judgments.¹³

The Reich Chamber of Culture created in September 1933 (Reichskulturkammer, RKK) headed by Joseph Goebbels, made up of 7 departments: Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (Reichskammer der bildenden Künste), Reich Chamber of Filmaking (Reichsfilmkammer), Reich Chamber of Music (Reichsmusikkammer), Reich Chamber of Theatres (Reichstheaterkammer), Reich Chamber of Press (Reichspressekammer), Reich Chamber of Writing (Reichsschrifttumskammer), and Reich Chamber of the Radio (Reichsrundfunkkammer), together with other gears of the Nazi machine effectively transformed culture into the propaganda tool serving exclusively the current ideas of the state.¹⁴ Official restrictions doomed Avant-garde artists, similarly as other victims of the Third Reich, to persecution, indignation, exclusion, migration, their art, in turn, to non-existence, both through flat police searches, seizure of works, and ban on the works: Schaffensverbot.

The Munich 'Entartete Kunst'¹⁵ Exhibition has permanently, though infamously entered the world history of exhibitions, and was one of the three stages of the 'Degenerate Art' Action, conducted on the Ordinance of the Nazi dictator as of 30 June 1937. It consisted, first of all, in the confiscation from

34		1921/22 1922/23									
Inv.-Nummer des Objekts nach Katalog	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Masse	Herkunft	An- schaffungs- weise Schätzungs- wert	Bemerkungen	Inv.-Nummer des Objekts nach Katalog	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Masse	Herkunft	An- schaffungs- weise Schätzungs- wert	Bemerkungen
491	Alle all. Gipsfiguren		Algerien, Frankreich	15/1000	von der Bildh. d. Bau (Kauf, 1917)	501	Rudolf Greismann	4,6 x 4,6 x 35	Plastik, Berlin	2000	Ma 501
492	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	19 x 18				502	Wappenstein, Berlin				
493	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	10 x 14,5				503	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
494	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	28 x 19				504	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
495	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	16 x 17				505	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
496	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	16 x 17				506	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
497	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	44 x 24		450 M		507	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
498	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	41 x 23		570 M		508	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
499	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein	11 x 13		10000 M		509	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
500	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein					510	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
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503	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein					513	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
504	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein					514	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.
505	Wappenstein (Bau) Stein					515	Christiane Böhler	1,2 x 1,2 x 40	von Berlin	3000	z.B.

1. Museum der Stadt Stettin, Kunst- u. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Erwerbungs-Inventar der Sammlung von Originalen neuerer Kunst. Werke der Plastik, Gemälde und Handzeichnungen, 1910–1944 (City Museum in Stettin, Museum of Art and Artistic Crafts. Inventory of Acquisitions Covering the Collections of Newer Art. Sculpture, Paintings, and Drawings, 1910–1944)

the collections of German museums and galleries of those works of art which according to the theoreticians of National Socialism were a manifestation of political and cultural decadence, anarchy and artistic Bolshevism; secondly, a propaganda exhibition of the confiscated works was mounted; and finally, they were to be destroyed or auctioned, and the profit was to benefit the Reich's war budget. Worth remembering is the fact that the term today unequivocally associated with the policy of the Third Reich, namely 'Entartete Kunst', translated as degenerate art (sometimes also as perverse art), refers to the concept applied to living organisms, and it was originally used in biological or medical contexts. At the turn of the 19th century, attempts were made by the German Romantic Friedrich Schlegel, one of the creators of linguistics, and the 19th-century Swiss humanist Jacob Burckhardt to transfer it to the domain of art. In the 1890s, the Jewish doctor and writer Max Nordau published a two-volume study *Entartung* in which he called e.g. Richard Wagner, Charles Baudelaire, Étienne Mallarmé degenerates of literature, music, and painting. He considered their works to be ridiculous, riotous, and socially harmful. The next sense of the term was born due to the development of eugenics. In the 1920s, the American historian, lawyer, politician, and journalist Lothrop Stoddard observed, as a matter of fact correctly, that simplifying form to emphasize the content made Expressionists' works resemble the art of African tribes. He defined the works of contemporary artists as an activity of unadjusted and degenerate individuals.

Today, however, the term 'Entartete Kunst': 'degenerate art', seems to be permanently connected with the Nazi ideology and 'racial purity'.¹⁶

The unprecedented action of 'museum purge' of 'degenerate art' had been preceded by the symbolic act of book burning at almost all university towns of the Reich (10 May 1933), the latter particularly spectacular in Berlin at former Opernplatz (today Bebelplatz). In the propaganda, but also 'educational' contexts, the character of the 1937 Munich exhibition, and its subsequent versions in different cities of the Reich, had been preceded by a series of relatively smaller displays, known as *Schreckenskammer* (chambers of horrors of art) which in a way had been meant to prepare the ground for the 'appropriate' social reception of the Munich project. The first of such exhibitions was inaugurated at Mannheim's Kunsthalle on 4 April 1933. There were over 20 similar displays of 'degenerate art' in 1933–37, e.g. in Munich, Nuremberg, Erlangen, Karlsruhe, Bielefeld, Ulm, Darmstadt, Dortmund, Hagen, Regensburg, Frankfurt, Ingolstadt, Dresden, Breslau / Wrocław, Halle an der Saale – Moritzburg, Dessau,¹⁷ and later in 1942 in Litzmannstadt / Łódź,¹⁸ incorporated into the Third Reich as a part of the Warthegau (Land of the Warthe) on 3 November 1939.

You can see around you the products of madness, rudeness, lack of talent, and degeneration [...] what this exhibition offers shocks us all and disgusts. We would not have enough trains to purge German museums of all that junk. We will lead to that and the fastest possible. It is

1920

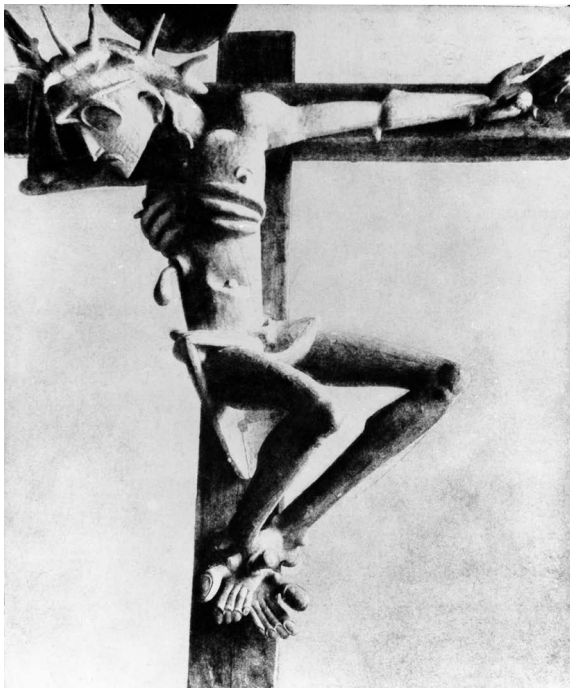
Landes-Nummer	Ein-stands-Nr.:	Namen der Meister	Wasser-schaftliche Be-zeichnung	Namen der Maler oder Zeichner	Gegenstand der Darstellung	Anzahl der Blätter	Druck-art	Preis	Schätzungs-Wert	Seite des Inventar-buches	Herkunft und sonstige Bemerkungen
39	1-9-20	Paul Cézanne 1839-1906			Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck			79	Kunsthandlung Hans Bucher (1912, gekauft von dem Eigentümerbuch)
40					Kopierwerkzeugen. Dessertiers B.	1		1000			
41					Sinnbild. Dessertiers B.	1					
42					Figur. Dessertiers B.	1					
43					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck	2500		72	Kunsthandlung Hans Bucher
44					Blatt. Landschaft B.	10	Steindruck	10000		43	Kunsthandlung Hans Bucher
45					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
46					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
47					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
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78					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
79					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
80					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
81					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				
82					Blatt. Landschaft B.	1	Steindruck				

2. Museum der Stadt Stettin, Zugangsbuch der Druckgraphik, 1912–1938 (City Museum in Stettin, Book of Receipts of Prints, 1912–1938)

terrifying when I, as a front soldier, see how the name of today's German soldier is tarnished and insulted. Or when in other works the swine mock the German mother, showing her either as a horny whore or a great-grandmother with an expression of thick stupidity on her face. Companions, I do not have enough time to present you all the crime against German art committed by those individuals acting on the instructions of German international Jewry. What is the most trivial and spiteful has gained a high value. The utmost refined ugliness has become the beauty ideal.¹⁹ The scornful words of Adolf Ziegler, graduate from the Academy of Fine Arts in Weimar, NSDAP member as of 1925, Party's advisor on fine arts, in 1933 appointed Professor at the Royal Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, yet first and foremost President of the Reich Chamber for Fine Arts as of November 1936 and plenipotentiary for the 'Degenerate Art' Action, unequivocally define the attitude of the Third Reich to the Avant-garde and its artists.

