



Contested Space – Contested Heritage

Sources on the Displacement of
Cultural Objects in the 20th-Century
Alpine-Adriatic Region

edited by
Donata Levi
Michael Wedekind

FONTI E TESTI

Raccolta di Archeologia e Storia dell'arte

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FOREWORD

In 2021, we are looking back at five intense years of fundamental research, five years of continued discourse, debate and discussion, five years of transnational and transdisciplinary encounters, joint archival work and numerous public events. As a result, we are able to provide a carefully selected choice of a number of key sources that relate to our research questions regarding the Alpe Adria region (and beyond).

Contested Space – Contested Heritage: Sources on the Displacement of Cultural Objects in the 20th-Century Alpine-Adriatic Region is an online edition of historical documents and the outcome from a project that attempted to come to terms with the past in a transnational and transdisciplinary way. While the source edition is the result of a common effort, the project team never intended to establish an allegedly neutral ‘common European past’ in a normative way. Rather, within the time frame adopted for the project, that is within the ‘short 20th century’ from 1914 to 1989/91, the edition is a concerted view into different notions and trajectories as embodied, preserved and transmitted in historical sources. Notwithstanding the transdisciplinary perspective, the dominant focus on cultural heritage at large, and on art objects in particular, resonates with the fact that the common professional basis – and perhaps bias – of our research group, to an overwhelming degree, is to be found in art history. Yet at the same time, this common foundation is constantly challenged, reflected and often turned on its head, since it is not the customary or habitual ‘history of collecting’ that is addressed, but its dialectic mirror image, the history of dissolution, transfer, destruction and annihilation.

The launch of the online source edition is an adequate and appropriate signal of ongoing efforts to initiate and implement fundamental or basic research. The project *Transfer of Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region in the 20th Century* (TransCultAA) was funded within the European Union program *Humanities in the European Research Area* (HERA)¹, which devoted in its 2015 edition to *Uses*

¹ The TransCultAA project, within the joint research program *Uses of the Past*, no. 15.080, received funding from the European Union’s [Horizon 2020](#) research and innovation program

of the Past. It ran from September 2016 to fall 2019. The research project goes back to ideas and discussions in 2013 that were further developed in a conference (*Between Art (History) and Politics: Transfer of Cultural Assets in the Alpe Adria Region in the 20th Century*) hosted by the German-Italian Centre for the European Dialogue at Villa Vigoni on Lake Como in March 2015². The participants unanimously concluded that further research was needed. Our outline proposal was approved by HERA in 2016. The TransCultAA consortium consisted of ‘principal investigators’ from Croatia, Germany, Italy and Slovenia, who teamed up with various ‘associated partners’ in Austria, Croatia, Italy and Slovenia³.

TransCultAA was the very first attempt to investigate the transfer of cultural assets in the Alpe Adria area in the 20th century in an unprecedented transnational and collaborative way. In particular, it aimed at analysing historical and current conflicts of ownership, patrimony and cultural heritage, examining the concrete material results of a genuinely European history of transfers, translocations, displacements, confiscations, looting and theft of cultural objects.

Since the attribution of specific (political and national) meaning or relevance to cultural artefacts is ubiquitous, the production, distribution and reception of cultural heritage have often been heavily charged with political purposes. Consequently, notably throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, concepts and narratives were established to justify transfers and translocations. In this context, for the TransCultAA project with its straightforward regional focus, the collection, documentation and analysis of archival sources played a truly pivotal role. The con-

under grant agreement no. 649307. The Slovenian research team was granted a cost-neutral extension for 2019-2020.

² The conference was the result of a joint application submitted in April 2014 by Christian Fuhrmeister (Central Institute of Art History, Munich), Costanza Caraffa (Kunsthistorisches Institut / Institute of Art History, Florence) and Barbara Murovec (France Stele Institute of Art History, Ljubljana).

³ The scholarly and administrative tasks were distributed and allocated among the four principal investigators based at the four institutions that had jointly committed to realize the project: France Stele Institute of Art History at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana (from February 2019 to November 2020: Research and Documentation Centre JAS - Jewish Archive of Slovenia, Ljubljana); Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters - Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb; University of Udine, Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Udine; Central Institute of Art History, Munich. A number of key institutions and organizations were acting as ‘associated partners’ of the TransCultAA project: Central State Archives, Rome; Commission for Provenance Research, Vienna; Croatian Conservation Institute, Zagreb; Foundation for Jewish Cultural Heritage in Italy, Rome; National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana; Superintendent Office for Museums of Friuli Venezia Giulia (until March 2018); Research and Documentation Centre JAS - Jewish Archive of Slovenia, Ljubljana.

temporary views expressed in the documents presented in this source edition allow insight into procedural mechanisms, reveal bureaucratic implementations of political expectations, expose complicity on behalf of professional caretakers of cultural heritage and scholars, detail the mindset of perpetrators, victims and bystanders, unveil (sometimes hidden) agendas, and expose myths, legends and competing nationalist narratives.

Furthermore, while the easy accessibility and long-term availability of the online source edition permits use and further debate of the historical documents in a variety of settings, from high school classrooms to colleges and universities, the project team also envisages this publication as raw material for future investigations, be they focused on people, structures, rules, institutions and organizations, systems and frameworks, collections or individual artefacts. Precisely because objects in transition or in 'deep storage' are extraordinarily hard to access, the source edition also aims at providing new or hitherto unexplored angles, avenues and *pistes de recherche* for efforts to trace single object biographies. In doing so, and despite the focus on objects, the editors agreed to not only take into account, but explicitly address the larger socio-political dimensions as well as the asymmetrical power relations that unleashed many of the initiatives to translocate and dispossess in the first place. Therefore, the source edition is not only devoted to the framework and conditions in which the movement of objects took place, but also to their role as desired and coveted symbolic capital, which is of equal importance and relevance.

The online edition precedes the publication of the monograph on the *Transfer of Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region in the 20th Century* (published in 2022 by Böhlau, Vienna). It presents research results achieved by the team and by other scholars, in particular in expanding the papers given at the two major conferences that the project team convened in Ljubljana in March 2018 and in Munich in May 2019. Interlocking and dovetailing with the monograph, the source edition is meant to allow a genuine research perspective into the complexities of historical processes. Together, the book and the online source edition thus jointly aim to contribute to illuminating research challenges presented by transnational phenomena.

Structure and Arrangement of the Sources

While the source edition is an outcome of the research process, it also occupies an intermediary position, forming a stepping-stone, as it were. TransCultAA members choose 84 sources from the vast number of digital documents stored in the project's joint internal repository and beyond, collected in numerous archives, notably in Austria, Croatia, Germany, Italy, Serbia, Slovenia and the United States

of America. The choice of these documents, and in particular their range, is indicative of both the key topics we identified and of the focal or nodal points in the history of the region as they evolved over the past years.

In principle, the comments explain the relevance of the sources, provide additional information and, above all, contextualize the individual text, be it a letter, a request or an order, a report, an image, or any other kind of historical document. The comments thus seek to enhance the reader's understanding of the chosen source. In doing so, the project team also wishes to demonstrate that dealing with historical material in a transnational way is possible and fruitful. Consequently, we believe that open access by the public to these documents and the accompanying comments will benefit students, scholars and European citizens alike.

The time range covered by the source edition extends from the First World War to the 1960s. The documents speak of the vicious radicalization of the First World War, the collapse and subsequent dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the attempts to negotiate new borders and allegiances in the interwar period, the multiple excessive occupation regimes throughout the Second World War, and the second process of coping and coming to terms with the past, including the establishment of restitution processes across borders. Against this background, it comes as no surprise that the tumultuous, violent and also horrifying years from 1939 to 1945 form the core section of the chronological sequence. Morally and intellectually, even within academia, this period still presents the biggest challenge for transnational research efforts. For this reason, the source edition attributes a key role to sources that document processes of transfer, translocation, removal, seizure, theft, confiscation and dispossession of cultural objects between 1939 and 1945. Accordingly, the comments intend to explain the relevance of the particular case, incident, event or process.

Of course, the Second World War is a more or less direct consequence of the First World War and of the subsequent defeat of the German and fall of the Habsburg Empire, of the European turmoil that often caused the dissolution, safeguarding and nationalizing of (also private) collections, and of the developments of the 1930s. Because of these long-term implications, the first document in the source edition dates back to 1915. But as the distribution of sources testifies, the gravitational centre is undoubtedly the double occupation of large parts of the Alpe Adria territory by Italian and German forces between 1941 and 1945. The postwar years are consequently less regarded as a new beginning (which, of course, also took place) but as an effort to come to terms with the effects and results of the dislocation of objects, and the forced migration and murder of millions of people. The internal, bilateral and multilateral postwar restitution efforts are primarily considered as a way of looking back and trying to find acceptable solutions or compromises for the destruction, displacement and ongoing absence

of cultural artefacts. While history cannot be undone – neither the processes nor the results of persecution, murder and destruction can be reversed, nor can the dead be resuscitated or perished families claim their property –, the relocation of some translocated items was at least possible, and sometimes restitutions and repatriations indeed took place.

Due to this specific understanding of the timespan, the editors grouped the material into four historical parts:

1. The First World War: cultural heritage endangered, damaged, destroyed;
2. Entangled in the net of contrasting nationalisms: cultural heritage during the interwar period;
3. ‘Neue Ordnung’: Nazi and Fascist strategies for rearranging cultural landscapes;
4. The aftermath of the Second World War: cultural assets claimed, restituted, retained.

In order to orientate the reader, the sometimes rapidly changing administrative, military, political and juridical powers in the region are visualized by 15 maps – either contemporary maps that illustrate a particular (national, ethnic, cultural) claim, or recent historiographical maps that visualize antagonistic forces and changing borders. Both types of maps are indispensable for a nuanced understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics in the area.

Concurrently, in addition to the strictly chronological arrangement of the sources and the geopolitical processes that shaped the Alpe Adria region so deeply, five key topics have been identified:

- I. Identity building (collective identity, ethnic identity, national identity);
- II. Protection of cultural heritage;
- III. Confiscation/seizure/safeguarding;
- IV. (Dispersal of) Jewish collections;
- V. Restitution and diplomacy, international relations and negotiations (and their failure).

However, the sources are not grouped according to their relevance for these five key topics. Rather, the editors believe that the objective and neutral chronological sequence is indeed best suited for readers of all backgrounds and interests, as it allows them to witness and observe the unfolding of claims, dynamics and processes. In addition, short introductory essays offer a larger analytical contextualization of the sources.

Why this Source Edition Matters

The online source edition has various aims. To begin with, it attempts to demonstrate that the 19th and 20th-century history of the Alpe Adria region was rarely

harmonious and smooth. On the contrary, contest and conflict were paramount; antagonism persisted and adverse tensions erupted violently or were strategically and most effectively brought to full life. Similar to the approach adopted e.g. by EGO (Europäische Geschichte Online / European History Online, a transcultural history of Europe on the Internet), we thus learn to see and understand European history as a history of «extremely varied processes of interaction, circulation, overlapping and entanglement, of exchange and transfer, but also confrontation, resistance and demarcation»⁴ of forces and interests.

Secondly, the sources permit a direct and untainted view into the minds of our forerunners, a fairly unobstructed look into the minds of protagonists – be they scholars, academics, soldiers, administrators, dealers or other professionals, be they perpetrators or victims – and thus allow (not in principle, but most of the time) an assessment of their motifs, intentions, beliefs, fears, wishes and hopes. While in some cases, the *raison d'être* of a particular document is perfectly obvious and easy to specify, there are certainly other sources that require further explanation. Generally, the comments attempt to contextualize these particular views in a broader perspective.

Thirdly, more often than not, the sources indeed indicate facts (and sometimes also the emotions attached to these facts) in a direct way, not as part of a narrative with a hidden or outspoken agenda, or as part of a biased, partial or one-sided story. Nonetheless, source criticism plays a pivotal role, since the sources do not necessarily mirror contemporary reality, but can, to a certain degree, present constructions and segmented views. Yet, they still allow a fairly direct, unadulterated access to historical processes. Particularly in the present time, when ‘alternative facts’ and ‘alternative truths’ are pushed into the foreground, old-fashioned traditions of the humanities – above all the heuristic analysis of texts – thus gain fresh relevance. More directly, this analysis of sources ideally permits to re-evaluate patterns of thinking and believing, and to achieve a more nuanced view.

Fourth, as a corollary, one main purpose of publishing this transnational source edition online is obviously to raise awareness and to further disseminate research on crucial topics of cultural and national identity in a unique European region. In a sense, the online format of this edition is indicative of the genetic disposition of HERA projects that, by definition, transgress national boundaries.

Finally, we are most confident that the joint archival research – understood in the very literal sense of multinational teams of scholars reading and analysing together multilingual collections of archival documents – will in turn impact fu-

⁴ <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/ego>.

ture research, as it relates to many old, some current and numerous new research questions. Therefore, it goes without saying that this is a work in progress in the best sense, reaching out of academia into society.

Christian Fuhrmeister, *project leader*,

on behalf of the project team and of the co-principal investigators

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THE ALPINE-ADRIATIC REGION: AN OUTLINE OF ITS 20TH-CENTURY HISTORY

Michael Wedekind

1. A Fluid Concept

One hundred years ago, in 1919, when on 10 September the Peace Treaty with Austria was signed in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, roughly 20 kilometres west of Paris, hardly anybody would have been able to precisely locate and circumscribe what today often is referred to as ‘Alpine-Adriatic region’. Moreover, in the heated climate of nationalist polarization, nobody would have been inclined to do so, as this would have meant acknowledging togetherness of what was apparently dominated by diversity and had just been torn apart accordingly.

Even today, ‘Alpine-Adriatic region’ is a hazy notion. Defining its geographical borders is an arduous endeavour. However, this relatively recent term is neither derived from geography nor from traditional traffic and economy networks. What instead conjoins the different parts of the region and overarches its ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity in most recent times are common historical experiences, shared cultural imprints and conditional factors. These connections are the legacy of two great powers and their centuries-long reign over the region: the more narrowly circumscribed rule of Venice as the great power of the Adriatic Sea, and Habsburg’s Austria controlling Eastern-central and South-eastern Europe.

Yet, it is not a meticulous analysis of the past nor nuanced interpretations by historians that is generally meaningful to individuals or collectives when envisioning their future, but the idea of a past created within the present, i.e. the use made of the past (a process, of course, which often sees serious involvement by historians). Soon after 1918, when Austria-Hungary was swept off the stage of world history (as Venice had been roughly 120 years before), a posthumous mythicization of, and nostalgia for, Habsburg’s rule began to emerge in the territories only recently ceded to Italy and newly established Yugoslavia. It spread among ethnic minorities and those who considered the new governance being invasive, oppressive, or at least detrimental to their own aspirations. It was, and sometimes still is, a longing for, or an immersion into, a ‘better past’ as avoidance and rejection of what was perceived as a disappointing present.

These culturally sensitive manifestations of social psychology, although highly erratic and volatile, may however help to map the region. Very roughly speak-

ing, the Alpine-Adriatic region is the place where such wavering sentiments and pockets of Austrian remnants endured at least up until the second half of the 20th century. As testified by contemporary reports and autobiographies, this was the case in Austria's former southern crownlands (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and the Austrian Littoral, comprising Gorizia-Gradisca, Trieste and Istria), as well as in neighbouring Friuli (Austrian until 1866) – an area stretching from the Eastern Alps and their southern forelands to the Istrian peninsula and to where the confusing Adriatic archipelagos of the Kvarner Gulf and Dalmatia begin: a unique European crossroads of cultures and languages (Romanic, Germanic, Slavic), home to several minor ethno-linguistic groups (Friulians, Istriots, Istro-Romanians, scattered German linguistic enclaves in Friuli and nowadays Slovenia) as well as to ethnic and national minorities that, depending on border changes, kept changing throughout history.

Repeated redrawing of borderlines, building and enforcing state loyalties, inventions of new group identities, together with processes of segregation and exclusion – along ethnic, 'racial', biological, religious or social criteria – are key characteristics of the region's 20th-century history. It is a history of contested belongings and contested identities, of concatenated attempts aiming at modifying political power structures and, even beyond 1945, at profoundly changing the population's ethnic and social composition. For much of the century, it is a history of violence – with two world wars using the region as one of their theatres; with mass resettlement programs and expulsions; with hitherto unheard-of aggressiveness against those structures and components of society which had been identified as being obstacles to what radical and totalitarian ideologies of the epoch defined as human progress. The terrible destiny of the region's Jewish population is just one example. The German police internment and extermination camp Risiera di San Sabba in Trieste is a symbol testifying to this spiral of violence. Yet the dimensions of violence and suffering that characterize much of Eastern European history have no direct parallels in the Alpine-Adriatic region.

The decades around 1900 had turned the area, formerly a region of cultural encounter, into an area of ethnic, cultural, socio-economic, and political clashes. Even after the Iron Curtain had fallen across the Upper Adriatic, or actually because of it, this part of Europe long remained a region of people on the move or, all too often, of people on the run.

As were the people, so were their cultural assets: moved under duress or by coercion. Owners and objects, however, most often took different routes. The HERA-funded research project *Transfer of Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region in the 20th Century* investigated the entangled history and destiny of cultural assets 'travelling' through time and space. Conceived as symbolic capital, cultural objects are often used as projective screens, charged by emotions, and put to use for ideological purposes. It therefore comes as no surprise that seizure and

displacement of cultural heritage are strongly linked to categories such as representation and ostentation of power. Concurrently, artefacts have a specific role in claiming, affirming and securing power, in ‘occupying’ and ‘reconstructing’ the past in order to grasp the future. Just as moving art works from one place to another allows for their reinterpretation through recontextualization, the removal of art works from a specific geographic and social context allows for its cultural, ethnic or ‘racial’ ‘purification’, thus creating and showcasing a revised artscape based on ideological concepts.

Given the relevance of ideological concepts, the present research focussed on analysing the political, socio-cultural and psychological frameworks as well as underlying motivations, strategies and legitimizing narratives of transferring cultural heritage in the Alpine-Adriatic region during the 20th century. In doing so, light was also shed on victims and perpetrators, and especially on the role played by policy and decision-makers as well as by administrative apparatuses, scholarly elites and art dealers.

Setting aside issues already competently addressed (e.g. Italian interwar museum policy in Istria, seizure of Austrian Jewish-owned collections after 1938), the following chapters intend to contribute to an enhanced understanding of past and present by highlighting and contextualizing a number of significant sources. However, recognizing that contrasts and divisions of the past have not yet been entirely overcome barely transpires but still is an important finding of this joint research. National narratives still maintain a strong foothold in interpreting conflictual pasts.

2. First World War and Peace Treaties

With Italy entering the First World War in 1915 alongside France and Great Britain, the Alpine-Adriatic region – in particular the ranges of the Carnic and Julian Alps as well as the Karst plateau north of Trieste – became a theatre of conflict (see Map 1), with dire repercussions for the civilian population. Characterized by insignificant territorial gains but heavy human losses, trench warfare made the Austro-Italian front nearly static until 1917 (see Map 2). After the Twelfth Battle on the Isonzo river, better known as Battle of Caporetto (24 October - 7 November 1917) however, combined Austrian and German forces succeeded in penetrating deep into Italian territory (see Map 3). Only on positions along the Piave river and Monte Grappa were Italian and allied armies able to defeat them (13-26 November 1917), thus bringing the invasion to a halt. However, in the aftermath of this battle, Friuli and some parts of Veneto were occupied by Austro-Hungarian and German troops until late October 1918. By that time, Austria-Hungary already showed distinct signs of military and political dissolution. The Battle of Vittorio Veneto (24

October - 3/4 November 1918) brought about the retreat and definite defeat of the Central Powers on the Italian front. On 4 November 1918, they signed the armistice agreement of Villa Giusti near Padua. After the abdication of the House of Habsburg's last emperor, Karl I, on 11 November 1918, 'German Austria' was officially declared a republic (12 November 1918).

On 10 September 1919, the country henceforth officially denominated Republic of Austria signed the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Consequently, as far as the Alpine-Adriatic region was concerned, Austria had to cede

- to *Italy*: Istria with the Kvarner isles, Trieste, Gorizia and Gradisca, Fusine in Valromana (formerly Carniola), the Kanal valley, as well as Trentino and South Tyrol;
- to *Yugoslavia*: Dalmatia, Carniola, Lower Styria, Jezersko, Meža valley, Dravograd and Ojstrica. In Southern Carinthia, a plebiscite was to determine the future border between Austria and Yugoslavia.

With the official dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the redrawing of borders in the Alpine-Adriatic region, most of the Slovene-speaking territories were unified for the first time in history within the same administrative context (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; hereafter: Yugoslavia). However, a substantial part of the Slovenian population, settling locally in ethnically mixed areas, remained outside the new state borders (in the Julian March, Southern Carinthia and the southern borderland districts of Austrian Styria as well as in the area of Rábavidék in Hungary).

At the same time, the territorial reconfiguration created new minority issues. In the years to come, they were worsened by the oppression of ethnic minorities and by denationalization and resettlement programmes in both Italy and Yugoslavia, causing multiple migration flows:

- Slovenes and Croats left Italy (Julian March) for the Americas, Western Europe and Yugoslavia, where they were partly resettled in ethnically mixed regions (Lower Styria, Prekmurje; Bosnia, Kosovo, Yugoslav Macedonia);
- Germans from Carniola and Lower Styria left Yugoslavia for Austria;
- Italians from Yugoslavia (Dalmatia) emigrated to the Italian possessions on the Dalmatian coast (Zadar).

On 4 June 1920, Hungary signed the Peace Treaty of Trianon. Consequently, as far as the Alpine-Adriatic region is concerned, Croatia as well as Prekmurje became part of Yugoslavia.

3. Border Issues and Revisionism in the Aftermath of the Paris Peace Treaties

Soon after the war, armed struggles broke out over disputed borders. These concerned both the Austro-Yugoslav and the Italo-Yugoslav boundaries. The conflict

between Yugoslav and irregular Carinthian troops regarding control over predominantly Slovene-speaking Southern Carinthia (*Kärntner Abwehrkampf/ Boj za severno mejo*) started in January 1919 and was resolved with a plebiscite on 10 October 1920. The latter decided in favour of Southern Carinthia remaining part of Austria, thus confirming the Saint-Germain borders. However, the Italo-Yugoslav border issue over the ethnically mixed city of Rijeka (see Map 4), claimed by both Italy and Yugoslavia, led to a revision of the borders established by the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain. After having been occupied by irregular Italian troops headed by Gabriele D'Annunzio on 12 September 1919, Rijeka gained the status of Free State (whose territory was slightly enlarged) on 12 November 1920 with the Treaty of Rapallo. On 26 December, D'Annunzio and his troops were compelled to leave the city. With the same treaty, Italy renounced further territorial claims to Dalmatia (Split), but obtained the city of Zadar, which in 1910 had a population of 36,600 (it dropped to just 18,600 in 1921, out of which 66% reported their «language of use» as «Italian», 14% as «Croatian», while 20% were categorized as «foreigners»). From 1923, Zadar constituted an Italian province, together with a couple of distant islands off the Dalmatian and Albanian coast. As for Rijeka, with the situation remaining extremely unstable, Yugoslavia had to accept the city being annexed by Italy on 27 January 1924 (Treaty of Rome). Sušak, previously part of the Free State of Rijeka, as well as the port facilities of Luka Baroš, were assigned to Yugoslavia, whereas the port itself passed under joint Italo-Yugoslav administration (see Maps 5 and 6).

4. On the Way to Dictatorship

Between 1922 and 1933/34, all countries of the Alpine-Adriatic region turned from democracy towards dictatorship. After Italy – where Benito Mussolini was appointed Prime Minister of a right-wing coalition government in October 1922, assuming complete dictatorial powers in 1926 – Yugoslavia was to follow in 1929. The country had declared its independence on 29 October 1918, when the Croatian parliament proclaimed the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. Roughly a month later, on 1 December 1918, the prince regent of Serbia, Alexander I Karađorđević, proclaimed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. His father, Peter I Karađorđević, was declared king. On Peter's death, in 1921, Alexander inherited his father's throne and gained dictatorial powers on 6 January 1929. A few months later, on 3 October 1929, the country's official denomination was changed to «Kingdom of Yugoslavia». When King Alexander was assassinated in 1934, he was succeeded by Prince Paul Karađorđević as head of a regency council, acting on behalf of the king's underage son Peter II Karađorđević. Last, not least in Austria, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß assumed dictatorial powers («Aus-

trofascism») in March 1933, just a few weeks after Nazi leader Adolf Hitler had come into power in Germany. The proclamation of a new, authoritarian constitution in May 1934 marked the end of the First Austrian Republic. When Dollfuß was shot in the course of the failed 1934 Nazi «July Putsch», he was succeeded by Kurt Schuschnigg.

5. The Second World War

The unhindered German takeover of Austria («Anschluss») on 12 March 1938 was a significant step towards a general revision of the European postwar order. In the following years, Germany took advantage of – rather unpredictable – military and political evolutions in order to implement revisionist and expansionist projects in the Alpine-Adriatic region. These were by far secondary to the Third Reich's ideological warfare and imperialist interventions in Eastern Europe and had not been explicitly planned by the Nazi authorities. They were, however, successfully launched within the regime by leading Austrian Nationalist Socialists.

Right after the «Anschluss» of Austria, Germany had acknowledged the Italian Saint-Germain borders on 7 May 1938, thus recognizing South Tyrol and the Kanal valley to be integral part of Italy's state territory and paving the way to a bilateral political and military alliance. This agreement («Pact of Steel»), which was only signed a year later on 22 May 1939, was followed by a treaty concerning the relocation to the Reich of German and Ladin-speaking populations settling in Northern Italy (South Tyrol; Trentino; Kanal valley). The 1939 relocation programme marks the beginning of complex interventions in the Alpine-Adriatic region, intended to reorganize both its space and population structure.

When war began on 1 September 1939, with Germany attacking Poland, Italy initially declared its «non-belligerence», but nevertheless entered the conflict on 10 June 1940. The Alpine-Adriatic region was affected by war only several months later, when Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria attacked Yugoslavia. Although the country had joined the 1940 German-Italo-Japanese Tripartite Pact on 25 March 1941, large demonstrations in Belgrade and a military *coup d'état* by Yugoslav officers opposing Pact membership led to Prince Paul Karađorđević being exiled and Peter II given full powers. Notwithstanding the guarantees given by the new Prime Minister Dušan Simović, who declared loyalty to the treaty, Yugoslavia was invaded and occupied without prior declaration of war. The Balkan campaign started on 6 April and ended on 17 April 1941, when the country was forced to sign its unconditional surrender to the «Axis» powers.

Yugoslavia was split up in ten areas with different administrative forms (see Map 7). The territorial configuration of the Drava Banate (*Dravska banovina*), comprising much of nowadays Slovenia, had already been decided by Hitler

without consulting Italy and Hungary. Rather, when meeting in Vienna on 21 April, German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop revealed to his Italian counterpart, Count Galeazzo Ciano, that the Führer's border tracing was not up for discussion. Consequently, the northernmost part of Yugoslavia was reorganized as follows:

1. Germany gained control over Lower Styria and Upper Carniola (including Jezersko, Meža valley, Dravograd and Ojstrica). Both regions, though not formally annexed, were put under German civil administration, headed by the highest-ranking Nazi Party leaders (*Gauleiter*) of Styria and Carinthia respectively. Some predominantly German-speaking smaller villages, hitherto part of Slovenia's Prekmurje region (Ocinje, Kramarovci, Fikšinci, Serdica), were attached to Lower Styria. On 9 January 1942, Meža valley, Dravograd and Ojstrica passed to Carinthia.
2. Italy gained control over Inner and Lower Carniola. Since Nazi experts considered Ljubljana to be the recalcitrant centre of Slovenedom, the city, already occupied by Italian troops on 12 April 1941, was left to Italy. The Italian-occupied region (subsequently called *Provincia di Lubiana / Ljubljanska pokrajina*; see Map 8) also comprised the area of Kočevje, a German linguistic exclave with a population of roughly 11,000, which was almost entirely transferred to German-occupied Lower Styria between November 1941 and late January 1942. Although an integral part of the Kingdom of Italy, the region gained special administrative status. It was governed by a High Commissioner (*Alto commissario*) on whom more competences were conferred than typically granted to those holding analogue positions in Italy proper (*prefetti*). The authority of the High Commissioner, recruited from Italian officials and headed by Emilio Grazioli, was flanked by a rather negligible advisory board of Slovenian collaborationists (*Consulta per la provincia di Lubiana / Sosvet za Ljubljansko pokrajino*), headed by Marko Natlačen, last ban of the Drava Banate, murdered in October 1942.
3. Further on, Italy obtained, and incorporated into the Province of Rijeka, both the city's hinterland (*Gorski kotar*) and the isles of the eastern Kvarner gulf. Finally, parts of Dalmatia passed under Italian dominion, henceforth forming the «Governorate of Dalmatia»: the territory was divided into the Provinces of Zadar (Italian since 1920, now significantly enlarged), Split and Kotor. The Italo-Croatian Treaties of Rome, signed on 18 May 1941, fixed the frontiers with the newly established Independent State of Croatia. However, in the autumn of 1941, the islands of Pag, Brač and Hvar, together with an area located in the hinterland of Split (Sinj) – all hitherto left to Croatia – were occupied, although not formally annexed, by Italy.
4. Hungary obtained (Slovenian) Prekmurje and (Croatian) Međimurje. On 1 September 1941, a civil administration replaced the Hungarian military ad-

- ministration; on 27 December 1941, the two territories were directly incorporated into the neighbouring Hungarian counties of Vas and Zala, respectively.
5. Croatia was proclaimed «Independent State» (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*; NDH) by Slavko Kvaternik, co-organizer of the Ustaša-Croatian Revolutionary Movement in Italy, when German troops occupied Zagreb on 10 April 1941. Nominally sovereign, *de facto* a racist German and Italian Fascist puppet state, Ustaša-Croatia (see Map 9) was led by the «Poglavnik» Ante Pavelić. Although suffering territorial losses, it gained Bosnia, Herzegovina and Syrmia.

Immediately after the occupation, German authorities prepared for substantial ethno-political interventions. Starting on 17 April 1941, some 500,000 people from Lower Styria and Upper Carniola underwent racial examinations by the SS in order to determine whether they were to be deported to Germany. Until March 1942, roughly 56,000 Slovenes were expelled and «replaced» by about 13,000 ethnic Germans resettled from Romania (Dobruja, Bessarabia and Bukovina) as well as from Italy (South Tyrol) and Italian-occupied Lower Carniola (Kočevje and Ljubljana). Additionally, several thousand Slovenes and Croats from Lower Styria were resettled to Croatia and Serbia. In April 1942, even Slovenes from Carinthia were deported.

Compared to the German occupation regime in Upper Carniola and Lower Styria, the Italian policy towards the population in the Province of Ljubljana had initially been more tolerant and less violent. Also, the region was granted a certain cultural and administrative autonomy: Ljubljana remained the centre of Slovenian cultural life, with the city's university and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti*) continuing to exist. Violence against the Slovenian civil population, however, increased drastically and became equal to the German level as soon as Italian forces faced the growing strength of the local resistance movement. Occupation forces, with their commanders often rooted in a culture of racial anti-Slavism, committed numerous war crimes (killings, executions, mass shootings) and deported about 25,000 people to Italian concentration camps.

Subsequently, with the «Axis» military power weakening, US and British forces invaded Sicily on 10 July 1943. When Benito Mussolini was deposed by the Grand Council of Fascism on 25 July, the Fascist regime collapsed. One day later, a new government headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio came into power. On 3 September, Italy had no option left but to sign a secret armistice with the Western Allies. When it was publicly announced five days later, German troops occupied the Apennine peninsula and fought advancing Allied troops in southern mainland Italy, meeting only occasional opposition by Italian forces. On 9 September, Marshal Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel III abandoned Rome. On 18 September, the Fascist Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, RSI) was proclaimed with Benito Mussolini as Prime Minister and head of state.

Whereas in most of German-occupied Italy (roughly equivalent to the RSI territory) a military administration was installed, a special regime of civil administration was established in the country's north-eastern territories on 9 September 1943 (see Map 11). Although not formally annexed, but with little RSI influence left, the region split up into two so-called «operational zones». These were administered by the highest-ranking Nazi Party leaders of neighbouring Tyrol (Operational zone of the Alpine Foothills / *Operationszone Alpenvorland*) and Carinthia (Operational zone of the Adriatic Littoral / *Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland*) respectively. The latter embraced the Italian Provinces of Udine, Gorizia, Trieste, Pula, Rijeka, and Ljubljana as well as the former Italian Civil Intendancy for the Annexed Territories of the Fiumano and the Cupa region (*Intendenza civile per i territori annessi del Fiumano e della Kupa*), thus also including former Yugoslav territories annexed by Italy in 1941 (see Map 10).

As of September 1943, all Slovene-speaking territories (except Prekmurje) fell under German rule, although in some areas the Italian and Slovenian resistance movements prevented the Nazi administration from gaining full control. The Slovenian Liberation Front (*Protiimperialistična fronta*; from 22 June: *Osvobodilna fronta slovenskega naroda*, OF) had already been founded on 26 April 1941.

The Yugoslav liberation movement took vital decisions for the future development of the country during the second conference of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (*Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*, AVNOJ), held in Jajce (Bosnia) on 29 and 30 November 1943. These decisions envisaged, inter alia, the creation of a federal republic of southern Slavic people, the appointment of Josip Broz Tito as Prime Minister, and the election of the National Committee of the Liberation of Yugoslavia (*Nacionalni komitet oslobođenja Jugoslavije*, NKOJ) as a provisional government. Tito eventually became Prime Minister of a coalition government on 8 March 1945.

As early as 29 March 1945, Soviet troops crossed the German (former Austrian) border in Burgenland. In late April, Karl Renner formed a provisional Austrian government; on 27 April, representatives of the newly established political parties declared Austria's independence from Germany. From 9 May, Austria was occupied by Allied troops whereas parts of Southern Styria were temporarily occupied by Bulgarian and Yugoslav forces. On 9 July, the Allies agreed upon the borders for occupation zones in Austria: Tyrol and Vorarlberg were put under French, East Tyrol, Carinthia and Styria under British, Burgenland, Lower Austria and parts of Upper Austria under Soviet, and the remaining territories under US occupation (see Map 12), while Vienna was divided into four sectors (see Map 13). Allied troops were withdrawn roughly ten years later when the Austrian State Treaty (*Österreichischer Staatsvertrag*) re-established Austria as a sovereign and democratic state on 15 May 1955, declaring permanent neutrality.

In the Italian war theatre, German forces formally surrendered to the Allied powers on 2 May after partisans had proclaimed a popular insurrection on 25 April. In Yugoslavia, instead, they capitulated one week later, soon after the unconditional surrender of all German forces.

Since 1943/1944 Yugoslav partisans and authorities had forced the Italian population of Dalmatia and Istria to emigrate. Yugoslav ethnic cleansing was accompanied by mass killings (*fojbe*) of mostly Italian civilians by predominantly Yugoslav partisans in Dalmatia, Istria and in the Julian March. After the war, the Yugoslav National Liberation Army (*Narodnoosvobodilna vojska*; NOV) committed mass murder of collaborating soldiers and civilians fleeing Yugoslavia (Massacre of Bleiburg) on 15 May 1945. Mass killings followed (e.g. Kočevski Rog, Teharje). Germans from Lower Styria and Kočevje as well as Hungarians from Prekmurje were interned in Strnišče and Teharje (Slovenia) and expelled from Yugoslavia. Only in 1960 did forced mass migration (*esodo*) to Italy come to a halt.

6. The Post-World-War-II Period

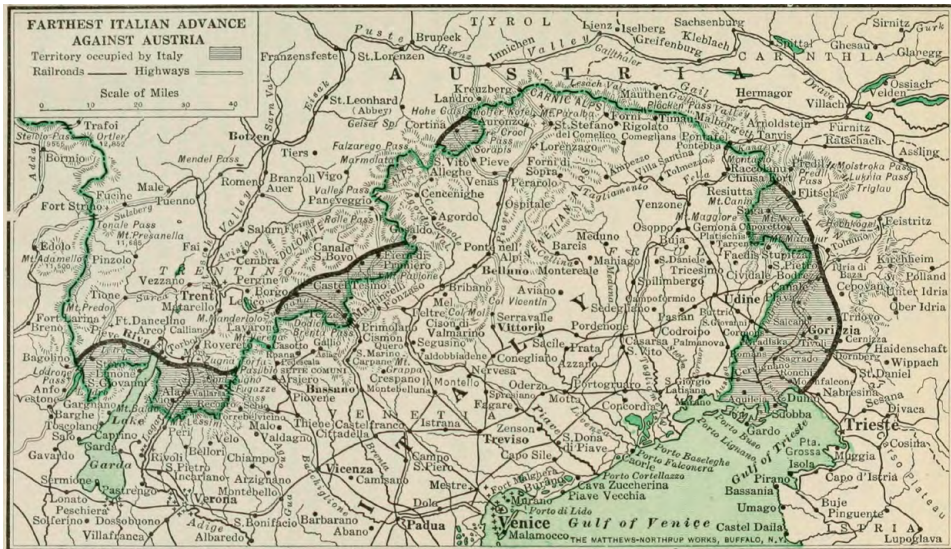
The 1946 Paris Peace Conference led to a new territorial order of the Alpine-Adriatic region. The treaties were signed on 10 February 1947. While the Austro-Italian border was internationally recognized, Italy had to cede to Yugoslavia all of Dalmatia, the Province of Rijeka, a major part of Istria as well as most of the Provinces of Gorizia and Trieste (see Map 14). The remaining parts of the Provinces of Trieste and Pula were to form the Free Territory of Trieste, which was put under direct control of the United Nations Security Council. It was split up, however, between Italy and Yugoslavia with the London Memorandum, signed on 5 October 1954: while Italy gained control over the city of Trieste and a northern coastal strip (see Map 15), Yugoslavia took over all of western Istria. The London Memorandum was bilaterally confirmed and validated only two decades later with the Italo-Yugoslav Treaty of Osimo, signed on 10 November 1975.

Postwar Italy abolished the monarchy and established a democratic republic on 2 June 1946. In the first elections held in neighbouring Yugoslavia in November 1945, the Communist-led National Front won all parliamentary seats. Subsequently, on 29 November 1945, the country was declared a Federal People's Republic and six constituent republics (among which Slovenia and Croatia) were established on 31 January 1946. In 1963, Yugoslavia became a Socialist Federal Republic, with Tito declared president for life. After a first Croatian claim for greater freedom from Serbian hegemony (1970/1971), following Tito's death (4 May 1980), both Slovenia and Croatia increasingly argued Serbian supremacy, leading to growing ethnic tensions, combined with a state and constitutional crisis. Essentially, this situation persisted until the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991.

Maps

Every map is an expression of its time and must be read as a source in itself. The following illustrations, both coeval maps and later elaborations, intend to visualize the rapidly changing rearrangement of territories and borders in crucial moments of the 20th-century regional history.

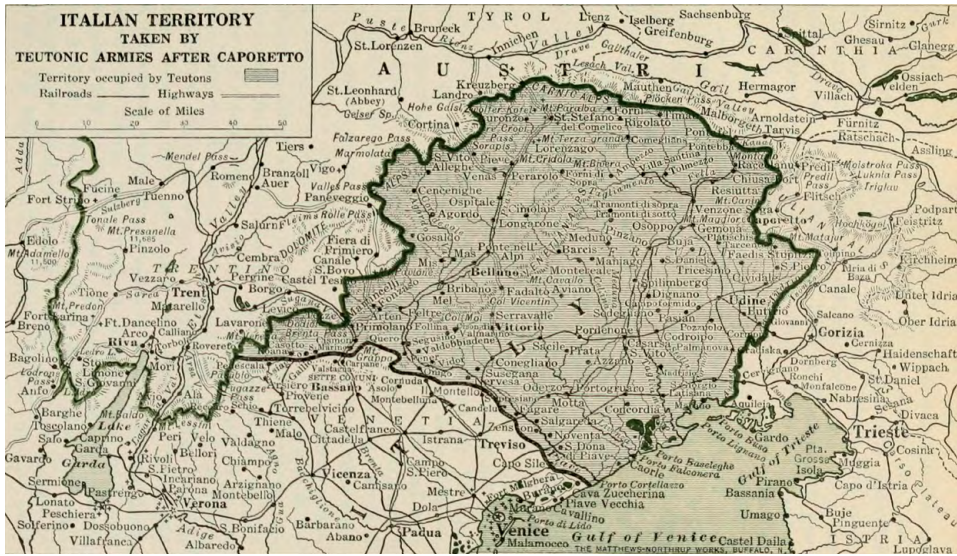
See *Appendix 1* for historical timelines and a correspondence table of political and administrative units.



Map 2

Territories occupied by Italian troops until October 1917 (Battle of Caporetto).

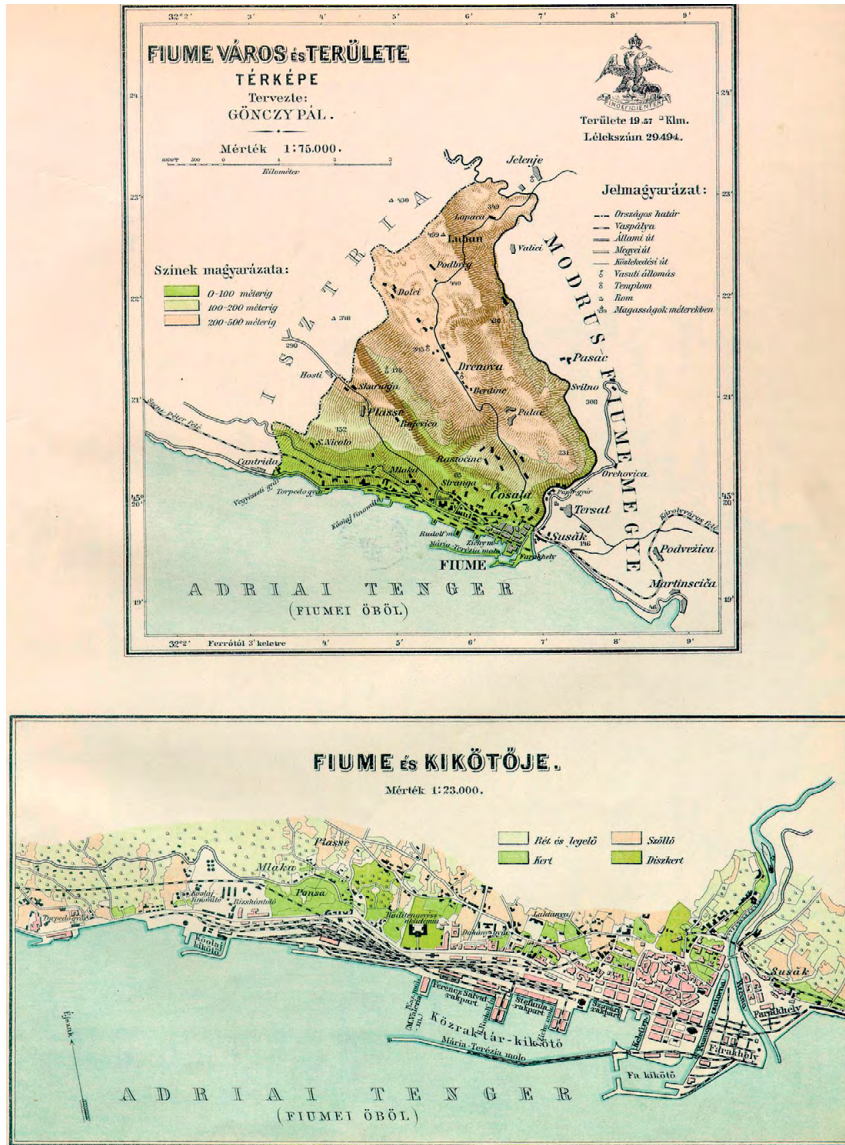
Source: F.W. HALSEY, *The Literary Digest History of the World War, compiled from Original and Contemporary Sources: American, British, French, German, and Others*, IX, New York - London, 1919, p. 80: «Farthest Italian Advance against Austria».



Map 3

Territories occupied by Austro-German troops after October 1917.

Source: F.W. HALSEY, *The Literary Digest History of the World War, compiled from Original and Contemporary Sources: American, British, French, German, and Others*, IX, New York - London, 1919, p. 104: «Italian Territory taken by Teutonic Armies after Caporetto».



Map 4

«The City of Rijeka and its Territory». The maps are part of the *Magyarország megyéinek kézi atlasza* (Handatlas of the Hungarian Counties), published in 1890 by Pal Gönczy and Manó Kogutowicz in Budapest (Karl Ludwig Posner Publishing House), unpaginated.



Map 5

The *Donaustaaten* (Danube States) as of 1924. Detail of a map from the 10th edition of *Stielers Hand-Atlas* (Gotha, Perthes, 1925).



Map 6

Karta Kraljevine Jugoslavije (Map of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). The map, drawn by Antun Lazić and published in Belgrade by Radomir Čuković in 1937, reflects the Yugoslav boundaries as of 1924.



Map 7

Dismantling the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after the Balkan War of 1941. As the Upper Adriatic is concerned, the area of nowadays Slovenia was split up between Italy, Germany, and Hungary, thus establishing three occupation zones. Croatia formally gained independence (Independent State of Croatia).

Source: http://www.balkanwarhistory.com/2016/12/interesting-facts-and-figures-about_27.html.



Map 8

Gau Kärnten (the Region of Carinthia) as of 1941. The map, drawn by Franz Pehr, was published by the Vienna based publishing house Freytag-Berndt und Artaria. It includes the «Occupied Territories of Carinthia and Carniola» and the district of Lienz (East Tyrol) attached to Carinthia in 1938. The map shows the «Occupied Territories» as part of the German Reich, although they were never officially annexed.

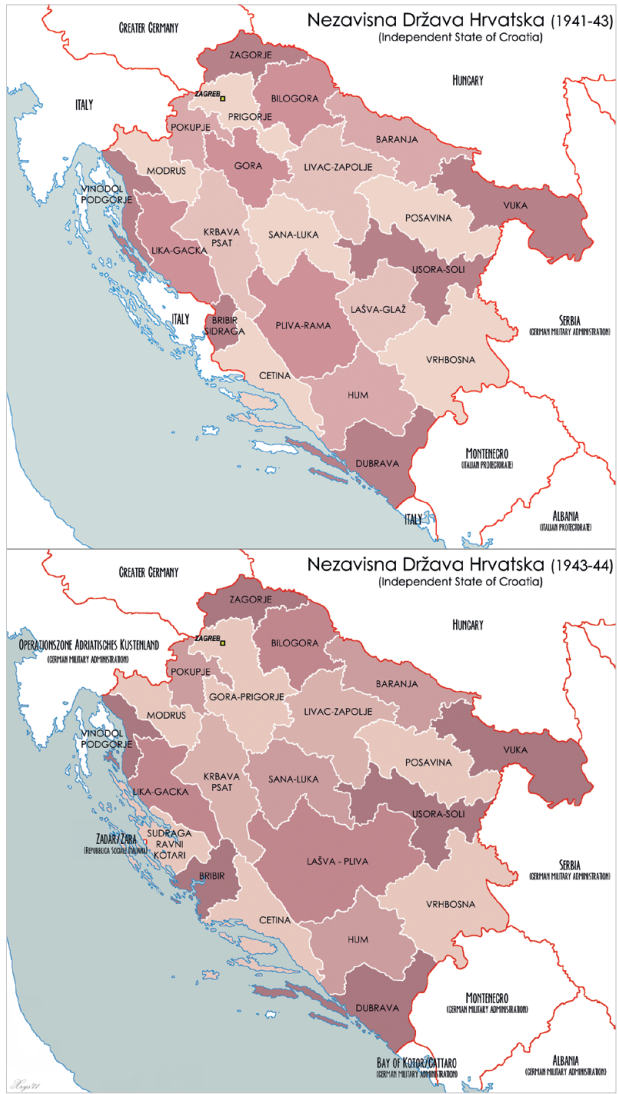
Source: private property.



Map 9

Italy turning East: Slovenian and Croatian territories occupied by Italy during the 1941 war on Yugoslavia. Lower Carniola was fully incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy. The newly created Province of Ljubljana became the country's «ninety-ninth province». The former Province of Rijeka gained the hinterland of the city (Liburnia) and the isles of Krk and Rab. The author of the map is Franco Cecotti of the *Istituto Regionale per la Storia della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea del Friuli Venezia Giulia*.

Source: https://www.irsml.eu/vademecum_giorno_ricordo/foto/015_La_Provincia_di_Lubiana.jpg.



Map 10

The Independent State of Croatia as of 1941 and September 1943 respectively, when the country progressively occupied the Italian possessions on the Dalmatian coast (Zadar excluded) and some Adriatic isles (Lastovo and Palagruža, which had been part of Italy since the 1920 Treaty of Rapallo).

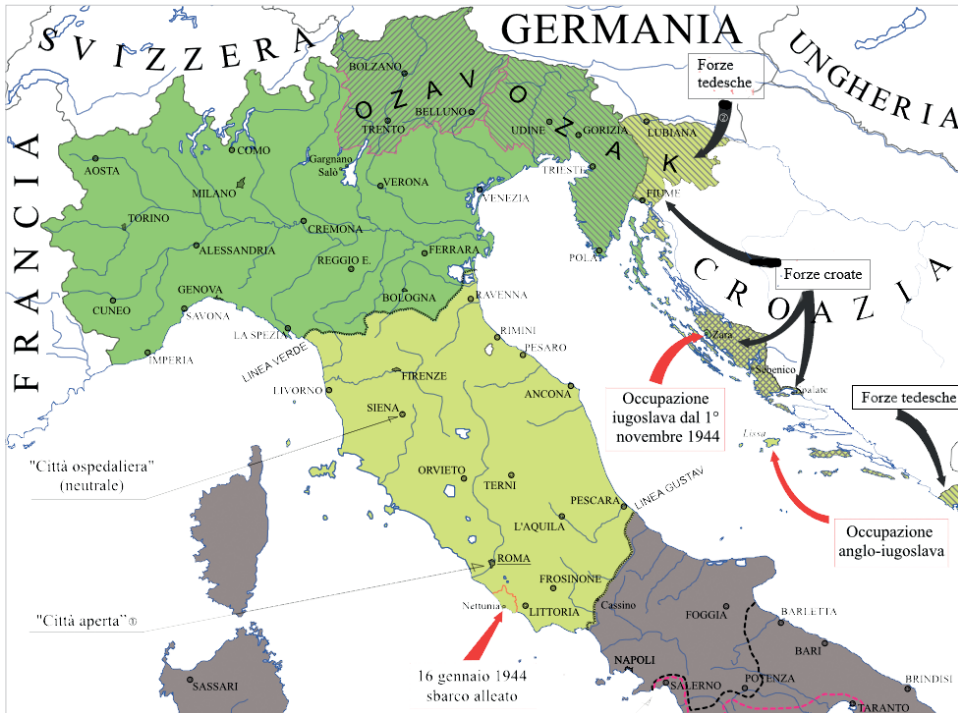
Source: https://www.wikiwand.com/sl/Upravna_delitev_Hrva%C5%A1ke.



Map 11

The Operational Zones of the Alpine Foothills (*dark grey*) and the Adriatic Littoral (*light grey*), established in Northern Italy after 8 September 1943. Both areas were administered as territories attached to, but not incorporated into, the respective *Reichsgaue* of Tyrol-Vorarlberg and Carinthia. The city of Sušak, its hinterland and the island of Krk were administered by a Commissariat (*Kommissariat Suschak-Krk*) under the jurisdiction of the Croatian Deputy Prefect of the Province of Rijeka. Already in 1941, Lower Styria and the «Besetzte Gebiete Kärntens und Krains» (Occupied Territories of Carinthia and Carniola) had come under German civil administration.

Source: M. WEDEKIND, *Nationalsozialistische Besatzungs- und Annexionspolitik in Norditalien 1943 bis 1945: Die Operationszonen «Alpenvorland» und «Adriatisches Küstenland»*, Munich 2003.

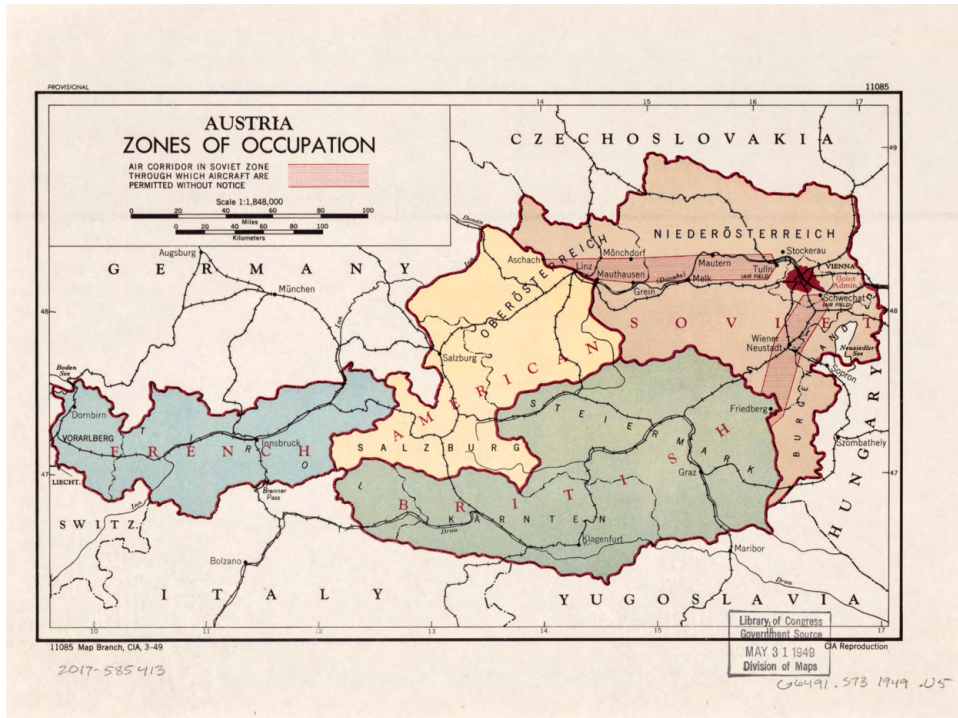


Map 12

Italy 1943/1944: After the armistice of Cassibile (Sicily), from 8 September 1943 German troops overtly occupied most of the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, Benito Mussolini was installed as leader of the newly founded Italian Social Republic, initially comprising Northern and Central Italy. The country's central regions, however, were progressively occupied by Allied troops since the Anzio landing of 16 January 1944. In September 1944, they reached the so-called «Gothic Line» (Linea verde).

In early September 1943, the German Operational Zones of the Alpine Foothills and the Adriatic Littoral were installed in Northern Italy. At the same time, the Italian possessions on the Dalmatian coast were occupied by German and Croatian forces but conquered by Yugoslav partisans at the end of 1944 (with the isle of Vis being held by a British flotilla).

Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/archive.svg> from a map by Emanuele Mastrangelo, modified by the editors by substituting flags with «Forze tedesche» and «Forze croate».



Map 13

Postwar Austria divided into four occupation zones: Carinthia and Styria were administered by British, Tyrol-Vorarlberg by French, Salzburg and Upper Austria by US, and Lower Austria and Burgenland by Soviet authorities. Vienna was under joint administration. The Allied occupation of Austria lasted from 27 April 1945 to the Austrian State Treaty of 27 July 1955.

Source: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g6491s.ct008015/?r=-0.47,0.028,1.908,0.698,0>.



Map 14

The Italo-Yugoslav border from 1945 to 1947. The area was divided into the so-called Zones A and B, under Anglo-American and Yugoslav military administration respectively, with the Morgan line as temporary boundary. Zone A included: the nowadays Provinces of Trieste and Gorizia, the territory between the current Italo-Slovenian border and the Isonzo river, the western section of the Karst Plateau, some Istrian villages and the town of Pula (as an enclave in the southern part of Istria). Zone B included: most part of Istria up to the city of Rijeka, the archipelago of Cres-Lošinj and the eastern part of the Slovenian Littoral. The village of Oppachiasella / Opatje selo on the northwestern edge of the Karst Plateau formed a small enclave of Zone B within the territory of Zone A. The map was created by Franco Cecotti of the *Istituto Regionale per la Storia della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea del Friuli Venezia Giulia*.

Source: https://www.irsml.eu/vademecum_giorno_ricordo/foto/046.png.



Map 15

Trieste and surroundings before and after the 1954 London Memorandum. The Free Territory of Trieste was established on 10 February 1947 and came into existence on 15 September 1947. It was divided into two administrative zones: Zone A, including the city of Trieste and a narrow coastal area, administered by the Allied Military Government, and Zone B comprising north-western Istria. With the London Memorandum, Zone A was *de facto* assigned to Italy, whereas Zone B passed under Yugoslavia – a decision which was formalized by the 1975 Treaty of Osimo, ratified in 1977. This map was created by Franco Cecotti of the *Istituto Regionale per la Storia della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea del Friuli Venezia Giulia*.

Source: https://www.irsmi.eu/vademecum_giorno_ricordo/foto/044_Prima.jpg.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The editors have chosen more than eighty historical documents to illuminate half a century of forced transfers of cultural objects in the Alpine-Adriatic region. The records are grouped into twenty-one themed sections, each preceded by an introductory essay. Most documents are published here for the first time. Many of them are reproduced in their entirety. Where possible, they are rendered in photographic facsimile; otherwise, they are included in transcription, with occasional emendations and additions within square brackets. Each document is reproduced in the language in which it was originally written. Instead of an English translation, every record is provided with a summarizing commentary. Prefixed to every textual document is a short physical description as well as a note concerning date, author, addressee, and archival location. Titles of documents appear in their original language with English translation; where no title in the original language is available, an editorial title in English is given within square brackets.

Where possible, English place names are used. Otherwise, toponyms are given in the language of the current jurisdiction. For minority language place names, see the concordance at p. 456. Georeferencing through Google Maps is provided for most place names when first mentioned in a themed section or in a commentary on documents.

**The First World War:
Cultural Heritage Endangered,
Damaged, Destroyed**

I.
SAFEGUARDING IN WAR THEATRES:
THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN FRONT

Martina Visentin

In September 1914, soon after the beginning of the First World War, reports began to rapidly fill the newspaper columns on the bombing and severe destruction of the Reims cathedral by German troops. As was the case for other news concerning devastated monuments, the press went beyond incident coverage, maintaining that such facts evidenced German Barbarian warfare. Also in Italy, inflammatory articles by art critics and poets (such as Ugo Ojetti and Gabriele D'Annunzio, who jointly visited the Reims ruins in March 1915) did not fail to have a strong impact on public opinion – at a moment when the country was still debating whether or not to maintain neutrality. Senior political circles favouring Italy joining the war alongside the Entente powers finally gained the upper hand. The secret Treaty of London was signed on 26 April 1915 by France, Great Britain and Russia, settling mutual terms for gaining Italy's participation in the war.

However, well before the declaration of war (24 May 1915), the Italian Ministry of Education had implemented measures in order to safeguard northern Italy's cultural heritage through its local Superintendent offices (*Soprintendenze*). Such offices, in charge of art protection in the fields of antiquities, monuments and galleries, had been installed throughout Italy since 1907. As early as February 1915, the heads of the Superintendent Offices for Veneto and Friuli, Massimiliano Ongaro (Monuments) and Gino Fogolari (Galleries), met with local authorities discussing safeguarding measures to be taken in the event of war (FOGOLARI 1918). In the case of the region's only National Museum, located in **Cividale** close to the Italo-Austrian border, Fogolari had prepared for packing and transferring the most important archaeological objects and artworks as early as August 1914 (PELLEGRINI 1918).

Upon request by the Italian Ministry of Education, the Superintendent Offices initiated protection measures in March 1915. In Veneto and Lombardy (e.g. in **Venice** and Milan) strategies for removing artworks from museums and churches were studied and partially executed, often almost in secret. Some museums (**Padua**, **Verona**) were closed under the pretext of maintenance work in order to allow packing.

Friuli and Veneto – especially the Provinces of Belluno, Treviso, Verona and Vicenza – were particularly vulnerable to possible enemy raids. Therefore, the Superintendent Offices earmarked the most precious works for immediate evac-

uation. Count Ruggero Della Torre, director of the Museum of Cividale, was entrusted with operations. He did his best to pack the museum's illuminated manuscripts, Lombard objects, as well as the so-called *Pace del duca Orso* (a precious Carolingian object, possibly a book-cover). He succeeded in securing the Pellegrino da San Daniele triptych, then kept in what was known as the city's Old Hospital, and in sending it to Florence in the spring of 1915. On behalf of the Superintendent Offices, he also advised rectors and priests (from Gemona, Venzone, Moggio Udinese and San Pietro di Zuglio in Carnia, a mountainous area of Friuli) to arrange for relocating local artworks. However, more than elsewhere he ran into local scepticism (FOGOLARI 1918). Priests who held strong sympathies for the 'Catholic' Austrian Empire and distrusted the 'liberal' Kingdom of Italy were generally unwilling to cooperate. Local communities opposed the removal of artworks since they valued these objects not for their artistic quality but for their religious and symbolic meaning. Moreover, they were concerned that the objects would not return after the war, but end up in distant museums.

However, on 25 April 1915, just one day before Italy signed the Treaty of London, the Ministry ordered the suspension of transfers since the authorities were afraid that the removal could cause unease among the civil population. Yet, operations resumed as soon as Italy entered the war. Preventative actions in Venice and its mainland are widely documented through photographs capturing both the construction of shelters to protect monuments from bombings and the removal of many paintings; these measures comprised the safeguarding of the huge canvases (*teleri*) decorating the Doges' Palace, and statues of deep symbolic significance, such as the Horses from St Mark's Basilica. Detailed photographic campaigns regarding the protection activities in major north Italian cities (e.g. Venice) were published both in books (such as OJETTI 1917, financed by the Naval Ministry, just before the Battle of Caporetto) and periodicals (e.g. «Pagine d'arte»). They skillfully illustrated public care for the country's heritage, pursuing obvious propaganda aims. Safekeeping and removal of cultural assets in the peripheral regions of northern and eastern Friuli were not deemed to deserve similar visual documentation. However, when they became a theatre of war, measures were intensified and carried out even on individual initiative.

With cultural heritage increasingly endangered, a growing range of art objects from churches and chapels north and northwest of Tolmezzo (Carnia) was relocated. Ojetti, attached to the Udine-based Office for Civil Affairs of the Army Supreme Command (*Ufficio Affari Civili del Comando supremo*), promptly promoted the removal of many artworks from the zones conquered by Italian troops (Aquileia in 1915 and Gorizia in 1916) and their translocation to distant destinations (the Convent of San Salvi in Florence and Castel Sant'Angelo and Palazzo Venezia in Rome) (ARTE COME MEMORIA 2016). In parallel with Fogolari's activities, which focused on dislocating wooden and liturgical art objects from Carnia,

several officials from the Ministry of Education were involved in safety operations. However, removals were only accepted thanks to the intermediation of the Archbishops of Udine, Antonio Anastasio Rossi, and of Florence, Alfonso Maria Mistrangelo, who agreed that suitable protection would be guaranteed in Florence and, above all, that art works would be returned after the conflict.

In Friuli, efforts to preserve wooden altars, which are characteristic of the region's artistic landscape, demonstrated attention to an art production which up to then had remained widely unknown or beyond the interest of Italian art historians; in addition, these efforts are remarkable because much of the artworks involved were pieces by non-Italian masters and less apt to become objects of nationalist cultural propaganda.

The removal of altars, however, revealed their poor state of preservation and led to a postwar restoration campaign which was carried out by the Superintendent Office for Galleries of Venice. Already in 1920 were wooden altars exhibited in Tolmezzo, the main town of Carnia, before most of them were returned to their pre-war sites (VISENTIN 2014).

As for the Habsburg Empire, Austrian authorities, too, had cultural objects removed or preserved in fear of an Italian invasion. Subsequently, right after the outbreak of hostilities, Anton Gnirs – responsible for monument protection in the Austrian Littoral since 1912, and additionally in Carniola and Carinthia since 1915 – had been busily engaged in preserving endangered artworks, ordering cultural objects to be removed (e.g. from Aquileia, **Ronchi**, Gorizia, **Trieste**, **Tolmin**, **Cerkno** and **Klagenfurt**) and stored respectively in **Ljubljana**, **Graz** and Vienna. In fact, the Habsburg Empire could boast a long and consolidated tradition in the management and the protection of cultural heritage since the foundation of the Austrian Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Art and Historical Monuments (*Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*) in 1853 (from 1910 to 1918 renamed as Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments, *Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*). Not only had the Commission elaborated a ground-breaking theoretical basis for monument protection, but it had also established a widespread territorial network of local scholars and experts to be entrusted with protection measures during wartime. It is no surprise that in 1916, on request of the Military Supreme Command, the Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments was able to produce a list of specialists available for art protection in the vulnerable region behind the «south-western Front». As was the case of Anton Gnirs and Josef Garber, who by that time did a traineeship with the Monument Office in **Innsbruck** and participated in protecting artworks in Southern Tyrol, all experts listed had already gained direct experience in safeguarding cultural assets in proximity to Austrian's southern battle lines. This knowhow was especially put to work during the occupation of Friuli after the Battle of Caporetto (see sect. III).

Selected bibliography

ARTE COME MEMORIA 2016; BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1992; «BOLLETTINO D'ARTE» 1917; «BOLLETTINO D'ARTE» 1918; *CONSERVAZIONE E TUTELA* 2008; *ELENCO DI OPERE D'ARTE DEL VENETO* 1918; FOGOLARI 1918; FRANCHI 2010; FRANCHI 2016; *LA CURA DEL BELLO* 2008; MOSCHETTI 1928; NEZZO 2003; OJETTI 1917; PELLEGRINI 1918; PERUSINI 2017; VISENTIN 2014; VISENTIN 2017

1. [Individual initiatives to remove art objects from war areas]

Letter by Guido Mori Ubaldini degli Alberti, Colonel of the Italian army, from Dogna (Fella valley), to Corrado Ricci, General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of Education (Direttore generale nel Ministero della Pubblica istruzione) in Rome

24 May 1915

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione I, 1920-1924, folder 1544, file 6. *Udine, città e provincia, A-P. Monumenti*

The correspondence between Guido Mori Ubaldini degli Alberti and Corrado Ricci deals with the removal of a wooden altarpiece (1517) by the Carinthian artist Heinrich von Villach, from the parish church of **Pontebba** (where it is still kept today) to the small railway village of **Dogna**, deemed to be a safer location. The Italian Colonel, who had got to know Ricci when a student at Bologna University, acted on his own behalf, with unusual promptness and without any permission from the responsible Ministry of Education. Ubaldini degli Alberti, who affirms that he felt justified by his love for national art heritage, shows particular interest in identity values of fine art, being fully aware of the complex meanings which, rhetorically or not, were attributed to art heritage and its protection, in spite of the fact that the altarpiece in question was the work of a foreign artist.

Equally significant is Ricci's answer: while praising his old friend's action and encouraging him to proceed in the same way on similar occasions, he adds that at a time when «all artists turn into soldiers it is a good thing that some gallant soldier turns into an artist» (quando «tutti gli artisti diventano soldati è anche bene che qualche valoroso soldato diventi artista»). Ricci also assures his correspondent that he will alert the local authorities about the removal.

The huge wooden altar was brought from Dogna to Rome where it was stored in the Castel Sant'Angelo. A letter from the head of the **Venice** Superintendent Office, Gino Fogolari, to Corrado Ricci, dated 17 June 1915, attests that «the composite artwork, with prolific openings and finials, could not fail to suffer some damages when previously transported on artillery carts from Pontebba to Dogna; it was found, however, that they can easily be repaired; this will be done as soon as the work may return to its former place» («l'opera molto complicata per portelli e pinnacoli non poteva a meno di subire qualche guasto nel trasporto da Pontebba a Dogna sui carri d'artiglieria; ma si è constatato che sono tutti facilmente riparabili e si ripareranno quando si potrà restituirla al suo posto»;

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione I, 1920-1924, folder 1544, file *Pontebba, Chiesa parrocchiale. Opere d'arte*). The altarpiece was restored in Venice in 1922 and returned to the church of Pontebba soon afterwards.

MV

Dogno (Val Fella) 24.5.918

Egregio Comm. Ricci

Le prego scusare se con tuo antica compagna di
Univeristà ti scrive, da molti ancora, dopo tanto tempo
del tu.

Come saprai Pontebba è stata sgombrata comple-
tamente perché soggetta ad eventuali azioni di artiglieria
in nemica. Venuto a conoscenza che nella chiesa era
rimasto un prezioso traliccio di legno soffitto, che
era già elencato tra le opere d'arte murali, e la cui
perdita sarebbe stata deplorabile, ha mosso uomini e
carrì a ritirarlo, e l'ha fatto trasportare a Dogno, dove
si trova presentemente in consegna al parroco del paese.
Ho chiesto il delegato di P.D. e l'intendente militare da
cui dipende; ma ha creduto ~~meglio~~ conveniente darne
conoscenza anche a te, fin' di tutto interrogato per
quanto credersi del caso, tanto più che mi sembra
convenire a meglio rivalutarla tra i due paesi.

Non so se ho fatto bene. Il lavoro anche a me, pro-
prio, ma romantismo di tutto quanto rappresenta
il patrimonio artistico regionale - senza nulla togliere,
e vede giustificata la decisione di ~~questo~~ lavoro compiuto, prima
se la non mi vien in conto il tuo ufficiale apprezzamento
altrimenti sarà altro.

Senza la fretta che ormai tener giustificata.
Accetta saluti cordiali dell'antica compagna

tenente colonnello Guido Mori
10^a artiglieria pesante (assedio)

ti ricordi la Rosina Bertolini la Bruttina Amadori,
e la usata di prima ^{del} colonnello a Dogno?

2. [On building a staff of art history and monument protection experts supporting the highest Austro-Hungarian field commands on the Austrian South-western Front]

Two-page typewritten letter by the presidency of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) in Vienna to the Austro-Hungarian Military Supreme Command

3 June 1916

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt, Bundesdenkmalamt - Allgemein, box 6

The presidency of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments responds to a letter by Conrad von Hötzendorf, Field Marshal and Chief of the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army. In his missive, dated 31 May 1916, von Hötzendorf expresses his thanks for the various preservation requests previously transmitted by the Central Commission (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) and asks for experts able to provide monument protection support to the highest Austro-Hungarian field commands on the south-western front. The presidency therefore transmits a list of specialists, primarily indicating Max Dvořák, to be assisted by Anton Gnirs. In addition, the list names Josef Garber, Oskar Oberwalder, Josef Weingartner and Wladimir Zaloziacki. As an enclosed internal record of the Central Commission shows, other specialists had been considered – Paul Buberl, Josip Dostal and Hans Folnesics – but for reasons unknown these were not added to the list. However, while expressing thanks for favourably supporting the Central Commission’s preservation requests, the presidency once again reassures the addressee of the listed experts’ competence.

MW

Z. 122/Präs. ex 1916.

W i e n , am 3. Juni 1916.

An das

k.u.k. A r m e e o b e r k o m m a n d o

Feldpost

Bezugnehmend auf die geschätzte Zuschrift vom 31. Mai 1916 A.O.p.Nr.65055 beehrt sich die Zentralkommission folgende Denkmalpfleger für die fachliche Beratung der höchsten Kommandos des südwestlichen Kriegsschauplatzes in Angelegenheiten der Denkmalpflege und Sicherung namhaft zu machen.

Als beratendes Organ beim Kommando der k.u.k. Armeen des südwestlichen Kriegsschauplatzes käme in erster Linie der h.a. kunsthistorische Generalkonservator, Universitätsprofessor Dr. Max Dvorak in Betracht, der auf dem Gebiete der Denkmalpflege sowohl im In- als auch im Auslande als eine erste Autorität gilt und eine ebenso umfassende wie gründliche Kenntnis der Denkmäler Italiens besitzt.

Ferner erlaubt sich die Zentralkommission den Landeskonservator für Küstenland, Regierungsrat Professor Dr. Anton Gnirs namhaft zu machen, der Herrn Professor Dvorak vorläufig zur Unterstützung beigegeben werden könnte, um dann im weiteren Verfolg als beratendes Organ bei den an der Isonzofront operierenden Truppen zugeteilt zu werden.

Für die übrigen Armeekommanden beehrt sich die Zentralkommission als Beiräte in Angelegenheiten der Denkmalpflege folgende h.a. Funktionäre namhaft zu machen:

1.) Den Praktikanten des Landeskonservatorates in Innsbruck Dr. theol. et phil. Josef Garber der bereits in mustergiltiger Weise bei der Bergung der Kunstschätze Südtirols mitgewirkt hat und daher als ganz besonders geeignet für die Durchführung derartiger Ber-

gungs - und Sicherungsaktionen empfohlen werden kann.

2.) Den mit den Funktionen eines Landeskonservators für Oberösterreich betrauten Sekretär der Zentralkommission Dr. Oskar Oberwalder derzeit Kadett-Aspirant beim Infanterie-Regiment Nr.14,XX. Marsch-Baon. II Kompagnie, Feldpost Nr. 324.

3.) Den Sekretär der Zentralkommission Dr. Wladimir Zaloziecki k.u.k. Oberleutnant der Reserve des Ulanenregimentes Nr. 8, derzeit im Offizierssanatorium auf dem Kobenzl.

4.) Den Sekretär des Landeskonservatorenamtes in Innsbruck Dr. theol. et phil. Josef Weingartner.

Alle genannten Funktionäre sind bereits seit einer Reihe von Jahren bei der Zentralkommission als Beamte in erfolgreicher Weise tätig und besitzen Dank ihrer Erfahrung und ihrer auf dem Gebiete der Denkmalpflege erworbenen praktischen und theoretischen Kenntnisse im hohen Grade die Eignung, bei den höchsten Kommandos als beratende Organe zu fungieren.

Schliesslich beehrt sich die Zentralkommission dem k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando für seine ihren Wünschen gegenüber so überaus entgegenkommende und wohlwollende Haltung, ihren wärmsten Dank auszusprechen.

Der Präsident:

3. [Official initiatives to remove art objects from war areas]

Two-page handwritten list by the Superintendent Office for Galleries and Art Objects (*Soprintendenza alle Regie Gallerie e agli Oggetti d'arte*), Venice

Undated [likely January - March 1918]

Italy, Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Provvedimenti di Guerra. Corrispondenza Pagan*

The list comprises objects dismantled and removed during the First World War from churches and chapels in Carnia. It includes church vestments, liturgical objects (such as reliquaries, silver chalices and crosses), a bell, wooden altars (among them Domenico da Tolmezzo's 1494 altarpiece from **Pieve di Zuglio**) and single sculptures (removed from altars) as well as a painting on canvas representing the *Conversion of St Paul* (16th-17th centuries).

MV

- Lavoro eseguito:
- Dalle sottosegnate chiese dei diversi paesi della Comina numero esposto i seguenti oggetti i quali si dovessero levare dagli altari dove erano fissi per poi in camions militari trasportarli a Tolmezzo e farne l'imballaggio in 4 casse 11 gabbie con un nullo con disposti
- N° 1. Cassa m. 1.15 x 0.85 x 0.20 - Chiesa par. di Piano d'Arta - 2 pianette, un piviale, un camicione - Chiesa par. di Paludra 4 pianette - Pieve di S. Maria di Gorto (Ovaro) 1 pianetta - Chiesa di S. Pietro di Lugli 3 pianette.
- N° 2. Cassa m. 0.85 x 0.50 x 0.30 - Chiesa par. di S. Giorgio di Conveglio 1 croce d'argento - Pieve di S. Maria di Gorto (Ovaro) 1 croce d'argento e due reliquioni.
- N° 3. gabbia 264 x 138 x 0.48 - Chiesa di Prato Carnico.
Parte inferiore di un altare in legno scolpito.
- N° 4. gabbia 260 x 168 x 0.48 - Chiesa di Prato Carnico
Parte superiore dell'altare sopraddetto.
- N° 5. gabbia 178 x 136 x 0.58 - Chiesa di Prato Carnico
Altare in legno scolpito.
- N° 6. gabbia 213 x 208 x 0.43 - Chiesa par. di Tavillio -
Altare Pala d'altare in legno scolpito.
- N° 7. gabbia 170 x 120 x 0.53 - Chiesa di S. Leonardo di Osis
Altare tedesco in legno scolpito.
- N° 8. gabbia 1.98 x 1.70 x 0.40. Chiesa di S. Floriano in Povoletto
Altare in legno scolpito.
- N° 9. gabbia 210 x 163 x 0.48. Chiesa di S. Leonardo di Osis
Parte inferiore di un altare in legno scolpito.
- N° 10. gabbia 210 x 153 x 0.48 Chiesa di S. Leonardo di Osis
Parte superiore dell'altare sopraddetto.
- N° 11. Cassa m. 1.17 x 0.50 x 0.48. Chiesa par. di Paludra
Quattro piccole pale tolte da due altari lasciati alcuni pezzi d'ornato dell'altare ai N° 12 e 13.

N° 12.	gabbia m. 2.04 x 1.73 x 0.43 - Chiesa par. di Paluttra		
	Parte superiore di una grande pala d'altare in legno scolp.		
N° 13.	gabbia m. 2.04 x 0.93 x 0.43. Chiesa par. di Paluttra		
	Parte inferiore della pala d'altare sopradetta.		
N° 14.	gabbia 2.28 x 2.13 x 0.43. Chiesa di S. Floriano d'Allegio		
	Pala d'altare in legno scolpito.		
N° 15.	cassa 0.85 x 0.50 x 0.30. Chiesa di S. Pietro di Zuglia		
	Due croci d'argento - un calice - un reliquiario - una sacca con avori.		
N° 16.	gabbia m. 2.96 x 0.82 x 0.48. Chiesa di S. Pietro di Zuglia		
	predella scolpita di un grande altare di bronzo.		
N° 17.	gabbia 2.58 x 2.43 x 0.40 Chiesa di S. Pietro di Zuglia		
	Grande pala in legno scolpito dell'altare sopradetta.		
N° 18.	gabbia 1.48 x 0.83 x 0.48. Chiesa di S. Pietro di Zuglia		
	Statua in legno di S. Pietro - Piccola campana di bronzo.		
N° 19.	rotolo m. 3.35 diametro 0.50. Chiesa di S. Pietro di Zuglia		
	Grande dipinto in tela (Conversione di S. Paolo).		
			179.75
			42.90
			825.85
		1300.00	233.75
		1282.25	1282.25
		0017.75	

II. BELLS, ORGANS AND CHURCH ROOFS INTO WEAPONS

Eleonora Dal Paos

The war did not only endanger what public opinion generally perceives as art heritage, but also objects that, although not devoid of artistic merit, were part of the daily life of communities. This was especially true for church objects which became charged with a high symbolic value just at the moment when they were at risk of destruction.

