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WILANÓW WORKS OF ART IN THE GERMAN CATALOGUE SICHERGESTELLTE KUNSTWERKE IM GENERALGOUVERNEMENT

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Abstract: Before the outbreak of WW II, the works of world art collected at the Wilanów Palace were considered to be the largest private collection in the Polish territories. Just the very collection of painting featured 1.200 exhibits. Apart from them the Wilanów collection contained historic furniture, old coins, textiles, artistic craftsmanship items, drawings, and prints, pottery, glassware, silverware, bronzes, sculptures, as well as mementoes of Polish rulers. Already in the first weeks of the German occupation, assigned officials selected the most precious art works from the Wilanów collections, and included them in the *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement* Catalogue. The publication presented the most precious cultural goods secured by the Germans in the territory of occupied Poland. It included 76 items:

29 paintings and 47 artistic craftsmanship objects. In 1943, the majority of the works included in the quoted Catalogue were transferred to Cracow. A year later, the most valuable exhibits from Wilanów were evacuated to Lower Silesia. What remained in Cracow was only a part of the collection relocated from Wilanów. The chaos of the last weeks preceding the fall of the Third Reich caused that many art works from the Wilanów collection are considered war losses. Among many objects, included in the above Catalogue, there are several Wilanów paintings: *Portrait of a Man* by Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a Married Couple* by Pieter Nason, *Allegory of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture* by Pompeo Batoni, *Allegorical Scene in Landscape* by Paris Bordone, and *The Assumption of Mary* by Charles Le Brun.

Keywords: Wilanów Palace, art works, war losses, object relocation, requisition.

The Wilanów Palace is predominantly thought of as being the summer residence of King John III Sobieski. However, its architectural shape, so greatly admired today, and the art collections gathered inside it, are the result of the efforts made by the residence's subsequent owners: the Sieniawskis, the Lubomirskis, the Potockis, and finally the Branicki family. Each of those enriched Wilanów, adding the elements that today account for the residence's beauty.

In the first half of the 18th century, Elżbieta Sieniawska ordered the construction of the Palace's lateral wing. Izabela Lubomirska née Czartoryski is the one we owe the Guardhouse, Kitchen, and the Bathroom to. The Potockis laid out the landscape garden and created a museum that already in the early 19th century were opened to the public. The collection initiated by John III was extended by subsequent owners and enriched with the Potockis' purchases. In the

Wilanów Palace both the royal suites of John III and of Marie Casimire, as well as mementoes of the Sobieski family, and the exquisite collection of European, Polish, and Oriental art were presented. It featured some excellent examples of painting (works by e.g. Lucas Cranach, Jan Lievens, Peter Paul Rubens, Pompeo Batoni, Angelica Kaufmann, Anton Graff), antique vases, biscuit porcelain pieces, and Oriental crafts.¹ Stanisław Kostka Potocki added pieces of old Chinese crafts, while his brother Jan Nepomucen *Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman objects found during excavation works.*² Franciszek Potocki, in his turn, added a *coin collection*.

When in 1892 the Branickis became Wilanów's owners, they did not only come to possess the royal residence, but also the largest in Polish territories private art collection: the collection of painting alone covered 1.200 paintings, these including around 480 portraits of Polish dignitaries.³ Among these there was e.g. a gallery of portraits of the family of John III Sobieski covering three generations (individual family members as well as group ones), portraits of Kings, predecessors of John III, portraits of Hetmans and dignitaries from the 16th and 17th century, paintings, including 90 portraits executed by Bacciarelli, Canaletto, J.B. Greuze, David, Lampi, and others.⁴ Furthermore, the Wilanów collection included historic furniture, old coins, textiles, artistic craftsmanship items, drawings, and prints, pottery and glassware, silverware and bronzes, sculptures, as well as mementoes of Polish rulers.