On 12 July 1937, in the Spain Pavilion during the Paris International Exposition, Pablo Picasso displayed his *Guernica*. Meanwhile, not even a full week later, precisely on 18 July, in Munich distanced 850 km from Paris, at the House of German Art, designed by Paul Ludwig Troost following the style of monumental Neo-Classicism in Prinzregentenstrasse, on the verge of the English Garden (Haus der Deutschen Kunst, currently Haus der Kunst, a

prestigious venue for international display projects), the First Great German Art Exhibition was launched. It featured about 900 works representing artists accepted by the Party and the government circles of the Nazi state.²⁰ On the following day, 19 July, when opening the 'Entartete Kunst' Exhibition, Adolf Ziegler, that extreme naturalist, by critics named the Master of German Public Hair, used his scornful language to comply with Adolf Hitler's declaration: *The works of art which are incomprehensible in themselves, yet require a huffy manual to finally find someone who is confused enough to accept the whole stupid and insolent nonsense, from now on will not have access to the German nation.*²¹ The Exhibition was shown in the garden arcades of the Munich Royal Residence (Münchner Hofgarten), not far from the House of German Art, actually across the street, close to Odeonplatz. The works of 'degenerate art' were displayed in 9 narrow spaces of the then Archaeological Institute at 4 Galeriestrasse where the collection of plaster casts of ancient sculptures was presented (currently the building houses the Munich Art Society, Kunstverein München e.V.). Among the 'forbidden works' there were pieces by artists born in the last two decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, who due to the expression means they applied, their aesthetic choices, and political views, did not fit the ideals of art valid in the Third Reich. While witch-hunting the Avant-garde, the Nazis seized works created after 1910, covering Expressionism,



3. Ludwig Gies, Crucifix, 1921; 1922/1923 purchased by the Stettiner Museumsverein (Stettin Museum Society) in Berlin from a private collector for M 2 000 000 and deposited with the Museum, 10 July 1937 confiscated, from Nov. 1941 at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, in storage at 50 Königstrasse, Berlin, possibly burnt down during the storage's fire, currently generally considered as unpreserved

Fauvism, Cubism, Abstractionism, those representing the aesthetics of the New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit), Bauhaus Constructivism, and others from the period of WW I, November Revolution, or the Modernity of the Weimer Republic in the 1920s and 30s, whose social and political undertones were 'suspicious'. Within the space of the Munich display, 730 works of 112 banned artists were displayed, e.g.: Ernst Barlach, Maks Beckmann, Marc Chagall, Lovis Corinth, Lyonel Feininger, George Grosza, Wassily Kandinsky, Otton Freundlich, Paul Klee, Heinrich Campendonk, Erich Heckel, Karl Hofer, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Oskar Kokoschka, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Piet Mondrian, Otton Müller, Emil Nolde, Maks Pechstein, Pablo Picasso, Christian Rohlf, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Oskar Schlemmer, Kurt Schwitters, and many others.

The Exhibition's scenario assumed 9 thematic sequences: Transposition/ Disorder of the Sense of Form and Colour (Versetzung des Form- und Farbempfindens), Religious Topics (Religiöse Thematik), Propaganda of Class Struggle (Klassenkampfpropaganda), Protest of Conscience (Wehrpflichtverweigerung), Moral Programme of Bolshevism (Moralisches Programm des Bolschewismus), Degeneration / Racial Distortion (Rassische Entartung), Mental Degeneration (Geistige Entartung), Jewish Art (Jüdische Kunst), and Total Madness (Vollendeter Wahnsinn). The Munich display visited by 2.009.899 people in the period between 19 July 1930 to 30 November 1937 turned into a propaganda travelling exhibition, presented in different variants in several dozen centres. The shows were held subsequently in: Berlin (Haus der Kunst, 4 Königsplatz 4, today Platz der

Republik, 26 Feb.–8 May 1938, 500.000 visitors), Leipzig (Grassi-Museum, 13 May-6 June 1938, 60.000 visitors), Düsseldorf (Kunstpalast, 18 June – 7 Aug.1938, 150.000 visitors), Salzburg (Festspielhaus, 4 Sept.–2 Oct.1938, 40.000 visitors), Hamburg (6 Schulausstellungsgebäude, Spitalerstr., 11 Nov.–30 Dec, 1938, 136.000 visitors), Stettin / Szczecin (Landeshaus, 11 Jan.–5 Feb.1939, 82.000 visitors), Weimar (Landesmuseum, 23 March–24 April 1939, 50.000 visitors), Vienna (Künstlerhaus, 6 May–18 June 1939, 147.000 visitors), Frankfurt (Kunstaussstellungshaus, 8 Bockenheimer Landstr., 30 June–30 July 1939, 40.000 visitors), Chemnitz (Kaufmännisches Verreinshaus, 1 Moritzstr., 11 Aug.–26 Aug. 1939), Waldenburg / Wałbrzych (Gebäude der Kreisleitung der NSDAP, Adolf-Hitler-Aue, 18 Jan.–2 Feb. 1941), Halle a.d. Saale (Landesanstalt für Volkheitskunde, Wettiner Platz, 5–20 April 1941).²² The above-given number of visitors clearly testifies to the scale of the impact of the Nazi propaganda in its xenophobic undertone on average German citizens.

According to the Exhibition's organizers, one of the iconic works both in Munich and in its wandering variants, embodying the *degeneration of visual arts*, was the Crucifix by Ludwig Gies, created in 1921 as commemoration of the fallen in WW I for the Marian Church in Lübeck, today only known from archival sources, photographs, pre-war books and papers, old press reports, and other records.²³ The Expressionist wooden sculpture showing a blue-green body of Jesus stands out against the red cross and the golden halo, with a face reminding of non-European primitive masks or gas masks used during the war. Finally, though



4. Ernst Barlach, Mother Earth (model), 1920; donation of Richard Biesel, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Bernhard Böhmer for USD 50, collection of Friedrich Schult, Güstrow; wrongly considered as part of Ernst Barlach's legacy, Güstrow; currently: Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow



5. Lovis Corinth, *Self-Portrait in the Studio*, 1914; 1921 purchased for the Museum with the financing from the Keddig Foundation for M 8000, 5 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Theodor Fischer for CHF 200, 30 June 1939 put up for auction at the gallery of Theodor Fischer, Lucerne, and sold for CHF 3000, currently: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich



6. Lovis Corinth, *Portrait of a Woman (Woman in Red)*, 1917; 1925 donated to the Museum as part of a collection by Wilhelm and Frieda Doering (the work assessed at RM 4000), 5 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for exchange, collection of Bernhard Böhmer, Güstrow, current whereabouts unknown

originally displayed in the Lübeck Cathedral, already in 1923 it was purchased for M 2.000.000 from a private owner by the Stettin Museum Society (Stettiner Museumsverein), and transferred as a deposit to its collection. In the deposit inventory book of pre-war Stettin Museum, the sculpture was item No. 1. In the City Museum (Museum der Stadt Stettin) run by Walter Riezler located in the sumptuous building on Haken Terrace (Hakenterrasse, today the famous Wały Chrobrego Oder Embankment), for years suspended in the Dome Room, in 1933 it was taken off the display, and hidden in the storeroom. On 8 July 1937, Otto Holtze, appointed Stettin City Museum Director in 1934, an art historian, earlier working at the Museum as a curator of artistic craftsmanship, and an NSDAP member, which is of relevance, following a phone conversation with Adolf Ziegler, immediately confirmed by a cable, sent the Crucifix to Munich. Already on 10 July, the 3-metre wooden sculpture reached its destination thanks to Gebrüder Wetsch, a transportation company. Gies's work, No. 16.232 item in the 'degenerate art' inventory (EK- Inventar), in November 1941 was transferred to the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), and placed in the storeroom at 50 Königstrasse in Berlin (Berlin-Mitte). It is generally believed that the work was burnt down during the fire of the storeroom.