Since the beginning of the First World War, an increasing need for metals for military use had led the Ministry of War (*Kriegsministerium*) of the Habsburg Monarchy to first request as donation, and then obtain by requisition, all available metal objects, including copper roofs, church bells and organ pipes. With its Decree of 21 May 1915 (no. 1123), the Ministry of Religion and Education (*Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*) intervened in order to avoid the destruction of metalware objects with an artistic or historical value (especially church bells). Nevertheless, on 25 September, a further decree (no. 2533) established that bells should be handed over in return for the equivalent value of the confiscated metal. Parishes were required to provide information to be sent to higher church authorities. Bells were divided into three categories: 1) those dating before the end of the 17th century should not be removed; 2) those made during the 18th century should be relinquished, provided they were without artistic value; 3) bells from the 19th and beginning of the 20th century were to be relinquished regardless. Experts were entrusted with establishing their artistic value. An order was issued that bells to be relinquished should first be photographed or copied by drawing. However, due to the number of objects involved, many were melted down without previous examination. By a decree of the Ministry of War of 23 October 1915 (Abteilung VIII Hochbau no. 12330), copper roofs suffered the same fate, and two years later also the gathering of organ pipes was ordered (*ibidem*, no. 417 of 30 October 1917).

As metal obtained from church bells had already run out by mid-1917, a new and more stringent ordinance was issued (Decree of the Ministry of Territorial Defence of 22 May 1917, in «Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder», no. 227). New lists were compiled. According to Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, Chief of the *Staatsdenkmalamt* from 1917, in spite of safeguarding measures, only a limited number of bells escaped requisition: 10% in

Lower Austria, Salzburg, Tyrol and in the Austrian Littoral, 8% in Dalmatia, 7% in Vorarlberg, 5% in Upper Austria and Styria, and 4% in Moravia and Silesia.

With regard to Italy, soon after the war an ecclesiastical charity (*Opera di Soccorso per le chiese rovinate dalla Guerra*) was established in Venice to take charge of the restoration of damaged churches. Priests were asked to report on losses and destruction; they offered vivid accounts of requisition procedures and sometimes of the negotiations between priests and Austrian military forces. For instance, in a small village close to Gemona (Avasinis), Austrians renounced the small church bell in exchange for food provided by the locals. In other places, priests reported acts of violence and the bitter regret of the «good people» (Bressa), as well as damages to the buildings (Sutrio). Often priests and population also complained that the weight of the bells was undervalued in requisition receipts. It is clear, however, that bells were not estimated as cultural objects but on account of their material. Also, the bells' utility for the community was advanced as a motivation: the priest of Drenchia observed that due to the lack of bells the population of his parish, which included a vast number of small villages, could not be alerted about religious services. In addition, documentation relating to bells also contained reports about damages to paintings and other artworks.

In general bells and metalware suffered a similar destiny during the Second World War (see sect. XIX).

Selected bibliography

BENEDIK, GAČNIK 2015, pp. 52-53; GNIRS 1917; SCHUBERT-SOLDERN 1919; ŠKULJ, DOBRAVEC 2018, p. 115; TRENDELENBURG 1919

4. Collection of metalware, church bells

Metallsammlung, Kirchenglocken

Four-page typewritten transcription of a circular by Max Hussarek von Heinlein, Austrian Minister of Culture and Education, Vienna

14 October 1915

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 55 (*Deželni konservatorski urad za Primorsko*), box 4

From the very beginning of the First World War, Austrian authorities took care to prioritize and guarantee adequate metal supplies for the production of weapons and ammunition. The measures taken had a noticeable impact on the country's cultural heritage. On 14 October 1915, the Austrian Minister of Culture and Education sent a circular to all Austrian crownlands and to the Superior Council of the Protestant Church, giving detailed instructions on how to deal with church bells and metal objects, while stressing how to preserve church bells having artistic or historical value. It details many practical aspects of the measures: advice concerning the dismantling of bells, supervision by art experts, transport issues, collecting points of the 'donations', possible compensation of the costs incurred by the dismantling of bells, occasional reimbursement of their monetary value.

BM

Abschrift.

1712/K.U.M. Wien, am 14. Oktober 1915.

Metallsammlung, Kirchenglocken.

Z.Z.Pr. 1877/256 vom 12. Juni 1915,
Z.Z.Pr. 1877/265 vom 29. Juni 1915,
Z.Z.Pr. 1877/290 vom 7. August 1915 und
Z.Z.Pr. 1877/272-14 vom 16. Juli 1915.

An

sämtliche Herren Chefs der politischen Landesstellen
(mit Ausnahme von Galizien)
und an den k.k. Evangelischen Oberkirchenrat.

Gegen die Erteilung der Ermächtigung an Kirchenvermögensverwaltungen zur unentgeltlichen Ueberlassung von entbehrlichen Kirchenglocken an die Heeresverwaltung wird keine Einwendung erhoben, sofern die betreffenden Glocken keinen künstlerischen oder Altertumswert besitzen und die etwaigen Patrone sowie die sonstigen Konkurrenzfaktoren zustimmen. Soweit die Zustimmung des Religionsfonds oder Kultusetats in Frage kommt, wird dieselbe hiemit erteilt.

Im Einvernehmen mit dem k. und k. Kriegsministerium werden Eure Exzellenz ersucht, die Absendung der gewidmeten Glocken seitens der Kirchenverwaltungen an eine Sammelstelle zu veranlassen, als welche zweckmässig die Landeshauptstadt, eventuell der Sitz der bischöflichen Ordinariate zu wählen wäre.

In der Sammelstelle wären die Objekte zur Wahrung der Interessen der staatlichen Denkmalpflege durch die berufenen fachlichen Organe (die Landeskonservatoren bzw. sonstige Organe der Zentralkommission

für Denkmalpflege) zu besichtigen.

Bezüglich der Weiterleitung von der Sammelstelle ab, wollen sich Euerer Exzellenz mit dem k. und k. Kriegsministerium "Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung" in Wien ins Einvernehmen setzen.

Bei der Abnahme der Glocken könnte das autogene Schneidverfahren oder das Durchschlagen von Gewölben bzw. das Ausbrechen von den Patenten der Schallfenster zur Anwendung gelangen, welche letztere Arbeiten ebenso wie das Herstellen von Gerüsten nur unter Aufsicht eines befugten Fachmannes durchgeführt werden dürfen. Sollte die Abnahme Schwierigkeiten begegnen, sei es wegen der Vornahme der erforderlichen baulichen Veränderungen, sei es wegen des Mangels an Arbeitskräften, so hätten sich die einzelnen Kirchenverwaltungen schon vor der Abnahme an das Kriegsministerium "Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung" zu wenden. In Fällen dieser Art, in denen die Abnahme bedeutendere Kosten verursachen würde, erschiene bei begründeter Vermutung eines überwiegenden künstlerischen oder historischen Wertes die Besichtigung durch Organe der staatlichen Denkmalpflege schon vor der Abnahme zweckmässig.

Die Militärverwaltung wäre bereit, die Kosten der Abnahme der Glocken, sowie jene Kosten, welche aus den hiezu erforderlichen baulichen Veränderungen erwachsen, ferner die Kosten des Transportes der Glocken zur Sammelstelle zu vergüten.

Die Kriegsverwaltung behält sich jedoch bevor, die Abnahme in jenen Fällen, in welchen diesfalls

besondere Kosten erwachsen, davon abhängig zu machen, dass diese Kosten im Einklange mit dem Metallwerte der Glocken stehen. Diese Entscheidung wird das k. und k. Kriegsministerium "Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung" treffen, wenn die Abnahme der Glocke und die entsprechende Rekonstruktion begehrt wird. Die Kirchenverwaltungen wären daher einzuladen, in jenen Fällen, in welchen derartiger Ersatz begehrt wird, vorerst die Anzeige an das k. und k. Kriegsministerium "Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung" unter Angabe des Sachverhaltes zu richten.

Wenngleich die Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung nur die Einsammlung von Spenden bezweckt, so ist sie doch in Ausnahmefällen in der Lage, Metalle käuflich zu erwerben. In jenen Fällen, in welchen eine Entschädigung begehrt wird, könnte daher vom k. und k. Kriegsministerium "Patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung" der Requisitionspreis für das von fremden Bestandteilen befreite Metall bezahlt werden. Die Ablösung des vollen Sachwertes fällt nicht in den Rahmen der erwähnten Aktion.

Die Abgabe einer präzisen Erklärung, betreffend den Ersatz des gewidmeten Glockenmetalles durch Kanonenmetall nach Friedensschluss, erscheint dem k. und k. Kriegsministerium prinzipiell nicht statthaft. Es ist jedoch keineswegs ausgeschlossen, dass die Kriegsverwaltung gegebenenfalls alles tun wird, um den diesbezüglichen Wünschen insbesondere durch Zuweisung von bei den Versuchen sehr bewährten klangschönen Stahlglocken entgegenzukommen.

Für die Weiterleitung von der Sammelstelle ab würden eventuell militärische Transportmittel in Anspruch genommen werden und können die Anforderungen

militärischer Transportmittel oder militärischer
 Mannschaft entweder beim k. und k. Kriegsministerium
 oder beim zuständigen Militärkommando gestellt wer-
 den. Schliesslich wird bemerkt, dass Metallsendun-
 gen an das k. und k. Kriegsministerium "Patriotische
 Kriegsmetallsammlung" unter der Adresse Wien/Matz-
 leinsdorf, Zuschriften aber unter der Adresse Wien I.,
 Stubenring, gerichtet werden mögen.
 Bezüglich der Ueberlassung von Glocken evan-
 gelischer Kirchen wird unter einem der Evangelische
 Oberkirchenrat analog verständigt und mit der wei-
 teren Durchführung betraut.
 Der in dem obbezogenen Berichte erwähnte Er-
 lass des Ministeriums für Landesverteidigung vom 28.
 Juli 1915, Z. XVII - 14757, betrifft eine von diesem
 abgeordnet eingeleitete Aktion, welche - insoferne
 sie zugleich die Bergung der Glocken beinhaltet - das
 Ressort des Ministeriums des Innern berührt, wes-
 halb sich Euerer Exzellenz gegebenenfalls an letzte-
 res Ministerium wenden wollen.
 Der ehesten Vorlage des ausständigen wei-
 teren Berichtes wird entgegen gesehen.
 Der Minister für Kultus und Unterricht:

5. Requisition of church bells

Requisition von Kirchenglocken

Two one-page typewritten letters by Anton Gnirs, *Landeskonservator für das Küstenland*, to the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) in Vienna

4 and 6 November 1915

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 1100 (*K.K. Staatsdenkmalamt, Vienna*), box 1, 2666/1915, 24/Glocken Krain, Denkmalamt Karton 36

The final decision on melting down artistically important bells had been left to the Central Commission in Vienna. Anton Gnirs, responsible for monument protection in the Austrian Littoral as well as in Carniola and Carinthia, was entrusted with their selection. In his letter, dating 4 November 1915, he reports that the review of the Carniolian church bells inventory has been completed. He has also prepared a detailed list of bells excluded from military requisition because of their artistic and historical value, which he will send to the Regional Government of Carniola. In the attachment, dated 6 November, he adds a notice to be published in the official journal of the Central Commission («Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege», XIV, 1915, p. 245). In his letter Gnirs reports that out of a total of 4,500 bells, 916 had been evaluated as culturally significant. He also communicates that Josip Mantuani, director of the Regional Museum of Carniola in **Ljubljana** (*Landesmuseum Rudolphinum*), was working on a scholarly catalogue of Carniolian church bells (the documentation is now preserved in the Archdiocesan Archive of Ljubljana).

BM



Laibach, 4. November, 1915.

Zl. 509

Betreff: Requisition
von Kirchenglocken
mit 1 Beilage.

An die

k.k. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege
in
W i e n

Der Gefertigte meldet, das er eben die Durchsicht des in Krain befindlichen Inventares an Kirchenglocken vor deren Requisition für die k.k.Kriegsmetallsammlung abgeschlossen hat. Eine genaue Notierung der vom h.a. Standpunkte von der Metallgewinnung ausgeschlossenen Kirchenglocken mit Kunst-oder Denkmalswert wird zur weiteren Veranlassung dem k.k.Landespräsidium für Krain überreicht. Beiliegende Aufstellung dürfte zur Aufnahme in den Tätigkeitsbericht der Mitteilungen der k.k.Zentral:Kommission geeignet erscheinen.

Ymir

K. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege
2666 präs. am 11/XI 1915 mit 1 Blg.

(Fingertur)



gn Jelešič

ad 32000
82
Laibach, 6. November, 1915.

Die vom k.k. Landeskonservate für das Küstenland durchgeführte Untersuchung des Glockeninventars in Krain ergab, dass aus einem Bestande von ungefähr 4500 Kirchenglocken 916 Glocken mit Rücksicht auf ihren Kunst- oder Denkmalswert von der Abgabe zur Kriegsmetaligewinnung auszuschliessen sind. Von dem letzteren bis jetzt festgestellten Bestand stammen

aus dem 14. Jahrhundert	9	Kirchenglocken;
" " 15. "	21	" "
" " 16. "	32	" "
" " 17. "	193	" "
" " 18. "	624	" "
" " 19. und 20. Jahrhundert . .	18	" "
" einer bisher nicht bestimmten		

Zeit 19

916 Kirchenglocken.

An Gussorten dieser Glocken ist festgestellt:
Krainburg, Laibach, Cilli, Wiener-Neustadt /19. Jh./

Die Bearbeitung eines wissenschaftlichen Katalogs der Krainer Kirchenglocken vom Inventarstand 1915 wird vom Mitglied des Staatsdenkmalrates Herrn Museumsdirektor Dr. M a n t u a n i in Laibach besorgt.

gninis

am 15. / XI

Je 532

Krausert

6. Copper roofs

Kupferdächer

Two-page typewritten copy of a letter with handwritten addition by Anton Gnirs, *Landeskonservator für das Küstenland*, to the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) in Vienna. Attached are two drafts of responses by Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, high official of the Commission, to Anton Gnirs and to the Ministry of War

2 and 6 September 1916

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 1100 (*K.K. Staatsdenkmalamt, Vienna*), box 1, 2532/1916, 25/Kupferdächer Krain, Denkmalamt Karton 36

Referring to an ordinance by the Ministry of War, dated 29 August 1916, Anton Gnirs laments changes made in the list of Carniola's copper roofs available for military requisition. The author of these modifications had been Walter von Semetkowski, who held the office of *Landeskonservator* in Styria. Apparently von Semetkowski had limited the number of roofs to be preserved, thus contradicting his own previous expertise and consequently weakening the credibility of the Central Commission. Gnirs strongly complains about the assumption that declaring a work as artistically or historically significant would be considered an unpatriotic action. According to him, even monuments, first of all those without artistic interest, would ultimately need to be sacrificed to serve the «patriotic goal». Gnirs stresses that he himself induced the dismantling of the roof of a Franciscan church, which had not been listed by military authorities. He further points out that the small number of roofs to be dismantled in Carniola was due to the fact that in this territory copper roofs were not common.

In the draft response to the Ministry of War, Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern defends the patriotic behaviour of Semetkowski, mentioning the motivations which Gnirs himself had offered in his letter (the case of the Franciscan church and the scarcity of copper roofs in Carniola); at the same time, he informs Gnirs about this move.

BM

K. K. LANDESKONSERVATORENAMT
FÜR DAS KÜSTENLAND IN POLA,
Zl. 533

Laibach, 2. September 1916.

Kupferdächer.

An die

k. k. Z e n t r a l - K o m m i s s i o n
für Denkmalpflege

in

W i e n

Aus dem Erlasse Abt. 8/H B N^{RO} 10946 wird neuerdings
ersehen, dass in der Bewertung jener Denkmale, die zur
Kriegsmetallgewinnung herangezogen werden, zwischen den Lan-
deskonservatoren verschiedene Anschauungen bestehen. Der Lan-
deskonservator für Steiermark hat - wie die Durchsicht der
Glockenlisten für Kärnten zeigte - den Kreis der zu preisge-
gebenen Denkmale bedeutend erweitert und nunmehr auch eine
hohe Anerkennung dafür erhalten, dass früher von ihm ge-
schützte Kupferdächer jetzt von ihm preisgegeben wurden. Nach
den vorliegenden Tatsachen erscheint ja die Erklärung eines
Objektes als zu schützendes Denkmal fast als unpatriotische
Handlung.

Der k.k. Landeskonservator für Steiermark hat viel-
leicht dadurch ein unhaltbares Verhältnis geschaffen, dass er
heute Kupferdächer freigibt, die er zuvor aus kunsthistori-
schem Grunde zur Erhaltung bewertet hat. Ich glaube, dass die
einmal ausgesprochene Bewertung eines Denkmals beibehalten
werden muss, wenn sich der Denkmalsbeamte nicht selbst und

K. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege
2532 präs. am 4/9 1916 mit 1. Blg.

den Denkmalsdienst bloßstellen will. Es bleibt freilich eine Selbstverständlichkeit, dass im Falle vaterländischer Not auch Denkmale geopfert werden müssen. Sie mögen aber erst nach Verbrauch der Metallobjekte ohne Kunst- und Geschichtswert zur Verwendung kommen, wozu aber das Vaterland nicht das Entgegenkommen eines Landeskonservators nötig hat, da auch die in den Denkmalen befindlichen Metallvorräte den militärischen Stellen jederzeit zur Verfügung stehen.

Ich bemerke noch zu dem in Frage stehenden Ministerial-Erlass, dass den Kupferdächern in Krain ohne Kunstwert von den militär. Stellen die Note "eventuell zu belassen" gegeben wurde, soweit sie in Boragegenden liegen. Ich habe aus den Listen eine geringe Anzahl kleiner barocker Turmbeda-
 chungen wohl ausgeschieden, zumal das dort zu gewinnende Metall keinen besonderen Ertrag versprochen hat. Dafür habe ich die Abnahme der grossen kupfernen Dachflächen ^(Flachdach) der Franziskaner Kirche schon vor Monaten eingeleitet, die in den Listen der Militärbauaufsicht nicht enthalten waren. *Auss aus*

Krain geringe Kupfermengen aus Bedeckungen der Kriegsanstalt Gewinnung zuließen, ist auch in der geringen Gewinnzahl an Kupferdächern dieses Kronlandes begründet.

J. U. G. J. J.

7. [Request to exclude a historical bell from requisition]

Two-page typewritten letter by Josip Mantuani, director of the Regional Museum of Carniola in Ljubljana (*Landesmuseum Rudolphinum*), to the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) in Vienna

5 September 1916

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 55 (*Deželni konservatorski urad za Primorsko*), box 4

Josip Mantuani, **Ljubljana** museum's director and a «Korrespondent» of the Austrian Central Commission, contributed to safeguarding both tangible and intangible heritage. In September 1916, he demanded that a 1586 church bell from the St Nicholas Chapel in **Boštanj** (Lower Carniola) be excluded from requisition and kept in the Regional Museum. The bell, by Martin (Mert) Edlman, a Ljubljana bell-founder, was a rare example of Carniolan artistic craftsmanship. Mantuani also points out the bell's low weight and its scarce importance for armament purposes.

BM



Direktion
des
krain. Landesmuseums
„RUDOLFINUM“
in
Laibach.

o o

Zl. 442/1916.

An die

k. k. Z e n t r a l - K o m m i s s i o n
für Denkmalpflege
in

W i e n

Die Pfarrgemeinde Savenstein besitzt eine alte Glocke vom Jahre 1586, gegossen vom Laibacher Glockengießer Mert Edlman.

Die Glocke ist geborsten und das sie praktisch nicht mehr brauchbar ist, wurde sie von der Kirchenvorstellung für die Metallsammlung bestimmt.

Nun bilden aber Glocken des genannten Glockengießers in Krain schon Seltenheiten ersten Ranges - bisher sind nur drei solche ausgewiesen - und wäre demnach im Sinne des Denkmalschutzes die Savensteiner Glocke wert, dass sie rechtzeitig als historisches Dokument der Glockengießerkunst in Krain in 's Museum gelange.

Die unterzeichnete Direktion ersucht daher, die k.k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege wolle bei der Militärbehörde in geeigneter Weise intervenieren, dass die genannte Glocke dem Museum überwiesen werde. Das dürfte umso leichter zu erreichen sein, da das Gewicht - ca 35 kg - bei der grossen Masse wohl nicht in Betracht kommen kann, wenn

./.

ein Dokument von dieser lokalen Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes und der Kunsttechnik dauernd gerettet werden kann.

DIREKTION

des krainischen Landesmuseums "RUDOLFINUM"

Laibach, den 5. September, 1916.

Mankusani
Direktor.

K. k. Landeskonservatoren-Amt

neu. 6-9. 1916 Zl 548

8. Concerning the requisition of bells

Zur Glockenrequisition

One-page typewritten letter by Anton Gnirs, *Landeskonservator für das Küstenland*, to the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments in Vienna

9 October 1916

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 1100 (*K.K. Staatsdenkmalamt, Vienna*), box 1

Anton Gnirs reports from **Ljubljana** that the Military Construction Department (*Militärbauabteilung*) in **Graz** (Styria) had agreed to leave in place two church bells preserved in **Piñan** (Istria, nowadays Croatia), while another one, dated 1430 and already removed, was to be returned to the *Landeskonservatorat*. He uses this opportunity to stress the importance of repeated controls, insisting on the need of his own personal revision of bells selected for military requisition. He adds information on how church bells should be documented, through descriptions, measurements, plaster casts or paper rubbings of inscriptions and reliefs; the latter were mostly lacking in the documentation provided by parishes. Gnirs published two books on church bells, one of them already during wartime: *Alte und neue Kirchenglocken. Als ein Katalog der Kirchenglocken im österreichischen Küstenlande und in angrenzenden Gebieten mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Gußmeister* (Vienna 1917).

BM

K. K. LANDESKONSERVATORENAMT
FÜR DAS KÜSTENLAND IN FOLA.

Laibach, 9. Oktober 1911.

Zl. 627

Zur Glockenrequisition.

An die

k.k. Zentralkommission
für Denkmalpflege
in
W i e n

Die k.u.k. Militärbauabteilung Graz hat eben
nunmehr dankenswerter Weise in zwei Fällen zu Gunsten der
Denkmalsverwaltung entschieden und die 2 der ältesten Glocken
in Pedena zur Belassung bestimmt wie eine schon im Transport
befindliche kleine Glocke /Po 50, kg 19/ aus dem Jahre 1430
an das Landeskonservatorienamt rückleiten lassen.

Unabweislich notwendig hat sich gezeigt, dass jeder
an der Glockensammelstelle für Krain und Küstenland einlan-
gender Transport nochmals von mir revidiert wird, um wenig-
stens in einem Katalog die abgabenden Glocken zu erhalten.
hier um, in gegebenen Fällen nach interessierten Stellen
Die wichtigeren Stücke werden in einer Beschreibung aufgenom-
men, ihre Rippe im Mass abgezeichnet, wichtigere Inschriften
und Reliefs zum Teil in Gipsabgüssen oder Papierabklatschen
festgehalten. Letztere Massnahme, die freilich eine dauernde
Arbeit auf dem Sammelplatze notwendig macht, ist umso not-
wendiger, da von den ^{meisten} Pfarrämtern nicht einmal die Abklatsche
hergestellt worden waren.

L. O. Grün

K. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege
2885 präs. am 11/X 1911 mit Blg.

9. List of church bells of the parish district to be consigned for military armament
Elenchus campanarum quae in districtu parochiali usui militari tradendae veniunt

One-page typewritten template with handwritten inventory and description by Štefan Kroppek, priest of Stari Pazin (Istria)

11 June 1917

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 55 (*Deželni konservatorski urad za Primorsko*), box 3

In Austria-Hungary, church bells required for armament purposes were accurately surveyed during the First World War by using template forms. These forms, however, differed from region to region. The following example documents the response submitted by the priest of the church in **Stari Pazin** (Istria, nowadays Croatia), then belonging to the Diocese of Trieste-Koper. It describes four bells to be melted down: two from the parish Church of St George, one from the Chapel of St Lucy and one from the Chapel of St Anthony Abbot. Information on the artistic value (concerning reliefs with images), inscriptions, casting date, and the weight in kilo is provided for each bell. The remark «jam ablata» shows that – as of 11 June 1917 – three of them had already been removed.

BM

Ad N.^o 913/1917 .

Formulare I.

Provincia: Istria

Diocesis: Tergestina - Metrop.

Elenchus
 campanarum quae in districtu parochiali usui militari tradendae veniunt.

N. ser. num.	Ecclesia (Capella) in	Numerus inscriptio- nis in capella	Midi- is centis	Annus fusions	In campana apparet		OBSERVATIONES
					Inscriptio *	Effigies **	
	<u>Pazin Stari.</u>						
1.	Eccl. S. Georgii	23/22	1865		Fideleium pictae ablati.	Crucifera, B. M. V. S. Georg. et S. V. H.	jam ablata.
2.	do do	46	66	1750	Communitas Pazini veteri restaurata curavit sub Parocho Josepho Ortlich.	S. Georgius et Crucifera, Cor Leon et B. Mariae Virgine.	
3.	Capella S. Luciae	32	32		M. D. C. L.	Crucifera, B. M. V. S. Ioh. Bapt. et S. V. H.	jam ablata.
4.	do S. Antonii	30	30		nisi effigie et cum inscriptione in bellis S. S.		jam ablata.
					Ab Officio parochiali, Pazini veteri die 11. Iunii, 1917.		
					Stephanus Kroppek Parochus.		

Adnotatio: Ad * et ** verbatim transcribitur inscriptio; et bene describitur effigies.

10. Identification of church bells existing at the reference date

Ausweis über die am Tage der Ausfertigung vorhandenen Kirchenglocken / Tabula campanarum die conscriptionis extantium

Two-page printed form with handwritten data and a sketch by Anton Pelnar, parish priest of St. Stefan an der Gail, Carinthia

22 June 1917

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 55 (*Deželni konservatorski urad za Primorsko*), box 2

Based on an ordinance from the Ministry of Territorial Defence («Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder», no. 227 of 22 May 1917), a second wave of bell requisitions started in May 1917. The source provides an example of the form used for the German speaking territories of the Habsburg Monarchy. The priest Anton Pelnar of **St. Stefan an der Gail** recorded three bells: one of high artistic value decorated and inscribed with the names of the patrons and of the bell founder, Lorenz Pesla (1658) in a parish church, and two smaller ones at the Cemetery Chapel. Pelnar's bell is documented through a sketch on the back of the form.

BM

Diözese <i>Dioecesis</i>	<i>Jurk</i>	Kronland <i>Provincia</i>	<i>Hämeen</i>
Dekanat <i>Decanatus</i>	<i>Hermagor</i>	Polit. Bezirk <i>Districtus polit.</i>	<i>Hermagor</i>
Pfarramt <i>Parochia</i>	<i>St. Stefan an der Jurk</i>	Gerichtsbezirk <i>Distr. judicialis</i>	<i>Hermagor</i>

Ausweis

über die am Tage der Ausfertigung vorhandenen

Kirchenglocken.

Tabula campanarum

die conscriptionis extantium.

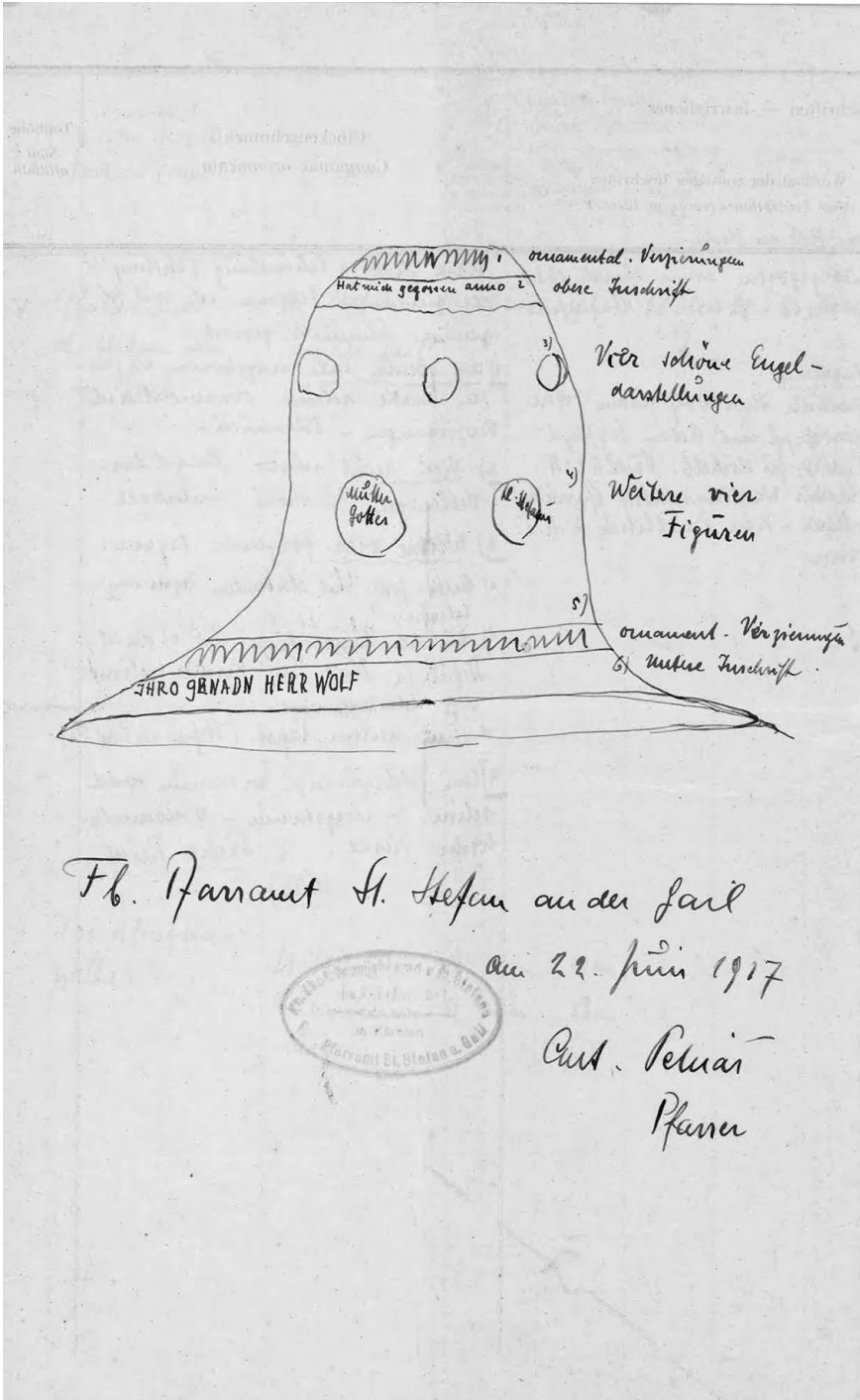
des Pfarramtes <i>Parochiae</i>	{	Gemeinde <i>Pagus sive municipium</i>	<i>St. Stefan an der Jurk</i>
		Ort <i>Vicus</i>	<i>St. Stefan an der Jurk</i>
		Letzte Post <i>Ultima posta</i>	<i>St. Stefan an der Jurk</i>

Belehrung zur Ausfüllung der Rubriken.

Quomodo campanarum tabulae et earum partes conscribendae sint.

<p>Zu 2: Die Kirche (Filiale, Kapelle) ist gleichlautend mit der Anführung im Diözesanschematismus zu bezeichnen.</p>	<p><i>Ecclesia (filiatis, capella) eodem nomine que in schematismo dioecesis appellanda est.</i></p>
<p>Zu 3 und 4: Die Glockenmaße sind wie folgt zu nehmen: der Durchmesser wird am Schlagkranz (unterster Rand der Glocke) gemessen; in die vertikal zu messende Höhe ist die Krone einzubeziehen.</p>	<p><i>Campanarum mensurae hoc modo faciendae sunt, ut primo diameter infimae campanae marginis, secundo altitudo totius campanae una cum summa eius parte, quae corona dicitur, directe ad perpendicularium demetiatur.</i></p>
<p>Zu 7: Ist die Jahreszahl mit ungewöhnlichen, altertümlichen oder unverständlichen Zeichen an der Glocke angebracht, so ist dieselbe in einer Zeichnung oder in einem Papierabdruck beizuschließen.</p>	<p><i>Fusionis annus si aut pervetustis aut notis lectu difficilibus in campana notatus extat, lineis describatur aut ectypo exprimat.</i></p>
<p>Zu 8: Trägt die Glocke außer den Inschriften noch Meisterzeichen (Monogramme), so sind dieselben in einer Zeichnung oder in einem Papierabdruck beizuschließen.</p>	<p><i>Praeter alias campanae inscriptiones et signa futorum (monogrammata) eodem modo aut lineis describantur aut ectypo exprimantur. Imagines aut ectypo huic tabulae conjungantur.</i></p>
<p>Zu 9: Hier ist kurz anzugeben, ob es sich handelt um a) Heiligenbilder und welche? b) Bildkompositionen, c) Abdrücke von Münzen, Medaillen, Plaketten, d) Tierbilder, e) Wappen.</p>	<p><i>In hac parte describantur campanae ornamenta, num sint a) singulae sanctorum figurae et quorum, b) figurarum compositiones et quorum, c) nummorum parvorum aut magnum expressiones aut tabulae figuratae, d) ornamenta bestiarum figuris composita, e) insignia heraldica (abbatum, pontificum, principum etc.)</i></p>

Landkarte Nr. mm	Kirche (Kapelle) Ecclesia (capella)	Ort Vicus	Glockenausmaße Campanae mensurae			Inschriften — Inscriptiones		Glockenschmuck Campanae ornamenta	Tonhöhe Soni altitudo
			Größter Durchmesser Diameter maximus in cm	Größe Höhe Altitudo maxima in cm	Gewicht Pondus in kg	Jahreszahl Anno	Wortlaut der sonstigen Inschriften Aliae inscriptiones (verba ac literae)		
1	Pfarrkirche St. Stefan am die Jaid	St. Stefan am die Jaid	126cm	92cm	1100 kg	1658	<p>Hat mich gegossen anno christi 1658 Loranz Perla : Gießer in Klagenfurt</p> <p>Am oberen Teile des Glocke.</p> <p>Am Schlagschuss: Herr Gottada Herr Wolf Adam Herr Georg Oberkopf mit Adam Seyfried Frey H. V. V. im Mittelb. Vord. h. H. Herr Blasius Westmannhüsch Pfarrer — Georg Kauer — Peter Paulitsch K.H.J. Lautner</p>	<p>Kein Glocke - Schenkung (Stiftung?) der germanische Personem ist mit ge- zenden Schenkung gepost.</p> <p>1) am oberen Teile einfacheren des son- den Glocke solche ornamentale Verzierungen - Schmuck.</p> <p>2) Die recht schöne Engel dar- stellungen in etwas rustikal</p> <p>3) Welche vier folgende Figuren: a) Heiliger Johannes mit stehendem Jesus am Schloß; b) der hl. Kasimir mit 1) der hl. Stefanus steht als Kirchenpatrone auf. Heilige c) ein heiliger Papst (Stefan der Papst?)</p> <p>4) Am Schlagschuss wiederum recht schöne - ornamentale solche Figuren. (siehe Rück- seite)</p>	?
2	Friedhofka- pelle	St. Stefan Kalanien- berg	37cm	29cm	?	?			
			42cm	36cm	?	?			



11. [Estimate of organ in the Capuchin church in Celje, Lower Styria]

One-page typewritten assessment by Hugolin Sattner, Chairman of the Diocese's Commission for Organs and Bells (*Diöcesankommission für Orgeln und Glocken*) of the Ljubljana Diocese

12 December 1917

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 1100 (*K.K. Staatsdenkmalamt, Vienna*), box 1

Along with bells, metal roofs and metal liturgical objects, tin pipes from organs with more than eight registers were also to be confiscated for Austrian military purposes during the First World War. As chief of the **Ljubljana** Diocese Commission for Organs and Bells, the composer and conductor Hugolin Sattner, friar in the Franciscan convent of Ljubljana, produced an assessment regarding the organ in the Capuchin church of **Celje** in Lower Styria, installed by Ivan Naraks from **Petrovče** (Lower Styria) in 1911. Aiming to prevent its confiscation, Sattner praised its material quality, disposition, and intonation. Walter von Semetkowski, *Landeskonservator* in Styria, when reporting to superior authorities in Vienna on 23 January 1918, referred to Sattner's assessment as being the sole reason for maintaining the organ in the church. He stated that there were no art historical reasons for its preservation, as the organ was new. However, the organ remained in the Capuchin church up to the present day.

BM

Begutachtung.

Der gefertigte, mit hohem Erlass des k.k. Mministeriums f. Kultus und Unterricht für die Begutachtung des musikalisch-künstlerischen Wertes der Orgelwerke bestellter Sachverständige, hat vor etlichen Jahren [added in pencil:] 5/l. 914 die vom heimatlichen Orgelbaumeister Joh. Naraks erbaute Orgel in der Kapuzinerkirche in Cilli kollaudirt und gefunden, dass dieselbe im Bezug auf die Disposition, Güte des Materials und Intonation allen modernen künstlerischen Anforderungen entspricht und, namentlich hinsichtlich der tadellosen Funktion durch alle diese Jahre, als ein Kunstwerk erster Güte bezeichnet zu werden verdient; weshalb es sehr zu bedauern wäre, wenn dieselbe durch den Ausbau irgendeines Registers den künstlerischen Wert einbüßen müsste. Er empfiehlt daher die vollständige Erhaltung dieses Werkes.

Laibach am 12. December 1917.

[signature:] P. Hugolin Sattner

Fb. Konsistorialrat, Obmann der Diöcesankommission für Orgel und Glocken.

12. [Damages to churches in small villages of Friuli]

Two-page handwritten report by Francesco Comelli, priest of Piano d'Arta (Province of Udine)

25 December 1918

Italy, Udine, Archivio Storico Diocesano, ACAU I Guerra Mondiale, folder *III Danni*, file *Guerra 1915-1918/Campane rubate*

The confiscation of bells primarily affected the Diocese of Udine. Already on 11 December 1918, the Archbishop of Udine requested information from local parishes. Priests' replies are kept in the Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile of Udine.

This document is an example of these replies. The priest of Piano d'Arta, a village of Carnia, informs that all bells of his parish had been removed, except for one situated in the remote area of **Cabia**. He adds that Austrian soldiers had taken away an old painting from the Church of the Holy Spirit in **Chiusini di Piano d'Arta**.

EDP

Piano d'Arta

A Sua Ecc. Mons. Arcivescovo di Udine

In risposta alla Circolare dell'undici corr., riguardante i danni sofferti dagli edifici di culto, suppellettili sacre, canoniche, case coloniche e terreni del Beneficio, mi tengo a dichiarare, che in questa Parrocchia e Beneficio non venne arrecato altro danno, che la deportazione di tutte le campane, fatta eccezione di una che si potè salvare a Cabia.

Coi più rispettosi ossequi

Piano d'Arta 25 Dic. 1918.

Devotissimo servo

Sac. Fr. Comelli parroco

P.S. Alla mancanza delle Campane devo aggiungere pur quella di una tela, dipinta da buon autore, rappresentante la discesa dello Sp[irito] S[anto] su gli Apostoli, tolta da Soldati austriaci dall'altare della Chiesetta dello Spirito Santo di Chiusini.

13. [Damages to churches in small villages of Friuli]

Two-page handwritten report by Angelo de Reggi, priest of Sutrio (Province of Udine)

16 April 1919

Italy, Udine, Archivio Storico Diocesano, ACAU I Guerra Mondiale, folder *III Danni*, file *Guerra 1915-1918/Campane rubate*

Soon after the end of the war, the ecclesiastical charity (*Opera di Soccorso per le chiese rovinate dalla Guerra*), established for repairing damaged churches, launched a survey in order to ascertain the number, weight and kind of bells that had been requisitioned and melted down by Austrian military authorities during the war.

In March 1919, a circular was sent to Archbishops and Bishops of the territories formerly occupied by the Central Powers to be diffused among parishes. Data were published in Venice in September 1919 in the *Statistica delle campane asportate dalle province venete dai Germanici e dagli Austro-ungarici o distrutte nella zona di guerra*.

This document is an example of the replies sent by the priests of the Diocese of Udine: the parson of **Sutrio**, a small village in the mountains of Carnia, gives a brief overview of war damages to churches of his parish, deploring not only the loss of bells, but also the partial destruction of the stairway to the main church.

EDP

Parrocchia di Sutrio. Campane

N. 24 R[egistro] G[enerale]

In questa Parrocchia di Sutrio sono state tolte, nei quattro campanili delle quattro Chiese, in più volte N. 10 campane del peso complessivo di Kg. 4607.

L'incaricato per l'esecuzione di questi ordini era un certo Grim Adolfo Feldweber [sic; Feldwebel] 100 [sic; 10°?] Armata Ing. Referat Comand. Distrett. Tolmezzo.

Le campane gettate giù dalla torre della Chiesa Parrocchiale, furono fatte rotolare per la scalinata rompendo tutti i 30 scalini di pietra causando un danno assai rilevante di circa duemila lire. – Esiste soltanto un Buono per due campane, buono fatto in data 6 giugno 1918 di Kg. 1350. Il valore totale non saprei dichiarare; erano due concerti; di tre grandi campane nella Chiesa di S. Ulderico di Sutrio, e di tre grandi campane della Chiesa Parrocchiale d'Ognissanti.

Le prime hanno scolpita l'iscrizione: Fonderia De Poli Udine anno 1892 – le seconde: Fonderia Colbacchini Padova anno 1890 – Due campane nella Chiesa Filiale di S. Orsola Nojaris hanno l'iscrizione: Paese di Nojaris – Due della Filiale di S. Nicolò di Tavella di Sutrio, argentine, antiche, hanno scolpita la data di Fondazione MDCCLXXVI.

Sarebbe d'urgenza provvedere per intanto almeno per le due Chiese principali Chiesa di S. Ulderico di Sutrio e Chiesa Parrocchiale di Ognissanti Sutrio.

Con osservanza, Devotissimo D. Angelo De Reggi Parroco di Sutrio

Sutrio 16 Aprile 1919

III.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF FRIULI
DURING THE AUSTRO-GERMAN OCCUPATION
(1917-1918)

Donata Levi, Martina Visentin

In October 1917, Austrian and German troops jointly succeeded in breaking the Italian front line on the Isonzo river, occupying Friuli and parts of Veneto until autumn 1918. In the occupied territories, the German and the Austro-Hungarian armies separately set up a so-called Art Protection Team (*Kunstschutzgruppe*), charged with the protection of monuments. In order to act more effectively, the occupation zone was divided into two distinct areas: While the Austro-Hungarian group controlled the northern and south-eastern districts of Friuli (Carnia and Canal del Ferro on the one hand and the area stretching from **Cividale** to the Friulian plain, on the other), the German group took over the zone of the foothills south of the **Udine-Venice** railway line. Both groups had been set up in compliance with The Hague Convention regarding obligations to defend the artistic heritage of occupied territories in case of war.

When the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe* was established, authorities drew upon the same experts previously engaged in safeguarding the cultural assets of the Austrian Littoral in 1915. Therefore, Anton Gnirs and Oskar Oberwalder became responsible for the occupied territories. Additionally, the Austro-Hungarian art protection team was supported by Paul Buberl, Karl Holey, Oswald von Kutschera-Woborsky and Hans Tietze. In the months to follow, the team's composition underwent some changes: The Hungarian Frigyes Antal as well as Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg, Franz Ottmann, Alfons Ivo Quiquerez, Heinz Julius Thomaseth and Rudolf Wolkan joined or replaced former staff members.

Despite the important role played by both *Kunstschutzgruppen*, only the Austro-Hungarian activities in Friuli have been so far examined and thoroughly researched (BERETTA 2003-2004; BERETTA 2008; PERUSINI 2008). Two of the documents published below (docs 14 and 15) shed light also on the German group, specifically on the guidelines that regulated its activities and on the field work of its members.

Guidelines for German *Kunstschutz* officers were issued on 14 and 27 November 1917. Later, they were augmented and improved by Walter Gräff and Otto von Falke, both important exponents of the German art world; in particular from January 1915, von Falke – along with Paul Clemen, *Provinzialkonservator* of the Rhine Province and responsible for the protection of architectural works – had

been entrusted by the German Emperor Wilhelm II to take care of movable art objects. The new guidelines were communicated to officers on 15 June 1918.

Tasks included reporting on damages and removals of cultural objects and investigating those presumed to be responsible for these actions. The focus, however, was on the preservation of local cultural heritage; this also included cataloguing artworks and scientific materials as well as photographic campaigns. The reports testify to the systematic methodology of the German art historians headed by Walter Mannowsky and Walter Gräff. They achieved two intertwined goals regarding the artistic landscape of Friuli: a survey of its cultural artifacts and monuments (which the occupying armies at that time considered their own) and a thorough art historical study on the region's heritage, meant to be a preliminary work for a comprehensive postwar publication. It is interesting to note that German occupation authorities in the Second World War made use of these topographic descriptions of artworks as a basis for analogue surveys, conducted after September 1943. The *Kunstschutzgruppen* enriched the empirical knowledge on the area's cultural heritage, which until then had never been systematically inventoried.

The task of the *Kunstschutzgruppen* changed after the battle on the Piave (June 1918), when art objects began to be considered as possible collateral to be used in future negotiations. In fact, during the last months of the occupation of Udine in the summer of 1918, the Austro-Hungarian army hardened its stance, as is shown by the seizure of 28 boxes with objects from the Udine Town Museum, sent to Vienna on 9 August 1918. As described in the diary of a local scholar, Raffaello Sbuelz, the seizure came unexpected for many (SBUELZ 1917-1918). The episode is also mentioned by Hans Tietze in his famous 1919 pamphlet *Die Entführung der Wiener Kunstwerke nach Italien*, although he only refers to the Toppo collection of archaeological objects, which had been donated to the Town Museum of Udine in 1883. In his paper, Tietze juxtaposes Austrian correctness with Italian art historians' rapacity, revealed in post-1919 restitution affairs (see sect. VI). The episode, a telling example of the political uses of art heritage, anticipated the bitter postwar disputes on restitutions to Italy from the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire (TIETZE 1919a).

Selected bibliography

BERETTA 2003-2004; BERETTA 2008; FRANK 2016; MOSCHETTI 1928; PERUSINI 2008; TIETZE 1919a; VISENTIN 2017; VISENTIN 2020

14. Tasks of German Art Officers

Aufgaben der deutschen Kunstoffiziere

Three-page typewritten report, with signature, by Lieutenant Walter Gräff, member of the German *Kunstschutzgruppe*

15 June 1918

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Unterricht und Kultus, Kleine Bestände, Bundesdenkmalamt, box 70

Walter Gräff describes the tasks of the German *Kunstschutzgruppe*, which had to report on damages to, or removals of, cultural assets. It also had to suggest appropriate measures for safeguarding and further protection. The members of the group also made efforts to identify lost artworks and investigated whether the persons responsible for these actions were civil or military, Italian or German. In fact, by means of specific interventions, the team was mainly in charge of preventing works from being stolen or destroyed; however, this interception depended on the availability of personnel and of financial means. Nonetheless, Gräff stresses that a necessary starting point for further research should be a catalogue of art works, based on literature and to be achieved «Hand in Hand» through a specific photographic campaign. He also recommends an Austro-German board to be created, which should decide on removals and deal with occasional disputes. The letter is followed by a lengthy handwritten text which constitutes the first draft of the above-mentioned catalogue.

MV

Udine, 15.VI.1918

[added in pen:] Deutsche Kunstschutz im bez. Ital. Abt[ei]ll[ung] D II

[added in pen:] Betr. Aufgaben der Kunststoffiziere

Betr. Aufgaben der deutschen Kunststoffiziere.

Die Aufgaben der deutschen Kunststoffiziere sind durch die Anlage zu Ziffer 8 des Etappentagesbefehls der Etappe 14 vom 29. November 1917 gestellt worden, die auch für das Gebiet der 14ten Armee Gültigkeit gehabt haben. Durch die Instruktion für die mit dem Kunstschutz im besetzten Italien vertrauten Kunstsachverständigen wurden diese Aufgaben etwas modifiziert und durch Ausführungsbestimmungen ergänzt.

Im Einvernehmen mit Herrn Geheimrat von Falcke, der die Leitung des Kunstschutzes an sämtliche[n] Fronten unter sich hat, betrachten die Kunststoffiziere als ihre Aufgabe:

1. Den Schutz der vorhandenen Kunstwerke und Denkmäler der Wissenschaft gegen Verschleppung und Zerstörung. Hierzu ist nötig, die Feststellung des Zustandes der vorhandenen Werke und Massnahmen zur Erhaltung gefährdeter Werke im Rahmen der verfügbaren Kräfte und Mittel.
2. Die Feststellung, welche Werke nicht mehr vorhanden sind und aus welchem Grunde. Ob sie durch Italiener abgeführt, ob sie durch kriegerische Ereignisse verloren, ob sie durch italienische, deutsche oder verbündete Truppen zerstört oder verschleppt sind.
3. Zu diesem Zwecke ist anzulegen, als Unterlage der ganzen Arbeit:
4. Ein Verzeichniss der Denkmäler der Kunst und Wissenschaft auf Grund eingehender Literaturstudien und anderer Nachrichten. Dies Inventar wird also den derzeitigen Be[s]tand an solchen Werken enthalten, der durch Augenscheinnahme zu prüfen ist, und als Grundlage zu einer wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung des gesamten Denkmalguts dienen kann. Hand in Hand mit diesen Arbeiten geht die fotografische Aufnahme aller bedeutenden Werke, besonders derjenigen, deren Aufnahme in Friedenszeiten Schwierigkeiten im Wege stehen würden.

Durch die Aufstellung des Inventars und diese fotografischen Aufnahmen, die noch ergänzt werden durch die bereits vorhandenen italienischen Fotografien, besonders der abgeführten Kunstwerke, wird das gesamte Denkmalgut des Gebiets erschlossen und damit eine Kulturarbeit geschaffen, die die Italiener bisher nicht haben leisten können.

Von diesen Aufgaben sind im wesentlichen abgeschlossen:

1. Die Bearbeitung des früheren Gebiets der 14ten Armee und der Etappe 14 bis zum Tagliamento.
 2. In Bearbeitung befinden sich noch: Das Etappengebiet östlich des Tagliamento und die Stadt Udine.
 3. Als Aufgabe für die Zukunft ist vorgemerkt
 - a. Die Bearbeitung der deutschen Einmarsch-Wege bei der Offensive zur rechtzeitigen Klärung von Fragen, die sich im Laufe der Zeit über Zerstörung und Verschleppung von Denkmälern und das Verschulden hierbei zwischen Deutschen und Verbündeten er-
-

heben können. Auftraggeber Herr Oberst im Generalstab Freiherr von Schäffer.
Voraussichtlicher Zeitpunkt des Abschlusses der Arbeiten unter 2 und 3a etwa am
15ten August.

- b. Es wird sich empfehlen, ein paritätisches Kunstreferat über auszuführende oder zu beschlagnahmende Kunstwerke einzurichten, das auch etwa vorkommende Streiffälle bei Zerstörung oder Verlust von Denkmälern zu bearbeiten hat.

[signature:] Gräff Leutnant der Landwehr

15. Report on activities in the period from 15 July to 15 August 1918

Bericht über die Tätigkeit in der Zeit vom 15. Juli-15. Aug. 1918

Four-page typewritten report, signed «M» (Mannowsky?) in pencil, presumably compiled by members of the German *Kunstschutzgruppe*

Undated, but likely soon after 15 August 1918

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Unterricht und Kultus, Kleine Bestände, Bundesdenkmalamt, box 70

The report, offering an overview on the activities of the German *Kunstschutzgruppe*, is divided into the following paragraphs: 1. *Kunstschutz* in the districts of **Cividale**, **Tarcento** and **Gemona**, containing information on damages, relocations and thefts; 2. *Bibliotheken und Archive*, with regard to **Udine**, **Moggio Udinese** and Resiutta; 3. *Denkschrift*, concerning the art topography of Friuli; 4. *Photographische Aufnahmen*, in relation to a planned publication.

MV

Bericht

Ueber die Taetigkeit in der Zeit vom 15. Juli - 15. Aug. 18.

I. Kunstschutz:

In der Berichtszeit wurden folgende Orte besucht:

Im Bezirk Cividale: Cividale, Attimis, [added in pen:] Brischis

Im Bezirk Tarcento: Tarcento, Aprato, Buja, Codesio, Collalto, Colle, Rumiz, Nimis, Trep-po-Grande, Urbignano, Zegliacco.

Im Bezirk Gemona: Venzone, Costa, St. Giacomo, St. Lucia, Portis

Im allgemeinen wurde wieder beobachtet, dass kirchlicher oder oeffentlicher Kunstbesitz mit wenigen Ausnahmen intakt geblieben ist, dass Privatbesitz, wo die Eigentuemmer oder ihre Verwalter dageblieben waren, ebenfalls, soweit sich das feststellen liess, nur geringe Schaedigungen erlitten hat, dass dagegen, wo Eigentuemmer oder Verwalter geflohen waren, fast ueberall nur spaerliche Reste des beweglichen Inventars noch aufzufinden sind.

Im besonderen ist zu erwaeunen:

Im Dom von Venzone sind nach glaubwuerdiger Aussage des Pfarrers in der Nacht vom 4. auf 5. November 17. angebl. kroatische Truppen eingedrungen, haben einen Opferstock mit Pickhauen aus der Wand gebrochen und beraubt, fuer mehere 1000 Lire Wachs aus den Schraenken und von den Altaeren entwendet, eine Anzahl Messgewaender verschleppt und mit diesen in der Kirche Unfug getrieben, ferner den in der Sakristei untergebrachten Pfarrarchiv [sic] erbrochen und die Registerbaende der letzten 5 Jahre sowie einige Cameralbuecher aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert verfeuert.

Etwa Anfang Dezember hat ein Oesterreich[isch]er Offizier angeblich im Auftrage eines Wiener Museums eine holzgeschnittene Pietagruppe von 5 Figuren sowie eine holzgeschnittene Madonna m. d. Kinde (Anf. 16. Jahrhundert) aus dem Dom bzw. der dazugehoerigen Mumienkapelle dem Pfarrer abgenoetigt und nur einen unverhaeltnismaessig geringen Betrag dafuer hinterlassen. Die Figuren wurden spaeter bei Wiener Antiquaren aufgefunden. Naehere Untersuchungen sind noch im Gange.

Aus dem Sitzungssaale des Rathauses in Venzone wurden Anfang Januar 2 Bilder auf Veranlassung eines deutschen Offiziers entfernt und nicht zurueckgegeben. Hierueber besondere Meldung anliegend.

Die kleine Kirche St. Lucia zwischen Venzone und Portis befindet sich im Zustande trauriger Verwahrlosung. Die saemtlichen beweglichen Einrichtungsgegenstaende sind verschwunden, die Marmorverkleidung des Hauptaltars ist abgeschlagen, die Stufen des Altars entfernt, der Boden an verschiedenen Stellen aufgerissen, die beiden Schnitzaltaere sind ihrer Statuen beraubt, die hoelzerne Verkleidung des Altarraumes zum grossen Teil zerschlagen, der ganze Raum in uebelster Weise beschmutzt. In der Kirche befinden sich auf hoch angebrachten Consolen rechts und links von dem gotischen Chor mit seinem Freskenschmuck aus dem 15. Jahrhundert 2 Apostelstatuen, Tonsculpturen aus der ersten Haelfte des 15. Jahrhunderts von grossem Kunstwert, freilich durch neue Uebermalung in groben Farben arg entstellt. Da die

Bergung dieser Figuren in Anbetracht ihrer Schwere und ihrer hohen Aufstellung ohne besondere Vorarbeiten (Geruestbau etc.) nicht moeglich war, wurde dem Pfarrer von Venzone, dem St. Lucia untersteht, aufgegeben, fuer sichere Schliessung der Kirche zu sorgen. Nach seiner Angabe ruehrt die Verwuestung schon aus der Zeit vor dem Rueckzuge her, und ist von italienischen Truppen angerichtet worden, die die Kirche zur Unterbringung von Mannschaften und Material benutzt haben.

II. Bibliotheken und Archive.

In Udine wurden die Bibliotheken und Archive der Grafen Caiselli und der Grafen Prampero besucht und ihr Bestand aufgenommen. Besondere Schutzmassregeln eruebrigten sich, da die Sammlungen von den Eigentuemern in gutem Stande gehalten werden. Die schon frueher besuchte Bibliothek der Grafen Della Torre wurde, da die Ortskommandantur ablehnte, ihren Schutz weiterhin zu uebernehmen, in die Bibliotheka-Communale ueberfuehrt.

In Venzone wurde festgestellt, dass das Archiv Communale trotz Aufforderung von oesterr. Seite noch nicht in Ordnung gebracht war. Es wurden die noetigen Weisungen wiederholt. Ueber das Archiv parrochiale vergl. oben. Das wertvolle Archiv Dell'Istituto Elemosiriere [sic] wurde in Ordnung gebracht, verschlossen und der Obhut des deutschen Seidenamts, des derzeitigen Verwalters des Gabaeudes, empfohlen.

In Moggio wurden die Archive della Pretura und Del Commune unbeschaedigt vorgefunden. Dagege[e]n ergab sich, dass in Resiutta das Archiv del Commune ganz, das Archiv della Parrochia groesstenteils vernichtet worden sind.

III. Denkschrift

Von der gemaess Verfg. D. Ltg. Nr. 12634 Ziff. 3 vom 22.6.18 zu fertigenden Denkschrift wurden die allgemeinen Teile im wesentlichen fertig gestellt. Zum wirklichen Abschluss koennen diese aber erst gebracht werden, wenn die Bearbeitung des Gebietes oestlich des Tagliamento beendet ist, was in den naechsten Wochen erwartet werden kann. Erschwerend wirkt dabei freilich der Mangel an Befoerderungsmoeglichkeiten, der dazu zwingt, den groessten Teil der oft weit auseinanderliegenden Orte und einzelnen Kirchen und Villen trotz der grossen Hitze zu Fuss zu bereisen.

IV. Photographische Aufnahmen.

Die mit der Inventariation Hand in Hand gehende photographische Aufnahme der Kunstdenkmaeler ist weiter gefoerdert worden. Die Zahl der brauchbaren Aufnahmen hat 700 bereits ueberschritten. Erschwerend wirkt hier vor allem der Mangel an photographischem Material, dem auch durch Entgegenkommen des Bild- und Filmamtes in Berlin nur auf kurze Zeite abgeholfen werden konnte. Die bereits beim K.M. beantragte Bewilligung einer bestimmten Summe fuer diese Zwecke ist fuer den erspriesslichen Fortgang der Arbeiten unbedingt erforderlich.

V. Aufgaben

Die wichtigste Aufgabe fuer die naechste Zeit bleibt zunaechst die Bearbeitung des Gebietes oestlich des Tagliamento und der deutschen Aufmarschgebiete zu Ende zu fuehren und gleichzeitig den umfassenden Schlussbericht (Denkschrift) zum Abschluss zu bringen. Ein enger gehaltener Bericht fuer Zwecke des Auswaertigen Amts gemaess Schreiben der Ltg. Nr.

14216 v. 11.8.18 soll dann auf Grund der Denkschrift abgesandt werden. Ferner ist noch eine, mit zahlreichen Illustrationen versehene Publikation gemeinsam mit der oest[-]Jung. Kunstgruppe geplant. Ueber Umfang und Art sowie ueber die Beteiligung der einzelnen Bearbeiter finden z. Zeit noch Besprechungen statt, nach deren Abschluss der Plan der Leitung zur Genehmigung vorgetragen werden wird.

[signature:] M

16. [Art objects as collateral or pledged items]

One-page typewritten receipt by Hans Tietze in Italian, attached to the *Heeresgruppenkommando Borojević*, bearing a stamp («Municipio di Udine»), countersigned by Claudio Segno, with a handwritten annotation («concordato», i.e. «agreed»)

9 August 1918

Italy, Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Memorie, catalogo e perizie degli oggetti d'arte recuperate a Vienna*

In August 1918, upon order given by the *Heeresgruppenkommando* under Field Marshall Svetozar Borojević, Austrian occupation authorities removed about 30 boxes of art objects belonging to the Town Museum of Udine. The material was meant to be used as «pawn» (i.e. collateral) and exchanged against art works which Italian authorities had previously removed from the Austrian cities of Aquileia and Gorizia, occupied by the Italian army in 1915 and 1916 respectively. A handover receipt was signed by Hans Tietze, member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe*, and by a representative of the Municipality of Udine (Claudio Segno). Three broken boxes were kept in the Church of St Anthony in Udine, which was used as a deposit by the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe*. Tietze eagerly assured that this removal would not affect the Museum's property rights. According to MOSCHETTI 1928, the boxes contained coins, seals and a collection of amber bequeathed to the Town Museum of Udine by Count Francesco di Toppo; they further contained the *Sacramentarium fuldense*, a rare, illuminated 11th-century manuscript from the Udine Capitular Archives, an altarpiece by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo from the small Church of Purità near the Cathedral, and an illuminated *Libro d'oro* from the second half of the 15th century from the Archbishop's Library.

MV

K.k.K. Heeresgruppenkommando F.M. v. Boroëvic
Z.L.K. Nr. II0162

N. 656

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Quietanza

Il sottoscritto dichiara di aver ricevuto dall'Amministrazione Comunale in base all'ordine del Comando Supremo di asportare temporaneamente oggetti d'arte allo scopo di pegno per oggetti trasportati a suo tempo dal territorio austriaco da parte delle autorità italiane. - ventotto casse incatramate e chiuse contenente oggetti del Museo Comunale di Udine, che si trovano in uno dei magazzini del Castello di Udine. Tre casse trovate nello stesso luogo aperte da mano ignota, si ritengono nel magazzino della Chiesa di San Antonio.

Tutti i diritti di proprietà del Museo Comunale non vengono per questo assolutamente menomati; gli oggetti saranno conservati diligentemente, così che non patiscano danni.

Udine addì 9 agosto 1918

f. Tietze

Concordat



Concordat

**Entangled in the Net of Contrasting
Nationalisms: Cultural Heritage
during the Interwar Period**

IV. REDEFINING IDENTITIES

Michael Wedekind

The entire 19th century is known for its ‘monumentomania’, and so were the last decades of the Habsburg Empire. The Alpine-Adriatic region witnessed the erection of various, conflicting monuments either exalting the rule of Austria (e.g. the monument celebrating the fifth centenary of Trieste’s 1382 *Dedizione* to Habsburg, erected in 1889, and the monument dedicated to Elisabeth of Austria in 1912, both in Trieste) or giving voice to Italian or Slovenian nationalist instances (e.g. the monuments dedicated to France Prešeren in Ljubljana in 1905 and to Giuseppe Verdi in Trieste in 1906). The vicissitudes of the years to follow made most of them a target of iconoclastic fury which implied either destruction or removal from the public space. In May 1915, philo-Austrian protesters defaced and nearly destroyed the Verdi monument as retaliation against Italy entering the war on the side of the Entente powers. During the conflict, Austrian authorities proceeded to remove any evidence reminiscent of Italy, amongst them a St Mark’s lion in Vodnjan and images of Italian poets and scholars, such as a bust of Dante from Pula, which was later melted down for military purposes. The ‘battle of monuments’ also caused new monuments to be erected, which already started during the war. Among the earliest examples on the Italian side is Ettore Ximenes’ statue (*The Angel of Charity*, 1917) for the cemetery of Sdraussina (today Poggio III Armata, near Sagrado) which was later to decorate the cemetery of Aquileia. On the Austrian side, in the Labin area, in Istria, a war memorial was inaugurated in 1916. They were part of strategies aiming at delineating and strengthening new identities. These strategies were systematically carried on also after the war, when Italian authorities ordered the most politically meaningful Austrian monuments, such as most of the Habsburg monuments of Trieste, to be removed or destroyed.

The case of the statue of Joseph II in Ptuj is emblematic of the multi-layered implications of monuments in organizing or reorganizing the public space and in (re)shaping a political landscape. In the 1880s, statues dedicated to Emperor Joseph II had spread all over the Austrian Empire. They reached a particularly high density in ethnically mixed or borderland regions, such as the Crownlands of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lower Austria and Styria. In the southern part of Styria (Lower Styria) with its predominantly Slovene-speaking population, they were erected in the biggest cities, all of which had a German-speaking majority:

Maribor (1882), Celje (1882) and Ptuj (1883); those planned for Rogatec, Slovenj Gradec and Slovenska Bistrica were not realized.

The statues were typically commissioned by circles close to the German-Liberal and the German-National Party which campaigned for defending German privileges against the demands of the Slavic population. The monuments were to celebrate not only the one hundredth anniversary of the Emperor's accession to the Austrian throne (1880), but also the role he had as a social reformer and, allegedly, as a protector of German socio-political interests. Especially for the German nationalists and their network of associations, the cult of Joseph II became a decisive part in 'nationalizing the masses' and strengthening their political position. Therefore, monument inaugurations were generally accompanied by German nationalist manifestations and occasional Slovenian nationalist counter-demonstrations. Nevertheless, Joseph II's unrealized proposal of introducing German as official language in all parts of the Austrian Monarchy was guided by all but nationalist intent, his actual objective being administrative efficiency.

The Ptuj statue showed the Emperor standing in uniform, right hand on hip, holding a parchment roll (reading «Emancipation from Serfdom») in his left. This was the posture of most of the statues dedicated to Joseph II. As was the case of the monuments erected in Lower Styria, a great many of them were cast according to a design by Richard Kauffungen, a Viennese sculptor, and serially produced by foundries in Blansko (Moravia), Vienna and elsewhere. Hence, the statues' importance resided in the symbolic and emotional value they had for nationally codifying (Germanizing) cityscapes as well as for ethnocentric identity-building in a disputed borderland.

Soon after 1918 and the breakdown of the Habsburg Monarchy, most of the statues dedicated to Joseph II situated outside the new Austrian borders were removed (in Czechoslovakia following a law passed in 1923), deliberately destroyed or replaced by monuments inspired by the national ideology of the Successor States. In Lower Styria, in 1918, all Emperor Joseph's monuments were removed and subsequently demolished (Ptuj), sold as scrap-iron (Celje) or deposited in a museum (Maribor). In 1919, when troops of the newly founded Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) occupied municipalities north of the river Mura (November 1918 to July 1920), SHS policemen also removed the Emperor's statue in the Styrian city of Radkersburg/Radgona, dumping the monument in the river.

These acts of political iconoclasm were driven by rejecting a codified semiotic system of perception as abhorrent. In a historical moment of tumultuous transition, when the idea of *damnatio memoriae* and 'ethnic cleansing' of Slovenian cityscapes predominated among decisive political actors, its recodification (by possibly highlighting aspects of modernization during the reign of Joseph II) was not considered. Photographs capturing the depedestalizations seem to record an

executio in effigie of the overthrown Austrian monarchy, while the Ptuj photograph may be read as representing its catafalque as a result of outrage.

The demolition of Emperor Joseph's monuments (and of similar statues erected in the same years with analogue German nationalist targets) had an aftermath when Lower Styria was occupied by Nazi Germany in 1941 and re-erection or re-collocation of removed statues was considered.

Selected bibliography

CVELFAR 1997; DE ROSA 2014; GRANSINIGH 2014; MORELLI 1917; PAVAN 1998; RAKOVEC 2015; STEGLITZ, ZEILLINGER 2008; VIDMAR 2013; WIGGERMANN 2004; ŽITKO 1996

17. Removal of a statue dedicated to Austrian Emperor Joseph II from the City Park in Ptuj [Slovenia] in 1918

Odstranjevanje kipa avstrijskega cesarja Jožefa II. iz mestnega parka v Ptuj v letu 1918

Photograph (12.9 cm x 17.9 cm) by unidentified photographer
1918

Slovenia, Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož, Arhiv, NS 1022

The black and white photograph shows a 1883 statue dedicated to the Austrian Emperor Joseph II after removal from its former site in the City Park in Ptuj. The statue lays unprotected on a primitive wooden carriage, together with its pedestal, from which it was taken down carelessly, or rather disrespectfully, thus causing damages to the statue's lower part.

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V.
STRUGGLING FOR ART:
WAR DAMAGES, CLAIMS AND RESTITUTIONS

Francesca Coccolo

The Italian Military Mission for the Armistice

On the Italian front, First World War fighting ended on 4 November 1918, with the armistice of Villa Giusti, signed the day before. Subsequently, the Italian Supreme Command sent a Military Mission (*Missione militare italiana per l'armistizio*) to Austria in order to implement the armistice agreements, as did all Allied powers (FREISE 1963). The Italian Supreme Command decided to send the Mission on 11 December; it reached Vienna shortly after the Christmas holidays, on 28 December. The Mission consisted of several hundred members, headed by General Roberto Segre. It operated until the beginning of 1920, with smaller and more short-lived delegations sent to other Central European cities (Prague, Ljubljana, Budapest etc.), and was progressively replaced by new diplomatic and political representatives (ZARCONE 2014). The official tasks of the Military Mission, largely based on the Villa Giusti agreements, were to repatriate Italian and Austrian prisoners of war and to retrieve war and railway materials, as well as to supply food to Vienna and other Austrian cities. Nevertheless, going beyond both armistice terms and previous military and governmental directives, it soon became clear to Segre that he had the opportunity for a large-scale retrieval of public and private artistic property, ideally to be carried out before the final (and potentially unfavourable) agreement on the clauses which were being discussed in those months in Paris (SEGRE 1928). This property consisted of Italian art objects and records brought to Vienna and other cities of the Austrian Empire not only during the First World War, but also during Habsburg (and Lorena) rule over various parts of Italy in the 18th and 19th centuries; in contemporary documents, the latter are often referred to as «historical restitutions».

According to his memoirs, Segre started dealing with the issue of cultural property as early as January 1919. Indeed, he also quotes orders from the Italian government to identify works of art, war trophies etc., which had been taken by the Austrians in various circumstances (SEGRE 1928; RAINER 1973). Furthermore, as attested by a telegram of 8 August 1919 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Italian government pushed the Mission, headquartered at the Imperial and Majestic Hotels on Kärntner Ring, to also track down artworks believed

to belong to Italy and located in territories Austria had to cede to the Successor States. However, neither the Italian government nor the Supreme Command ever spelled out an official procedure, also because such decisions first needed to be approved by Italy's allies present at the Paris Peace Conferences and then by the Reparation Commission. As a result, Segre initially acted 'on his own', later joined by a team of Fine Arts officials (Paolo D'Ancona, Guglielmo Paccioni, Gino Fogolari, Giulio Coggiola, Giuseppe Gerola, Piero Sticotti, to mention but some). Personal records of members of the Mission, mainly preserved in archives in Rome and **Venice**, testify to the struggle for so-called «historical restitutions»: among others, nearly one hundred Neapolitan manuscripts obtained by Emperor Karl VI in 1718 (CAPASSO 1878; MARTINI 1926), and those works of art, manuscripts and records which had been taken from Venice to Vienna between 1816 and 1866 (CÉRÉSOLE 1867; LUDWIG 1901; FIOCCO 1919; FRANK 2016). These claims had vast resonance and long-lasting international implications.

Clashes and Cooperation between Austrian and Italian Officials

With Italy among the winning powers, its Military Mission and its Fine Arts attachés considered themselves fully entitled to the Austrian artistic and bibliographical property of Italian provenance. Apart from the above-mentioned «historical restitutions», Italy claimed art objects, valuables, books and records removed by Austrian authorities during the war: both from the territories ceded to Italy in 1919 and from occupied Italian territories after the Battle of **Caporetto**.

As for the «historical restitutions», Austrian authorities, art historians, artists and intellectuals regarded the fact that these displacements had happened during the Habsburg administration of the former Imperial territories as the very reason why these objects should remain in Vienna. Indeed, they considered them as a legitimate part of the former Imperial and now state collections (TIETZE 1919a; MODIGLIANI 1955-1956; *ETTORE MODIGLIANI* 2019). On more than one occasion, though, Austrian officials successfully assisted their Italian colleagues in retracing this widely scattered artistic property. Austrian authorities helped, for instance, with tracking down and recovering archaeological objects which had been removed from the **Aquileia** Museum when the town had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A letter dated 20 November 1919, by the Austrian Department of Foreign Affairs to the Italian Military Mission in Vienna, attests that these objects had been mistakenly shipped to Chernivtsi in Austrian Bukovina, since 1918 under Romanian dominion. In this letter, Austrian authorities confirmed having successfully retrieved the four crates containing these objects and stored them in the Vienna Archaeological Institute. Furthermore, it was also requested

that an Italian official be sent to the museum in order to list and retrieve the objects on behalf of the Italian government.

At the same time, processing claims for privately-owned items proved to be harder than tracing pieces in public collections. This was due to the different importance of the objects involved and to the incompleteness of the relevant documentation. In this light, peculiar attention is to be given to a list of looted objects, which was provided by the Viennese police at the request of the Italian Military Mission. The list specifies privately owned artworks and furniture and includes information on the original owners. The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs appears to have eventually complied with the Italian claims and to have issued an order requesting Austrian citizens to hand in artworks and other valuables taken from Italy during the war, especially from the occupied territories of Veneto and Friuli. In order to implement this provision, a special office of the Viennese police was presumably instituted, which was to collaborate with a member of the Italian Military Mission, Francesco Callari, an officer of the *Carabinieri* (Italian special police corps under the Ministry of Defence). This initiative led to the seizure of paintings and furniture from several private homes, mainly from Vienna, as the reference to the *Bezirk* number in some of the addresses shows, but possibly also from other Austrian cities. In May 1919, Austrian authorities agreed to ship these objects to the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Fine Arts in Venice. A list produced by Italian authorities allows to ascertain which paintings made their way back to Italy, after having been retrieved by the Viennese police in the first months of 1919. As a matter of fact, this seems to be the first postwar return of private artworks. The list of 88 objects was presumably drawn up as soon as the paintings arrived in Venice, and it shows, thanks to many cross-references, that the Italian staff worked on the basis of the inventory of the Austrian police. In fact, information on each item is integrated with further data or corrections of the subject, of period and school and with notes on the overall state of conservation of the paintings. Reference is also made to the information available on the Viennese list, i.e. identification number, Austrian owner, author of seizure and circumstances of the acquisition. No document has so far been found that can attest to the final destination of these retrieved artworks, even when details about their original owners (for instance the Mayor of Sacile, Monsignor Morelli from Sacile and the Counts of Concina) are provided. This case sheds light on how artworks were at least occasionally been displaced during the First World War: they were simply taken (without prior consent or any form of negotiation) by Austro-Hungarian soldiers who later sold their booty at home or while on their way back.

Ultimately, in February 1920, an Austrian law implemented those articles of the Treaty of Saint-Germain (191 and 192) that concerned the restitution of bibliographical and artistic objects taken from occupied and «ceded territories». The new law made it compulsory for Austrian citizens to notify local authorities about

any «records, documents, antiquities, works of art, scientific or bibliographic material» in their property or possession taken from the above-mentioned territories (*Gesetz vom 11. Februar 1920 zur Durchführung der Artikel 191 und 192 des Staatsvertrages von St. Germain*, published on 24 February in the «Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich», 27, 1920, p. 121).

Defending Austria's State Collections

By an order issued on 7 October 1919, the Supreme Council at the Paris Peace Conference established a Viennese branch (*sous-Commission*) of the Reparation Commission, made up of British, French, Italian and American representatives. Their task was to advise the Paris Commission on reparation matters involving the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. On 24 December 1919, the Reparation Commission asked its Viennese branch to proceed with the inventory and appraisal of Austria's art collections, with view to shielding them from sales or from their use as collateral for war reparations due to the Entente. In doing so, the Reparation Commission, through the advice of its attachés in Vienna, also reserved the right to authorise any possible acquisition of parts of the Austrian collections by other states. These inventories and appraisals were to be drawn up by a special Art Committee appointed for the occasion (Paris, Archives Nationales, folder AJ/5/204: *Ceuvres d'art, Mise en gage, Réclamations de l'Italie*).

Apparently, in January 1920, only the French and Italian members of the Art Committee had been appointed; however, in its final composition it included: Frederick Blantford Bate (USA; entrepreneur), Gino Fogolari (Italy; head of the Superintendent Office for Venice and Mantua), Raymond Koechlin (France; president of the *Société des Amis du Louvre*) and Robert Witt (United Kingdom; president of the National Art Collections Fund). Fogolari more than once expressed his scepticism towards the initiative of an inventory; and he did so even to the Italian members of the Reparation Commission, as is testified by his letters and a report. He was not the only one in Italy deeming that a lump sum could not equal the real value of such vast and rich collections. In a letter to Fogolari dated 15 February 1920, Pietro Bertolini, chief of the Italian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, reaffirmed that he, too, did not expect such an inventory to be particularly effective. Nonetheless, Fogolari was compelled to sign it (Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Memorie, catalogo e perizie degli oggetti d'arte recuperati a Vienna*). As a matter of fact, especially if one bears in mind that negotiations between Austria and Italy for the restitution of artworks were still ongoing, this attitude is to be seen in a context of diplomatic pragmatism

rather than of professional ethics. Indeed, the Austrian collections, to be held as collateral by the whole Entente, contained objects that Italy claimed for itself. In order to avoid damaging its diplomatic efforts with Austria, Italy strongly advocated that Austrian collections remain untouched, opposing fervent claims by the Successor States and other Allied nations. According to a report dated 25 June 1919, it appears that from the very beginning of the negotiations with Italian representatives in Vienna, Hans Tietze had agreed with this strategy and was willing to bring the matter before his government for consideration (Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Missione a Vienna per rivendicare le opere d'arte italiane*). It is still not clear to what extent Italy played a major role in preventing Austrian collections from being used as a means of war reparation. Thanks to the joint efforts of Austrian and Italian officials headed by Tietze and Ettore Modigliani, however, on 4 May 1920 the two countries signed a final agreement for the restitution of works of art. It put a temporary end to long-lasting disputes (MODIGLIANI 1955-1956; *ETTORE MODIGLIANI* 2019).