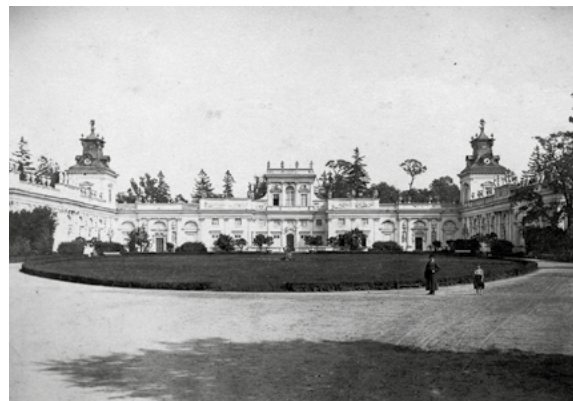
In the summer of 1939, fearing the impact of the imminent war, the Branickis decided to protect the most precious part of their collections. Several weeks before the German invasion, selected objects were packed into crates and bricked up in the cellar. This, however, did not spare the Wilanów collection. Although the Palace was not within the warfare zone, it was in real danger. Already on the first day of WW II, the Germans took steps to rob the most precious objects from Polish art collections. On 4 September 1939, the Secretary General of Ahnenerbe, Nazi organization responsible for research into German cultural heritage and its impact on other cultures, informed Reichsführer – SS Heinrich Himmler that *in the Polish territories once belonging to Germany there is a certain number of museums that provide invaluable finds, monuments, and documents for research in order to demonstrate the past existence of*

*German culture and history in the East... Therefore, from the very beginning care should be taken to protect buildings, which can be done by any soldier, but also to protect by a professional [specialist, clerk, or art historian] excavation materials, first of all documentation.*⁵ Two weeks later Heinrich Himmler found on his desk a list of over 60 institutions (archives, libraries, and museums) whose collections were planned to be taken over by Ahnenerbe to conduct the research.⁶ By late September 1939, despite the fact that Polish troops were still defending the country, in the territories captured by the German army a group of experts meant to 'secure' goods of culture started its activity. Headed by Prof. Peter Paulsen, a historian from the University of Kiel, it included a numerous group of specialists: ethnographer SS-Sturmabführer Prof. Heinrich Harmjanz, Alfred Herrmann PhD of the State Berlin Museums (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin), Ahnenerbe Secretary General SS-Sturmabführer Wolfram Sievers, architect and archaeologist SS-Hauptsturmführer Prof. Hans Schleif, archaeologist SS-Untersturmabführer dr Günther Thaerigen, historian SS-Obersturmführer Paul Dittel PhD, museologist SS-Untersturmabführer Heinrich Appel PhD, archaeologist and medievalist SS-Oberscharführer Gilbert Trathnigg PhD, historian SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Löffler, and two archaeologists: Prof. Martin Jahn and Prof. Ernst Petersen.⁷ Thanks to the support provided by the officers of the German police and security services, members of the Paulsen Commando promptly succeeded in 'securing' many precious cultural goods: already in October 1939, they found the elements of the *Marian Altar* taken from Cracow to Sandomierz, they had catalogued the archaeological collections kept at the National Museum in Warsaw, they had relocated a part of the military collections from the Army Museum, and had penetrated the resources of Warsaw libraries: that of the Sejm, of the University of Warsaw, of the Kraszińskis, of the Zamoyskis, of the Institute for Polish Studies, and the Jewish one. However, despite enormous commitment, the Paulsen Commando did not fulfil all its plans.

Following the first 'successes', Paulsen's group came across an obstacle that was formed by the office of the Special Delegate for the Securing of Art Works in the Eastern Occupied Territories (Sonderbeauftragten für den Schutz und die Sicherung von Kunstwerken in den besetzten