From among all the confiscated works from German museums and galleries, 125 particularly precious ones were

selected; three of them came from the Stettin collection: two paintings by Lovis Corinth (*Self-portrait in the Studio* and *Death and the Woman*) and one by Christian Rohlf's (*Poppy Field*); they were all put up for the infamous auction mounted by Theodor Fischer at the Grand Hotel National in Lucerne on 30 June 1939.²⁴ Pieces of degenerate art were also auctioned on several occasions in Switzerland.²⁵ Earlier, on 20 March 1939 at the Main Fire Station, 42 Lindenstrasse, Berlin-Kreuzberg, minor pieces of 'decadent art' ('Verfallskunst') were burnt down. A great number of paintings taken from their rightful owners were also destroyed. Others were deposited in storerooms and repositories, e.g. Berlin Kreuzberg in the Victoria granary that belonged to the Berlin Port and Repository Society (BEHALA) at 24 Köpeniker Strasse, as well as the Baroque Schönhausen Castle at Pankow, at the time near Berlin (today Berlin's District). Later on they were sold artificially underpriced to selected antiquaries and galleries who conducted war businesses,²⁶ to mention here Hildebrand Gurlitt,²⁷ Bernhard Böhmer,²⁸ Karl Buchholz,²⁹ Ferdinand Möller, as well as Paul Graupe,³⁰ Karl Haberstock, or Hansjoachim Quantmeyer.

On 15 February 1933, Käthe Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann were forced to leave the Prussian Academy of Art, a year later in April 1934 Walter Riezler, from 1910 Director of the City Museum in Stettin, was forced to retire early, having spent the year before on a forced leave. A letter dated 13 April 1923 addressed to Riezler written by the Mayor of Stettin with a brief and meaningful content, has been preserved: *In response to your letter dated 10 April 1933, let me inform you*

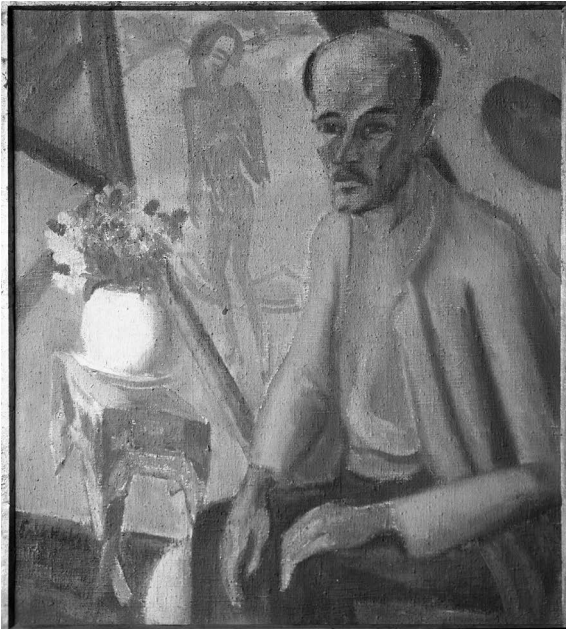
that your leave has been in effect for fundamental reasons. The concept of art that you represent contradicts, in my view, education required in every domain by the national state.³¹ Riezler was forced to leave also because, when running the Museum, he expressed his views on art, both through the policy of amassing collections directed at modernity and Avant-garde accomplishments and through organizing temporary exhibitions and lectures open to the public, as well as the didactic activity at the School of Artistic Crafts in Stettin. The fact that the Nazis came to power did not only deprive the author of *Die Form ohne Ornament* of the director's position, but also of the function of the Editor-in-Chief of the 'Die Form' magazine that was the press organ of Werkbund. In the context of the impact of politics on the Stettin Museum in the period preceding the 'museum purge' action can be recalled with the anecdote on the present which Hermann Göring was given on the occasion of his marriage to Emma from the city of Stettin and its Mayor Werner Faber on 10 April 1935. It was the painting *Village on the Oder* (oil technique, canvas, 200 x 102 cm) by Hans Hartig, removed from the Museum's inventory, purchased from the artist by the Pomeranian Society for Arts and Crafts (Pommerscher Verein für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe) for M 1.500, and donated to the Museum.³²

In the State Archives in Stettin a relatively small, however precious and interesting set of files related to 'degenerate art' has been preserved. It contains originals and copies of documents and official correspondence, various notes, newspaper clippings, as well as an extremely valuable item, namely detailed lists of works regarded for various reasons to be so-called degenerate art. The material reflects the then policy towards art; it provides information on mechanisms and methods of actions in the Nazi times, revealing the course of the 'museum purge' in Stettin.³³ Several years ago this set was the object of reflection of Bernfried Lichtnau.³⁴

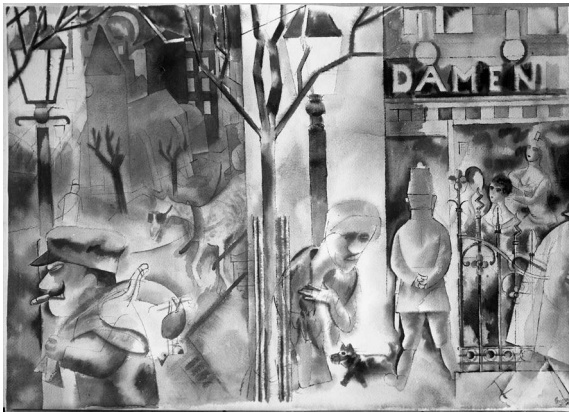
At 1.30 pm on Thursday 5 August 1937 who arrived at the Stettin City Museum, on the order of the President of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts was the Commission for Confiscation headed by Franz Hofmann from Berlin, Head of Department 9: for Visual Arts at the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda as the Commission's chair; despite the absence of Mayor Werner Faber he instructed Director Otton Holtze to make the collections available to the Commission for the purge of 'decadent art'. Apart from above-mentioned Franz Hofmann, the Stettin Commission was composed of: Emil Stahl, Director of the City Gallery in Nuremberg; Dr Hoffmann, Director of the Museum in Munich; Carl Meder of Berlin, the clerk responsible for the



7. Lyonel Feininger, Benz VII (Village Church), 1914; 1919 purchased for the Museum with the financing of the Stettin Museum Society from Israel Ben Neumann for M 7000, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Theodor Fischer for CHF 20, currently in the collection of John B. Holt in Georgetown, Maine, USA



8. Erich Heckel, *Man Seated*, 1921; 1922 purchased for the Museum with the financing of the City Deputation at the Berlin gallery of Fritz Goldschmidt and Victor Wallerstein for M 22 000, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for exchange, Ferdinand Möller's collection, currently: private collection, Germany



9. George Grosz, *Haridresser's*, 1925; 1926 displayed at the Alfred Flechtheim Gallery in Berlin, purchased by the Stettin Museum Society and deposited with the Museum, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Hildebrand Gurlitt for CHF 20, currently: private collection, Germany