Selected bibliography

BENZONI 2009; «BOLLETTINO D'ARTE» 1917; «BOLLETTINO D'ARTE» 1918; BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001; CAPASSO 1878; CÉRÉSOLE 1867; COCCOLO 2021; FERINO PAGDEN 2009; FIOCCO 1919; FRANK 2016; FREISE 1963; HÄDLER 2014; KOTT 2000; KOTT 2007; *KUNSTSCHUTZ IM KRIEGE* 1919; LAUBER 2009; LUDWIG 1901; MANNOWSKY 1919; MARTINI 1926; MODIGLIANI 1955-1956; MOSCHETTI 1928; NEZZO 2010; OJETTI 1919a; OJETTI 1919b; PERUSINI 2017; RAINER 1973; RESCINITI 2017; SCHEURMANN 2018; SCHEURMANN 2019; SEGRE 1928; SPIAZZI 1983; STÖRTKUHL 2014; *THE HAGUE CONVENTIONS* 1915; [TIETZE] 1918; TIETZE 1919a; TIETZE 1919b; VISENTIN 2017; VISENTIN 2021; ZARCONE 2014; ZORZI 1972

18. Report on the removal of art objects from formerly enemy-invaded provinces

Relazione sulle asportazioni di opere d'arte dalle provincie che subirono l'invasione nemica

Eleven-page typewritten report. No information given on author and place, but likely compiled by the Secretariat General for Civil Affairs of the Supreme Command of the Royal Italian Army (*Regio Esercito italiano - Comando supremo - Segretariato generale per gli Affari civili*)

Likely early 1919

Italy, Trento, Archivio di Stato di Trento, folder *Atti d'ufficio IV - Recupero dall'Austria*, file *Archivi trentini - Vb - Inventari e notizie (1919-1928)*

The report gives a comprehensive overview on investigations into war damages to art objects in Friuli and parts of Veneto, which from 1917 had both become theatres of war. The document, reflecting the Italian point of view, focuses on art objects destroyed, damaged or removed by Austro-German occupation forces between October 1917 and October 1918 (see Map at p. 116), while two analogue accounts consider the situation of the region's archival and library heritage.

The report, partially based upon a previous memo by the Italian Antiquities and Monuments Office (*Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti*) compiled prior to the end of hostilities, provides a detailed local account. While admitting that most of the ecclesiastical art objects were treated with care and a lot of them collected and kept safe in Udine, the document states that nearly all private art collections had been removed, robbed or exposed to «devastation», thus suffering heavy and incalculable losses. The report not only complains about the damage to historical edifices committed by the Central Powers' *soldateska*, but also of the huge illegal art trade conducted by Austrian and German soldiers and officers.

The report briefly refers to members of the Austro-Hungarian *Kunstschutzgruppe* operating in occupied Friuli. Furthermore, it gives details on the Austrian art historian Hans Tietze who, while in Udine in the summer of 1918, ordered Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's frescoed altarpiece (from the Oratorio della Purità) to be removed against receipt and to be transported to Vienna, along with two manuscripts from local ecclesiastical institutions and 28 boxes containing art objects belonging to the Town Museum of Udine (see doc. 16).

The Italian report, which is remarkable for its language of denigration and victimization, draws up a balance of losses and damages to art objects in occupied Friuli and prepares for demands for restitution and reparations.

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Relazione sulle esportazioni di opere d'arte dalle provincie che subirono l'invasione nemica

L'esame complessivo del patrimonio artistico nelle regioni del Regno che furono occupate dal nemico[,] condotto sia sulla «Nota delle cose d'arte più importanti da tutelare a [sic; recte: e] ricercare nella rioccupazione delle provincie invase»[,] fatta dalla Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti, sia su elenchi e guide che ci fu possibile avere[,] condusse alla constatazione che[,] quante opere d'arte erano conservate nelle chiese, salvo eccezioni delle quali si dà l'elenco compiuto, e per quelle che si trovavano nelle chiese dei paesi immediatamente vicini alla fronte tenuta [sic] dagli austriaci, furono per lo più rispettate o trasportate per essere meglio custodite ad Udine o in qualche altro luogo. Da tutte le chiese furono asportate le campane e, salvo rare eccezioni[,] non si ebbe riguardo all'antichità di alcune [sic].

Dove invece l'opera di devastazione e di asportazione risulta gravissima fu nelle raccolte private, che furono quasi tutte o asportate o derubate; né si ha per lo più traccia di chi compì questa opera, che, per quanto risulta, fu più di furto che di regolare salvataggio o di asportazione. Andarono perduti oltre dipinti, mobili di gran pregio, settecenteschi, collezione di stampe, di maioliche, di oggetti di antichità, biblioteche, merletti della cui scomparsa si raccolgono voci, senza che per lo più si riesca ad accertare la consistenza perché questa non risulta certa dagli elenchi che furono compiuti dalla Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti e non è possibile, per ora, chiedere a presunti possessori di opere d'arte notizie sulla cui attendibilità sempre si dovrebbero fare necessarie riserve.

La mancanza d'inventario che fu già deplorata altamente durante il periodo in cui opera di salvataggio poteva in qualche modo essere compiuta, risulta quindi tanto più grave nel momento presente.

Da informazioni varie risulta che commercio di quadri, di statue si fece da soldati e da ufficiali nemici nei principali paesi invasi e, sembra, che non sia stata estranea l'opera di civili della regione.

Gli edifici monumentali non furono affatto curati. Distruzioni di ville, di palazzi sono da lamentare per opera delle soldatesche nemiche. Quanto esisteva in prossimità delle linee di monumentale, e non v'era moltissimo[,] andò perduto e giace ora ridotto ad amassi di macerie.

Per la mancanza di dati sui quali compiere una seria opera di verifica la nota presente non può affatto significare un compiuto accertamento dei danni arrecati dall'invasione nemica al patrimonio artistico delle regioni che ebbero a subire l'invasione nemica, che per molte ragioni si possono ritenere molto grandi.

Si fa noto anche che in questo elenco non si dà notizia di opere d'arte mancanti dalle loro sedi, se si poté rintracciarle. Di queste si farà relazione a parte per i provvedimenti del caso.

Ad impedire che questi provincie così fortemente danneggiate nel loro patrimonio artistico abbiano a subire ulteriori dolorose asportazioni, si propone di voler portare provvedimenti vietando assolutamente ogni forma di commercio di opere d'arte con disposizioni analoghe a quelle che furono emanate da questo Segretariato con ordinanza in data 31 Agosto 1915 di cui si ammette [sic; trasmette?] copia, e che hanno vigore nei territori occupati dal R.E. e curando subito la costituzione di un catalogo di quanto ancora esiste.

[Elenco di opere d'arte mancanti dalle loro sedi]

[p. 1 missing]

[p. 2]

Vienna perseguì giuridicamente alcuni dei rapitori che riuscì a scoprire.

Altri materiali furono messi in salvo da un incaricato del Collalto e spediti a Vienna da Conegliano.

Conegliano

Da case e ville di privati furono compiute asportazioni e s'ignora in quale esatta misura.

Dai due palazzi Montalban, dal palazzo Sarcinelli furono asportate tutte le tele, tutti i mobili e quanti oggetti vi si trovavano.

Di particolare importanza erano i mobili che vi si contenevano in tutti tre i palazzi dei secoli XVII e XVIII. Gli stucchi che decoravano uno dei palazzi Montalban e il salone di casa Sarcinelli, se non sono stati molto danneggiati per ora corrono grave danno perché esposti alle intemperie, non avendo più i locali nessun riparo d'imposte che furono tutte distrutte durante l'occupazione nemica.

Villa Rocca: Ad Udine nella chiesa di S. Antonio furono raccolti due quadri secenteschi. Risulta che altri dipinti furono asportati dei quali non si ha notizie.

Distretto di Valdobbiadene

Moriago

La pala del Pordenone fu depositata ad Udine. Le altre pale[,] una del Frigimelica, una dello Speranza, gli affreschi di Giovanni Demin andarono distrutti.

Santuario di S. Gallo di Soligo: Tre buone tele dei sec. XVII e XVIII furono asportate o rubate.

San Pietro di Barbozza: Tutte le tele furono asportate dalle chiese di S. Pietro e di S. Stefano.

Valdobbiadene

La bella e vasta chiesa di architettura classicheggiante, ora assai rovinata da granate nostre, fu spogliata di tutto. Dal semicatino dell'abside fu asportato un tondo ritenuto del Tintoretto. Frammenti di tele rimasti attaccati alle cornici dimostrano strappi con violenza.

Soligo

Villa Brandolini: Furono asportate la collezione dei dipinti tra i quali figurava qualche Piazzetta e alcune collezioni di stampe.

Col S. Martino

Furono asportate dalla chiesa parrocchiale: una pala attribuita a Palma il Vecchio e la tela dell'altar maggiore del cav. P. Liberi di Padova.

Vidor

La bella campana che portava la data del 1392 fu asportata. Andarono perduti gli affreschi del soffitto del coro e del soffitto della navata ritenuti del Canaletto.

Distretto di Vittorio

Cison Valmarino - Castello Brandolin

Tutte le raccolte di armi, di quadri, tra i quali notevole uno attribuito al Giorgione ed altri del Da Ponte e di maestri del sec. XVIII, di stampe contenute nel castello furono asportate dagli austriaci. Pare che qualche quadro sia stato salvato dai proprietari.

Follina

Chiesa Abbaziale: Fu rovinata una parte del tetto e di un muro, con uno squarcio di circa 8 metri, nella nave di sinistra.

Distretto di Oderzo

Oderzo

Furono danneggiate varie case e spogliate di tutto.

S. Polo di Piave - Castello Villa Papadopoli

Non esiste più nulla delle collezioni che vi erano contenute, e l'edificio è assai danneggiato.

Colfrancui

Dalla chiesa furono rubati due quadri ritenuti di valore che vi erano depositati, cornici reliquiari ecc.

Motta di Livenza

Furono asportati cinque quadri dal Santuario di S. M. dei Miracoli, e sembra si trovino ad Udine nella chiesa di S. Antonio.

Provincia di Belluno

Distretto di Belluno

Belluno

Dal Duomo fu asportata una cupola di rame e fu rubata una statuetta di bronzo dorato del sec. XVII dal tabernacolo dell'altar maggiore.

Dal palazzo comunale fu asportata la storica campana del Comune. Dai palazzi di numerosi privati furono asportate opere d'arte. Traccia delle asportazioni rimane nei locali del Museo Civico dove fu fatto un centro di raccolta di opere d'arte e di libri da asportare. Le raccolte d'arte asportate risultano, secondo informazioni degne di fede, di proprietà dei Sigg. Miari, S. Martino [rectius: Sammartini], Pagani, Bartoldi [rectius: Bertoldi], Barcelloni. Dei quadri che vi erano contenuti non si hanno che vaghe informazioni.

Dalle biblioteche del Seminario e del Capitolo furono asportati, sembra, diversi codici miniati.

Le raccolte di codici, di mobili, e di quadri della Villa Buzzatti di S. Pellegrino, furono portate quasi integralmente in Austria, piccola parte dei ritratti di famiglia si ritrovò al Museo di Belluno.

Feltre

Dal palazzo Vescovile di Feltre furono rubati 45 quadri del lascito DEI. Se ne ignora il valore perchè non fu possibile rintracciarne un elenco. Dal valore di quelli rimasti, si può presumere che i dipinti asportati, se la scelta fu fatta con intelligenza, erano di molto valore. Dal Museo Civico, sembra, siano avvenute asportazioni, delle quali non si sa ancora accertare l'entità.

Villa Centenere (Comune di Cesio Maggiore) (di appartenenza del Sig. Zugni - Tauro di Belluno) La raccolta di quadri fu tutta asportata. Il soffitto a cassettoni del 1500 fu bruciato. Risulta che furono rubate le raccolte di maioliche, mobili di pregio antichi e moderni. Le lapidi romane, una collana miliarca [*recte*: miliaria]; lapidi varie furono guastate.

Pianazzo (presso Lentiai)

Fu asportato un altare in legno scolpito secentesco.

Distretto di Pieve di Cadore

Pieve di Cadore

Fu spezzato il monumento a P.F. Calvi.

Il Museo fu spogliato di quanto vi rimaneva dopo quanto vi era stato ritirato dal Prof. Moschetti nel novembre del 17.

Le case Coletti e Vallenzasca, nonché quelle di altri privati furono spogliate delle raccolte di quadri, di mobili secenteschi che contenevano.

Domegge

Dal municipio, dov'era depositata, fu rubata la Deposizione in legno del Brustolon.

Distretto di Auronzo

Lorenzago

Villa Facheris: Le raccolte artistiche delle quali non si sa il valore, per mancanza di dati, e di disposizioni attendibili furono interamente asportate.

Distretto di Udine

Udine

Dalla chiesa della Purità furono portate a Vienna la pala del Tiepolo e il Sacramento Feldense, manoscritto miniato del secolo XVII[.] Ne fu rilasciata ricevuta dal Capitano Tietze (7 agosto 18). Dal Seminario di Udine fu asportato un volume di preci, manoscritto miniato del sec. XV, segnato Ot.12.1.12. e ne fu rilasciata ricevuta dal Capitano Tietze.

Museo Civico di Udine: Furono portate a Vienna 28 casse chiuse e ne fu rilasciata ricevuta dallo stesso Capitano Tietze.

È in corso da parte del Comune di Udine un'inchiesta su quanto fu asportato da case di privati. Sarà trasmesso non appena sarà inviata.

Mortegliano

Palazzo G.B. di Varmo: Risulta che furono asportate le opere d'arte che vi erano contenute.

Pozzuolo

Scuola di agricoltura: La collezione di quadri fu interamente asportata. Parimenti furono asportati dipinti dall'Opera Pia Sabbatini (un dipinto di scuola del Procaccini fu portato ad Udine nella chiesa di S. Antonio) e da case di privati.

Distretto di Sacile

Sacile

Palazzo Marcelli: Gli affreschi del Tiepolo furono danneggiati da bomba di aeroplano.

La campana della comunità, del 1367, fu asportata.

Distretto di Pordenone*Pordenone*

Le Gallerie di quadri del Conte Ricchieri e dei Conti Quirini di Visinale furono interamente spogliate. I Conti Ricchieri perdettero anche i mobili per informazioni dell'Ispettore dei Monumenti Conte Camillo Pancera di Zoppola, per lo più del sec. XVII. I conti Quirini avevano diversi oggetti di provenienza della famiglia Molin, ritratti di famiglia di valore storico, qualche pergamena miniata, buoni mobili.

Zoppola

Castello dei conti Pancera di Zoppola: Furono asportati 42 pezzi tra quadri e stampe dalle raccolte del Castello. Tra questi erano un buon ritratto di Veronica Gambarà, una figura di vecchia di scuola fiamminga, tre quadri dei Da Ponte, con belle cornici barocche, una specchiera con cornice a putti.

Porcia

Villa del Conte Alfonso di Porcia: I quadri furono ritirati al Municipio di Pordenone in parte. I mobili furono tutti asportati. Alcuni settecenteschi risultano di molto pregio.

Distretto di S. Vito al Tagliamento*Cordovado*

Villa della contessa Freschi: Furono asportati tre autocarri di mobili antichi dei secoli XVI e XVII e di quadri, tra i quali era un Ratto d'Europa ritenuto del Veronese.

S. Vito al Tagliamento

Chiesa dei Battuti: Furono rubati dei pregevoli angioli settecenteschi in marmo di Carrara; contro i rapitori fu fatto rapporto nel luglio 1918 dal Cap. Tietze.

Palazzo dei Conti Rota: Furono asportati diversi mobili da Ufficiali del Comando del Gruppo d'Eserciti Boroëvic. Tra gli altri Mons. Raimondo Berti[,] arcidiacono della città[,] ricorda i mobili di una sala settecentesca in bianco con mobili ornati e scolpiti a fiori colorati.

Casa Zuccheri: Furono perduti diversi buoni quadri.

Casa Cattorno: Furono rubati diversi quadri e per uno di questi raffigurante una Maddalena, forse del secolo XVII[,], un Magg. Wierker che l'aveva rubato ebbe a subire un processo.

Villa dei conti Althan Tullio: Fu asportata la raccolta di quadri dove si trovavano pregevoli opere di maestri veneti del '700 e di altri maestri. Varie tele con ritratti del sec. XVI e del sec. XVII furono colpiti con arma da taglio. Furono asportati pregevoli mobili barocchi, e di stile impero. Diversi mobili erano ornati a fiori e a frutta colorati, furono rotte e asportate specchiere.

San Giorgio alla Richinvelda

Villa Attimis: Fu spogliata di tutto e incendiata. Vi erano mobili di pregio del sec. XVII.

Ovoledo

Fu danneggiato un affresco del Pordenone raffigurante S. Cristoforo.

Distretto di Codroipo

Villa di Goritz, proprietà dei conti Mainardi: La galleria di quadri che contava interessantissime pitture del Campagnolo, del Veronese, del Pordenone fu asportata unitamente alla biblioteca e all'archivio.

Villa dei conti Manin di Passeriano: Risulta che la biblioteca fu raccolta nella chiesa di S. Antonio di Udine, e l'archivio nel vescovado di Udine. Delle collezioni artistiche di quadri, di mobili di diversa età che non risultano in luogo non si ha notizia certa.

Distretto di Latisana

Latisana

La casa Gaspari fu incendiata ed arsa tutta. S'ignora se il quadro di Rocco Marconi ed altri siano spariti nell'incendio o se la casa sia stata incendiata dopo [l'] asportazione di quanto conteneva.

Casa Bertoli: Fu spogliata dell'alto rilievo donatelliano e di ogni altro oggetto di valore artistico.

Distretto di S. Daniele del Friuli

S. Daniele del Friuli

Le tre campane del 1301, dal sec. XV e XVI[,] furono spezzate ed asportate alla Villa Concina e dal palazzo Florio furono asportati diversi quadri di valore. Da questa ed altre case di privati risultano asportati quadri mobili.

Castello di Moruzzo: Le raccolte artistiche immobili ecc furono per la maggior parte asportate. Castello dei conti di Brazzà: Salvo alcuni mobili in cattive condizioni ma molto belli, dell'inizio del 1700 in verde con fiori e frutti scolpiti e dipinti e poche altre cose portate nella casa Vanni degli Onesti in Fagagna, tutto fu asportato e, dopo le asportazioni, la bella villa fu incendiata. Da informazione del Castaldo ufficiali ungheresi e austriaci caricarono su decine di carri i mobili, i libri della biblioteca, e le carte d'archivio.

Colloredo

Castello dei conti Colloredo: I mobili antichi barocchi o del primo impero secondo le festose interpretazioni dei mobilisti veneti e friulani furono assai danneggiati, ed in parte asportati.

Distretto di Spilimbergo

Spilimbergo

Dalla chiesa di San Rocco fu asportata la campana del sec. XIV. La campana del comune del 1488 fu spezzata e asportata. La campana del Duomo del 1457 fu calata e guastata.

Distretto di Maniago

La casa Attimis, per quanto risulta da deposizioni, fu spogliata di tutto. Conteneva quadri di Irene di Spilimbergo, bellissimi mobili dei secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII, pregevoli collezione [sic] di stampe ecc. Il Conte Pancera di Zoppola riferì che, per quanto impoverite da vendite condotte senza nessun riguardo al patrimonio artistico del paese, pure molto rimaneva di interessante. Gli stucchi della villa furono danneggiati.

Distretto di Gemona

Gemona

Duomo: Dal tetto di piombo furono asportati circa 220 mq. di copertura. Fu spezzata e asportata la campana del 1467.

Dalla chiesa della città furono asportate altre campane, una del 1573, altre del sec. XVII e XVIII.

Chiesa di S. Giovanni: Furono asportate da Ufficiali Germanici due pale del sec. XVI.

Palazzo Comunale: La collezione Baldissera di dipinti fu privata di 10 dipinti. Dal medagliere furono tolte alcune medaglie, e monete delle città friulane che vi erano raccolte.

Da casa Elti furono asportati quadri ritenuti di valore.

Da casa Groppiero furono asportate raccolte di stampa, quadri della famiglia di valore artistico e storico.

Sembra che le asportazioni siano state compiute per scelta fatta dal capitano Tietze.

Venzone

Dalla cappella delle Mummie furono portate al museo di Vienna le statue di legno dipinto che le adornavano. Il pievano Faustino Ribis ne possiede ricevuta.

Distretto di Tolmezzo

Tolmezzo

Da casa Moro furono asportate le raccolte di quadri per lo più ritratti di famiglia ritenuti di valore.

Distretto di Ampezzo

Forni di sotto

L'arazzo del 1605, posto sotto l'altare della chiesa di S. Lorenzo, a mo' di pallio fu rubato da soldati austriaci nei primi tempi dell'invasione.

Distretto di Cividale

Cividale

La chiesa di S. Francesco del sec. XIV fu danneggiata gravemente da un incendio forse appiccato dai nostri prima della ritirata perché la chiesa era adibita a Magazzino Militare.

Museo: Per informazione di Monsignore Liva, risulta che fu manomesso, quanto vi era rimasto e quanto vi si era raccolto dalle case delle principali famiglie del paese negli ultimi giorni dell'occupazione austriaca. Si cercherà di verificare i danni.

Raccolta di quadri del professor Leicht e di Villa Rocca Bernardi (di proprietà Perusini): Tutti quadri, i mobili furono asportati.

La raccolta Leicht contava una tela pregiatissima cinquecentesca con le tre età dell'uomo, una Cena di Baldassare di scuola di Paolo Veronese, un[a] di scuola del Bellini, e altre opere di pittori più moderni.

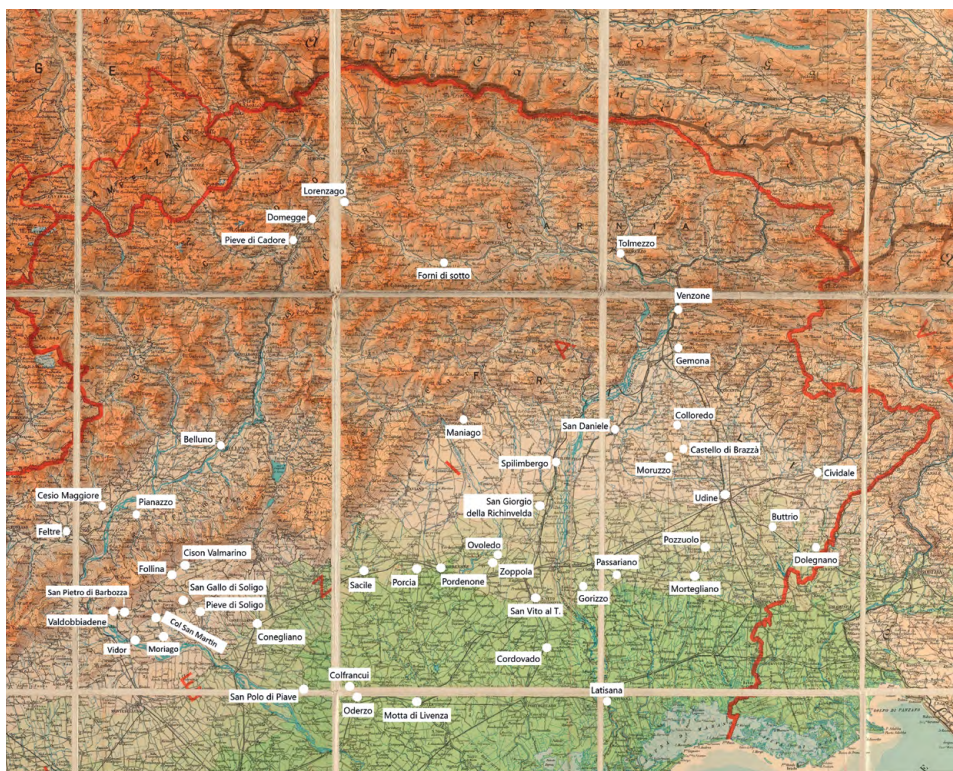
Buttrio

Villa Toppo Florio: La raccolta dei quadri fu per gran parte asportata. Non si poté trovare tra le mediocri tele rimaste il ritratto di Oristella Partistagna di Cristoforo Diana (1573).

Villa Ottelio: Immobili di molto valore, a quanto riferisce il Sindaco, per la loro antichità, e forse del sec. XVIII e i quadri che contenevano furono, a quanto sembra[,] rubati.

Dolegnano

Villa dei conti Trento: Le condizioni di stampe, di dipinti, i ritratti di famiglia, i mobili di pregio, tutto fu rubato pare da Ufficiali Ungheresi.



Damages to, and removals of, cultural objects in the territories occupied by the Central Powers (1917-1918), as from Document 18.

Source: detail from *Carta ipsometrica. Le Tre Venezie: Venezia Tridentina - Venezia Propria - Venezia Giulia* (1916), Istituto geografico De Agostini, with editors' elaborations.

19. Damaged monuments and works of art removed by the enemy

Monumenti danneggiati e opere d'arte asportate dal nemico

Anonymous article published in «La Patria del Friuli», LXII, n. 85

3 May 1919

The article, published in the main newspaper of Friuli, owned and directed by the editor and journalist Domenico Del Bianco, reports damages and looting of cultural assets during the occupation of the region by Austro-German troops (October 1917-November 1918) after the decisive Battle of **Caporetto**. It is largely compiled on the basis of the latest writings by the influential art critic Ugo Ojetti, in particular on his book on damaged monuments and looted artworks (OJETTI 1919b) and on an article «Lost Beauties» (*Bellezze perdute*), which he published in the «Corriere della Sera» on 24 March 1919 (and soon included in his popular collection «The dwarfs among columns»; OJETTI 1920). The book anticipated the research results of a Royal Commission, established by the Italian government to investigate human rights violations by occupying forces; the results were published in 7 volumes in 1920-1921 (*RELAZIONI* 1920-1921).

The article offers a long and detailed list of incidents that occurred in towns and villages as well as in villas and castles of the countryside. It is remarkable because it deplors not so much the loss of great artworks, but of the «minor anonymous popular art» which was at the core of local identity.

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Monumenti danneggiati e opere d'arte asportate dal nemico

Nella nostra Provincia, poche chiese sono state danneggiate; e nelle città e borghi maggiori, salvo gli archivi dispersi o bruciati o mandati al macero, poche case comunali hanno avuto a patire. Ma tutte quelle dei privati, non solo le ricche e le patrizie, sono state vuotate, prima della suppellettile più bella e vistosa, poi d'ogni cosa, spesso anche delle imposte. Né questa rapina si è coperta con l'ipocrisia dei così detti buoni di requisizione, sia perché era difficile chiamare requisibili i quadri, le stampe e le pergamene, sia perché gli oggetti d'arte venivano rubati lietamente da chi passando li prendeva come ricordi della bella Italia, con la leggerezza di chi coglie un fiore. Ma poi vennero anche i fiorai di professione, cioè gli antiquari e gl'intenditori, tollerati e, per interesse, anche protetti; e comprarono liberamente dagli stessi ladri o pagarono i ladri perché rubassero dati oggetti e li imballassero e li spedissero a dati indirizzi.

La nostra vasta provincia, che va dalle Alpi Carniche alla laguna di Marano, aveva sue caratteristiche speciali. I suoi montanari, pastori, agricoltori, pescatori (si legge nel secondo volume della Commissione d'inchiesta sulle violazioni del diritto delle genti perpetrate dal nemico) dalla varietà delle loro occupazioni e dei costumi, dai forzati contatti con Slavia e Alemagna, s'erano creati coi secoli una loro civiltà di confine, rozza talvolta ma singolarissima, che aveva dato a tutti i mobili, ornamenti e arredi casalinghi, a tutte le industrie più correnti, del ferro, del rame, del peltro, del legno, del cuoio, dell'osso e del corno, dei coltelli, delle terrecotte, dei tessuti anche di raso e di velluto, un'impronta tutta propria. Nella «Patria del Friuli» era insomma diffusa un'arte paesana antica franca e originale, che l'emigrazione e i nuovi vasti impianti industriali venivano già corrompendo e logorando; ma in tutte le case e massime nei casali remoti dalla città ne restavano tracce amabili e preziose. Il nemico le ha cancellate tutte, per sempre.

Quando ha distrutto un dipinto del Tiepolo, tutto il mondo ha gridato, perché l'autore era noto e i fogli illustrati ne presentavano al pubblico la fotografia. Ma questa minuta sterminata distruzione di tutta la piccola e anonima arte popolare che era l'intima antica e silenziosa anima di una regione, è un delitto quasi più atroce e più stupido e più infame, perché conosciamo sì altri Tiepolo da ammirare, ma chi ci ridarà queste mille minuzie che tutte insieme facevano, per noi, un mondo?

Ed ecco una prima lista, incompleta, dei danni quali erano conosciuti, pressoché, ai primi di marzo scorso: lista che riflette la nostra Provincia, Udine esclusa.

A *Mortegliano* dal palazzo dei conti Varmo sono scomparsi quadri e mobili per un valore di 30 mila lire; a *Pozzuolo*, dalla Scuola di agricoltura, quadri per 25 mila; a *Porpetto* dal Castello dei conti Frangipane, totalmente saccheggiato, pergamene, dipinti, mobili, suppellettili d'arte, per un valore di 150 mila; ad *Attimis*, dal Castello dei conti Attimis, quadri e mobili per 50 mila.

A *Sacile*, è stata demolita la chiesetta di San Liberale per farne materiale da strada, e i dipinti dei suoi altari dispersi: 150 mila lire di danno solo per quanto tocca l'arte. Inoltre tanto nella ritirata del 1917, quanto nella nostra offensiva del 1918, sono stati colpiti duomo e campanile, per altre 100 mila.

A *Pordenone*, dal palazzo del conte Ricchieri sono stati rubati tutti i quadri e i mobili del sei e del settecento, per un valore di 45 mila lire. A S. *Giorgio della Richinvelda*, la villa Attimis ebbe un danno di 45 mila. Ad *Aviano*, il palazzo conti Quirini, 100 mila lire. A *Porcia*, il Castello dei conti di Porcia, un danno di 65 mila: il tenente austriaco Tietze confessa che l'archivio di questo castello è stato in gran parte distrutto e che i quadri li avevano portati a Pordenone gli ufficiali

austriaci, per adornarne le loro dimore!... Il castello dei conti Pancera a *Zoppola* fu saccheggiato fra il 16 e 22 novembre del 1917 da ufficiali ungheresi, e sparvero così molti bei quadri, fra i quali un ritratto di Veronica Gambara, tre quadri dei da Ponte, stampe e cornici, per un valore di 120 mila lire.

A *S. Vito al Tagliamento*, dalla Chiesa di S. Maria dei Battuti colpita dall'artiglieria nemica, sono stati rubati i due fianchi del bassorilievo in marmo, del Baratta, che fa da paliotto all'altare maggiore, con un danno complessivo di 40 mila lire; nella Chiesa dell'Ospedale, colpite pitture dell'Amalteo così che, per restauro, se pure riuscirà bene, occorrerà spendere 20 mila lire. Dal palazzo dei conti Rota, quasi distrutto, sono stati rubati mobili settecenteschi anche intagliati e laccati per 85 mila lire; dalla casa Zuccheri, quadri pregievoli di varie epoche per 30 mila; dalla casa Gattorno, quadri settecenteschi per 25 mila; dalla casa dei nobili Altan, ritratti di famiglia del cinque e del seicento, quadri di scuola veneta del settecento, mobili e specchi del settecento e dell'impero per oltre 150 mila lire di valore – e ciò ad opera di un colonnello Urlauff comandante d'un campo di aviazione, il quale colonnello Urlauff si fece consegnare nel novembre 1917 dal custode della casa dei co[n]ti Tullio le chiavi, pose in casse i quadri e i mobili migliori e si portò tutto con sé in vari autocarri, quando fu traslocato a Udine: un danno, anche pei co. Tullio, di almeno 150 mila lire.

A *Cordovado*, dalla villa dei co. Freschi, dove aveva sede il comando della 49a divisione austriaca e dove soggiornò un'arciduchessa della casa imperiale, furono rubati altri mobili antichi e quadri pregevoli e in particolare, fra i quali un "Ratto d'Europa" attribuito a Paolo Veronese: un danno di 95 mila lire.

Nel distretto di *Codroipo*, lo scempio più triste è stato fatto nella villa dei conti Manin, a *Passariano*, celebre nella storia per avervi dimorato Napoleone nel 1797 e ricca della libreria e dell'intatto archivio di quella famiglia che aveva dato a Venezia l'ultimo doge. Una parte della libreria e dell'Archivio fu depositata nella Chiesa arcivescovile di S. Antonio, a Udine; ma quando la villa era già stata frugata e spogliata – tanto che lo stesso capitano Tietze confessa nel suo rapporto che «la villa, l'archivio, la biblioteca del conte Manin hanno sofferto moltissimo». Preziose opere d'arte scomparvero, fra le quali un Cristo risorto di scuola donatelliana. Il danno si può calcolare all'ingrosso, pur non tenendo conto dei libri e dell'archivio, intorno a 400 mila lire.

Nello stesso distretto di Codroipo, nella chiesa di *Varmo* furono danneggiati gli affreschi di Pomponio Amalteo, per la cui riparazione prevedesi una spesa di 50 mila lire; e a *Goriz (Caminio di Codroipo)* sono stati rubati tutti i quadri della villa [dei] co. Mainardi, stimati 150 mila. Circa venticinque quadri (notevoli, fra altri quelli del Campagnolo, del Bonsignori, del Parmigianino), sono stati involati nel novembre del 1917 da truppe tedesche; altri trenta, quasi tutti pregievoli ritratti di famiglia del sei e del settecento furono presi dal Comando distrettuale (generale Kosteleschi) e dal Comando di tappa di Codroipo (capitano Lobmayer) col pretesto di farli restaurare.

A *Latisana* è stato abbattuto il campanile nei combattimenti della ritirata, e a ricostruirlo occorreranno 200 mila lire; è stato colpito il coro della chiesa dell'Ospedale, e i restauri costeranno 10 mila lire; è stata incendiata e distrutta la casa Gasperi, i cui soli mobili e dipinti erano stimati 100.000 lire. Dalla casa di Giuseppe Bertoli è scomparso un altorilievo donatelliano cui si attribuiva un valore di 30 mila lire.

La villa Hirschell, a Precenico, già saccheggiata da ufficiali austriaci assistiti da un antiquario viennese, e spogliata della sua elegante e preziosa mobilia Impero, fu incendiata il 2 novembre 1918 dal nemico in fuga: il danno, tutto insieme, supera il milione.

Delle rovine di vari monumenti in *Palmanova*, alcune sono attribuibili alle nostre stesse truppe che dovettero, ritirandosi, il 28 e il 29 ottobre 1917, appiccare il fuoco ai depositi di vettovaglie

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e di munizioni abbondantissimi. Ma altre e molte sono imputabili al nemico che, appena vi giunse, riattizzò gli incendi per giustificare il saccheggio più sfrenato. Il danno ammonta a circa un milione di lire per i soli edifici monumentali.

A S. *Giorgio di Nogaro* la villa Canciani Celotti è stata depredata della suppellettile artistica per lire 45 mila.

A S. Daniele la Chiesa del Castello, fondato dal Longobardo Rodoaldo nel decimo secolo, colpito dalla artiglieria austriaca il 30 ottobre 1917 è tutta rovinata ed il restaurarla costerà 125 mila lire. Anche la chiesa di S. Antonio, monumento nazionale per gli apparecchi del Pellegrino che ne decorano l'interno, ebbe il tetto colpito ma gli affreschi sono salvi e il danno è solo di 25 mila lire. Il Duomo e S. Maria della Fratta sempre a S. Daniele, hanno per altri colpi bisogno di restauri stimati 90 mila lire. Sono stati infine asportati dal palazzo Florio dipinti stimati 45 mila lire e dal palazzo Concina (povero palazzo semidistrutto!) argenteria cinquecentesca e dipinti per 95 mila lire, mentre i danni apportati all'edificio si calcolano a 60 mila lire e non si conta la rovina della pineta che così vogamente [sic] coronava il colle su cui sorge il palazzo.

E scendiamo agli altri castelli di questa leggiadrissima fra le plaghe del nostro Friuli. Dal castello dei Groppero, di *Moruzzo*, furono levati mobili e raccolte d'arte per 90 mila lire; da quello dei co. Caporiacco in *Caporiacco*, mobili e ritratti di famiglia – fra gli altri, uno seicentesco attribuito al Ribera, per un valore complessivo di 70 mila lire; dal castello dei conti di Brazza in *Bazzacco* [sic] (castello che per imprudenza di ufficiali germanici fu anche preda del fuoco) mobili, quadri, stampe, per 150 mila lire; dal palazzo Vanni degli Onesti a *Fagagna*, per 50 mila lire. E non parliamo dei co. Asquini, del Nigris e di altri. Nel castello dei co. Colloredo a *Colloredo di Montalbano*, prima entrarono a predare i germanici e personalmente il maggiore Korner, comandante di tappa a San Daniele. L'11 maggio 1918, gli austriaci – tanto per fissare i limiti della loro responsabilità dopo quel saccheggio, vollero redigere l'inventario di quanto restava: ma i possibili propositi di onestà erano apparenti, poiché di quanto l'inventario annunera non resta che una piccola parte, e i danni di questo grandioso storico castello, solamente per quel che riguarda l'arte, salgono a 150 mila lire.

A *Pinzano*, la chiesa parrocchiale affrescata dal Pordenone, fu colpita sul tetto e nel campanile, con un danno di 20 mila. Ed a Valeriano, la chiesa parrocchiale e la chiesa di Santa Maria dei Battuti con i suoi storici affreschi furono danneggiati per ben 34 mila lire.

In *Maniago*, dalla ricca villa dei conti Maniago, per soli oggetti d'arte, comprese due casse di pergamene e di dipinti che nei giorni della ritirata erano state portate fino a Pordenone, con la speranza di salvarle, salgono a circa lire 150000. La casa co. d'Attimis-Maniago, ch'era un piccolo museo, è tutta devastata: le liete tele del Piazzetta [sic], il ritratto ad olio d'Irene da Spilimbergo, una Madonna del Bellini, altre pitture e mobili e specchiere e bronzi e pergamene – e il danno si stima per lo meno a mezzo milione.

In *Gemona* nemmeno gli edifici pubblici furono rispettati. I germanici hanno strappato dal Duomo il coperto di piombo che costerà intorno a 50 mila lire per rifarlo. Dalla chiesa di S. Giovanni sono scomparse due pale d'altare cinquecentesche stimate 25 mila lire[,] dal Municipio è scomparsa la piccola raccolta di quadri del cav. don Valentino Baldissera stimata 30 mila lire e la miglior parte del medagliere per 10 mila lire. E non parliamo di case private[:] da quella dei co. Elti furono rubate in più volte pitture per 50 mila lire; da quella dei co. Groppero pitture e stampe per 65 mila lire.

A *Venzona* fu levato e portato in Germania il rame che copriva la cuspidi del campanile d'un costo oggi di 30 mila lire e furono trasportate a Vienna cinque statue quattrocentesche in legno dipinto

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e dorato tra le quali «la Vergine col bambino»[,], «S. Simone» e «S. Marco» stimate 60 mila lire. A proposito di queste statue, fu rilasciato al parroco di Venzone don Faustino Ribis una ricevuta in data 26 agosto 1918 dall'i.r. comando del gruppo dell'esercito di Udine con la si quale porta [*recte*: con la quale si porta] a sua «conoscenza che le sculture del Duomo rispettivamente la Cappella delle mummie (cinque figure rappresentanti la Pietà e le altre cinque figure singole)» erano state tolte «per preservarle dalla distruzione e si trovavano salvate e poste al sicuro nel Museo d'arte e di industria austriaco a Vienna» ma che «il diritto di proprietà di questi oggetti d'arte» restava «pienamente garantito alla parrocchia di Venzone».

A *Tolmezzo*, dalla cappella dell'ospedale mancano vari quadri di qualche pregio, per un valore di 15 mila lire; e dalla casa Del Moro, tutta una raccolta di ritratti di famiglia dal seicento in poi, nonché altri dipinti cui si attribuisce un valore complessivo di 50 mila lire.

A *Zuglio* fu danneggiato il coperto della chiesa di San Pietro, monumento nazionale, e fu portata via la cuspid in rame del campanile: chi dei visitatori della vallata del But non ricorda la pittoresca apparizione della chiesa e del campanile di San Pietro.

Lis champanis di San Pieri
No si puèdin mai cordâ;
e cusi l'è l'amor vieri:
no si po' dismenteâ.

A *Forni di Sotto*, dalla chiesa di San Lorenzo fu rubato un arazzo bellissimo del 1603, valutato 35 mila lire.

Cividale, prima di Caporetto, era stata bombardata dall'aria: e vedemmo, nel numero di martedì, quante volte e con quali effetti disastrosi, anche di morti e di feriti. Una bomba aveva colpito il palazzo del Museo, con un danno di circa 10 mila lire. Nei combattimenti della ritirata, rimase, fra gli altri edifici, incendiata la chiesa di S. Francesco, e le riparazioni porteranno una spesa di circa lire 50 mila. – Ma poi tutte le case private furono messe a soqquadro dai ladri.

Notiamo: dalla casa dei co. della Torre mobili e stampe e altri oggetti d'arte per 45 mila lire; dalla villa dei baroni Craigher (che dopo la liberazione fu distrutta dal fuoco) dipinti per 100 mila lire; dalla casa dei nobili de Paciani altri dipinti del settecento per 30 mila lire; dalla casa del cavalier Luigi Suttina, mobili[,], stampe, porcellane dell'ottocento, per 40 mila lire. Dalla casa del prof. Pier Silverio Leicht quadri del cinque e seicento per 40 mila, dalla casa del nob. de Portis, mobili veneziani per 40 mila. Quanto restava nel Museo fu manomesso: due grandi tele sul fare di Palma il Vecchio, che venivano dalla chiesa di S. Pietro dei Volti, una pala d'altare dipinta da Girolamo Ridolfi, il più antico pittore cividalese che ci sia noto – pala che era stata lì depositata dalla chiesa di Centa – armi [e] fibule provenienti da tombe longobarde, perfino le lastre e le stampe di tutte le fotografie dei monumenti dell'agro di Cividale: tutto è sparito. Un danno di 200 mila lire.

A *Buttrio*, la villa Morpurgo ha perduto mobili e quadri per 75 mila lire; la villa Toppo del co. Florio per 95 mila lire; la villa dei co. Ottelio per 150 mila; a *Soleschiano* la villa dei co. Brazzà per 80 mila; a *Dolegnano*, la villa dei co. di Trento per 95 mila; e la villa della Rocca Bernarda per 50 mila.

A *Trivignano*, dalla villa Maniago-Ciardi sono scomparsi mobili antichi e dipinti moderni dei tre Ciardi, del Milesi e di altri veneziani per un valore di 80 mila lire.

La chiesa cinquecentesca di *Pontebba*, che anche di recente era stata restaurata ed arricchita,

è stata distrutta dai cannoni austriaci fin dal primo anno di guerra: a ricostruirla, occorrerà non meno di mezzo milione. E nello stesso canale del Ferro, la parrocchia di *Dogna*, già colpita, durante l'invasione è stata spogliata di tutti i suoi arredi e dipinti, per un valore di 20 mila lire.

Va notato:

1° che nell'arida enumerazione qui sopra esposta, sono ricordati solamente i furti e i danneggiamenti maggiori o quelli di edifici pubblici; mentre famiglie di minori fortune – artisti, professionisti, amatori d'arte che custodivano amorosamente nelle loro case qualche oggetto artistico – videro sparire ogni lor cosa più bella; quadri, statue, oggetti d'arte in rame, in ferro battuto, in legno, in marmo, in bronzo, così che l'elenco pubblicato qui resta indubbiamente incompleto.

2° che da tutti i maggiori centri della Provincia – Udine, Cividale, Palmanova, S. Daniele, Spilimbergo, Tolmezzo, Gemona[,] Venzone, Pordenone ecc. – per consiglio e con l'aiuto del Comando Supremo, erano state nell'inverno del 1917 portate a Firenze ed a Roma pitture, stoffe, oreficerie[,] archivi di qualche valore; onde, se il bottino fatto dal nemico non è ancora più rilevante, fu merito della previdenza del nostro Comando e degli incaricati dal Governo di tutelare il prezioso patrimonio artistico nazionale, non della civiltà e della «onestà» del nemico ladro. Ed in proposito, si può anche ricordare che più oggetti d'arte si sarebbero potuti salvare se non si fosse urtato contro qualche opposizione: questo affermo pubblicamente in una lettera sui giornali del Regno, il comm. Ugo Ojetti.

E chiudiamo questi brevi appunti con un rilievo: riassumendo esclusivamente i danni materiali (opere murarie rifatte o da rifarsi) sofferti dai monumenti nostri e le spese sostenute a tentare di proteggerli (danni e lavori che risultano dalla relazione) si raggiunge la cospicua somma di lire 14.870.000.

Chiuderemo riportando queste parole della relazione:

...da tutti questi documenti, perizie, testimonianze, specie quelle raccolte sui luoghi del martirio, una conclusione dobbiamo trarre; che, per quanto minute e lunghe sieno state e saranno le investigazioni e le inchieste, esse non giungeranno mai a definire in cifre lo scempio fatto dal nemico all'arte nostra, in una delle regioni italiane che ne era più ricca.

Bastano alcune osservazioni. La prima è che le denunce dei privati proprietari d'oggetti d'arte, delle quali denunce solo una piccola anzi minima parte finora è pervenuta alla commissione d'inchiesta, riguardano di rado l'arte decorativa: mobili, specchiere, vasellami, ferri lavorati d'uso domestico, i quali oggetti hanno un valore d'arte spesso ignoto agli stessi proprietari e spessissimo superiore a quello dei quadri e delle stampe di cui essi proprietari hanno l'abitudine di gloriarsi.

E non si potrà d'altronde, mai misurare quanto la rapina abbia disperso oltre monte di quell'arte decorativa, popolana e contadinesca, ch'era un vanto del Veneto e del Friuli, perché popolani e contadini non penseranno mai, anzi non potranno mai distinguere nella suppellettile perduta, quello che aveva un qualche pregio singolare, sia pure soltanto per la storia del costume italiano.

E chi dirà, poi, della disperazione quasi totale degli arredi sacri delle nostre chiese – chi dirà quanto di stoffe, di merletti, di ricami, d'argenteria e d'oreficeria, di scultura in legno e in bronzo, di stampe e di libri figurati e di ricami e di arazzi – così di chiese come di famiglie private, noi abbiamo perduto?

20. [Publication on art protection during the war, reporting Austro-German efforts to protect cultural artefacts]

«Kunstschutz im Kriege. Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Maßnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung», herausgegeben von Paul Clemen, Leipzig: Seemann, 1919, vol. 1: Die Westfront, vol. 2: Die Kriegsschauplätze in Italien, im Osten und Südosten

Book, 4°, 148 (vol. 1) and 221 (vol. 2) pages

The first volume was also translated into French and English (*Protection of Art during War. Reports concerning the Condition of the Monuments of Art at the different Theatres of War and the German and Austrian Measures taken for their Preservation, Rescue and Research*).

Although the art historian Paul Clemen, head of the German *Kunstschutzgruppen* in Belgium, France and the Balkans, defines the two-volume anthology on «Art Protection During the War» (*Kunstschutz im Kriege*) as a simple «accountability report» (*Rechenschaftsbericht*), his publication also continued wartime propaganda efforts. As a matter of fact, the implementation of a *Kunstschutzgruppe* in the fall of 1914 was a reaction to severe international criticism, since the destruction of historic buildings in Belgium and the shelling of Reims cathedral in September 1914 had violated articles 27 and 56 of The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 – the first multilateral treaties addressing the preservation of cultural heritage in warfare. Hence, the rhetoric of justification, as a response to international dissent, is, without any doubt, part of the genesis of the concept of art protection: To refute the claim that Germans were destructive Barbarians, acclaimed experts and professionals were called upon to oversee occupation without harm.

On the one hand, the preservation of cultural heritage in the First World War meant indeed that «in the conquered territories, German academics were assigned to carry out initial security measures, document details of any destruction, research and compile inventories of sites of particular artistic significance, and prepare designs for reconstruction» (STÖRTKUHL 2014, p. 158). On the other hand, while «preservation, rescue and research» sound rather neutral and objective, these activities were tainted by nationalistic criteria to such a degree that the very protection efforts have been called «instruments of propaganda» (HÄDLER 2014). Moreover, the fact that the German Foreign Office co-financed Clemen's book can indeed be considered proof of the actual political nature of the reporting.

A case in point are the captions in vol. 2, e.g. in the report by Max Dvořák on «Institutions of art protection in Austria» (*Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich*): in three cases out of four, the destruction of monuments is attributed

to Italians, and the sole intact object is **Duino** Castle «before shelling». Similarly, Anton Gnirs' article on Monument Protection on the Austrian Isonzo battle line at the time of the Italian campaign 1915-1918 highlights churches that had been shelled by Italians. It does not come as a surprise, then, that this principle of accusing the enemy is also repeated in Franz von Wieser's assessment of the protection measures in Tyrol, in Walter Mannowsky's report on German Art Protection in the occupied territories of Italy in 1917/1918, and in the account provided by Hans Tietze on Austrian Art Protection in Italy. Again and again, successful 'safeguarding' and preservation measures are executed by Germans and Austrians, while wilful destruction, mutilation, fragmentation and annihilation are presented as results of Italian activities. In a sort of afterword (pp. 63-70), entitled «Italian Art Protection in Vienna. A Satyrian Play as Epilogue», Tietze recounts the attempted «abduction» (*Entführung*) of various artworks by an Italian Commission in February 1919.

The 1919 postwar publication is a clear indication that cultural heritage and its protection were controversial, even highly contested, topics among nations. While the presentation of visual and textual evidence was purportedly a detached, scholarly approach, it was governed by many straightforward political, patriotic and nationalist convictions and beliefs. Already in 1920, a review of the volume (*KUNSTSCHUTZ IM KRIEGE* 1920) diagnosed an «admittedly propagandist side», and Christina Kott has thus called the book an outright «ouvrage de propagande» (KOTT 2000, p. 202). Recent scholarship, such as Ingrid Scheurmann's comprehensive account of monument preservation, neatly contextualizes tendencies and strategies of the contradictory dialectics of 'maintenance during destruction' within the contemporary political, legal and institutional frameworks (SCHEURMANN 2018; for a succinct summary see SCHEURMANN 2019).

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KUNSTSCHUTZ IM KRIEGE

B E R I C H T E
ÜBER DEN ZUSTAND DER KUNSTDENKMALER
AUF DEN VERSCHIEDENEN KRIEGSSCHAUPLÄTZEN UND ÜBER DIE
DEUTSCHEN UND ÖSTERREICHISCHEN MASSNAHMEN ZU IHRER
ERHALTUNG, RETTUNG, ERFORSCHUNG

IN VERBINDUNG MIT

GERHARD BERSU · HEINZ BRAUNE · PAUL BUBERL
THEODOR DEMMLER · RICHARD DETHLEFSEN
HANS DRAGENDORFF · MAX DVOŘÁK · OTTO VON FALKE
ANTON GNIRS · OTTO GRAUTOFF · HELMUTH GRISEBACH
FRANZ W. JERUSALEM · GEORG KARO · FRIEDRICH KULLRICH
WALTER MANNOWSKY · FORTUNAT VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN
FRIEDRICH SARRE · HANS TIETZE · FRIEDRICH TRENDELENBURG
PAUL WEBER · THEODOR WIEGAND
FRANZ VON WIESER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
PAUL CLEMEN



ZWEITER BAND: DIE KRIEGSSCHAUPLÄTZE
IN ITALIEN, IM OSTEN UND SÜDOSTEN

MIT 224 ABBILDUNGEN

VERLAG VON E. A. SEEMANN IN LEIPZIG · 1919

II



Die Piazzutta in Görz nach der Beschießung

II.

Die Denkmalpflege an der österreichischen Isonzofront in der Zeit des italienischen Feldzuges 1915–1918

Von Anton Gnirs

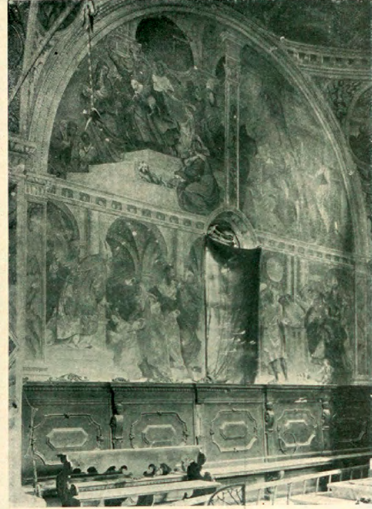
Obwohl seit Beginn des Jahres 1915 kaum etwas anderes mehr zu erwarten stand, als daß Italien aus dem Verhältnis seiner Neutralität tretend mit dem kommenden Frühjahr Österreich an seinen südlichen Grenzen angreifen und sich hier zur Durchführung gewaltiger Kampfoperationen einrichten werde, so mußten doch in den damals schon schwer bedrohten Grenzgebieten auch selbst nur vorbereitende Maßnahmen zum Schutze der beweglichen wie unbeweglichen Denkmalwerte mit Rücksicht auf die allgemeine Stellungnahme der k. k. Regierung gegenüber dem bereits offensiv vorbereitenden Königreich vollständig unterbleiben. Die k. k. Regierung glaubte nämlich, im Küstenlande alles vermeiden zu müssen, was auch nur den Schein im Inlande wie im Auslande hätte erwecken können, daß man in Wien mit einem Friedensbruch Italiens und mit einer Abwehr auch an der Südwestgrenze bereits rechnen müsse. Erst mit der Kriegserklärung am Pfingstsonntag 1915, somit erst mit jener Stunde, in der der volle Kriegszustand de facto auch schon bestand, konnten die berufenen Funktionäre des Staatsdenkmaldienstes an die Organisation eines besonderen, der schon entwickelten Kampfplage Rechnung tragenden Denkmalschutzes schreiten und dazu notwendige Befehle, zunächst freilich ohne exekutive Mittel, erhalten.

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Österreichischer Kunstschutz in Italien



Ponte di Piave
Die von den Italienern zerschossene Kirche



Spitalskirche von San Vito mit den Fresken von Pomp. Amalteo,
durch Schrapnellfeuer beschädigt

dies die kostbarsten Bestände schon vorher entfernt worden waren — keinen nennenswerten Schaden erlitten; so die Kommunalbibliotheken und -Archive in Udine, San Daniele, Gemona, die erzbischöfliche, die Kapitel- und die Seminarbibliothek in Udine, die Museumsbibliothek in Cividale usw. Schwere Schäden erlitten — infolge des beklagten Systems schwerfälliger und widerspruchsvoller Administration — die Bibliothek des Instituto tecnico in Udine, aus der die Inkunabeln und sonstigen wertvollen Drucke in unser Depot geschafft wurden, aber der Rest trotz erneuter Absperrung wiederholt bestohlen worden ist und die Biblioteca der società alpina daselbst, die von der Kunstschutzgruppe völlig geordnet abgesperrt worden war, aber nachmals in der Suche nach technischer Literatur aller Art und zwecks polizeilicher Verfolgung vermuteter politischer Umtriebe der Vereinsmitglieder durchwühlt und zum Teil auch fortgebracht worden ist.

Von den größeren Privatbibliotheken sind hervorzuheben: Biblioteca Florio im gleichnamigen Palast in Udine, auf dessen Verwendung als Spital mit Rücksicht auf die kostbare Bibliothek verzichtet wurde und die infolgedessen in ihrer ursprünglichen, überaus reizvollen Aufstellung bleiben konnte; Bibliothek und Archiv des Grafen Concina in San Daniele, deren wertvollere Bestandteile in die dortige Kommunalbibliothek gebracht wurden, während der Rest an Ort und Stelle verblieb; die reiche Spezialbibliothek des Cavaliere dal Torso in Udine, die in einem Zimmer des Hauses Torso selbst abgesondert und verschlossen werden konnte; die Bibliothek im Schlosse Colloredo, die unter der Obhut des Ortspfarrers wohlversorgt war. In dem einsam gelegenen Schlosse Passeriano der Grafen Manin erwiesen sich Bibliothek und Archiv infolge der wechselnden Truppendurchzüge als sehr gefährdet; infolgedessen wurden die noch vorgefundenen Archivalien und die wichtigeren Teile der Bibliothek nach Udine geschafft. Eine ebenso durchgreifende Maßregel erwies sich in Belluno als nötig, wo wertvolle Bibliotheken zum Teil in einsam stehenden Landhäusern vorgefunden wurden; hier wurden die ganzen Bestände

21. Report on the recovery of private art objects and furniture

Relazione sul ricupero di oggetti d'arte e mobili di proprietà privata

Three-page typewritten report by General Roberto Segre, chief of the Italian Military Mission for the Armistice in Vienna, to the Italian Supreme Command's Secretary in Abano (Province of Padua), followed by a six-page table

16 May 1919

Italy, Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Missione a Vienna per rivendicare le opere d'arte italiane. 1919-1920*

Through this report, General Roberto Segre updates the Italian Supreme Command, headquartered in **Abano**, on the retrieval by the Vienna police of several privately-owned artworks allegedly taken from the territories which Austria had occupied after the Battle of **Caporetto**. The report is made up of a copy of a letter by Segre to the Supreme Command, followed by a list of artworks and furniture (Attachment no. 4). Other attachments mentioned in the letter (nos. 1, 2 and 3) are missing. The list (83 entries) is organised into a five-column table, the first one referring to the identification number associated with the object or – as in the case of prints – groups of objects. The second column details the name and address of those who possessed the items when seized by the Austrian police; as the reference to the *Bezirk* number in some of the addresses shows, they were mainly from Vienna. The third column specifies the paintings' subject. Provenance, in many cases limited to the circumstances of the last acquisition, is the content of the fourth column. The fifth column contains further annotations, which in some cases relate to the provenance information, in most cases, though, this last column simply contains the formula: «asserzione del detentore», meaning that the information concerning the acquisition of the object was the result of statements made by the possessors themselves. The table is followed by a loose list of furniture (38 entries) said to belong to the Counts of Concina (**San Daniele del Friuli**).

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energica azione tendente al raggiungimento dello stesso scopo.

Il comunicato alla stampa ^{però} non portò alcun pratico risultato, onde io, con mia nota del 20 febbraio, richiesi al locale Ministero degli Esteri una più efficace opera e consigliai la istituzione di uno speciale ufficio con personale attivo che attendesse unicamente al ricupero del materiale suddetto. Le mie proposte furono accettate e venne istituito presso la Direzione di polizia un apposito ufficio al quale fu preposto un commissario. Nell'Interesse della Missione incaricai il Capitano dei Carabinieri Callari Cav. Francesco di tenere il contatto col personale del detto ufficio di polizia, agevolandolo in tutti i modi nelle ricerche, onde si addivenisse alla sollecita risoluzione della pratica.

Al detto Ufficio si fecero affluire tutte le denunce pervenute da codesto Comando e dai privati e tutte quelle altre indicazioni che qui l'arma dei Carabinieri potette ottenere con uno speciale servizio all'uopo stabilito, costantemente condotto con diligenza ed interessamento.

Due mesi di continuo lavoro, di indagini, di perquisizioni in genere, il tutto diretto formalmente dalla polizia, e sostanzialmente dal mio capitano dei Carabinieri, hanno dato a queste ricerche un buon risultato materiale, essendo recuperato tutto il materiale di cui agli uniti elenché, (Allegati N° 4) e ad un tempo morale perché ha fatto constatare, toccare con mano, alle autorità austriache quale opera di saccheggio fu compiuta in Italia dalle proprie truppe.

Il 25 s.m., nell'intento d'iniziare la spedizione in Italia degli oggetti fin allora recuperati, richiesi la consegna degli stessi alla Direzione di polizia; ma ebbi risposta che a ciò non si poteva addivenire colla sollecitudine da me desiderata giacché il governo aveva dato speciali disposizioni, per cui alla Missione sarebbero stati pel momento consegnati solo quegli oggetti, i cui apparenti proprietari avessero insistito nel dichiarare il legittimo possesso, bisognava attendere il responso del competente magistrato.

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ale procedura, non potevo io accettare, e pertanto interessai il Ministero degli Esteri, con foglio 7030 del 26 scorso Aprile, che unisco in copia, (allegato N° 1) per disporre per la sollecita consegna del materiale recuperato.

E la mia tesi venne accolta, e colla nota 2-1-3371/2 del 4 corrente, che allego ed in traduzione (allegato N° 2 e3), il Ministero degli Esteri mi partecipò che allo scopo di assicurare la sollecita consegna degli oggetti d'arte asportati in Italia era in via di emanazione una apposita legge.

Allo stato delle cose, in ottemperanza alle disposizioni di codesto Comando Supremo-Segretariato Generale per gli Affari Civili-, contenute nel foglio 73302 del 5 corrente, ho fatto procedere alla spedizione, di quanto si é finora recuperato, alla R. Sovrintendenza alle opere d'arte del Veneto presso le R. Gallerie di Venezia.

Ho disposto che queste pratiche di recupero siano continuate, fiducioso che il prosieguo del lavoro porterà ad altre restituzioni di materiali indebitamente asportati dal nostro paese.

Tutto ciò per l'A.T. Per gli altri nuovi Stati, però, nulla ho fatto di concerto, e nulla credo di potere ottenere.

IL MAGGIORE GENERALE
Capo della Missione
F° Roberto Ségre)

COPIA

Allegato N° 4°

DIREZIONE DI POLIZIA VIENNA= UFFICIO DI SICUREZZA

Numero che intrassegna quadro	Nome ed abitazione del detentore	Soggetto dell quadro	Provenienza	Asserzione del detentore
1				
2	Adolfo Hertzka VII Siebensterngasse	Santa Famiglia	Sindaco di Sacile	Asserzione del detentore
3	" "	Immagine San ta	Monsignore Morelli di Sacile	id.
4	" "	Paesaggio	" "	id
5	" "	Santo	" "	id
6	" "	" "	" "	id
7	" "	" "	" "	id
8	" "	" "	" "	Teresa Marinetti da Vittorio
9	" "	" "	" "	Ricevuto da per sona ignota a Vittorio. Piazza Caribaldi
28	" "	Madonna con Gesù	Teresa Mari- notti da Vittò rio	id
32	" "	Ascensione di Maria	Primavera 1918 Acquistato a Sacile da per sona ignota	id
46	" "	Giuseppe col bambino	Acquistato presso un an- tiquario igno- to di Trento nel 1917.	id
47	" "	Santo	" "	id
48	" "	Gesù sulla Croce	" "	id
49	" "	S. Francesco	Acquistato da ignoti in lo- calità non ril- teordata	id

	N° ed abitazione del detentore	Soggetto dell'quadro	Provenienza	Annotazione
	Adolfo Hertzka VII. Siebenstern- gasse 46	Immagine di Cristo	Acquistato da ignota in lo-	Assertione del detentore
			Calità non ri-	
			cordata	
57	" "	Ritratto	" "	id
62	" "	Paesaggio	" "	id
63	" "	" "	" "	id
64	" "	Maria col Gesù bambino	" "	id
65	" "	Paesaggio	" "	id
66	" "	" "	" "	id
1	Signorina Hertz- ka VII. Sieben- sterngasse.46	Loth e sua figlia	" "	id
2	" "	Madonna con tre bambini e santi	" "	id
3	" "	S. Sebastiano disteso	" "	id
3	Johan Balzar V. Hamburgerstr. 18	Santa fami- glia	Comprato a Klagenfurt da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte	id
4	" "	Immagine di donna	" "	id
5	" "	Crocifissio- ne di Cristo su legno	" "	id
7	" "	Cirolano in provincia	" "	id
1	" "	Scena misti- ca su legno	" "	id
2	" "	Amore	" "	id
8	" "	Ritratto da Innono	" "	id
10	" "	L'incontro di Maria con Elisabetta	" "	id

	Nome e cognome del detentore	Segg. del paese	Provenienza	Annotazioni
	Wladimir Jansko	Monaco	Acquisto a Castello presso Forpetto del il'inquilino Rumiz	Asserzione del del detentore
4	"	"	"	id
1	Guillermo Schil	Martirio di un	Acquistate nell'estate del 1918 da un	id
	lok I. Nimmelf-	Isanto	Capitano sconosciu-	
	Ipfortg.5		Itto	
2	"	Cardinale Forcia	"	id
3	"	Ritratto di un	"	id
	Patrizio dell'an-			
	no 1619			
4	"	Santa con fiori	"	id
1	Gena Bedoblech	Bambino	Ricevuto in regalo	id
	Iturgasse		da un Ten. sconosciu-	
	"	Santa famiglia	Ricevuto in regalo	id
2	"	"	da un antiquario di Innsbruck.	
3	"	Diana e le sue	"	id
	figlie			
5	"	tre santi	Acquistati nella pri-	id
	"	"	mavera del 1917 da	
	"	"	ignota ed in localita'	
	"	"	ignota	
	Jamette Junker			
	III Pfisterstr.			
	Isse 47 propria-			
	Ita del veterina			
	Eric Milos Rosen			
	Iberger Raab			
1	"	Immagine di	Freno da ignota per-	id
	"	donna	sona ed in localita'	
	"	"	sconosciuta	
2	"	"	"	id
3	"	Maria	XXXXXX	id
4	"	Ritratto di una	Ritratto del 1882	id
	regina		di Maria	
5	"	"Maria"	XXXXXX	

		Soggetto del	Provenienza	Annotazioni
	Edmeed abitazione	I quadro	I	I
	del detentore	I	I	I
6	Jeanette Junker	I Immagine di Cristo	I Preso da igno-	I Asserzione del
	III Praterstrasse	I	I ta persona ed	I detentore.
	47 proprietà del	I	I in località scon-	I
	veterinario Milos	I	I nosciuti.	I
	Rosemberger Raab.	I	I	I
7	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
8	" "	I Effigie di donna	I " "	I id
9	" "	I Effigie di uomo	I " "	I id
1	Giulio May Kaiser	I S. Antonio sopra	I Acquistato da	I id
	Wilkekustring.	I una nube	I un'antiquario in	I
	" "	I	I Vattorio	I
2	" "	I Angelo sopra una	I " "	I id
	" "	I nube	I	I
1	Ferdinando Sma-	I Paesaggio	I Trafugato in Ita-	I id
	zenka Gainfarn	I	I lia nel 1918 dal	I
	Hauptstrasse	I	I Colon. Andreata.	I
7	" "	I Fontana	I " "	I id
8	" "	I statura da donna	I " "	I id
9	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
10	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
11	" "	I Paesaggio	I " "	I id
12	Ferdinando Smazen-	I " "	I " "	I id
	Ika Gainfarn Haupt-	I	I	I
	str. 7	I	I	I
13	" "	I Ritratto antenato	I " "	I id
	" "	I del conte Tullio di	I	I
	" "	I Goncina	I	I
14	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
15	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
16	" "	I Stampe	I " "	I id
17	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
18	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
1	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
3	" "	I " "	I " "	I id
5	" "	I " e	I " "	I id

Nome ed abitazione	Il soggetto del	Il provenienza	Il Annotaz.
del detentore	quadro		
6	Ferdinando Smazani	Stampe	Rubato in Ita Asserzione del
	Fra Gainfarn Hauptl		ria nell'anno I detentore
			I 1918 dal Co-
			Ilon. Andreatta
7	"	Albergo Genes-	" " Sidritiene
		Illogico della f	" " che gli ogget
		Ilmiglia dei Co	" " ti di cui cont
		Iliti di Concina.	" " tro apparten-
		Ilampada elett	" " gone alla
		Ica	" " famiglia dei
		Ivase	" " Conti di Con-
		I Portalampada	" " cina (S.
		Id'argento	" " Daniele
		Iscodelle di ra	" " del
		me	" " Friuli)
		I tre tappeti	" " id
		I 4 copfisco del	" " id
		Ile	" " id
		I 2 piatti	" " id
		I 2 piatti	" " id
		I grandi	" " id
		I I gallo me-	" " id
		tallico	" " id
		I 2 specchi	" " id
		I veneziani	" " id
		Il orologio	" " id
		da tavolo	" " id
1	Hugo Haluska Lins	seduzione	Unito al бага
	raben		Iglie all'in-
			Iseputa da una
			persona di set
			izio.
2	"	Donna con tre	I 5 " id
		I bambini	I " id
			I " id

22. List of paintings removed by Austrians and retrieved by the Italian Supreme Command in Carinthia (temporarily stored at the Superintendent Office of Venice)

Elenco dei quadri asportati dagli Austriaci e ritrovati dal Comando Supremo in Carinzia (temporaneamente ricoverati presso la Soprintendenza di Venezia)

Fourteen-page handwritten inventory of paintings. No information given on author and place.

ca. 1919

Italy, Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Quadri recuperati nella Carinzia*

The list was presumably drawn up by the staff of the Superintendent Office of **Venice**, where the items retrieved by the Italian Military Mission in Austria had been temporarily stored in 1919. It refers to some privately-owned artworks seized by the Viennese police from Austrian citizens at the beginning of 1919 on request of General Roberto Segre, chief of the Italian Military Mission in Vienna. The inventory consists of 88 handwritten entries giving information on subject, period, school, technique and state of conservation. Indeed, each entry refers to the corresponding identification number of the Viennese list which Segre had attached to his report dated 16 May 1919 (see doc. 20), showing that Fine Arts officials in Venice cross-checked the two lists.

No document has so far been found that can attest to the final destination of these retrieved artworks, even if details about their original owners (for instance the Mayor of **Sacile**, Monsignor Morelli from Sacile and the Counts of Concina) are provided.

FC

QUADRI ^{risparmiati} NELLA CARINZIA

(I quadri più importanti sono segnati con asterisco)

Elenco dei quadri
asportati dagli Austriaci e ritrovati dal Comando Supremo
in Carinzia
(temporaneamente ricoverati presso la Soprintendenza
di Venezia)

- *
1) Diana e Calisto - Scuola Bolognese - maniera dell'Uffani -
olio su tela - rinforzata - 95 x 71 - senza cornice - verni-
ciato di fresco - cartello col nome del detentore:
Geza Bedö - Blechturgasse - Il detentore asserisce
d'averlo ricevuto in regalo da un tenente sconosciuto.
#° fed. 3 -
- *
2) Scena allegorica - tre donne in un paese - veneziano sec. XIV
maniera del Contarini? - olio su tavola - ridipinto -
senza cornice - 61 x 43 - (porta dietro a matita il
12)
- 3) Scena mitologica - veneziano del secolo XVII.
olio su tavola - dipinto - senza cornice 56 x 31.
(detentore Johan Balzar - Hamburgstrasse 18 -
che lo comprese da un ufficiale proveniente dal
fronte a Klagenfurt) - Il cartello tedesco porta il # 1
- 4) Ritratto di cacciatore - sec. XIX in. - olio su tela - dipinto
mediocre - 59 x 70 - detentore Adolf Herzka - VII.
Lichensterngasse 46 - Acquistato da ignot. in località
non più precisare - #° fed. 57 -
- *
5) Madonna - S. Giacchino e S. Anna - veneziano sec. XVIII
molto ridipinta e rinverniciata - olio su tela - 76 x 64.
detentore Geza Bedö - C. S. che l'acquistò nel 1917 da
ignot. in località ignota. #° fed. 5.

- 5) Sacra famiglia - olio su tela - rinvernicato 40 x 47. Det. Gera Redö. Blechtorgasse - ricevuto in regalo da un antiquario di Innsbruck. # sed. 2.
- 7) Angelo. frammento di pala - sec. XVI - molto ritoccato - olio su tela - 61 x 78. Det. Julius May - Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse - Berlino - stato da un antiquario di Vittorio. # sed. 2.
- 8) Cesta di Santo - friulano del secolo XVI - olio su tavola. 31 x 43 - Detentore Johan Balzar - c. s. chi lo comperò a Klagenfurt da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte. # sed. 8.
- 9) Sacra conversazione - Imitazione o copia da Bonifacio = sopra una colonna una stemma dei Camerlenghi - olio su tela - 132 x 97 - molto deperito e ritoccato. Detentrici Sig.^{na} Herzyka. VII - Sebenssterngasse - 46 - fu acquistata da ignoti in località ignota. # sed. 2.
- 10) Visitazione. Friulano del sec. XVI - olio su tela - rinforzata - assai deperito - 78 x 51 - Detentore Johann Balzar - c. s. - chi lo comperò a Klagenfurt da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte. # sed. 10.
- 11) Tieta - Scuola Veronese - sec. XVI es. olio su tela - rintelagato di recente. (137 x 111) Cartello tedesco. # 1 - Wilhelm Lustig - detentore - (manca nell'elenco di Vienna)
- 12) Annunciazione. sec. XVI - olio su tela riportato su telaio nuovo - 67 x 55. Apparteneva a M.^o Mosell. di Siedel per acquisizione di Teresa Marinotti da Vittorio. Det. Adolf Herzyka - VII Sebenssterngasse. # sed. 8.

- 13) S. Sebastiano - Veneto secoli ^{XVII-XVIII}.
olio su tela - intezato di recente. assai deperito -
104 X 46. Detentrice Sig.^{ma} Herzka. in. Liebensteingasse.
A. S. Acquistato da ignoti in località ignota.
tes. 3.
- 14) * Ritratto di gentiluomo in abito nero e colletto bianco.
veneto - 1819.
olio su tela - restaurato di fresco o ritoccato - 97 X 110.
Detentore Wilhelm Schick. I. Himmelpfortgasse - 5.
Acquistato nel 1918 da un capitano sconosciuto.
tes. 3.
- 15) * Ritratto di Gentiluomo sec. XVIII. maniera del De Rubeis?
olio su tela - assai deperito - 67 X 97. cornice di legno
bruna - Detentore: Adolf Herzka. # tes. 9 - (nell'elenco
di Vienna è indicato come "Lanton" (?)).
- 16) Broceffisso - sec. XVIII -
assai guasto - olio su tela - 49 X 106.
Detentore Adolf Herzka. c. s. Acquistato presso
un antiquario ignoto di Brento nel 1918. # tes. 48
- 17) Scena mitologica - ^{secolo XVIII} - olio su tela - intezato di fresco -
50 X 37 - senza cartello tedesco -
- 18) Ritratto di Dama - secolo XVIII -
olio su tela - 36 X 36 - cornice di legno bruna -
det. Farnette Funker. II Praterstrasse 47. Prop. del
Veterinario Milos Rosenberger Raab. Prezzo da ignota
persona in località sconosciuta - # tes. 1.