1. Wilanów Palace in a steel engraving from the mid-19th century



2. The main façade of the Wilanów Palace from the late 19th century



3. Dutch Study in the Wilanów Palace in a 1933 photo

Ostgebieten). Formed by Hermann Göring on 6 October 1939, the structure was headed by the Austrian art historian Dr Kajetan Mühlmann. Thanks to the support of the General Government, he, too, formed a group of experts whose task was to inventory and 'secure' art collections throughout occupied Polish territories. Two field commandos were to carry out the task: the Southern Group (based in Cracow) and the Northern Group (with the office in Warsaw). The activity of the Northern Group was headed by Kajetan Mühlmann's half-brother Dr Josef Mühlmann. The report from the *overall activity of the Special Delegate for the Securing of Treasures of Art and Culture in the General Governorate* reads that the work of the team was conducted in extremely difficult conditions. *As a result of shelling, buildings housing the collections were partially or entirely destroyed, e.g. the Royal Castle, the State Mint, and the Zamoyski Palace. Therefore, the artworks kept in those edifices could be secured only partially and removed. A large part due to the resistance of the Polish troops, thus the need for military shelling, had been destroyed.*⁸ The Northern Group started its task of 'securing' with the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, of the Royal Castle, of the University Library, of the Zamoyski Entail, of the Royal Łazienki, and of the State Mint. Moreover, the inventorying of private collections in Warsaw was conducted; this covering e.g. the collections of the Radziwiłłs, Potockis, Tarnowskis, Hutten-Czapskis, and the Krasiński. Josef Mühlmann's team additionally 'secured' the collections of art kept at provincial estates of the Polish aristocrats: of the Tarnowskis at Dukla and Sucha, of the Potockis at Jabłonna, of the Czartoryskis at Pełkinie, of the

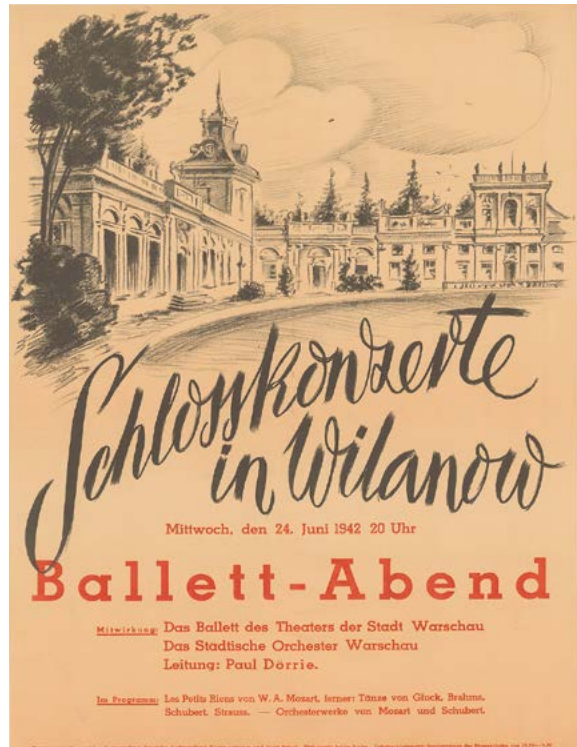
Lubomirskis at Rzeszów, of the Radziwiłłs at Nieborów, and finally of the Branickis at Wilanów. In the reports of the activity of the Northern Group information can be found that *the most precious objects had been bricked up in various cellars by the owner [of the Wilanów Palace]. However the head of the Northern Group Dr Joseph Mühlmann together with his staff found them.*⁹ Apart from the deposit hidden in the cellar the German historians catalogued and 'secured' many objects that formed part of the Wilanów Museum. The selected monuments were classified as 'valuable for the Reich' and incorporated into the *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement* Catalogue. The publication was to present the effects of works conducted by the Special Delegate for the Securing of Artistic Treasures in the Eastern Occupied Territories. Josef Mühlmann and his co-workers decided that 76 objects from the Wilanów collection were to be included in the Catalogue: 29 paintings (in the Catalogue featuring the following numbers respectively: 12, 13, 16, 18, 28, 31, 34, 39, 44, 48, 52, 55–57, 61, 63, 66, 70, 74, 76, 86, 89, 91, 101, 129, 137, 144, and 152) as well as objects representing artistic craftsmanship (goldsmithery, textiles, ivory, noble metals, pieces of furniture and china), featuring the following numbers: 267, 288, 289, 293, 301, 307, 329, 333–335, 338, 339, 342–345, 349, 350, 353, 356–359, 372, 378–386, 400–404, 408–413, 416, 417, and 462. Following the cataloguing, describing, and photographing of the selected exhibits, the German authorities were considering the future fate of the Wilanów collection. Dr Kajetan Mühlmann wrote in his report that plans were made to *leave these collections in situ as a one whole, however with a more*



4. Wilanów Palace in a 1939 photo



5. Special Delegate for Securing of Artistic Treasures in the Eastern Occupied Territories Dr Kajetan Mühlmann (on the right) with General Governor Dr Hans Frank