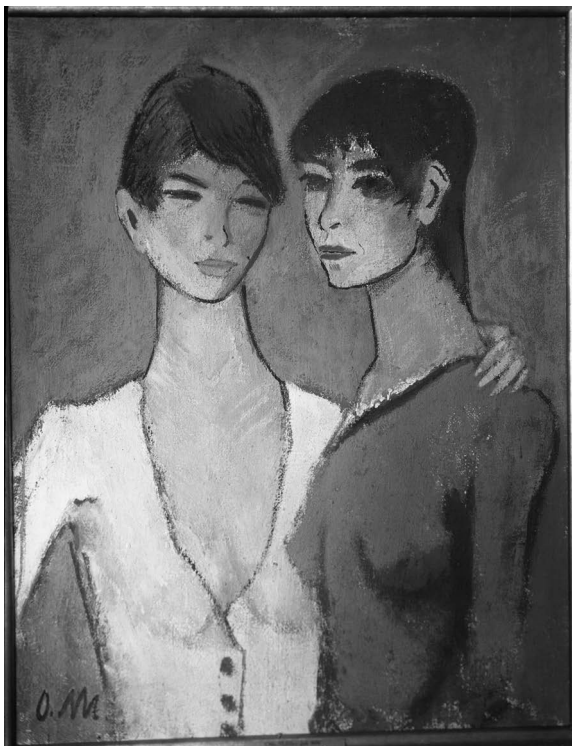
trade of works of art at the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts; Diebenow, head of the Culture District at the Stettin NSDAP; Straube, head of the Pomeranian national section of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts; as well as Schröder, the clerk of the Chamber, the last two from Stettin. In the afternoon of 5 August, Coburg-born Kuno Popp, who had arrived in Stettin together with Franz Schwede in 1934, joined the Commission; he was head of the Pomeranian national section of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, future member of the Pomeranian constituency in the Nazi Reichstag. The following is the report of Bernfried Lichtnau:

*The Head of the Commission presented the power of attorney issued by the President of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts Adolf Ziegler. The Commission, as if conducting an attack, looked through all the art collections including the storage in a day and a half.*³⁵ It was decided that 7 art pieces had to be immediately taken off the walls: three works by Lovis Corinth, one by Maks Slevogt, two by Albert Weisgerber, and the painting *Avenue at Arles* by Vincent van Gogh³⁶ (returned to the Museum on the following day). On the second day of the Commission's activity, about 300 painting, drawings, water colours, and prints were confiscated.

On Monday 9 August 1937, in compliance with the decisions, all the confiscated works left Stettin for Berlin to be further verified, as it was phrased. The works were transported by train, in a furniture carriage, and the process went smoothly run by two forwarding companies: the Berlin one of Gustav Kanuer, and the Stettin one of Carl Freese. The same date is featured on the letter of Mayor Werner Faber, summing up the course of the Commission's visit, confirming the departure of the works from Stettin, addressed to three individuals in compliance with the principles of the official document circulation: Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior of the Reich and Prussia (Reichs- und Preußischer Minister der Innern), c/o Gottfried Graf von Bismarck-Schönhausen, Pomeranian Reich State Prime Minister (Regierungspräsident Pommern); Klaus Graf von Baudissin, Head of the Education Office at the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (Leiter des Amts Volksbildung im Reichserziehungsministerium); as well as Bernhard Rust, Minister of Science, Education, and Culture of the Reich and Prussia (Reichs- und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung), c/o the Pomeranian State Prime Minister (Regierungspräsident Pommern).

Another interesting set of documents preserved at the State Archives in Szczecin is the correspondence related to removing the monumental murals in the Dome Room (above the Pompeii Cabinet, on the second floor, in the central part of the Museum building) and commissioned from Otton Hettner and Karl Hofer by Walter Riezler; they presented two Old Testament compositions: *The Flood and the Breaking Down of Jericho Walls and The Trumpets of Jericho*.³⁷ In the letter dated 19 August 1937, Otto Holtze asked Mayor Werner Faber to decide whether the above works, which he had previously defined in a disrespectful and demagogic way as *trial fresco pieces (ein Stück Probemalerei für ein Fresko)* should be immediately painted over and thus removed. Under the letter in which Otto Holtze yet once more revealed his negative attitude to the policy of his predecessor and suggested for the whole room to be redecorated, there features a hand-written note: *Following consultancy with the Mayor and his approval the removal has been conducted. Holtze. 1 April 1938.*³⁸

Some dozen documents preserved in the archival set relate to the auction sale in Lucerne of the afore-mentioned paintings from Stettin. In the letter of 11 July 1939, Holtze informed Mayor Faber about the results of the auctions at Lucerne's Galerie Fischer on 30 June 1939; the sum obtained for the works calculated at the daily exchange rate of Swiss francs into Reichsmarks amounted to RM 6.344. *The Self-portrait in the Studio* by Lovis Corinth was sold at CHF 3.000 (RM 1.684), *Death and the Woman* by the same painter at



10. Otto Müller, *Two Sisters (Russian Siblings)*; 1919 purchased for the Museum with the financing of the City Deputation in Berlin from Paul Cassirer for M 2000, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Karl Buchholz for USD 90, currently: Saint Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, USA

CHF 7.100 (RM 3.987), while the *Poppy Field* by Christian Rohlf at CHF 1.200 (RM 673).

The issue of the auction sale in Lucerne taken up by Holtze does not only relate to the chronological coincidence with the Ordinance on Revaluing of the Decline Art Works issued on 17 May 1939 (Erlaß zur Verwertung von Werken der Verfallskunst). At the same time all the heads of state governments were sent the letter of the Reich Minister of Science, Education, and Culture, copied two days later in the circular letter of the State Secretary of the Government in Stettin reading as follows: *To my knowledge, many confiscated works of degenerate art have already been sold. There is a chance that these museums from whom the works of degenerate art were confiscated can benefit from the sale revenues, and acquire promise of resources for the purchase of particularly important and valuable art works. Let me emphasize, however, that an appropriate application can be successful only if no other resources are available. Therefore, please send me such an application with a detailed justification, relevant of the circumstances, pointing to the actual status of purchase negotiations. Signed as authorized Zschintzch.*³⁹

Otto Holtze suggested to Mayor Faber taking up appropriate steps on the issue, and on 10 July he prepared the draft of the letter to Bernhard Rust, Reich Minister of Science, Education, and Culture. The letter was passed on to the Prime Minister of the State Government in Stettin on 12 July 1939: *From the City Museum in Stettin works whose value amounted to 51.324 golden marks and 215.630 paper marks have been confiscated. The Stettin Museum, founded in 1911, is one of*



11. Karl Hofer, *The Trumpets of Jericho* (design for a mural), 1920; 1922 purchase for the Museum from the artist for M 5000 mediated by the Haeckl Foundation, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, current whereabouts unknown

*the latest collections of German art, boasting a very modest collection of old German art, and it would be highly desirable to complete the collection through the purchase of prominent pieces of German painting and sculpture from the 19th century. We are therefore kindly asking you to transfer the resources from the sale of degenerate art, if an appropriate opportunity for doing so arises. Signed: on the instruction of Dr Holtze.*⁴⁰ On 29 September, thus a month after the outbreak of WW II, a negative answer from the Pomerania state government was received: *the Museum cannot receive any support, as the justification proved insufficient.*⁴¹

The set of files *Museum Purge* in the Szczecin State Archives ends in 1940 with the documentation related to the efforts of the Stettin Mayor Werner Faber to obtain compensation for some of the confiscated paintings. It was thoroughly analysed by Bernfried Lichtnau: *Under the date 3 April 1940 a description from the report on launching the Exhibitions of Saarlant-Palatinate Art at the Berlin Artists' Home can be found (from the 'Völkischer Beobachter' paper dated 17 March 1940). The report highly praises the works of the painter Albert Weisgerber fallen in 1915 on the western front. On 5-6 August 1937, seven paintings by A. Weisgerber were confiscated in Stettin;*⁴² *on 6 April 1940, the Mayor of Stettin sent a protesting letter to Gauleiter and Pomerania President because in Stettin seven paintings by praised Albert Weisgerber had been confiscated. Where were the precious paintings taken, who sold them, and who has the money from their purchase, this is what the city of Stettin has not been informed about. Therefore, I would be grateful to you, Mr Gauleiter and President, if you could personally tackle the matter with Mr President of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts, for the responsible to be punished. Heil Hitler. [handwritten signature] Faber.*⁴³ *On 19 June (!) 1940 the reply from the Office of Reich Propaganda, Pomerania State Section, Stettin to the Party member Mayor Faber: What has been given as the basis is the position of the Reich Minister of Information and Propaganda of 12 June 1940 that a positive assessment of the entirety of Albert Weisgerber's oeuvre by the Office of Reich's Propaganda in Neustadt cannot find any confirmation. A significant number of the newer works has features of decadent art. Apart from the above-mentioned 7 works from Stettin, further paintings*