- 19) Scena burlesca - Una giovane e un vecchio disputano in presenza di guerrieri dinanzi ad un fuoco - secolo XVIII. olio su tela - 76 x 63 - rintelajato (cartello feb. col nome del detentore Balzar e il # 9) - Manca nell'elenco di Vienna -
- 20) Muzio Scevola - Maniera del Lucaglia - sec. XVIII - olio su tela - rintelajato - 121 x 161 - Detentore Wilhelm Schick - I - Himmelfahrtsgasse - 5 - Acquistato nell'estate 1918 da un capitano sconosciuto. # feb. 1 -
- 21) Figura allegorica - donna ignuda con una melacoma elessidra - secolo XVI - olio su tela - rintelajato - 94 x 115 - Det. Vladimir Janzkowitch 1X. Sichtenstrasse - 130 - Acquistato a Castello presso Topetto dall'inquilino Brumiz. # feb. 2 (
- 22) Flora? figura femminile allegorica con gallina - Maniera dei Sicatte - sec. XVIII - olio su tela - rintelajato di recente. Detent. Johann Balzar - e. s. Comprato a Klagenfurt da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte. # feb. 4 -
- 23) Ritratto di Francesca Fulcis - 1663 - con stemma a mezzo busto - olio su tela - rintelajato di fresco - 55 x 43 - (il cartello porta: Karl Balzar - 5 - ma sotto questo numero e nome l'elenco viennese registra una Crocifissione)

- 24) Portrait of a lady - simile al # 18
olio su tela - cornice di legno buono - 36 x 36 -
Det. come il # 18. # tes. 2. (Forse quella ripetuta nell'elenco
vicinosa al # 24?)
- 25) Santa Monaca - sec. XVII. olio su tela - 54 x 70 -
deperitissima - Det. Adolf Hertzka - C. S. Proviene da
Mr. Morelli di Sacile. # tes. 6.
- 26) S. Girolamo - secolo XVII.
olio su tela - 56 x 71 - assai deperito.
Det. Vladimir Janrkowicz. IX - Liebkensdammstrasse - 130.
Acquistato a Castello presso Porpetto dall'inquirente
Kumix. # tes. 1
- 27) Sacra famiglia - Maniera di Polidoro -
rinvernicciato e ritoccato - olio su tavola - 50 x 62 - Il castello
tedesco dice: Karl(?) Balzar - 13 - Sotto questo numero, nome d'è:
lenco Vennessi registra un "Ritratto a mezzo busto di una ragazza"
- 28) S. Girolamo nel deserto - Veneziano del sec. XVI -
olio su tela - rinforzato e rintelajato di recente
52 x 48 - Det. Johann Balzar - V. Hamburgerstrasse
18 - Comprato a Klagenfurt da un ufficiale
proveniente dal fronte. # tes. 7.
- 29) Santo con corona regale e tortoia in mano -
sec. XVII. olio su tela - 50 x 70 - Det. Adolf Hertzka.
Appartiene a Mons. Morelli di Sacile. # tes. 5
- 30) tristo risorto - sec. XVII.
olio su tela - molto scrostato - 41 x 51 - Il cartello ted.
dice: Adolf Hertzka - 2 - Sotto questo numero, nome d'è:
d'Vienna registra una sacra famiglia del Sindaco di Sacile

- *
 31) Ritratto del cardinale Leandro di Toccia e Kruegera -
 (1673-1740) - principio del sec. XVIII
 Molto ridipinto - olio su tela - rintelajato - 60 x 88 -
 Det. Wilhelm Schick c. s. Acquistato nell'estate 1918
 da un capitano sconosciuto. # t. 2.
- 32) Ritratto di dama a pastello - secolo XVIII - veneziano -
 carta riportata su tela - 28 x 37 -
 Det. Johann Balzar c. s. Comprato a Plagenfurt
 da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte.
 # tes. 13.
- 33) Paesaggio - sec. XIX - olio su tela - cornice dorata -
 71 x 45 -
 Det. Adolf Herzka c. s. Acquistato da ignoti in
 località non ricordata. # tes. 62.
- 34) Idem - # tes 63
- 35) " " # tes 65
- 36) " " # tes 66
- 37) Paesaggio con rovine - sec. XVIII -
 olio su tela - rintelajato di recente - molto deperito -
 71 x 54 - Il cartello reca: Wilhelm Ludwig. 2 - Non è regi:
 strato nell'elenco di Vienna -
- 38) Il guerriero e la gloria (?) - Veneziano secolo XVIII -
 olio su tela - rintelajato e rinforzato - 120 x 131 -
 Il cartello reca il nome Jergkowitz - cancellato - il # 3 -
 Vi è anche un numero vecchio d'inventario - 397 - Non è regi:
 strato nell'elenco Viennese -
 Dipinto - strato nell'elenco Viennese - Missina Italiana per l'amistizio
 Christò di ritorno dal Comand. Supremo - Missina Italiana per l'amistizio
 Venne consegnata al capitano Sabini Paganini il giorno 30 giugno 1919 nell'ospedale
 di S. Spirito - Venezia

- 39) Fontana con figurine. acquerello. secolo XVIII. 21 x 29.
 cornice di legno bruno con bordini dorati. (manca scartella
 tedesca - ~~è~~ è registrata nell'elenco di Vienna sotto il # 7 -
 Smazenska)
- 40) Madonna addolorata. Imitazione di un bizantino:
 grande del secolo XV. olio su tavola. 26 x 37.
 Detent.: Johann Balzar. c. s. Comprato a Klagen-
 furt da un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte. # feb. 71
- 41) S. Antonio e S. Francesco. secolo XVII. tutto ridipinto
 olio su tela. 77 x 100. rintelagato. Det. Julius May-
 Kaiser Wilhelm Strasse. Acquistato da un antiquario di
 Vittorio. # feb. 1.
- 42) La Madonna col Bambino e S. Antonio. sec. XVII.
 olio su tela. 76 x 82. assai scadente e deperito.
 Det. Adolf Hertzka. c. s. Acquistato da ignoti in
 località non ricordata. # feb. 64.
- 43) S. Giuseppe col Bambino, S. Antonio e S. Francesco
 scadentissimo. secolo XVIII. olio su tela. 66 x 47.
 Det. Adolf Hertzka. c. s. # feb. 67. Non è ricordato
 nell'elenco di Vienna.
- 44) S. Antonio di Padova. sec. XVII. deperito - assai brutto.
 olio su tela. 50 x 79. Det. Adolf Hertzka c. s. - Appar-
 teneva a Monsignor Morelli di Jacole. # feb. 7.
- 45) Lot e le figlie. secolo XVII. Molto ridipinto già
 in antico. iscrizione aggiunta.
 olio su tela. 81 x 58. guasto.
 Det. Graulein Hertzka. c. s. Acquistato da ignoti
 in località non ricordata. # feb. 1 (il cartello porta
 il # 1)

- 46) Paesaggio con figure - (forse d'altra mano) secolo XIX in.
 - ass. guasto - olio su tela - 75 x 50 - Det. Lymazanka
 Gaimfarn (?) Hauptstrasse - A.° tes. 1.
- 47) Idem - A.° tes. 2 - (non ricordato nell'elenco viennese)
- 48) S. Antonio Abate - secolo XVII - brutto, guasto -
 olio su tela - 71 x 95 -
 Detentore: Adolf Herzyka - Acquistato presso
 un antiquario ignoto di Trento nel 1914 -
 A.° tes. 47.
- 49) S. Giuseppe col Bambino - secolo XIX - pastello
 su pelliche - Detentore e acquisto come il precedente.
 A.° tes. 46.
- 50) Sacra famiglia - moderno - olio su tela - 41 x 54 -
 Det. Adolf Herzyka. Appartiene a Monsignor
 Moroldi di Sacile. A.° tes. 3.
- 51) San Tommaso - secolo XVII - ovale - 21 x 24 - olio
 su tela - in larga cornice dorata quadrata.
 Cartella tes. Adolf Herzyka - 70 - Non è ricordato questo
 numero nell'elenco di Vienna - forse il Monac. di Wien.
~~Jankovits~~
- 52) Cristo portacroce - pittura sotto vetro - 15 x 11 -
 cornice dorata. Det. Adolf Herzyka - Acquistato da
 ignoti in località ignota. A.° tes. 56
- 53) Fanciulla in un parco - secolo XIX - olio su tela -
 18 x 22 - cornice dorata.

- Det. Ferdinando Szamzonka - Gamparn Hauptstrasse -
 Craziugato nel 1918 dal colon. Andreatta in Italia.
 A° tes. 9.
- 54) Figura simbolica sulla riva del mare -
 misure come il precedente - uguali il detentore e
 la provenienza. A° tes. 8.
- 55) Projet di bonheur - Stampa di Gavarni - in
 cornice di legno bruno - Det. Szamzonka - c. s.
 Craziugata in Italia nel 1918 dal col. Andreatta.
- 56) Mater Amablis - Stampa di G. B. Cyriani -
 cornice di legno bruno - Det. Adolf Hertzka.
 App. a Teresa Marinotti da Vittorio - Ricevuto da
 persona ignota a Vittorio - Piazza Garibaldi -
 A° tes. 28.
- 57) Pio VIII scomunica Napoleone - Stampa di A. Veico
 cornice di legno bruno - Det. Ferd. Szamzonka -
 Craziugata in Italia nel 1918 dal Col. Andreatta.
 A° tes. 18
- 58) Concilio dei vescovi di Francia nel 1811 - Stampa di
 Bert. e Galend. - cornice bruna - Det. e prov.^{2a}
 come il precedente. A° tes. 14.
- 59) Vecchio in lettura - secolo XVIII - olio su tela -
 53 x 63 - assa brutto e guasto -
 Det. Jeannette Junker - III Hauptstrasse 44 - prov.^{2a} del
 veterinario Milos Rosenberger Raab. Preso da
 ignota persona e in localita' sconosciuta - A° tes. 9.

- 60) Madonna - olio su tela - secolo XVIII - 55 x 60 -
 Det. Penette Junker. II Paternasse 17. prop. del veterinario
 Milos Rosenberger Raab. Preso da ignota persona e
 in localita' sconosciuta. # tes. 3.
- 61) - Amore musicante - Maniera di Polidoro - olio su tela -
 rinverniciato di recente - 41 x 55 - Det. Goza Bedi.
 Ricevuto in regalo da un Tenente sconosciuto. # tes.
 1.
- 62) - Donna con una pecora. mezza busto = (nell'elenco tedesco
 indicato come il ritratto di Francesca Julia) = veneziana
 secolo XVIII - olio su tela - ritoccato - 35 x 44 -
 Det. Johann Balzar. Comprato a Klagenfurt da
 un ufficiale proveniente dal fronte. # tes. 12.
- 63) - Stendardo = da una parte il Cristo crocifisso - dall'altra
 la Morte. - moderno - olio su tela - 87 x 150 - restau-
 rato e rinverniciato. senza cartello tedesco - (forse il
 # 18 di Erwin Spitzer?)
- 64) - S. Giuseppe - Pastello. carta su tela - moderno -
 32 x 41 - senza cartello tedesco.
- 65) Venere e Vulcano = secolo XVIII. olio su tela ripor-
 tata su cartone 49 x 32 = cartello tes. ? Karl Balzar.
 Sotto questo numero e nome l'elenco riemue-
 registra un amore.
- 66) - Crocefissione - recentista imitatore dei Bisantini -
 olio su tavola - 18 x 25 - senza cartello tedesco -
 (forse doveva portarsi il # 5 - vedi il nostro # 23) -

- 67) Passaggio maserno-del Pagetto - olio su tela -
60 x 38. Det. Ad. Hertzka. App. ^{na} a M. Morelli di Sacil.
tab. 4.
- 68) Ingresso di Ottone in Nauplia - litografia -
Det. Szmazenska - trafugato in Italia nel 1918 dal
Col. Andreatta. # tab. 3. senza cornice
- 69) Una scena degli euchi di Parga - litografia - ~~Holz~~
Det. Szmazenska - trafugato come il precedente
tab. 4. (manca nell'elenco Vienna) - senza cornice.
- 70) Giulio Romano - litografia - Det. e proven. come
il precedente. # tab. 5.
- 71) Leonardo da Vinci - litografia - Det. e prov. come
il prec. # tab. 5
- 72) Albero genealogico della famiglia Leoncina -
acquarello - Det. Szmazenska - Det. e prov. come
il precedente. # tab. 7.
- 73) Sacra famiglia - ^{fototipia} stampa da Giulio Romano - moderna
in cornice di legno - senza numero tedesco
- 74) Plancieri di Breda - Velasquez - fototipia - moderna
in cornice di legno - senza numero tedesco -

- 75) Cesta di vecchio - secolo XVII in. discreto, ma molto
deperita - olio su tela - 81 x 68 - senza cornice.
Det. Wladimir Jankowicz 1 X Seckelsteinstrasse - 130.
Acquisitato a Castello presso Porpetto dall'ingegner
Punnig. N° tes. 2.
- 76) Madonna Assunta - Maniera di P. G. Noelli.
olio su tela - 89 x 61 - senza cornice.
Det. Adolf Herzka. Acquisitato a Saile da per-
sona ignota. N° tes. 33.
- 77) L'Immacolata - secolo XVII - olio su tela - senza
cornice. 78 x 58 Det. Jeannette Junker II Praterstrasse -
47 - proprietà del Veterinario Milos Rosenberger
Raab. N° tes. 5.
- 78) Ritratto d'un personaggio della famiglia Concina -
secolo XVIII - olio su tela - 85 x 67 - senza castello tedesco.
- 79) Redentore - secolo XVII. olio su tela - assai deperito -
84 x 70 - Det. Jeannette Junker - c. s. prop. del Veter.
Milos Rosenberger Raab. N° tes. 7.
- 80) Ritratto d'una regina - ^{secolo XVII} olio su tela - 76 x 57 -
brutto e guasto. Det. e prop. c. s. N° tes. 4.
- 81) S. Luigi Gonzaga (o S. Francesco) - sec. XVII. olio su
tela 100 x 83 - Det. Adolf Herzka - Acquisitato
da ignoti in località non ricordata. N° tes. 49.
- 82) Evangelista - secolo XVII. olio su tela - 67 x 67 - Det.
Jeannette Junker - II Praterstrasse - 47. Prop. del Veter.

- Milos Rosenberger Raab. Presso da ignota persona e in localita sconosciuta. A° tes. 6.
- 83) Scena di caccia - secolo XVIII. olio su tela - senza cornice. 79 X 63. Det. Ferdinando Smazenska-Gajm-farm Hauptktr. 4. A° tes. 15. Nell'elenco tes. non vi e' apposto titolo - trafugato in Italia dal Col. Andreatta nel 1918.
- 84) Ritratto di Daniele Vincenzo conte di Concina. 1795. "Princet Antonius Calini Prizienensis" - olio su tela. 80 X 63. Det. Smazenska - trafugato come il precedente. A° tes. 13.
- 85) Ritratto = Anna Maccentia Ginepra Comitessa A. Ghim anno 1719 - olio su tela - molto deperito. 100 X 85 - Det. Josefette Junker - propr. vet. Milos Rosenberger Raab. A° tes. 8. Trafugato come il precedente.
- 86) Creazione d' Eva - sec. XVIII ex. olio su tela - ovale 67 X 54. senza cartello tedesco.
- 87) Giona - Come il precedente. Det. J. Smazenska - trafugato in Italia nel 1918 dal Col. Andreatta A° tes. 12.
- 88) Paesaggio. nella maniera del Panini - olio su tela - ovale - 63 X 52. Det. Smazenko. Trafugato come il precedente (A° tes. 10.) (Sotto questo numero l'elenco viennese sembra registrare una "statura" di donna (sic).

23. Art historical claims

Rivendicazioni storico-artistiche

One-page typewritten telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Italian Military Mission in Vienna

8 August 1919

Italy, Rome, Ministero Affari Esteri e Cooperazione Internazionale, series *Rappresentanza Vienna 1862-1938*, folder 250 *Ambasciata Vienna (1919)*, file *Recupero di materiale artistico asportato dall'Italia*, Pos. 11, 1919

The telegram, signed by Gaetano Manzoni, director of the political office of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, refers to those cultural objects which had been removed from Italy during the Austro-German occupation and have been transferred to territories which after the war had become part of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania. The Italian Peace Treaty Delegation in Paris informs that the articles related to restitutions have been approved by the Allied Powers, but still need to be negotiated with each of the above-named States.

Red.

Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Div. IV

Telegramma-Posta N. 18355

Roma, li 8 Ago 1919

Indirizzato a Missione Militare Italiana per l'Armistizio - Vienna

Rivendicazioni storico-artistiche

La Regia Delegazione per la Pace comunica quanto segue:

Suo telegramma 17582 – È noto che molti oggetti d'arte, allontanati dai territori invasi o trasferiti dall'Austria all'Italia, trovansi in paesi di nazionalità non tedesca, e che le clausole inserite nel Trattato con l'Austria non sono sufficienti per ottenere la restituzione. È perciò che si sta esaminando presso la Commissione delle Clausole Politiche una serie di clausole, che devono regolare i rapporti dei territori trasferiti dall'Austria con la Jugoslavia, con la Czecho-Slovacchia, con la Polonia e con la Romania. Fra le clausole in esame ve n'ha una che contempla appunto la restituzione dei predetti oggetti. Le clausole sono state approvate dalle Grandi Potenze; devono ora essere negoziate cogli Stati sunnominati.

Pel Ministro

[signature:] G. Manzoni

24. [Italian claims for restitutions of archaeological objects]

Two-page typewritten letter by Anton Theodor Ippen, high official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Republic, on behalf of its head, Karl Renner (*Sécretaire d'État du Département des Affaires Étrangères de la République d'Autriche*) in Vienna, to the Italian Diplomatic Mission in Vienna

20 November 1919

Italy, Rome, Ministero Affari Esteri e Cooperazione Internazionale, series *Rappresentanza Vienna 1862-1938*, folder 250 *Ambasciata Vienna (1919)*, file *Recupero di materiale artistico asportato dall'Italia*, Pos. 11, 1919

The letter refers to four boxes containing antique objects from the Archaeological Museum of **Aquileia**. They had been seized during the war and were mistakenly shipped to Chernivtsi in Austrian Bukovina, from 1918 under Romanian dominion (nowadays Ukraine). Austrian authorities confirm having successfully retrieved the four crates and stored them in the Austrian Archaeological Institute (*Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut*), then directed by Emil Reisch. Furthermore, it was also requested that an Italian official be sent to the museum in order to list and retrieve the objects on behalf of the Italian government.

Red.

Département des Affaires Etrangères de la République d'Autriche

No. I - 6833/2

Vienne le 20 novembre 1919

A la Mission diplomatique Royale d'Italie à Vienne.

[added in pen:] aspettare l'arrivo della 4^a cassa e poi ringraziare

Au mois de février la Mission Royale Italienne pour l'armistice avait demandé au Département des Affaires Etrangères de s'interposer auprès des autorités compétentes, pour en obtenir la remise des objets d'art antiques du musée d'Aquileja. Ces objets, ayant été par un malentendu regrettable, dirigés à Czernowitz, ne purent, jusqu'à ce moment, être retrouvés pour être transmis aux autorités italiennes qui les réclamaient.

Grace aux recherches continues, qui ont été faites par les autorités autrichiennes compétentes en vue de se saisir de ces objets d'art ils ont pu être retrouvés. Les quatre caisses qui les renferment, sont actuellement en dépôt auprès de l'institut archéologique de Vienne.

Le Département des Affaires Etrangères saurait gré à la Mission diplomatique Royale d'Italie, si Elle voulait bien lui désigner la personne, à qui il incomberait de se mettre en rapports avec l'Institut archéologique pour dresser l'inventaire desdits objets et en attuer la remise régulière au Gouvernement Royal d'Italie.

Pour le Secrétaire d'Etat

[signature:] Ippen

25. [On a French inventory of Austrian art objects]

Six-page unsigned typewritten report, certainly by Gino Fogolari, Head of the Superintendent Office for Galleries and Art objects (*Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e Oggetti d'arte*) in Venice, to Major Ugo De Kantz, representative of the Art Committee of the Reparation Commission (*Commissione per le riparazioni*) in Vienna

9 March 1920

Italy, Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare, Archivio storico, folder 14-55 B, file *Memorie catalogo e perizie*

Gino Fogolari had been a member of the Sub-Commission appointed to evaluate those art and historical objects pertaining to the Royal Imperial Austro-Hungarian collections that had been claimed by the Allied authorities. In his letter, Fogolari criticizes the criteria and the methods of inventorying adopted by French delegates, stressing that inventorying operations had been inaccurate as far as the evaluation and selection of artworks were concerned. He complains that even movable assets had been deemed unmovable, as in the case of Antonio Canova's colossal group of Theseus and the Centaur in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. In particular, there had been disputes with French delegates on the estimate of Napoleon's vestments and trophies. However, in spite of several deficiencies, Fogolari signed the inventory as he considered the total sum appropriate, albeit an approximation.

MV

All'illmo Signor Maggiore Ugo De Kanz, Delegato italiano per la Commissione delle riparazioni
VIENNA

Venezia 9 Marzo 1920

Illmo Signor Maggiore; devo chiederLe infinite scuse se travolto da tante altre faccende, avendo dovuto andare a Roma e occuparmi di speciali incarichi del Consiglio Superiore di Belle Arti, non ho potuto soddisfare all'impegno che mi ero assunto di darLe più ampia relazione dell'esame da me fatto dell'Inventario degli oggetti d'arte dell'Austria. Forse ora giungerò tardi; perché Lei avrà già spedita la Sua relazione a Vienna. Del resto non ho che in massima da confermare quanto già Le esposi. Certamente mi sarebbe venuta la tentazione di contrapporre alla prefazione che M. Koeclin [sic] mi aveva letta l'ultimo giorno che io rimasi a Vienna e che corrisponde alla definitiva, tutt'altra prefazione che affermasse e dimostrasse che non si era potuto eseguire il compito dell'«inventario completo, ecc.» che ci era stato affidato e che quindi si era tentato di far solo un'esplorazione della quale si riassumevano i risultati.

Ma, come nella seduta dell'ultimo giorno, mi era stato solo possibile di far accogliere da M. Koeclin gli incisi che Lei già conosce, nella prefazione che egli aveva stesa, non parendomi conveniente di accogliere il suo invito di inserire in essa separatamente o in contraddittorio i miei speciali punti di vista; così, con lo stendere una contro-relazione non si sarebbe potuto evitare di mettersi in urto col delegato francese che, venuto a Vienna con gli altri quattro studiosi, faceva suo punto d'onore il poter dire che, apparentemente almeno, il compito era stato assolto. E che non si entrasse in troppo acerbe discussioni coi francesi era nelle istruzioni e nelle vedute di S.E. Bertolini; mentre con quanto già la prefazione dice implicitamente e con l'altro inciso dell'«extimation tout approximative» che Le son gratissimo di aver ottenuto che si aggiungesse, il nostro scopo di togliere al lavoro l'importanza pratica che forse era intenzione dei francesi che avesse, è raggiunto ugualmente.

Una copia del cosiddetto Inventario rimarrà certamente presso cotesta Sotto-commissione, anche a nostra disposizione. Se non fosse troppa fatica per i dattilografi mi sarebbe piaciuto averne una copia; e Le sarei grato se me ne potesse far avere una almeno per quanto si riferisce ai dipinti della Galleria di Corte e dell'Accademia (allegati 13a, 13b, 13c, 13d, [lac.] e 18); poiché io ho per quei dipinti i miei appunti, ma non i risultati della perizia.

Dall'esame che ho fatto del cosiddetto «Inventario» trovo sempre più provato quanto si sia proceduto sommariamente in modo che le indicazioni, meno quando si riferiscono ai cataloghi a stampa che mancano per le raccolte più complesse come il Museo storico della Corona e il Museo d'arte decorativa, non danno alcun affidamento, perché non servirebbero a riconoscere gli oggetti che si vogliono stimare, e si basano dette indicazioni unicamente sul posto e sul modo in cui attualmente sono esposti e collocati gli oggetti.

Abbiamo per citare un esempio tra molti per il Museo storico (allegato 16, pag. 13) nella vetrina VII, l'indicazione:

«Collection de bijoux en verre de Murano senz'altra specificazione.	C. 25.000»
Per il Museo d'arte decorativa indicazioni come le seguenti: (allegato 17	
«Fibules bronze merovingiens	15.000»
(f. 9) Sala III «Collection de figurines de Saxe XVIII	10.000»
senza che nemmeno si dica quanti pezzi sono.	

(f. 16) Sala VI «Collection de 693 (che li avrà contati?) morceaux de tibus coptes»	120.000
(f. 17) «Collection d'une centaine (!) des robes, gilets et soie brodes XVIII»	10.000
(f. 18) «Denteilles et fragments moins interessants en tiroir»	100.000

Come ho già avuto da far notare anche ai delegati francesi, alcune indicazioni mi paiono erronee. Ad esempio quella dell'allegato N I riguardante la Hofburg, dove nell'Appartamento dell'Imperatrice, la statua seduta della Polimnia del Canova, donata nel 1817 dalle Province Venete all'imperatore Francesco I, in occasione delle sue nozze con Carolina Augusta di Baviera è indicata invece raffigurante l'Imperatrice Luisa assisa e si dice senz'altro che appartiene alla Principessa di Windisch-Graetz. Nel Museo storico (allegato 16 f. 31) della Hofburg, la Croce astile d'argento con piedestallo di bronzo di San Teodoro di Venezia è detta «Chandelier de S. Teodoro de Venise».

Un grande ricamo raffigurante la Crocefissione copiata dal dipinto del Tintoretto a San Rocco che sappiamo, e anche l'Übersicht der K.K. Sammlungen 1918 a pag. 153 lo ricorda, essere opera delle figlie monache del Tintoretto eseguito nel convento di Sant'Anna a Venezia è detto «Allemagne 1609».

Ma lasciando tali osservazioni che hanno più importanza per lo studioso che non praticamente per il lavoro; è più importante notare le molte omissioni.

Nemmeno della Galleria Imperiale della quale pur possediamo un ottimo catalogo, sono stati presi in considerazione tutti i dipinti, pur importanti che vi troviamo ricordati; perché non erano esposti e non si sono veduti nei magazzini. Ad esempio ha qualche importanza, non fosse che come uno degli oggetti che potranno essere richiesti dagli Ceco Slovachi per Praga il dipinto di Tommaso da Modena (1354-1385) raffigurante la Madonna fra due santi, che porta la iscrizione riferente il nome e la paternità del raro autore. Detto dipinto proviene dal Castello di Klarstein [sic] presso Praga; ma credo sia ancora a Vienna. Il Catalogo lo descrive al N. 92; ma io lo ho cercato invano nell'Inventario.

Altrettanto dicasi del N. 686 dipinto dal maestro fiammingo detto della Morte di Maria, raffigurante il Cardinal Bernardo Clesio principe vescovo di Trento, opera certo molto importante. Esso probabilmente deve esser stato aggregato alla grande «Portraetsammlung» che nella Übersicht sopracitata occupa le pagg. da 301 a 314, la quale raccolta di ritratti è stata tutta ommessa nell'Inventario. È vero che essa si compone in gran parte di copie; ma ciò non toglie che non contenga qualche dipinto importante e sia nel suo insieme notevolissima.

Come ho già notato la distinzione che si è voluta fare fra oggetti che hanno valore sul mercato internazionale, o meglio di Parigi, e oggetti che non si crede abbiano tale valore e quindi trascurabili, è affatto arbitraria e darebbe luogo a parecchie riserve sia per quanto è stato messo nell'Inventario sia per quanto si è tralasciato.

Un'altra distinzione molto difficile e pericolosa è quella fra gli oggetti che si ritengono infissi per destinazione e quindi da non valutare e gli oggetti immobili valutati. Si è ommesso ad esempio il gruppo colossale in marmo del Canova raffigurante Teseo che atterra il Minotauro che orna lo scalone del Museo di Corte, forse perché si è creduto di troppo difficile trasporto; ma oggi tali difficoltà si superano facilmente.

Si sono ricordati due «dessus de porte-fleurs, dans de vases sur consoles Savonnerie XVIII» valutati 75.000 C. O. esistenti nelle prime sale prese in considerazione della Hofburg (allegato I); mentre facendo parte di tutto il complesso delle due porte a me paiono che si debbano considerare come immobili per destinazione, quando per immobili per destinazione si considerano tutte le preziose lacche giapponesi che rivestono i gabinetti di Schonbrun [sic], le

.....

quali si potrebbero togliere con non maggior difficoltà dei detti sopra-porta. Così nel Castello di Laxemburg [sic], dove si sono notati solo pochi mobili vi sono dei cuoi dorati impressi all'uso Veneziano e molti altri ornamenti che si potrebbero staccare ed asportare, e sono di un valore non forse inferiore ai mobili notati.

Quanto si sia dovuto procedere sommariamente e con poche garanzie è detto chiaramente nell'Inventario, quando si parla dei dei [sic] disegni dell'Accademia di Belle Arti (allegato 19) e dei disegni secondari, ma non disprezzabili dell'Albertina.

Tutte coteste incertezze e la nessuna probabilità che un lavoro di Inventario preciso e di soddisfazione per degli studiosi si potesse compilare, a meno di non dedicarvi molti e molti mesi, erano già state da noi previste e perciò io non ho voluto, pur cercando di portarvi il mio contributo e la mia assistenza, prendervi alcuna parte impegnativa.

Si osserva che tutte coteste deficienze, omissioni e possibili errori, milione più milione meno, non vengono ad alterare quella stima complessiva e giustamente detta semplicemente approssimativa, che per le raccolte già contemplate nell'Inventario, raggiunge quasi il mezzo miliardo di corone oro. Ne convengo; e, nell'apporre la mia firma alla tabella complessiva del valore dato alle singole raccolte, non ho avuta alcuna esitazione. Ma bisognerebbe accontentarsi di un tale risultato, e limitare ad esso la portata del lavoro; perché se invece si vuole veramente prendere sul serio i prezzi segnati ai singoli oggetti i dispareri sarebbero continui e su di ogni punto si dovrebbero sollevare riserve ed opposizioni.

Prendiamo per esempio una delle raccolte, che storicamente ed anche artisticamente, è del più grande valore: quella della Schatzkammer (allegato 3). Stimare uno per uno i vestimenti e gli ornamenti che servivano all'incoronazione dell'Imperatore romano-germanico, è un assurdo storico e pratico. Che valgono le calze e i guanti, per quanto arricchiti di smalti e di fregi, se si separano da tutte le altre vestimenta? E, peggio ancora, che può valere, ad esempio fra le insegne dell'Imperatore Napoleone I, come Re d'Italia, quel semplice bastone sormontato da una minuscola mano d'avorio detto «La main de justice» che si è valutato 500.000 C. O., se lo si separa dal gruppo delle altre insegne e gli si toglie ogni significato se non fosse quello di una reliquia, come quelle del Chiodo della Croce o della Tovaglia dell'ultima cena, che giustamente non si sono volute valutare; mentre pure esse hanno storicamente un valore non piccolo? A proposito di coteste Insegne di Napoleone I come Re d'Italia, ricordo che io feci le più vive rimostranze, quando, per cominciare vidi che si era stimato il Manto della coronazione, che in sé è una cosa piuttosto mediocre e come tessuto e come ricamo: 1.000.000 C. O. Mi pareva fosse un'enormità. Si era stimato: 2.500.000 il mantello imperiale, stupenda opera saracena fatta eseguire nel 1133 da Ruggero II dei Normanni di Sicilia, e che ricorda tutte le successive incoronazioni imperiali, un oggetto di impareggiabile bellezza per il tessuto rosso e i grandi leoni d'oro, e importanza storica, del tempo in cui veramente tali manti e tali apparati [avevano] un grande significato. Annetto anch'io grandissima importanza a tutto quello che riguarda Napoleone; ma come non sentire che allora nel 1805, il manto imperiale e tutti gli altri apparati erano un'esumazione quasi anacronistica e che quindi fra l'uno e l'altro manto, anche a prescindere dalla immensa differenza sostanziale d'arte, vi è la differenza che separa un capolavoro da una copia. Il delegato francese ha ridotto allora il milione per il manto napoleonico a 600.000; ma, per quanto la riduzione fosse insufficiente, si dovevano almeno ridur del pari e in proporzione anche maggiore i valori dati a tutti gli altri oggetti che formano parte delle Insegne, tutti destituiti di vero pregio artistico. Per conto mio 600.000 C. O. è un valore enorme anche anche [sic] se riferito a tutto l'insieme delle Insegne, sempre tenendo conto della loro grande importanza storica.

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Per contrario ha ottenuta una stima ben misera nel Museo storico (allegato 15 F. 3) il famoso reliquiario del Cardinal Bessarione, già degli Imperatori Bizantini indicato semplicemente come «Reliquaire bizantin. [sic] 6.000 C. O.» che per quanto abbia smalti già quasi barbarici ha un valore incomparabilmente superiore a tutte le ventuna icone e tavolette bizantine che lo circondano valutate complessivamente 60.000 C. O.

Se dovessi ritornare ad esaminare le valutazioni ottenute nell'Inventario dai dipinti di Scuola italiana della Galleria Imperiale, pur dopo le molte discussioni e la stima mia individuale presentata ai periti francesi andrei per le lunghe; ma sarei pronto a sostenere davanti a un congresso di competenti la ragionevolezza delle mie osservazioni riguardanti il valore esagerato attribuito a dipinti che sul mercato internazionale sono di secondaria importanza. Ma che vale? Si è pur d'accordo che milione più milione meno il risultato finale approssimativo non sarebbe cambiato di molto. Perciò non conviene insistere sui particolari; ma, come già dicevo, attenersi al mezzo miliardo di stima complessiva.

Si potrebbe dire che per giungere a tale risultato, non era forse necessario che venissero a Vienna dei periti. Bastava raccogliersi coi principali cataloghi e con le fotografie intorno ad un tavolo; ma tuttavia un sopralluogo e una revisione generale è stata molto utile, non fosse che per rendersi maggiormente conto delle difficoltà. Né con le mie osservazioni io voglio disconoscere né la competenza né la diligenza dei periti francesi, ma mostrare solo quanta sia la differenza dei punti di vista, e le difficoltà intrinseche del lavoro.

Mi mette in curiosità quanto Lei mi scrive circa la venuta e il lavoro dei periti inglesi costì. Uno di essi immagino fungerà anche da delegato per l'Inghilterra. Come giudica egli tutto il complesso dell'Inventario? Ed è pronto ad associarsi senz'altro? Firmerà egli pure la prefazione? Certo per firmare con vera competenza di causa dovrebbe rifar tutto il lavoro; ma non credo vi si accingerà. Per la stima delle armi e armature del Museo storico si era rimasti intesi che sarebbe venuto il nostro Dott. De Nicola direttore del Museo del Bargello. Ma non so se S.E. Bertolini visto come sono andate le cose, lo crederà più opportuno.

Io avrei promesso a S.E. Bertolini di mandargli ancora una relazione complessiva del mio lavoro; ma poiché avrò già le Relazioni Sue credo più utile a non dargli incombro di carte di rimettermi al Suo riassunto. Se crede può fargli copiare la mia nota del 8 febbraio e questa mia. Termino con raccomandare a cotesta Sotto-commissione il Garde-Moble [sic] della Casa Imperiale in Mariahilferstrasse 88, dove, se vi è ben poco o nulla di artistico vi sono infiniti mobili usuali e materassi e utensili domestici che si potrebbero vendere con molto profitto e che potrebbero essere ceduti con molto vantaggio ad esempio alle popolazioni dei paesi devastati del Piave.

Scusandomi nuovamente del ritardo La riverisco, pregandoLa di salutarmi costì l'amico Modigliani.

P.S. A proposito delle omissioni, val la pena di notare che si è tralasciato addirittura di prendere in considerazione il ricchissimo Museo imperiale militare dell'Armata, dove non mancano cimeli storici di grande importanza e anche preziosi.

VI.
STRENGTHENING FEELINGS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY:
THE CASE OF ZADAR

Antonija Mlikota

After the annexation of the Julian March and Zadar, the Italian state initiated a cultural policy aiming at highlighting the Latin, Venetian and Italian continuity of these territories. Particular emphasis was put on new and secondary archaeological excavations (especially of Roman sites, such as the theatre in Trieste) and restorations of Roman monuments, by giving them a new visibility (e.g. the Arco di Riccardo in Trieste and the Arco dei Sergi in Pula). Museum policy was another important aspect within this strategy. Local museums and lapidariums were rearranged and enriched (e.g. the municipal museums of Koper and Poreč; the Museum of Risorgimento of Trieste; the lapidarium in Pazin). The elevation of the museums of Pula and Zadar to 'National' museums is further evidence of the importance that the Italian state attributed to the Istro-Dalmatic region. The archaeological museum of Pula, translocated to a new seat, was meant to become the central museum of Istria; therefore, both findings restituted by Austria and part of the collections of the Society for Regional History (*Società di Storia Patria*) of Poreč were added to its ancient nucleus. While in Pula the museum was to serve national identity-building, further enhanced by reference to the Roman Arena, in Zadar the renovation of the museum seems to have been linked to – more or less openly showcased – expansionist intentions, in view of a desired revision of borders.

Because of its position as an Italian outpost on the Dalmatian coast, the case of Zadar is of particular interest, as it allows to highlight some peculiar features of the Fascist cultural policy in a borderland region.

Zadar is a centuries-old trading city on the northern coast of Dalmatia. Formerly a Roman municipium, the town (short interruptions apart) was under Venetian rule from 998 until 1797, when it became part of the Habsburg Empire. Following the Napoleonic intermezzo, with Austria regaining control over Dalmatia in 1813, the town shared the destiny of the Austrian Monarchy until 1918, when it was occupied by Italian troops and subsequently annexed by Italy. It was the only part of Dalmatia that Italy could get hold of after the First World War (Treaty of Rapallo, 1920), although the 1915 Treaty of London had envisaged the whole region to pass under Italian rule. Italy's territorial aspirations toward the eastern shore of the Adriatic were thus heavily disappointed. Nevertheless, on 18

January 1923, the city of Zadar (together with some minor neighbouring settlements and islands) officially became a Province of the Kingdom of Italy.

The protection of Zadar's cultural heritage was initially conferred upon the Superintendent Office for Antiquities in **Aquileia**. In 1928, however, the city came under the responsibility of the Superintendent Offices for Antiquities and Medieval and Modern Art in **Ancona** (Marche), whose new denomination explicitly referred to Zadar, thus stressing its competence over the city.

During the interwar period, in Zadar as well as in other Italian borderland regions, cultural policy played a crucial role in the field of identity building, rejecting Yugoslav territorial revisionism and Italianizing both ethnic minorities and local culture. Cultural institutions gained high attention by state and Party authorities, becoming an important instrument for achieving political goals.

The case of the Town Museum of Zadar is remarkable in this respect. It had been founded on the initiative of Governor Wenzel Vetter Graf von Lilienberg in 1832, when the town was the capital of the Austrian Crownland of Dalmatia. Vetter, who donated his own collection to the museum, made an appeal to gather archaeological finds from across the region. In the years to follow, the museum was further enriched through donations made by the local élite as well as through the assistance of both the responsible Austrian Ministry and the Archaeological Museum of Vienna. It soon contained a wide range of objects, predominantly pertaining to archaeology, ethnography, arts and crafts, natural science, and cartography. In 1877, the Vienna-based Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Art and Historical Monuments (*Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*) appointed Giovanni Smirich first conservator of the city, which led to an increasing awareness for preserving and protecting cultural heritage. In the same year, the museum was moved to the Church of St Donatus, formerly used as a storehouse, then restored by Smirich himself. Further collections, previously kept in the Monastery of St Chrysogonus, seat of the local Gymnasium, arrived at the museum's new seat in 1893. Although generally known as «Museum of St Donatus» since the late 1870s, its name changed several times over the decades, reflecting various dominions and regime changes.

When Zadar passed under Italy, a main task of the museum became highlighting and showcasing the continuity of Roman, Venetian and Italian presence on the eastern Adriatic coast, thus stressing the country's full legitimacy to not only rule over a secondary coastal city but all of Dalmatia. The important political mission attributed to the Zadar Town Museum, considered to be a stronghold of *italianità* on the country's eastern periphery, led to its seat being further restored and its display rearranged and reinterpreted. From 1928 to 1932, both the Church of St Donatus and the museum collections underwent refurbishment and reorganization. These works were carried out together with the restoration of several medi-

eval buildings, of which Italian authorities took particular care. Highly revealing for the increased attention they paid to the Town Museum is the fact that it gained the status of ‘National’ museum in the late 1920s (BRUNELLI 2016).

A number of transfers of artworks that Zadar witnessed during the interwar period are evidence of the political use made of cultural heritage and also had a share in regional identity building as well as in drawing attention on the Dalmatian issue in mainland Italy. This was the case of the bas-relief of a Venetian Lion brought to Zadar from Šibenik in 1921, when Italian troops withdrew from the city; it was donated to the Italian poet and nationalist Gabriele D’Annunzio. Mutual donations of archaeological and historical objects between Italy proper and Zadar, starting from the mid-1920s, were intended as a public statement of the centuries-long cultural and commercial links between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea.

Selected bibliography

BATOVIĆ 1964; BATOVIĆ 1982; BRUNELLI 2015; BRUNELLI 2016; CANALI 2010; CANALI 2012; CANALI 2013; CECHELLI 1932; DOMIJAN 2004; FISKOVIĆ 1950; FISKOVIĆ 1967; GRGIĆ 1964; *I PAK NA PRAVO MJESTO* 1955; KUČIŠ, MLIKOTA 2017; MLIKOTA 2012; MLIKOTA 2015; NEVEŠČANIN 2008; PITEŠA 2013a; PITEŠA 2013b; RAVAGNAN 1994; SMIRICH, BERSA, ABRAMIĆ 1912; SPADA 2017; SPADA 2020; STAGLIČIĆ 1988; STAGLIČIĆ 1996; VALENTI 1932

26. Zadar. Requests from and offers of objects to the National Museum of Zadar

Zara. Richieste ed offerte di oggetti del Museo Nazionale

Two-page typewritten letter by Giuseppe Moretti, head of the Superintendent Office for Antiquities (*Soprintendenza alle Antichità*) of Marche, Abruzzi and Zadar, in Ancona to the General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts (*Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti*) in Rome

Prior to 7 June 1929

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione III, 1929-1960, folder 70



Having invited Rodolfo Valenti, honorary curator of the Zadar Museum from 1927 to 1934, to check the inventory of the Museum, Giuseppe Moretti informs the General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts about the results of this operation. He states that twenty-seven glass vessels turned out to be missing as well as five ossuary vases, three of which had been offered as gifts to the Governor of Zadar, Admiral Enrico Millo, and one each to the Museum of Ancona and to the president of the National Association of War Volunteers (*Associazione Nazionale Volontari di Guerra*). He also informs that many small objects, registered in the inventory, had been broken during removals effectuated over the previous thirty years, whereas a further thirty objects, not recorded in the inventory, had been accidentally found in a piece of furniture.

Moretti also mentions the case of an ancient glass with a Greek inscription (translating as «seize the victory») which had been smuggled in order to be presented to Gabriele D'Annunzio, but was later recovered and restituted to the museum.

What seems to prompt Moretti's letter to the General Direction is a recent request of some historical objects from the Zadar museum for the Castel S. Angelo Museum in Rome. The request had been advanced directly to Rodolfo Valenti on behalf of the Ministry of War which at that time managed the Roman museum. Moretti observes that no authorization can be given without the previous assent of the Ministry of National Education, also adding that, among the requested objects, only a 19th-century flag could be delivered, being of no local interest.

He concludes his letter with a general statement about the opportunity to put an end to the practice of letting museum objects be granted upon request. The suggestion found the approval of the ministerial bureaucracy, as attested by a marginal note: «right».

AM


**SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE ANTICHITÀ
DELLE MARCHE DEGLI ABRUZZI E DI ZARA**
ANCONA


N. di Prot. *879/504*
 N. di Post. *Zara*
 Allegati *due*

Risposta a
 N. di Prot.
 N. di Post. *6. VI*

OGGETTO } **Z A R A.** = Richieste ed offerte di oggetti del Museo Nazionale.

ANCONA giugno 1929 • Anno VII
ANTICHITÀ
N° 005207 - 7 GIU. 1929
 R O R R R

ALL'ON. DIREZIONE GENERALE
 delle Antichità e Belle Arti

Nell'attesa, che possa farsi, con l'ampliamento del Museo di Zara, un ordinamento metodico del materiale archeologico di quelle raccolte, ho pregato il Conservatore dott. Valenti di fare il riscontro degli oggetti con l'inventario. Mi comunica che fra i vetri ha notato la mancanza di ventisette pezzi; il prof. Bersa invitato a volere cortesemente significare la ragione della loro mancanza, ha dichiarato che tre olle furono offerte come omaggio al Vice Ammiraglio Millo allorchè era Governatore di Zara, una al Comm. Coselschi, Presidente dell'Associazione Nazionale Volontari di guerra e un'altra fu trasportata al Museo di Ancona; e che gli oggetti minuti dovettero andare frantumati nei vari spostamenti fatti in oltre trent'anni.

Il medesimo professore ha fatto poi anche osservare che negli armadi dovevano trovarsi parecchi vetri, che non sono descritti nell'inventario: si sono infatti contati trenta oggetti non registrati. Codesta On. Direzione Generale conosce inoltre le vicende, finite in tribunale con l'assoluzione dei colpevoli, relative al trafugamento una volta tentato, una seconda consumato ma seguito da recupero, della coppa serbata, che volevasi offrire al Comandante D'Annunzio. Ora il Comandante del Presidio con la lettera acclusa in copia, per disposizione del Ministero della Guerra, ha chiesto per il Museo di Castel Sant'Angelo gli oggetti compresi nella nota da lui stesso compilata e giunta al Conservatore dott. Valenti.

Mentre dispongo che nulla sia rimesso dal Museo senza approvazione del Ministero, mi permetto sottoporre a codesta On. Direzione Generale la considerazione che, ~~wantse~~^{se} per l'attuale occasione potrebbe convenire concedere il solo ultimo oggetto (lancia della bandiera portata dai Mille di Garibaldi alla partenza da Quarto), il quale non ha particolare interesse locale, sia giunto il momento di chiudere la serie delle concessioni sollecitate e delle offerte inopportune.

ANTICHTNA
MUSEJ ZADAR
Lyub

IL SOPRINTENDENTE

Giampello

27. [A view of the interior of the National Museum of Zadar]

Black and white photograph by unknown photographer

Undated, but likely 1932

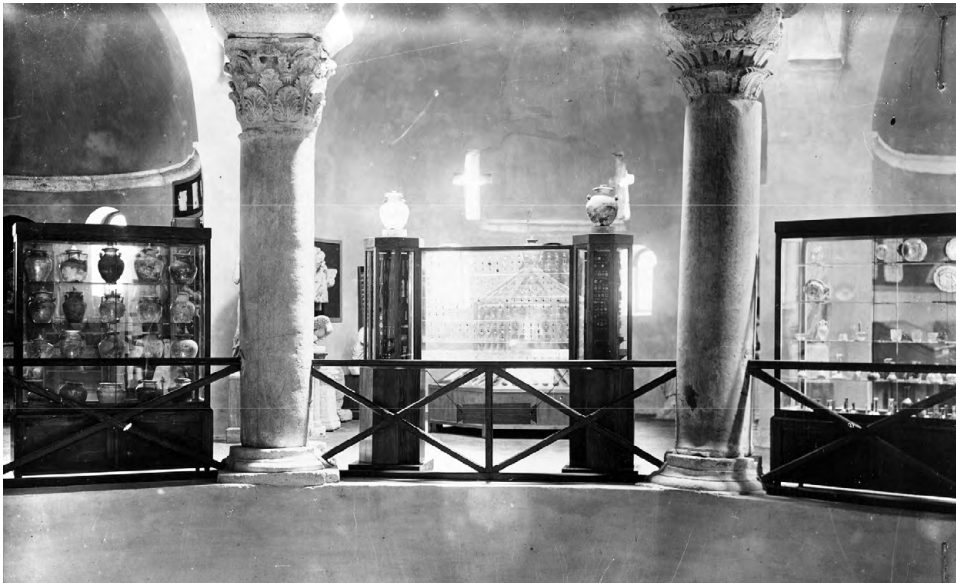
Italy, Ancona, Archivio della Soprintendenza, Archivio Vecchio, Fondo Zara

The photograph shows the gallery on the upper floor of the Museum of St Donatus, located in the eponymous church, after its reorganization. It was published in 1932 in the museum catalogue (VALENTI 1932).

The photograph is part of the so-called «Old Archive» (*Archivio Vecchio*) of the Superintendent Office of **Ancona**. This archive, consisting of five boxes of memoranda, letters, notes, minutes, reports, lists, newspaper cuttings, articles, posters, announcements, photographs, drawings, blueprints etc., can be considered as the archive of the Museum of **Zadar**.

Almost the entire archaeological collection of the Zadar Museum, partially exhibited in the showcases to be seen in the photograph, was removed from the city during the Second World War for safety reasons and brought to **Venice**, which caused harsh and complicated negotiations after the end of the war (see doc. 65).

AM



VII.
DISPLACED ART OBJECTS:
A CONSTANT FIELD OF CONFLICT BETWEEN
ITALY AND YUGOSLAVIA

Ljerka Dulibić

Despite all ambitions and hopes, the 1919/1920 Paris conference failed to establish a stable and generally accepted European peace order. Indeed, as a consequence of the new territorial configuration, new areas of conflict emerged which often had significant impact on cultural heritage. As in the case of the Alpine-Adriatic region, people who had shared the same institutions and systems of education were separated, and so were territories and a common, centuries-old artscape. The establishment of new powers affected both people and artworks, which on some occasions found themselves caught in the meshes of new boundaries. Coeval propaganda tried to channel people's emotions towards sentiments both of piety and vindication by humanizing and assimilating those art objects as captives or hostages which had remained outside the borders. The traumatic experience of the war and of its outcome further fuelled the nationalist stances which had arisen during the second half of the 19th century. With authoritarian and totalitarian regimes on the rise, identity concepts were increasingly projected on art heritage, considered as a symbol, and even as the 'body' of the nation itself.

The Italo-Yugoslav interwar disputes on cultural heritage are emblematic in this regard, which originated from issues left unsettled by a series of bilateral treaties signed immediately after the First World War. This state of affairs led to a long series of negotiations and consultations. Following an agreement on archives signed in Rome on 6 April 1922, the first step was the establishment of an Italo-Yugoslav commission charged with solving restitution claims in this field. The Commission assigned artwork ownership questions to a special committee, founded in 1926. On the Italian side, the committee was composed by the chief of the main Commission, Francesco Salata, and by its secretary, the archivist Felice Salvatore Perroni, assisted by the director of the Brera Gallery, Ettore Modigliani (as art expert); on the Yugoslav side, it included two politicians, Fran Vodopivec and Gustav Gregorin, assisted by the archivist Ferdo Šišić, the archaeologist Mihovil Abramić and occasionally the director of the **Ljubljana** museum Josip Mal (as experts). The committee met in **Trieste** in July 1926, in **Venice** in September 1929 and in **Bled** at the beginning of the following year. Due to the worsening of Italo-Yugoslav relationships, negotiations were interrupted and re-

sumed only in the second half of the 1930s, when political relations progressively improved. At that point, the question of restitutions and exchanges became again the subject of diplomatic contacts. After repeated requests from the Yugoslav legation in Rome (1938-1940), official contacts were restarted at the beginning of 1941, shortly before the Italian occupation of western Slovenia. With the Italian border expanded to include Ljubljana, artworks which had been stored in the municipal museum of that city since the First World War could be moved back to Trieste straightaway.

The impact of boundary changes is also shown by property split between Austria and Yugoslavia after the First World War. This was the case for the Attems family who owned estates and manor houses on both sides of the newly established border and had to pay customs fees to move their art objects from their main residence in **Graz** to the castle of **Slovenska Bistrica**. This case also opens the perspective towards the post-1945 Yugoslav period, when the Attems collection of Slovenska Bistrica was confiscated.

Selected bibliography

COZZI 2016; COZZI 2020; HUSU [2020]; MILADINOVIĆ ZALAZNIK 2019; RESCINITI 2017; SALVAGNINI 2000

28. Memorandum on the restitution of 191 Tiepolo drawings and a wooden statue, property of the Town Museum of Trieste (Sartorio donation), transferred to the Museum of Ljubljana in 1916

Pro memoria per la restituzione di 191 disegni tiepoleschi e di una statua lignea di proprietà del Museo Civico di Trieste (donazione Sartorio) trasferiti nel 1916 nel Museo di Lubiana

Five-page typewritten report by Bruno Molajoli, head of the Superintendent Office for Antiquities and Fine Arts of Trieste

26 October 1937

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione IV, folder 4 Affari Generali 1942-1943 (*Disegni del Tiepolo trafugati a Lubiana dalla Guerra 1915-18. Scambio opere d'Arte con la Jugoslavia*)

After the Italian occupation of **Gorizia** in 1916, Austrian authorities, fearing further territories being invaded, were concerned about the safety of the Town Museum of **Trieste**. An order was released aiming at evacuating its most important artworks. However, Anton Gnirs, member of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) and responsible for art protection in the Austrian Littoral, met with the disapproval of the museum's director and his staff. He only obtained Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's drawings, which Countess Anna Segrè Sartorio, last heir of a famous family of local art collectors, had donated to the museum in 1910, as well as a diploma given to the owner of the collection at the time of the Tiepolo exhibition in **Venice** in 1896. Together with a wooden statue of St Florian, Gnirs transferred them by car to Ljubljana on 18 August 1916. From the capital city of Carniola they were expected to proceed to the Hofmuseum of Vienna. Only in 1921 did it become clear that the artworks had never reached Vienna but had been stored at the National Museum of **Ljubljana**. Several initiatives followed; in particular Piero Sticotti, director of the Town Museum of Trieste, took action to have them returned. Yet, even the efforts of the Italian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education as well as those of the members of the Italian Military Mission to Vienna (among them Ettore Modigliani) turned out to be unsuccessful. Therefore, Sticotti proposed that the Italian state should retain as collateral the famous polyptych of St Lucy by Paolo Veneziano, originally in the church of the same name at **Jurandvor** on the isle of **Krk**. Sent to Vienna for restoration in 1912, the polyptych had been restituted to Italy in 1919 (at a time when Krk was not yet definitely assigned to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and transferred to Trieste. It was put under the care

of the Fine Arts Office of the Italian provisional administration of the city and, from 1923, of the newly founded Superintendent Office.

As of 1937, the art historian Bruno Molajoli described the stance of the Superintendent Office of Trieste as follows: the restitution of the Tiepolo drawings and the statue should not depend neither *de jure* nor as a matter of fact on the restitution of the St Lucy polyptych, which, studied by Antonio Morassi, at the time was stored in the Museum of Koper; on the contrary, the Italian government would be rightly entitled to consider the possibility of returning the polyptych only after the restitution of the Tiepolo drawings and of the statue, both indisputably belonging to the Town Museum of Trieste. However, in order to pave the way for an amicable settlement of the issue, Molajoli suggested that the two nations should proceed simultaneously with an exchange of the claimed objects.

The story did not unfold as envisaged by Molajoli. The Tiepolo drawings were moved back to Trieste in 1941 soon after the Italian occupation of Ljubljana (see doc. 37), whereas in 1944 the Italian administration was compelled to handover the St Lucy polyptych to the German authorities who restituted it to the Bishop of Krk.

DL



R. SOPRINTENDENZA
ALLE OPERE
D'ANTICHITÀ E D'ARTE
TRIESTE

PRO MEMORIA

PER LA RESTITUZIONE DI 191 DISEGNI TIEPOLESCHI E DI UNA STATUA LIGNEA
DI PROPRIETÀ DEL MUSEO CIVICO DI TRIESTE (donaz. Sartorio)
TRASFERITI NEL 1916 NEL MUSEO DI LUBIANA

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Nel 1916, dopo la presa di Gorizia, il Governo austriaco ordinò che da Trieste fossero rimosse e trasportate nell'interno le opere di maggiore interesse artistico e storico, principalmente quelle conservate nel Museo Civico. In seguito a ciò il dott. Antonio Gnirs, conservatore provinciale per il litorale (Venezia Giulia) della I.R. Commissione Centrale di Vienna, il quale durante la guerra aveva trasferito la sua sede da Pola a Lubiana, si recò il 18 agosto a Trieste per prendere in consegna il materiale. Ma di fronte alle insistenze della Direzione del Museo Civico, che si opponeva a lasciar partire tutto il richiesto materiale artistico e storico, si limitò a ritirare: una raccolta di 191 fogli con disegni e schizzi originali di G.B. Tiepolo e della sua scuola, un diploma dell'Esposizione Tiepolesca di Venezia conferito nel 1896 al proprietario della raccolta, barone Giuseppe de Sartorio, e una statua in legno, raffigurante S. Floriano, alta m.l.08, d'arte tedesca della fine del secolo XV. Tutto ciò era venuto in possesso del Museo Civico di Trieste nel 1910 per dono degli eredi del Barone Sartorio.

Il dott. Gnirs rilasciò alla direzione del Museo una parti-

colareggiata dichiarazione dell'avvenuta consegna, segnata col suo nome e col timbro del suo ufficio e controfirmata dalla Direzione predetta. I disegni, riuniti in ordine progressivo di numerazione, entro un involuoro munito dei sigilli del Museo di Trieste, furono trasportati lo stesso giorno, insieme con la statua, per mezzo di un'automobile militare diretta a Lubiana, dove, completato l'imballaggio, a detta del Gnirs, dovevano continuare alla volta di Vienna per essere ricoverati nel Museo di Corte (K.K. Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum).

Dopo la redenzione di Trieste, nei primi giorni del novembre 1918, la direzione del Museo consegnò a Ugo Ogetti una copia della dichiarazione di ricevuta rilasciata dal dott. Gnirs, perchè i disegni e la statua fossero ritirati e riportati a Trieste. Il che non avvenne.

Il 3 aprile 1919 la stessa direzione si rivolse, pure senza effetto, al Segretario Generale per gli Affari Civili presso il Comando supremo del R.Esercito, a Padova.

Nel giugno dello stesso anno, il prof. Piero Sticotti, direttore del Museo Civico di Trieste, incaricato di recarsi a Vienna per collaborare, con la Missione Italiana per l'Armistizio, al recupero degli oggetti d'arte in questione, seppe dallo stesso dott. Gnirs (nel frattempo trasferitosi a Komotau in Boemia) che i disegni tiepoleschi e la statua non si trovavano a Vienna ma tuttora a Lubiana, chiusi in due casse - portanti su la testa delle viti il sigillo del Conservatore dell'I.R. Commissione Centrale di Vienna per la tutela dei monumenti, e segnate con le cifre romane I e II - casse a suo tempo dal Gnirs depositate in custodia presso il Museo Provinciale Rudolfinum di Lubiana, il cui direttore dott. Giuseppe Mantuani aveva rilasciato all'I.R. Commissione Centrale di Vienna

la ricevuta relativa a questi ed altri oggetti depositati nel febbraio, il 23 maggio e il 5 giugno 1918 (Da confrontare a questo proposito il foglio n. 3644 A spedito nel marzo 1919 dal magg. Generale Roberto Segre, Capo della Missione Italiana in Vienna, al Governo Provinciale sloveno in Lubiana).

Richiesto di confermare l'esistenza delle Casse e la disposizione a restituirle, il dott. Mantuani rispose affermativamente, subordinando la riconsegna al permesso del Governo Jugoslavo.

Frattanto il delegato italiano nella Commissione d'Armistizio, comm. Ettore Modigliani, aveva firmato la convenzione con l'Austria per la restituzione del materiale storico-artistico e il prof. Sticotti lo interessò direttamente per un'analogha procedura nei riguardi degli oggetti rimasti a Lubiana. Il Modigliani gli comunicava allora l'esistenza di una clausola generica nel cosiddetto trattato dei Nuovi Stati e la intenzione di richiamare sull'argomento l'attenzione del Ministero degli Esteri per iniziare passi in via diplomatica, nell'attesa della soluzione della questione adriatica.

Venuto il trattato di Rapallo, il Modigliani rispondeva in data 29.XI.1920 a nuove premure dello Sticotti, facendo presente che l'art. 1 del trattato dei Nuovi Stati consentiva il recupero degli oggetti d'arte, ma che all'applicazione a vantaggio degli oggetti del Museo di Trieste si opponeva il fatto che proprio e soltanto la Jugoslavia non aveva ancora firmato quel Trattato.

A gli atti del nostro Ministero deve risultare, in quel tempo, una sollecitazione rivolta in proposito al Ministero degli Esteri.

La Soprintendenza di Trieste (prima come ufficio Belle Arti del Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia) seguì il corso delle varie pratiche e riassunse, con nota 2586 del 5.I.1919

diretta al Ministero dell'Istruzione, lo stato dei fatti.

Quanto sopra ho riferito formò anche oggetto di un rapporto che lo Sticotti inviò in data 10.XII.1920 al Commissario Straordinario di Trieste, e, in copia, a S.E. Giovanni Rosadi, Sottosegretario per le Antichità e Belle Arti, che si interessò della questione e assicurò di aver rivolte premure al Dicastero degli Esteri perohè, a prescindere dalla possibilità di invocare la clausola dell'art.1 del Trattato, compisse un passo amichevole presso il Governo jugoslavo per ottenere il riconoscimento dei nostri diritti.

Lo stesso Sticotti interessò ancora S.E. Rosadi con lettera del 17.X.1921, la Legazione Italiana a Vienna il 18.XI.1921, il Ministero degli Esteri il 16.X.1921 e nel gennajo 1922.

Era emessa intanto la richiesta del Governo Jugoslavo per la restituzione di un polittico veneziano del secolo XIV già nella chiesa di S.Lucia nell'Isola di Veglia, consegnato al Museo di Trieste il 1° giugno 1919 per ordine del Comando Supremo. Il Sottosegretariato di Stato per le AA. e BB. AA. accogliendo la proposta del prof.Sticotti, ritenne che il polittico dovesse essere trattenuto come pegno per la restituzione dei disegni del Tiepolo e della statua di S.Floriano (lettera del 14.XI.1921).

La questione venne, di tempo in tempo, agitata sia nei carteggi ufficiali, sia nella stampa ("Piccolo della Sera" del 23.XI.1922; "Gazzetta di Venezia" 29.XI.1922; "Corriere della Sera" 23.V.1926); parve a un certo momento avviarsi a soluzione, e cioè nel 1925-1925, quando si iniziarono nuove trattative per la restituzione con il Governo Serbo-Croato-Sloveno e fu anche appositamente nominata una commissione presieduta dal sen. Salata e della quale faceva parte il comm. Ettore Modigliani. Ma tutto rimase senza risultati concreti, per la sopravvenuta tensione politica col Regno S.H.S.

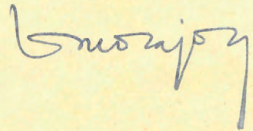
Allo stato attuale dei fatti risulta dunque:

- 1°) che i 191 disegni e la statua lignea, di proprietà del Museo Civico di Trieste, trovansi tuttora conservati nel Museo Rudolfino di Lubiana;
- 2°) che il polittico di Veglia è in consegna della Soprintendenza (lettera min. del 31.VII.1930) e attualmente trovasi depositata nel Museo Civico di Capodistria;
- 3°) che la restituzione dei disegni e della statua, in linea di fatto e di diritto, non può essere condizionata, da parte del Regno S.H.S., alla restituzione del polittico; al contrario, anzi, il Governo Italiano avrebbe ogni ragione di riservarsi di prendere in considerazione la possibilità di effettuare la restituzione del polittico soltanto dopo che sia avvenuta la restituzione dei disegni tiepoleschi e della Statua, di incontestabile proprietà del Museo Civico di Trieste;
- 4°) che tuttavia, in sede di composizione amichevole della questione in ^{esame} ~~se~~ nell'intento di facilitarla, potrebbe essere considerata la opportunità di procedere reciprocamente e contemporaneamente alla restituzione delle cose da entrambe le ~~Magioni~~ ^{parti} attualmente rivendicate.

Trieste, 26.X.1937.XV.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE

/Molajoli/



29. Report on post-1919 restitution negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia

Four-page typewritten letter by Mihovil Abramić, director of the National Archaeological Museum in Split, to Artur Schneider, director of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters in Zagreb; attached an undated four-page typewritten list of art objects

31 March 1938

Croatia, Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, arhiv, box 3, 1934-1938

The document touches upon Italo-Yugoslav interwar negotiations over mutual artwork restitutions. It concerns the drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, accidentally stored in **Ljubljana** since during the First World War, and a highly symbolic 9th-century Croatian baptismal font, kept in **Venice**.

As mentioned in doc. 28, the Tiepolo drawings donated to the Town Museum of **Trieste** by Anna Segrè Sartorio in 1910 had been removed to be securely stored in Vienna in 1916; instead, they were deposited in the Ljubljana Rudolfinum Museum. Despite repeated Italian claims for their return, the Tiepolo masterpieces were kept in Ljubljana until the Italian occupation of western Slovenia in 1941 (see doc. 37).

The baptismal font (originally from **Nin**, Dalmatia) had been transferred to Venice where it is attested to have been in the convent Il Redentore in 1749; in 1852, it became the property of the municipal Correr Museum. The font contains an inscription mentioning Duke Višeslav, considered to be the first duke of Croatia. Further importance was attributed to him for having converted the local population to Christianity (see doc. 46).

The document throws light on how the Italian claims for the Tiepolo drawings had been perceived by Yugoslavia and illustrates the state of affairs of the late 1930s. As a matter of fact, when the Italian government renewed its claim in 1938, Yugoslav officials were ready to once again reject the demands. In a letter of 28 March, the director of the **Zagreb** Strossmayer Gallery, Artur Schneider had emphasized that the drawings in question should not be returned until «all our artworks detained by Italy» had been restituted (DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2017b). When replying to Schneider, Mihovil Abramić, acting as Yugoslav representative to the restitution negotiations, gave an account on the previous bilateral talks and produced a list of artworks and collections whose restitution had been discussed with Italian officials. Abramić, director of the **Split** Archaeological Museum, also reports that Yugoslav cultural objects claimed from Italy had been grouped into

three categories: 1. historical documents kept in *Zadar* as the «former capital of Dalmatia»; 2. objects seized by the Italian army when occupying the so-called Third Zone in northern Dalmatia (*Zadar*'s hinterland and the islands), before the Treaty of Rapallo; 3. artworks which «by chance» (due to postwar changes of state borders) had come into Italian possession temporarily. Objects belonging to the third group were requested to be returned unconditionally, but Yugoslav authorities were ready to renounce some other objects in order to obtain the Baptismal Font of Duke *Višeslav*.

Abramić additionally reports on a 1926 meeting in Trieste with *Ettore Modigliani*, the Italian art expert within the Yugoslav-Italian committee. On that occasion, all claims had been discussed with *Modigliani* who was briefed by his counterpart on the reasons why the Yugoslav side considered the *Višeslav* Baptismal Font an asset of compensation: «This object is a monument of great value to our [Yugoslav] national history, while to the Italians it represents nothing». After having assured *Abramić* that he would «intercede for our [Yugoslav] legitimate requests and wishes», *Modigliani* informed the Yugoslav delegate in the autumn of 1927 that «the president of the Italian government himself, *Mr. Mussolini*, had been involved in the question of your [i.e. Yugoslav] artwork restitutions, promising to serve as an intermediary with the Venetian municipality, so that the Baptismal Font be returned». However, according to *Abramić*, with Italo-Yugoslav relations slowly deteriorating since 1927, no further restitution talks had been held.

LD

Državni Arheološki Muzej
Државни Археолошки Музеј
 Broj 134
 dne 31. III. 1938. god.
 u **SPLITU - у СПЛИТУ**

JUGOSLAVENSKA AKADEMIJA
ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI
 Primaljeno 1. IV. 1938.
 Broj 251. ad.

Jugoslavenskoj akademiji
 znanosti i umjetnosti
 Zagreb.

Predmet:Odgovor na dopis
 broj 251 od 28.III.
 1938.godine.

Odmah iza italijanske evakuacije t. zv. treće zone u sjevernoj
 Dalmaciji Konservatorijsni ured i uprava Arheološkoga muzeja u
 Splitu bili su pokrenuli pitanje povratka naših arhivalija, knjiga
 i umjetnina koje su iz bilo kojeg razloga ostale van naših gra-
 nica na italijanskom teritoriju. Neposredno i preko tadašnje pokra-
 jinske vlade /uprave/ za Dalmaciju tražila se je u tom poslu
 intervencija ministarstva prosvjete, odnosno ministarstva inostrani-
 nih poslova.

Napokon izgledalo je da će doći do rješenja ovog važnog pitanja.
 God. 1926 ~~bila~~ je u okviru t. zv. Paritetne komisije za razdiobu zadar-
 skih dobara imenovan odbor stručnjaka za arhivalija i umjetnina. Mini-
 starstvo inostranih poslova imenovalo je za eksperta u stvarima arhiva
 i biblioteka gosp. prof. univerziteta Dr. Ferdu Šišića te u predmetu
 umjetnina potpisanog direktora Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, i to
 odlukom od 25. juna 1926. godine broj V. 2747. Na našem ministarstvu
 inostranih poslova imao je referat o tim stvarima gosp. savjetnik
 de Giuli.

Stručna komisija sastala se je u Trstu u palači prefektura i
 konferirala je od 11. do 24. jula 1926. godine. Šefovi naše komisije
 bili su gg. Vodopivec i Gregorin, eksperti g. prof. Dr. F. Šišić i

Dr. Mihovil Abramić. Stručni referent za umjetnine s italijanske strane bio je tadašnji direktor Pinakoteke di Brera ^{u Milano} /g. Comm. Dott. Ettore Modigliani.

Potpisani pretresao je s g. Modiglianom detaljno sve naše zahtjeve i obrazložio je dokumentarno svako naše potraživanje. Konačno je predao g. Modiglianiju spisak svih reklamiranih objekata izjavljajući da *conditio sine qua non* za predaju Tiepolovih crteža vlasnosti Museo Civico u Trstu, koji ^{su} od vremena rata ostali deponirani u ljubeljanskom narodnom muzeju, jest povratak naših od Italijana oduzetih umjetnina i starina. /Spomenuti popis prilaže se ovdje u prepisu/.

Naši zahtjevi mogu se razdijeliti u tri grupe:

- A/ historijski dokumenti naših općina, kotara, naših sudova i drugih institucija koji su ostali u Zadru kao u bivšoj kapitali Dalmacije. Amo spadaju arhivalija u cjelini i biblioteke.
- Najbolje informacije o toj stvari i popis zatraženih dokumenata može Akademiji dati g. prof. Dr. Ferdo Šišić i g. prof. Visoke ekonomske-komercijalne škole Dr. Josip Nagy koji je kasnije također sudjelovao u spomenutoj komisiji.
- B/ Arheološki i umjetnički predmeti koje su Italijani odujeli prigodom okupacije našega teritorija /Sušak, Krk, sjeverna Dalmacija i dalmatinsko otočje osim Brača/.
- C/ Umjetnine koje su slučajno došle u privremeni posjed Italijana uslijed prilika nastalih poslije rata. Amo spadaju: oltarna pala iz Jurandvora, poliptih iz Ugljana, slike iz Paga i antependij iz Hvara.

Potpisani izjavio je gosp. Comm. Modiglianiju da za predmete pod C tražimo da nam budu bezuvjetno povraćeni isto tako i arheološki objekti grupe B koji su odneseni iz Aserije, iz muzeja u Kninu /sada Muzej narodnih starina Primorske i Savske banovine/, iz Obrova, iz zbirke u kući Diklić u Ninu i pergamena iz Šibenika.

Za četiri velika relijefa s ^Llavom sv. Marka /jedan iz Paga, dva iz Nina, jedan iz Šibenika/, za stup bitke kod Marenga i za ostale predmete iz Trsata, za sredovječni natpis iz Šibenika, za monumentalnog lava

viškog boja koji je NB! bio nadgrobni spomenik na viškom groblju, za jubilarni natpis, za srebrni vijenac i za brončano popraje Franje Josipa iz Visa ne zahtjevamo da nam budu povraćeni ali tražimo kompenzaciju. Kao predmet kompenzacije naznačio sam g. Modiglianiju krstionicu hrva tskoga kneza Višeslava koja je god. 1746 prenesena iz stolne crkve u Ninu u Veneciju i koja se sada nalazi u Museo Civico Correr. Ovaj je spomenik za našu narodnu historiju od velike vrijednosti a za Italijane ne predstavlja ništa. Ironija je da se taj dragocjeni spomenik sada nalazi u muzejskom dvorištu /magazinu/ u zbirci bunarskih vijenaca !

Gosp. Modigliani obećao je tada da će se zauzeti za naše opravdane zahtjeve i želje.

U jeseni god. 1927. gosp. Comm. Modigliani pozvao je potpisanoga na uži sastanak stručnjaka koji se održao u Zadru. Gosp. Modigliani izjavio je tom prigodom da se je lično interesirao za rješenje pitanja naših umjetnina sam predsjednik italijanske vlade gosp. Mussolini i da je isti obećao da će posredovati kod mletačke općine da nam bude Višeslavova krstionica povraćena. /Muzej Correr je vlasništvo općinsko a ne državno/. Za ostale umjetnine gosp. Modigliani je spomenuo da ima još izvjesnih formalnih poteškoća koje će biti -kako se on nada- bezdvojbano povoljno riješene na narednim sastancima.

Politički odnosi između Italije i naše Kraljevine iza god. 1927. sve su se više pogoršavali a do daljnjih sastanaka naših i italijanskih stručnjaka nije više došlo.

Uredovno i lično više puta sam tražio od ministarstva inostranih poslova i molio da se sazove konferencija u svrhu regulisanja gornjih pitanja. Također uprava Muzeja u Kninu i provincijalat franjevačkog reda sv. Jerolima je višekrat preko ministarstva pravde i ministarstva inostranih poslova tražila ~~u~~ istu stvar. Ali sve je do danas bilo uzalud.

Italijani su također nekoliko puta za svoje strane kušali da dobiju na brzu ruku svoje Tiepolove crteže. Od uprave muzeja u Ljubljani (g. direktora Josipa Mala / bili su svaki put upozoreni da je u ovom

pitanju s naše strane postavljen junktim se našim opravdanim zahtjevima i tako ^{Ali} italijenski pokušaji nisu dosade imali uspjeha.

Ako su Italijeni sada ^{obnovili} ~~opetovani~~ svoje stare zahtjeve, izgledi za njih su obzirom na prijateljske odnose s našom državom povoljniji nego ikada.

Ali je i naša dužnost da se moramo starati da dobijemo natrag historijsko i umjetničko blago koje nama pripada.

Stoga molimo Jugoslavensku akademiju znanosti i umjetnosti kao našu najvišu naučnu instituciju da u tom predmetu direktno posreduje kod ministarstva inostranih poslova u svrhu pravednog rješenja naših postulata.

Ravnateljstvo Drž. arheološkog muzeja,

direktor:



Nikola Čaušić

P R E F I S

Oggetti esportati o levati dalle autorità militari e civili italiane durante l'occupazione di territorio ora del Regno S.C.S.:

TRSAT-TRSATTO

Colonna di Marengo del castello della contessa A. Nugent, alcuni pezzi decorativi levati dal giardino dello stesso castello /come Grifone di bronzo/.

OBBOVAC-OBBOVAZZO

Vennero levate nel Museo due statuette di bronzo /Mercurio e Putto/, nonché cinque intagli in pietra dura per anelli romani. Il comandante militare ten.colonnello chiese dal custode le chiavi degli armadi e domandò quali fossero i pezzi più belli./Confr. Jahreshefte des oesterr.arch.Institutes XII.1909,p.41,45/.

PAG-PAGO

Venne asportato un leone veneziano monumentale, non si sa dove. Dicono a Zara.

NI N-NONA

Furono levati due leoni veneziani seicenteschi.

Uno è ora impuro nella torre dell'orologio a Zara, l'altro dicono sia stato donato all'ammiraglio Millo. Per ordine del commissario comunale Marineovich vennero asportati alcuni oggetti piccoli da scavo, come vetri, bronzi, vasellame, terra sigillata etc., tutti provenienti da scavi nella necropoli romana, oppure intorno al tempio romano. Erano provvisoriamente custoditi nelle case del defunto parroco Zenki, affidati durante l'occupazione alla domestica Ika Diklić.

ASSERIA-FOGDRAJE DI BENKOVAC

2

Venne levato dal campo delle rovine della città di Asseria un architravo monumentale con l'iscrizione: {S.OMNI VM·ASSER} C.I.L.III 15026.

KNIN

Del museo di Knin vennero levati e portati a Zara, come assicurano, per ordine dell'ammiraglio Millo, i seguenti pezzi:

iscrizione C.I.L.III 2808 NERONI CAESARI etc.
etc.

Bassorelievo votivo con Giuno sacrificante ed iscrizione: D.P./Q.V.PH/V.S.L.M.,

Frammento di sarcofago con rappresentazione del mito di Achille e Priamo.

Timpano con bassorilievo: lugga con Romolo e Remo,

Cornicione appartenente a questo timpano,

Fregio di armi della stessa edicola di cui il timpano,

Pezzo di soffitto a cassette decorative della stessa.

Venne levata dal Museo e trasportata a Skradin /Scardona/ l'iscrizione: GENIO MUNICIPAL FL. SCARD.

C.I.L.III 2802. Nel trasporto l'ara subì grandi danni.

SIBENIK-SEBENICO

Leone veneziano asportato su autocarro militare a Zara ed ivi, come dicono, ~~innalzato~~ ^{innalzato} in un cortile monumentale.

Pietra con iscrizione commemorante i morti della peste, levata dal selciato dinanzi la pasticceria Merlek ed asportata non si sa dove.

Pergamena donata dalla città di Firenze in occasione dell'inaugurazione del monumento a Nicolò Tommaseo, con 150 firme di scrittori, poeti, scienziati ecc. italiani.

VIS-LISSA

Leone monumentale eretto nel cimitero ai caduti nella battaglia di Lissa dai loro commilitoni. Inscrizione storica, posta in occasione del XXV° anniversario della battaglia,

ghirlanda d'argento offerta nella stessa occasione
e conservata nel municipio di Lissa,

busto in bronzo di Francesco Giuseppe,

La ghirlanda ed il busto pres~~o~~ in consegna il capi-
tano di corvetta commendante L. Stello, come risulta
della ricevuta ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ rilasciata all'amministrazione
comunale.

OGGETTI D'ARTE

provenienti dal territorio del regno ~~di~~ S. C. S.

ed ora tenuti da autorità italiane o da enti pubblici.

BAŠKANOVA/KRK/-BESCANUOVA DI VEGLE

Pala d'altare della chiesa di S. Lucia /Jurandvoj/
consegnata alla missione militare italiana a Vienna
dal restauratore-pittore Viertelberger dietro richiesta
della commissione e per ordine dello "Staatsdenkmalamt".

PAG-PAGO

Quattro pitture del convento di Pago, chiuso nel 1898/
e depositate provvisoriamente nel convento dei Francescani
di Zara.

UGLJAN-UGLIANO

Polittico del convento dei Francescani di Ugliano
custodito fino al 1893 nella chiesa di Ugljan e depo-
sitato nel 1902 dopo il ristauo eseguito a Vienna
nella sacristia della chiesa dei Francescani di Zara.
Il padre guardiano che cause l'umidità nell'apside
della chiesa di Ugliano diede il polittico in custodia
alla chiesa di Zara padre Bone Škunca, vive tuttora.
La proprietà del convento di Ugliano è stata riconosciuta
e confermata come per altri oggetti dalla stessa prove-
nienza dal primo guardiano italiano, padre Bernardino
Amogliani, e dal generale dell'ordine padre Bernardino
Klumper. Però la consegna del polittico ai Francescani

della provincia di San Girolamo venne impedita dalla
Prefettura di Zara.

HVAR-LESINA

Antependio di altare in cuoio con pittura in medaglione
centrale, mandato dal convento dei Francescani di Lesina
nel 1913 a Capodistria e finché fosse qui, rispettivamente
a Pirano, restaurato dallo Zarotti, e poi rimasto a Capo-
distria.



Provenance of cultural objects removed by Italian authorities from the territories later assigned to Yugoslavia, as from Document 29.

Source: Giotto Dainelli, *Fiume e la Dalmazia*, Turin 1930, with editors' elaborations.

30. Attems Gallery in Graz, Export of a painting by Godfried Maes to Yugoslavia

Galerie Attems in Graz, Ausfuhr eines Gemäldes des Godfried Maes nach Jugoslawien

One-page typewritten letter by Otto Demus, *Staatskonservator* of the Central Office for Monument Protection (*Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz*) in Vienna, to Walter von Semetkowski, *Landeskonservator* in Graz (Styria)

12 September 1938

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt, Archiv, *Restitutionsmaterialien*, box 31, 1318/8-1938

After the First World War, the southern part of the crownland of Styria was assigned to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thus, the estates of some noble families were split between the two new states, Austria and Yugoslavia. After the «Anschluss» of Austria to Germany, Count Ferdinand of Attems decided to transfer part of his extremely rich art collection from the Attems Palace in **Graz** to **Slovenska Bistrica** (Yugoslavia), where his family had owned a castle since 1717. In the fall of 1938, following a permission from the Central Office for Monument Protection and without any restriction, the *Landeskonservator* Walter von Semetkowski allowed Count Attems to export an oil painting by 17th-century artist Godfried Maes, representing *Faith*, from a series of three theological Virtues (*Fides*, *Spes*, *Caritas*). Since Yugoslav authorities required the payment of a substantial import fee, extensive documentation was produced concerning the dispute on the transfer; however, there is no evidence that the painting was indeed moved to the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica (presently the location of *Faith* and *Charity* is unknown). Yet, Count Attems, afraid of air raids on Graz, at some point succeeded in moving part of his collection to Slovenska Bistrica. As this translocation is not attested by official documents, it may be assumed that the art objects left Graz during the Second World War, most probably already in 1941, immediately after the German occupation of Lower Styria.