6. A poster from 1942 inviting to a ballet show held at the Wilanów Palace

thorough classification for Grade I [category grouping the most precious collections of art] from a different perspective to keep them as a whole and make them available both to German visitors and for research.¹⁰ Only one exception from this plan was made: the *Portrait of a Woman* by Lucas Cranach the Elder (No. 13) was relocated to Berlin. It was most likely in 1942 that the Wilanów collections, classified as Grade I and presented in the *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement* Catalogue, were transferred to the National Museum in Warsaw. In 1943, the majority of them were sent to Cracow. Around the same time the *Portrait of a Woman* by Cranach was also brought from Berlin.

In July 1944, in view of the advancement of the Soviet troops in the east, Hans Frank decided to evacuate the most precious artwork collections from the territory of the General Government to Lower Silesia. They were to end up at the Palace of Manfred von Richthofen at Sichów (Seichau) near Jawor (Jauer). Hans Frank's consultant in architecture and art Dr Wilhelm Ernst von Palézieux was to coordinate the operation. However, the number of cultural goods amassed in Cracow was so big that the decision was made to keep some of them in Cracow. Among the latter there were also artworks from the Wilanów collections. What remained in Cracow were most likely objects of artistic craftsmanship, these including goldsmithery pieces (in *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement* numbers: 267, 288, 289, and 293), an ivory hunting horn (No. 301), a bronze clock gilded (No. 307), pieces of furniture (Nos. 329, 333–335, 338, 339, 342–345, 349, 350, 353, 356–359), china and pottery (Nos. 372, 400–404, 408–413,

416, and 417). The list of artworks taken to Lower Silesia, and put together by Dr. Wilhelm Ernst von Palézieux shows that Sichów was the place where all the paintings from the Wilanów collections (Nos. 12, 13, 16, 18, 28, 31, 34, 39, 44, 48, 52, 55–57, 61, 63, 66, 70, 74, 76, 86, 89, 91, 101, 129, 137, 144, and 152), as well as Meissen porcelain (Nos. 378–386) were taken. However, the preserved documents do not allow to ascertain the post-WW II vicissitudes of several pieces of historic furniture: 17th-century decorative chest (No. 333) and cabinet from the same period (No. 338), two 18th-century armchairs (No. 358), and three armchairs from the suite of six (No. 359). Moreover, unclear is the fate of the 18th-century Aubusson tapestry (No. 462). Both the above-mentioned furniture pieces and the historic tapestry are today ranked among war losses.

The history of the collections left in the Wilanów Palace is known from, among others, diaries of Stanisław Lorentz. On 11 September 1944, Dr Alfred Schellenberg, German Commissioner of Warsaw Museums turned up at the National Museum. His presence resulted from the instruction of the Governor [of the Warsaw District] [Ludwig] Fisher in order to relocate chests of the most precious collections to prevent them from being destroyed. When asked by the Director [Lorentz] where they would be taken [Schellenberg] declared they would be taken to Germany, and when interrogated further, he specified that to the Giant Mountains (*Riesengebirge*) [Karkonosze], similarly as the collections from Cracow which all had been relocated, and just like a part of the Wilanów collections which on the previous day he had personally transported and loaded on a train in

Pruszków.¹¹ The artworks relocated by Alfred Schellenberg ended up in repositories created in Świdnica *as well as at the Kinau Castle* [should be Kynau Palace, Zagórze Śląskie], in the Michelsdorf Castle [today Michałków], (*distanced 2–3 km from Kinau*), and in the vicinity of Strigau [Strzegom].¹² Stanisław Lorentz's memoirs and the preserved archival materials prove that the core of the Wilanów collections ended up in Lower Silesia. Nevertheless, searching for the artworks relocated there could only start once WW II had ended. Art historians and museologists who were endeavouring to rescue Polish cultural goods could attempt to secure the collections still left at the Branickis' estate.