12. Karl Hofer, Country Farm (Landscape with Houses, Landscape from the Black Forest), 1920–1921; 1922 purchased for the Museum with the financing from the jubilee collection of the Stettin Museum Society from the artist for M 10 000, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, subsequently in the collection of Bernhard Böhmer, Güstrow, March 1947 secured as Böhmer's legacy by Kurt Reutti, 1949 transferred to Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, currently: Neue Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz



13. Christian Rohlfs, Landscape, 1906; 1925 together with Red Poppy purchased for the Museum with the financing of the City Deputation in Munich for RM 500, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, subsequently in the collection of Bernhard Böhmer, Güstrow, current whereabouts unknown



14. Christian Rohlfs, Red Poppy, 1906; 1925 together with Landscape purchased for the Museum with the financing of the City Deputation in Munich for RM 500, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, subsequently in the collection of Bernhard Böhmer, Güstrow, currently: private collection, Kiel



15. Alexander Kanoldt, Still Life I, 1921; 1921 purchased for the Museum with the financing of the Stettin Museum Society from the artist for M 6000, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, at the disposal of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, subsequently in the collection of Karl Buchholz, current whereabouts unknown

by Weisgerber were confiscated in Magdeburg, Mannheim, and other towns as degenerate art, which the Act of the Reich of 31 May 1938 sanctioned.⁴⁴ *Mayor Faber consulted the city solicitor whether it was legally justified to demand money from the sale of degenerate art, however this was the privilege of the Führer of the Reich and the government authorized by him.*⁴⁵ The last document dated 7 October 1940 is the letter of Otton Holtze informing that the Mayor, having acknowledged the course of events, did not give any further instructions. Finally, it has to be added that on the grounds of the investigation by Christoph Zuschlag, in late 1941 and early 1942 the City Museum of Stettin was given compensation of RM 3.180.⁴⁶

The archival records of the National Museum in Szczecin feature fragmentarily preserved old inventory ledgers as well as books of acquisitions,⁴⁷ providing valuable information related to the history of the works, their provenance, value, and the mode of the acquisition by the Stettin Museum. Another source of information is a later inventory mounted by the team of Rolf Hetsch, featuring works confiscated from German museums and galleries in the action of eliminating 'degenerate art' found today in Berlin's Federal Archives in which also Stettin's collections are recorded. The list has become the basis for the on-line database of the confiscated works,⁴⁸ elaborated by Forschungsstelle 'Entartete Kunst' at Freie Universität Berlin. The so-called Harry Fisher's list identified in 1997 by Andreas Hünek, kept at the London Victoria and Albert Museum, and put together in 1941,

provides much of precious additional information on the vicissitudes of the works following their confiscation.⁴⁹

For several years provenance research focused on so-called degenerate art has been conducted at the National Museum in Szczecin. Apart from the present article, its summing up can be found first of all in the published source-based listing of the works from the collections of the City Museum in Stettin.⁵⁰ The catalogue featuring 1.081 items was created on the grounds of the archival records in Polish and German sources, for the first time juxtaposed, and cross-checked. It contains both works confiscated in 1937, as well as those regarded as degenerate art symptoms removed/ withdrawn from the collections of the Stettin Museum, and also removed from its inventory. The mutually matching traces of information from Polish and German archives constitute a good departure point for further more thorough studies currently being continued.⁵¹ The catalogue has allowed to create a fuller and more detailed picture of the history of the Szczecin, German, but at the same time European artistic heritage lost through the criminal action referred to as 'museum



16. Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Shooting Celebration with a Merry-go-round II (Merry-go-round)*; 1932 purchased for the Museum at an auction at the gallery of Max Perl in Berlin for RM 327.75, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Bernhard Böhmer for USD 60, currently: private collection, Germany



17. Franz Radziwiłł, *Hydroplanes on the Jade River Bay*; 1933 purchased for the Museum by the Stettin Museum Society, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for exchange, in the collection of Hildebrand Gurlitt, current whereabouts unknown

purge' of the art considered by the Nazis as degenerate, resulting in the confiscation of 20.000 works by over 1.400



18. Georg Schrimpf, *Watching out (In the Window, Two Girls in the Window)*, 1928; 1934/35 purchased for the Museum with the financing of the Keddig Foundation for RM 450, 6 Aug. 1937 confiscated, intended for sale, purchased by Karl Buchholz for CHF 530, current whereabouts unknown

(Fot. 1, 2 – G. Solecki, A. Pięta, National Museum in Szczecin; 3-18 – Photographic Archive of the National Museum in Szczecin)

artists at more than 100 German museums. The research into the provenance and future history of the works that had once belonged to the city of Szczecin, is not merely an attempt at restoring the blurred history of those works and their owners, but also contributes to the difficult chapter of the Avant-garde history in Germany, as well as to the history of Szczecin's museology⁵² and Pomeranian art resources. Next to the artists, it was created by art dealers who contributed to the artistic performance at the time:⁵³ Alfred Flechtheim,⁵⁴ Hans Goltz, Fritz Gurlitt, Hugo Moses, Israel Ber Neumann, Karl Nierendorf, Heinrich Thannhauser, or Paul Cassirer,⁵⁵ as well as museologists, such as Otto Holtze, but first of all Walter Riezler.⁵⁶

Endnotes

- ¹ *Zasady Konferencji Waszyngtońskiej na temat dzieł sztuki skonfiskowanych przez nazistów, sformułowane przy okazji Konferencji Waszyngtońskiej ds. mienia z czasów Zagłady* (03.12.1998), https://www.nimoz.pl/files//articles/88/Zasady_Konferencji_Waszyngtońskiej.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ² *Rekomendacje Międzynarodowej Rady Muzeów (ICOM) dotyczące zwrotu dzieł należących do właścicieli narodowości żydowskiej* (01.1999), https://www.nimoz.pl/files//articles/88/Rekomendacje_ICOM%2C_1999%2C_pk.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ³ *Rezolucja 1205: Zagrabione żydowskie dobra kultury*, Rada Europy, Zgromadzenie Parlamentarne (04.11.1999), https://www.nimoz.pl/files//articles/88/Rezolucja_nr_1205__Rady_Europy%2C1999.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ⁴ *Deklaracja Wileńska* (10.2000), https://www.nimoz.pl/files//articles/88/Deklaracja_Wileńska%2C_2000.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; *Deklaracja Terezińska w sprawie mienia okresu Holokaustu i związanych z tym zagadnień* (30.06.2009), <https://www.nimoz.pl/files//articles/88/Deklaracja%20Terezi%C5%84ska.pdf> [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ⁵ Zob. <https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/> [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ⁶ *Przemieszczone dobra kultury. Przypadek Europy Zachodniej i problemy państw Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej w XX wieku*, G. Czubek, P. Kosiewski (red.), Warszawa 2004; *Dobra kultury i problemy własności. Doświadczenia Europy Środkowej po 1989 roku*, G. Czubek, P. Kosiewski (red.), Warszawa 2005; *Własność*