In May 1945, Ferdinand Attems, exponent of the Styrian (German) aristocracy, was captured by Yugoslav authorities, imprisoned and murdered together with his wife and elder son in the winter of 1946 (officially he was considered missing since January 1946). Although all his property was confiscated and is supposed to have been transferred to the newly established Federal Collecting Centre for Cultural Historical Objects of Slovenia (*Federalni zbirni center za kulturno-zgodovinske predmete*; FZC), parts of his collection were either stolen or distributed to the new Communist elite. Maes' *Hope* (one of the three paintings of the Virtues cycle), transferred to the FZC, is today in the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in **Ljubljana**.

BM

Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz
im Ministerium für innere und
kulturelle Angelegenheiten

Z. 3052/Dsch.ex 1938.

Betreff: Galerie Attems in
Graz, Ausfuhr eines Gemäldes
des Godfried Maes nach Jugo-
slavien. Zu Zl. 1035/5-1938 vom
7.9.38.

Wien, am 12. September 1938.

An den
Landeskonservator

in Graz.

Der Landeskonservator wird ermächtigt, die gegenständliche
Ausfuhrbewilligung abgabenfrei zu erteilen.

Der Präsident: i.V.

Demus.

Für die Richtigkeit
der Ausfertigung:

Kutschera

*Styng. Zl. 30/1938
wichtig
16.9.38
rind ✓*

Landeskonservator in Graz	
Eingeliefert am 24. 9. 1938	
1066/19	Teil

'Neue Ordnung': Nazi and Fascist Strategies for Rearranging Cultural Landscapes

VIII.
ITALIAN SAFEGUARDING
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN BORDER AREAS

Donata Levi, Michael Wedekind

Plans for the protection of mobile art heritage in Italy date back to the 1920s. In 1929, a Committee for Air Protection had been established which, having initially reported to the Ministry of the Interior, was put under the Ministry of War in 1932 (*Comitato Centrale Interministeriale di Protezione Antiaerea*). The 1934 regulations concerning the protection of the country and its population included measures to be taken for the protection of the national artistic and scientific heritage. The preparation of plans to remove artworks in case of war and of lists of valuable objects was delegated to the Ministry of National Education, which in turn involved the local Superintendent offices.

Planning reached a climax in 1935, the year of the Italian war against Ethiopia, when the Ministry of National Education sent a questionnaire to the Superintendent offices and charged an official, Michele De Tomasso, with inspections for war preparedness.

The Instructions for Air Defence (*Istruzioni per la difesa antiaerea*), published in 1937 by the Ministry of National Education, contemplated artworks of big cities being removed to safe sites, preferably in inland towns of minor importance («città interne di scarsa importanza»); this also applied to valuable books, ancient codices, jewelry, medals and collections of scientific material.

The year 1938 was crucial in the debate on this issue. Measures were elaborated for the protection of monuments and historical buildings, whilst the Minister of National Education himself, Giuseppe Bottai, dictated guidelines concerning movable objects. They were in contrast with proposals made by international experts who had suggested artworks being safeguarded in neutral countries and had already drafted a Convention on the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Times of War which had been presented by the *Office International des Musées* to the League of Nations.

Local Superintendent offices were charged with identifying suitable safe repositories. As for north-eastern Italy (i.e. Friuli, the Julian March and parts of Istria), the Ministry of National Education chose Villa Rocca Bernarda in **Prema-riacco** (Province of Udine) in September 1939. However, it was soon replaced by Villa Manin in **Passariano**, near **Codroipo** (Province of Udine) in November 1939, as it was found that Rocca Bernarda was situated next to a gunpowder

magazine. The Trieste Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March also drew up lists of objects to be removed, adding the number of boxes needed and an estimate of expenses for packaging and truck rental. For the Province of Udine, the costs for the transport of public and church owned artworks were estimated to be 43,000 Lire (223 boxes); between November 1939 and February 1940, private works were also included. Between February and May 1940, the evacuation plan was further elaborated (provision of vehicles, notification to owners, etc.). On 15 May, the head of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, Fausto Franco, entrusted the director of the Town Museum of Udine, Carlo Someda de Marco, with transferring and safeguarding artworks at Villa Manin. Operations began on 8 June 1940, two days before Italy entered the war, and continued until the end of July.

After the war on Yugoslavia in April 1941, Fausto Franco was additionally entrusted with protecting the art heritage of the Italian-occupied Province of Ljubljana. For this purpose, he was attached to the office of the Italian High Commissioner Emilio Grazioli.

Following the Nazi occupation of Italy in September 1943, the Provinces of Udine (including Pordenone), Gorizia, Trieste, Pula, Rijeka and Ljubljana passed under German civil administration and were incorporated into the newly established Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (*Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland*), headed by the *Gauleiter* of Carinthia, Friedrich Rainer.

In this situation, concern for the safekeeping of cultural heritage increased. After September 1943, Italian authorities changed their strategy for protecting moveable artworks, since their concentration in one place was deemed dangerous and would increase the risk of seizure by German authorities. Carlo Someda de Marco's prompt proposal of inviting owners – be they private, public or religious bodies – to retrieve their property was soon accepted by the Superintendent Office. In less than a month, many boxes were returned to Latisana, Rivignano, San Daniele del Friuli, Cividale, Aquileia, Grado, Belvedere, Varmo and to churches in Udine. The Town Museum of Udine, too, recovered its own objects as well as those coming from Pula and Piran; the most important works were placed in its basement and protected by walling up all points of access. At the same time, unrequested artworks were stored in two cellars near San Daniele del Friuli. Their location was kept hidden from German authorities, particularly from the section *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz* (headed by the art historian Walter Frodl) within the Division D (*Schulwesen*) of the Department V (*Wissenschaft und Unterricht*) of the Supreme Commissioner. Also, when the Bishop of Krk, Josip Srebrnić, claimed back the polyptych of St Lucy by Paolo Veneziano in 1944 and obtained German support, the painting was transferred to another site (the parsonage of San Tomaso di Majano, Province of Udine), where, in February 1944, it was inspected by Erika Hanfstaengl, a German official who worked under the direction

of Walter Frodl. The polyptych was released after much passive resistance in October 1944 and, as Someda de Marco liked to remark in his diary, it was not «delivered to», but «withdrawn by» German authorities: «The director overseeing the deposits does not hand over the artwork, but only certifies that it has been withdrawn by German authorities» («Il direttore dell'accentramento non consegna l'opera ma constata il prelevamento d'essa da parte delle Autorità germaniche»).

With Nazi occupation other concerns arose, such as illegal sales and exports of artworks. However, driven by a feeling of 'moral superiority' in defending European culture and of preventing possible charges of neglect of art heritage, German authorities were constantly concerned with the protection of historical buildings and their contents from Allied air raids (as, for example, in Grado, Cividale, Aquileia, etc.). Discussions among experts touched upon the question of whether large wooden altars in small churches of Carnia or the altarpiece by Giovanni Martini in **Mortegliano** should be removed or protected in situ. In the latter case, the initiative would have to be entrusted to the German authorities, in particular to Walter Frodl.

A further much debated point between the head of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, the German Supreme Commissioner and the Minister of National Education of the Italian Social Republic (RSI) concerned the security of art deposits whose positions and contents Italian authorities tried to keep hidden from German officials. Even in the last months of the war, Franco was unsuccessfully trying to manage the transport of the main artworks of the region to **Venice**, which he evidently considered a safer place. He was probably also alerted by the destiny of the Morelliano Archive which had been removed by German authorities in November 1944 and shipped to **Lusnizza**, close to the Italo-German border. This removal must be seen in the context of *Gauleiter* Friedrich Rainer's intention to establish a research archive dedicated to the Adriatic Littoral and led by the Institute for Carinthian Regional Studies of the University of **Graz** (*Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung der Universität Graz*) located in **Klagenfurt**.

Selected bibliography

BOTTAI 1938; BUCCO 2011; CARLO SOMEDA 2006; CATTARUZZA 2008; CAVAZZA, IANCIS, PORLEDDA 2003; COCCOLI 2010; COZZI 2016; COZZI 2020; FRANCHI 2010; FRANCHI 2013; FRITZL 1992; HISTRIA 2005; ISTRUZIONI PER LA DIFESA 1937; KNEZ 2016; KUNSTHISTORIKER IM KRIEG 2012; LA PROTECTION DES MONUMENTS 1939; LA PROTEZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO ARTISTICO 1942; LEONE 2016-2017; POPOLAZIONI E GUERRE 2009; SALVAGNINI 2000; VELČIĆ 2000; V ITALIJI ZADRŽANE UMETNINE 2005; WEDEKIND 2003; WEDEKIND 2012a; WEDEKIND 2017a

31. [Carlo Someda de Marco, director of the Town Museum of Udine, entrusted with defending cultural heritage in the Province of Udine]

Two-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli, to Carlo Someda de Marco, director of the Town Museum of Udine, and, for information, to the Provincial Committee for Air Protection attached to the Prefecture

15 May 1940

Italy, Udine, Archivio di Stato, UNPA [Unione Nazionale Protezione Anti Aerea], folder 2, file 6

The head of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, Fausto Franco, concerned about his possible call to arms, entrusts Carlo Someda de Marco with the protection of moveable cultural assets in the Province of Udine. He gives him practical instructions concerning the transport of art objects to the collecting centre of Villa Manin in Passariano (Province of Udine). A further transfer is envisaged to deposits in Central Italy.

Someda de Marco, a painter by training and director of the Udine Town Museum since 1932, kept a diary of this task from 10 April 1940 to 25 May 1945. Probably conceived as evidence of the righteousness of his conduct and measures often taken under perilous and uncertain circumstances, his diary offers a somewhat bureaucratic but poignant account of the most minute vicissitudes of regional heritage, interspersed with some vivid personal comments; it also sheds light on the relationships among the several institutions involved, in particular the Italian armed forces and later the Wehrmacht and German authorities.

The first part of the diary deals with the transfer of artworks from the Julian March (at that time including Istria and Rijeka) to the depot of Villa Manin as well as with its organization, protection and dismissal following the German occupation after 8 September 1943.

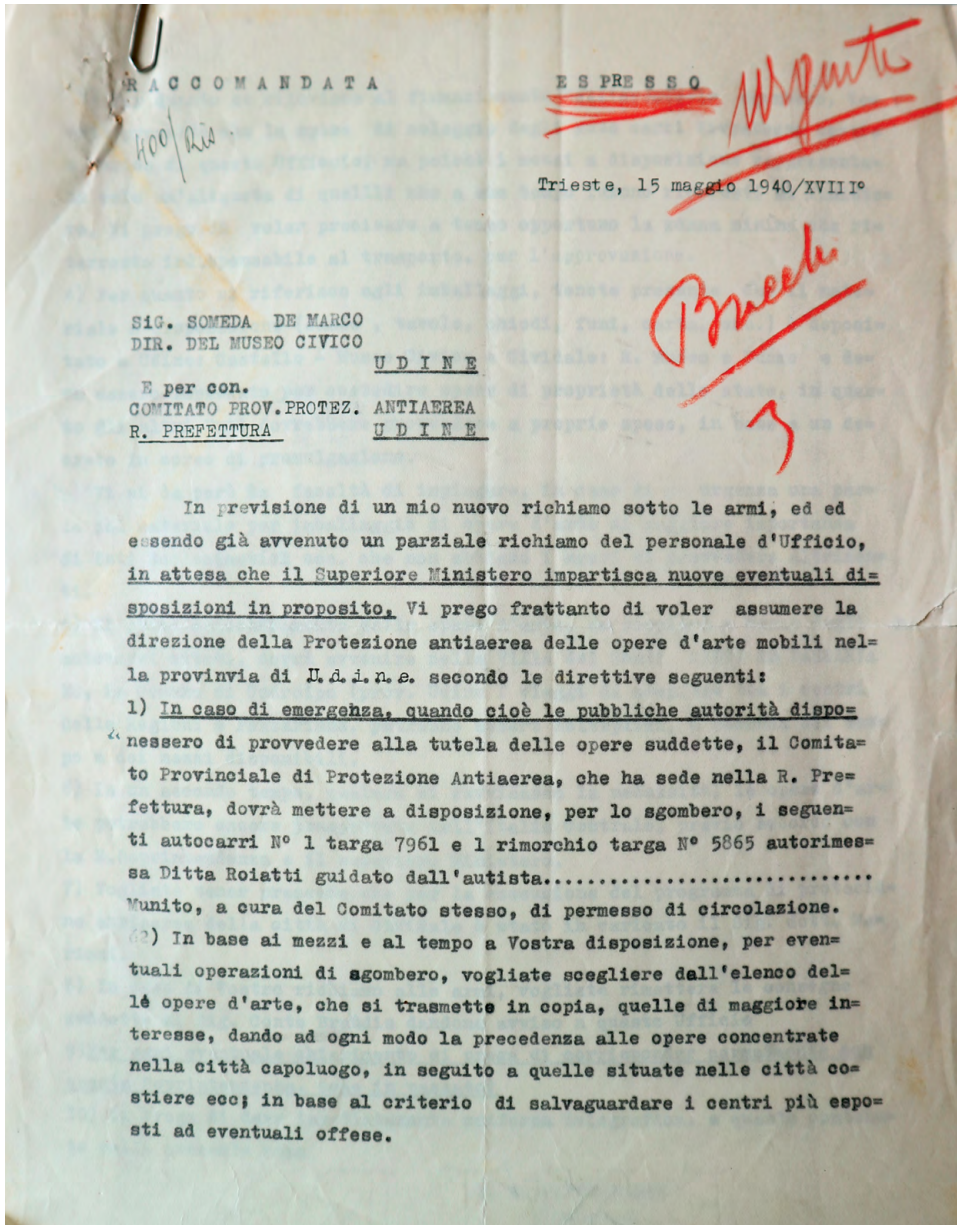
In that period, Someda de Marco, assisted by the architect Umberto Piazza, had to cope with a more extensive range of tasks: the protection of monuments from bombing (especially in Cividale and Udine), the attempt to prevent the dispersal of Jewish cultural assets (e.g. those owned by the Morpurgo and Luzzato families), the safekeeping of the secret deposits in San Daniele del Friuli, the fate of historical bells, and the appropriation of the Gorizia archive by the SS.

The diary ends by recording the first contacts with Norman T. Newton, Regional Officer of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program (MFAA) un-

der the Civil Affairs and Military Government Sections of the Allied armies (see sect. XVI), and visits to sites damaged by bombings.

Several typewritten copies of the diary, whose original is in the possession of the author's descendants, are kept in local archives; the copy in the library of the Town Museum of Udine has been subject of a virtual exhibition organized within the TransCultAA project; its transcript is available at <https://www.dolmenweb.net/somedademarco/>.

DL



3) Per quanto si riferisce al finanziamento dell'eventuale sgombero, tenete presente che le spese di noleggio degli auto carri dovrebbero essere a carico di questo Ufficio; ma poichè i mezzi a disposizione rappresentano solo un'aliquota di quelli che a suo tempo furono richiesti al Ministero. Vi prego di voler precisare a tempo opportuno la somma minima che risulterebbe indispensabile al trasporto, per l'approvazione.

4) Per quanto si riferisce agli imballaggi, tenete presente che il materiale a disposizione (casse, tavole, chiodi, funi, carta, ecc.) è depositato a Udine: Castello - Museo Civico e Cividale: R. Museo e Duomo e deve essere impiegato per custodire opere di proprietà dello stato, in quanto gli altri Enti dovrebbero provvedere a proprie spese, in base a un decreto in corso di promulgazione.

5) Vi si dà però la facoltà di impiegare, in caso di urgenza una parte del materiale per imballaggio di opere d'arte di maggiore importanza di Enti Ecclesiastici ecc. che non abbiano i mezzi di provvedere altrimenti.

5) Il primo concentramento delle opere d'arte, da compiere a mezzo degli autocarri citati, dovrà avvenire nella Villa dei Conti MANIN in PASSARIANO, in Comune di Codroipo (prov. Udine) i viaggi da compiere tra i centri delle Regioni e Passariano, potranno essere molteplici, a seconda del tempo e dei mezzi disponibili.

6) In un secondo tempo, qualora si ravvisasse la necessità, le opere d'arte potrebbero essere trasportate nell'Italia Centrale, previo accordo con la R. Soprintendenza e il superiore Ministero.

7) Vogliate tener presente che per la esecuzione del programma di protezione antiaerea della città di Cividale è stato in caricato il Sig. dott. Marioni.

8) In caso di Vostro richiamo alle armi, vogliate rimettere le consegne suddette al Sig. Conte Brandis dandone avviso a questo Ufficio

9) Per ogni eventuale chiarimento si prega di corrispondere normalmente con questa Soprintendenza, come in passato?

10) Si prega di dare immediatamente conferma telegrafica. a quanto contenuto nella presente nota

IL SOPRINTENDENTE

Franco

32. [A View of the Interior of Villa Manin in Passariano used as repository for artworks]

Black and white photograph by unknown photographer

Likely summer 1940

Italy, Udine, Civici Musei, Fototeca

The photograph shows a room at the ground floor of Villa Manin in **Passariano** (Province of Udine), filled with crates containing artworks from the Town Museums of **Trieste** and **Koper** as well as from the collection of the headmaster Eugenio Garzolini which the Superintendent Office of Trieste had purchased on account of the Italian state in 1939.

According to Carlo Someda de Marco's diary, 21 crates arrived on 20 June 1940, together with other about fifty wooden boxes from the Town Museum of **Udine**, Miramare Castle, the Cathedral of San Giusto in Trieste, the Cathedral and the Church of St Anne in Koper, the Town Hall and the Churches of Our Lady of Consolation, of St Stephen and of St George in **Piran**.

The label on the big crate on the right reads «La Pietà» and is probably referring to a painting from Koper, the *Lamentation* once attributed to Girolamo da Santacroce and today exhibited in the Sartorio Museum in Trieste, along with many of the artworks transferred from Istrian churches and museums, which were not restituted to their original places after the Second World War (see sect. XXI).

The transfer of the crates and their storage as well as the activities regarding the checking of their contents for conservation reasons are documented in a series of photographs, today preserved at the Town Museum and at the Superintendent Office of Udine.

MV



33. Safeguarding of art heritage

Salvaguardia patrimonio artistico

One-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli, in Trieste, to the heads of the Provinces, Archbishops and Bishops, and honorary inspectors of the Provinces of Trieste, Rijeka, Gorizia, Pula and Udine

15 November 1943

Italy, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA), Archivio Fausto Franco, Cassa 17-11, folder *Regia Soprintendenza di Trieste*

Following the establishment of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral after the Armistice of 8 September 1943, Fausto Franco urgently requests information about the occupation of both sacred and profane historical buildings by Nazi military forces and authorities, in order to brief the Supreme Commissioner. He communicates that the Superintendent Office has already made arrangements with the head of the *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz*, Walter Frodl, for affixing warnings against such occupations.

Franco also expresses his concerns about illicit sales of artworks and illegal exportation, asking in particular for the collaboration of honorary inspectors and Prefects.

Finally, he requests to be informed, possibly in detail or through photographs, on war damages suffered by buildings or assets of artistic importance.

EF

Prot. n° 2874/Ris

Oggetto: Salvaguardia patrimonio artistico

Trieste, 15/XI/1943

Alle Eccellenze i Prefetti

Alle Eccellenze gli Arcivescovi e Vescovi

Agli Ispettori Onorari delle Provincie di Trieste Fiume Gorizia Pola Udine

Considerata la situazione attuale nei territori delle Provincie suddette, questa Soprintendenza fa vivo assegnamento sulla collaborazione delle Autorità cui la presente è diretta, per la maggiore possibile salvaguardia del patrimonio artistico nazionale.

Perciò, in base anche ad accordi intervenuti con le Autorità germaniche, si prega di voler fornire a questa Soprintendenza tutte le informazioni utili ai tre scopi seguenti:

- 1) Occorre prevenire – se possibile –, far cessare – se necessario –, qualsiasi eventuale occupazione militare di edifici, (sacri o profani), che presentino interesse artistico. Per questo la Soprintendenza ha già preso accordi col Dott. W. Frodl del Supremo Commissariato del Litorale Adriatico, per ottenere in consegna cartelli, che dichiarino la proibizione di occupare gli edifici in parola.

Si prega pertanto di voler tempestivamente segnalare ogni eventualità d'occupazione, oppure occupazioni già avvenute di edifici d'arte, affinché la Soprintendenza possa provvedere a darne avviso al Supremo Commissariato.

- 2) Occorre impedire, se possibile, o, comunque, controllare il commercio delle opere d'arte, e il loro eventuale invio oltre frontiera.

Si prega di voler sollecitamente informare se al presente vi sia conoscenza di operazioni di tal genere; in ogni tempo le Autorità, a cui la presente è rivolta, specie gli Ispettori Onorari, potranno fornire utili notizie attraverso le segnalazioni che possono a Loro pervenire dal campo dei privati proprietari, dei commercianti d'arte, antiquari, ecc.

Le Ecc. i Prefetti potrebbero disporre, se credono, anche l'ausilio della polizia, per quanto forma oggetto del presente capoverso.

- 3) Si prega di voler urgentemente segnalare, con qualche particolare descrittivo e, quando possibile, con fotografie, tutti i danni intervenuti per cause di guerra al patrimonio artistico mobile e immobile, nella Vostra giurisdizione, anche nell'interesse dei singoli depositari o proprietari.

Ogni volta che le segnalazioni delle SS.VV. lo rendano necessario, questa Soprintendenza avrà la possibilità di intervenire presso il Supremo Commissariato del Litorale Adriatico, con la speranza di ottenere i provvedimenti necessari alla salvaguardia di cui sopra.

Si prega di dare risposta alla presente circolare in ogni caso, anche se negativa.

Nella certezza della comprensione delle SS.VV., si ringrazia fin d'ora dell'aiuto che Esse possano apportare all'opera di questa Soprintendenza.

Il Soprintendente Fausto Franco

34. [Protection of Giovanni Martini's altarpiece in the Dome of Mortegliano]

One-page typewritten letter by Walter Frodl, head of the section *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz* within the Division D (*Schulwesen*) of the Department V (*Wissenschaft und Unterricht*) of the Supreme Commissioner, to the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) in Trieste
16 June 1944

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Unterricht und Kultus, Kleine Bestände, Bundesdenkmalamt, box 73

Walter Frodl calls for proper protection of the huge wooden altar by Giovanni Martini in the Dome of **Mortegliano** (Province of Udine), situated close to an air force base. For this reason, since a protection in situ does not appear advisable, he suggests the altar be dismantled and transferred to another church.

After the head of the Superintendent Office had visited Mortegliano on 26 June, Someda de Marco was charged with supervising operations, which comprised a photographic campaign by Attilio Brisighelli as well as a protective structure made of brick and wood; this was carried out by Mario Zocconi, an architect from the Superintendent Office. Neither the Superintendent Office nor Someda de Marco had agreed to Frodl's proposal, probably fearing that the altar would be removed from Friuli. In fact, it had already been dismantled in 1939 and brought to **Pordenone** where it had been shown in an exhibition. As of March 1945, the altar was still kept in the Dome of Mortegliano.

Two aspects are notable: first, it were German occupation authorities, i.e. Walter Frodl, to suggest the protection of the altar. Second, the motivation derived from the specific importance he attributed to the object as a «clear evidence for how strongly the German North influenced Friuli still in the 16th century», as Erika Hanfstaengl put it («einen deutlichen Beweis für den noch im 16. Jhdt. starken Einfluss des deutschen Nordens auf die Provinz Friaul»).

DL

16.VI.44

An die Soprintendenza in Triest

Ein Besuch von Mortegliano veranlasst mich, Sie auf die dringend notwendige Bergung des geschnitzten Altares in der Pfarrkirche aufmerksam zu machen. Das wertvolle Werk darf unter den gegenwärtigen Umständen keinesfalls ungeschützt bleiben. Da ein Einbau am Ort nicht ratsam ist, muss der Altar abgetragen, verpackt und am besten in einer anderen Kirche deponiert werden. Mit Dr Someda wurde die Angelegenheit bereits besprochen.

Ich erlaube mir nochmals darauf hinzuweisen, dass ich, wie ich seit dem September 1943 wiederholt versichern konnte, die Beschaffung des Materiales oder auch von Transportmitteln weitgehend unterstütze und bitte Sie uns möglichst bald alle die Objekte, deren Schutz verstärkt werden muss anzugeben, damit ein Überblick über das erforderliche Baumaterial erlangt werden kann. Die Materialbeschaffung ist jetzt schon viel schwieriger als im vergangenen Herbst und wird infolge der Bombenschäden von Tag zu Tag schwieriger werden. Je eher daher der Umfang der noch durchzuführenden Arbeiten feststeht, desto leichter wird das Baumaterial bereitgestellt werden können.

Udine am 16 Juni 1944

[signature:] W. Frodl

35. Report: Gorizia - Transport of the so-called Morelliano Archive to Tarvisio

Verbale: Archivio Morelliano - Gorizia. Suo trasporto a Tarvisio

One-page typewritten report by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli, and the secretary of the head of the Province of Gorizia

24 November 1944

Italy, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA), Archivio Fausto Franco, cassa 17-11, folder *Regia Soprintendenza di Trieste*

The report by the head of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, Fausto Franco, signed by a representative of the Prefecture of Gorizia, voices concern about the so-called Morelliano Archive removed from Gorizia to Tarvisio, a village close to the German border, and therefore at risk to be transferred out of Italy.

The archive contained historical documents on the County of Gorizia and Gradisca and transcripts of documents by the historian and archivist Carlo Morelli (1730-1792) of Gorizia. The archival material, organized in 365 folders, was packed in twenty-four crates and deposited at the Provincial Museum of Gorizia to preserve it from war damage.

On 17 November 1944, twelve crates were shipped to Tarvisio, following the Supreme Commissioner's order dating 26 October. With a provision issued on 18 October, the Supreme Commissioner had in fact prescribed to inventory all historical documents related to the Adriatic Littoral and to proceed with their protection, on behalf of the Klagenfurt-based Institute for Carinthian Regional Studies of the University of Graz (*Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung der Universität Graz in Klagenfurt*). The Institute had been founded in October 1942 by the Carinthian *Gauleiter* Friedrich Rainer to add scholarly support to German annexation ambitions in Upper Carniola (nowadays north-western Slovenia). The shipment probably followed a transfer order issued on 26 October by the Supreme Commissioner or by the Klagenfurt Institute itself and was organized by Franz Xaver Zimmermann, head of the cultural section of Department II (*Propaganda, Presse und Kultur*) of the German Adviser (*Berater*) for the Province of Gorizia. The document erroneously gives Walther Fresacher as head of the Klagenfurt Institute and Tarvisio as storage location instead of nearby Lusnizza. This is evidence for how superficially German authorities informed Italian officials on protection measures.

With the exception of 13 folders, in late 1945 the twelve crates were found by the MFAA (Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program) of the Allied Military Government (AMG) in Cave del Predil close to Tarvisio.

DB

Verbale.

Gorizia 24 Novembre 1944

Oggetto: Archivio Morelliano - Gorizia. Suo trasporto a Tarvisio.

L'archivio morelliano di Gorizia è composto della raccolta dei documenti storici, relativi alla contea principesca di Gorizia e Gradisca, raccolti dallo storico Carlo de Morelli.

L'Archivio stesso era riunito in n° 24 casse, (con N. 365 fascicoli), depositate nel Museo Provinciale di Gorizia.

Il giorno 17 novembre, alle ore 10 del mattino, una parte di dette casse veniva asportata su un automezzo a disposizione del Berater di Gorizia, dietro semplice preavviso telefonico di un Ufficio del Berater stesso.

Le casse sono quelle N. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 e 24.

Le case rimaste sono quelle N. 1, 4, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 e 23.

Il Prof. Francesco Saverio Zimmermann, Consigliere aulico, e capo dell'Ufficio scienze per le Province di Gorizia e del Friuli (Wissenschaft 1. Abt.) e con sede in Gorizia, Via Roma (Palazzo Istituto Infortuni), richiesto di chiarimenti sul fatto, ha oggi, in nostra presenza, fatto la seguente dichiarazione:

Le casse di cui sopra sono state trasportate a Tarvisio per ordine del Supremo Commissariato, in base alla circolare 18 ottobre 1944 del Supremo Commissariato stesso (a firma Hubert [sic]), la quale prescrive di compiere un inventario dei documenti storici, che possono avere relazione con la Carinzia, ecc. e di provvedere in particolar modo alla tutela delle offese belliche dei documenti suddetti.

Detta iniziativa fu disposta nell'interesse di un Istituto di studi scientifici sulla Carinzia, che ha sede in Klagenfurt creato dal Supremo Commissario Reiner [sic] e diretto dal dott. Walter Fresacher (Oberschule di Villach).

L'ordine di trasporto delle casse di Gorizia sarebbe avvenuto in base a una lettera, in data 26 ottobre 1944, non ci risulta se del Supremo Commissariato o del suddetto Istituto di Klagenfurt.

Il Segretario Capo della Provincia di Gorizia Firmato Grien

Il Soprintendente Firmato Franco

36. Transport of artworks from the Julian March to Venice

Trasporto di opere d'arte dalla Venezia Giulia a Venezia

Two-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli in Trieste, to the General Department of Antiquities and Fine Arts (headed by Carlo Anti) of the Ministry of National Education (*Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*) in Padua

29 March 1945

Italy, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA), Archivio Fausto Franco, Cassa 17-11, folder *Regia Soprintendenza di Trieste*

On 29 March 1945, shortly before the final Allied offensive of the Italian Campaign, Fausto Franco tries to invalidate the Supreme Commissioner's objections to the removal of the most important artworks from the Julian March to **Venice** and asks the Italian Ministry of National Education (in which officers, such as Renato Bartoccini, were busy with safeguarding measures) for a truck and fuel. Franco had in mind in particular art objects preserved in the Town Museum of **Udine** and in the National Museum of **Cividale** and gives practical details for their removal. Only if transport were impossible, he suggests that the Ministry considers the German proposal to gather the artworks in a safe depot either in **Trieste** or in the area around Udine and Cividale. In that case, however, the Superintendent Office would be obliged to exhibit the list of artworks to the German authorities, which, under the given circumstances, he thought better to avoid.

EF

Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alla Gallerie della Venezia Giulia e del Friuli - Trieste

Trieste, 29 marzo 1945

Prot. N. 322. Posiz. Ris.

Oggetto: Trasporto opere d'arte dalla Venezia Giulia a Venezia

Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale
Direzione Generale delle Arti
Posta Civile 332

Ho motivo di ritenere che il Supremo Commissariato considererà le difficoltà attuali per i trasporti per sconsigliare il trasporto delle opere d'arte di maggior pregio dalla Venezia Giulia a Venezia.

Ritengo che la cosa sarebbe molto facilitata se il Ministero potesse mettere a disposizione il proprio autocarro e il proprio carburante, dichiarando in pari tempo che il trasporto avviene sotto la responsabilità del Ministero.

Faccio presente che nel caso in cui si prendesse questa decisione si dovrà darne tempestivo avviso ai seguenti direttori dei Musei: Proff. Carlo Someda de Marco direttore del Civico Museo di Udine, Avv. Giuseppe Marioni direttore del Museo Archeologico di Cividale.

Nel tempo stesso sarà bene darne avviso a questa Soprintendenza; ma fin d'ora i suddetti Direttori sono autorizzati a dare in consegna al Prof. Rusconi del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale o al Prof. Bartocchini del medesimo Ministero, le cose di maggior pregio che si possono trasportare, usufruendo del detto camion.

Si ricorda infine che tutte le cose di cui sopra sono murate e che quindi è necessario che il Ministero o riceva conferma che il materiale è stato tolto dai rifugi e messo a disposizione, oppure calcoli che il camion possa trattenersi a Udine e Cividale almeno una giornata, per procedere alla rimozione delle casse quando si abbia già presente il camion.

Nel caso che questo trasporto si rendesse impossibile si prega il Ministero di valutare la proposta che verbalmente è stata avanzata da un funzionario germanico di accentrare le opere d'arte o a Trieste in un rifugio in roccia oppure in un rifugio da destinarsi fuori Udine e Cividale. Si fa presente che in tal caso la Soprintendenza sarebbe costretta a esibire la lista delle cose da trasportare; ciò che forse non sarebbe consigliabile dati i momenti.

Si dichiara esplicitamente che le opere più pregevoli di Cividale e di quelle accentrate nel Museo di Udine, come descritte nell'elenco già inviato al Ministero, non richiederanno più di un trasporto.

La presente lettera è mandata in copia al prof. Someda e al Prof. Marioni.

Si rimane in attesa di un cenno di cortese risposta.

Il Soprintendente Franco

IX.
ILLUSIONS OF A CULTURAL POLICY:
THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF SLOVENIA
(1941-1943)

Donata Levi, Michael Wedekind

In the course of the territorial dismantling of Yugoslavia by the «Axis» powers and their allies in 1941, Nazi Germany had claimed the northern area of Slovenia, conceding a small district on the left bank of the Mura river (Prekmurje) to Hungary and leaving the southern part of Carniola (Lower Carniola) to Italy. As in the case of the Hungarian occupation of Prekmurje, Lower Carniola was incorporated into the Italian state as a new province (*Provincia di Lubiana*), under the administration of a High Commissioner (*Alto commissario*), Emilio Grazioli.

The occupation of **Ljubljana** offered Italian authorities a chance to immediately recover those artworks which had been the object of exhausting and unsuccessful negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia during the interwar period. The Tiepolo drawings as well as the wooden statue of St Florian were promptly transferred by Italian authorities to their ancient seat, the Town Museum of **Trieste**.

In comparison with the German occupation in Upper Carniola and Lower Styria, Italian policy towards the Slovenian population was less oppressive in its early stages. Fascist authorities had initially opted for a more open cultural policy, based on the assumption that «Italian culture was associative and not levelling» («La cultura italiana è associatrice non livellatrice»), as the Minister of Education, Giuseppe Bottai, proclaimed on his visit to Ljubljana on 24 May 1941. This policy was also featured by financing libraries and museums as well as other cultural and educational institutes, such as the University of Ljubljana. Also, the so-called Duce's 'gift' of 100,000 Lire for purchasing Italian and Slovenian contemporary artworks in equal parts for the National Gallery of Ljubljana needs to be seen against this background. The same holds true for the role of the main Italian authority, the High Commissioner Emilio Grazioli, who paid several official and amply covered visits to the exhibitions of modern Slovenian artists which were held in Ljubljana during the Italian occupation. In particular, the Jakopič pavillion, the most important exhibition venue of Slovenian visual artists, hosted several events, among which an exhibition of Modern Slovenian Art (*Moderna slovenska umetnost*), shown soon after the Italian occupation, between 25 May and 22 June 1941; at the end of 1942 it was followed by the first exhibition of the club of independent Slovenian artists (*Prva razstava Kluba neodvisnih slovenskih likovnih umetnikov*) and between May and June 1943 by the Art Exhibition

(*Umetnostna razstava*). Zoran Mušič, Maksim Sedej, Jovan Zonić, Zdenko Kalin, Stane Kregar, Nikolaj Omersa and Karel Putrih were among the artists who exhibited on these occasions.

The attempt at gaining some sort of favour among the Slovenian intelligentsia was soon unmasked and contradicted by the harshening of Italian military repression, fuelled by anti-Slavic sentiments. Mass killings and deportations took a heavy toll on the civil population, suspected of collaborating with the partisans. After the war, the perpetrators of these war crimes were rarely prosecuted.

Selected bibliography

BURGWYN 2005; CUZZI 1998; FERENC 1994; GOBETTI 2007; GOBETTI 2013; *ITALIANI SENZA ONORE* 2005; *NARODNA GALERIJA* 1943; RODOGNO 2003; RUZICIC-KESSLER 2015; VREČKO 2015

37. [Restitution of artworks to the Trieste Town Museum after the Italian occupation of Ljubljana]

Three-page typewritten minutes by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March and Friuli

17 April 1941

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione IV, folder 4 Affari Generali 1942-1943 (Disegni del Tiepolo trafugati a Lubiana dalla Guerra 1915-18. Scambio opere d'Arte con la Jugoslavia)

Six days after the Italian occupation of Ljubljana, in the National Museum an Italian delegation verified the consistency of the boxes containing the artworks from the Town Museum of Trieste which had been the object of long, unresolved disputes (see doc. 28). The Italian delegation included a representative of the Military Command of **Ljubljana** (Captain Mario Luciano Bosetti) and three representatives of the Ministry of National Education (Fausto Franco, Giorgio Vigni, inspector, and Nicolò Rota, honorary inspector). On the Slovenian side, besides Narte Velikonja, Counselor of the Drava Banate, the gotha of Ljubljana museums assisted the checking with five experts in cultural heritage: Josip Mal, director of the National Museum, France Stele, art history professor at the University, Ivan Zorman, director of the National Gallery, Rajko Ložar, director of the Ethnographic Museum, and France Mesesnel, head of the Monument Office.

Of the two boxes transferred to Ljubljana in 1916, only one was initially found, containing the 191 Tiepolo's drawings and baron Sartorio's diploma. The second one, with the wooden statue of St Florian, was recovered few weeks later during a second visit by Franco in the depots of the museum.

On 23 June, all these artworks were handed over to the Municipality of **Trieste** during a highly symbolic ceremony, which was widely featured in the press.

DL

COMANDO DELLA PIAZZA DI LUBIANA

- DIVISIONE "RE" -

VERBALE DI RICOGNIZIONE E COSTATAZIONE DI OGGETTI D'ARTE

PREMESSO:

- 1° - Che nell'anno 1916 venivano asportate dal Museo civico di Trieste due casse contenenti l'una 191 disegni del Tiepolo o di sua scuola, l'altra una statua lignea rappresentante S. Floriano, di scuola tedesca del secolo XV, e trasportate al Museo Rudolphinum, ora Museo Nazionale, di Lubiana;
- 2° - Che, in data 24 giugno 1938, una cassa venne aperta, e fu constatata la presenza di n° 191 disegni, numerati da uno a 99, da 101 a 182, e da 184 a 193 e in più di un diploma-ricordo della mostra Tiepolesca tenuta a Venezia nel maggio giugno 1896, rilasciato al Signor Giuseppe Sartorio, - come risulta dal verbale di 15 pagine di testo e di undici pagine di allegati con schizzi vari e tre fotografie, verbale oggi consegnato al R. Soprintendente di Trieste, che lo prende in consegna a nome del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale;

OGGI 17 APRILE 1941-XIX

si è riunita nella sede del Museo Nazionale di Lubiana una delegazione Italiana composta:

- 1) per il Comando Militare della Piazza di Lubiana, il Sig. Cap. Mario Luciano Rosetti del Comando Divisione di Fanteria "Re",
 - 2) per il Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale
 - a) il Dott. Prof. Fausto Franco, R. Soprintendente ai Monumenti e alle gallerie di Trieste
 - b) il Dott. Giorgio Vigni, R. Ispettore della stessa
 - c) il Cav. Nicolò Rota, R. Ispettore Onorario della stessa
- che in presenza dei Sigg.:
- Marte Velikonja, Consigliere della Banovina,

./.

- 2 -

Dott. Giuseppe Mal, direttore del Museo Nazionale,
 Dott. Francesco Stele, Prof. dell'Università;
 Zorman Ivan, Direttore della galleria Nazionale,
 Dott. Rajko Lozar, direttore del Museo Etnografico,
 Dott. Francesco Mesesnel, Soprintendente ai Monumenti,

ha proceduto:

- 1) A constatare la presenza di una sola delle due casse sopraindicate;
- 2) A verificare che sul recto della detta cassa rimasta si trovavano quattro sigilli di ceramica sulla testa delle viti
 - a) due sigilli della K.K. Central Commission fur Kunst und Histor. Denkmals., apposti dal Dott. Ghira, che erano rotti poichè - secondo la dichiarazione dei membri di Lubiana presenti - ciò avvenne in occasione della ricognizione del 24 giugno 1938;
 - b) due sigilli intatti della Direzione del Museo di Lubiana, apposti dopo la ricognizione del 24 giugno 1938;
- 3) A verificare che sul verso chiodato della detta cassa non si trovavano sigilli di alcuna specie; (esso però non appariva manomesso).

Dopo le dette constatazioni la cassa è stata aperta ed è stato rilevato che essa contiene 191 (centonovantuno) disegni del Tiepolo e della sua scuola, e in più un diploma rilasciato al Sig. Giuseppe Sartorio, il tutto secondo la descrizione del verbale 24 giugno 1938: ciò per quanto riguarda il numero dei disegni, a prescindere da ogni valutazione critica.

Successivamente la cassa è stata chiusa di nuovo con la apposizione:

- a) sul recto, di due sigilli di ceramica della Divisione "Re" e di due sigilli di ceramica della Direzione del Museo Nazionale di Lubiana;
- b) sul verso, di quattro sigilli come sopra.

./.

= 3 =

Il presente verbale viene redatto in lingua italiana in quattro copie destinate una al Comando della Piazza di Lubiana, una alla R. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie della Venezia Giulia e del Friuli, una alla Banovina di Lubiana, una alla Direzione del Museo Nazionale di Lubiana.

Letto, firmato e confermato oggi 17 aprile 1941 - XIX in Lubiana.-

Fto: Capitano Bosetti Mario Luciano
Fto: Fausto Franco Soprintendente di Trieste
Fto: Giorgio Vigni
Fto: Rota Nicolò
Fto: Narte Velikonja
Fto: F. Stele
Fto: Dott. Jos. Mal
Fto: Ivan Zorman
Fto: L. Lozar
Fto: Dott. F. Mesesnel

PER COPIA CONFORME AD USO AMMINISTRATIVO
IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(F. Franco)



Fausto Franco

38. Purchase of artworks

Acquisto opere d'arte

One-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli in Trieste, to the Office of the High Commissioner (*Alto Commissariato*) of the Province of Ljubljana

15 July 1942

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Muzejski Arhiv, 1942

After the Italian occupation, the National Gallery of **Ljubljana**, at that time directed by Ivan Zorman, was granted a sum of 100,000 Lire by Benito Mussolini, dedicated to purchase contemporary Italian and Slovenian artworks in equal parts. Fausto Franco, as head of the competent Superintendent Office, was entrusted with the choice of Italian paintings. Archival sources document negotiations and acquisitions from late 1941 till early 1943. Artworks were bought in different Italian cities, especially in Rome and **Venice**, mostly directly from artists. On 15 July 1942, Fausto Franco informed the Office of the High Commissioner that 18 paintings, drawings and engravings by Gino Severini, Mirko Basaldella, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, Mino Maccari, Felice Carena and Giorgio Morandi had been sent to Ljubljana. A manuscript annotation of 17 July testifies that Carena's painting had not yet arrived. The artworks were registered in the inventory book of the National Gallery but deposited in the National Museum. According to a document in the National Gallery archives ten oil paintings, thirteen prints and two sculptures by Italian artists were photographed on 8 April 1943. In a report by the National Gallery Society for the years 1941 to 1943, which was published in the Slovenian art history journal «Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino» in the year 1943, the National Gallery bought ten oil paintings and sculptures by Slovenian artists «from the funds donated by the Duce for the cultural institutes of the Province of Ljubljana». The Fascist donation of Italian artworks – a demonstration of cultural hegemony by the occupier – is still part of the art collection of the National Gallery of Slovenia.

BM

R. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie della Venezia Giulia e del Friuli

Trieste 15 luglio 1942/XX

Prot. n. 2106 Posiz. Lub.

Oggetto: Acquisto opere d'arte

All'Alto Commissariato Lubiana

e per conoscenza

Museo Nazionale Lubiana

Vi informo che le opere d'arte di autori italiani a tutt'oggi impegnate sono le seguenti:

A) Prof. G. Severini - Roma:	a) Ragazza di Clevano - quadro a olio	L. 2.000, -
	b) Natura morta con mandolino	L. 2.500, -
B) M. Basaldella - Roma	a) Ritratto del pittore Natili	L. 3.000, -
	b) Quattro disegni	L. 1.000, -
C) Prof. C.E. Oppo - Roma:	Ritratto della figlia - quadro a olio	L. 3.000, -
D) Prof. M. Maccari - Roma:	6 incisioni [added in pen: 126/42]	L. 1.000, -
E) Ecc. Prof. F. Carena: - Firenze:	Riposo di pescatori -quadro a olio	L. 2.000, -
F) Prof. G. Morandi - Bologna:	Paese - quadro a olio e due incisioni	L. 2.000, -
		<hr/> L. 16.500, -

Vi prego di farmi conoscere quali opere siano finora effettivamente pervenute.

Il Soprintendente Franco

[added in pen, with reference to "E)": Non arrivata 17-VII-42 XX F.]

X.
«MACHEN SIE MIR DIESES LAND WIEDER DEUTSCH!»:
THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF SLOVENIA
(1941-1945)

Michael Wedekind

In the aftermath of the Balkan war of April 1941, Nazi Germany implemented a less known expansionist strategy that focused on the annexation of provinces south of its 1938 (former Austrian) border.

In Slovenia the German occupation zone was divided into two administrative units, the «Lower Styria» region and the «Occupied territories of Carinthia and Carniola» (Upper Carniola).

Although not formally annexed, the occupied territories were subordinated to the sovereignty of the Reich. The administration was headed by the highest-ranking party exponents of the neighbouring German regions, namely by the respective party leaders and regional Representatives of the Reich (*Gauleiter* and *Reichsstatthalter*).

On 14 April 1941, Adolf Hitler nominated the chiefs of civil administration in occupied Slovenia: Siegfried Uiberreither, *Gauleiter* and Reich Governor of Styria, was to take over the area of Lower Styria, whereas Franz Kutschera, vice *Gauleiter* and Reich Governor of Carinthia, was assigned to Upper Carniola. On 18 November 1941, Kutschera was succeeded by Friedrich Rainer, who in September 1943 was able to significantly enlarge his sphere of influence when appointed Supreme Commissioner (*Oberster Kommissar*) in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral.

As far as the management of cultural heritage in Slovenia was concerned, an important role was played by the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets (*Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter*). Its Berlin-based headquarters was directed by Sudeten-born *SS-Obersturmführer* Alfred Kraut. Its task originated from the activities of the Main Trustee Office - East (*Haupttreuhandstelle Ost*, HTO), which was in charge of Nazi confiscations of private and state-owned Polish property assets. The HTO, in turn, reported to Hermann Göring's Office for the Four-Year-Plan; however, as far as administrative aspects and human resources were concerned, the HTO was under the control of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, and therefore of the superordinate Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germanism (*Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*; RKFdV), an office held by *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler.

Since dispatching a simple task force team was considered to be sufficient for the upcoming mission in Lower Styria, the General Trustee's **Maribor** branch office was simply attached to the seat of (and directed by) the regional delegate of the RKFdV, *SS-Sturmbannführer* Wilhelm Laforce. In neighbouring Upper Carniola, the registration and seizure of cultural objects was to follow roughly a year later, in the late summer of 1942. A delegate of the General Trustee was installed at the RKFdV's office at **Bled**, but no special branch office was established.

In October 1941, the SS was already noticeably experienced in various techniques of seizing cultural objects. Offices similar to those set up in the semi-annexed territories of nowadays Slovenia had previously been installed in Gdańsk, Łódź, Katowice and Poznań in German-occupied Poland (December 1939) as well as in Lorraine (France; June 1941), where a branch office had been established in Metz.

The Maribor team was headed by Johann Wilhelm Dettenberg, a painter and sculptor, who was accompanied by painter Kurt Federlin. When Dettenberg was shot by Slovenian partisans near **Kranj** in the summer of 1942, the art expert and archaeologist Johann Löhausen joined the team. All of them had previously been employed in similar missions in Poland and Lorraine, but also in Russia (Löhausen) and in the Serbian Banat (Dettenberg).

The task force team seized Jewish, church and 'enemy-owned' properties and goods from resettled, deported or displaced Slovenes. Occasionally these operations were executed «under heavy police protection with armoured vehicles and holding weapons» (Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, 643, box 2: «unter starkem polizeilichen Schutz mit Panzerwagen und mit der Waffe in der Hand»). However, as had been the case in Poland and Lorraine, the General Trustee was the main, albeit not the only, body involved in systematically confiscating cultural assets in both Lower Styria and Upper Carniola.

In his final report on the task force operating in Lower Styria, dated 12 August 1942 (Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/74), Wolfram Sievers, General Secretary (*Reichsgeschäftsführer*) of the *Ahnenerbe*, stated that 60,000 books along with 7,000 coins, 3,130 handwritten documents, chronicles and folk song records, 741 antique arts and crafts, 104 church art and 198 folk art objects as well as 105 antique weapons and 828 paintings, drawings and sculptures had been confiscated. As had been agreed upon earlier by all German occupation authorities, the great majority of these objects was amassed in various regional collecting points and handed over to local museums. Many of the seized assets, however, were transferred to the Reich, mainly to Styria, whose capital city, **Graz**, was to become once again the cultural and administrative centre of all the province, with the Museum Joanneum the primary cultural institution in charge of object musealization. Other cultural objects confiscated by the General Trustee's task force

simply got lost, were sold illegally (e.g. by the regional office of the RKFDV), or were coveted by German officials. This was the case for *SS-Gruppenführer* Erwin Rösener, a successor to Wilhelm Laforce, who managed to enforce private claims against the General Trustee's team, whose weak position did not offer any defence against interference.

Selected bibliography

80 LET 2017; DETTENBERG 1942; FERENC 1968; NA ROBU 2019; V NOVI LUČI 2013; VREČKO 2016; WEDEKIND 2012b; WEDEKIND 2019a; WEDEKIND 2019b

39. Establishment in Maribor of a branch office of the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets

Errichtung einer Dienststelle des Generaltreuhänders für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter in Marburg an der Drau

Two-page typewritten letter by Alfred Kraut, head of the Berlin Headquarters of the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets (*Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter*), to the Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) and *Gauleiter* of Styria, Siegfried Uiberreither

23 October 1941

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/116a

Alfred Kraut announces the imminent establishment of a branch office of the *Generaltreuhänder* in **Maribor**, considered to be particularly important in view of the impending relocations and deportations in the region. According to Kraut, the Maribor office would have to take care of manor houses, castles, palaces, and factories in order to avoid art objects being lost or sold. A team of two art experts would register and produce lists of art objects to be seized and safeguarded. Kraut assures that cultural assets would not be removed, but remain in Lower Styria, where they could be sheltered in museums and collecting points.

MW

Der Reichsführer-SS
Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums
Der Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter
Reichshauptstelle

Berlin-Dahlem, am 23.10.41

An den Herrn Reichsstatthalter und Gauleiter in der Steiermark
Graz / Steiermark

Betr.: Errichtung einer Dienststelle des Generaltreuhänders für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter in Marburg a.d. Drau

Verhandlungen mit SA-Obersturmführer Seftschmig und Stabsführer SS-Sturmbannführer Laforce von der Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Reichskommissars für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums in Marburg a.d. Drau haben ergeben, dass die Errichtung einer Dienststelle Untersteiermark des Generaltreuhänders für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter in Marburg a.d. Drau dringend notwendig sei, insbesondere in Anbetracht der bevorstehenden Aussiedlungsmaßnahmen. Es sei sonst zu befürchten, dass wertvolle Kulturgüter verschwänden oder verschleudert würden. Zu bearbeiten sind die treuhänderisch bewirtschafteten Güter, Schlösser, Besitzungen und Betriebe. Der Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter ist bereit, im Einverständnis mit dem Herrn Reichsstatthalter und Gauleiter in der Steiermark eine Dienststelle in Marburg a.d. Drau unter der Bezeichnung

[«] Reichsführer SS
Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums
Der Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter
Zweigstelle Untersteiermark [»]

zu errichten und bereits in der allernächsten Zeit ein Einsatzkommando dahin zu entsenden. Dieses wird aus zwei Sachverständigen bestehen, welche das Gebiet der Untersteiermark systematisch bereisen sollen, um die dort vorhandenen Kunst- und Kulturgüter festzustellen, listenmäßig zu erfassen und sicherzustellen. Ein Abtransport von Kunst- oder Kulturgegenständen aus der Untersteiermark ist in keinem Falle beabsichtigt, hingegen können gefährdete Gegenstände in ein Museum oder andere geeignete Räumlichkeiten innerhalb des Gebietes der Untersteiermark gebracht werden, um sie durch sachgemäße Aufbewahrung vor Beschädigung und Verlust zu schützen. Die Tätigkeit des Einsatzkommandos erfolgt ausschließlich im Interesse und zugunsten der Untersteiermark. Die mit der Erfassungstätigkeit verbundenen Personalausgaben trägt der Generaltreuhänder. Um die Arbeit des Einsatzkommandos zu erleichtern, wird gebeten, die Landräte der Untersteiermark von der Errichtung der Zweigstelle Untersteiermark des Generaltreuhänders für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter mittels Rundschreiben laut beiliegendem Entwurf zu benachrichtigen und sie anzuweisen, die Beauftragten des Generaltreuhänders in ihrer Tätigkeit zu unterstützen.

I.A.
Dr. A. Kraut
SS-Obersturmführer

40. [On internal conflicts between German occupation authorities concerning the seizure of cultural assets in Upper Carniola]

Transcript of a telegram by Johann Löhausen, delegate of the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets (*Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter*) attached to the Bled branch office of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germanism (RKFdV), to Wolfram Sievers, General Secretary (*Reichsgeschäftsführer*) of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*

3 February 1943

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/64

Referring to paintings previously seized and amassed by organs of the *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Alpenland*, Johann Löhausen deplores that, even after he had started his mission of registration and seizure of cultural objects in Upper Carniola, the SS was claiming the «best picture» for itself, i.e. for the regional head of the SS in person. Sievers is briefed by Löhausen that he would refuse handover until further instructions were received.

In Lower Styria, the registration and seizure of cultural objects in the name of the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets had been carried out between November 1941 and July 1942 by a two-person task force headed by Johann Wilhelm Dettenberg. The latter, just back from a short similar mission in occupied Serbia and preparing for his subsequent deployment in Upper Carniola, from 1 August 1942, was shot by Slovenian partisans near **Tržič** two days earlier, while in a car with his assistant Kurt Federlin and *SS-Obersturmführer* Karl Starzacher, staff manager of the **Bled** branch office of the RKFdV.

Therefore, on 1 October 1942, Dettenberg was succeeded by *SS-Obersturmführer* Johann Löhausen, an art expert, amateur archaeologist and *Ahnenerbe* excavation technician, who took over the pending registration, seizure and collection of mostly church and ‘enemy-owned’ cultural property in Upper Carniola. Up to then, art registration in this region had been conducted by local non-specialist volunteers appointed by Walter Frodl, who oversaw the protection of cultural objects in Carinthia and, from 1941, in German-occupied Upper Carniola. In the city of **Kranj**, German authorities established the main collecting point for Upper-Carniolan artworks, books, archives and parish registers, while ethnographic objects were primarily amassed in **Kranjska gora** and **Škofja loka**. However, right from the beginning of the German occupation, SS forces (i.e. *Sicherheitspolizei*, SiPo, and *Sicherheitsdienst*, SD), subordinate to the *Höherer SS- und*

Polizeiführer Alpenland, had also seized (art) property of the 'Reich's enemies' in Upper Carniola.

Yet, it did not take long for Löhausen to run into difficulties: they arose from conflicting claims on seized artworks asserted by different Nazi authorities. At the centre of the discord stood Erwin Rösener, *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Alpenland*, whose field of command comprised Tyrol, Salzburg, Carinthia and Styria, as well as Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (since April 1941), and the Province of Ljubljana (since September 1943). Even among the ruthless SS, Rösener was a feared crony of Heinrich Himmler. Soon after Löhausen had arrived, Rösener ordered all pictures seized by Löhausen's officials transported to Bled. According to his own statement, unaware of this move, Löhausen lost control over these artworks due to his weak position. However, he accidentally held on to one oil painting left behind in Tržič, from where it had immediately been transferred to the collecting point of the General Trustee in Kranj.

While by this time «the best pictures» previously seized by the SS had already been handed over to Rösener, members of the SS also claimed the oil stored in Kranj, intending to make it a birthday present to the *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*. Since Löhausen refused to hand over the painting in the absence of any instruction from his superior Wolfram Sievers, he was summoned to see Rösener. Löhausen was ordered to leave the *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer's* territorial sphere of command the following day, as he had not obeyed Rösener's orders. The wish of his «comrades to make him a present of a painting, in order to embellish his home», was a command to be followed, he argued, although Löhausen had been «assigned to a higher-ranking [SS] staff» (Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/64).

Löhausen was ordered back to Berlin; instructions cabled by the Headquarters of the General Trustee not to refuse the handover of the painting and to leave the question to be settled by superior third parties and authorities, arrived too late. Walter Frodl, chief of the competent monument protection authority, was said to have been furious about the conduct of Rösener. However, there is no evidence on whether he complained to Friedrich Rainer, *Gauleiter* of Carinthia and Chief of Civil Administration in Upper Carniola. What is certain, however, is that the mission of the General Trustee in the occupied territory officially ended on 10 February 1943. In his final report (26 February 1943; Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/64), Löhausen stated, with regard to the responsible Economy Department of the *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Alpenland*: «Furniture was sold without notifying me. Paintings I could not even catch sight of were confiscated and sold. As for carpets, I did not even see any».

What may appear as a minor episode is, in fact, highly significant for the Nazi process of artwork seizure and, moreover, for the internal structure of the Third Reich in general which, all but monolithic, was characterized by often acute ri-

valry between the regime's different pillars on which power rested (and even, as in the present case, between different branches and organs of the SS). As for the confiscation of artworks, complaints of having been preceded or outmanoeuvred by the SS and the Financial Department of the Nazi occupation authorities are repeatedly documented, e.g. by Frodl and his monument protection staff when engaged in seizing Jewish art property in Trieste between 1943 and 1945. In a broader context, the attempts of Italian authorities to defend the occupied country's priority in plundering Italian Jews, and the efforts of the Association of Ethnic Germans in the Independent State of Croatia (*Deutsche Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien*) to get its share in the despoliation of Croatian Jews (Berlin, Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, *Zagreb*, 238/2), may also be pointed out.

MW

Telegramm

Veldes, den 3.2.43
[added in pencil:]
SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Kraut

Das beste Bild unserer Sammlung verlangt SS-Gruppenführer Rößner [sic]. Verweigere die
Herausgabe bis zu Ihrer Stellungnahme.
gez. Löhausen

Aufgenommen am 3.2.43
- 17.30 Uhr -
[signature]

XI.
HUNTING FOR NORDIC TRACES
FROM SOUTH TYROL TO SLOVENIA:
THE ROLE OF THE *SS-AHNENERBE*

Michael Wedekind

In 1941, German art experts and competent Nazi organisations moved into Yugoslavia right after the Wehrmacht and its allied forces had invaded the country. German ‘monuments men’ taking over art protection in the newly semi-annexed areas of nowadays northern Slovenia (i.e. Upper Carniola and Lower Styria) could draw on former experiences gained in occupied Western and Eastern Europe as well as in the context of population transfers from Northern Italy, i.e. from South Tyrol and the Val Canale (Province of Udine). A glance at German commissions engaged in registering and transferring cultural assets from South Tyrol helps to understand continuities of institutions, personnel, and strategies.

A 1939 Italo-German resettlement agreement envisaged the ‘withdrawal’ of the German-speaking population from South Tyrol, annexed by Italy after the First World War. The treaty was meant to strengthen the political and military alliance between Rome and Berlin. However, rather than reducing bilateral friction by removing historical obstacles, the agreement caused new discord and, in the long run, led to undermining Italian sovereignty over the region. This was partially due to the activities of the organization of indigenous South Tyrolean Nazis, but primarily to various big-staffed German authorities ‘invading’ sub-Brennero Tyrol to organize the transfer and resettlement process which was, however, slowly discontinued after a while.

Together with the German resettlement offices, which took more and more control over the local population, the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS also sent a special team over the Alps. Constituted on the orders of Heinrich Himmler and set up on 15 January 1940, the so-called *Kulturkommission* was in charge of analysing all testimonies of ‘German’ culture in the region. Headed by *SS-Obersturmbannführer* Wolfram Sievers, General Secretary (*Reichsgeschäftsführer*) of the *Ahnenerbe*, the commission was composed of fifteen repeatedly reconfigured teams, which in 1941 comprised 30 German and 26 South Tyrolean full-time collaborators. Their task was to register and analyse the entire stock of the local ‘German’ material and spiritual culture and to secure and convey to the Reich all moveable private cultural assets of the ‘repatriating’ Germans.

Many teams of this unique large-scale project were engaged in extensive folkloristic field research, as well as linguistic and (art-)historical studies. These

widespread activities of the commission were often far from scholarly research. This was not only due to the ideological premises of the SS and of the collaborating scholars themselves, but also to the actual intentions of the *Ahnenerbe*, which expected its South Tyrolean registration activities to expand into a long-term key function in Nazi settlement planning in Eastern Europe and in re-educating resettled Germans. The *Ahnenerbe* was thus primarily interested in the practical application and political-ideological exploitation of the folkloristic materials collected, rather than in future scholarly publications.

Most of the teams, however, were soon paralyzed by Italian-German disputes on the 'national' belonging of the assets in question. The Bolzano-born Austrian historian Franz Huter demanded the transfer of cultural objects to Germany not be based on traditional principles of provenance or pertinence, but on a comprehensive and total 'völkisch' (i.e. German) claim for all cultural assets of the region. In the meantime, the commission's co-workers were engaged in inventorying and photo reproducing archival and museum materials, art and folk-art objects. However, against the backdrop of bilateral procedural disputes as well as strategies of obstruction on the Italian side and highhandedness on the German, the *Ahnenerbe* commission tried to illegally take possession of cultural objects by means of subreption, fraud, conspiratorial purchase and pressure on private owners. Moreover, the activities of the commission, often governed by a spirit of revenge for Italy's 1918 annexation of formerly Austrian territories, frequently turned out to be barely distinguishable from simple theft of cultural assets. For example, Huter, who was convinced that all relevant South Tyrolean archives and genealogical collections had to be considered German property, actively participated in this «higher form of plunder». Sievers and Huter shipped remarkable amounts of South Tyrolean records to the Innsbruck *Reichsgauarchiv* and to the Berlin-based headquarters of the *Ahnenerbe*.

The constitution and the works of the *Ahnenerbe*'s South Tyrolean commission was also important for the transfer of cultural assets in the wider Alpine-Adriatic region during the Second World War and for the cultural policy in this area during and after the war: indeed, another commission of the *Ahnenerbe* with analogue research tasks was sent to the Italian Province of Ljubljana, and especially to the German linguistic island of **Kočevje**, which was the object of a systematic survey of its cultural heritage in 1941. Similar field studies, although far less comprehensive, were carried out by different authorities in German-occupied Slovenia (from 1941) and northern Italy (from 1943), where several members of the *Ahnenerbe* commissions were to take over positions concerned with cultural policy; even after 1945 quite a few of them managed to continue activities in this field in Austria and South Tyrol. The *Ahnenerbe* exerted influence also through the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets (*Generaltruhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter*) which had delegates operating in Lower Styria and Upper Carniola from 1941.

Another case drawn from the context of South Tyrol and neighbouring Trentino is relevant for generally illustrating underlying motives for the removal of cultural objects. When Germany occupied Italy in the late summer of 1943, a separate administration was installed in the above-mentioned Operational Zones. The Italian Provinces of Belluno, Bolzano (South Tyrol) and Trento, which (except for Belluno) had been annexed from Austria after the First World War, formed the Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills. It was put under civil administration of the Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) and *Gauleiter* of Tyrol, Franz Hofer, whose evident annexation ambitions were reined in by the Führer's general political guidelines for the administration of these territories.

Hofer's entourage, however, was busy preparing for a future annexation. A key figure was the former 'borderland activist' Wolfgang Steinacker, adviser to the Tyrolean *Gauleiter* and head of different regional offices and institutions with ethno-political interests, who combined a markedly aggressive anti-Italian position with strong connotations of racial ideology. As early as 1940, he demanded «much more thorough German studies on Alpine area questions, looking strictly, however, after the interests of the German vital space» (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Archiv des Amts der Tiroler Landesregierung / Sachgebiet Südtirol - Europaregion Tirol, 5/II 6.c 19). In 1943, when he eventually took over central functions in cultural affairs in the Operational Zone, personal revenge against the protagonists of Italian nationalist borderland studies became a primary task for Steinacker, especially against Ettore Tolomei, the promoter and *maître à penser* of the Italianization of South Tyrol. Tolomei was arrested on Steinacker's orders and had his rich archive transferred to Northern Tyrol, where it appears to be kept until today.

Goals and strategies of Nazi cultural policy and research activity in the Operational Zone had already been delineated in the weeks prior to the German occupation of Italy. Three central aspects emerged: firstly, the scientific validation of German claims for the «Nordic-Germanic national soil» of sub-Brennero Tyrol, and the concomitant rejection of the legitimacy of Italian rule. Secondly, the 're-Germanization' of South Tyrol and the 'strengthening' of its German nationality. Thirdly, the flanking of denationalization policy in the Trentino district and towards the Ladinians linguistic minority.

In view of denationalizing parts of the Trentino population, special attention was devoted to the German linguistic exclaves in the Province of Trento itself (Luserna and the Upper Fersina valley), but also of western Veneto (the Tredici Comuni with **Giazza** in the Province of Verona and the Sette Comuni with **Asiago** in the Province of Vicenza). *Ahnenerbe* scholars such as Bruno Schweizer, investigating the origins of these linguistic islands, defended an ideologically bound ethnogenesis theory asserting Lombard or Cimbrian origins rather than later immigration from southern Germany between the High Middle Ages and the 16th

century, as evidenced by linguistic aspects. Since Germanic (biological) continuity was considered as permanence of «national substance», the asserted Lombard origins of the linguistic exclaves in northern Italy were to prove ancient and primogeniture entitlements for German dominion in this area. The Trentino was thus looked upon as a merely linguistically Italianized part of the «German cultural and living sphere».

Linguist Bruno Schweizer, however, went beyond this idea, suggesting big portions of the western Veneto to be included in reorganizing the Alpine-Adriatic region from a territorial and ethnic point of view. Already in early October 1943, he had sent a hand-drawn map to *Gauleiter* Hofer, showing the territorial extension of the area in question, while stressing the political importance of his linguistic and historical studies. His missive to Steinacker, in which he insistently demanded that scholarly materials of his Italian opponents be confiscated by German authorities, expressed more than the zeal of a highly pushy *völkisch* scholar, whose ambitions jangled the nerves even of some of the collaborators of the *Ahnenerbe* (Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/216); in a sharp analysis, Schweizer's letters expressed the will to contribute to designing a New Europe.

Selected bibliography

BRUGGER 2019; GEHLER 1992; KATER 2001; KLÖFFEN, SPRECHEN, PARLARE 2021; WEDEKIND 2012a; WEDEKIND 2017b; WEDEKIND 2017c

41. Report on the activity of the team «Art» of the Kulturkommission; Addendum to the final report on the activities of the team «Art» of the Kulturkommission; Extent and Place of storage of the scholarly material produced by the team «Art» of the Kulturkommission, Bolzano

Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Abteilung Kunst der Kulturkommission; Nachtrag zum abschliessenden Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Abt. Kunst der Kulturkommission; Umfang und Aufbewahrungsort des wissenschaftlichen Materials der Abt. Kunst der Kulturkommission, Bozen

Six-page typewritten report; attached two two-page addenda. Neither sender nor addressee given, but likely Josef Ringler, head of the team «Art» of the *Kulturkommission*, established by the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, to *SS-Obersturmbannführer* Wolfram Sievers, general director of the *Ahnenerbe*

Report undated, but likely 28 June 1943; addenda dated 18 February 1944

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/800

Josef Ringler, an assistant professor of art history at **Innsbruck** University from 1923 to 1929 and director of the Innsbruck Museum for Folk Art from 1932 to the «Anschluss» of Austria in 1938, reports on the South Tyrol activities of his team, established in 1940 within the so-called *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. The *Kulturkommission*, launched within the context of the resettlement of the German-speaking population of South Tyrol, was composed of fifteen fluctuating and repeatedly reconfigured teams, covering nearly all fields of the humanities and commissioned to register and, if possible, transfer the stock of the local ‘German’ material and spiritual culture to the Reich. Among the members of the team were the *Landeskonservator* in Tyrol, Oswald Trapp, as well as the art historian Theodor Müller, who later worked at the Munich Central Collecting Point (CCP) and became director of the Bavarian National Museum. The art historians Erika Hanfstaengl, another later collaborator with the Munich CCP, Ellen Haniel and Walter Frodl, who since 1936 oversaw the protection of cultural objects in Carinthia, were also temporarily assigned to Ringler’s team.

It had a dual task: organizing the transfer of all ‘German’ art pieces to Germany and working on an art topography of South Tyrol. For this purpose, field research and registration activities were carried out in all districts of South Tyrol. In addition, Hanfstaengl, Haniel and other collaborators built up a picture library of 18,000 photographs which was deposited in Innsbruck (Museum Ferdinandum). As for the transfer of art objects to Germany, Ringler exhaustively describes the endless and futile negotiations with the Italian authorities, which were mainly

centred on defining and interpreting the «deeper meaning» of what was to be regarded as ‘German’ and what as ‘Italian’ art – a criterion crucial for objects to be relocated to Germany. In February 1944, Ringler added an updated report, also giving an overview on the extent and place of conservation of the academic materials gathered by his team.

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Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Abt[eilung] Kunst der Kultur Kommission

Die Abt. Kunst der Kultur-Kommission des „Ahnenerbe“ hat am 27. Juli 1940 ihre Tätigkeit in Südtirol aufgenommen. Ihr gehörten an als fachlicher Leiter Dr. Josef Ringler, als Mitglieder Gaukonservator Dr. [Walter] Frodl, Frau Dr. Erika Grockenberger-Hanfständl [sic], Frl. Dr. Ellen Haniel, der frühere Leiter des Bozner Museums[,] Dr. K[arl] M[aria] Mayr[,] und Gaukonservator Dr. Oswald Graf Trapp.

Die Tätigkeit der Kultur Kommission, Abt. Kunst[,] war eine zweifache, eine amtliche und eine wissenschaftliche.

Die amtliche Tätigkeit betraf die Behandlung aller in das Gebiet der Bildenden Kunst fallenden Fragen, soweit sie mit der Umsiedlung der Südtiroler in Zusammenhang standen[,] und zwar:

1. die offiziellen Verhandlungen mit der italienischen Seite über die Auslegung und Anwendung der im Artikel 27 der Richtlinien niedergelegten Grundsätze betreffend die Ausfuhr von öffentlichem und privatem Kunstgut aus Südtirol[,]
2. die Aufteilung der Bestände des Bozner Museumsvereines inzwischen dem Reich und Italien (die übrigen rein deutschen Museum wurden infolge der unglückseligen Formulierung des Vertrages überhaupt nicht in die Verhandlungen einbezogen),
3. die Beratung von Umsiedlern zum Zwecke der Selbsteinschätzung[,]
4. die offiziellen Schätzungen im Auftrage der Haupt- und Unterkommissionen für Wertfestsetzung.

Was die offiziellen Verhandlungen betrifft, ist zunächst folgendes zu sagen: Die verschiedenen strittigen Fragen wurden zunächst in gemeinsamer Sitzung unter dem Vorsitz von SS-Standartenführer [Wolfram] Sievers und im Beisein des italienischen Vertreters für Kunstangelegenheiten Ing. Dr. [Antonino] Rusconi besprochen. Bleich bei Beginn der Verhandlungen, die für die fachliche Seite von mir geführt wurden, zeigte es sich, dass auf deutscher Seite weitgehend vom ital. Standpunkt abweichende Auffassungen über den Sinn, die Auslegung und die Tragweite der Bestimmungen des Artikel[s] 27 vorhanden waren, die in endlosen Auseinandersetzungen und schließlich in Berichten, Vermerken und Gutachten der beiderseitigen Rechtssachverständigen ihren Niederschlag fanden.

Klar und eindeutig war von allem Anfang an nur der Standpunkt der Italiener, die es verstanden hatten, die Bestimmungen des ital. Denkmalschutzgesetzes in dem Vertrag zu verankern und diese Klausel als stärkste Waffe in dem Vertrag um die Herausgabe des deutschen Kunstbesitzes gebrauchen. Darüber hinaus brachte der Gegner eine den Geist des Abkommens geradezu hohnsprechende Auslegung dieser Bestimmungen in Anwendung, so dass die allgemeine Situation der K[ultur]-K[ommission] von allem Anfang an sehr schwierig war.

In der Kette der von ital. Seite vorgebrachten Schwierigkeiten wartete Dr. Rusconi am 3.10.40 mit der Liste der „oggetti notificati“ auf, also mit einem Verzeichnis aller jener Objekte, die unter Denkmalschutz gestellt sind. Auch bei der noch ganz allgemein, sozusagen vorsichtig tastend vorgenommenen Behandlung der Frage der Überführung von privaten Sammlungen und Museen in das Reich, [sic] zeigte es sich, dass Rusconi einen unnachgiebigen Standpunkt einzunehmen gedanke. Die K.-K. nahm daher zunächst eine abwartende Haltung ein in dem Bestreben, eine bessere Verhandlungsbasis zu gewinnen. Leider hat diese Taktik nicht zu dem beabsichtigten Erfolg geführt.

Die italienische Seite hatte sich auf die Verschleppungstaktik eingestellt und die beiderseitigen Verhandlungen in immer grösser werdenden zeitlichen Abständen angesetzt. Im Dezember 1940

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kam es zu einer völligen Stockung und zu einem förmlichen Abbruch der Verhandlungen. Der Protest der deutschen Delegation hatte zur Folge, dass sich die Italiener endlich bequemen, wenigstens die Regelung einer Frage, nämlich der des Bozner Museums[,] in Angriff zu nehmen. Der offizielle Vertreter Italiens[,] Dr. Rusconi[,] zog sich bald darauf unter dem Vorwande dienstlicher Verhinderung von den gemeinsamen Verhandlungen vollständig zurück und übertrug die Klärung der Angelegenheit dem Direktor des Bozner Museums[,] Dr. [Nicolò] Rasmò[,] der jedoch nicht mit vollen Vollmachten ausgestattet wurde, sondern nach oft wochenlangen Auseinandersetzungen alle Entscheidungen nur unter dem Vorbehalt späterer Genehmigung durch Dr. Rusconi fällen könnte. Die ausserordentliche Leidenschaftlichkeit, mit der Dr. Rasmò die Arbeit anging, erschwerte die Situation abermals.

Dr. Mayr, der letzte deutsche Direktor des Bozner Museums[,] hat mich bei den nun beginnenden Aufteilungsverhandlungen durch seine gründliche Sachkenntnis wesentlich unterstützt. Er hat an Hand der alten Kataloge das Eigentum des Museumsvereines an kunsthistor. und kunstgewerblichen, prähistorischen, archeologischen [sic] und volkskundlichen Sammlungsbeständen festgestellt, die Leihgaben ausgeschieden, die Besitzverhältnisse klargestellt und so die Vorbereitung für die Übergabeverhandlungen getroffen. Nach dem Wortlaut des Vertrages hat der Museumsverein nicht den Anspruch auf sein gesamtes Eigentum, sondern nur auf diejenigen Gegenstände, die der deutschen Kultur angehören. Die Auslegung dieses Begriffes führte zu endlosen Streitigkeiten, Aufregungen, Demütigungen und sogar gegenseitigen Beschimpfungen. Unter solch unerfreulichen Bedingungen gestaltete sich der Fortgang der Arbeiten sehr schleppend, immer wieder wurden dienstliche und ausserdienstliche Obliegenheiten vorgeschützt, wie z.B. der wissenschaftliche Auftrag zur Abfassung der Documenti [i.e., A. Podestà, *Alto Adige: alcuni documenti del passato*, 3 voll., Bergamo 1942], um die Arbeiten im Museum zu verschieben und hinauszuziehen, mit dem geheimen Hintergedanken, durch die hartneckige [sic] Anwendung dieser Taktik die ganze Angelegenheit vielleicht überhaupt zu Fall zu bringen.

Bis jetzt ist die Gruppe Plastik und Malerei behandelt worden, bis auf 1 Dutzend strittiger Stücke liegt das nach dem Reich zu überführende Gut in Kisten verpackt und plombiert im Museum. Über die Streitfälle haben – sofern sie die Fachleute zu lösen nicht imstande sind – die beiden Hochkommissäre die letzte Entscheidung zu fällen. Seit 1½ Jahren warten wir vergeblich auf diese Entscheidung bei der Gruppe Plastik und Malerei.

Die Ausscheidungsverhandlungen auf dem Gebiete der volkskundlichen Sammlungen, die von hohem Werte ist, nähern sich ihrem Abschluss. Rasmò drohte, entweder freiwillige Teilung oder Nachweis der Zugehörigkeit zur deutschen Kultur bei jedem einzelnen Stück. Das ist eine schwierige Aufgabe z.B. bei einem Pfannknecht oder einem Melkstuhl u.s.f. So haben wir uns zu einem gewissen Entgegenkommen entschliessen müssen, um überhaupt mit der ganzen Sache weiterzukommen. Die Anfertigung der Verzeichnisse, die Dr. Mayr besorgen wird, ist noch ausständig, ebenso die Teilung der Trachtensammlung, der Abbruch der Öfen und Stuben, [sic] sowie die Verpackung der ganzen Sammlung. Über die Angelegenheit der Bibliothek wird noch Dr. Mayr referieren.

Soweit der erste Teil unserer amtlichen Tätigkeit. Dazu kommt noch die Beratung der Umsiedler in allen einschlägigen Fragen, insbesondere der Bewertung von Kunstbesitz und die offiziellen Schätzungen, die ich im Auftrage der Hauptkommission für Wertfestsetzung vorzunehmen hatte. Auch hier zeigten sich weitgehende Unterschiede zwischen dem deutschen und italienischen Standpunkt.

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Dr. Mayr hat ausser der wertvollen Hilfe bei den Museumsverhandlungen noch eine Reihe anderer Agenden geführt, so den Nachweis der Verschleppung von Kunstgegenständen, die Evidenthaltung der das Vertragsgebiet betreffenden Veröffentlichungen in deutscher und italienischer Sprache, die Aufnahme der Baron Fuchsischen Bibliothek auf Hörtenberg und die Feststellung der darin befindlichen Wiegendrucke, die Vorbereitung des Registerbandes zum Bozner Bürgerbuch, [sic] sowie das reiche Gebiet der Wissenschaftshilfe.