By the end of November 1944, Adam Stebelski, Stanisław Lorentz, and Jan Morawiński arrived at the Wilanów Palace. Talking to the Palace servants, they were able to reconstruct the events that had led to a partial looting of the Palace art collection. In late August 1944, Hungarian troops were quartered at the Branicki residence: the Staff commanded by Laszlo Szabo. Countess Beata Branicki and the daughters were sent to the Nieborów estate, while the rooms were taken up by the soldiers. Jan Morawiński, taking care of the Wilanów collections during WW II, witnessed the moment when *Hungarian vehicles arrived at the Palace, loaded some things, and left with them.*¹³ Upon the departure of General Szabo and his troops from the residence by the end of October 1944, it turned out that 150 paintings were missing from the collection, as well as some tapestries and numerous old books printed before the end of the 18th century. Many Museum rooms were devastated. *The royal rooms had been stripped, there was straw on the floor: the soldiers' bed. The pieces of furniture dragged into the corners of the rooms had been stripped of the upholstery; what struck particularly was the fact that tapestry cover had been cut out of one of the Museum sofas; another mahogany sofas of Sobieski had had silver plaques chipped out. In the cellars where the chests with Museum collections (porcelain, glass, bronzes, arms, etc.) had been previously deposited, traces of frantic looting could be seen: the chests shattered, and partially emptied, with many Museum exhibits scattered around and damaged. Many chests with paintings had been smashed, and paintings from inside robbed.*¹⁴ This was not the last looting that the Wilanów collection suffered. When in early January 1945 the next teams of archivists and museologists (Adam Stebelski, Bohdan Marconi, and Ilza Glinicka) arrived at the estate, they found that another part of the artworks had been looted by a group of German army officers. *According to the servants this was said to have been done in December 1944 by Major Weizenstein of the German Army, Deputy Director of the Army Museum [Armeemuseum] in Munich. It was supposedly done with the knowledge of the Division commander Gen. [Eberhard] Kinzel stationed in Zalesie. The looting was witnessed by e.g. Mr Zbigniew Karolkiewicz, plenipotentiary of Count Branickis.*¹⁵ Not only did Stebelski, Marconi, and Glinicka try to gain information on the fate suffered by the Wilanów collections, but they also tried to protect the monuments still left in the Palace. *We worked 8-10 hours daily in obviously unheated rooms in order to rationally protect the works of art, paintings, books, manuscripts, parchments and maps; they first needed to be assessed and segregated, later packed and hidden, or taken to a safe venue. Regrettably, some precious Museum exhibits*



7. Portrait of a Woman by Lucas Cranach the Elder in a 1945 photo

*had earlier been taken by Germans and relocated either to the Wawel to 'secure' them, or to an unknown destination in the preceding weeks. However, despite all this many precious objects still remained. At the moment of our arrival the Palace looked like a cowshed, with only mangers missing.*¹⁶ When the collection was being secured, the Palace servants informed Stebelski that afore-mentioned Major Weizenstein had taken from Wilanów e.g. *the portrait of Stanisław Kostka Potocki by David (as it did not fit in the train carriage, he had it, as witnesses claim, cut into four pieces); historic furniture from the lived in wing of the Palace; a number of paintings and bronzes. He took it all carelessly, without even wrapping up.*¹⁷ After the War, American secret service interrogated Richard Otte who during the War was member of the East Front Group based at the Army Museum in Munich. He confessed that in late December 1944 his group had participated in looting the monuments from the Wilanów Palace. *The relocated objects included about 80 paintings, a certain number of historic arms, about 8 bronze statues, most likely from Venice, and a big number of antique furniture pieces. The only painting which the interrogated was able to identify was the portrait by David showing one of Wilanów owners' ancestors.*¹⁸ Otte was certain that already earlier another group of the German Army Museum commanded by Hand Weibrauch PhD had seized historic objects from the Wilanów Palace.