- a dobra kultury, G. Czubek, P. Kosiewski (red.), Warszawa 2006; *Własność prywatna a dobro publiczne. Problemy własnościowe i dobra kultury*, P. Kosiewski (red.), Warszawa 2006; *Polowanie na awangardę. Zakazana sztuka w Trzeciej Rzeszy / Jagd auf die Moderne. Verbotene Künste im Dritten Reich / Hunting down modernism. The prohibited arts in the Third Reich*, B. Górka, J. Schönwiesner (red.), kat. wyst., Kraków 2011; M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, *Badania proweniencyjne czyli habent sua fata artis opera*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 12–13, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/api/files/view/20606.pdf> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; Z. Bandurska, D. Kacprzak, P. Kosiewski, M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, B. Steinborn, M. Tarnowska, *Badania proweniencyjne muzealiów pod kątem ich ewentualnego pochodzenia z własności żydowskiej*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 14–26, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=43626> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; R. Olkowski, *O badaniu proweniencji muzealiów*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 27–36, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=43629> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; M. Palica, *Problem badania proweniencji dzieł sztuki – przypadek Dolnego Śląska*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 38–43, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=43631> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; M. Hoffmann, *Na tropie „sztuki zwyrodnialej”. Konfiskata dzieł sztuki modernistycznej dokonana przez narodowych socjalistów w 1937 r., ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Szczecina, Wrocławia i Bytomia*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 58–64, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=43696> [dostęp: 01.09.2019]; S.P. Kubiak, *O badaniu i muzealnych prezentacjach twórczości czasów zwyrodniałych na marginesie krakowskiej wystawy „Polowanie na awangardę. Zakazana sztuka w Trzeciej Rzeszy”*, „Muzealnictwo” 2012, nr 53, s. 65–76, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=43713> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, *Badania proweniencyjne w Europie i Stanach Zjednoczonych*, „Muzealnictwo” 2015, nr 56, s.134–147, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=139622> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, *Badania proweniencyjne w Polsce (część 1.)*, „Muzealnictwo” 2016, nr 57, s. 136–148, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=139656> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, *Badania proweniencyjne w Polsce (część 2.)*, „Muzealnictwo” 2017, nr 58, s. 172–184, online: <https://muzealnictworocznik.com/resources/html/article/details?id=145337> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; N. Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, *O badaniu proweniencji muzealiów prawdopodobnie pochodzących z hitlerowskich konfiskat. Uwagi ogólne i casus RFN, w: Adlojoda. Prawo i kultura*, J. Brejda, D. Kacprzak, J. Madejski, B.M. Wolska (red.), Szczecin 2016, s. 177–191, online: <https://adlojoda.muzeum.szczecin.pl/images/pliki/Adlojoda-Prawo-i-Kultura-2015.pdf> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; D. Kacprzak, *Sztuka zwyrodniała ze zbiorów Muzeum Miejskiego w Szczecinie w świetle źródeł archiwalnych / Klassische Moderne – Entartete Kunst au dem Bestand des Stettiner Stadtmuseums im Licht der archivischen Quellen*, w: *Szczecińskie awangardy / Stettiner Avantgarden*, S.P. Kubiak (red. / rsg.), Szczecin 2017, s. 165–346; D. Kacprzak, *Nicht nur Kruzifixus von Ludwig Gies... Zur „entarteten” Kunst aus dem Bestand des Museums der Stadt Stettin*, w: „Entartete” Kunst in Breslau, Stettin und Königsberg, A. Hüneke, M. Hoffmann (Hrsg.), Paderborn 2019, seria Schriften der Berliner Forschungsstelle „Entartete Kunst” (w druku); N. Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, *Die Ausstellung „Entartete Kunst” in Litzmannstadt*, w: „Entartete” Kunst in Breslau..., *ibidem*.
- ⁷ Zob. <http://www.taskforce-kunstfund.de> [dostęp: 01.05.2019]. Raport podsumowujący badania Taskforce i oficjalnie zamykający działalność zespołu, http://www.taskforce-kunstfund.de/fileadmin/_downloads/Bericht_TFK_9-2-2016_Druckfassung.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019].
- ⁸ *Bestandsaufnahme Gurlitt. „Entartete Kunst” – beschlagnahmt und verkauft. Kunstmuseum Bern. Der NS-Kunstraub und die Folgen. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn*, A. Baresel-Brand, M. Hopp, A. Lulińska (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., München 2017.
- ⁹ Spośród bogatej literatury dotyczącej kolekcji Hildebranda Gurlitta, namiętnego marszanda dzieł sztuki i nazistowskiego handlarza, na uwagę bez wątpienia zasługują: A. Hüneke, *Fund Gurlitt – Fall Kunstkritik. Der Nazi-Schatz – Analyse einer Berichterstattung*, Deiningen 2015, seria: Schriften zur Kunstkritik, W. Vitt (Hrsg.), Bd. 25; S. Koldehoff, *Die Bilder sind unter uns. Das Geschäft mit der NS-Raubkunst und der Fall Gurlitt*, Berlin 2014; M. Hoffmann, N. Kuhn, *Hitlers Kunsthändler. Hildebrand Gurlitt 1895–1956, Die Biographie*, München 2016; O. Meier, M. Feller, S. Christ, *Der Gurlitt-Komplex. Bern und die Raubkunst*, Zürich 2017; M.Ph. Remy, *Der Fall Gurlitt. Die wahre Geschichte über Deutschlands größten Kunstskandal*, München 2017.
- ¹⁰ *Raub und Restitution. Kulturgut aus jüdischem Besitz von 1933 bis heute*, I. Bertz, M. Dormann (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., Göttingen 2008.
- ¹¹ *Gute Geschäfte. Kunsthandel in Berlin 1933–1945*, Ch. Fischer-Defoy, K. Nürnberg (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., Berlin 2011.
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- ¹⁷ Ch. Zuschlag, *Es handel sich um...*, s. 99–103.
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piękných potepionych w Trzeciej Rzeszy / Über die Bildenden Künste und deren Verfemung im Dritten Reich, w: *Polowanie na awangardę...*, s. 52, 53: Sie sehen um uns herum diese Ausgeburt des Wahnsinns, der Frechheit, des Nichtkönnertums und der Entartung [...] uns allen verursacht das, was diese Schau bietet, Erschütterung und Eckel. Es hätten Eisenbahnzüge nicht gereicht, um die deutschen Museen von diesem Schund auszuräumen. Das wird noch zugeschehen haben, und zwar in aller Kürze. – Es muss einem das Grauen kommen, wenn man als alter Frontsoldat sieht, wie der deutsche Frontsoldat beschmutzt und besudelt wird, oder wenn in anderen Werken die deutsche Mutter als geile Dirne oder als Urweib und im Gesicht mit dem Ausdruck einer stupiden Blödeheit durch solche Schweine verhöhnt wird. – Es fehlt mir hier die Zeit, um alles das ihnen, meine Volksgenossen, vorführen zu können, diese Burschen im Auftrag und als Schrittmacher des internationalen Judentums an Verbrechen an der deutschen Kunst sich erlaubten. Niedrigstes und Gemeinstes waren hohe Begriffe. Die ausgesuchteste Hässlichkeit wurde zum Schönheitsideal.

²⁰ W następnych latach, do 1944 r., odbywały się w Monachium kolejne wystawy kanonicznych zespołów dzieł sztuki, wyznaczających obowiązującą ikonografię oraz formę estetyczną.

²¹ Führer durch die Ausstellung..., s. 24: „Kunstwerke“, die an sich nicht verstanden werden können, sondern als Daseinsberechtigung erst eine schwulstige Gebrauchsanweisung benötigen, um endlich jenen Verschücherteten zu finden, der einen zu dummen oder frechen Unsinn geduldig aufnimmt, werden von jetzt ab den Weg zum deutschen Volke nicht mehr finden.

²² Ch. Zuschlag, „Es handel sich um...“, s. 104–105.

²³ C.G. Heise, *Der Kruzifixus von Gies*, „Genius. Zeitschrift für werdende und alte Kunst“ 1921, nr 3, s. 198–202; J.E. Howoldt, *Der Kruzifixus von Ludwig Gies. Ein Beispiel „entarteter Kunst“ in Lübeck*, „Der Wagen“ 1988, s. 164–174; B. Ernsting, *Scandalum Crucis – Der Lübecker Kruzifix und sein Schicksal*, w: *Ludwig Gies 1887–1966*, B. Ernsting (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., Leverkusen 1990, s. 57–71, *Deutsche Kunst und Entartete Kunst...*, s. 42; K. Engelhardt, *Ans Kreuz geschlagen. Die Verhöhnung des Kruzifixus von Ludwig Gies in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus*, w: *Das verfemte Meisterwerk. Schicksalswege moderner Kunst im Dritten Reich*, U. Fleckner (Hrsg.), Berlin 2009, s. 29–47, seria: Schriften der Forschungsstelle „Entartete Kunst“, Bd. 4; V. Probst, *Zu Werken der Moderne im Städtischen Museum Stettin und deren Schicksal*, w: *Figura. Kunst der 1. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts aus dem Bestand des Nationalmuseums Stettin / Sztuka 1. połowy XX wieku ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie*, S.P. Kubiak, V. Probst (red.), kat.-wyst., Szczecin 2012, s. 39–72; S.P. Kubiak, *Walter Riezler – Karl Hofer – Ludwig Gies. Der Erste Weltkrieg im Stadtmuseum Stettin*, w: *Mars & Museum. Europäische Museen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Ch. Kott, B. Savoy (Hrsg.), Köln 2016, s. 117–129; D. Kacprzak, *Sztuka zwyrodniała ze zbiorów Muzeum Miejskiego...*, s. 224–225, kat. 259; D. Kacprzak, *Nicht nur Kruzifixus...*

²⁴ G. Jeuthe, *Die Moderne unter dem Hammer – zur „Verwertung“ der „entarteten“ Kunst durch die Luzerner Galerie Fischer 1939*, w: *Angriff auf die Avantgarde. Kunst und Kunstpolitik im Nationalsozialismus*, U. Fleckner (Hrsg.), Berlin 2007, s. 189–305, seria: Schriften der Forschungsstelle „Entartete Kunst“, Bd. 1.