Die zweite große Aufgabe der Kunstkommission bestand in ihrer rein wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit. Diese Aufgabe bestand in einer Feststellung und Überprüfung des südtirolischen Denkmälerbestandes an Hand und auf Grund der Weingartner'schen Kunsttopographie, seit deren Erscheinen mehr als 25 Jahre verflossen sind und zahlreiche Veränderungen am südtirolischen Denkmälerbestand zu verzeichnen waren. Zahlreiche Wandgemälde, teils von hoher kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung[,] wurden in der Zwischenzeit aufgedeckt, andere wurden restauriert, wieder andere gingen zugrunde, Kunstgut aller Art wurde verkauft, verschleppt, gestohlen oder durch Brand vernichtet. Manche Kunstwerke veränderten ihren Aufstellungsort, andere wurden gesichert oder in Museen verbracht, wieder andere wurden gefunden oder anderweitig entdeckt. Die Feststellung aller dieser Veränderungen war die Aufgabe der Kunstsektion. Dabei konnten viele Kunstwerke bestimmt werden, [sic] bzw. bot sich die Gelegenheit[,] Irrtümer zu berichtigen, Nachträge anzubringen und gewisse Sachgebiete eingehender als bisher zu bearbeiten.

Zu diesem Zwecke wurde ganz Südtirol von den Mitgliedern der Abt. Kunst systematisch abgewandert und topographisch beschrieben. So bearbeitete Graf Trapp den Vinschgau, Frl. Dr. Haniel die Meraner Gegend, den Ritten und einige Orte der Eisacktales, Dr. Hanfstängl [sic] die Sterzinger Gegend und das Sarntal und Gröden, Dr. Frodl das Überetscher Gebiet und Dr. Ringler das Pustertal mit seinen Nebentälern, das Villnösstal, zahlreiche Orte des Unterlandes, die Städte Bruneck, Brixen, Klausen und Bozen.

Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit, das [-] wie ich glaube [-] einen brauchbaren Beitrag für eine spätere und unter Heranziehung von archivalischen Quellen zu leistende Neubearbeitung des Gebietes bilden kann, liegt maschinenschriftlich vor. Aus dieser Tätigkeit werden sich aber auch abgeschlossene Bearbeitungen einzelner Sachgebiete ergeben, die in grösseren und kleineren Abhandlungen und Aufsätzen niedergelegt werden.

Über die Aufnahme von Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern Südtirols, [sic] sowie über die Anfertigung von Kopien von mittelalterlichen Wandgemälden und kunstgewerblichen Meisterleistungen siehe den Bericht von Dr. W. Frodl.

Und zum Schluss noch ein Hinweis auf die fotografische Tätigkeit: sie bestand in der Schaffung eines zentralen Bildarchivs der Kunstdenkmäler Südtirols, ein Wunsch, der schon vor mehr als 30 Jahren immer laut[er] wurde[,] aber erst jetzt seine Verwirklichung fand. Alle im Handel zugänglichen vorhandenen Aufnahmen wurden gesammelt, aufgezo-gen, nach Orten eingeordnet und katalogisiert. Diese Arbeit haben die beiden Damen Dr. Hanfstängl und Dr. Haniel geleistet. Gelegentlich der Bereisung wurden noch zahlreiche Kleinbildaufnahmen angefertigt und schließlich durch Frau Ursula Uhland[,] Fotografin vom Marburger Kunstinstitut[,] fast anderthalb tausend Neuaufnahmen auf Platten 13: 18 angefertigt, wobei einzelne Sachgebiete systematisch erfasst wurden.

Das etwa auf 18.000 Aufnahmen angewachsene Material wurde im Museum Ferdinandeum deponiert. Die wissenschaftliche Sammlung des Ferdinandeums wurde ausserdem durch die Erwerbung von grösseren Plattenbeständen sowie zahlreichen Druckschriften Südtirol, [sic] sowie auch die angrenzenden Gebiete betreffend, bereichert.

Nachtrag zum abschliessenden Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Abt. Kunst der Kulturkommission

Neben meiner Tätigkeit als Beauftragter des Reichskommissars für die Behandlung und Durchführung der auf dem Gebiete der bildenden Kunst im Zusammenhang mit der Umsiedlung sich ergebenden Fragen, [sic] habe ich meinen Aufenthalt im Vertragsgebiet auch zu einer wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit benützt – die in erster Linie der kunsttopographischen Erfassung des Vertragsgebietes galt. Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit liegt in einem umfänglichen maschinenschriftlichen Beitrag vor. Dieser wurde, ebenso wie die entsprechenden Beiträge der übrigen Mitarbeiter[,] im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck deponiert. Dieses Manuskript ist als Grundlage gedacht für eine spätere, auf archivalischen Quellen beruhende, umfänglichere Bearbeitung dieses Gebietes im Sinne der österreichischen Kunsttopographie. Es reicht jedoch vollständig aus, um einen Band „Südtirol“ in der Art von „Dehio's Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler“ vorzubereiten. Dies gilt auch für die kunsttopographischen Beiträge der übrigen Mitarbeiter. Zwecks einheitlicher textlicher Gestaltung könnte diese Arbeit jedoch nur von einem der Mitarbeiter durchgeführt werden. Da ich grosse Teile Nordtirols für das eben erwähnte Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler bearbeitet habe, würde ich dem Auftrag zur Herausgabe eines solchen einbändigen Handbuches der Kunstdenkmäler Südtirols sympatisch [sic] gegenüberstehen [sic].

Gleichzeitig mit der topographischen Arbeit gab sich auch die Erfassung verschiedener, bisher garnicht [sic] oder nur wenig bearbeiteter Spezialgebiete, so vor allem das der bodenständigen Goldschmiede- und der Kachlerkunst, über welche Teilgebiete sowohl ein ausgezeichnetes, völlig neues Lichtbildmaterial, [sic] sowie auch wertvolle wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse zustande gebracht werden konnten. Dieses Material, an dessen Vervollständigung noch immer weitergearbeitet wird, ist teils in einer Kartei der betreffenden Kunsthandwerker niedergelegt, die sich noch bei mir in Bozen befindet, teils in zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Notizen und Beobachtungen, die das Rohmaterial für die noch ausständige abschliessende Bearbeitung dieser Sondergebiete bilden.

Neben diesen Arbeiten plane ich noch die Herausgabe eines beschreibenden, mit zahlreichen Abbildungen versehenen Verzeichnisses der seit 1922 neu aufgedeckten oder restaurierten mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien, das als Ergänzung zu den beiden grundlegenden Arbeiten von [Josef] Garber über die romanische Wandmalerei Tirols und von [Josef] Weingartner über die gotische Wandmalerei gedacht ist.

Sobald der Gedanke der Herausgabe einer kulturhistorischen Zeitschrift verwirklicht werden kann, bin ich in der Lage, eine grössere Zahl von kleineren Beiträgen zur Kunstgeschichte Südtirols beizusteuern, die neue Erkenntnisse, Zuweisungen und Bestimmungen von Kunstwerken aller Art betreffen.

Schließlich wurde durch meine Tätigkeit in Südtirol das von mir seit 20 Jahren gesammelte Material zu einem tirolischen Künstlerlexikon durch zahlreiche Notizen, Neufunde u.d.g. wesentlich bereichert. Im Falle, dass ich aus irgendwelchen Gründen an der Ausarbeitung dieses Materials oder an der Verwirklichung der angedeuteten Pläne verhindert sein sollte, empfehle ich Herrn Dozenten Dr. Vinzenz Oberhammer, Kustos am Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck[,] oder Herrn Dr. [Otto] von Lutterotti, Assistent am kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Innsbruck, mit der Beauftragung zur Sichtung und Verarbeitung des von mir gesammelten Materials. Mit beiden Herren habe ich oft ausführlich über meine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in Südtirol gesprochen und sie über verschiedene Funde, Beobachtungen, Erkenntnisse u.s.f. unterrichtet.

Bozen, 18.2.44

Dr. Ringler

Umfang und Aufbewahrungsort des wissenschaftlichen Materials der Abt. Kunst der Kulturkommission, Bozen

Das gesamte wissenschaftliche Material der Abt. Kunst der Kulturkommission wurde von mir, soweit es nach dem Abgang der einzelnen Mitarbeiter der Abt. Kunst in Bozen verblieb, durch den Kurier der ADERST [i.e., Amtliche Deutsche Ein- und Rückwandererestelle] an das Museum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck gesendet. Es wurde über Verfügung des Vorstandes des Museums und Mitarbeiter der Kulturkommission, Dr. Oswald Graf Trapp, in den Räumen des ehemaligen Denkmalamtes einstweilig deponiert. Mit der Sichtung und Ordnung des angelieferten Materials wurde Fräulein Dr. Ellen Haniel betraut.

Das Material betrifft:

- 1) Die Aufnahmepläne (Originalaufnahmen, Lichtpausen, Aufnahmeblätter, Skizzen u. dgl.) von 198 Bauwerken, aufgenommen unter der Oberleitung von Dr. Walter Frodl. Über diese Arbeit liegt eine Sonderkartei vor.
- 2) Die Aufnahmepläne von 23 Bauwerken, aufgenommen von der ADO [i.e., Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Optanten]. Dieses Material wurde dem Material der Abt. Kunst einverleibt.
- 3) Die Aquarellkopien der Maler Herbert Jeschke und Anton Hofer, nach mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Hocheppan, St. Jakob in Grissian, Prokulus in Naturns, Marienberg. Die Stückzahl der einzelnen Blätter ist durch Frl. Dr. Haniel festzustellen.
- 4) Aquarellkopien von kunstgewerblichen Arbeiten (Öfen, Kacheln, Eisengitter, Grabkreuze, Möbel u.a.) teils von A. Hofer, teils von Mitarbeitern der ADO hergestellt. Über diese Blätter liegt ein von Herrn [Wilhelm] Dipoli angefertigtes Verzeichnis vor.
- 5) Mehrere Mappen mit Plänen von Deininger und Dr. [Georg] Innerebner (Pläne von Wallburgkirchen).
- 6) Die nach Entwurf von Prof. A. Hofer angefertigten Rahmen für die Aquarelle und Pläne:
100 Rahmen 70 x 70
50 Rahmen 100 x 100
4 Rahmen grösseren Formats.
Die kleinen Rahmen verglast.
- 7) Das fotografische Material
 - a) die Fotokartothek, in Karteischränken nach Orten geordnet
 - b) rund 100 Dzd. Platten 13 x 18
 - c) 7 Mappen (Filmothek) mit Leicafilmen.

Das fotografische Material (Fotokartothek) wird fortlaufend durch die Neuaufnahmen aus dem Konto Ferdinandeum und durch die Aufnahmen der Abt. Denkmalpflege bei der Behörde des obersten Kommissars ergänzt.

Das in Innsbruck deponierte wissenschaftliche Material wurde inzwischen zwecks Bergung vor Bombenschäden auf verschiedene Schlösser in Sicherheit gebracht, worüber Frl. Dr. Haniel nähere Auskunft erteilen kann.

Das dem Ahnenerbe gehörende Arbeitsmaterial an Schränken, Karteikästen, Zeichenpapier, Lineale, Dreiecke, Maßbänder u.s.f. wurde, soweit es nicht noch in Bozen in Verwendung ist, ebenfalls in das Museum Ferdinandeum gebracht. Über den Umfang dieses Materials liegt eine Aufschreibung anlässlich der Versendung nach Innsbruck vor.

Bozen, 18.2.44

Dr. Ringler

42. Kočevje art heritage

Der Kunstbestand in Gottschee

Two-page typewritten report by Walter Frodl, member of the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* attached to the Plenipotentiary for resettlement issues in the Province of Ljubljana

17 November 1941

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/164

The German-speaking area of **Kočevje**, situated in the southern part of today's Slovenia, dates back to the 14th century, when it was colonised by the Carinthian counts Ortenburg with serfs from Carinthia and Eastern Tyrol. As a consequence of dismantling Yugoslavia in April 1941, the linguistic island of Kočevje passed under Italian occupation and was included in the newly established 'Italian' Province of Ljubljana. In an Italo-German treaty, signed in Rome on 31 August 1941, both powers agreed on ethnic cleansing. The German population was transferred to the «Settlement Region A» around **Brežice** and **Krško** in Nazi occupied Lower Styria, from where the local Slovenian population had previously been expelled. Real estates and other property of the Kočevje Germans were taken over by the German Resettlement and Trusteeship Company (*Deutsche Umsiedlungstreuhandgesellschaft*) and sold to the Italian *Istituto Agricolo Immobiliare «Emona»*. According to paragraph 13 of the Italo-German agreement, cultural assets (paintings, statues, drawings) relating to 'German' history, culture and genealogy were allowed to be exported to the Reich and Lower Styria after a final acknowledgment and permission by the Italian *Ufficio regionale di esportazione*.

Following the model of the South Tyrol resettlements, the *SS-Ahnenerbe* established a *Kulturkommission*, in charge of registering, documenting and, if possible, transferring the local 'German' material and spiritual culture. Most of those who worked in the Kočevje *Kulturkommission* between early October 1941 and June 1942 were also members of the South Tyrol commission. This was true for Walter Frodl, Erika Hanfstaengl, Bruno Schweizer, Richard Wolfram and Martin Rudolph. The Bremen born geographer and SS official Hans Schwalm, who in this function was attached to the German Plenipotentiary for resettlement issues in the Province of Ljubljana (*Deutscher Umsiedlungsbevollmächtigter für die Provinz Laibach*), oversaw the work of the commission. It dealt with rural architecture, habits and folk beliefs, dialect studies and linguistic geography, folk songs and art history; two sections worked in the field of photocopying archival materials, whilst a third one was engaged in the documentation of folk culture

through films. Probably in autumn 1942, Schwalm compiled a final 85-page report (*Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Kulturkommission [der Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft „Das Ahnenerbe“] beim Deutschen Umsiedlungsbevollmächtigten für die Provinz Laibach erstattet durch Prof. Dr. Hans Schwalm, SS-Hauptsturmführer*). The *Bericht* included reports of each of the working groups. In his account, dated 17 November 1941, Walter Frodl, head of the working group *Kunsthistorische Aufnahme*, states that in the Kočevje region no valuable object had been found in the field of secular art, whilst sacred art and architecture showed rougher characters but no original peculiarities if compared with neighbouring territories. In concluding his account, Frodl affirms that, with regard to Kočevje secular and sacred art heritage, «one cannot speak of artistic quality at all». Those collaborators of the commission, however, who dealt with folk art and folk traditions arrived at different conclusions and highlighted the centuries-long continuity and outstanding characteristics of Kočevje folk culture, considered to be a genuine expression of Germanic tradition and therefore a highly relevant study subject for the ‘deutsche Wissenschaft’.

The preservation of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage (e.g. popular songs) is to be seen within a context of reinterpretation and exploitation of folklore elements in terms of a Nazi ideology which exalted an ancestral ‘Germanic’ way of life and aimed at re-education of the transferred population. As for the transfer of simple folk objects (preserved in the local *Heimatmuseum*), their value as expression of Germanic peasant homestead ambiance was decisive. With this intent, the population about to be resettled had been urged to give the museum those domestic objects which they would otherwise be compelled to leave behind. A list of 433 museum items, including objects of daily life and work (such as ox yokes, shepherd’s horns, sacristan’s lanterns, coffee grinders etc.), was prepared for the inspection of Italian authorities. The objects were packed in two wagons and transferred by train to **Ljubljana**. Here they were inspected by Piero Sticotti, the director of the Town Museum in Trieste, on behalf of the competent Superintendent Office of **Trieste**, responsible for the Province of Ljubljana. After the export license was issued, the boxes were transported by train to Brežice on 24 January 1942 where, under the supervision of Johann Wilhelm Dettenberg, responsible for the ‘safeguarding’ of cultural objects in Lower Styria, they were temporarily stored in the Church of Saint Rochus in Brežice. During the Second World War the objects were exhibited in the Town Museum of Krško; afterwards they were transferred to the newly established Museum of the Posavje Region in Brežice.

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Der Kunstbestand in der Gottschee.

Wie vorausgesehen, bietet das Gottscheer Land für die Arbeit des Kunsthistorikers kein hervorragendes Betätigungsfeld. An profanen Kunstwerken ist so gut wie nichts vorhanden; was sich an bäuerlichem Hausrat erhalten hat, wird vom Bauernhausforscher [Martin Rudolph] und dem Volkstumsforscher [Richard Wolfram] erfaßt, sodaß zur Betrachtung lediglich die kirchliche Kunst übrig bleibt.

Die frühesten Kirchenbauten scheinen nicht später als in den Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts zurückzureichen. Sie haben die stilistischen Merkmale gemeinsam mit den zahlreichen gleichgearteten Objekten des umgebenden krainischen Gebietes, Südkärntens und der Untersteiermark. Als einziger Unterschied könnte die außergewöhnliche volkstümliche Derbheit der Formen (etwa der Gewölberippen in den kleinen Chorschlüssen) vermerkt werden. Von den seinerzeit fast um jede Kirche errichteten Befestigungsanlagen (Wehrmauern), auf die auch die Formationen des Geländes, auf dem die Kirchen stehen, hinweisen, haben sich nur Fragmente erhalten. Lediglich der Name ‚Tabor‘ ist in der Bevölkerung geblieben.

Eine Besonderheit scheinen die anstelle des Turmes bei einzelnen kleinen Kirchen aufgebauten Glockenmauern darzustellen. Es handelt sich hierbei um schmale Mauern, die an der Giebelseite (Westseite), über den First des Daches emporgezogen, von ein oder zwei Rundbogenöffnungen, in welchen die Glocken hängen, durchbrochen sind. Die Mauer ist durch ein Schindeldach abgedeckt (vergl. die beiden Kirchen in Reintal). Die meisten Kirchen jedoch entstammen dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, sind zumindest in dieser Zeit ausgebaut worden oder konnten mit Hilfe größerer Spenden der in Amerika lebenden Gottscheer errichtet werden. Flache Holzdecken aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert sind mehrere erhalten geblieben. Sie sind mit einfachen[,] durch die Schablone gemalten Ornamenten und Namens-Symbolen geschmückt. Eine zusammenfassende Arbeit über dieses Thema erschien im März 1941 im „Zbornik“, Laibach; sie hat den Assistenten am Laibacher Museum, Dr. Franz Kos, zum Verfasser und behandelt auch die bemalten Decken Unterkärntens, Oberkrains und der Untersteiermark. Die erhaltenen Wandmalereien sind äußerst derb und volkstümlich. Ausführlich hat darüber Dr. Franz Stele im 1. Band der „Monumenta artis slovenicae“ [sic][,] Laibach 1931[,] gehandelt. Eine Gottscheer Eigenart läßt sich aus diesen Malereien ebenso wenig wie aus den Bauten, aus den Holzdecken oder den Erzeugnissen der Bildnerie entwickeln.

Die Werke der Schnitzkunst tragen ebenfalls die für den gesamten Südalpengürtel gültigen stilistischen Merkmale. In erster Linie sind die Schnitzaltäre zu erwähnen, deren bester sich in Kotschen befindet. Die Altäre bestehen in der Regel aus mehrschichtigen Architekturen, die sich in zwei Geschossen übereinander aufbauen und mit zahlreichen Figuren ausgestattet sind. Auch hierbei kann festgestellt werden, daß die Eigenheit der Gottschee sich in einer besonderen volkstümlichen Derbheit ausdrückt; von künstlerischer Qualität kann nicht gesprochen werden.

Gottschee, am 17.11.1941

Dr. Frodl

43. [Slovenian artworks exhibited in Ptuj]

One-page typewritten letter by Hans Schwalm, head of the *Kulturkommission beim Deutschen Umsiedlungsbevollmächtigten für die Provinz Laibach*, to Helmut Carstanjen, director of the *Südostdeutsches Institut* in Graz

12 December 1941

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/809

Two weeks before the invasion of Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, an exhibition of modern Slovenian art, whose catalogue was entitled *Razstava moderne slovenske oblikujoče umetnosti*, had just closed its doors at the *Narodni dom* of Ptuj (until 1918 part of Lower Styria). The exhibition, shown from 9 to 25 March, was organized by the Association of Slovenian Academics (*Društvo slovenskih akademikov*) and intended to promote Slovenian identity through contemporary art. Paintings and sculptures, packed in twelve boxes, were ready to be shipped back to their owners, when they were confiscated by German occupation authorities and stored in the city premises. On the German side these artworks gained a certain interest.

As already mentioned, in the Italian-occupied Province of Ljubljana the *SS-Ahnenerbe* created a *Kulturkommission* (see doc. 42). Headed by the geographer Hans Schwalm, it started to work in early October 1941 with the goal to identify cultural objects of German interest. In this context some Nazi officials ventilated the possibility of exchanging the Ptuj artworks with ‘German’ pieces kept in Ljubljana, on which Hans Schwalm requested information in his letter to Helmut Carstanjen, dated 12 December 1941. Also involved in the debate were Walter von Semetkowski, *Gaukonservator* for Styria and responsible for monument protection in occupied Lower Styria, as well as Johann Wilhelm Dettenberg, head of the local task-force of the General Trustee (*Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung der Kulturgüter*) in Lower Styria. Dettenberg, when answering Schwalm on 20 January 1942, attached an inventory of the exhibited artworks, giving their Slovenian titles and their German translations. He also added a list of allegedly ‘German’ artworks and archaeological objects preserved in various Ljubljana museums (Town Museum, National Museum and National Gallery) and requested by the Reich. This list included medieval artworks, as well as paintings by the Austrian artist Martin Johann Schmidt, known as Kremser-Schmidt, and works from the Austro-Hungarian period. However, German authorities feared negotiations would interfere with the parallel bilateral ones on South Tyrolean cultural assets and would offer the «Axis» partner a pretext for even more com-

prehensive Italian demands for South Tyrol and Trentino related objects from German museums. Therefore, it was finally decided to postpone negotiations with Italy to after the war. Most of the artworks exhibited in Ptuj were sent to the Town Museum of **Maribor**, where they were kept until the end of the conflict.

BM

Gottschee, am 12. Dezember 1941.

Anschrift: Der Deutsche Umsiedlungsbevollmächtigte für den Leiter der Kulturkommission
Prof. Dr. Schwalm, St. Veit/Save/Südkärnten, postlagernd

Herrn Dr. Carstanjen
Südostdeutsches Institut Graz
Graz
Kreuzgasse 34/III.

Lieber Carstanjen!

Würdest Du mir bei folgender Angelegenheit behilflich sein können? Ich erfahre in Laibach, daß bei Kriegsausbruch in Pettau eine Ausstellung des Vereins slowenischer Künstler in Laibach beschlagnahmt worden ist. Ich konnte jedoch nicht feststellen, wer die Beschlagnahme durchgeführt hat und wessen Verfügungsgewalt die beschlagnahmten Gegenstände augenblicklich unterstehen. Ich wende mich gleichzeitig an den Politischen Kommissar in Pettau und den Landeskonservator in Graz. Da ich die Anschriften beider Dienststellen nicht genau kenne, fürchte ich, daß meine Anfrage im Geschäftsgang verschwindet bzw. daß mir erst nach längerer Zeit eine Mitteilung zugeht. Die Angelegenheit drängt aber sehr, da ich wissen möchte, ob ich diese Ausstellung unter Umständen als Kompensationsobjekt bei den Verhandlungen in Laibach über die Herausgabe der von uns geforderten Gegenstände aus Laibacher Museen und Archiven verwenden kann. Wäre es Dir möglich, einen Deiner Mitarbeiter zu beauftragen, mir bei der Ausfindigmachung der zuständigen Behörde behilflich zu sein bzw. bei einem Aufenthalt in Pettau festzustellen, wie es sich mit der beschlagnahmten Ausstellung verhält[?] Ich höre, daß bei einem Versuch, die Ausstellung nach Laibach zu überführen, eine glatte Ablehnung von deutscher Seite ausgesprochen worden sein soll. Ich kann das durchaus verstehen. Wenn wir die Ausstellung allerdings als Kompensationsobjekt verwenden könnten, so wäre das meiner Meinung nach allerdings eine ganz andere Situation, die von den untersteirischen Dienststellen entsprechend gewürdigt werden sollte.

Gib mir bitte auf dem schnellsten Wege Nachricht, da ich Näheres für die bevorstehenden Verhandlungen in Laibach dringend wissen muß.

Mit bestem Dank für Deine Bemühungen

Heil Hitler!
Dein [Hans Schwalm]

44. [Request for seizure of documents from Italian archives and libraries]

Two-page typewritten letter by Bruno Schweizer, head of the Study Centre for Germanic Philology and Landscape Studies (*Forschungsstätte für germanische Sprachwissenschaft und Landschaftskunde*) of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, to *Regierungsrat* Wolfgang Steinacker, head of the Institute for *Völkisch* Regional Studies (*Institut für Landes- und Volksforschung*) of the *Reichsgau* Tirol-Vorarlberg; a copy to be sent to *SS-Obersturmbannführer* Wolfram Sievers, General Secretary (*Reichsgeschäftsführer*) of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*

26 October 1943

Germany, Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 21/800

The linguist Bruno Schweizer presents an initial detailed list of early prints (some of them dating back to the 16th century), books and scholarly material to be seized from private and public owners (archives, libraries, museums, universities, seminaries, etc.) in occupied northern Italy (Lombardy and Veneto: Milan; Bassano, Padua, Schio and Vicenza). The writer also provides precise information on the holders of the requested objects, e.g.: «Schio: Dottor Giro Menotti (on Via Roma) owns an extremely comprehensive opus on expressions and proverbs of the Cimbrian dialect, which he guards with utmost jealousy. Be aware of not getting fobbed off with phony excuses».

All material to be sequestered concerned historical, linguistic and folkloristic aspects of the Cimbrian-speaking communities in north-eastern Italy. Schweizer was an expert of this Upper German (Bavarian-related) dialect, once spoken in an extended area of western Veneto and Trentino, but by the 20th century reduced to very few villages (Seven Communities, Thirteen Communities and Luserna). Schweizer could extend his field of research to these isolated settlements while working as a member of the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* operating in South Tyrol. He was able to continue his studies in situ even after the Italian armistice.

Wolfgang Steinacker, the recipient of the list, was a key figure of Nazi ethnopolitics in Tyrol with explicit anti-Italian attitudes. After September 1943 he also became responsible for the semi-annexed provinces of the Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills in this domain and was to organize the sequestration of the requested material, needed – as source states – for study purposes. Driven by an apparent sense of competition *vis-à-vis* his Italian scholarly counterparts, Schweizer also intended to seize the study materials from his colleague-opponents, thus preventing them from making use of it.

MW

Diessen, 26.10.943

Reichsführer-SS
Pers. Stab, Amt „A“
Forschungsstätte für
Germanenkunde Diessen

An das
Institut für Volks- und Landesforschung
z.H.v. Herrn Reg.Rat Dr. Steinacker
Innsbruck

Lieber Herr Doktor Steinacker!

Folgende Dokumente aus oberital. Archiven und Bibliotheken bitte ich Sie[,] für unsere Forschungen sicher zu stellen:

- 1) Vicenza - Bibliotheca Bertoliana (Bibliothekar Dalla Pozza) enthält neben zahlreichen kleineren zimbrischen Druckschriften zwei wichtige Abschriften von Berichten des Grafen Caldogno an den Dogen Grimani von Venedig (1598): Relazione sulle alpi Vicentine. – Es wird darin fast für jeden Ort bei Vicenza der damalige Stand an wehrfähiger Mannschaft und deren deutsche bzw. zimbr. Stammesart verzeichnet. (Das Original soll sich in Venedig befinden – bisher noch nie publiziert; Berengario Gerola soll beabsichtigen[,] dies zu tun, ich würde aber Wert darauf legen[,] es schon vorher verwerten zu können.)
- 2) Bassano - Museum. Originalhandschrift der zimbrischen Grammatik von Slaviero aus ca. 1780.
- 3) Schio. Dort besitzt Dott. Giro Menotti (Via Roma) ein sehr umfangreiches Sammelwerk über zimbr. Ausdrücke und Sprichwörter, das er mit grösster Eifersucht hütet. Man darf sich bei ihm durch keine Ausrede abfertigen lassen.
- 4) Padua. Entweder die Universität oder das Klerikalseminar soll eine der reichsten Sammlungen an zimbrischen Seltenheiten besitzen.
- 5) Mailand. Auf Umwegen erfuhr ich vor ein paar Jahren[,] dass bei Mailand grössere Materialien langobardischer Herkunft gefunden worden seien. Ein dortiger Geschichtsprof. erzählte davon in Brixen, wo er als Offizier tätig war. Hauptsächlich handle es sich um Notariatsurk. Das Material liege bei der Universität.

An Büchern wären folgende für mich besonders wünschenswert:

- 1) Alle Werke der Brüder Cipolla (Francesco e Carlo) über die Zimbern:
Dei coloni tedeschi nei XIII com[uni] Veronesi
Di alcune recentissime opinioni intorno alla storia dei XIII CV [i.e. Comuni Veronesi][,] Verona
Comunicazioni sulla parlata dei XIII CV[,], Venezia 1890
Le popolazioni dei XIII CV[,], Venezia 1883
Miscellanea: le popolazioni exc.[,] Torino 1902
Toponomastica dell'ultimo residuo della colonia tedesca [sic] 1902
- 2) Alle Werke von Barrigiola über volkskundl. Forschg. bei den Zimbern

- 3) Historische Werke über das zimbrische Gebiet:
Marco Pezzo, 2 Bücher von den verones. u. vident. Zimb.[,] Verona 1763
Marco Pezzo, Novissimi illustrati monumenti dei Cimbri, 1785
Bonato, Storia dei Sette Com. Vic.[,] Padua 1857/95 (5 Bde.)
Galanti, I tedeschi sul versante meridionale delle Alpi[,] Roma 1885
Giovanelli, Del origine [sic] dei 7 Com. ecx.[,] Trient 1826
Nalli, Epitome di nozioni stor.[,] Vicenza 1895
Bottea, Memorie di Pergine[,] Trient 1880

Dies wäre zunächst einmal eine erste Wunschliste. Da ich gegenwärtig keine Schreibkraft frei habe, muss ich alle Korrespondenz selbst erledigen und muss mich deshalb auf das Wichtigste beschränken. Ich hoffe[,] Ihnen in etwa 14 Tagen eine weitere[,] ausführlichere Wunschliste senden zu können. Manches müsste man allerdings erst noch im Lande selbst ausfindig machen.

Seit etwa 14 Tagen läuft beim Ahnenerbe ein Dienstreise-Antrag für Italien, da ich meine Reise nach Bozen, die zur Abrechnung mit Dr. [Herbert] Grosch nötig ist, mit etlichen Restaufnahmen in Südtirol und sehr wichtigen abschliessenden Feststellungen im Gebiet der Zimbern verbinden möchte. Vor allem will ich auch eine noch nie untersuchte Sprachinsel bei Belluno aufsuchen.

Mit besten Grüßen und
Heil Hitler!

Ihr
[Bruno Schweizer]

XII.
NATIONALIZING CROATIAN ART
(1941-1945)

Ljerka Dulibić, Iva Pasini Tržec

In April 1941, the capitulation and dissolution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia led to the foundation of the Independent State of Croatia, a puppet state controlled by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The leader of the *Ustasha* movement, Ante Pavelić, was proclaimed head (*Poglavnik*) of the new state. Soon after its establishment, the new authorities issued legal regulations concerning the protection of cultural heritage (JURANOVIĆ TONEJC 2012), which were also fundamental for the public appropriation of Jewish-owned artworks. The legal framework was created by the Ministry of Religion and Education and by the National Conservation Institute in **Zagreb**. According to the *Provision on the prohibition of removal and exporting ancient artistic, cultural, historical and natural monuments from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia*, passed on 12 May 1941, all institutions or private persons who were considered unable to properly care for their art objects, were obliged to hand them over to one of the country's national museums. On the basis of this *Provision*, the Conservation Institute passed a decree according to which all art objects in personal ownership should be inspected, catalogued and, if not properly cared for, transferred to the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb (PASINI TRŽEC 2019). For this reason, collecting points for allegedly 'safeguarding' confiscated private artworks were established in Zagreb.

The seizure of power by the *Ustasha* regime, headed by the *Poglavnik*, and its discontinuity with the old regime was staged and communicated to the public through a host of symbolic cultural events and carefully planned nationalistic ceremonies, as well as through art exhibitions aiming either to promote Croatian artists (such as an exhibition held in Zagreb in November 1941) or to celebrate political alliances (such as the exhibition of German sculptures held in Zagreb in spring 1942) or to enhance anti-Jewish policy (such as the exhibition «Jews» – «Židovi» – opened in Zagreb in late spring 1942).

Selected bibliography

DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2017a; DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2017b; DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2018; FISKOVIĆ 1946; FUHRMEISTER 2011; HERZOG s.d.; HORVAT 1943; IVANUŠ 2017; IVANUŠ, PURTIĆ 1990; IZLOŽBA 1942; JURANOVIĆ TONEJC 2012; KÖNIG s.d.; MARIĆ ARTUR s.d.; PASINI TRŽEC 2019; PASINI TRŽEC, DULIBIĆ 2016; PETRU 1970; PRVA IZLOŽBA 1941.

45. Report on the Implementation of the Legal provision concerning the prohibition of removing and exporting ancient artistic, cultural, historical and natural monuments from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, no LXXVIII-135. Z. p. 1941, of 12 May 1941

Izveštaj o provedbi zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, br. LXXVIII-135. Z. p. 1941. od 12. svibnja 1941.

Three-page typewritten report by Božidar Murgić, head of the Department of Higher Education and Institutions at the Ministry of Religion and Education of the Independent State of Croatia

26 July 1941

Croatia, Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zbirka Božidara Murgića o muzejskoj djelatnosti u Hrvatskoj od 1920-ih do 1940-ih, HR-HDA-1149, box 1

Božidar Murgić, head of the Department of Higher Education and Institutions of the Ustasha regime, reports on the law established a few months beforehand, which prohibited the removal and export of art and historical objects from Croatia. This act of law allowed the removal of cultural assets from Serbian Orthodox monasteries (Gomirje in western Croatia and Krušedol in Syrmia) and the expropriation of art objects from Jewish private collections in Zagreb under the pretext of seizing items considered in danger of being dispersed. These objects were brought to the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts. By that time, artworks from deceased, absent or displaced owners (such as Artur Marić, Žiga Herzog and Julio König, major exponents of the Zagreb Jewish community) had already been delivered to the museum and steps were being taken to also transfer to the same place both the Hinko Lederer and the Milan Marić collections. At that time, the first one was stored in the plaster cast collection of the City of Zagreb. However, for different reasons, only a small number of artworks was handed over to the Museum during the cataloguing process of private collections in Zagreb.

The document offers data on the fate of some Jewish-owned Zagreb art collections under the Ustasha regime and also illustrates how these collections as well as items from Serbian and Orthodox monasteries became part of the Museum of Arts and Crafts.

IPT

Izvještaj o provedbi zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske br. LXXVIII-135.Z.p.1941. od 12. svibnja 1941.

12. svibnja 1941. izdao je Poglavnik Nezavisne Države Hrvatske zakonsku odredbu broj LXXVIII-135.Z.p.1941. o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Prema § 1. ove zakonske odredbe na cijelom području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske zabranjeno je bez znanja i odobrenja ministarstva nastave svako otuđivanje, a napose izvažanje izvan granica Nezavisne Države Hrvatske bilo kojeg starinskog umjetničkog, kulturno-povjesnog i prirodnog spomenika.

§ 3. propisuje, da ustanove i privatnici, koji ne bi mogli sami brižljivo čuvati svoje starinske umjetničke, kulturno-povjesne i prirodne spomenike imaju ih predati kojem hrvatskom državnom muzeju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, koji će im izdati pismenu potvrdu o primitku, odnosno o kupnji u ime Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Neodržavanje ove zakonske odredbe kažnjava se zatvorom do 5 godina dana i novčanom globom do 500.000.-kuna.

Na osnovu ove zakonske odredbe činovnici hrvatskih državnih muzeja u Zagrebu počeli su na sve strane provoditi akciju, kako bi se svi kulturno-povjesni i umjetnički predmeti, koji potpadaju pod ovu zakonsku odredbu spremili u hrvatske državne muzeje i tako spasili kao imovina Nezavisne Države Hrvatske za budućnost.

O rezultatima toga nastojanja čast mi je ovime podnijeti slijedeći

i z v j e š t a j .

U pokrajini u glavnom se tu radilo o kulturno-povjesnim i umjetničkim predmetima, koji su ostali u raznim grkoistočnim manastirima i parohijama, koje su napustili grkoistočni kaluđeri i svećenici. Ovdje su nam odmah na početku izašli u susret ustaški funkcionari, koji su u pojedinim mjestima takove predmete uzeli u svoju zaštitu. Iz Krušedola u Srijemu oni su nam čak dopremili sami u Zagreb oko 20 sanduka takovih predmeta, koje smo onda preuzeli iz državne riznice i pohranili u Hrvatskom državnom muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu. Tom prigodom stupili smo u vezu sa ustaškim pukovnikom g. Vjekoslavom Servacijem, koji nam je pomogao i dao potrebite upute za daljnji rad u tome pravcu. Slijedeći put bio je u Ogulin i Gomirje odakle smo uz veliku pomoć tamošnjih ustaških vlasti dopremili u Zagreb u gore navedeni muzej jedan vagon i pol starinskih i umjetničkih predmeta. Poslije toga smo dogovorno sa g. Servacijem organizirali daljnji rad u pokrajini. Jedan dio činovnika pod vodstvom kustosa dr. Bacha i dr. Šepera otišli su u daljnje manastire i parohije od ogulinskog kraja dalje. Danas je stigao jedan izaslanik od te grupe /prof. Stahušnjak/, da obavli neke svoje privatne poslove i javlja, da je na putu prva pošiljka od oko 60 sanduka. Druga grupa muzejskih stručnjaka otišla je pod vodstvom ravnatelja Ikalčića i dr. Švoba preko Kostajnice, Pakraca u Slavoniju. Do sada su nam svagdje izašli u susret i amogu nam pomožu ustaše. Od ministarstva za promet i javna radove dobili smo odobrenja za besplatne prevoze svih takovih predmeta.

Što se tiče rada na spasavanju kulturno-povjesnih i umjetničkih predmeta u gradu Zagrebu izjaviti mi je slijedeće:

Najprije smo po izaslanicima muzeja najvećom brzinom popisali glavne zbirke kod privatnika. Neki od njih odmah su dali u pohranu svoje predmete muzeju. No ipak što se tih zbirka tiče u Zagrebu do sada nismo mogli zabilježiti povoljnije rezultate.

Od pohranjenih zbirka najvrijednija je ona pok. Artura Marića, i ako su iz nje odmah na početku nestali još prije, nego li su muzej-ski ljudi mogli da je uzmu u posjed za muzej, najvažniji predmeti. Ono što je ostalo otpremljeno je u muzej. Ledererova zbirka došla je još prije nego li je zakon izašao u pohranu u gipsoteku u Kozarskoj tvornici, ali su poduzeti koraci, da se ta zbirka u smislu zakona pohrani u prostorije muzeja, budući da su jedino državni muzeji ovlaštani, da takove zbirke čuvaju, a gipsoteka je vlasništvo grada i nema prostori-je, koje bi imale sve propisno uređene zaštitne mjere, koje su potrebne za čuvanje takovih zbirka, te nema također potreban stručni perso-nal.

Zbirka dr. Milana Marića, koja se nalazi u Tuškancu broj 36. nije još dopremljena u muzej i to iz razloga, što tu zbirku drži grad-ska općina, koja je u posjedu vile u kojoj se ta zbirka nalazi. Ta zbirka spada među najdragocjenije u državi, a svakako je najznalačkije i najbogatije sakupljena od svih zbirka u Zagrebu. Ona imade veliku vrijednost osobito za kulturnu povijest našu, a uz nju je još i iz-vrvena knjižnica, koja je puna rijetkih djela o našoj kulturnoj i umjet-ničkoj povijesti. Radi svega toga, a još u prvome redu i radi toga, da se udovolji zakonu zamoljena je gradska općina, da tu zbirku preda hrva takom državnom muzeju, jer će jedino na taj način biti spašena od propasti, koja bi neminovno uslijedila, kad bi ta zbirka ostala u posje-du gradske općine i kad bi se bilo kuda po gradskim uređima ili zgra-dama smjestila. Takovi predmeti u državnom se muzeju stalno restauri-rajaju i na posebni način čuvaju.

Od ostalih malih zbirka, koje su došle u posjed muzeja treba još spomenuti zbirku Žige Hercoga, no iz te su zbirke našalost još pri-je nego li je ravnatelj Tkalčić sa svojim činovnicima došao u vilu na Hercegovačkoj cesti bili već ukradeni svi bolji predmeti, kao Di-rerove i Kanaletove slike, srebrne stvari Jelaića itd. Ostalo je ne-što židovskih portreta, te starinskog pokućstva skromnije vrijednosti. Stan je ravnatelj Tkalčić našao u strahovitom neredu, te je sve bilo koje kuda razbacano po prostorijama. Radi bojazni, da bi moglo doći do ponovnog pljačkanja te vile, koja je bila napuštena, ravnatelj Tkalčić je izvjestio, da je preostale stvari uz zaštitu dao prenijeti u mu-zej gdje ih je sudio i onda zamolio vlasnike, koji bi se imali useli-ti u tu vilu, da si izaberu stvari, koje eventualno žele imati. No najz-veći dio tih stvari ne može služiti kakvoj praktičnoj svrsi, kako iz-vješćuju činovnici muzeja.

Zbirka Königa, koji je pobjegao iz Zagreba ostala je netaknu-ta, te se nalazi još u stanu u Palmotićevoj ulici broj 18. Sada u stan-u stanuje ministar Bulat, koji se je dogovorio i sporazumio sa ravnat-eljem Tkalčićem o prenosu te zbirke u državni muzej.

Još su muzeju predani ključevi od stana u Ulici Kraljice Ma-rije broj 27/1., kojega je imao u najmu Ivan Katušić namještenik dr. Dušana Popovića. Redarstveno ravnateljstvo u Zagrebu vodi izvide protiv rečenoga Katušića, koji je ostao u stanu pobjeglog Popovića i iz toga stana neke stvari otudio.

Toliko o zbirkama, koje su prenesene u muzej odnosno o pre-nosu kojih se još vodi postupak.

Mo dužnost mi je izvijestiti, da je osim ovih do sada provedenih prenosu u glavnom provedba zakonske osnove, koju je Poglavnik do-~~no~~ za spašavanje kulturno-povjesnih i umjetničkih predmeta za hrvatske državne muzeje u gradu Zagrebu do sada donijela slabih rezultata.

Kako je muzej obaviješten u Zagrebu je napušteno veliko mno-štvo stanova židova i Srba. Mnogim od tih stanova vlasnici su žido-vi i Srbi kroz dugi niz godina sakupljali i sakupili veoma mnogo pred-meta koji imaju veliku vrijednost radi kulturne povijesti i umjetničke prošlosti hrvatskoga naroda. Mnogo je tih predmeta iz stanova deponi-rano u raznim magazinima, ali su se u takove stanove uselili novi stan-nari, a da prije toga nisu iz tih stanova bili izlučeni kulturno-povje-sni i umjetnički predmeti za hrvatski državni muzej.

Radi toga čast mi je predložiti, da bi se odredilo sa strane mjerodavnih činbenika komisijski pregled prvo svih predmeta u magazini-ma, a drugo svih stanova u koje su se uselili novi vlasnici, kako bi

se mogli spasiti kulturno-povjesni i umjetnički predmeti, koji u smislu Foglarnikove zakonske odredbe moraju doći u hrvatski državni muzej. Glede toga je ravnatelj dr. muzeja Tkalčić razgovarao sa g. ustaškim pukovnikom Vjekoslavom Servacijem, koji u svemu dijeli i odobrava stajnovište stručnjaka iz muzejskih krugova. Ravnateljstvo za ponovo također je zamoljeno, da u poslu što se tiče pregleda predmeta po magazinima izade u susret.

Osim toga u državnoj banci u Jurišićevoj ulici deponirano je mnogo sanduka raznih zaplijenjenih predmeta od zlata i srebra. Jedan dio takovih dopremili su ustaše, drugi dio državna riznica, a treći dio ravnatelj ustaškog redarstva. O tome sam razgovarao sa činovnicima te banke, te me je dr. Horvat obavijestio, da u tim sanducima imade mnogo i takovih predmeta čija kulturno-povjesna i umjetnička vrijednost znatno nadmašuje materijalnu vrijednost zlata i srebra tih predmeta. I činovnici banke mišljenja su, da bi bila velika šteta, kad bi se takove predmete pretapalo u zlatne i srebrne šipke, te da bi bilo neophodno nužno, da se takovi predmeti pohrane u hrvatskom državnom muzeju.

Predlažen stoga, da bi se odredilo i dozvolilo pristupiti postupku glede pregleda tih sanduka.

Glede provedbe zakonske odredbe o spašavanju kulturno-povjesnih i umjetničkih predmeta na području Bosne i Hercegovine dogovorio sam se sa g. dr. Jozom Petrovićem, a detaljnou organiziranju posla pristupiti će se, kad g. dr. Jozo Petrović preuzme upravu Hrvatskog državnog muzeja u Sarajevu.

U Zagrebu, dne 26. srpnja 1941.

Dr. Božidar Murgić, v. r.

46. Display of the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav in front of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, August 1942

Black and white photograph

August 1942

Croatia, Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, HR-HDA-1561, Collection SDS (Služba državne sigurnosti), no. 6062

One of the initiatives organized by the Ustasha regime to legitimize its authority and to celebrate the alliance of the Independent State of Croatia with Fascist Italy was the transfer from the Venetian Correr Museum to the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts of **Zagreb** of the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav, a monument of strong national meaning (DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2017a). Following long diplomatic negotiations, to which also Giovanni Ponti, professor of Italian literature at the University of Zagreb, contributed, it was exchanged for two paintings by Carpaccio (*Saint Sebastian* and *Saint Peter Martyr*) from the Strossmayer Gallery.

In 1942, the baptismal font was exhibited at the entrance of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts with a grandiose public ceremony. According to a letter of the Ministry of Education to the Croatian Academy, dated 27 August 1942, «The Ministry of Education is planning to hold a parade in front of the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav on Sunday, 30 August, at 10 a.m., participants of which will be students from primary and secondary schools of Zagreb. Students will march in front of the building of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and, looking towards the Font in proper stance and form, show due tribute and respect with their right arms held in salute» (Zagreb, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, box 82, 1942).

The photograph is part of a series kept today in the Photograph Collection of the State Security Service (*Služba državne sigurnosti*) in the Croatian National Archives. The Collection was created after the Second World War, when the Security Service decided to collect all information available about people who had collaborated with the Ustasha government. Among other things, it confiscated the photo archives of several national and military offices, as well as press agencies. All photographs from the series have been published in DULIBIĆ, PASINI TRŽEC 2017a and one by Stanko Aleksić, a Croatian photographer and cinematographer, was exhibited in the Croatian History Museum (IVANUŠ 2017).

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XIII.
TRIESTE, A LAST WAY OUT:
JEWISH EMIGRANTS AND THEIR CULTURAL ASSETS

Daria Brasca, Anneliese Schallmeiner, Michael Wedekind

Between 1933 and 1940, some 121,400 Jews from Germany, Austria and East-Central Europe, fleeing wide-spread anti-Semitism and persecutions, left Europe for Palestine, the United States, South America, China and South Africa from the Italian port of Trieste. The city became a turntable on one of the last routes out of the Reich. From 1935 to 1937, approximately 57,000 Jews (among them around 18,000 from Germany and Poland each) passed through Trieste, more than 11,800 passengers (among them more than 6,000 Germans and Austrians, roughly 1,500 Poles, 300 Czechoslovaks and about 1,200 people who declared themselves to be «Palestinians») embarked for Palestine in 1938. A year later, another 12,200 people (out of whom nearly 7,000 Germans and Austrians, almost 1,000 Poles, 900 Czechoslovaks, 650 «Palestinians» and 1,550 stateless people – presumably from Germany and Austria) were to follow. Unquestionably most of those who embarked in 1938 and 1939 were Jewish.

The belongings of Jewish and other emigrants trying to leave Europe via Trieste were deposited in the city's Free Port, where they were stored in warehouses of international forwarding agents and of the local port authority (*Magazzini Generali*). Most of the stored goods never reached their final overseas destination as declared on the export forms, since their owners were often unable to cover storage and shipping costs. Additionally, with Italy entering war on 10 June 1940, the Mediterranean became a war zone, and regular shipping was restricted. Therefore, many of the Jewish belongings remained in the Trieste Free Port. Instructions on how to deal with these goods were given only in April 1943 by the Office of Requisitions within the Italian Ministry of Exchange and Currencies (*Ministero degli Scambi e delle Valute*). As the assets were mainly owned by Jewish emigrants from Germany or German-occupied countries, they were to be considered and treated as enemy property, according to the Italian War Law issued on 8 July 1938 (Royal Decree, no. 1415) and implemented in 1940 (Royal Decrees, no. 566, 10 July 1940, and no. 1994, 19 December 1940). In May 1943, the Office for Requisitions ordered emigrants' goods stored in the warehouses to be seized by the local Prefect, who designated Bruno de Steinkühl, a Trieste accountant, as seizing Officer on the 11th of that month (Prefect's Decree no. 1100/12490). As a result, all Jewish goods were subject to confiscation and were primarily sold to cover incurred storing and insurance costs.

After the collapse of the Fascist regime in July 1943 and the subsequent establishment of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana*) in September 1943, the German Reich installed a special civil administration in north-eastern Italy (Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral). When German occupation authorities claimed all Jewish goods stored in the Free Port of Trieste, disagreements arose with Italian authorities as to their ownership, since both sides demanded the goods for themselves. As a matter of fact, for Italy, the status of the removed goods depended on the complex juridical conditions associated with the nationality and residency of the owners – whether from an enemy, neutral or allied country. Conversely, Nazi authorities, referring to the 11th Decree to the Reich Citizenship Law (25 November 1941; «Reichsgesetzblatt», I, no.133) considered them property of the German Reich. Section 2 of the 1941 Decree stated that Jews living abroad lost their German citizenship, whereas Section 3 determined that their assets became property of the German Reich. The Italian government did not recognize the German stance, maintaining that the owners were still German citizens. In early October 1943, German authorities got hold of Italian documents concerning Jewish goods stored in Trieste. On 12 January 1944, the Supreme Commissioner of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, Friedrich Rainer, ordered the port of Trieste cleared for security reasons and Jewish goods being disposed of. However, despite Friedrich Rainer's orders, Bruno Cocceani, head of the Province of Trieste from late October 1943 to the end of April 1945, tried to maintain control over the Jewish property by again referring to the Italian War Law and the May 1943 Prefect's Decree. His efforts, though, turned out to be in vain.

The Italian Ministry of Finance had been well aware of the considerable value of the Jewish goods stored in Trieste. However, when Nazi authorities started to transfer them to the Reich, it became evident how little influence the authorities of the Italian Social Republic had in the Adriatic Littoral.

On 15 January 1944, a first transport, comprising three carriages, left Trieste for the Reich. Over the months to come, hundreds of lift-vans and crates, containing household effects, cultural and daily life objects followed. As agreed upon with the mayor of Berlin, unsorted lift-vans were to be sorted out in the capital and any works of art to be returned to the Supreme Commissioner. The apparently smaller part of the Jewish belongings was transferred to Carinthia where, by the end of April 1944, about 60 railway carriages with mostly unopened lift-vans had arrived from Trieste. The Carinthian National Socialist People's Welfare (NSV) in **Klagenfurt**, as well as the NSV organizations of Salzburg and Lower Danube distributed furniture, everyday life objects and household effects from Trieste among air raid victims in the most affected Reich regions.

In some cases, however, pictures, carpets, jewels and porcelain could still be sorted out in the port of Trieste. The Trade Coordination Office (*Warenver-*

kehrslleitstelle) of the Supreme Commissioner arranged for various lots to be passed to the «Adria» trading company; other lots remained in possession of the Supreme Commissioner. The «Adria» Company acted on behalf of the Supreme Commissioner through which all Jewish assets were liquidated. To a lesser extent the goods taken over by the «Adria» Company, whose power the Italian Ministry of Finance tried to restrict, were sold in Trieste, Milan or auctioned in Vienna; most of the objects, however, were auctioned or sold by the Klagenfurt branch of the «Dorotheum» auction house. Since these transactions did not keep up with the rhythm of new arrivals of carriages, in Carinthia large scale storing of household effects, jewels and high-quality articles of clothing became inevitable. Transports from Trieste continued up until the end of the war. On 23 April 1945, the last lot of furniture made its way up the Pontebbana railway line to cross the German border for Carinthia.

Selected bibliography

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47. Application for an export authorization by Viktor Fürth

Ansuchen um Ausfuhrbewilligung von Viktor Fürth

Application for export, compiled by Viktor Fürth, shareholder of the company Ernst Fürth, with authorization granted by Josef Zykan, employee of the Central Office for Monument Protection of the Ministry of Internal and Cultural Affairs, Department IV

8 August 1938

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt, Archiv, Ausfuhrmaterialien, box 35, Zl. 3828/1938, Viktor Fürth

The city of **Trieste** was one of the privileged exit routes for Jewish refugees from Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, a large amount of their belongings was shipped to the port of Trieste, but often never arrived at their final overseas destinations. This was also the case for the Vienna-based manager Viktor Fürth and his family.

In August 1938, he asked the Viennese Central Office for Monument Protection (*Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz im Ministerium für Inneres und kulturelle Angelegenheiten*; since 1940 it was called *Institut für Denkmalpflege*) permission to export oil paintings, several graphics and watercolours, carpets and porcelain (n. 1328/1938). These objects, amounting to RM 4,192, already figured in his and his wife's compulsory asset declaration required from Jews according to the 26 April 1938 *Decree for the Reporting of Jewish Owned Property* (*Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden*), issued soon after the «Anschluss».

In fact, objects deemed to have public interest and historical, artistic and cultural importance were subject to the Export Prohibition Act («Staatsgesetzblatt» 90/1918), which had become part of the 1923 Austrian Monument Protection legislation. Only works by living artists and those deceased for less than twenty years ago were exempt from the regulation. However, the Export Prohibition Act could also be used to confiscate art objects. From 1938, Austrian Jews submitted 18,000 export forms. In case of approval, the forms were forwarded to the Customs office.

On 8 August 1938, Fürth was granted export permission within three months time signed by the Monument Protection officer Josef Zykan, who after the war held important positions in the *Bundesdenkmalamt*. According to Fürth's request, the destination should have been Prague. It may be presumed that this city was chosen since the Czechoslovak Republic still was an independent state, where the Fürth family, owing to their origin from Bohemia, possibly had relatives or connections. However, as shown by the stamps on the permit, the destination of the



household shipment was changed to Trieste. On 12 November, the ware passed the **Maribor** Railway Customs' office, along the usual route for the transport of removed goods via Yugoslavia to Trieste. As was the case for many household effects of Jewish refugees, upon its arrival Fürth's lift-van was stored in one of the free port's warehouses, until sequestration through a decree (no. 1100/12490) issued by the Prefecture of Trieste on 11 May 1943. Fürth's lift-van appears on the list of sequestered removal goods (doc. 48), compiled by the officer Bruno de Steinkühl. Its traces vanished forever at the beginning of 1944, when German occupation authorities ordered that all Jewish goods stored in the port of Trieste were to be disposed.

After the war, Lilli and Victor Fürth, who in 1939 had escaped to the United States, searched for their property, making inquiries with the Federal Monument Office in Vienna on their whereabouts. Their search was unsuccessful.

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48. Summary list of assets confiscated according to the Prefect's decree no. 1100/12490, dating 11 May 1943 - XXI

Elenco riassuntivo delle varie partite delle varie masserizie sequestrate con Decreto Prefettizio no. 1100/12490 dell'11 maggio 1943 - XXI

Forty-six page typewritten table in landscape format, including index, by Bruno de Steinkühl, Italian sequestrator of stored Jewish emigrants' assets in Trieste

After 11 May 1943

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Republik 06, Bundesministerium für Finanzen, Vermögensverkehrsstelle, box 1574

The table of confiscated assets lists 476 persons, whose goods (by the Nazis euphemistically called «household effects in course of removal») were stored in five warehouses (23, 28, 30, 56, 69) in the names of several shipping companies of Trieste (Francesco Parisi, E. Kobau, Marangoni S.A., Rudolf Exner, A. Prezioso & Co., E. Havlicek, Marittima S.A., Francesco Reitter, G. Sofianopulo, Julia Intertrans S.A., Paul & Krehbiel, Linee Triestine per l'Oriente, Deschmann, Terrile & C., E. Schufer [E. Schäf(f)er], and Fritz Egel) or of other Italian cities (Alexander Billitz of Rijeka, Fratelli Gondrand of Milan, Villain & Fassio-Società anonima italiana di navigazione and Sorveglianza S.A. of Genoa).

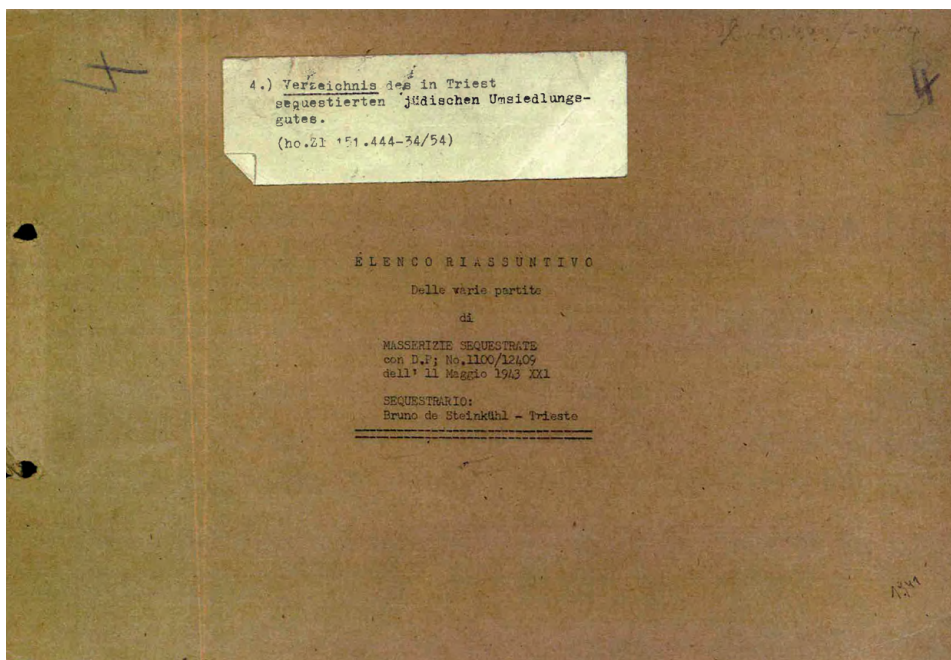
The pages are divided into ten columns, which provide information in accordance with the export declaration form on the number of the warehouse in the Free Port of Trieste, lift-van identifying numbers, number of stored lift-vans and weight in kilograms, first and surname of sender, place of dispatch and destination of removal goods, total storage costs in Italian currency, details on the whereabouts of senders, religious affiliation, information on whether the removals had been sequestered or not, and name of forwarding agents in charge.

In the last column the ownership of the objects was attributed to five categories with short captions, whose explanation is given on the last page of the list. The first category (caption «si») refers to goods which had been ascertained to be enemy property and therefore could be immediately sequestered because the owners resided in enemy states. The second category («si?») refers to owners whose place of residence was uncertain; if they lived in neutral states, a release was possible. The third category («no») refers to removal goods belonging to persons who lived in neutral states, in Italy or were non-Jewish citizens of the German Reich; in this case goods could be released on request. The fourth category («no?») refers to persons who had not clearly stated whether they were Jewish or not, whether they still lived in Germany or in a neutral state; also in this

case release was possible on request. The fifth category («+») indicates that the owner has deposited his removals not only in the Magazzini Generali warehouses, but also in private warehouses. The persons listed were mostly from the German Reich, and to a much lesser degree from the annexed Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

The list was found in March 1959 in the cellar of the Carinthian state government in **Klagenfurt** among other documents concerning the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral.

AS, DB



56	2601	1	1500	Arpad Weyersohn	Unkacs	Unkacs	10.414 100	Cittadino ungherese residente in Ungheria. Possi- dissequestro. Lobb & Schwarz, Wien	41 no ?
56	5322	1	4540	Robert Bachrach	Vienna	USA	24.426 300	Ebreo tedesco residente in U.S.A. Mantenere se- questro. Lobb & Schwarz, Wien.	si ?
56	5299	1	550	Clara Melchior	Vienna	Buenos Aires	100	Probabile ebrea residente a Buenos Aires. Possi- bile dissequestro. Transport Uruch, Essen	no ?
56	2570	1	2460	Andrea Sabel	Vienna	Wizza	13.290 200	Probabile ebreo residente in Francia. Mantenere sequestro. Lobb & Schwarz, Wien	si ?
23	1566	2	7230	Hermann Wolf	Heil Bronn	Olanda	36.690 400	Probabile ebreo tedesco residente in Olanda. Mantenere sequestro in attesa dattagli. Barr & Ueberigg, Stuttgart	si ?
56	2369	1	3660	Viktor Furth	Vienna	U.S.A.	22.221 200	Ebreo tedesco residente in America. Mantenere sequestro. G. Rosel, Vienna	si ?
56	2596	1	2700	Carl Fick	Praga	Rep. Domenicana	200 15.970	Probabile ebreo boemo emigrato a S. Domingo. Man- tenere sequestro. Josef Topper, Praga.	si ?
56	2390	1	3320	Meta Fenar	Ignata	Francia	21.958 200	Ebreo tedesco; probabile; residente in Francia. Mantenere sequestro. V. Schreiber, Wien	si ?
56	2765	1	2005	Maria Anto- nietta Lobl	Vienna	Francia	13.530 200	Tedesca residente in Francia. Sembra ariana. Pro- babile dissequestro. Lobb & Schwarz, Wien	no ?
56	2755	1	2420	Maria Drosler	Vienna	Vienna	13.459 200	Probabile ebrea residente in Germania. Possibile dissequestro. R. Lowinger, Wien	no ?
23	1469	1	3610	Elise Lustgarten	Vienna	Ignata	19.625 200	Probabile ebrea tedesca forse emigrata. Mantenere sequestro. E. Baumel, Wien	si ?
23	1469	1	5060	Rudolf Fontzen	Vienna	Roma	17.100	Probabile ebreo tedesco residente a Roma. Possi- bile dissequestro. E. Baumel, Wien	no ?
23	1464	1	2290	Faul Fick	Vienna	U.S.A.	12.918 200	Ebreo tedesco emigrato in U.S.A. Mantenere seque- stro. F. Achter, Wien	si ?
23	2596	1	2450	Victor Kling	Hindon- burg	Ferronenti Tavara	12.736 200	Ebreo tedesco internato in Italia. Possibile dis- sequestro. E. Baumel, Wien	no ?

49. Household effects of Jewish emigrants / Enemy property

Masserizie di ebrei emigrati / Beni nemici

Two-page typewritten letter by Bruno Coceani, head of the Province of Trieste, to the General Inspectorate of Finance (Department IX) of the State Accounting Department within the Italian Ministry of Finance

31 January 1944

Italy, Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Fondo Bruno Coceani, folder 668/R24

The document is remarkable for the stance that Bruno Coceani, head of the Province of Trieste from late-October 1943 to the end of April 1945, assumed in the controversy over the «household effects» left behind by Jewish emigrants in the Free Port of Trieste. In his letter to the Italian Ministry of Finance, which had moved from Rome to Brescia (Lombardy), Coceani does not question confiscation and commercialization of these objects as such, but, bearing in mind the «huge value of the contested goods», attempts to defend Fascist Italy's share in plundering European Jews.

The author stresses the legal bearings of the case, recalling a decree issued by the Prefecture of Trieste on 11 May 1943, according to which the objects in question were to be considered «enemy property» and had consequently been partially seized by Italian authorities. After the German occupation of Trieste, Coceani had to acknowledge that these dispositions had been overridden and were disregarded by Nazi authorities which had taken power and control over the Adriatic Littoral in the meantime. Subsequently, on 12 January 1944, the Supreme Commissioner Friedrich Rainer passed a directive himself, proclaiming that all «household effects» of Jewish emigrants, while remaining seized, had passed under his power of disposal, due to the fact that all Italian sovereign rights in the occupied territories had passed to the Chief of German civil administration. Rainer additionally ordered all «household objects» being confiscated, removed from the Free Port of Trieste and transferred to Germany. Widely disempowered and reduced to an auxiliary authority, the Italian Social Republic and its head of the Province of Trieste had to accept that their objections to the German administration were pointless – and so were the analogous attempts of the Italian government under the guidance of Benito Mussolini and particularly of the Ministry of Finance, from whom Coceani requested political guidelines and support.

MW

Prefettura di Trieste
Div. I Prot. 1137/809

Oggetto: masserizie di ebrei emigrati. Beni nemici

Trieste, 31/1/1944

Ministero delle Finanze
Ragioneria Generale dello Stato
Ispettorato Generale di Finanza Div. IX
Brescia

Con decreto nro. 1100/12409 dell'11 maggio 1943 di cui ha ricevuto notizia anche cotesto Ministero, questa Prefettura dispose il sequestro di molte partite di masserizie esistenti presso i locali Magazzini Generali nella presunzione che esse appartenessero a sudditi nemici e precisamente ad ebrei apolidi emigrati dalla Germania in Paesi nemici, essendo state spedite a Trieste in transito per l'inoltro nei Paesi dove i proprietari avrebbero preso residenza.

Con lettera del successivo 19 maggio poneva sotto blocco tutte le rimanenti partite depositate presso i Magazzini privati dei singoli speditori. Tanto ai Magazzini Generali quanto agli spedizionieri venne ingiunto di non consegnare la merce a chicchessia stante il sequestro ed il blocco che erano stati imposti.

Invece in data 12 gennaio m.s. con nota N. III/4/81 l'Alto Commissario della zona d'operazioni 'Litorale Adriatico' ha impartito agli spedizionieri l'ordine di sgomberare il punto Franco, per ragioni di sicurezza, avvertendo che durante questo sfollamento si sarebbe effettuato anche l'asporto di dette masserizie, le quali restavano confiscate e poste a disposizione dello stesso Alto Commissariato. In seguito a tale ordine la Prefettura non ha mancato di far presente all'Alto Commissario che il nuovo provvedimento contrastava con quello disposto dalle Autorità di Governo italiano e che per la confisca delle masserizie si sarebbe dovuto per lo meno in precedenza revocare il loro sequestro decretato dalla Prefettura. Faceva inoltre osservare che comunque preesisteva un diritto intangibile del Governo italiano e che bisognava por bene in chiaro le eventuali responsabilità sollevandone per lo meno gli spedizionieri detentori delle merci, e regolare i crediti di questi ultimi per rimborso delle spese sostenute per magazzinaggio[,] assicurazioni ecc.

Perciò dichiarava di non poter liberare la merce dal vincolo imposto, e ciò sino a quando non fosse definita la questione e risolto un possibile conflitto di interessi.

Tuttavia alcuni spedizionieri hanno già aderito alla richiesta e cassoni di masserizie sono state già rispedite in Germania.

E poiché l'Alto Commissariato sembra fermo nei propri intendimenti, sebbene non abbia nulla eccepito sulle varie questioni che potrebbero insorgere, preme a quest'ufficio ricevere sull'argomento precise istruzioni da cotesto Ministero, vista la peculiare importanza della questione e l'ingente valore delle merci in contesa.

Il Prefetto
Coceani

50. «Adria» Company of Trieste

Società «Adria» di Trieste

One-page typewritten letter by Carlo Helbig, chief of the General Direction for Exchanges and Currencies - Treaties Section (*Direzione Generale per gli Scambi e per le Valute - Divisione Trattati*) of the Ministry of Finance to the General Direction of Business (*Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali*) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, for information, to the General Direction of Customs Services (*Direzione Generale Dogane*) and to the General Direction for Income Taxes (*Direzione Generale Imposte Dirette*)

13 June 1944

Italy, Rome, Archivio Storico Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Fondo RSI, 1944-1945, folder 206, file *Società «Adria»*

The Italian Ministry of Finance regrets not being able to follow the request of the German embassy (10 May 1944) to exempt the «Adria» Company from paying excise taxes as well as exportation and importation license duties. The document shows the attempt of the Italian Social Republic to limit export of Italian goods to the Reich during the German occupation. Most of the exported goods consisted of the assets confiscated from Jews by the German occupation authorities in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral.

DB

Ministero delle Finanze. Direzione Generale per gli scambi e per le valute.
Divisione Trattati. Prot. N. 28994.
Posta Civile 316

13 giugno 1944

Al Ministero degli Affari Esteri. D.G. Affari Commerciali
P.C. 306
e p.c. Alla D.G. delle Dogane
alla D.G. delle Imposte Dirette
Sede

Oggetto: Società "Adria" di Trieste

Con riferimento al telexpresso nr. 41/00928 del 10 maggio u.s., si prega di voler, ove nulla osti, far presente all'Ambasciata di Germania a Fasano che questo Ministero non può prescindere, neppure nel caso della Società "Adria", Istituto di diritto pubblico, dalla presentazione della licenza ministeriale per qualsiasi movimento di merce di importazione o esportazione.

Comunque codesto Ministero potrà sottolineare alla predetta Ambasciata che lo scrivente esaminerà sempre con particolare benevolenza e sollecitudine le domande di licenze di importazione o esportazione che venissero inoltrate dalla predetta Società.

Il Direttore Generale
C. Helbig

[added in pen:] 14.VI.44 [?] Appunto ad Amb[asciata] di Germania ed informarne Scambi Valute.

51. Personal Report on the «Adria» Company, Trieste

Persönlicher Bericht über «Adria», Triest

Two-page typewritten letter by Hans Fink, bailiff of the Klagenfurt branch of the Vienna auction house Dorotheum, to Property Control Office of the British military government in Klagenfurt

30 June 1945

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, 06-12 Dorotheum, box 46 (36)

Hans Fink gives a report on how the Dorotheum's Carinthian branch became involved in transferring and commercializing the property of Jewish emigrants who, in previous years, had fled Nazi-dominated Europe via the Italian harbour city of Trieste. Fink states that in June 1944 the Dorotheum in Klagenfurt had been approached by a non-specified office of the Nazi «government» of Carinthia requiring assistance in inspecting and assorting Jewish belongings which had been stored in magazines in the freeport of Trieste since prior to the Nazi occupation of Italy and had subsequently been seized by the German trading company «Adria» on behalf of German occupation authorities. Fink declares to have twice been ordered to Trieste to decide on where, and under which conditions, the objects were to be auctioned or sold, either in Germany (Klagenfurt) or in Italy (Trieste and Milan). The «Adria» initially intended to commercialize all furniture in Germany, reserving paintings, chinaware along with silver, metal and glass handicrafts to the Italian market. Later, however, it was determined that all objects were indiscriminately to be auctioned by the Dorotheum. Source states that first carriages with Jewish properties had reached Klagenfurt in September 1944. As of late June 1945, the Dorotheum's net profit was 405,279.63 Reichsmark and, additionally, 12,393.72 Austrian Schillings, since auctions appear to have continued even immediately after the defeat of Germany. Fink finally stresses that it was beyond his remit and responsibility to question the transfer to Germany of Jewish property, which supposedly was but one, and an all in all secondary, task of the «Adria» company.

MW

Hans Fink
Amtmann des Dorotheum

Klagenfurt, 30. Juni 1945

Persönlicher Bericht über Adria, Triest

An das Eigentum-Kontroll-Amt der Britischen Mil.Regierung in Klagenfurt, Arnulfplatz [sic] 1

Im Juni 1944 wurde die Zweiganstalt Klagenfurt des Dorotheums durch Vermittlung einer Regierungsstelle in Klagenfurt beigezogen zur Verwertung von Sachgütern, die im Hafen von Triest lagerten und durch Kampfeinwirkung gefährdet waren.

Ich fuhr daraufhin mit einem bei unserer Zentrale in Wien angeforderten Schätzmeister (hier war keiner verfügbar) nach Triest. Von einer Regierungsstelle des Obersten Kommissärs in Triest wurden wir zur weiteren Besprechung und Vereinbarung an die Güterverkehrsgesellschaft Adria, Via Valdirivo 31, gewiesen. In deren Auftrag waren in Hafengebäuden lagernde Möbel zu sichten in solche, die zur Versteigerung in Klagenfurt geeignet wären[,] und in solche, welche an Möbeltrödler in Kärnten zu verkaufen wären. Für andere Gegenstände (Porzellan, Glas, Metall, Silber, Bilder u.ä.),(,) deren Verlagerung aus der Gefahrenzone des Hafens damals gerade im Gange war, bestand bei der Adria, wie man mir sagte, die Absicht, sie in Triest oder in Mailand zu versteigern, wobei auch eine allfällige Ueberwachung dieser Versteigerung durch das Dorotheum zur Sprache kam. Bei einer stichprobenartigen Ueberprüfung solcher Sachen ergab sich, daß die durch dortige Sachverständige vorgenommene Sichtung und Schätzung nicht entsprach, indem viele Gegenstände aus Edelmetall nicht als solche erkannt und bewertet waren und den Antiquitäts- u. Raritätswerten zu wenig Beachtung geschenkt war. Es war dabei leicht zu erkennen, daß es sich meist um Sachen österreichischer und altösterreichischer Herkunft handelte. In Lagerräumen und zum Teil im Freien sahen wir auch Kisten und sogenannte Lifts, die zum Teil schon durch Zeit und Wetter gelitten hatten.

Nach Vereinbarung der Versteigerungsbedingungen über die beabsichtigte Einbringung von Möbeln war unsere Tätigkeit in Triest beendet. Einige Wochen später wurde ich nochmals nach Triest gerufen, wo mir eröffnet wurde, daß die Adria beschlossen habe, nebst den Möbeln auch jene Sachen, deren Versteigerung in Italien vorgesehen war, dem Dorotheum in Klagenfurt zur Versteigerung zu übergeben. Ich nahm an, daß die ungünstige Entwicklung und Lage am südlichen Kriegsschauplatze hiefür der Anlaß war.

Im Sept. 1944 kamen die ersten Waggonladungen in Klagenfurt an, zum Teil an das Dorotheum, zum Teil an Möbelhändler. Da diese aber den dafür verlangten Preis zu hoch befanden, hatte das Dorotheum auch diese Gegenstände später zur Versteigerung zu übernehmen. Soweit ich sah und hörte, war die ‚Adria‘ ein ausführendes Organ des O.K. zur Abwicklung wirtschaftlicher Angelegenheiten im Zusammenwirken mit italienischen Kaufleuten und Firmen, wobei die Verwertung des Umzugsgutes aus dem Triestiner Hafen nur einen nebensächlichen Teil ihrer Aufgaben bildete. Mich darum genauer zu kümmern[,] lag kein Anlaß vor, da mich bzw. das Dorotheum nur die Versteigerung anging.

Der weitere Verkehr mit der ‚Adria‘ beschränkte sich auf die Uebernahme und Bestätigung der einlangenden Sendungen, Nachweisung der Verkaufsergebnisse und Entgegennahme von Weisungen zur Begleichung der mit den Sendungen verbundenen Kosten.

Die nach Kostenabzug bleibenden Nettoerlöse waren an ein Konto bei der Landes-Hypothekenanstalt zu erlegen: Konto 1466 des Reichsgaues Kärnten. Insgesamt wurden an dieses Konto nach Abzug der Auftrags der Adria gezahlten Zoll-, Fracht- u. Zufuhrskosten Versteigerungserlöse von RM 405.279,63 vom Dorotheum eingezahlt. Ein weiterer restlicher Erlös von M (Sch) 12.393,72 ist hier verfügbar.

H. Fink

XIV.
THE CONFISCATION OF JEWISH CULTURAL ASSETS IN ITALY:
FROM FASCIST TO NAZI PERSECUTION

Daria Brasca

In Italy, Jews were well integrated into the social, economic and political life of the country. In particular, in **Trieste**, the main city of the Alpine-Adriatic region, Jews held important positions in banks, insurance companies and industries, whose activities were relevant for the whole country. Many of them were also high-ranking members of the National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*; PNF).