Following the information obtained from the Palace servants, Stebelski tried to see General Eberhard Kinzl said to have authorized the 'evacuation' of the collection by the representatives of the Army Museum in Munich. Stebelski hoped that thanks to the conversation with the commander



8. General Eberhard Kinzl in a 1943 photo

he would be able to ascertain the fate of the works relocated from Wilanów. The encounter took place on 10 January 1945; in the meeting that took place in Zalesie the Polish party was represented by Stebelski and Glinicka. In the course of their conversation, Kinzl admitted that around 20 December 1944 Major Weizenstein showed up with the order from the higher command (possibly of the whole Front) to take Museum exhibits from Wilanów.¹⁹ The General authorized the transport of the monuments out of Wilanów. He admitted, though, not to have received any document registering the actual objects from the Palace that were relocated. All he learnt was that *Major Weizenstein had taken the Turkish tent and a chest of arms from the cellar*. Kinzl also admitted that in his Zalesie quarters there were several historic objects taken from Wilanów: *about 15 paintings and some furniture (including the suite upholstered with tapestry)*.²⁰ After Warsaw had been captured by the Russians (the Soviets), Adam Stebelski visited Zalesie once again, and resorting to the assistance of the Citizens' Militia, he secured the objects brought from the Branicki residence.

At the time when Adam Stebelski was searching for the collections relocated from Wilanów, Hans Frank decided to leave Cracow for Lower Silesia. Together with his closest co-workers he went to the above-mentioned Sichów Palace. The arrival of the officials meant that Manfred von Richthofen's residence rooms needed to be emptied, and the decision was made for the artworks to be dispatched to the estate of Hans Christoph and Herta von Wietersheim-Kramst in Morawa (Muhrau) near Strzegom (Striegau). It was there that next to hundreds of priceless artworks 29 paintings (featuring the following numbers: 12, 13, 16, 18, 28, 31, 34, 39, 44, 48,



9. Fischhorn Castle, one of the main German repositories of art works relocated from e.g. Wilanów

52, 55–57, 61, 63, 66, 70, 74, 76, 86, 89, 91, 101, 129, 137, 144, and 152) and the chest filled with Meissen porcelain (Nos. 378–86) from the Wilanów collections were transferred. On 25 January 1945, Hans Frank left the Lower Silesia: the Red Army were advancing so fast that that region was no longer safe either. The General Governor moved to Neuhaus, a locality in Bavaria, where the next seat of his government was to be created. The art collections brought to Morawa were given to the care of the local authorities, and awaited the change of the situation on the Eastern Front. From among hundreds of precious works Hans Frank's aide Helmut Pfaffenroth took to Bavaria three chests of artworks, previously selected by the Governor. These included the Portrait of a Woman by Lucas Cranach the Elder (No. 13) from the Wilanów collections. In May 1945, the painting was discovered by Americans in Hans Frank's office in Neuhaus. It was returned to Poland a year later.²¹

After the General Governor and his co-workers had left Lower Silesia, the artworks gathered in the Morawa Palace faced an uncertain future: nobody really cared for their security. Fortunately, the Monument Conservator of the Lower Silesia Prof. Günther Grundmann took interest in them. Assisted by the army, he loaded the found collections onto three lorries and transported them to the Schaffgotsch Library in Cieplice (Bad Warmbrunn). In early February he, too, had to leave Lower Silesia, since the Soviet

troops continued advancing westwards. As a result of limited transportation means (he was given only one lorry with a trailer), Prof. Grundmann evacuated to Coburg merely a fraction of the monuments amassed in Cieplice. Those included around a dozen of the Wilanów paintings (Nos.: 12, 18, 28, 34, 44, 52, 56, 61, 66, 74, 76, 86, 89, 91, 101, 137). In May 1945, when the American troops captured Coburg, the Lower Silesia Conservator passed them to the local occupational authorities. In 1946, all the enumerated paintings returned to Poland. In August 1945, Witold Kieszkowski of the General Directorate for Museums and Monument Preservation found in the Schaffgotsch Library in Cieplice many artworks left there by Prof. Grundmann. Among them some pieces from the Wilanów collections: paintings (Nos.: 16, 31, 39, 48, 55, 63, 144) and the chest with Meissen porcelain (Nos.: 378–386).²² What remains unknown are the vicissitudes of five paintings taken from Cracow to Sichów: *Portrait of a Man by Bartholomeus van der Helst* (today attributed to Dirck Dircksz van Santvoort, No. 57), *Portrait of a Married Couple by Pieter Nason* (No. 70), *Allegory of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture by Pompeo Batoni* (No. 101), *Allegorical Scene in Landscape by Paris Bordone* (No. 129), and *The Assumption of Mary by Charles Le Brun* (No. 152). They may have been robbed from one of the repositories in Lower Silesia (in Morawa or Cieplice).