²⁵ T. Buomberger, *Raubkunst – Kunstraub. Die Schweiz und der Handel mit gestohlenen Kulturgütern zur Zeit des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Zürich 1998; E.T. Francini, A. Heuss, G. Kreis, *Fluchtgut – Raubgut. Der Transfer von Kulturgütern in und über die Schweiz 1933–1945 und die Frage der Restitution*, Zürich 2001; *Moderne Meister. „Entartete“ Kunst im Kunstmuseum Bern*, M. Frehner, D. Spanke (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., München–London–New York 2016.

²⁶ *Gute Geschäfte. Kunsthandel...;* A. Enderlein, *Der Berliner Kunsthandel in der Weimarer Republik und im NS-Staat. Zum Schicksal der Sammlung Graetz*, Berlin 2006; M. Hopp, *Kunsthandel im Nationalsozialismus: Adolf Weinmüller in München und Wien*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2012.

²⁷ Zob. przyp. 9.

²⁸ *Ein Händler „entarteter“ Kunst. Bernhard A. Böhmer und sein Nachlass*, M. Hoffmann (Hrsg.), Berlin 2010, seria: Schriften der Forschungsstelle „Entartete Kunst“, Bd. 3; *Verfemte Moderne. Zum Schicksal eines Teils des Nachlasses Bernhard A. Böhmers, Kunsthändler im Dritten Reich. Kunstwerke aus der Aktion „Entartete Kunst“ der Nationalsozialisten im Kulturhistorischen Museum Rostock*, H. Lorenzen, S. Stuth (Hrsg.), Rostock 2011, seria: Schriften des Kulturhistorischen Museums Rostock, NF, Bd. 5.

²⁹ A. Tiedemann, *Die „entartete“ Moderne und ihr amerikanischer Markt. Karl Buchholz und Curt Valentin als Händler verfemter Kunst*, Berlin 2013, seria: Schriften der Forschungsstelle „Entartete Kunst“, Bd. 8.

³⁰ P. Golenia, K. Kratz-Kesemeier, I. Le Masne de Chermont, *Paul Graupe (1881–1953). Ein Berliner Kunsthändler zwischen Republik, Nationalsozialismus und Exil*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2016.

³¹ Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie (AMNS), zespół: Spuścizna po Walterze Riezlerze (1878–1965), sygn. 6: *Auf Ihr Schreiben vom 10. April 1933 erwidere ich, dass Ihre Beurlaubung aus grundsätzlichen Erwägungen erfolgt ist. Die von Ihnen vertretene Kunstauffassung steht m. E. im Widerspruch mit der vom nationalen Staat auf jedem Gebiet geforderten völkischen Erziehung*. Archiwalia dotyczące późnego okresu życia Waltera Riezlera zostały w 2012 r. przekazane do szczecińskiego muzeum w formie depozytu przez Hasso Bräuera z Hamburga.

³² AMNS, sygn. 883: *Erwerbungs-Inventar der Sammlung von Originalen neuerer Kunst (Werke der Plastik Gemälde und Handzeichnungen)*, B, 1910–1944, Museum der Stadt Stettin, Kunst- u. Kunstgewerbemuseum, s. 4, poz. 64.

³³ Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (APS), zespół: Muzeum Miasta Szczecina / Stadtmuseum Stettin, akta: Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97.

³⁴ B. Lichtnau, *Akta „Oczyszczanie muzeów“ – Akcja „Zwyrodniała sztuka“ i Szczecińskie Muzeum Miejskie / Eine Akte „Säuberung der Museen“ und das Stettiner Stadtmuseum*, S. Horoszko (tłum.) „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie“ 1994, R. 40, s. 293–319.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, s. 295, 308.

³⁶ *Obraz do kolekcji muzealnej zakupił Walter Riezler w 1910 r. u Heinricha Thannhausera za 10 800 M ze środków deputacji miejskiej oraz Szczecińskiego Towarzystwa Muzealnego i kilku prywatnych darczyńców. Pochodzący z paryskiej kolekcji Amédée Schuffeneckera obraz zakupiony dla Szczecina w Monachium był jednym z pierwszych obrazów tego artysty w publicznych zbiorach w ówczesnych Niemczech. Wcześniej dzieło postimpresjonisty do swych zbiorów nabyły jedynie Städtisches Kunstinstitut we Frankfurcie nad Menem – w 1908 r. oraz Wallraf-Richartz-Museum w Kolonii – w 1910 r.; S. Koldenhoff, „Eben doch nur ein Künstler kleineren Stils“ *Vincent van Gogh und der Kampf um die Moderne in Deutschland*, w: *1912. Mission Moderne. Die Jahrhundertschau des Sonderbundes*, B. Schaefer (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., Köln 2012, s. 70–87. Dziś w zbiorach Pommersches Landesmuseum w Greifswaldzie.*

³⁷ S.P. Kubiak, *Walter Riezler – Karl Hofer...*

³⁸ APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97 – *Die Beseitigung ist nach Rücksprache und mit Zustimmung des Herrn Oberbürgermeisters erfolgt. Holtze 1.4.38.*

³⁹ APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97: *Wie mir bekannt wurde, ist eine Reihe von beschlagnahmten Werken der entarteten Kunst bereits verkauft worden. Es besteht nun die Möglichkeit, daß denjenigen Museen, bei denen Werke der entarteten Kunst beschlagnahmt wurden, aus dem Erlös dieser Verkäufe Mittel zum Ankauf besonders wichtiger und wertvoller Kunstwerke zur Verfügung gestellt werden können. Ich bemerke ausdrücklich dazu, daß ein entsprechendes*

Gesuch nur dann Aussicht auf Erfolg hat, wenn andere ausreichende Mittel nicht zur Verfügung stehen. Ich ersuche daher, mir gegebenenfalls einen solchen Antrag mit eingehender Begründung einzureichen, aus dem auch der Stand der Ankaufverhandlungen ersichtlich ist. In Vertretung gez. Zschintzch.

⁴⁰APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97: *Aus dem Museum der Stadt Stettin sind Werke im Werte von 51.324,- Goldmark und 215.630,- Papiermark beschlagnahmt worden. Da das 1911 gegründete Stettiner Museum eine der jüngsten deutschen Kunstsammlungen ist und nur über sehr bescheidene Bestände älterer deutscher Kunst verfügt, ist eine Ergänzung der Sammlung durch Ankauf bedeutender Werke deutscher Malerei und Plastik des 19. Jahrhunderts dringend erwünscht. Wir bitten daher, dass von den aus den Verkäufen von Werken entarteter Kunst eingehenden Mitteln ein Teil für Ankäufe bedeutender Kunstwerke dem Museum der Stadt Stettin zur Verfügung gestellt wird, sobald sich eine entsprechende Gelegenheit bietet. i. A. gez. Dr. Holtze.*

⁴¹APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97: *die Eingabe für das Stettiner Museum könne nicht unterstützt werden, weil die Begründung nicht ausreichend sei.*

⁴²Albert Weisgerber, *Bitwa amazonek* (szkic), EK-Nr 7621, D. Kacprzak, *Sztuka zwyrodniała ze zbiorów...*, s. 344, kat. 1060; *Dziewczyna w pracowni*, EK-Nr 7620, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344, kat. 1061; *Kobieta leżąca w słońcu*, EK-Nr 7569, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344, kat. 1062; *Krajobraz górski*, EK-Nr 7620, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344, kat. 1063; *Leśna droga*, EK-Nr 7575, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344, kat. 1064; *Nad jeziorem* (Towarzystwo nad jeziorem), EK-Nr 7582, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344, kat. 1065; *Paryska naga tancerka*, EK-Nr 7619, D. Kacprzak, *ibidem*, s. 344–345, kat. 1066.