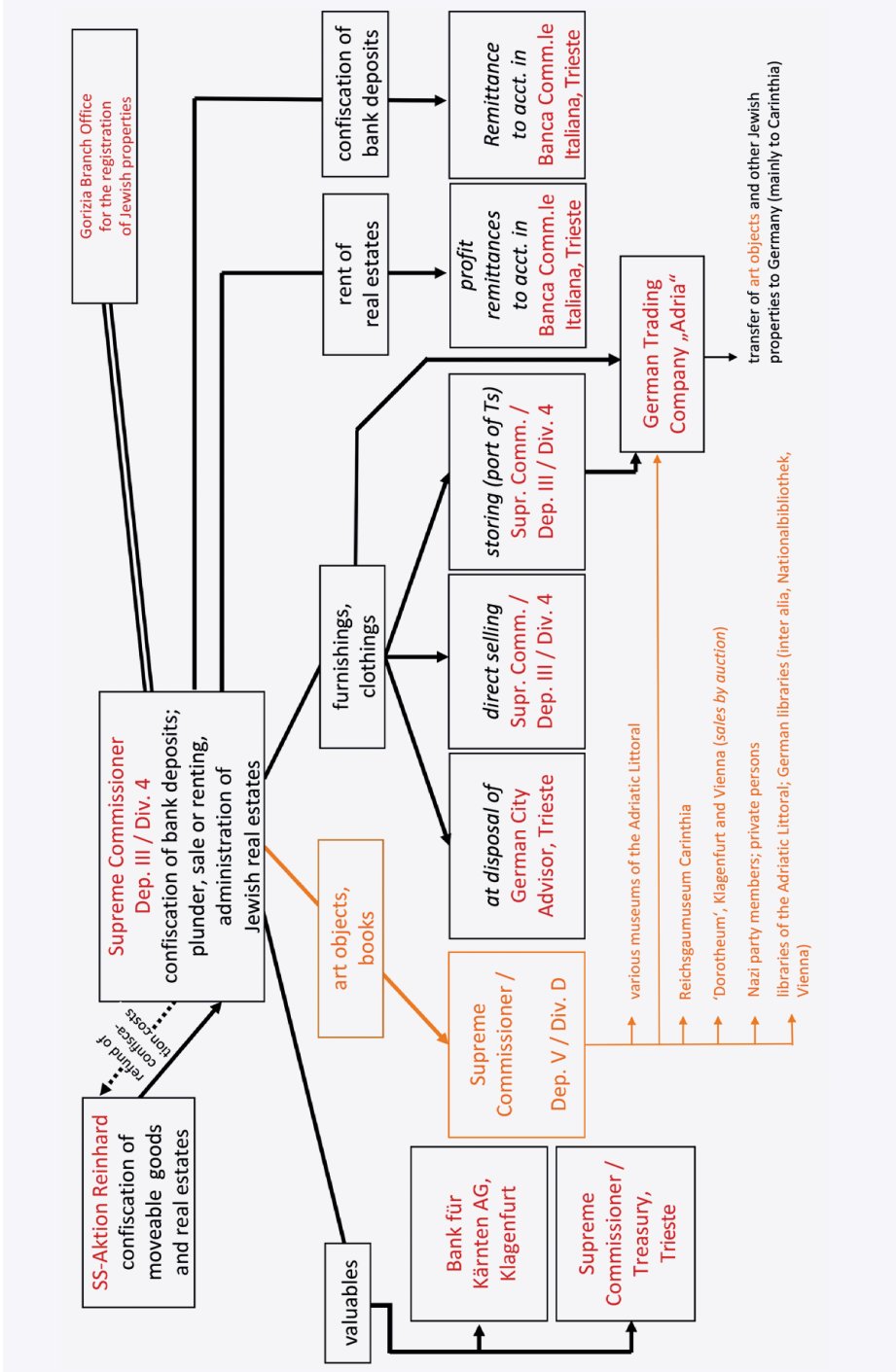
Massive anti-Semitic campaigns did not take place until the mid-1930s and were favoured by the tightening of Italo-German relations. The «Manifesto on Race» (*Manifesto della razza*), published on 14 July 1938, and the subsequent promulgation of the so-called Racial Laws in September 1938 created the psychological and legal basis for the marginalization of the Jewish population from public and cultural life. A further series of royal decrees, issued over just two months, led to the confiscation of property valued in excess of legally established limits. With the Royal Decree no. 126 of 9 February 1939 an Office of Property Management and Liquidation (*Ente di Gestione e Liquidazione Immobiliare*, EGELI) was established, whose task was to acquire, manage and liquidate confiscated Jewish assets, including real estate and bank accounts. EGELI delegated part of its competences to both private and public credit institutions. The *Istituto Fondiario delle Venezie* was in charge for the Veneto («Venezia Euganea») and the Provinces of Trieste, Pula and Rijeka, while the *Credito Fondiario Cassa di Risparmio di Gorizia* was responsible for the Province of Gorizia.

The promulgation of Racial Laws provoked an intensification of anti-Semitic violence. Aggressive propaganda against Jews was pervasive in the press, involving both the public and private spheres. It also led to personal attacks, police controls, arrests, as well as to raids against the seats of Jewish communities and synagogues as well as their ceremonial and cultural objects – so-called *Judaica*. Devastations of synagogues and holy places had already started in Germany where they intensified during and after the Night of the Broken Glass (*Reichskristallnacht*) of 9 November 1938. In Nazi-occupied countries of Eastern Europe, devastations were particularly harsh, as in the cases of Riga and Kraków, whereas in Italy attacks against synagogues began well before the German occupation. For example, on 21 September 1941, Fascist squads ravaged the Scola Tedesca and the Fanese Oratory of Ferrara, destroying their furnishings and desecrating

the tabernacle with the Rolls of the Law. In July 1942, the Synagogue of Trieste was devastated and set on fire while many *Judaica* were broken or looted. Devastations of synagogues increased during the German occupation, as in the case of Rijeka, where the Great Synagogue was destroyed in 1944.

When the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral was established in the autumn of 1943, the Supreme Commissioner attributed the general task of inventorying, evaluating and administering Jewish assets to his Department of Finance (Department III), headed by Franz Zojer, and in particular to Division 4 (Jewish Properties / *Judenvermögen*), under the direction of Alois Fischbach. It dealt with those assets which had been confiscated from Jewish residents by the Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*). Companies should in principle be sold, while apartments, after clearing, were left to the German City Adviser (*Stadtberater*) of Trieste, Wolfgang Schranzhofer, who decided on their utilization either for displaced persons or for public authorities, or as offices etc. Formerly Jewish-owned real estates and farms were handed over to local administrators. All proceeds from the management of Jewish assets were transferred to a special account of the Supreme Commissioner at the *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, which also held confiscated securities and shares. The cases of confiscated assets in and around Trieste ran up to 1,420 by early 1945. In these operations an important role was played by the Centre for the Study of the Jewish Problem (*Centro per lo studio del problema ebraico*), established in June 1942 under the auspices of the Office for Racial Studies and Propaganda of the Ministry of Popular Culture (*Ministero della Cultura Popolare*, commonly known as MinCul-Pop). Created to intensify the denigrating campaign against Jews, it also served the German Consulate and, after the Nazi occupation, the SS through providing information on Jewish property. However, the SS also made use of the surveys by the Jewish Community in Trieste, which included information on registrations and title deeds. Movable assets found in Jewish homes and in safety deposit boxes were inventoried and either sold to private individuals, or German civil and military authorities, or shipped to the German Reich.

More complex was the case of art objects. By order of Walter Frodl, who oversaw the protection of cultural objects in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, they were evaluated with the help of art historian Erika Hanfstaengl, who worked at the section *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz* within the Division D School Education (*Schulwesen*) of the Department V Science and Education (*Wissenschaft und Unterricht*). According to the German point of view, Italian sovereignty over the occupied territories had been temporarily suspended and passed to the Supreme Commissioner. This also covered art heritage. Hence, Jewish-owned art objects, confiscated for the German Reich, were endangered to be moved away. Without questioning the issue of confiscation at all, Italian authorities promptly complained about the German refusal to recognize the legislation of the Italian Social Republic (RSI) in the field of art protection, and made attempts to avoid



Administering the plunder of Jews in the Adriatic Littoral (1943–1945) © Michael Wedekind.

any losses. On this matter the head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March, Fausto Franco, alerted the Ministry of National Education, Carlo Alberto Biggini, who in turn got in touch with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Italians proposed to adopt the same procedure established in the RSI territory by the Legislative Decree no. 2 of 4 January 1944, by which confiscated properties had to be assigned to EGELI; this was meant to ensure stricter control, as EGELI had generally requested the advice of the Superintendent offices whenever it had to deal with art objects. Since Italian authorities failed in this attempt, the Superintendent Office and the Prefecture of Trieste took different measures to circumvent the German plunder of the Jewish-owned cultural assets: not only did they carefully supervise the most significant local collections, but occasionally also succeeded in obtaining them for public display.

DB

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BESETZTES SÜDOSTEUROPA UND ITALIEN 2017; BON 2000; BON 2001; BRASCA 2017; BRASCA 2019; BRASCA 2020; *CIVICO MUSEO MORPURGO* 2017; COLUSSO 2017; CROSERÀ, SPAGNOLETTO 2020; CUDICIO 2019; DA DALT 2019; *DALLA DIFESA DELLA RAZZA* 2018; DE FELICE 1993; DELNERI 2007; FRANCHI 2019; FUHRMEISTER 2016; HALL, KÖSTNER 2006; KILIAN 2017; *L'OPERA DA RITROVARE* 1995; LÜTGENAU, SCHROECK, NIEDERACHER 2006; MILLO 1989; *NEGLECTED WITNESSES* 2011; *RAPPORTO GENERALE DELLA COMMISSIONE [ANSELMI]* 2001; RAVENNA 2003; SARFATTI 2003; STUHLPFARRER 1969; WEDEKIND 2003; WEDEKIND 2012a

52. [Transfers of real estate and commercial and industrial companies, listed according to competent Revenue Offices]

Trasferimenti di beni immobili e di aziende commerciali e industriali, ordinati per Intendenze

One-page typewritten letter by Alberto Revera, Chief of the Revenue Office (*Intendenza di Finanza*) of Trieste, to the Publication Office of the «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia»

20 June 1942

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero delle Finanze, Direzione Generale coordinamento tributario. Affari generali e personale. Servizio Beni Ebraici 1938-1945, folder 2

The Chief of the Revenue Office of Trieste forwards a decree by which the property of Arturo di Carlo Castelli was assigned to the Office of Property Management and Liquidation (EGELI), as established by the Royal Legislative Decree of 9 February 1939, n. 126 (art. 26). Arturo Castelli was a member of a family of coffee traders and roasters in **Trieste**; his firm is included in an official list of Jewish-owned companies published on 28 November 1939 («Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 276).

DB, VT



Raccom.

Mod. (1. Promiscuo)
Art. 6

Trieste, 20 giugno 1942-XX

28 Art. 6 Trieste

Intendenza di Finanza
di Trieste

1° Ufficio Inserzioni
della Gazzetta Ufficiale
del Regno d'Italia

Prot. N° 19237/2008 Rip. IV

Roma
Ministero Finanze

Riscontro alla nota del

Dir. Sez. N°

OGGETTO: Beni immobili di cittadini italiani
di razza ebraica: Castelli Arturo fu Carlo.

A mente dell'art 26 del R D L 9 febbraio 1929-XVII
N. 126, si trasmette per l'inserzione gratuita nella
Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno, il decreto di attribu-
zione all'Ente di Gestione e Liquidazione Immobilia-
re di Roma, di beni immobili del cittadino italiano
di razza ebraica Signor Castelli Arturo fu Carlo.

Si gradirà ricevere un esemplare della Gazzetta
contenente la pubblicazione richiesta.

0001660

L'Intendente
(A. Revera)

MINISTERO delle FINANZE
DIREZIONE GENERALE delle Finanze

26 GIU. 1942 XX

Direzione Gen. per il Coordinamento del Contabile
degli Uffici Centrali e il Personale

28 GIU 1942 Anno XX

Dir. N°

Prot. N. 1119 Class. 28 Art. 6

CENTRO DOCUMENTAZIONE DELLO STATO

53. [Report of the Jewish community of Trieste regarding the Synagogue's devastation]

One-page typewritten report by Enrico Horitzky-Orsini, president of the Jewish Community of Trieste, to the Prefecture of Trieste

20 July 1942

Italy, Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Fondo Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto, 1923-1952, 1943, folder 456, file *Ebrei e squadristi - incidenti*.

Copies of the document are to be found also in Trieste, Archivio storico della Comunità ebraica and Archivio storico della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia.

In **Trieste**, following a massive press campaign of anti-Semitic propaganda, symbolic places at the heart of Jewish life became subject to violent Fascist attacks. On 18 July 1942, Fascist squads, including a group of students, entered the headquarters of the local branch of the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (DELASEM), the adjacent oratory and the main synagogue, intent on destroying their furnishings. Prayer desks, lamps, an ancient marble altar as well as two stately bronze candelabra were broken, and carpets, artworks, sacred books etc., removed. However, the Fascist squads did not succeed in profaning the sacred ark containing the Torah. Before leaving, the Synagogue was set on fire. It was one of the most serious Fascist attacks against Jewish institutions before the Nazi occupation, causing a loss of irreplaceable artworks and assets of significant emotional and financial value. The president of the Jewish Community of Trieste reported these facts to the Prefecture on 20 July 1942.

VT

Comunità Israelitica di Trieste

Trieste, 20 luglio 1942 - anno XX

No. 5793

All'Ill.mo Sig. Procuratore del Re

Trieste

Il sottoscritto Enrico Horitzky Orsini nella sua qualità di Presidente della Comunità Israelitica di Trieste, denuncia alla S. V. Ill.ma i fatti seguenti:

Verso le ore 17.30 di sabato 18 luglio a.c. un gruppo di circa una ventina di individui, tutti uomini di media età, muniti di mazze ferrate e di strumenti da scasso comunemente chiamati "pie di porco" portavasi innanzi la casa di via del Monte n. 7 nella quale è sito un oratorio religioso di questa Comunità. Il custode Mario Canarutto all'approssimarsi della turba, sprangava il portone. Senonché i detti individui con gli arnesi di cui erano muniti riuscivano a sfondarlo ed indi, mentre alcuni di essi si lanciavano sul custode e lo immobilizzavano, altri entravano nell'oratorio ove si davano a vandaliche e sacrileghe distruzioni rovesciando e sfasciando i banchi e l'arca ove si conservano i testi sacri, lacerando e disperdendo i libri di preghiere e spezzando lampade, vetri ed arredi sicché il tempietto in pochi istanti fu ridotto ad un ammasso di rottami. Nell'atrio veniva frantumata una lapide di marmo che ivi esisteva ricordante defunti benefattori della Comunità. Risultano inoltre mancanti alcuni oggetti tra cui un tappeto.

Dal tempietto gli individui si portarono nella casa occupata dal Comitato di assistenza agli Emigranti Ebrei ove furono schiantate alcune porte e frantumati [sic] oltre un centinaio di lastre di vetro. Una scrivania fu gettata in mezzo alla strada e il contenuto disperso.

Dalla via del Monte il gruppo si portò al Tempio Maggiore in piazza e via S. Francesco. Ivi, sempre con l'uso degli arnesi da scasso sopra precisati, fu sfondato il cancelletto di ferro dell'entrata laterale ed indi gli individui infrangendo le vetrate gotiche della porta, si aprirono un varco all'aula maggiore del Tempio. Riusciti così a raggiungerla, gli individui providero a rinchiudersi nell'interno in modo da poter procedere indisturbati alla loro vandalica opera.

Essi avevano recato seco anche una quantità di trucioli (dei quali alcuni non distrutti dalle fiamme sono rimasti sul posto) e fiaschi di spirito (ed anche di questi uno fu rinvenuto) ai quali fu appiccato il fuoco. Contemporaneamente venivano rovesciati alcuni banchi e la furia della sacrilega devastazione si scatenava contro l'altare. Ivi venivano rovesciati e ridotti in pezzi quattro pilastri di marmo belga di fattura antica, due maestosi candelabri di bronzo, in parte smembrati in parte contorti; gettati a terra e danneggiati vari candelabri ed altri sacri arredi. Da segni manifesti risulta che gli aggressori colpirono, tentando di forzarla, l'Arca sacra contenente i rotoli della Legge senza però riuscirvi. Intanto il fuoco aveva intaccato alcuni banchi e libri di preghiera e le volute di fumo che avevano invaso tutto l'ambiente si espandevano verso l'esterno. I custodi del tempio, impotenti ad opporsi alla turba armata, avvertivano i vigili al fuoco che, prontamente accorsi, riuscivano a spegnere l'incendio prima che assumesse più vaste proporzioni. Nel frattempo gli aggressori uscivano per la stessa via attraverso la

quale erano entrati e si allontanarono. La R. Questura avvertita telefonicamente inviò su tutti i due posti delle invasioni propri funzionari i quali però vi giunsero a devastazione compiuta.

Gli atti che qui si denunciano erano evidentemente intesi ad offendere la religione israelitica, culto ammesso nello Stato, mediante distruzione e vilipendio delle cose che ne formano oggetto e sono consacrate al culto o destinate necessariamente all'esercizio dello stesso. Si è perciò che, rispetto alla sacrilega devastazione del Tempio, passa in seconda linea il danno materiale, il quale tuttavia ammonta a parecchie decine di migliaia di lire (per oggetti infranti, bruciati, danneggiati e mancanti – poiché anche dal Tempio Maggiore risultano mancanti alcuni paramenti sacri – nonché per gli ingenti danni occasionati dall'opera di spegnimento dell'incendio) a tacere dal fatto che andarono distrutti oggetti d'arte e cimeli insostituibili e particolarmente cari al cuore di ogni ebreo triestino, quali le ghirlande con bacche dorate e nastri tricolori con frangie auree deposte ai piedi della lapide che ricorda i venti ebrei triestini volontari di guerra caduti per la redenzione di Trieste.

Di quanto sopra il sottoscritto, al quale dalla legge è commessa la conservazione dei beni della Comunità e la cura dell'indisturbato esercizio del sacro culto, si fa un dovere dare comunicazione alla S. V. Ill.ma per quei provvedimenti che riterrà di dover prendere sia in ordine all'accertamento degli incresciosissimi fatti intervenuti sia al fine di impedire che la impunità di cui eventualmente riuscissero a fruire gli autori, possa indurre gli stessi o altri a più gravi trascorsi.

Il Presidente Enrico Horitzky-Orsini

54. Fire at the synagogue of Trieste

Incendio della Sinagoga di Trieste

Black and white photograph by unidentified photographer

1942

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II, 1940-1945, Posizione 6 *Monumenti*, folder 164 *Treviso e Trieste*, file 2937.

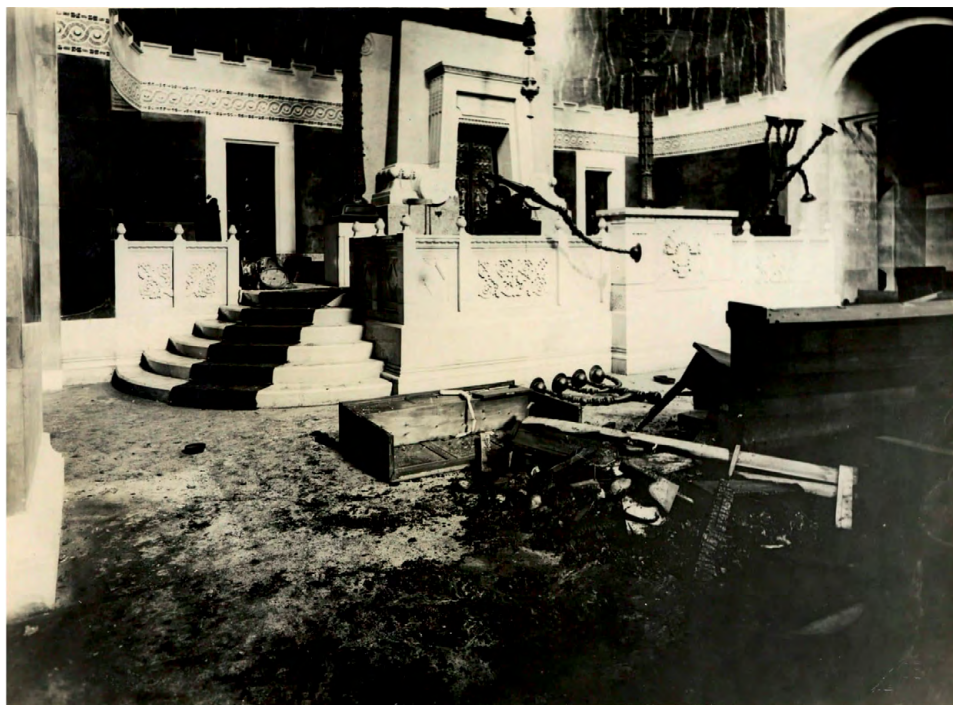
The same photograph is also held in Trieste, Archivio Storico della Comunità Ebraica; Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia; Archivio Storico dell'Istituto Regionale per la Storia della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea nel Friuli Venezia Giulia.

The photograph shows damages due to vandalism, following the attack on the synagogue of Trieste on 18 July 1942. Its caption reads: «View of the altar: on the left, overturned and broken pillars; on the balustrade, candlesticks torn apart. On the ground, part of a dismembered candelabra and benches destroyed by fire».

The photograph is part of a series of eight, attached to a group of letters describing the event. They were exchanged between local police corps (*Carabinieri*), the Superintendent Office and the General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of National Education. The General Direction, alerted by the police report, requested the Superintendent Office, directed by Fausto Franco, to comment on the artistic value of the building. Franco replied that since it was built in 1912, the synagogue did not figure in the list of monuments to be protected, but provided information on damages to objects highlighting their artistic quality.

After September 1943, the synagogue was requisitioned by Nazis and used as collecting point for books confiscated from Jews.

VT



Veduta dell'altare : a sinistra
pilastri rovesciati e spezzati; sulla
balaustra candelabri divelti. A
terra parte di un candelabro
smembrato e banchi distrutti
dal fuoco.

55. Protection of artworks: removal of Mario Morpurgo's property

Tutela opere d'arte: asporto proprietà Mario Morpurgo

Three-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli, to the Ministry of National Education, then based in Padua, as well as copied for information, to the head of the Province of Trieste, Bruno Cocceani, and to the Mayor of Trieste, Cesare Pagnini


20 November 1943

Italy, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA), Archivio Fausto Franco, cassa 17-11, folder *Regia Soprintendenza di Trieste*

In November 1943, the SS confiscated and removed paintings, prints, carpets, porcelain, and other objects of cultural and historical value from the palace of Mario Morpurgo de Nilma in Trieste. The head of the Superintendent Office, Fausto Franco, immediately reported the raids to the Ministry of National Education and asked to reach an agreement with the German authorities that would leave safeguarding of Jewish-owned collections to the local Superintendent Office. Moreover, in an attempt to preserve the remaining part of the collection, Franco asked the minister to insist on the rights the City of Trieste had with regard to the Morpurgo de Nilma property. Morpurgo, who died on 18 December 1943, had bequeathed his estate to the city as early as 1941.

Finally, Franco proposed to extend this procedure to art holdings of other Jewish collectors «who would prefer to donate to their city what would otherwise surely be dispersed» («preferiscono fare dono alla propria città di quanto altrimenti verrebbe certamente disperso»).

EF


R. SOPRINTENDENZA AI MONUMENTI E ALLE GALLERIE DELLA VENEZIA GIULIA E DEL FRIVLI

TRIESTE 20 novembre 1943
 CORSO LITURIO, 15 - TEL. 4-23

PROT. N. 2915 POSIZ. Mis. RISP. A N. _____ DIV. _____ DEL _____

ALLEGATI _____

OGGETTO: Tutela opere d'arte: asporto proprietà Mario Morpurgo.

AL MINISTRO DELL'EDUCAZIONE NAZIONALE
Padova e per conoscenza:

AL PREFETTO di
Trieste
AL PODESTA' di
Trieste

R. PREFETTURA TRIESTE

0518
4419
22.11 1943

Per debito d'ufficio e ~~cioè per corrispondere a quanto~~
 contenuto nella Ministeriale n° 5708 del 12 ottobre 1943
 avente per oggetto tutela opere d'arte, informo l'R.V. che
 l'8 novembre e il successivo 13 u.s. dal palazzo di proprie-
 tà di Mario Morpurgo de Nilma, sito in Trieste, Via Imbrian
 5, sono stati asportati quadri, stampe, oggetti, porcellane
 tappeti di notevole valore, sequestrati, sembra, per dispo-
 sizione delle Autorità occupanti, in applicazione di leggi
 razziali.

Lo scrivente non intende entrare minimamente nella valu-
 tazione politica delle leggi stesse, e sulla loro applicabi-
 lità nel territorio dello Stato italiano, ma intende riman-
 ere sul terreno legale dell'applicazione delle leggi sulla

/s/

tutela delle opere d'arte.

Prego pertanto l'E.V. di voler benevolmente considerare l'opportunità di richiamare, sul problema, l'attenzione delle supreme gerarchie dello Stato italiano per ottenere che, di intesa con quelle della Nazione occupante, si addivenga a una sospensione delle esportazioni di cose d'arte, ma queste vengano transitoriamente, prese in consegna dalle autorità civili, competenti in materia amministrativa e artistica, e sigillate in attesa di disposizioni prese di comune accordo, intese, in ogni caso, a non scindere l'unità delle collezioni, e a tutelarne l'integrità.

Per quanto si riferisce alla raccolta Morpurgo, la Soprintendenza ha interessato subito l'Eccellenza il Prefetto e il Podestà di Trieste che sono intervenuti immediatamente per cercar di salvare il salvabile.

Inoltre, poichè è notorio che il Morpurgo ha intenzione di assegnare il suo patrimonio artistico in dono alla città di Trieste, la Soprintendenza, col tramite cortese del Prof. Piero Sticotti, amico del Morpurgo, si è rivolta al proprietario, pregandolo di rilasciare, se crede, una dichiarazione in tal senso, per ottenere che, almeno, il suo patrimonio artistico non venga allontanato da Trieste.

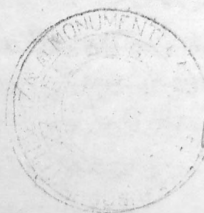
Le autorità germaniche preposte alla tutela artistica hanno già dichiarato che faranno il possibile per appoggiare questo desiderio, nel caso del Morpurgo e alla con-

dizione suddetta della donazione a Trieste.

Lo scrivente ritiene perciò che questa formula potrebbe essere generalizzata a tutte le proprietà artistiche di cittadini di razza ebraica che preferiscano far dono alla propria città di quanto altrimenti verrebbe certamente disperso.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE

(Franco)



Franco

56. [Defending Italian sovereignty over art heritage]

Two-page typewritten letter by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli, to Giorgio Vigni, inspector at the same office

27 November 1943

Italy, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA), Archivio Fausto Franco, folder Corrispondenza di Fausto Franco a Giorgio Vigni

Before briefing the Ministry of National Education in **Padua** on the political situation of **Trieste** and presumably on Nazi interferences in the preservation of local art heritage, Fausto Franco charges his subordinate, Giorgio Vigni, to collect data on Jewish-owned collections. He suggests that Vigni should be assisted by experts such as the director of the Town Museum, Piero Sticotti, the art collector Eugenio Garzolini, and the honorary inspector Nicolò Rota. He orders Vigni to communicate these data (see doc. 57) to the Prefect urging the latter to preventatively seize Jewish collections.

Franco adds that he is still waiting for the Supreme Commissioner's authorization to pay for the maintenance of the Miramare Park close to Trieste – a question to which Franco appears to attribute crucial importance as evidence of whether or not Italian rights over art heritage would be acknowledged by Nazi authorities.

EF



Trieste, 27 novembre 1943

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
AI MONUMENTI E ALLE GALLERIE
DELLA VENEZIA GIULIA E DEL FRIVLI
CORSO LITTORIO, 17 - TEL. 34.87
TRIESTE

Caro Vigni,

Ti prego di esaminare l'unito elenco, e, con l'aiuto di Sticotti, Garzolini, Rota, ecc. agglungere tutto quanto puoi di collezioni di proprietà di ebrei triestini.

Indi prepara una nota per il Prefetto, invitandolo a procedere ad una qualsiasi forma di sequestro o di fermo, anche in attesa che il decreto venga promulgato. Le ragioni sono ovvie. Firma tu.

Ho preso appuntamento a Padova per mercoledì. Sino alle 12.40 di martedì sei a tempo di far partire Salvagno o Schilleni, per mandarmi a Venezia (Castello 4416, Tel. 25.911) eventuali notizie urgenti per il Ministro.

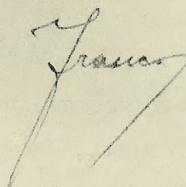
Per quanto riguarda Miramare, sono in attesa di una lettera del Supremo Commissariato che mi confermi di procedere al pagamento di Capecchi . . . questo documento, (per quel che vale) sancirebbe il principio che l'amministrazione di di-

./.

ritto è ancora nostra.

Difendi strenuamente la nostra sede di
Via Romagna

Saluti

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Francis". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial letter.

57. Seizure of Jewish-owned artworks

Sequestro di opere d'arte di proprietà ebraica

One-page typewritten letter by Giorgio Vigni, inspector of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie*) of the Julian March and Friuli in Trieste, to the head of the Province of Trieste, Bruno Coceani; two annexes, the first entitled *Dal giornale «Il Piccolo» del 26 novembre*, the second containing a list of collectors)


29 November 1943

Italy, Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Fondo Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto, 1923-1952, 1943, folder 470, file *Sequestro opere d'arte di proprietà ebraica*

On 29 November 1943, the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March and Friuli transmits a list of the most important local Jewish-owned collections to the head of the Province of Trieste. The purpose of the list was to facilitate Italian confiscations of artworks. On behalf of his superior, Giorgio Vigni suggests to act immediately, even prior to the publication of the official decree on the requisition of Jewish-owned artworks which, according to the press (reported in Annex 1), had been already elaborated by the Italian Council of Ministers. As a matter of fact, only a ministerial circular (no. 665) was issued on 1 December 1943.

Annex 2 lists eight Jewish collectors: Arturo Castiglioni, Aldo Mayer, Mario Morpurgo de Nilma, Andrea Pollitzer, Alberto and Enrico Schott, Count Salvatore Segrè Sartorio and Giuseppe Valmarin. Three names – Mayer, Morpurgo de Nilma and Segrè Sartorio – were struck from the list with a red pencil, while the name of Enrico Schott was added. The collections not only included art works, but also books and musical instruments, for example from the Castiglioni and Enrico Schott collections.

DB

 R. SOPRINTENDENZA AI MONVMENTI E ALLE
GALLERIE DELLA VENEZIA GIULIA E DEL FRIVLI

TRIESTE, 29 novembre 1943
CORSO LITTORIO, 17 - TEL. 47-23

PROT. N. 1979 POSIZ. Ris. RISP. A N. DEL

ALLEGATI due

OGGETTO: Sequestro opere d'arte di proprietà ebraica.

Eccellenza il PREFETTO
di
Trieste

R. PREFETTURA - TRIESTE
GABINETTO
1318
4556
6-12 1943

Con riferimento alla notizia comparsa sui giornali di uno schema di decreto approvato dall'ultimo Consiglio dei Ministri, circa il sequestro conservativo delle opere d'arte di proprietà ebraica (notizia di cui si allega per comodità lo stralcio - All.1), questa Soprintendenza ritiene utile inviare all'Ecc. V. un elenco di cittadini di razza ebraica proprietari di opere d'arte, abitanti in Trieste (all. 2), affinché l'E.V. giudichi l'opportunità e la possibilità di procedere ad una qualche forma di sequestro o di fermo, anche in attesa che il decreto venga promulgato, onde impedire che le opere vengano allontanate dalla città.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
K.ignio

nale "IL PICCOLO" del 26 novembre 1943

" In seguito il Consiglio ha approvatouno schema di Decreto recante norme sul sequestro conservativo delle opere di arte di proprietà ebraica allo scopo di evitare che queste possano andare disperse e in attesa delle disposizioni che saranno adottate per i patrimoni degli ebrei. Il Decreto sancisce l'obbligo da parte dei proprietari di presentare entro 15 giorni dall'entrata in vigore del Decreto stesso una denuncia delle opere al Soprintendente delle Gallerie competente per territorio, e stabilisce contemporaneamente il divieto della alienazione a qualsiasi titolo di opere d'arte appartenenti a cittadini italiani di razza ebraica.

Il Decreto prevede infine a carico dei contravventori la confisca delle opere d'arte non denunciate. "

PER COPIA CONFORME
AD UFFICIO MINISTERO
per il SOPRINTENDENTE
(F. Franco)

V. J. J.

~~MAYER~~ Dott. Aldo - Via Silvio Pellico, Trieste

~~MORPURGO de NILMA~~ Cav. Mario - Via Imbriani 5, Trieste

POLLITZER Dott. Andrea - Via Commerciale 37, Trieste

~~SECRETI BARTORIO~~ Conte Salvatore - Via SS. Martiri 3, Trieste

SCHOTT Alberto - Via Roma 20, Trieste

CASTIGLIONI Arturo - (pare che egli sia in America e che le principali opere da lui possedute siano state deposite nei sotterranei della Banca Commerciale di Milano.)

VALMARIN

*Schott Enrico (raccolta
musicale)*

58. [Memo to the German embassy]

One-page typewritten memo from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

10 February 1944

Italy, Rome, Archivio Storico Ministero Affari Esteri, Fondo RSI, Gabinetto Assistenza Italiani Lavoranti in Germania (GABAILG), 1944-1945, folder 45, file *Sequestro agli ebrei*

In the memo addressed to the German ambassador Rudolph Rahn in **Fasano del Garda**, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs complains that Jewish-owned cultural property had been seized by Nazi authorities in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral without the supervision by the local Superintendent Office and, according to the Supreme Commissioner, had already been confiscated for the German Reich. Instead, the Ministry refers to a «recent decree» (Legislative Decree no. 2 of 4 January 1944) which established that the confiscated Jewish property was to pass to the Italian Social Republic and be managed by EGELI. He therefore asks that the Jewish property in question should be returned.

DB

Ministero degli Affari Esteri

A.G. 31/101

APPUNTO PER L'AMBASCIATA DI GERMANIA

Risulta che le Autorità di Polizia germaniche hanno sequestrato la proprietà di persone di razza ebraica situate nella zona d'operazioni del Litorale Adriatico: per quanto riguarda le opere d'arte, il sequestro è avvenuto senza la presenza delle Autorità preposte alla tutela delle cose artistiche.

Il Supremo Commissario germanico di detta zona avrebbe inoltre dichiarato che tali proprietà saranno confiscate a favore della Germania.

Nel richiamare su queste informazioni la cortese attenzione dell'Ambasciata di Germania, si fa presente che un recente decreto impone che i beni immobiliari e le loro pertinenze, i beni mobiliari, le aziende industriali e commerciali ed ogni altro cespite esistente nel territorio dello Stato italiano, di proprietà di persone di razza ebraica, sono confiscati a favore dello Stato e dati in amministrazione all'"Ente di gestione e di liquidazione immobiliare". Il decreto di confisca è emesso dal Capo della Provincia competente per territorio in ordine ai singoli beni.

Si prega pertanto l'Ambasciata di Germania di volersi interessare presso le competenti Autorità affinché tutti i beni già sequestrati siano rimessi ai Capi delle rispettive Provincie, prendendo con essi gli opportuni accordi, e, per quanto riguarda le opere d'arte, curando che siano prese in consegna da esperti per evitare pericoli di eventuali danneggiamenti o dispersioni.

Q[uartier] G[enerale], 10 febbraio 1944. XXII

59. Meeting with the Gauleiter and Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter), held in Klagenfurt on 17 July 1944

Vorsprache beim Gauleiter und Reichsstatthalter in Klagenfurt am 17. Juli 1944

Six-page typewritten minutes by Walter Frodl recording a conversation with the Supreme Commissioner Friedrich Rainer

undated, but likely immediately after 17 July 1944

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt, Archiv, *Restitutionsmaterialien*, box 14 (*Depot Klagenfurt, Masse Adria, Beschlagnahmungen*), folder 6 (*Italien: Jüdischer Besitz*)

Walter Frodl was in charge of protecting cultural objects in Carinthia (*Gaukonservator* since 1936) as well as in German-occupied Upper Carniola (since 1941) and in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (since 1943). The document concerns a conversation, held in **Klagenfurt** on 17 July 1944, between Walter Frodl and *Gauleiter* Friedrich Rainer, head of the German Civil Administration in both Upper Carniola and the Adriatic Littoral. A copy of Frodl's minutes was sent to *Regierungsrat* Hugo Hauser, Head of the Reich Governor's General Division in Klagenfurt. It contains a summary of each of the topics discussed with (left side of page) typewritten transcripts of the *Gauleiter's* remarks and opinions, and further comments in red pencil, probably added by the addressee.

The document touches upon a wide range of topics concerning protection, illegal appropriation and transfer of cultural assets in all territories under Rainer's jurisdiction. The text generally refers to cultural assets of Jews from **Trieste** and of those (simply defined as «German Jews») who fled Nazi-occupied Europe via Trieste, leaving their property behind in the local port. In order to decide on the assignment of this property, it appears that, during the conversation, *Gauleiter* Rainer was handed over a list, accompanied by photographs, of Jewish cultural assets. In addition, the minutes refer to the reorganization of museums and galleries and to proposed new legislation on the protection of cultural objects in the Province of **Ljubljana**; furthermore, the minutes mention the protection of monuments against Allied air raids.

MW

Der Gaukonservator für Kärnten
Klagenfurt, Museumsgasse 2

Vorsprache beim
Gauleiter und Reichsstatthalter
in Klagenfurt
am 17. Juli 1944

An Gen.Referenten
An Regierungsrat Hauser

I. Adriat. Küstenland. Ital. Provinzen

1) Judenbesitz Triest. Die bisher festgestellten Bestände (soweit sie uns überhaupt gemeldet wurden) werden gleichzeitig (Verzeichnis mit Fotos) dem Gauleiter zur Entscheidung vorgelegt. Antrag: Die Bestände dem die jeweilige Provinz erfassenden Museum zuzuweisen. Die grundsätzliche Zustimmung hat der Gauleiter bereits erteilt. Jedoch ist der letzten Information nach, [sic] die Finanzabteilung in Triest hiervon noch nicht in Kenntnis gesetzt worden.

*Anmerkungen des
Gauleiters:
ja, ausgenommen
Stücke, die besonderes
Interesse für Kärnten
haben.
Auswahl Dr. Frodl.*

2) Judenbesitz deutscher Herkunft (Beschlagnahme Lifts im Freihafen von Triest). Die Auswahl wurde bereits getroffen. Über die Genehmigung des Gauleiters, dass die Bestände dem Museum in Klagenfurt überwiesen werden können, hat die Finanzabteilung ebenfalls noch keine Verständigung erhalten. Diese ist lediglich bezüglich des nächsten Punktes:

ja!

3) Bibliotheken aus jüdischem Besitz (Sammelstelle Triest, Synagoge) ergangen. Das Einvernehmen mit Dr. Heigl wurde erzielt, die fraglichen Bestände sind bereits zum Abtransport nach Kärnten bereit.

4) Benzin. Die Fototransporte von Udine nach Lienz müssen gesichert bleiben. Kunst- und Denkmalschutz gehört [sic] zur Abteilung V, diese weigert sich jedoch, von ihrem Kontingent (100 l) etwas abzugeben.

*fallweise
Sonderzuteilung!*

5) Für die Erledigungen in der Stadt und nächsten Umgebung wird um die Zuweisung von 2 Diensträdern gebeten. 1 Damen- und 1 Herrenrad.
(Für die Ausstattung der Dienststelle wurde nicht eine Lire ausgegeben).

kaufen in Triest

6) Prause bittet um Ausstellung eines neuen Passierscheines für sich und seinen Sohn. Liegt ein Antrag vor?

*nein, aber kein
Einwand, wenn er
unten zu tun hat.*

7) Dr. Medweth macht auf eine umfangreiche chemische Fachbibliothek aufmerksam, die sich in der vom Regierungspräsidenten bewohnten Judenvilla in Triest befindet[,] und regt an, sie für die naturgeschichtliche Abteilung des Museums in Klagenfurt zu gewinnen.

ja

II. Adriat. Küstenland Laibach

1) Denkmalschutzverordnung für die Provinz Laibach. Entwurf und Antrag liegt [sic] mit einem Kommentar von mir seit 28.2.1944 in Triest. Trotz größter Dringlichkeit (z.B. Planung neuer Stadtverbauungen durch die Provinzialregierung in Laibach. Unmögliche Planungen, etwa Rudolfswert), bis jetzt noch nichts von einer Bearbeitung vernommen. Wiederholt von mir urgirt. Ebenso wurde die Verordnung bereits vom Präsidenten und vom deutschen Berater in Laibach betrieben.

*Hierzegger!
rasch vorlegen*

Parallel geht der Ausbau des Denkmalamtes in Laibach, [sic] sowie die Neuordnung der Museumsverhältnisse. Sie erweist sich als dringend notwendig. Ich will sie jedoch ohne Basis – das ist die Denkmalschutzbestimmung – nicht durchführen.

Eine Museumsverordnung wurde mir von Laibach ebenfalls bereits vorgelegt. Nehme sie jedoch vor Erledigung des ersten Antrages nicht in Bearbeitung. Die interne Ordnung der Verhältnisse, z.B. Trennung der Museumsabteilungen, Bestellung geeigneter Leitungen, Schaffung eines Staatsarchives, Übernahme der modernen Galerie (Nationalgalerie) in öffentliches Eigentum, wird von uns nur gelenkt, wir treten hierbei nicht offiziell in Erscheinung.

Schon seit meinen ersten Aufenthalten in Triest, [sic] habe ich der ital. Denkmalschutzbehörde (Soprintendenza all'arte) die Verbesserung der Schutzbauten nahegelegt und die weitgehende Unterstützung des OK bez. Beschaffung von Material, Arbeitskräften und Geldmittel zugesagt.

*Nachtrag zu I, ital.
Provinzen*

Die Soprintendenza hat – scheinbar unter Einfluss ihres Ministeriums – eine zuwartende, bzw. zurückhaltende Stellung eingenommen. Seit Verschärfung des Luftkrieges nun (Monfalcone, Triest usw.) etwa seit 4 Wochen, werde ich mit Ansuchen um Beistellung von bewirtschafteten Baustoffen und anderen Materialien, die für Sicherungsmassnahmen in Grado, Aquileja, Udine, Cividale usw. nötig sind, bedrängt[,] und bin selbstverständlich bei größten [sic] Entgegenkommen der zuständigen Dienststellen des OK nicht mehr in der Lage, alle Anforderun-

gen zu erfüllen, da sich seit dem Oktober die Lage ja wesentlich geändert hat.

Bei den Italienern ist die Tendenz zu erkennen[,] uns die Schuld zuzuschreiben. Falls an einem der Baudenkmäler tatsächlich etwas passieren sollte, was durch einen fachgerechten Schutzbau vielleicht hätte verhindert werden können.

Ich habe in einigen Schreiben an die Soprintendenza zu erkennen gegeben, dass ich diese Taktik durchschaue, [sic] und dass die Verantwortlichkeit nach wie vor die italienischen Behörden treffe. Soll darüber hinaus noch eine Veranlassung getroffen werden?

Schutzmaßnahmen sind nach Massgabe des verfügbaren Materials z.Zt. in Cividale (Dom und Museum) und Udine (Capella [sic] Minin, Sa. Maria in Castello) angeordnet und z.T. bereits im Gang.

nein!

2) Reiserechnungen Dr. Frodl. Da ich nicht abgeordnet bin und (infolge meiner Tätigkeit in Kärnten) auch nicht abgeordnet werden kann, trotzdem jedoch tageweise immer wieder mich in der Operationszone aufhalte, kann ich nur Reiserechnungen vorlegen, deren Betrag, zumal bei kurzen Aufenthalten, kaum das Auskommen ermöglicht.

Kann mir nicht ein Honorar monatlich angewiesen werden? Es steht dem OK ja frei, Fachkräfte für bestimmte Aufgaben zu engagieren und zu honorieren.

*ja! Sondervertrag
soll Hierzegger
erledigen*

III. CdZ Oberkrain
[omissis]

IV. Kärnten
[omissis]

60. [Portrait of Sinigallia family in Terzo]

Familienportrat [sic] Sinigallia in Terzo

One-page typewritten memo signed and annotated by Erika Hanfstaengl of the section *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz*, Department of Science and Education of the Supreme Commissioner of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, Udine; with an annotation in English, probably by Allied authorities, translating some of the information given in the memo

6 October 1944

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv, *Restitutionsmaterialien*, box 14 (*Depot Klagenfurt, Masse Adria, Beschlagnahmungen*), folder 6 (*Italien: Jüdischer Besitz*)

Erika Hanfstaengl acted as Walter Frodl's assistant and temporary substitute in the assignment of «the inventory of mobile and immobile art property», i.e. especially Jewish property. As Frodl was absent most of the time and made an appearance only approximately every fortnight, Hanfstaengl managed the task mostly on her own. Frodl later testified that she was very supportive in their joint «really unpleasant job» (Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4901/12277), and the Americans also realised quite quickly that the person in charge in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral was Hanfstaengl, who was described in 1945 as «the operative figure» (FUHRMEISTER 2016).

Hanfstaengl's memo deals with a portrait of the Jewish family «Sinigallia» (Sinigaglia) of **Gorizia**. After a short, but concise description, Hanfstaengl dates the painting to the 1850s, attributing it to a painter close to Giuseppe Tominz – «if not [to] Tominz himself», but also pointing out its poor state of conservation, caused by previous restorations. In the following, she remarks that the painting had been seized as Jewish property and discusses its destination: According to principles established by the Supreme Commissioner, it should be entrusted to a local public collection, but since it represented a Jewish family, Hanfstaengl suggests releasing the painting for sale.

The document is relevant because it reveals how Hanfstaengl evaluated cultural objects. In the first part of the memo, she gives an objective description of the painting, its subject, and its condition – a very common *modus operandi* for an art historian. However, this description is followed by a passage in which an ideologically driven evaluation emerges: due to the fact that it represents a Jewish family, the painting was automatically considered unsuitable for public collections as well as for translocation to the German Reich.

However, it remains unclear where the painting was confiscated and if it was released for sale, as Hanfstaengl had suggested. According to DELNERI 2007, the painting had belonged to a member of the Sinigaglia family, Iedidà Ida, until the end of the First World War, during which it had been damaged. In the early twenties, it had been in possession – not the property – of the antiquarian Gino Calligaris, who was probably responsible for the poor restoration Hanfstaengl mentions in her memo. Subsequently, it had been sheltered at **Campolongo al Torre** at the house of Onorio Fasiolo (TAVANO 2011), who in 1947 entrusted it to the *Musei Provinciali* in Gorizia where it still is today. After restoration, it is now considered as the most elaborate work by Giuseppe Tominz.

MT

Aktenvermerk

6.X.44

Betr.: Familienportrat [sic] Sinigallia in Terzo, ehem. Besitzer: [sic]

Öl auf Leinwand, ungefähre Masse: 300 x 250 cm (Breitformat)

Dargestellt ist die Familie Sinigallia aus Görz (jüdische Familie) mit elf Familienmitgliedern, einschliesslich Kindern; das Bild dürfte in den 50ziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts gemalt sein, und steht dem bekannten Porträtmaler Tominz nahe, falls es überhaupt nicht ein Werk seiner Hand ist. Die Personen stehen und sitzen in guter Gruppierung vor einem landschaftlichen Hintergrund und einfacher Architektur Kulisse. Eine starke Minderung seines Wertes ist durch die schlechte Restaurierung von 5 Köpfen verursacht, die nach einer Beschädigung im letzten Krieg teils völlig neu gemalt wurden und recht unglücklich von den übrigen abstechen.

Das Bild wurde als ehemaliger jüdischer Besitz in diesem Sommer beschlagnahmt, und seine weitere Verwertung durch die Finanzabtlg. steht aus. Trotz der störenden Restaurierung wäre es immerhin ein Werk, das nach den bisherigen Abmachungen einer öffentlichen Sammlung überwiesen werden müsste, dem allerdings die Darstellung einer jüdischen Familie entgegen steht. Der Verwaltung des Gutes in Terzo hätte einen Käufer in Görz, der diesen Werk, da es von einem Görzer Maler stammen soll, - eben wahrscheinlich Tominz – erwerben möchte. Auf Grund der Portäte [sic] jüdischer Personen und der beträchtlichen Restaurierung (drei Köpfe gänzlich, zwei weitere stark übermalt) wäre das Bild vielleicht zum Verkauf freizugeben.

Die Mitteilung, dass die Familie Sinigallia jüdischer Abstammung ist, allerdings nur mündlich, ohne Gewähr.

[signature: E[rika] H[anfstaengl]

[added in pen:] Much repainted family portrait of Sinigallia family c 1850 (? by Tom[inz]) at Terzo (? Gorizia). There is a prospective local purchaser & in view of subject & condition the Kunstdenkmal will not in this instance oppose the finance department's desire to sell.

61. Inspection of administrative procedures of Division 4 within the Finance Department of the Supreme Commissioner, concerning the management of Jewish assets. Report by Dr. Friedrich Moc, former Chief of Section

Einschau in den Dienstbetrieb der Unterabteilung 4 der Finanzabteilung des Obersten Kommissariats, über die Gebarung mit dem Judenvermögen; Bericht des Sektions-Chefs außer Dienst Dr. Friedrich Moc

Five-page typewritten report by Friedrich Moc to Franz Zojer, head of the Finance Department of the Supreme Commissioner of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (Department III)

26 February 1945

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Republik 06, Bundesministerium für Finanzen, box 8490 *Masse Adria*

In the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, the Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*) was in charge of confiscating Jewish assets, as had been established by a secret directive of 14 October 1943, released by the Supreme Commissioner Friedrich Rainer. Once confiscations by the Aktion Reinhard, a special group of the SS, had concluded, they were notified to the Finance Department whose Division 4 (Jewish Property/*Judenvermögen*) had the task of regulating the administration and liquidation of confiscated Jewish assets in **Trieste**.

In February 1945, the chief of the Finance Department, Franz Zojer, instructed Friedrich Moc, a former senior official of the Austrian Court of Audit, to inspect Division 4. At the time of the inspection (17-26 February 1945), 1,420 cases had been processed. A dossier was opened for each individual property. The confiscated assets were divided into different categories. Household effects were inventoried, estimated and freely sold. Antique furniture and books, having been evaluated by Walter Frodl and Paul Heigl, general director of the Viennese National Library, were sold, while Hebrew books were destroyed. Only jewellery was not sold: it was registered and stored in a safe-deposit box in **Klagenfurt**. On 26 February 1945, the net profit from the liquidation of Jewish assets totalled more than 23 million Lire (about 2.3 million Reichsmark). In conclusion, Moc attests that Division 4 had worked satisfactorily, despite its low number of employees and the wide range of activities involved.

AS

(9)

A b s c h r i f t35P
von *Günther Happe*
(*Oliver Hatten*)

Triest, am 26. Feber 1945. //

An den

O b e r s t e n K o m m i s s a r
in der Operationszone " Adriatisches Kuestenland "
(Abteilung Finanzen, Ober.Reg.Rat Dr. Zojer)

in

T r i e s t .Betreff: Einschau in den Dienstbetrieb der Unterabteilung 4 der
Finanzabteilung des O.K., ueber die Gebarung mit dem
Judenvermoegen; Bericht des Sekt.-Chefs a.D. Dr. Friedrich
Moc.

Dem mündlichen Auftrag des Ob.R.R. Dr. Zojer entsprechend, habe ich am 17., 19. und 20. Februar 1945 in den Dienstbetrieb der Unterabteilung 4 der Finanzabteilung des O.K. über die Gebarung mit dem Judenvermögen Einblick genommen.

Hierüber berichte ich, wie folgt:

Der bezeichneten (Unter-)Abteilung, die neben dem Leiter aus 6 Angestellten (darunter einer Schreibkraft) besteht, obliegt die Verwertung und Verwaltung (Betreuung) des gesamten im Adriatischen Küstenland beschlagnahmten Judenvermögens und der Gebarung mit diesem Vermögen. Für das Judenvermögen in den Provinzen ausserhalb Triest bedient sich die Finanzabteilung als Zwischenglieder der Finanzberater der einzelnen Deutschen Berater, die die Verwertung und Verwaltung der in ihrem Bereiche liegenden Judenvermögen nach den Weisungen der Finanzabteilung des O.K. besorgen.

Die Rechtsgrundlage der Beschlagnahme des jüdischen Vermögens in der Operationszone bildet die geheime Anordnung des O.K. vom 14.10. 1943. Über die Beschlagnahme entscheidet der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer "Abteilung R". Die Finanzabteilung wird von jeder Beschlagnahme durch rechtskräftigen und unanfechtbaren, vom Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des S.D. gefertigten Bescheid verständigt. Die Zahl der beschlagnahmten Judenvermögen betrug im Zeitpunkt der Einschau 1420. Auch gegenwärtig langen noch Beschlagnahmebescheide ein, weil es einzelnen Juden bisher noch immer gelungen ist, sich durch Tarnung der Beschlagnahme zu entziehen.

Mit dem Einlagen des Bescheides setzt die Tätigkeit der Finanzabteilung ein. Im Zuge der Verwertung und Verwaltung aufkommende neue Judenvermögen oder neue Bestandteile bereits beschlagnahmter Judenvermögen werden im Wege der Sicherheitspolizei der Beschlagnahme zugeführt.

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2.

Für jedes Judenvermögen ist ein besonderer Aktenbund (Bezeichnung Ju/1-142o u.s.f.) angelegt, in dem die Belege über jeden einzelnen Geschäftsvorgang von der Besitzergreifung an bis zur endgültigen Verwertung und Verwaltung, sei es in Urschrift oder in Abschrift, gesammelt werden, so dass dieser Aktenbund jederzeit über den jeweiligen Stand des betreffenden Judenvermögens, über die Art seiner Verwertung und Verwaltung vollkommen Aufschluß gibt.

Die Verwertung und Verwaltung ist je nach der Art der Vermögensbestandteile, u.zw. Gebrauchsgegenstände (Kleider, Schuhe, Wäsche u.d.gl.), Einrichtungsgegenstände (Möbel), Schmuck, Wertpapiere und Bankguthaben, Liegenschaften, eine verschiedene. Dementsprechend ist auch die Abwicklung der mit der Verwertung und Verwaltung verbundenen Geschäftsvorgänge für die einzelnen Vermögensbestandteile in der Hand je eines Angestellten (unter Heranziehung der erforderlichen Hilfskräfte) vereinigt.

Die bei der Besitznahme vorgefundenen Gebrauchs- und Einrichtungsgegenstände werden inventarisiert, geschätzt - allenfalls unter Beiziehung eines Schätzmeisters - und gelangen zum freihändigen Verkauf. Die nicht sofort verwertbaren Gegenstände werden in einem im Freihafen gelegenen Magazin eingelagert, wo sie Kaufwilligen zur Besichtigung und Ankauf freistehen. Grundlage des Verkaufspreises ist der Schätzwert, der jedoch je nach der Nachfrage, insbesondere bei Geschäftseinrichtungen mit Rücksicht auf die mehr weniger mögliche Fortsetzung des Betriebes (Lizenz), eine entsprechende Änderung erfährt. Mit dem Mauerwerk fest verbundene Einrichtungen (Wandschränke, Regale, Beleuchtungskörper, Luster) die für sich schwer verwendbar sind, werden in der Wohnung (Lokal) belassen und vom späteren Bezieher ein angemessenes Entgelt einfordert. Kunstmöbel gelangen nach den Weisungen des Dr. Frodl, Beauftragten für Denkmalschutz in der Operationszone, Bücher - mit Ausnahme jüdischer Bücher (Gebetbücher u. dgl.), die vernichtet werden - nach den Weisungen des Generaldirektors Heigl der Nationalbibliothek in Wien zur Verwertung. Geschäftsbetriebe werden grundsätzlich abgewickelt oder verkauft, nicht aber zum Eigenbetrieb übernommen. Nur eine Papierfabrik wird auf Anregung der Wirtschaftsabteilung und in ihrem Einvernehmen mit Rücksicht auf ihre wertvolle nicht preiswert absetzbare Einrichtung und auf die grosse Anzahl der bei Auflösung arbeitslos werdenden Angestellten weiter geführt; sie erbrachte mit 30.6.44 einen Reingewinn von L. 445.447.-

Nach Ausräumung wird das Mietobjekt dem Deutschen Stadtberater von Triest zur weiteren Verwendung (an Bombengeschädigte, Behörden, Ämter usw.) überlassen. Die Zahl dieser geräumten Wohnungen beträgt bisher rund 400, der Geschäftslokale rund 30. Mit der Inventarisierung der Gebrauchs- und Einrichtungsstücke sind 2 aussenstehende Personen gegen Wochenlohn betraut.

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3.

Schmuckgegenstände (Gold, Silber u. Juwelen) jeder Art werden vorläufig nicht verkauft, sie werden nach genauer Inventarisierung unter Bezeichnung der Zahl des Judenaktes in versperrbaren Koffern in einem Tresorraum der Bank von Kärnten in Klagenfurt hinterlegt; vorübergehend wird ein Rest bis zur seinerzeitigen Überführung in den Kellern der Oberkasse gesammelt und unter Sperre aufbewahrt. Die Zahl der inventarisierten Schmuckgegenstände beträgt rund 3800, wobei vielfach unter einer Nummer mehrere gleichartige Stücke vereinigt sind. Der Wert der im Tresorraum der Kärntnerbank eingelagerten Schmuckgegenstände ist mit 2 Millionen RM versichert.

Die beschlagnahmten Wertpapiere (Aktien, Staatspapiere und sonstige) sind - sofern sie nicht schon bei einer bestimmten Bank hinterlegt waren - in gemeinsame Verwahrung bei der Banca Commerciale Italiana gegeben. Die 313.533 Stück Aktien u. Staatspapiere (darunter 94 verschiedene Arten von Aktien) besitzen derzeit einen Kurswert von L. 452,967,581.- und würden nach den Bilanzergebnissen des Jahres 1943 einen ideellen Zinsen-(Dividenden) Ertrag von rund 2,5 Millionen Lire liefern, der allerdings mit Rücksicht darauf, dass einige Unternehmungen in vom Feind besetzten Gebiet liegen derzeit nicht voll einbringlich ist. Ausserdem steht aber noch eine grosse Anzahl anderer Wertpapiere, wie Komunal- und Provinzialschuldverschreibungen, Bodenkreditschuldverschreibungen, Elektrizität- und Transportschuldverschreibungen, Lose us.w. in Verwahrung, deren Wert mit Rücksicht auf ihre mehr oder weniger geringere Verkehrsfähigkeit nicht einwandfrei abzuschätzen ist.

Spareinlagen gelangen, soweit Sparbücher vorliegen oder die Sparinstitute auch ohne Vorlage der Einlagebücher die Rückzahlung leisten, zur Einlösung.

Von Bankguthaben werden die Kontokorrentkonten eingelöst, Depotkonten, Valutenkonten und mit Darlehen belastete Konten laufen weiter, die einlaufenden Kontoauszüge werden überprüft. Von den 170 beschlagnahmten Sicherheitskassetten sind bis jetzt 100 geöffnet und ausgeräumt. Die Banken sind angewiesen, die entfallenden Dividenden und Zinsen - sofern für die ehemaligen jüdischen Inhaber noch ein Bankkonto besteht - diesen Konten fallweise gutzuschreiben, in anderem Falle aber auf das bei der Banca Commerciale Italiana bestehende Sonder-Konto der Oberkasse des O.K. unter Angabe des Judenvermögens zu überweisen und die Gutschriften und Überweisungen der Finanzabteilung jeweils bekanntzugeben.

Bei Liegenschaften wird zunächst an der Hand der Grundbücher ihre Größe, Eigentumsverhältnisse und ihr Lastenstand festgestellt und für die Verwaltung der zu je einer Judenmasse gehörigen Objekte ein Verwalter eingesetzt, der vierteljährig Rechnung zu legen hat. Das rechtzeitige Einlagen der Rechnungen wird überwacht, die Rechnungen selbst wurden bisher nur in der Richtung einer mehr summarischen Prüfung unterzogen, ob sie sich auf die gesamten Liegenschaften des betreffenden Judenvermögens erstrecken; eine eingehendere Prüfung war mit dem zur Verfügung stehenden Personal nicht durchführbar.

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4.

Nunmehr wird aber auch an die Prüfung der Verwalterrechnungen von Beginne an, di.vom Jahre 1944, in Bezug auf ihre ziffermässige und sachliche Richtigkeit geschritten. Zu diesem Zwecke ist ein Aussenstehender, ein ehemaliger Verwalter, mit der Verpflichtung herangezogen worden, sämtliche Rechnungen innerhalb von 3 Monaten gegen eine monatliche Pauschalvergütung von L. 12.000.- zu überprüfen und auf Grund seiner hiebei gemachten Wahrnehmungen allgemeine Richtlinien für die künftige Verfassung der Verwalterrechnungen aufzustellen.

Von der Finanzabteilung werden gegenwärtig von Triest aus verwaltet: 15 in der Provinz Triest, Udine und Görz gelegene Landgüter, ferner der gesamte andere jüdische Liegenschaftsbesitz in der Provinz Triest, u.zw. 258 Häuser, 42 Villen, 115 Eigenwohnungen (darunter 15 Magazine und 7 Geschäftslokal-e) - nach der italienischen Gesetzgebung kann nämlich auch an einzelnen Hausbestandteilen grundbücherliches Eigentum erwürben werden - und 197 Grundstücke ohne Aufbauten. Mit der Verwaltung dieser Liegenschaften sind insgesamt 44 Verwalter betraut.

Alle Erlöse aus der Verwaltung von Judenvermögen, ohne Unterscheidung nach den Vermögensbestandteilen aus denen sie stammen, und alle mit ihrer Verwaltung verbundene Ausgaben, sind auf dem bereits erwähnten Sonderkonto der Oberkasse des O.K. bei der Banca Commerciale Italiana vereinigt und werden bei der Oberkasse grundsätzlich auf dem für jedes Judenvermögen getrennt aufgelegten Konto beinnahmt und beausgibt. Erlöse meist von Gebrauchs- oder Einrichtungsgegenständen, deren Herkunft und Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Judenvermögen infolge der seinerzeit durch die Polizeibehörden erfolgten Beschlagnahme und gemeinsame Einlagerung nicht mehr feststellbar ist, sowie Ausgaben, wie beispielsweise die Löhne der mit der Inventarisierung betrauten Personen, oder die gemeinsamen für mehrere Judenvermögen auflaufenden Frachtkosten, Lagerspesen, Schätzungskosten oder künftig die Pauschalvergütung für die Überprüfung der Verwalterrechnungen werden auf einem gemeinsamen Konto verrechnet. Derzeit belaufen sich solche gemeinsamen Erlöse auf rund 2,3 Millionen Lire und die gemeinsamen Ausgaben auf rund 14,2 Millionen Lire. Unter den gemeinsamen Ausgaben erscheint - ausser den bereits oberwähnten Auslagen - auch die an Spediteure geleistete Barzahlung von rund 10 Millionen Lire für Lagerspesen die zur Auslösung des im Freihafen Triest vor seiner Wegbringung beschlagnahmten und nach Elagenfurt eingelieferten Umzugsgutes der seinerzeit aus dem Reich geflüchteten Juden entrichtet werden mußte.

Der gesamte Brutto (Erlös aus den verschiedenen Einnahmequellen des Judenvermögens, wie Verkauf von Gebrauchs- und Einrichtungsstücken, Liquidierung von Geschäften und von Bankvermögen, ferner aus Liegenschaftsverwaltungen bezifferte sich am 31. Jänner 1945 mit rund 35 Millionen Lire, denen Ausgaben von rund 14 Millionen gegenüberstehen. Am 26. Feber 1945 betrug der Reinerlös aus dem Judenvermögen, wie er auf dem Sonderkonto der Oberkasse bei der Banca Commerciale Italiana aufscheint L. 23,054,671.90. Dieser Erlös erscheint in der Durchlaufrechnung der Oberkasse als "Verwahrung" (Fremdes Geld) auf.

5.

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Das Bankguthaben wird zu dem Kontokorrentzinsfuß von 1/5 % verzinst. Zur Steigerung des Ertragnisses besteht die Absicht, aus diesem Guthaben der Güterverkehrsgesellschaft " Adira " ein Darlehen von 20 Millionen Lire zu einem höheren Zinsfuß (3%) zu geben.

Auf Grund meiner Erhebungen stelle ich abschliessend fest, daß die Finanz (unter)abteilung alles unternommen hat, was bei dem grossen, verzweigten und auf fast alle Wirtschaftsgebiete übergreifenden Geschäftsumfange - in der ersten Zeit langte das Arbeitsmaterial stossweise ein - mit dem beschränkten Personalstande zu bewältigen in der Lage war. Auf den vorhandenen Unterlagen kann die Betreuung jederzeit auch nach friedensgemässen Anforderungen weiter ausgestattet werden, sofern die Abteilung nicht schon jetzt selbst daran geht, wie die in Angriff genommene Überprüfung der Verwalterrechnungen zeigt, ihre Verwaltungstätigkeit zu vertiefen. Vor allem wird sich die Überprüfung der Gebarung der Banken hinsichtlich der in ihrer Verwahrung und Verwaltung befindlichen Wertpapiere der Judenvermögen (rechtzeitige Abfuhr der abreifenden Zinsen und Dividenden, Verlosungen etc.) als notwendig erweisen. Auch genügen die vorliegenden Unterlagen für jede zu Verwaltungszwecken gewünschte statistische Auswertung, wie z.B. Ermittlung der Höhe der einzelnen Judenvermögen und des Judenvermögens insgesamt, die Verteilung nach den einzelnen Vermögensbestandteilen u.a.m. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch die Frage zu lösen sein, wer die für das jüdische Umzugsgut geleisteten Lagerspesen von rund 10 Millionen Lire zu ersetzen hat und in welcher Weise der sonach verbleibende Rest der für die Verwaltung aufgelaufenen allgemeinen Unkosten auf die einzelnen Judenmassen umzulegen sein wird.

Diese im gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkte nicht vordringliche Ausgestaltung erfordert aber viel mehr Arbeitskräfte, als der Abteilung zur Verfügung steht und wird daher auch schon aus diesem Grunde der Wiederkehr normaler Verhältnisse vorbehalten bleiben müssen.

(Dr. Friedrich Moc) e.h.

Für die Richtigkeit
der Abschrift:

62. [Shipment of artworks from the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral to Germany]

One-page typewritten letter, signed with initials («Dr. E. H.») by Erika Hanfstaengl of the section *Kunst- und Denkmalschutz*, Department of Science and Education of the Supreme Commissioner of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, Udine, to Dr. Benno Hundegger in Tarvisio

4 April 1945

Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Unterricht und Kultus, Kleine Bestände, Bundesdenkmalamt, box 72

The document, a letter written from Udine on 4 April 1945, provides insight into the activities of the Nazi section for the protection of cultural heritage during the final weeks of the Second World War, in particular into the activities of one of its main representatives, Erika Hanfstaengl. At that time, Hanfstaengl seems to have been already packing up and planning her retreat to the German Reich, while she was also still arranging the shipments of cultural assets. In the letter she informs Benno Hundegger, Treasurer (*Stadtkämmerer*) of the City of Villach and employee at the Main Office of the Supreme Commissioner, that she had sent him official luggage that he was supposed to store temporarily. Hanfstaengl notifies him that she was also going to send him a parcel and a mailing tube containing drawings. She adds that the day before she had already sent a small box, containing three paintings, which were intended for Friedrich Rainer, the Gauleiter of Carinthia, and had to be forwarded to Klagenfurt. Hanfstaengl herself plans to travel to Tarvisio soon, to call upon Hundegger and to organise the further transport of assets.

Other documents attest that the three paintings in question were works by Oswald Achenbach, Alfredo Tominz and Friedrich Friedländer. In the summer of 1944 they had been confiscated at the house of Filippo Brunner, a Jewish banker of Trieste who had fled to Switzerland in 1943. Although other pieces of his collection were supposedly handed over to the Town Museum of Udine (COLUSSO 2018; COLUSSO 2021), these three paintings were classified as artworks of particular importance. Consequently, they were to be shipped to the German Reich, where they apparently never arrived. The present whereabouts of these three paintings is unknown.

MT

Abtlg. V/D
Udine, 4.IV.45
An Herrn
Dr. Hundegger
Tarvis
Gemeindehaus

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Hundegger!

Soweit ich durch Herrn Dr. Frodl unterrichtet bin, hat er mit Ihnen vor einiger Zeit in Triest gesprochen und Sie gebeten, von uns abgeschicktes Dienstgepäck vorübergehend in Verwahr zu nehmen. Ich erlaube mir nun[,] von Ihrer Zusage Gebrauch zu machen und lasse Ihnen durch Boten, ausser der kleinen Kiste gestern, heute noch ein Packet und eine Rolle mit Zeichnungen übergeben. Ende dieser, doch wahrscheinlicher erst im Laufe der nächsten Woche werde ich selbst nach Tarvis kommen und werde mir erlauben[,] bei Ihnen vorzusprechen und den weiteren Transport der Sachen zu regeln. Die grosse, gestern in Udine abgeschickte Kiste enthält drei Bilder, die für den Gauleiter bestimmt sind und nach Klagenfurt verbracht werden müssen, wenn sich eine Gelegenheit ergibt.

Mit bestem Dank für Ihr Entgegenkommen und Heil Hitler!

Der Beauftragte für den Denkmalschutz i. A.
[signature with initials:] Dr. Erika Hanfstaengl

The Aftermath of the Second World War: Cultural Assets Claimed, Restituted, Retained

XV.
THE RESTITUTION OF JEWISH CULTURAL ASSETS
IN THE FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE

Daria Brasca

After the Italian armistice, signed in Cassibile (Sicily) on 3 September 1943, the process of restoring civil freedom slowly began under the supervision of the Western Allies in the progressively liberated areas of Italy. Fascist Racial Laws were abrogated and rights restored to Jewish Italian and foreign citizens. These laws, issued in January 1944, paved the way for the promulgation of provisions regarding the restitution of Jewish properties, compensations, and reparations. Between 1944 and 1947, a series of supplementary measures were issued by the Italian government (decrees no. 222 of 12 April 1945; no. 393 of 5 May 1946; no. 364 of 11 May 1947; no. 801 of 31 July 1947).

The case of Trieste was different: after a short period of occupation by the Yugoslav army (1 May - 12 June 1945), the city passed under control of the Allied Military Government (AMG). Subsequently, according to the Peace Treaty between Italy and the Western Allies, signed on 10 February 1947, Trieste and its surrounding area, claimed by both Italy and Yugoslavia, were incorporated into an independent territory called «Free Territory of Trieste» (FTT), under the supervision of the United Nations Security Council. The FTT was divided into two different areas: Zone A, comprising the city of Trieste, its port and the narrow coastal strip to the North-west, was administered by the AMG, while Zone B, formed by a small portion of the north-western part of the Istrian peninsula, was administered by the Yugoslav National Army.

From September 1945, the AMG promulgated a series of decrees aiming, among other aspects, at restoring the personal rights of Jews and at re-establishing the Jewish Community of Trieste. Moreover, it was made illegal to possess movable assets seized from Jews persecuted during the war (AMG General Order no. 18, art. 3 of 13 October 1945). In February 1946, the AMG also established a «Jewish Property Control Office» which had the task of collecting and studying the documentation produced by the former German Supreme Commissioner on the Jews of Trieste and to restitute Jewish assets removed by German authorities during the war. Another important order concerning the restoration of property rights to Italian and foreign Jews (General Order no. 58, 27 May 1946) established rules for presenting claims. The Jewish Property Control Office returned more than 1,100 pieces of furniture and 200 pieces of jewellery, as well as bank

accounts, to their rightful owners. Apart from those found in Trieste, Jewish-owned objects (many of them of cultural value) had been retrieved by the Allies in Austria. Also recurring to Nazi documentation, long lists of objects were compiled to match the claims presented by their former owners. The identification, however, often met obstacles due to unavoidable lacks in documentation. Unclaimed assets found by the AMG in Trieste were handed over to the local Jewish Community in 1952. On 5 October 1954, when Zone A was restituted to Italy, all claims not yet processed by the AMG were transferred to the Italian State.

Selected bibliography

ALLIED COMMISSION. US ARMY [1945]; BOLZON, VERARDO 2019; CONRAD 1956; FISHER 1950; *L'OPERA DA RITROVARE* 1995; *RAPPORTO GENERALE DELLA COMMISSIONE [ANSELMI]* 2001; ROVATI 2005; TOSCANO 1988

63. Theft of paintings and engravings to the detriment of Mr. Gino Pincherle, lawyer in Trieste

Diebstahl von Gemälden und Stichen zum Nachteil des Rechtsanwaltes Pincherle Gino in Triest

Copy of two-page typewritten letter, translated from Italian into German, by Giuseppe Dosi, of the Italian Interpol branch (General Department of Public Security of the Ministry of the Interior), to the head of the Austrian branch of the *Commission Internationale de Police Criminelle - C.I.P.C.* (General Department of Public Security), Vienna

1 December 1948

Austria, Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt, Archiv, *Restitutionsmaterialien*, box 42, Personenmappe *Pincherle, Gino*

Interpol in Rome requests administrative support from its Austrian counterpart for investigations on the whereabouts of paintings and engravings belonging to the Jewish lawyer Gino Pincherle from **Trieste**. The letter refers to previous research by the Italian police concerning the artworks in question, «confiscated» in September 1943 by German occupation authorities. Source states that, in June 1944, some of the paintings were sold to the *Gauleiter* of Lower Danube, Hugo Jury, while others were delivered to the **Klagenfurt** branch of the Viennese art auction house «Dorotheum».

MW

Abschrift

Republica Italiano [sic], Ministero dell'Interno
Direzione Generale della Pubblica [sic] Sicurezza
Interpol Roma
Nr. 13600/1750
Sehr dringend!

Rom, den 1. Dezember 1948

An den Chef des Landeszentralbüros der C.I.P.C.,
Generaldirektion für die öffentliche Sicherheit,
Bundesministerium für Inneres
Wien, I

Gegenstand: Diebstahl von Gemälden und Stichen zum Nachteil des Rechtsanwaltes Pincherle Gino in Triest

Wir beehren uns[,] folgende Angelegenheit zu ihrer Kenntnis zu bringen: Im September 1943 beschlagnahmte die „Finanzerabteilung“ der deutschen Besatzungstruppen in Triest den gesamten Inhalt der in Triest, Via Giulia 55 gelegenen Wohnung des Rechtsanwaltes Gino Pincherle.

Gemälde und Stiche, deren Liste beigefügt ist (Nr. 1), wurden weggetragen und in weiterer Folge nach Deutschland oder in die dem Reich einverleibten Gebiete gebracht.

Aufgrund eines Schreibens, das bei der Befreiung in den von den deutschen Truppen verlassenen Archiven gefunden worden war (Beilage Nr. 2)[,] kann man entnehmen, daß 5 Gemälde gemäß Kaufvertrag vom 30.6.1944 an die „Adria“ für den „Gauleiter Jury“ verkauft worden waren.

Es muß hier darauf verwiesen werden, daß die „Adria“ eine deutsche Firma von halbamtlichem Charakter war, die in Triest für den Kauf und Verkauf von jüdischem Eigentum errichtet worden war.

Auf Grund weiterer Nachforschung in den von den Deutschen zurückgelassenen Dokumenten wurde eine weitere Vormerkung gefunden, die anzeigt, daß die in der Beilage Nr. 2 erwähnten Rahmenbilder angeblich nach Klagenfurt (Österreich) in die Kunsthandlung „Dorotheumhaus“ gebracht worden waren.

Wir bitten bei Berücksichtigung der oben angeführten Tatsachen um Feststellung:

- 1.) ob das „Dorotheumhaus“ in Klagenfurt tatsächlich die in der Beil. 2 erwähnten Bilder erhalten und an wen es sie verkauft hat,
- 2.) wenn möglich eine Personenfeststellung des „Gauleiter[s] Jury“ durchzuführen und festzustellen, ob er Bilder oder Stiche, welche in den 2 Beilagen angeführt sind, besitzt.

Wir bitten um möglichst rasche Verständigung.

Für ihre Mitarbeit ...

Dosi
e.h

64. [Unclaimed assets to be given to the Jewish Community of Trieste]

One-page typewritten letter by Benedetto Civiletti, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments, Galleries and Antiquities (*Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Gallerie e Antichità*) in Trieste, to the Revenue Office (*Intendenza di Finanza*) in Trieste; attached Annex 1 (10 pages) and Annex 2 (4 pages)

17 November 1952

Italy, Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Commissario Generale del Governo, folder 73, file AC/9

In his letter to the office of Finance, Benedetto Civiletti, head of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, touches upon the question of Jewish cultural objects listed by the Allied Military Government (AMG). They had been deposited in the Palace of Justice of Trieste, the former headquarters of the German Supreme Commissioner, and in an adjacent building located at no. 30, via Coroneo. According to Civiletti, unclaimed cultural objects whose ownership had not been ascertained should be requisitioned for the Italian State. Instead, the AMG decided to consign them to the Jewish Community of Trieste.

DB

Copy.

Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Gallerie e Antichità
Trieste
via del Teatro Romano 17
Prot. 2518/I
Trieste 17.XI.1952.
Subject: Sale of movable property.

To: Sovrintendenza di Finanza Trieste.

In returning herewith the enclosed list of the articles deposited with the Tribunal (received through Department of Education) you are informed that the articles which may interest this office are the following:

Enclosure 1:

- n. 210-334 Ivory statuette
- n. 211-335 Ivory statuette
- n. 212-336 Glass oriental statuette
- n. 247-392 Cruet with four crystals, empire style, silver
- n. 405-609 chinese statuette in marble or alabaster

Enclosure 2:

- n. 10-1 large picture, gilt frame (Borsari & Fontana)
- n. 11-1 picture, countryside, gilt frame
- n. 17-1 picture, reproduction, wooden frame
- n. 18 several pictures
- n. 19-1 picture, gilt frame, nature
- n. 20-1 picture, gilt frame, mountain
- n. 57-1 picture, woman, gilt frame
- n. 75-1 chair, antique style
- n. 81-1 small slanting writing desk
- n. 84-1 stylish writing table

Furthermore, other articles may interest us for the collection of the Museo d'Arte Applicata and we shall appreciate it if you will state the day and the time – even by phone – when one of our employees can visit the warehouses.

Il soprintendente (Sgd) Civiletti

True certified copy:
Il capo Reparto
(sgd) Illegible

Translation

Inventory of objects confiscated from Jews, at present stored at the Cancelleria "Corpi di reato" in the Palace of Justice.