The lost Wilanów collections were sought after for many years. There have been signals suggesting their whereabouts in different corners. Already in July 1945, the Polish authorities received information that a part of the artworks and Wilanów library collections were kept in the locality of Brück (Western Austria) at the estate of the former SS General Vogelein [Fegelein]. The ordering and making their list was assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Ejtko Eng., who was to subsequently pass the control over them to the military authorities. The notification suggested that the collections could be kept in the Fischhorn Castle in the vicinity of Brück (not far from Zell am See). As a consequence of a swift reaction of the Polish authorities a team headed by Bohdan Urbanowicz was formed; he committed himself to undertaking the challenging job leading to inventorying and the requisition of the works found there. While being involved in his task, Urbanowicz succeeded in reconstructing the works' war vicissitudes. As it turned out, after the suppressing of the Warsaw Uprising SS men were emptying the rooms of the National Museum, taking the collections deposited there; they cleared the remains of the Krasieński Library, the Blue Palace of the Zamoyskis, that of the Czartoryskis in Kredytowa Street, and the one of the Radziwiłłs in Bielańska Streets, as well as in Wilanów, hurriedly packing the works of culture and art. They would first transfer them by cars, and later transported them by train across Silesia [Author's emphasis], and unwrapped objects were then dropped off the train at Fischhorn.²³ Thanks to the commitment of Urbanowicz's group, on 24 April 1946 twelve carriages containing 477 crates, 167 pieces of furniture, 31 sculptures, 24 tapestries, 17 carpets, and 6 picture frames, as well as many more precious objects arrived in Warsaw.²⁴

In 1947, the Ministry of Culture and Art, received information that in Solice [the locality name was later changed to Szczawno-Zdrój] near Wałbrzych (without any more definite address) there supposed to be a collection of paintings from



10. The lost painting *Allegory of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture* by Pompeo Batoni

(Fot. 2-4, 6 – ze zb. Biblioteki Narodowej; 5 – ze zb. Narodowego Archiwum Cyfrowego; 7 – ze zb. National Archives and Records Administration; 8 – E. Bieber, ze zb. Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1985-048-28)

the Wilanów Museum.²⁵ The search for them was conducted by the employees of the State Museum in Wrocław in cooperation with representatives of the local (Commune and Town) Office of Culture and Art. Also the Office of Public Security and clerks from the Wałbrzych National Council took interest in the case. Although several apartments, whose owners had previously been suspected of dealing in artworks pillaged from Lower Silesia castles and palaces, were suggested, the search in them did not yield any expected results. The next notification on the art collections relocated from the Wilanów Palace was heard in December 1947: *In Dahlen/Saxony near Leipzig, several paintings from the Wilanów Gallery were recovered; they were paintings Nos. 51, 58, 200, 207, 314* [these numbers, however, did not refer to the above-mentioned *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement Catalogue*], *an oval painting described as the portrait of Princess Joanna, as well as parts of an unidentifiable painting. I am also transferring them to the Requisition Mission in order for the Mission to transport these to Warsaw.*²⁶ In subsequent years the Ministry of Culture and Art (and later Ministry of

Culture and National Heritage) received more information related to the history of the Museum exhibits relocated by Germans from Wilanów. Some of these pieces of information yielded the recovery of single items; interestingly, as late as in 2016, Minister-President of Saxony Stanislaw Tillich transferred to Poland two 18th-century furniture pieces: a lady's desk and Chinese-style cabinet.

Despite many precious Museum exhibits having been returned to Wilanów, the information on the five paintings lost in Lower Silesia by the end of WW II, those entered into the *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement Catalogue* with the following numbers is still missing: 57, Portrait of a Man by Bartholomeus van der Helst; 70, Portrait of a Married Couple by Pieter Nason; 101, Allegory of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture by Pompeo Batoni; 109, Allegorical Scene in Landscape by Paris Bordone; and 152, The Assumption of Mary by Charles Le Brun.

Przypisy

¹ http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/historia_3.html [Accessed: Feb. 2019].

² K. Estreicher jr., *Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945 wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży* [Losses of Polish Culture under German Occupation 1939-45 with Original Documents of Looting], Kraków 2003, p. 534.