⁴³APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97: *Wohin die wertvollen Gemälde verbracht worden sind, wer sie verkauft hat und in wessen Händen der Erlös verblieben ist, ist bis heute der Stadt Stettin noch nicht mitgeteilt worden. Ich wäre daher dankbar, wenn der Herr Gauleiter und Oberpräsident sich dieser Angelegenheit persönlich bei dem Herrn Präsidenten der Reichskammer der bildenden Kunst annehmen würde, damit die Verantwortlichen zur Rechenschaft gezogen würden. Heil Hitler. Handschriftlich Faber.*

⁴⁴APS, Säuberung der Museen, sygn. 97: *Als Grundlage wird die Stellungnahme des reichsministers für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda vom 12.6.1940 wiedergegeben, daß die positive Einschätzung des Gesamtwerkes Albert Weisgerbers durch das Reichspropagandaamt Neustadt keine Bestätigung finden kann. Eine erhebliche Anzahl neuerer Werke besitzt Merkmale der Verfallkunst. Außer den genannten 7 Stettiner Bildern seien weitere Gemälde Weisgerbers in Magdeburg, Mannheim und anderen Orten als entartete Kunst beschlagnahmt und durch Reichsgesetz vom 31. Mai 1938 eingezogen worden.*

⁴⁵B. Lichtnau, *Akta „Oczyszczanie muzeów”...*, s. 312.

⁴⁶Ch. Zuschlag, *„Entartete Kunst”. Ausstellungsstrategien...*, s. 365.

⁴⁷AMNS, sygn. 883: *Museum der Stadt Stettin, Kunst- u. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Erwerbungs-Inventar der Sammlung von Originalen neuerer Kunst (Werke der Plastik, Gemälde und Handzeichnungen), Inv. B 1910–1944 [Museum Miejskie w Szczecinie, Muzeum sztuki i rzemiosła artystycznego, Inwentarz nabytków obejmujący zbiory sztuki nowszej (rzeźba, obrazy i rysunki), księga B, 1910–1944]; Museum der Stadt Stettin, Kunst- u. Kunstgewerbemuseum; Zugangsbuch der Druckgraphik [Księga wpływów grafiki (fragment za lata 1912–1938, bez lat 1922–1923)].*

⁴⁸www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst/datenbank/index.html [dostęp: 01.05.2019].

⁴⁹www.vam.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0020/240167/Entartete_Kunst_Vol1.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019]; www.vam.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/240168/Entartete_Kunst_Vol2.pdf [dostęp: 01.05.2019].

⁵⁰D. Kacprzak, *Sztuka zwyrodniała ze zbiorów...*; D. Kacprzak, *Nicht nur Kruzifixus...*

⁵¹Ostatnio został zidentyfikowany i odnaleziony w zbiorach Sønderjyllands Kunstmuseum – Kunstmuseet i Tønder w Danii, tuż przy granicy z Fryzją, obraz Emila Noldego *Figurka, bożek i kwiaty*, niegdyś zakupiony do szczecińskich zbiorów ze środków Fundacji Keddiga za 2700 RM, a po konfiskacie przeznaczony do sprzedaży. Dzieło zostało kupione przez Aagego Vilstrup a z Hellerup (szwagra artysty) za 300 USD, D. Kacprzak *Sztuka zwyrodniała ze zbiorów...*, *ibidem*, s. 301, kat. 775.

⁵²B. Kosińska, *Szczecińskie muzeum wczoraj / Das Stettiner Museum gestern, w: 100 lat muzeum w Szczecinie. Publikacja w stulecie otwarcia Gmachu Głównego Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie / 100 Jahre Museum in Stettin*. Publikation zum hundertjährigen Eröffnungsjubiläum des Hauptgebäudes des Nationalmuseums Stettin, S.P. Kubiak, D. Kacprzak (red.), Szczecin 2013, s. 14–181; D. Kacprzak, *Stadtmuseum Stettin, w: Encyklopedia Pomorza Zachodniego – pomeranica.pl, online: http://www.pomeranica.pl/wiki/Stadtmuseum_Stettin* [dostęp: 01.05.2019], D. Kacprzak, *Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, w: Encyklopedia Pomorza Zachodniego – pomeranica.pl, online: http://www.pomeranica.pl/wiki/Muzeum_Narodowe_w_Szczecinie* [dostęp: 01.5.2019].

⁵³S. Pucks, *Die Kunststadt Berlin 1871–1945. 100 Schauplätze der modernen bildenden Kunst, insbesondere der Expressionisten, im Überblick*, Berlin 2007; *Gute Geschäfte. Kunsthandel...*

⁵⁴O. Dascher, *„Es ist was Wahnsinniges mit der Kunst”. Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler, Kunsthändler, Verleger*, Waldenwil am Zürichsee 2013, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst*. Eine Schriftenreihe der International Music and Art Foundation, W. Feilchenfeld (Hrsg.), Bd. 6; *Sprung in der Raum. Skulpturen bei Alfred Flechtheim*, O. Dascher (Hrsg.), Ausst.-Kat., Wädenswil am Zürichsee 2013, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst... ibidem*, Bd. 11.

⁵⁵*Das beste aus aller Welt zeigen. Kunstsalon Bruno & Paul Cassirer. Die Ausstellungen 1898–1901*, B. Echte, W. Feilchenfeldt (Hrsg.), Wädenswil 2011, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst... ibidem*, Bd. 4; *Man steht da und staunt. Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer. Die Ausstellungen 1901–1905*, B. Echte, W. Feilchenfeldt (Hrsg.), Wädenswil 2011, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst... ibidem*, Bd. 5; *Den Sinnen ein magischer Rausch. Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer. Die Ausstellungen 1905–1908*, B. Echte, W. Feilchenfeldt (Hrsg.), Wädenswil 2013, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst... ibidem*, Bd. 7; *Ganz eigenartige neue Werte. Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer. Die Ausstellungen 1908–1910*, B. Echte, W. Feilchenfeldt (Hrsg.), Wädenswil 2013, seria: *Quellenstudien zur Kunst... ibidem*, Bd. 8; *Ein Fest der Künste. Paul Cassirer. Der Kunsthändler als Verleger*, R.E. Feilchenfeldt, T. Raff (Hrsg.), München 2016.

⁵⁶B. Lichtnau, *Dr. Walter Riezler und Dr. Otto Holtze – zwei Stettiner Museumsdirektoren zwischen 1910 und 1945 / Dr Walter Riezler i dr Otto Holtze – dwaj szczecińscy dyrektorzy Muzeum Miejskiego w latach 1910–1945, w: Muzealnicy, archiwiści i bibliotekarze szczecińscy w XX wieku / Stettiner Museumsangestellte, Archivare und Bibliothekare im 20. Jahrhundert*, K. Kozłowski (red. / Hrsg.), Szczecin 2002, s. 39–58; B. Kosińska, *Walter Riezler i Muzeum Miejskie / Walter Riezler und das Stadtmuseum Stettin, w: 1913. Święto wiosny. Katalog wystawy jubileuszowej w stulecie otwarcia Gmachu Głównego Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie / 1913. Frühlingsweihe. Katalog der Ausstellung zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum der Eröffnung des Hauptgebäudes des Nationalmuseums*, S.P. Kubiak, D. Kacprzak (red.), kat. wyst., Szczecin 2013, s. 62–89; B. Kosińska, *Szczecińskie muzeum... ibidem*; D. Kacprzak, *„Szczecińskie walki o sztukę”, czyli o pomorskim spotkaniu Polikleta z Vincentem van Goghem u schyłku belle époque, w: Fin de siècle odnaleziony. Mozaika przełomu wieków / Fin de siècle rediscovered. A mosaic of the turn of the century*, E. Frąckowiak, P. Kopszak, M. Romeyko-Hurko (red.), „Pamiętnik Sztuk Pięknych” / “Fine Arts Diary” 2015, Nowa Seria, Nr / No 10, s. 147–156; S.P. Kubiak, *Walter Riezler, w: Encyklopedia Pomorza Zachodniego – pomeranica.pl, online: http://www.pomeranica.pl/wiki/Walter_Riezler* [dostęp: 01.05.2019].

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