³ I. Voisé, *Straty wojenne w zbiorach malarstwa w Wilanowie* [War Losses in the Wilanów Painting Collections], in: 'Studia Wilanowskie' 1984, Vol. X, p. 58.

⁴ K. Estreicher jr., *Straty kultury polskiej...*, p. 534.

⁵ Wolfram Sievers's letter to Heinrich Himmler dated 4 Sept. 1939, Bundesarchiv, *Berlin Document Center Set*, ACNO 902.

⁶ Letter of Prof. Ernst Petersen to Wolfram Sievers of 18 Sept. 1939, Bundesarchiv, *Berlin Document Center Set*, ACNO 927.

⁷ Information on the activity of the Paulsen Commando, Bundesarchiv, *Berlin Document Center Set*, ACNO 1018.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹ *Report on the Overall Activity of the Special Delegate for the Securing of Treasures of Art and Culture in General Government*, Institute of National Remembrance, Supreme National Tribunal, ACNO 295, p. 160.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹¹ S. Lorentz, *W Muzeum i gdzie indziej* [At Museum and Elsewhere], in: *Walka o dobra kultury* [Struggle for Culture Assets], Vol. 1, Warszawa 1970, p. 70.

¹² J.R. Kudelski, *Zaginiony konwój SS* [The Lost SS Convoy], Kraków 2007, p. 116.

¹³ J. Morawiński, *Notatki kustosa Muzeum Narodowego* [Notes of the Curator of the National Museum], in: *Walka o dobra kultury*, Vol. 2, Warszawa 1970, p. 170.

¹⁴ Letter of the General Director for Museums and Monument Protections to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of 27 Aug. 1946, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Z18/W65 Portfolio 934, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ I. Glinicka, *Pamiętnik warszawiaka – fragmenty z czasów okupacji* [Diary of a Warsaw Resident: Fragments from the Occupation Period], in: *Ad Villam Novam* [Ad Villam Novam], Vol. 1, Warszawa 2008, p. 179.

¹⁷ Letter of the General Director for Museums and Monument Preservation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 27 Aug. 1946, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Z18/W65, portfolio 934, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ Richard Otte's testimony of 30 July 1946, NARA, Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (Ardelia Hall Collection), Munich Central Collecting Point, 1945–1951.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ J.R. Kudelski, *Zaginiony Rafael. Kulisy największej kradzieży nazistów* [The Lost Raphael. Backstage of the Greatest Nazi Robbery], Kraków 2014.

²² W. Kieszkowski, *Składnica muzealna Paulinum i rewindykacja zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku* [Paulinum Museum Repository and Requisition of Monuments in Lower Silesia], in: 'Pamiętnik Związku Historyków Sztuki i Kultury' 1948, vol. 1.

²³ Pismo naczelnej Dyrekcji Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków do Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki z dn. 22 sierpnia 1946 r., Archiwum Akt Nowych, MKiS, sygn. 387/51, k. 25. [Letter from the Chief Directorate of Museums and Monuments Protection to the Ministry of Culture and Arts of August 22, 1946, the Central Archives of Modern Records, Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, reference number 387/51, p. 25.]

²⁴ B. Urbanowicz, *Dziennik Fischhornu* [Fischhorn's Diary], in: *Walka o dobra kultury*, Vol. 2..., p. 345.

²⁵ J.R. Kudelski, *Tajemnice nazistowskiej grabieży polskich zbiorów sztuki* [Secrets of the Nazis Looting of Polish Art Collections], Warszawa 2004, p. 92.

²⁶ Letter of the General Director for Museums and Monument Preservation Witold Kieszkowski to the Delegate of the Ministry of Culture and Art for Lower Silesia of 19 Nov. 1947, National Museum in Wrocław, Special Collections. Correspondence of the Delegate of the Ministry of Culture and Art to protect movable monuments in the Wrocław Voivodeship, 1947-52, Portfolio VIII/4.

²⁷ Letter of Tadeusz Kułakowski, Requisition Delegate at the Polish Army Mission in Berlin to the General Directorate for Museums and Monument Preservation of 2 December 1947, Central Archives of Modern Records, MKiS, ACNO 387/54, p. 158.

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