1 9	fruit bowl, silver, glass missing	32 49	cup and serviette holder for child, silver
2 11	fruit bowl, metal		
4 13	silver pedestal	33 50	3 silver cups
5 16	case with note-book and purse in ivory	34 52	Bonboniere, silver and blue crystal, damaged
6 17	set for manicure and sewing-repairs	35 53	wedding bonboniere, copper
		36 54	wedding bonboniere, copper
7 18	3 photoplate holders	37 55	wedding bonboniere, copper
8 19	paper-knife and seal box, monogram L. W.	38 57	bonboniere, metal, perforated
		39 58	bonboniere, metal
9 22	box with clips, wrought iron with pearls	40 62	wedding bonboniere, silverplated
		41 63	wedding bonboniere, metal
10 24	1 ring of no material value	42 64	souvenir bonboniere with figure of Dr. Solo
11 25	ring, supposed gold, worn		
12 26	wedding ring, brass	44 66	bonboniere silverplated, perforated
13 27	wedding ring, metal		
14 28	wedding ring, metal	45 69	bonboniere, metal
15 29	small ring, metal	46 71	candle stick
16 30	small ring, metal	47 75	1 metal arm (light?)
17 31	ring of artificial material with small stones	48 76	1 bracelet with pearls
		49 77	1 bracelet of artificial material, coloured
18 32	small ring, metal, with red stones		
19 34	wedding ring, metal	50 78	1 bracelet of artificial material, coloured
21 35	2 rings (signet?), 2 wedding rings, 1 ring (to be worn with wedding ring)	51 79	1 bracelet of artificial material, coloured
22 36	ring in metal, stone missing	52 80	1 bracelet of artificial material, coloured
23 37	lighter, silver		
24 39	glasses: liqueur set for six persons, crystal with metal ornaments	53 81	chain bracelet with sovenier in metal
		54 83	bracelet (?) with cammeo
25 40	1 liqueur glass	55 84	button
26 42	3 liqueur glasses, silver	56 85	button
27 43	6 liqueur glasses 2 without crystal, cup form	57 89	embroidered purse
		58 101	purse with tortoise, fastener
28 45	silver cup for child	59 103	pencil-holder, silver, sugar tongs
29 47	souvenir cup with picture of Franz Joseph and Wilhelm, metal	60 104	compass
		61 105	necklace (cornelian) hard stone
30 46	silver cup for child	62 106	necklace, fancy, red-black
31 48	cup with monogr. M.M.	63 108	necklace yellow and brown amber

64 111	necklace artificial material	111 174	necklace, light blue glass
65 112	necklace white and black glass	112 175	necklace, glass, fancy (green and gold)
66 113	necklace glass, colour: acqua marine	113 178	necklace, red glass
67 115	necklace oval beads, dark amber	114 179	necklace, brown glass
68 118	necklace white glass	115 183	necklace, small pearls
69 119	necklace black and white glass	116 186	necklace, gold plated (like knitted)
70 120	necklace white glass	117 187	necklace with medallion
71 123	necklace ivory	118 189	bracelet, pearl
72 124	pearl necklace	120 190	pearl necklace
73 125	mourning necklace, black stone	121 192	neckless [sic], white porcelain
74 126	necklace	122 193	neckless [sic], green pearls
76 129	pearl necklace (small) cultivated pearls	123 194	neckless [sic], porcelain and metal
77 130	pearl necklace (small) cultivated pearls	124 195	neckless [sic], small stones and false pearls
78 131	pearl necklace (small) cultivated pearls	125 196	neckless [sic], metal
80 134	necklace, mother of pearl	126 197	neckless [sic], small pearls
82 139	pearl necklace	127 198	lady's chain, metal plated
83 140	pearl necklace	128 199	small iron chain
84 141	pearl necklace	129 200	small iron chain, with pearls
85 142	necklace (only a few pearls on thread)	132 101	metal chain with medallion
86 143	pearl necklace	133 204	metal chain
87 144	necklace pearl imitation	134 205	watch chain, metal
88 145	pearl necklace (cultivated pearls?)	135 206	watch chain, metal
89 146	pearl necklace (cultivated pearls?)	136 207	metal chain
90 147	pearl necklace (cultivated pearls?)	137 208	metal chain
91 148	necklace, small glass pearls	139 207	metal chain with medallion
92 151	necklace, artificial material	140 211	watch chain metal
93 153	necklace cultivated pearls?	141 212	metal chain
95 155	necklace mother of pearl	142 214	small metal chain
96 157	necklace white and black glass	143 215	metal chain
98 160	necklace black glass	144 220	metal watch chain
99 161	necklace black glass	145 223	opera glass
100 162	necklace black glass	146 224	opera glass with case
103 165	necklace black glass	147 225	opera glass
104 167	necklace ebony	151 231	opera glass
105 169	necklace ivory	152 233	opera glass
107 170	necklace, white artificial material	153 236	opera glass
108 171	necklace, rope form, white artificial material	154 238	opera glass
109 172	necklace, artificial material, light blue	155 239	opera glass
110 173	necklace, blue, art. material	156 242	opera glass
		157 243	opera glass with case
		158 244	opera glass
		159 245	opera glass
		160 247	opera glass

162 249	opera glass	203 323	3 small cups silver
163 253	coffee pot, copper	204 324	bonbonniere, metal
164 255	coffee pot, amalgam	205 325	cliche
165 256	coffee pot, amalgam	206 328	perfume bottle
166 257	coffee pot, amalgam ornamented	207 329	perfume bottle
167 258	coffee pot, metal	208 332	perfume bottle blue crystal with silver
168 260	pin cushion, silver ring	209 333	perfume bottle
170 265	box with surgical instruments	210 334	figure in ivory
171 268	pocket calendar	211 335	figure in ivory
172 270	2 bonbonniers, metal	212 336	oriental figure, glass
173 274	sweet box, with handle style 900, silver	213 340	oil container, silver
174 275	bread basket, silver	216 343	silver container for flower pot
175 279	leather bracelet for watch	217 344	silver handle of hair brush, monogr. K.A.
176 280	glass medallion	218 346	pendant, mother of pearl (figure: fish)
177 281	medallion	219 347	figure (Skiing person)
178 282	medallion, ivory (flower design)	220 348	metal buckle
179 284	medallion, ivory (mushroom design)	221 352	liquor set with silver ornaments
182 185	medallion ivory (flower design)	222 355	silver bottle top
181 286	medallion, ivory (flower design)	223 356	cuff links
182 287	medallion (Madonna)	224 357	cuff links in form of a mask
183 288	medallion padlock	225 358	toy, small perforated umbrella, metal
184 289	medallion hard stone	226 359	toy, child in miniature, metal
185 291	medallion for small photogr.	228 363	small lamp, crystal
186 292	medallion metal	229 365	prayer book, tortoise
187 293	cuff links metal	230 366	metal sheet with animal figure
188 294	box, metal ornamented	231 367	in ivory [sic] inlay
189 295	box containing: 15 ear rings with red stone medallions, pearls, old coins (without value)	232 369	notebook
192 196	wooden box with design	234 373	milk jug metal
191 305	5 small liqueur cups in brass silverplated	235 374	milk jug metal
192 309	5 small liqueur cups metal	236 375	milk jug metal
193 310	5 small liqueur cups silverplated	237 376	milk jug metal
195 314	frame with miniature (three graces)	238 377	milk jug metal
196 315	3 silver photoframes	239 379	photographic plates with case
198 317	lid of powderbox, brass, monogr. L.T.	240 381	handle of stick
199 318	small lid	241 383	electric razor
200 319	2 lids of powderboxes, silver monogr. K.A.	242 384	photo camera
201 321	lid of sugar box, silver	243 385	photo camera
202 322	small metal cup	244 387	medallion, damaged
		245 389	barometer
		246 390	black ribbon with glasses
		247 392	oil cruet with four crystals, imperial style, silver

248 393	oil container for 1 person silverplated	288 459	match holder (table) silver
249 394	clock with lady	289 460	tea sieve, metal
250 395	clock with alarm	290 462	2 medallions, silver and stone
251 397	clock (8 days clock)	291 463	2 medallions
252 398	clock metal	292 464	salt cellar, baroque style, silver
253 399	clock for car	293 466	2 egg cups, metal
254 400	ear rings, African style, metal	294 467	egg cup with saucer attached, silver
255 401	ear rings (ring form)	295 472	3 pieces of silver and metal, damaged
256 402	ear rings with pearls	296 473	jewel box, metal
257 403	ear rings form of a watch	297 474	metal plate
258 404	ear rings chain and pearls	298 475	combs and hair pins, bone
259 405	ear rings with pearls	299 476	rosary case
260 406	2 pairs of spectacles on chain	300 477	sovenir case
261 407	1 pair of spectacles metal	301 478	match holder
262 408	spectacles, metal	302 479	photo stand?
263 410	spectacles, metal	303 480	rosary case
264 411	spectacles, metal	304 481	watch case, with Egyptian figures
265 412	spectacles, metal	305 482	watch case, chrom. metal
266 413	spectacles, bone	306 483	watch case, metal for wrist watch
267 415	spectacles, bone	307 484	watch case, metal for wrist watch
268 417	spectacles	308 485	watch case with fringe
269 418	powder box, crystal, metal lid, monogr. H. K.	309 486	2 pearls
270 419	2 pieces, perfume holder and silver lid	310 493	cutlery: 1 spoon, Macedonian style, metal
420	powder box, crystal silver lid	311 496	cutlery: salad set, saucer, broken silver handle
271 421	powder box	312 498	cutlery: 2 knives
273 422	candlestick, silverplated	313 510	cutlery: spoon, amalgam
274 423	purse black leather	315 503	cutlery: 5 iron knives
275 425	sweet tray, silverplated	316 508	cutlery: 1 salad set, bone
276 429	sweet tray, silverplated	317 509	cheese shovel, silver, bone handle
277 430	2 sweet tray, silver (crystal missing)	318 511	book holders, marble (Elephants)
278 432	sweet tray, hard stone perforated metal applications	319 512	silver and metal fragments and match box
279 438	jewel box, metal containing souvenir pendants	325 114	fragments
280 445	2 serviette rings	321 515	fragments metal
281 447	cigarette box	322 517	rosary
282 448	fish in mother of pearl	323 518	rosary
283 449	key ring with coin	324 519	2 fragments
284 450	key ring for lady, antique	325 520	rosary, black pearls
285 454	ash tray, chromated	326 521	rosary, black pearls
286 455	ash tray, metal	327 522	rosary, black pearls
287 456	ash tray	328 523	rosary, black pearls

329 524	rosary, brown pearls	375 571	brooch figure of a woman
330 525	rosary, mother-of-pearl	376 575	brooch knot of Savoia
331 526	rosary, mother-of-pearl	377 576	brooch metal
332 527	rosary, yellow pearls	378 577	brooch flower
333 528	fragments of silver and small spoon	379 378	brooch margherite in mother-of-pearl
334 529	mosaic brooch	380 579	brooch with black stone
335 530	mosaic pendant	381 580	brooch with stone
336 531	mosaic brooch	382 581	brooch with stone
337 532	mosaic brooch	383 582	brooch monogr. V. N.
338 533	mosaic brooch	384 584	brooch monogram L.
339 534	mosaic brooch	385 585	brooch halbard
340 535	mosaic brooch	336 586	brooch with garnet
341 536	pearl brooch	387 587	brooch bow, red
342 537	mosaic brooch	388 588	brooch with blue stone, fancy
343 538	ordinary brooch	399 589	brooch 5 false diamonds
344 539	ordinary brooch	390 590	brooch with pearl
345 540	brooch with red stone	391 591	brooch ordinary
346 541	ordinary brooch	392 592	brooch with two pearls
347 542	brooch in form of a ring	393 593	brooch nail
348 543	brooch with dog	394 596	brooch ivy leaf
349 544	brooch in form of a ring	395 597	brooch clips
350 545	ordinary brooch	396 598	brooch clips
351 547	brooch with granades	397 599	brooch clips
352 548	brooch with granades	398 600	brooch clips
353 549	brooch filigree with red crystals	399 601	brooch clips black
354 550	brooch fancy with green stones	400 602	brooch clips grapes
355 551	brooch fancy with green stones	401 603	brush, metal (supposed silver)
356 552	brooch fancy with aquamarine	402 604	salt cellar, silverplated
357 553	brooch fancy with aquamarine	403 605	game needle, silverplated
358 554	brooch fancy with blue stone	404 608	soap box, crystal, monogr. K.A.
360 556	brooch with garnet	405 609	Chinese statuette, marble or alabaster
361 557	brooch coral	406 610	box with nickel syringe
362 558	brooch filigree with white stones	407 611	box with instruments for injection
363 559	brooch fancy	408 617	small bells
364 560	brooch fancy	411 622	box with loose pearls
365 561	brooch filigree with yellow glass	412 623	box containing 12 silver, gold and metal pendants
366 562	brooch with tortoise pendant	413 625	small box with thimbles and pendants
367 563	brooch metal	414 626	box with fan in mother-of-pearl
368 564	brooch two rings	415 627	ornamental cork
369 565	brooch metal	416 630	seal figure of horse, init. G.W.
370 566	brooch souvenir	417 631	childs rattle with pendants in coral and silver
371 576	brooch metal		
372 568	brooch perforated metal		
373 569	brooch perforated metal		
374 570	brooch flower basket		

418 623	seal, bone handle	456 713	two small bottles, damaged
419 633	part of seal	457 714	1 hair brush
420 634	pocket mirror	458 715	1 Japanese statuette with 3 figures, 1 damaged
421 635	seal, glass	716	1 bag, coloured linen
422 636	pocket mirror, powder bottle	459 718	1 crystal plate, flower pattern
423 637	comfit box	460 720	1 key for safe
424 638	2 seals, metal	461 721	1 envelope containing foreign money out of currency
425 641	1 seal	462 728	golden watch with double lid, monogr. V.B.
426 641	leather box, dressing case	463 729	1 gold watch
427 648	table mirror in metal frame	464 731	1 gold watch without lid
428 643	table mirror in silver frame, monogr. K.A.	465 731	1 silver watch
429 650	2 salt cellars, crystal and metal	466 732	lady's watch, gold email
430 652	2 salt cellars, silver	467 733	1 gentleman's watch silver
431 653	2 small salt cellars silver	468 734	1 gentleman's watch silver without hands
432 655	set: 6 cups (1 missing) with silver saucer	469 735	1 gentleman's watch silver double lid
434 672	crystal vase, metal foot, form of tulip	470 736	1 gentleman's watch 'Tula' silver
435 677	oval tray, silver, monogr. K.A.	471 737	1 (white metal) watch
437 678	2 fans	472 738	1 watch double lid 'Tula' silver
438 679	ostrich fan, monogr. R.A.	473 739	1 lady's watch with gold bracelet
439 680	2 fans, ivory,	474 740	1 gentleman's watch, white metal luminous gent's
440 682	fan ivory	475 741	gent's watch
442 684	fan black ostrich feathers	476 742	1 lady's wrist watch silver
443 686	fan in tortoise and peacock	477 743	gent's wrist watch
444 699	2 flower vases, amphora, silver	478 745	lady's wrist watch silver
445 692	sugar bowl, metal	479 748	1 wooden box
446 694	sugar bowl with attached lid	480 751	1 gobelin purse
447 697	sugar bowl with attached lid silver	481 754	1 shovel, 1 fork, one silverspoon
448 700	wooden box, containing a collection of minerals	482 758	1 pearl necklace
449 701	1 big box, with 8 pieces of a table set (oil crust)	433 761	1 brooch
450 702	1 box containing 2 pieces of white metal, 2 brooches, 2 tobacco boxes in white metal, with several objects among which 2 clips – supposed silver	484 764	1 brooch
451 706	2 white metal tobacco boxes	485 765	folding eyeglasses
452 707	3 ash trays	486 766	2 silver rings, wedding ring, metal
453 708	6 saucers, white metal	487 768	4 small silver pedestals
709	lid white metal	488 769	1 black celluloid case
454 710	small box containing coral necklace	489 770	1 table watch in case
455 712	box, containing several objects (fragments)	490 771	1 celluloid box with souvenir medals
		491 775	collar case
		492 776	jewel box, crystal with silver lid, monogr. C.M.
		493 777	1 silver fork, 1 big spoon, monogram A.C.

494 781	1 shovel, 1 silver knife for sweets	504 794	metal brooch
495 782	6 silver spoons, monogram A.F.G.	505 796	bone brooch
496 782	1 white metal chain	506 797	bone brooch
497 786	1 brush-holder, crystal, and silver lid, monogr. M.C.	507 798	silver brooch with stone
498 788	1 iron box	508 799	perfume bottle
499 789	1 wooden box, monogr. M.P.	509 800	fancy brooch
500 790	7 various objects among them 1 leather portfolio	510 801	rings with 'fachira' and two metal rings
501 791	pendants	511 802	2 small brooches
502 792	fancy brooch	512 803	perfume bottle
503 793	brooch	513 804	brass key
		427	2 pearl necklaces

List of furniture stored at the garret of the building via Coroneo No. 30

1	cupboard, (2 doors) white, style Louis XVI	40	1 white wooden cupboard
2	glass cabinet style Louis XVI	41	2 upholstered arm chairs
3	screen style Louis XVI	43	1 cupboard without door
4	2 small tables (1 round, 1 oval)	44	1 uph. chair, damaged
5	1 mirror in white frame	45	2 white kitchen chairs
6	1 small rectangular table (white)	46	1 sofa frame
7	2 white bedside tables	47	1 writing desk – bay oak – 1 drawer missing
8	1 white cupboard	48	2 office chairs – bay oak
9	1 mirror in dark frame	49	1 small wardrobe slightly damaged – ash wood
10	1 big picture, golden frame (Borsari e Fontana)	51	3 uph. chairs
11	1 picture (landscape) golden frame	52	1 lamp in wrought iron, 4 bulbs
12	1 small sofa in mahogany, fancy upholstery	53	1 mahogany cupboard with mother of pearl inlay
13	1 camp dining room type with 6 arms (1 missing)	54	1 library, bay oak, wood, with glass doors
14	1 lamp wrought iron damaged, 4 bulbs	55	1 white kitchen cupboard
15	1 big lamp wrought iron, 6 bulbs	56	1 round table
16	1 lamp wrought iron, 3 bulbs	57	1 picture (female) golden frame
17	1 picture (reproduction) wooden frame	58	1 frame
18	some pictures	59	1 wooden frame
19	1 picture, golden frame, still life	60	1 marble pedestal
20	1 picture, golden frame, (mountain)	61	8 lamp-globes (for ceiling lamps)
21	lamp in glass	62	1 ante-room lamp (metal)
22	lamp in form of a cross	63	1 modern lowbuilt piece of furniture, light painted
23	1 ceiling lamp in form of a half globe	65	4 arms of ceiling lamp
24	1 table lamp damaged	66	1 lamp stand with 3 wrought iron arms
25	1 ceiling lamp	67	office chair
26	1 pedestal for lamp	69	lamp shade damaged
27	2 ash-wood cupboards	72	1 bedside table – ash wood with carvings
28	1 dressing table	73	leather chair
29	2 beds (dismantled)	74	1 white drawer
30	1 big clock	75	1 chair - antique style
31	1 chest of drawers, dark wood	76	part of a side board in light wood with sliding doors
32	1 upholstered chair	77	1 low built cupboard in light wood (big)
33	1 upholstered stool	78	1 drawer in light wood
34	2 red shelves for ornamental plants	79	upper part of a bedside table
35	2 round stools	80	1 big arm chair damaged
36	1 white kitchen chair		
37	1 small cupboard without door		
38	1 upholstered back of a sofa (without covering)		

81	1 writing desk with sloping top	109	part of a modern arm chair – painted
82	1 small table, damaged	110	red leather arm chair
84	1 writing desk	111	several side parts of beds
85	upper part of a sideboard in dark wood	112	head part of bed in mahogany with mother-of-pearl inlay
86	upper part of a kitchen cupboard painted in light blue	113	1 big light table ordinary wood
87	1 ceiling lamp, metal	114	other 8 different head parts of beds
90	frame work of a piece of furniture – empty in nut wood	115	7 side parts of beds
91	another piece of furniture – modern – in nut wood as above	116	1 big lamp (wickerwork)
92	piece of modern furniture – painted	117	bed without side parts in light wood
93	1 bedside table in mahogany, upper part missing	118	uph. sofa
94	part of a kitchen cupboard (white)	119	antique hat and coat rack, Renaissance style
95	small bed, ordinary wood	120	12 different head parts of beds
96	white kitchen cupboard	121	1 ordinary chair
97	board for enlargement of table	123	1 old frame
98	white mirror frame	124	2 side parts of bed
99	wooden hat and coat rack (office type)	125	part of head and coat rack (light)
100	a modern piece of furniture painted	126	2 doors of a library
101	uph. small sofa, collapsible	127	2 big modern arm chairs
102	stove screen, metal	128	1 sofa damaged
103	wire net	129	1 small table (bamboo)
104	part of a bed in nut wood	130	upper part of a sofa, much damaged
105	big black cupboard	131	coat rack in light wood
106	carved bedside-table	132	1 square table (modern)
107	leg of a piano chair	133	part of bedside table
108	leather arm chair	134	flower stand
		135	1 drawer
		136	part of cupboard
		137	geographical map of Europa
		138	2 side parts of a bed

XVI.
THE ALLIES AND ART RESTITUTIONS:
THE CASE OF ZADAR

Antonija Mlikota

As already illustrated in sect. VI, the city of **Zadar** had been annexed by the Kingdom of Italy in the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 and had gained special attention in the interwar period from the Fascist government, committed to further Italianize the city and its cultural life. As in the rest of Italy, most of the city's artworks were removed at the beginning of the war. Some were stored in local depots, except two Venetian paintings from the Island of Lastovo (at the time, part of the Province of Zadar) which were removed to the Fortress of **Sassocorvaro** (Marche), one of the most important Italian art repositories. In September 1943, Zadar (formally part of the RSI) was occupied by German forces, although the Ustasha regime claimed the city for the Independent State of Croatia; from November 1944 it came under control of the National Liberation Army headed by Josip Broz Tito.

During the war the city suffered several air raids: a first, less effective, one by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as a deterrent to the Italian invasion (1941), was later followed by systematic Allied bombings (1943-1944). Since rumours spread about damages to, and the removal of, Zadar's monuments and cultural assets, the Allies started to investigate and collect data on the original location of art and archaeological objects, on the identity of those who would have removed them and on the objects' actual whereabouts. This became one of the tasks of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program (MFAA) which was a special unit of the Allied Armies entrusted with safeguarding art heritage in war areas from December 1943.

The establishment of this unit originated in the activities of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (known as the Roberts Commission), officially set up on 20 August 1943 by the US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Commission was the result of a joint effort by the American Defense-Harvard Group and the American Council of Learned Societies which had started in the spring of 1940. The Group consisted of professors (for example, Paul J. Sachs, from the Fogg Museum at Harvard University) and former Harvard students who lobbied for founding a separate body to oversee artistic and cultural assets in Europe. Its task was to collect data about the number and state of artistic and historical

monuments, to prepare lists and maps of historical sites, museums and private collections, as well as to plan for saving, recording and protecting them. The initiative of the experts was supported by the head of the Supreme Court, Harlan F. Stone, chief of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery in Washington. At the end of 1942, Stone briefed President Roosevelt, pleading an urgent need to establish a presidential Commission to protect and restitute Nazi-looted art. Members of the Roberts Commission, based at the National Gallery of Washington (with a European outpost in the American embassy in London from April 1944), worked without compensation and were appointed for three-year terms.

The Roberts Commission collaborated with the US War Department and the British War Office in creating and assisting the MFAA. Candidates for this assignment were trained in Charlottesville (Virginia), Shrivenham (United Kingdom) and Tizi Ouzou (Algeria). MFAA special units were composed of architects, art historians, artists, both academics and museum officials, all serving the Allied Armies. While initially active mainly as advisors, later they started working in various theatres of war. The primary role of the MFAA officers was the protection of works of art, archives and monuments in war-affected areas. Subsequently they were also busy in finding, recording and returning the stolen and dislocated cultural assets to their previous owners.

Hence, it comes as no surprise that the MFAA also became involved in retracing the Zadar cultural heritage. Soon after the war, fourteen boxes from the Town Museum of St Donatus were found in the rooms on the first floor of the Doges' Palace in **Venice**. Their opening and the inventory operations were supervised by the MFAA officer for Veneto, Captain Basil Marriott, who collected a dossier including reports by the two heads of the Superintendent Offices of **Ancona** and **Trieste** which had been involved in safeguarding and removing Zadar cultural objects, Luigi Crema and Fausto Franco. From the documents provided on that occasion it emerges that the crates had been removed from Zadar by Italian authorities only in the spring of 1944, i.e. during the German occupation, and not in 1943, as the Italian government and even Croatian sources repeatedly stated during several postwar negotiations. After having been examined and inventoried by the archaeologist Bruna Tamaro Forlati, of Istrian origin, the boxes were sealed on 9 September in the presence of Marriott. At the end of his report, he emphasized that, «on eventual return» to Zadar, the objects should be more adequately packed for safety reasons. However, Italians stopped the shipment of the material to Zadar, claiming in exchange four Imperial Roman statues excavated in the 18th century in **Nin**, which, according to them, had only been given on loan to the St Donatus Museum in 1928 (BRUNELLI 2016). Further negotiations were dealt with at interstate level. Only decades later, on 15 September 1961, would the Republic of Italy and the Federal People's Republic

of Yugoslavia sign a final agreement (see sect. XIX): its first article concerned the archaeological material deposited in Venice obtained by the Italian government ceding the four statues from Nin to Yugoslavia.

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Selected bibliography

BATOVIĆ 1964; BATOVIĆ 1982; BERNARDY 1928; BRUNELLI 2015; BRUNELLI 2016; CECHELLI 1932; DOMIJAN 2004; FADIĆ, ŠTEFANAC 2010; FISKOVIĆ 1950; FISKOVIĆ 1967; HILJE 2006; *IPAK NAPRAVOMJESTO* 1955; KORITNIK 1984; MLIKOTA 2012; MLIKOTA 2015; NEVEŠČANIN 2008; PITEŠA 2013a; PITEŠA 2013b; RADULIĆ, DOMIJAN 1976; RAVAGNAN 1994; SMIRICH, BERSA, ABRAMIČ 1912; TOMIĆ 2006; VALENTI 1933

65. Zara: Report on War Damage to Monuments and Movable Works of Art Known to be Stored in Italy

Typewritten report, with covering letter, by John Bryan Ward-Perkins, chief of the Sub-Commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives (MFAA); six appendices and one photograph attached

16 September 1945

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione III, 1929-1960, folder 610

[Another copy:] USA, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), ID no. 1537270: Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (The Roberts Commission); Record Group 239, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Branch (MFAA) compiled 1943-1946; Series: Field Reports; Category: MTO Interim Reports on Zara, Missing Paintings from Vipiteno (Sterzing), and MTO 21st Monthly Report [AMG-171]; accessible also via <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/271262070>.

In this report, forwarded to the Archaeological Advisor of the War Office in London, as well as to the Macmillan Commission and to Huntington Cairns of the War Department in Washington on 29 September 1945, John Bryan Ward-Perkins summarizes what was known by the MFAA on the situation of Zadar's cultural heritage. He highlights the political circumstances and complains about «the complete absence of reliable information as to Fine Arts in the city». He reports on Italian measures in order to protect archaeological and art objects and mentions the vicissitudes of the many depots used during the war. He also focuses on 14 crates mainly containing ancient vessels from the St Donatus Museum, which in part had been stored in the crypt of the Cathedral. In April 1944, the crates were removed «at considerable personal risk» by an assistant of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, Stefano Salvagno, and eventually sent to Venice. Based on a detailed report by Captain Basil Marriott, MFAA officer in charge for the Veneto region, Ward-Perkins summarizes the postwar operations of checking and inventorying the content of the crates. Finally, he briefly reports on the damages to the monuments of Zadar, as shown by an aerial photograph.

Appendix A is a report, dated 1 June 1945, on the situation of mobile artworks in Zadar (*Rapporto sulla situazione delle opere d'arte mobili della città di Zara*) by Luigi Crema, head of the Superintendent Office in Ancona (in charge of the area of Zadar). He describes the protection measures undertaken since 1940, pointing out places where artworks were initially stored, and an episode occurring in 1943 when some paintings had to be removed to another depot due to a water

leak. He also states that he ordered that a number of crates with objects of the St Donatus Museum be moved to Venice under the supervision of the Superintendent Office of Trieste in the spring of 1944.

Appendix B is a report by Fausto Franco, head of the Superintendent Office in Trieste, dated 14 July 1945, on the transfer of the crates from Zadar to Venice (*Relazione sul trasporto di casse di oggetti d'arte da Zara a Venezia*). He describes several initiatives taken by Salvagno in order to safeguard Zadar monuments and art objects at risk from heavy bombing. During his stay in Zadar, from 7 March to 25 April, Salvagno arranged to place further artworks in safe storage and to protect some paintings *in situ*, as well as to send the 14 crates to Trieste. Subsequently, because of bombing risk, these crates, together with two other ones containing material from Trieste, were transferred to the Museum of Aquileia. From here, they were soon afterwards (10 July 1944) dispatched to Venice, where they were received by Ferdinando Forlati, head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments in that city.

Appendix C (*Operation Zara*) is Basil Marriott's report, dated 1 September, on the examination of the content of the 14 crates, initially in the presence of Ferdinando Forlati and of the head of the Venice Superintendent Office for Medieval and Modern Art, Vittorio Moschini, then especially with the help of Bruna Tamaro Forlati. It gives details on the procedure and on the method adopted in listing the objects, including many observations on their state of conservation.

Appendix D is an extract from the original inventory of the six crates formerly stored in the crypt of the Cathedral of Zadar. The extract was provided by the head of the Superintendent Office for the Antiquities of Marche and Zadar, Edoardo Galli. The extract only refers to the content of crate no. 9, containing 75 museum objects from the excavations of four Roman tombs, which in 1945 resulted for the most part missing.

Appendix E (*Elenco degli oggetti contenuti in alcune casse provenienti dal Museo archeologico di Zara e depositate presso la R. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di Venezia*) lists the objects contained in the 14 crates deposited at the Doges' Palace, possibly compiled by Bruna Tamaro Forlati, whom Marriott thanks for her «invaluable help, patience and kindness».

Appendix F (*Damage to Monuments in Zara, Air Photographic Assessment*) relates to damages of monuments of Zadar caused by bombing in the first half of 1944, as attested by a series of aerial photographs from 15 July, one of which is included in the dossier. According to Ward-Perkins the damages recognizable on aerial photographs correspond to what had been deemed only an «enemy propaganda claim».

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XVII.
POLICIES OF APPROPRIATION AND REDISTRIBUTION
IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA
(1947-1966)

Franci Lazarini, Iva Pasini Tržec, Barbara Vodopivec

Following a period of provisional government, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (*Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija*, FNRJ; since 1963: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - *Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija*, SFRJ) was proclaimed in Belgrade by the country's newly nominated Prime Minister Josip Broz Tito on 29 November 1945. The new state (after its dissolution in 1992 known as Second Yugoslavia) consisted of six constituent republics, which were granted self-government in the domains of social welfare, health, education and culture.

The restitution of cultural assets from the countries which had formerly occupied Yugoslavia (Bulgaria, the German Reich, Hungary and Italy) was one of the most urgent issues in the field of early postwar Yugoslav heritage protection. Due to the number of objects transferred to Nazi Germany, in particular to its southern regions (Carinthia, Styria), main efforts concentrated on restitutions from Austria. As a matter of fact, as early as June 1945, a special Slovenian Repatriation Committee (*Odsek za zunanjo repatriacijo*) took up its work in Vienna to repatriate emigrants and internees as well as their properties. Moreover, a Slovenian Delegation for the Restitution of Archival Materials (*Delegacija Narodne vlade Slovenije za restitucijo spisovnega gradiva*) worked in the four-sector city of Vienna from 4 November to 22 December 1945, to retrieve land registers as well as records of births, deaths and marriages.

The restitution of cultural assets involved several Yugoslav federal authorities and their organs operating abroad. On 23 November 1945, a Yugoslav Office for Reparation Claims (*Zavod za reparacijske terjatve*) was founded, which on 19 February 1946 was attached to the newly established Yugoslav Reparation Commission (*Reparacijska komisija*), headed by Boris Kidrič, a leading communist politician. Jointly with the Federal Committee for Culture and Arts (*Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri vladi FLRJ*), instituted on 8 February 1946, the Reparation Commission collected information on restitution issues and supervised the Yugoslav Restitution Delegations (*Restitucijske delegacije*) which were sent to Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary and Italy. Its members (engineers, lawyers, archivists, such as Pavle Blaznik, art historians, etc.), appointed by the Federal Yugoslav Ministry of Science and Culture, were in charge of research on missing and destroyed goods (industrial machines, vehicles, ships, precious metals as well as art works).

The Yugoslav Restitution Delegation operating in Austria was led by the Slovenian diplomat and publicist Ivan Krefc. It was attached to the Yugoslav Military Mission (*Vojaška misija*), which under the Slovenian Colonel Vladimir Vodopivec had been delegated to the Inter-Allied Council in Austria since 1 January 1946 in order to maintain relationship with Allied authorities. Only ten months later, however, the Yugoslav Restitution Delegation in Vienna was attached to the Political Representative Office (*Političko Predstavništvo*) of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, which substituted the Military Mission on 20 October 1946.

Although archive and library holdings (including Jurij Dalmatin's 1584 first Slovenian Bible translation) as well as several artworks were retrieved until 1950, Yugoslav restitution efforts in Austria achieved but moderate success. This was due to the different stance in restitution issues that Allied authorities took in each of the four zones of occupation into which Austria had been divided. On 28 June 1946, the Inter-Allied Council had agreed upon restitutions from Austria falling under the jurisdiction of the geographically competent Allied authority. While in the Soviet occupation zone the Delegation's working conditions were most convenient and efforts highly successful, restitutions from the French zone were less so, as they were based on reciprocity principles. Difficulties also arose in the British and American occupation zones; 60% of all Yugoslav restitution assets were located in the first one, while most of the properties that private owners themselves had previously removed from Yugoslavia were concentrated in the second one. In both zones, disputes on collaborationists' («quislings'») properties were particularly numerous. US authorities consistently rejected claims concerning assets of collaborators with the German «occupiers and war criminals» («vlasnici nacisti i kvislingi»), as contemporary Yugoslav documents used to put it.

Restitutions from occupying countries, on the one hand, and the ideologically-rooted Yugoslav postwar confiscations of cultural assets, on the other, developed within the specific context of a war-torn country which, in a climate of «revolutionary zeal» and «great fear» (DIMIĆ 2004), was simultaneously engaged in post-conflict reconstruction and in building up a new socio-economic, political and cultural system. Starting from a resolution taken by the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia on 21 November 1944 in **Jajce** (Bosnia), a growing legal framework provided the basis for expropriations of private properties as well as for collectivisation, nationalization and the Yugoslav agrarian reform. The Jajce Resolution, for example, regulated the expropriation of 'state enemies' (i.e. war criminals, collaborationists, citizens of the German Reich and German minorities) as well as the transfer of their properties to the Yugoslav state. Between 1945 and 1947, a series of federal laws was enacted to regulate expropriation procedures against both individual and legal subjects (among which especially the Church). The Law on the Transfer of Property to the State (art. 6), enacted on 31 July 1946, disposed the gathering, protection and management of

all cultural assets to pass under the jurisdiction of the Ministries of Education of each of the country's constituent republics, except for assets considered to be of national relevance and therefore entrusted to the Federal Committee for Culture and Arts. A few months later, on 4 October 1946, a federal law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural sites was passed. Without proceeding to an automatic nationalization but taking into account also expropriation to adequately guarantee protection and scientific research (art. 8), the law stated that all cultural, historical, artistic and scientific assets, as well as all natural rarities, were under the protection of the State: their scientific and aesthetic value was «a common public good» (art. 1) and their export prohibited unless authorized by the Federal Council of Culture and Science (art. 7). Whilst confirming the competence of the Ministries of Education, it also established conservation and research institutes in each of the constituent Republics to be founded (art. 2).

On the basis of the 1944 Jaice Resolution, the republics of Croatia and Slovenia had started to organize collecting points for cultural heritage and to redistribute art objects even before the federal law of October 1946. On 28 June 1945, the Croatian Ministry of Education established the so-called KOMZA, a Commission for the Gathering and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (*Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina*; KOMZA) which operated until 1954. It was subordinated to the Zagreb-based National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (*Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture*) until autumn 1946, when the administrative supervision passed to the Croatian Conservation Institute (*Konzervatorski zavod Hrvatske*). Headed by Vladimir Tkalčić, director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in **Zagreb**, the Commission was mainly composed by librarians as well as by museum and archive experts, such as the art historians Ivana Vrbanić, Ana Deanović and Tihomil Stahuljak (all collaborators with the Zagreb Conservation Institute), Josip Bösendorfer and Danica Pinterović of the Museum of Slavonia (*Muzej Slavonije*), and the architectural historian Mladen Fučić.

The Commission was in charge of registering, collecting and storing cultural objects left behind by both victims of the overthrown Croatian Fascist regime and opposers to the Socialist regime. In addition to a Central Collecting Point built up in Zagreb (which also dealt with cultural assets previously sequestered by the Independent State of Croatia and stored in the local Museum of Arts and Crafts), regional collecting points were established in **Sušak** (close to **Rijeka**), Zadar, **Šibenik**, **Varaždin** and **Osijek**. Itinerant commissions operating in Dalmatia (including the islands of **Krk** and **Rab**) in summer 1946 and in Slavonia in autumn of that year were to guarantee most of the Croatian territory being covered.

According to their type and kind, confiscated assets were assigned to the country's cultural institutions. The KOMZA allocated craftworks to the Museum of

Arts and Crafts, portraits to the Croatian History Museum, paintings by 19th and 20th-century artists to the Modern Gallery, and paintings of Old Masters to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters. Already in summer 1945, various institutions applied to the new authorities to achieve formal confirmation of ownership over confiscated art objects granted them by the former Independent State of Croatia. However, only on 9 April 1958 did a directive by the State Secretariat for Legal Administration (*Državni Sekretariat za pravosudnu upravu*) establish the regulatory framework on ownership of cultural assets. The directive was based on the 1946 Law on the Transfer of Property to the State and determined confiscated art objects to become national property and therefore rightful property of the institutions to which they had previously been assigned.

In Slovenia, the early postwar months were characterized by a lack of control over the country's cultural heritage. Not a few took personal advantage of this vacuum. Among them were high-ranking members of the new political regime, such as Tone Fajfar, then Minister of Forestry of the People's Republic of Slovenia, who managed to get hold of valuable baroque paintings from the Counts of Attems owned **Slovenska Bistrica** Castle (*Schloss Feistritz*).

Only on 8 September 1945, did the Slovenian Minister of Education, novelist Ferdo Kozak, decree that a Federal Collecting Centre for Cultural and Historical Objects (*Federalni zbirni center za kulturno-zgodovinske predmete*; FZC) should be established in **Ljubljana**. It was in charge of collecting and inventorying works of art, musical instruments, books, furniture, folk and liturgical objects from confiscated properties and estates, as well as of assigning these assets to the country's cultural institutions. Art historian Stane Mikuž, head of the Department of Fine Arts and Museums within the Slovenian Ministry of Education, was appointed director of the Federal Collecting Centre, but played little more than a representative role. Instead, the Centre's chief secretary, painter and restorer Čoro Škodlar, became its real principal until autumn 1946. As had been decreed, the Centre's advisory board was composed by the heads of the main Slovenian cultural institutions: the Department of Popular Education within the Ministry of Education, the National Gallery (*Narodna galerija*), the National Museum (*Narodni muzej*) and the Ljubljana University Library, the Slovenian Central Archives, the Commission for Evaluating War Damages on Cultural Monuments, the newly founded Scientific Institute (*Znanstveni inštitut*) and the State Publishing House of Slovenia. The Federal Collecting Centre had competence over the entire territory of the People's Republic and special jurisdiction over the city and district of Ljubljana. Additionally, peripheral district collecting centres (*okrožni zbiralni centri*) were established in **Celje**, **Maribor**, **Kranj** and **Novo mesto**. They were directed by art historian Anton Stupica, historian and archivist Franjo Baš, and librarian Bogo Komelj respectively.

As in any comparable historical situation, also in early postwar Slovenia mass redistribution of confiscated cultural assets gave rise to discordant claims and conflicting views on the future utilization of the cultural patrimony in question. Proposals for ‘comprehensive solutions’ – such as the establishment of a Museum of Feudal Culture in abovementioned Slovenska Bistrica Castle, as suggested by art historian France Stele, or the foundation of a special gallery annexed to the 1945 established Academy of Fine Arts in Ljubljana, as proposed by its first rector, painter Božidar Jakac – were soon brushed aside. Instead, little more than a temporary and partial solution of the redistribution issue could be reached. As a matter of fact, in the following years a practice came into use whereby confiscated cultural assets were lent to institutions or dignitaries of the regime, which had to confirm that borrowed objects being returned upon request of the authorities (*reverz*). Artworks were predominantly assigned to museums and galleries, such as the National Gallery, the Academy of Fine Arts (*Akademija za upodabljaajočo umetnost*), the Institute for the Protection of Monuments (*Zavod za spomeniško varstvo*), the National Museum and various regional museums. Some art objects were ceded to governmental institutions for representative purposes. Regime dignitaries generally showed a preference for furniture and rugs and a much lesser developed appreciation for artworks as such.

In order to encounter persisting problems, which the Federal Collecting Centre had to face since the very start (lack of personnel, reluctant local authorities, transport problems), a staff change was made in October 1946. Čoro Škodlar was sent on study leave, whereas the chief of the Department of Popular Education within the Ministry of Education, France («Lovro») Žen, was nominated deputy president. Although never officially dissolved, the Federal Collecting Centre *de facto* ceased activities around the turn of the year 1947/48, when all the staff returned to their previous activity area. Yet, lending of cultural assets, stored in the Centre’s main warehouse in the Ljubljana Sugar Refinery building (Cukrarna), continued until March 1949. Two years later, in 1951, some irregularities in the activities of the Federal Collecting Point came to light. A large number of objects (including artworks and books) were discovered in two apartments and in the studio of Čoro Škodlar. They had illegally come into his possession at a time when he was chief secretary of the Federal Collecting Point, and his wife Nina director of the central warehouse. They were sentenced to eight and five years in prison (LAZARINI 2016).

Selected bibliography

ANIĆ 2007; BALIĆ 1975; CROATIA. DELEGATION STATEMENT 1999; DIMIĆ 2004; GRUBIŠIĆ 2013; KARAMAN 1950; KODRIČ-DAČIČ 2000; LAZARINI 2016; NEČAK 1998; PASINI TRŽEC 2019; PASINI TRŽEC, DULIBIĆ 2017; PRINČIČ 1998; ROZMAN 1997; VODOPIVEC 2019; VODOPIVEC 2020

66. Certification [of artworks consigned by the Federal Collecting Centre to the Presidency of the Government of Slovenia]

Reverz

Two-page typewritten list by Milan Košak, bursar of the Presidency of the Government of Slovenia

7 November 1946

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 231 (*Ministrstvo za prosveto Ljudske republike Slovenije*), box 89, folder 120-121

The document lists 83 cultural objects which the Presidency of the Government of Slovenia borrowed («received in temporary storage and use») from the Federal Collecting Centre of **Ljubljana** (*Federalni zbirni center*). The list includes the inventory numbers of the Collecting Centre and occasionally the measurements of the artworks. The source also attests that most of the furniture was in very bad condition and needed restoration. Furthermore the document gives the chronology of the 'borrowings', with the names of the responsible officials and of those who took over the objects: Miha Marinko, the president of the Slovenian government; Major Marko Gospić, Tito's bursar; Vida Tomšič, who held high positions in the Slovenian government; the actress Ančka Levar, wife of an important Slovenian politician, Marijan Breclj; and the architect Edo (Dore) Mihevc. Other paintings were sent to Belgrade. Three items were given to the Albanian Communist leader Enver Hoxha.

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Reverz

Od Federalnega zbirnega centra pri ministrstvu za prosveto smo za Predsedstvo vlade prejeli v začasno hrambo in uporabo sledeče predmete:

1. Bela garnitura, rožasto tapecirana, 13 komadov, inv[entarna] št[evilka] 4682, 4683, 4684, 4685, 4696, 4687, 4688, 4689, 4693.
 2. Empir garnitura, zeleno tapecirana, 6 komadov, inv. št. 4775, 4772, 4773, 4771, 4770, 4774.
 3. Naslanjač rožast, inv. št. 4764.
 4. Naslanjača, zelena, inv. št. 4765, 4766.
 5. Barok, rožasta garnitura, inv. št. 4680, 4681, 4 komadi.
 6. Miza, inv. št. 4679.
 7. Pisalna miza, inv. št. 4763.
 8. Barok, rumena garnitura, 7 komadov, inv. št. 3258, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3259, 3260, 3261.
 9. Stol, poškodovan, inv. št. 4694.
 10. Servirna mizica, 4 komadi, inv. št. 2017 /izložena/
 11. Vložena starinska miza, ovalna, inv. št. 475.
 12. Predalnika, barok, vložena, inv. št. 5793, 5794.
 13. 2 zrcali v okvirju z žganim ornamentom, inv. št. 5874.
 14. Garnitura z levi, žgan ornament, 2 kotni omarici, inv. št. 5872, 5873, 5817, 5818.
 15. Miza, velika, vložena, inv. št. 5822.
 16. Bela garnitura, empir, zlat ornament: 5 miz, z marmornatimi ploščami, inv. št. 5826, - 5831.
 17. 11 stolov, inv. št. 5796, - 5807.
 18. Igralna miza, vložena, inv. št. 5795.
 19. Sekreter, vložen, inv. št. 5840.
 20. Šahovska mizica, inv. št. 5825.
 21. Naslanjač, poškodovan, inv. št. 4563.
 22. Garnitura, bidermajer, naslanjač, 4 stole, inv. št. 4620 - 4624.
 23. Toaletna mizica, vložena, empir, inv. št. 5887.
 24. Toaletna omarica, inv. št. 5841.
 25. 6 stolov, francoski stil, inv. št. 5848 - 5854.
 26. Tabernakeljska omara brez gornjega nastavka, inv. št. 4629.
 27. Predalnik, bidermajer, mali, vložen, inv. št. 4461.
 28. Omarica za zdravila, inv. št. 4655.
 29. Tratnik, Hiša ob Ljubljani, platno, olje, 70 x 54 cm, inv. št. 5577.
 30. Kobilica, študija, platno, olje, 58 x 37 cm, inv. št. 3306.
 31. " " Rože, olje, inv. št. 3307.
 32. Klemenčič, Planine, platno, olje, 80 x 60, inv. št. 4122.
 33. 25 kom japonskega servisa za črno kavo, inv. št. 4250.
 34. 1 ura baročna, inv. št. 3935.
 35. 1 pladenj, posrebren, inv. št. 1368.
 36. Del poškodovane preproge, inv. št. 4276.
 37. Prizor iz rimske zgodovine, platno, olje, 122 x 135 cm, inv. št. 5923.
 38. " " " " 122 x 135 cm, inv. št. 5924.
-

39. D. V. H. Pristanišče, les, 68 x 46, olje, inv. št. 1002.
40. Slovo, del renesančne slike, platno, olje, 80 x 108, inv. št. 1001.
41. Pintar, Rože, platno, olje, 40 x 50 cm, inv. št. 3493.
42. Tihožitje z lisico, platno, olje, 54 x 67 cm, inv. št. 5925.
43. Morje, platno, olje, 70 x 40, inv. št. 4820.
44. Samson, platno, olje, 45 x 88, inv. št. 4838.
45. Miza, inv. št. 3250.
46. Tabernakeljska omara, novejši izdelek, inv. št. 2893.
47. Majoliki, 2 komada, inv. št. 4352, 4600.
48. Kupa, rdeč kristal, višina 32 cm, inv. št. 1805.
49. Pahljača, inv. št. 4879.
50. Pastorage, sličica v pozlačenem okvirju, inv. št. 2972.
51. Ogedalce, pozlačen, rezljan okvir, inv. št. 2921.
52. Kozarec, plavo steklo, inv. št. 1807.
53. Kotna omarica, inv. št. 1796.
54. Mala komoda, inv. št. 1794.
55. 10 stolov, inv. št. 5328 - 5337.
56. 1 preproga Buhara, 220 x 110, inv. št. 4155.
57. Preproga, molilna, 120 x 80, inv. št. 4156.
58. Predalnik, bidermajer, inv. št. 5179.
59. Kotna omarica, inv. št. 3160.
60. Okvir, inv. št. 5883.
61. Svečnik, srebrn, prirejen v el. luči, inv. št. 5884.
62. Naslanjač, inv. št. 5885.
63. " " 5886.
64. Krožnik, okrasni, inv. št. 3094.
65. Zrcalce v srebrnem okvirju, inv. št. 4675.
66. Pokrajina, olje, platno, 63 x 47 cm, inv. št. 4733.
67. Acf. Pokrajina, olje, 63 x 47 cm, inv. št. 4737.
68. Zaliv, platno, olje, 42 x 54 cm, inv. št. 4735.
69. Pristanišče, platno, olje, 48 x 63 cm, inv. št. 4736.
70. G. Brunsvik: Podoba otroka, platno, olje, 40 x 50 cm, inv. št. 4737.
71. Pastorage, olje, 63 x 50, inv. št. 3574.
72. Rose 1879: Pokrajina, olje, 70 x 52, inv. št. 1649.
73. Kobilica, Deklica, platno, olje, 49 x 60, inv. št. 3329. /izloženo/
74. " 1886, Kaltenbrun, Glava žene, platno, olje, 43 x 53, inv. št. 3330.
75. " Glava žene, skica, platno, olje, 50 x 60, inv. št. 3331.
76. " Dekle z rdečim klobukom, platno, olje, 43 x 58, inv. št. 3332.
77. " Stara mamica, platno, olje, 35 x 43, inv. št. 3333.
78. Rože, baročna sličica, platno olje, 19 x 23, inv. št. 1863.
79. " " " " 19 x 23 " " 1864.
80. Piskač, starinska slika, platno, olje, 20 x 20, inv. št. 3334.
81. Violinist, starinska slika, platno, olje, 20 x 20, inv. št. 3335.
82. Skopuh, starinska slika, platno olje, 20 x 20, inv. št. 3494.
83. Skrinja, vložena, inv. št. 4103.

Navedeno pohištvo razen bele garniture je bilo v zelo slabem stanju, in potrebno popravila. Navedene predmete je Federalni zbirni center izročil po nalogu Predsedstva vlade tov. ing. Mihevcu Doretu, tovarišici Ančki Brecljevi, nekaj slik za tov. Miho Marinka in po naročilu tov. Breclja nekaj slik za Beograd.

S. f. – s. n. [Smrt fašizmu, svoboda narodu!]

Ljubljana, 7. novembra 1946

Košak Milan

ekonom

Predmete od št. 1-28, 55, 66-82, prevzel ing. Mihevc Dore 17.7.46., 30.7.1946, 1.8.1946.

Predmete šte. 29-32 prevzel od Škodlarja Čora tov. Miha Marinko 3.9.1946.

Predmete šte. 33 prevzel major Marko Gospić, ekonom tov. Tita, 13.8.1946.

Predmete šte. 34, 35, 45, 46, 49-54, 58-65 prevzela tov. Ančka Brecljeva, 23.7.1946, 6.9.1946, 6.11.1946, 11.10.1946.

Predmete šte. 56, 57 prevzela tov. Tonka Hafner za tov. Vido Tomšičevo, 7.10.1946.

Predmete šte. 37-44 pustili na Predsedstvu vlade za Beograd po nalogu tov. podpredsednika Breclja, 6.6.1946.

Predmete šte. 47, 48, 83 prevzela tov. Zlata Vidmar za Enver Hodžo 29.6.1946.

67. [Letter from Tone Fajfar to the Federal Collecting Centre]

Two-page typewritten letter by Tone Fajfar, Slovenian Minister of Forestry, Trade and Wood Industry (*Gozdarstvo, trgovino in lesno industrijo*), to the Federal Collecting Centre (FZC)

Undated, but likely 1946

Slovenia, Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 231 (*Ministrstvo za prosveto Ljudske republike Slovenije*), box 89, fol. 1286-1287

In his letter, Minister Tone Fajfar refers to cultural objects he had removed from **Slovenska Bistrica** Manor, until 1945 the property of the Counts of Attems (see doc. 30). He lists twelve paintings (with subject and measurements), about forty volumes of books (the most part on art history with the Attems ex-libris) and a dozen of rugs and pieces of furniture. He also adds that the inventory of the objects was available at the bursar's office of the Presidency of the Slovenian government. He kept the objects themselves in his **Ljubljana** residence, a villa which before the Second World War had been owned by the well-known Jewish leather merchant Feliks Moskovič. Fajfar concludes that upon request he would hand over the objects to the Federal Collecting Centre.

FL

.....

Tone Fajfar
Minister za gozdarstvo

Federalni zbirni center
Ljubljana

Pošiljam vam seznam kulturno-zgodovinskih predmetov, ki sem jih dal odpeljati iz graščine grofa Attemsa v Slov. Bistrici ob dogovoru, da so vsak čas na razpolago naslovu, če bi jih potreboval:

a) Slike:

1. 150/110 cm (ženske s sadjem)
2. 150/110 cm (isto)
3. 20/25 cm (borba z zmajem)
4. 30/40 cm (pokrajina s pastirji)
5. 20/25 cm (pokrajina s puščavnikoma)
6. 35/50 cm (glava starca)
7. isto
8. 40/60 cm (pokrajina)
9. 50/75 cm (madona, sv. Janez in sv. Marjeta)
10. 50/55 cm (družina)
11. 30/40 cm (govedo na paši)
12. isto.

b) Knjige:

Brehm, Allg. Naturkunde (10 zvezkov)
Hrv. Enciklopedija, 1 zv.

30 knjig umet.zgodovinske vsebine (vse so opremljene z Ekslibrisom grofa Attemsa).

Vse navedene predmete skupno z ostalimi stvarmi (4 preproge, 3 naslanjači, 3 postelje, posteljnina itd.) ki so bili last grofa Attemsa, je formalno prevzel ekonomat predsedstva NVS, ki jih skupno z vsem inventarjem upravlja. Ves inventar je popisan ter se tozadevni zapisniki nahajajo pri Ekonomatu (tov. Košak).

Gori navedeni predmeti se nahajajo v vili, Levstikova 31, ki jo imam najeto za stanovanja. Predmeti so dobro zavarovani ter obenem na razpolago naslovu, če bi jih potreboval.

S. f.-s. n.! [Smrt fašizmu, svoboda narodu!]

[Fajfar Tone]

.....

68. [Bust of Germanicus restituted to Ljubljana]

One-page typewritten letter by Franjo Baš, director of the Regional Museum of Maribor (*Pokrajinski muzej Maribor*), to Jože Kastelic, director of the National Museum (*Narodni muzej*) in Ljubljana

Undated, but after 13 November 1947

Slovenia, Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, SI_PAM/0853 (*Pokrajinski muzej Maribor*), box 7, no. 499

The letter deals with a bronze bust of Germanicus, which had been found by a local farmer, Jakob Vovk, in **Rifnik** near **Šentjur pri Celju** in 1921. He immediately sold it to Herbert Kartin, a lawyer and antiques collector, who was head of the Šentjur pri Celju district. In the following years, Kartin unsuccessfully attempted to sell the bust abroad, offering it either to public galleries or private collectors. However, the *Germanicus* was still in his possession in 1941, when he was captured and imprisoned by the Nazis while serving the Yugoslav army. The most precious part of his collection (paintings, Roman coins, watches etc.) was confiscated by German authorities and stored in the abandoned Capuchin convent in **Celje**. According to official statements, the *Gauleiter* of Styria, Siegfried Uiberreither, assigned the bust to the *Landesmuseum Joanneum* in **Graz**, where it was actually documented in March 1946. Yet, after the end of the war, Kartin artfully spread rumours that the bust had been donated to Heinrich Himmler and had never been stored in the museum. However, both Slovenia and Kartin claimed its restitution. When the bust was returned to Slovenia in autumn 1946, the Minister of Education, Ferdo Kozak, ordered the *Germanicus* to be temporarily deposited in the National Museum in **Ljubljana**. While Kartin requested the statue to be returned to him, the museum strongly objected, claiming that a work of such importance had to be exhibited at a public museum, where it could be studied by specialists and enjoyed by the broader public. The director of the museum, the archaeologist Jože Kastelic, repeatedly recalled Kartin's prewar attempts to sell the *Germanicus* abroad, alleging that the bust would not be safe in his hands. This was also attested by Franjo Baš, then director of the Regional Museum of **Maribor** and an important figure in pre-war cultural life in Slovenia. Responding to an enquiry by Kastelic of 13 November 1947, he confirmed that Kartin would be an untrustworthy owner of the bust.

This letter became a key document in the long lawsuit over ownership of the bust. Kartin's hopes were dashed after a sentence appealing to the Law of Protection of Monuments. He only succeeded in obtaining financial compensation, whereas the *Germanicus* became property of the National Museum of Ljubljana. FL

Ravnatelju Narodnega muzeja
v Ljubljani

Dragi tovariši! na Tvoje pisanje števil 238/6 z dne 13. t.m. odgovarjam:

- 1./ Znano mi je iz razgovorov muzejskih krogov v času predaprilske Jugoslavije in to iz časa pred letom 1937, da je dr. H. Kartin stal v stikih z interesi za Germanika v Danski ali Švedski ter da je tozadevno tudi dopisoval z Londonom. Da li se je pri tem zamenjavalo njegovo korespondenco z angleškim dvorom s korespondenco zaradi Germanika, tega ne vem. Vem nadalje, da je v času pred 1937 takratni konservator Dr. Fr. Stele javil Dr. H. Kartinu, da je izvoz Germanika iz Jugoslavije prepovedan in to menda v zvezi s Kartinovimi koraki v nordijskih zemljah.
- 2./ V zadevi cene navajam: Najdražje umetnine so v pred-aprilski Jugoslaviji bile gotske plastike, če izvzamemo drage kovine. Gotske kamenite dobro ogranjene plastike so se prodajale sorazmerno po ceni 20.000 dinarjev, ako so pa bile lesene, je bila cena z ozirom na polihromijo nižja za polovico do dve tretjini. Če vzamemo sedaj, da je Germanik iz bron, antična umetnina in to kvalitetna, potem moramo po cenitvenih običajih pomnožiti vrednost gotske kamene plastike za antično s tri, kar dà 60.000 dinarjev. To bi bila povorečno cenilna vrednost, ki bi veljala za cenitev vsakega srednjeevropskega antikvarijata. Ker pa so pri nas plastike iz antike v kvaliteti Germanika redke, bi bilo v skrajnem slučaju ceniti redkost z enkratno povorečno svoto, kar bi dalo 120.000 dinarjev. To pa bi bila tudi najvišja upravičljiva svota v današnjih razmerah ter bi po mojem mnenju bila tudi maksimum, do katerega bi se sploh moglo šentjurskega Germanika ceniti. Končno izjavljam: Po mojem mnenju bi bila realna vrednost Germanika 60.000 dinarjev, zaradi redkosti germaniku sličnih plastik pa bi se moglo to svoto v skrajnem slučaju kot našo slovensko redkost stopnjevat na največ za enkrat, to je do 120.000 dinarjev.
- 3./ Osebnost je Dr. Herbert Kartin ljubitelj umetnin in starin ter je to svoje nagnjenje tudi uveljavljal kot politični uradnik v predaprilski Jugoslaviji. Specialist je za ure, ki jih zgodovinsko in tehnično do popolnosti obvlada. Kritičen pri zbiranju gradiva in sodelovanju z njim ni. Tako je n. pr. v. avstrijski dobi baš on posredoval predajo trških arhivalij Št. Jurij ob južni železnici in Lemberg Joaneju, čeprav je že takrat delovalo Zgodovinsko društvo v Mariboru. Je poleg zbiratelja tudi trgovec s starinami in s tem sličen bratu železničarju. Po svoji prirodi je nemiren, nagel, strasten in velik ljubitelj sorodstva, odvraten pa mu je vsakdo, kdor kritično gleda starine, zlasti njegove. Kot samec ljubi eno svojih sorodnic, menda nečakinjo, kateri misli zapustiti tudi svoje imetje, hišo in zbirke in tako tudi Germanika. Po mojem mnenju visi Dr. H. Kartin na Germaniku baš zato, da ga zapusti svoji nečakinji.

Nailepše Te pozdravlja

69. [Illegal exports from Croatia]

One-page typewritten letter by Grgo Gamulin, head of the Art History Department at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy, to the Croatian Council of Culture and Science (*Savjet za kulturu i nauku*) of the Republic of Croatia; with signature, stamps («Seminar za historiju umjetnosti i kulture, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta Zagreb, Narodna Republika Hrvatska», «Nardna Republika Hrvatska Savjet za kulturu i nauku») and handwritten comment

26 February 1957

Croatia, Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Savjet za kulturu i nauku Narodne Republike Hrvatske, HR-HDA-1599, box 11

Grgo Gamulin, a foremost Croatian art historian, informs the Council of Culture and Science in **Zagreb** about possible illegal exports of art works. In fact, unless authorized by the Federal Council of Culture and Science, export of cultural assets was strictly forbidden according to the Law of 4 October 1946 (art. 7).

Gamulin informs his correspondent that the collector and art dealer Alessandro Morandotti, active in Rome, had travelled extensively in Yugoslavia in 1956, touching Belgrade and Croatia and moving from Istria to **Dubrovnik**. In eastern Croatia, in Osijek (Slavonia), he had purchased two landscapes, allegedly by the School of the Bassanos, from the opera singer and member of the Osijek Singing Society *Kuhač*, Ružica Pfeiffer, married to the Jewish trader Oton Pfeiffer. Moreover, Morandotti had offered the art collector Marko Polić a large sum for a 16th-century painting and bought Biedermeier furniture from the Knoblauch family.

What most alarms Gamulin is the fact that the purchases were made with the help of an employee of the design studio «Stil» in Belgrade, Otton Pressburger. Whilst complaining about the insufficient control of the art trade, Gamulin asks the competent institutes in Belgrade and Zagreb for a more efficient protection of Croatian art heritage.

In a handwritten note, dated 1 March 1957, the Federal Council recommends collecting information from various cultural institutions both in Croatia (Zagreb and Osijek) and Serbia.

IPT

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU
SEMINAR ZA POVIJEST UMJETNOSTI

Faculté de lettres de l'Université de Zagreb - Séminaire d'histoire de l'art

Prof. 104/1957

ZAGREB, 26. veljače 1957.
Cvitelevičeva ulica broj 4

SAVJETU ZA NAUKU I KULTURU NR HRVATSKE,

Z a g r e b

1) Boraveći ovih dana u Osijeku doznao sam, da kroz taj grad i kroz našu zemlju prolazi često neki stranci, koji kupuju umjetnine i odnose ih iz naše zemlje.

Tako je prošle godine u Osijeku bio Dott. Alessandro Morandotti iz Rima (Palazzo Massimo), koji je u Osijeku kupio i odnio dva pejzaža, navodno Bassanove škole i druge stvari. Isti je nagovarao i kolekcionara Dr. Marka Polića u istom gradu, da mu proda jednu vrlo vrijednu staru sliku (16.st.), i davao mu ček na 350.000 Lira, direktno na Rim, što je ovaj naravno odbio.

Naročito začuđuje, što je taj Talijan bio u pratnji g. Ottona Pressburgera, namještenika "Stila" u Beogradu. Navodno je dotični prošao našu zemlju od Beograda do Istre i Dubrovnika.

Mišljenja smo, da to govori o sasvim nedovoljnoj kontroli trgovine umjetninama, i upozorava nas na neke nepravilnosti i na velike štete, koje uslijed toga danomice nastaju. Molimo Naslov da se za tu stvar zainteresira kod "Stila", kao i kod kompetentnih Zavoda za zaštitu umjetnina u Beogradu i u Zagrebu.

S.F. - S.N!

PREDSTOJNIK SEMINARA:

Gamulin
(Dr. Grgo Gamulin)



NARODNA REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
SAVJET ZA NAUKU I KULTURU

26. 2. 1957

448	WV	
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4. III. 1957.
Telefonski se informiram kod Konecni.
Davao je informaciju, da je prošao isti
kao i koji se - kao ujedini organ
u taj stvar zainteresirati informacije
kod Zavoda za zaštitu umjetnina
NR Srbije, da će ovaj direktor
biti savjetnik u Beogradu i u Zagrebu
i sekretarstvo za kulture i umjetnost
u Beogradu.

Turkington

70. [Distribution of sequestered artworks to museums]

Four-page typewritten handover protocol by Ivana Vrbanić, secretary of the Commission for the Gathering and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (*Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina - KOMZA*), to Olga Klobučar, curator of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (*Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*) in Zagreb

14 August 1947

Croatia, Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, arhiv, box 5 (1944-1952), 1948

The document contains a list of 60 artworks claimed by the Zagreb-based Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. They were meant to enrich the Academy's collection of Old Masters at the Strossmayer Gallery.

Some of the objects, stored in the Zagreb Museum of Arts and Crafts, had been the property of Jewish collectors and families and were confiscated during the period of the Independent State of Croatia. In particular, 18 objects came from the collection of Robert Deutsch Maceljiski, six from Artur Marić and five from unidentified, presumably Jewish, private collections. The other items, only marked by the KOMZA's inventory number and stored in its depot, were paintings that had been confiscated, sequestered or abandoned after the Second World War. The document attests that the latter ones were only placed on temporary loan to the Yugoslav Academy since no final decision on their status had yet been reached.

IPT

Z a p i s n i k

o primopredaji predmeta kulturno-historijskog značenja koji su vlasništvo Komisije za sakupljanje i čuvanje kulturno-historijskih spomenika pri Ministarstvu prosvjete i Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, obavljenoj dne 14. kolovoza 1947. u skladištima KOMZE, Basaričekova ul. 24, Harambašićeva ul. /Osnovna škola/, a na temelju odluke Ministra prosvjete br. 48566 od 9. kolovoza 1947., izdanj u vezi sa traženjem uprave Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti br. 634/47 od 5. kolovoza 1947.

Prisutni: sa strane Jug. Akademije drugovi Lahman i Šenos, te arh. Župan, sa strane Komisije za sakupljanje i čuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina drugarica Ivana Vrbanić i prof. Olga Klobučar sa strane Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt.

Jugoslavenskoj Akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti predaju se iz skladišta KOMZE i Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt slijedeći predmeti:

- 1/ Bogorodica posjeduje Raspetoga sina na Golgoti. Ispod križa Marija Magdale na obujmila križ, lijevo Majka božja leži onesvješćena u naručju svetiće kraj nje sv. Ivan i druga svetica. Ispod križa Longin na konju s kopljem. Tempera na drvu. /sign. R.D.-48/ /vidi str. 1 br. 5/
- 2/ La Poesia. *oprase žene cvjenčane lovorom s knjigom u ruci. Kopija 19. st. /?/ Straga priljepljena ceduljica s natpisom: la poesia di Carlo Delci Fiorentino. U biedermeierskom pozl. okviru. Sign. R.D.-95
- 3/ Slika, ulje na platnu, portret viteza u šklopu s vlasuljom. Sign. R.D.-115
- 4/ Slika, ulje na platnu mrtva priroda. Dvije mrtvačke glave sa zmijom i jabukom na stolu. Straga priljepljena ceduljica "F.B. Hinz, monogram" Sign. R.D.-85.
- 5/ Slika, ulje na limu. Prizor oko bačve, dva muškarca oko pijane žene. Straga priljepljena ceduljica No 110 "Holländische Schule". U drvenom pozlašenom okviru. Sign. R.D.-91
- 6/ Slika, ulje na drvu, Kućni koncert - holandeski interieur 17 st. Straga priljepljena ceduljica No 175 Palamidesz Steven. U drvenom pozlašenom okviru. Sign. R.D.-87
- 7/ Ikona. Bogorodica s Kristom na lijevoj ruci, kretska-talijanska škola 16.st. Tempera na drvu u bogato izrezbarenom renesansnom pozlašenom okviru, ukrašenom vijugama lišća i cvjetova. Vel. 38x30 cm. Sign. R.D.-1
- 8/ Ikona. Majka božja u niši. Tempera na drvu. Zlatni fond, ukrašen iskucanim ornamentima. Dalmatinska škola 16.st. Vel. 29 x 22,5 cm. Sign. R.D.-128.
- 9/ Ikona. Prikazanje djeteta Krista u hramu s natpisom: Obraz Sretenija. Tempera na drvu 18. st. Vel. 29 x 23 cm. Sign. R.D.-16
- 10/ Ikona. Poprsje Bogorodice s djetetom na desnoj strani /Vladimirska/ Grčka talijanski rad 17. st. Tempera na drvu. Vel. 41 x 31 cm. Sign. R.D.-13.
- 11/ Ikona. Čitav lik Bogorodice s djetetom na lijevoj ruci, po strani lijevo i desno po jedan svetac. Tempera na drvu. Dalmatinska škola 15-16 st. Vel. 62 x 51 cm. Sign. R.D. 134.
- 12/ Ikona. Arhangel Mihael stojeći na zmaju s mačem uzdignutim u desnoj, a vagom u lijevoj ruci. Natpis grčki: Ho arhangelos Mihail. Tempera na drvu, 17-18 st. Vel. 73 x 51. Sign. R.D.-54
- 13/ Ikona. Sv. Georgije ubija zmaja. Tempera na drvu premazana firnisom. Provincijski /dalm.?/ rad 16-17 st. Vel. 56 x 40 cm. Sign. R.D.-5
- 14/ Ikona. Bogorodica sjedeća do koljena s Hristom u krilu na desno. Uokolo sitne sličice svetaca, ispod srednje slike napis ćirilicom: Svet, svet, svet gospod savast Tempera na drvu, vrlo izlizana. Vel. 43x32cm. Sign. R.D.-12

- 2 -

Crtež olovkom "Cirkus" Sign. F/edor V/aid/ 1939. Vel. 46 x 74 cm.
Sign. R.D.-223

OPASKA

Predmeti navedeni pod red. br. 1-15 pohranjeni su u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt za vrijeme okupacije, a vlasništvo su Roberta Deutsche Macejskog. Vidi spis Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt broj 795, 799, 811, 834, 920-1942. Poh. III-74.

- 16/ Sag, Ferahan. Glavne boje ljubičasto smedja, bijela, crvena, žuta, modra zelena. Ukrašen stiliziranim biljnim ornamentima. % bordure i veliko središnje polje. Vel. 360 x 460 cm. Sign. R.D. 586
- 17/ Sag. Molitveni perzijski sa arhitektonskim motivom i kandilom te stiliziranim biljnim ornamentom. 3 bordure, središnje polje trodijelno. Boje: žuta, crvena, dvije modre, narandjasta i nešto orne. Vel. 155 x 192 cm. Sign. R.D. 575.
- 18/ Čilim, Sumak. Ukrašen geometrijskim ornamentom. U polju oko kojega 1 široka crvena, 2 modre, intenzivno crvena, zelena, bijela i narandjasta. Vel. 320 x 253 cm. Sign. R.D.-588.

Za predmete pod red. br. 16-18 vrijedi isra opaska kao gore.

- 19/ Kopija po Rubensu "Bakho", ulje na platnu. Sign. T-16/43-147
- 20/ Kopija po holandskom majstoru. Sign. T-16/43
- 21/ Crtež kredom "Djed i unuk" Aroal 1815. Sign. T-16/43/60

OPASKA

Predmeti navedeni pod red. br. 19-21 preuzete su u pohranu za vrijeme okupacije sa strane Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. Vidi spis broj T-16/43, koji je priklopljen spisu broj 4-1943-POH.144.

- 22/ Sag od pamuka. Mašinski proizvod Italija, sa mihrabom. Vel. 200 x 132 cm. Sign. A.M.-539
- 23/ Sag Kasak, pretežno modar. Vel. 110 x 155 cm. Sign. A.M.-539.
- 24/ Sag maloazijski starinski Karadak? Vel. 320 x 115 cm. Sign. A.M.-526
- 25/ Sag perzijski. Glavne boje: tamno crvena i tamno modra. Vel. 240 x 340 cm. Sign. A.M.-532
- 26/ Sag, maloazijski. Ukrašen geometrijskim ornamentom u obliku triju romba. Vel. 146 x 300 cm. Sign. A.M.-525
- 27/ Sag, Kavkazki? Sign. A.M.

OPASKA

Predmeti navedeni pod red. br. 22-27 preuzeti su u pohranu sa strane Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt za vrijeme okupacije, a vlasništvo su Artura Marića. Vidi spis muzeja br. 214/41 - POH-III-30

- 28/ Čilim. Smirna? crveno modri. Sign. KLA 79/42-413. Opaska! Čilim preuzet za vrijeme okupacije u pohranu Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, vidi spis muzeja br. 79-1942-POH-III-70.
- 29/ Zrcalo od brušenog stakla u bogatom novobaroknom okviru od bijelog metala. Sign. 735-1942-13. Opaska! Vidispis Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt broj 735/42-POH-III-71. Predmet preuzet u pohranu iz stana Branimirova ul. 63/I kat lijevo.
- 30/ Čilim Kisil Ayak ili Bochara, ukrašen geom. ornamentom. Boje tamne: 2 crvene, smedja i modra. Vel. 107 x 186 cm. Sign. R.D.-572.
/Vidi opasku za red. br. 1-15 i 16-18./
- 31/ 3 perzijska saga. Sign. KOMZA 227/45 red. br. 87 a, b, c.
- 32/ 1 veliki perzijski tepih. Sign. KOMZA 227/46-88
- 33/ Drveni sanduk s kasetiranim ukrasom od smedjeg tvrdog drva. "atirana 1690. Sign. KOMZA 143/45-15
- 34/ Škrinja drvena ukrašena s prednje strane rezbaranim biljnim i životinjskim ukrasima obojenim crveno i zeleno. Sign. KOMZA 143/45-17
- 35/ Stol okrugli sa 1 nogom, koja stoji na bazi u obliku trokuta sa savije nim stranicama od smedje ulaštenog drva. Poč. 19 st. Sign. KOMZA 146/45

- Stol okrugli od srednjeg drva sa tri noge u obliku stupova providjenih pozlaćenim kapitelima, prva po. 19.st. Sign. KOMZA 146/45-54.
- 37/ 6 naslonjača okrugla sa naslonom na proboj, ukrašeni crnim okruglim prečkama. Presvućeni svijetlo zelenim satenom. Poč. 19. st. Sign. 146/45-10 KOMZA
- 38/2 naslonjača i 4 stolice od svjetlo srednjeg drva. Vrijeme oko 1820. Sign. KOMZA 146/45-56.
- 39/ Luster na 8 krakova sa svijećama. Brušeni stakleni privjesci u različitim oblicima. Vis. 80 cm. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-66
- 40/ Zidni svjećenjaci od brušenog stakla 5 kom. propadaju lusteru pod br. 39- Sign. KOMZA 39/45-67.22
- 41/ Sat stajači na postamentu drvenom sa aplikama od pozlaćene bronce: antikni svirači. Kućica počiva na četiri noge koje pri dnu svršavaju u obliku voluta. Spojene su međusobno s po dvije prečke i ukrašene aplikama vinove loze. Kućica sata u okruglom sploštenom ormariću. Brojčanik s arapskim brojkama, u sredini na pozlaćenom dnu dvije muške figure, koje kladivom udaraju u zvono, kad izbijaju satovi. Na vrhu kućišta na malom postamentu orao raširenih krila. Mjehalo: aplikacija Fortune s rogom obilja. Empire. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-1
- 42/ Stolić od srednjeg drva, osmerostran s bogatom inkrustacijom orijentalnih biljnih ornamenta. Maroko. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-5
- 43/ Zidno zrcalo u srednjem drvenom okviru ukrašenim Eierstabom /pozlaćenim/, staklo u dva djela. Biedermeier. Sign. KOMZA K.39/45-20
- 44/ Salonka garnitura sastojeća od 1 divana, 2 naslonjača i 2 stolca, te trodijelnog ormara za knjige. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-6.
- 45/ Salonka garnitura od masivnog rezbarenog drva presvućena zelenom tkaninom, sastojeća od 1 divana i 4 fotelja. Sign. KOMZA K-39/45 - 7
- 46/ Vitrina od žućkastog drveta sa dvokrilnim vratima, sprijeda i sa strane po tri pregradka. Biedermeier. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-48
- 47/2 Biedermeierska stolića od srednjeg ulaštenog drva. Sign. KOMZA 39/45
- 48/ Stolić od svjetlo srednjeg drva sa četverouglatom plošom. Náviji rad. Sign. KOMZA 39/45-5
- 49/3 stolića za serviranje. Veličina takovih dase mogu jedan umetnuti u drugi. Sign. KOMZA 39/45.
- 50/ Salonka garnitura od svjetlo srednjeg drva, sastoji se od 1 divana fotelja i stolica. Sign. KOMZA 39/45 Biedermeier.
- 51/ Secrétaire za pisanje /navodno nadbiskupa Haulika, oporukom dr. Kostrenčića dolazi u vlasništvo V. Spevca/ Rokoko, donji dio u obliku stola, a gornji u obliku ormarića. Ormarić je razdjeljen utri dijela: lijevo i desno po 2 ladice, u sredini gore jedna mala ladica ispod nje mali ormarić. Pozlaćeni brončani okovi. Vis. 154 x 125 x 71 cm. Sign. KOMZA 4/45-19.
- 52/ Ovalno zrcalo u drvenom empire rezbarenom pozlaćenom okviru. Sign. KOMZA 41/45-2.
- 53/ Garnitura od srednje ulaštenog drva, sastojeća se od 4 stolice sa tapeciranim naslonima i sjedištem, 4 naslonjača i 1 sofe te 1 malog tapeciranog podnožka. Sign. KOMZA 25/46-
- 54/ Naslonjač od srednjeg drva, tapeciran. Sign. KOMZA K-4/45-4
- 55/ 7 stolica presvućenih uzorkovanom svijetlo crvenom tkaninom. Novi barok. Sign. KOMZA 25/46-5.
- 56/ Vitrina od srednjeg ulaštenog drva sa staklenim vratima. Sign. KOMZA 25/46.
- 57/ Bag "Smirna" od vune sa biljnim stiliziranim ukrasom. Boje drap, crvena, žuta, zelena, bordura široka crvene pozadine. Vel. 425x285 cm. Sign. KOMZA 74/46-101.
- 58/ Slika, ulje na platnu, "Maja" sign. Ornoboxi. U d.o. Sign. "KOMZA-JUGOBANKA"
- 59/ Slika, ulje na platnu, "Pelivani" Ismet Mujesinović. U d.o. Sign. "KOMZA-JUGOBANKA."
- 60/ Terakotta "Zetelica" rad P. Perića. Sign. KOMZA 224-1947. Završeno red. br. 60.

- 4 -

OPASKA

Predmeti za koje je navedeno da su sign. "KOMZA" znači da su preuzeti od Komisije za sakupljanje i čuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina, kao konfiscirane, sekvstrirane ili napuštene. Budući nisu odluke o konfiskaciji još donesene ti se predmeti ne mogu Akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti predati u vlasništvo nego samo na privremenu upotrebu.

Navedene predmete predali: M.P.

/Ivana Vrbanić, tajnik Komisije za sakupljanje i čuvanje kul.-hist.spomenika/

Predmete preuzeo za Jug. Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu:

/Olga Klobučar, kustos Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt/
M. P.

M.P.

71. Main issues regarding the restitution question

Glavni problemi po pitanju restitucij

Unsigned three-page typewritten report, likely by a member of the Reparation Commission of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia

29 September 1948

Serbia, Belgrade, Arhiv Jugoslavije, Fond 54 (A.J. 136-142), *Reparaciona komisija Vlade FNRJ, 1946-1952*, folder n. 64, 137

The report, likely written by a member of the Reparation Commission established on 15 February 1946 and headed by Rafo Ivančević, offers an overview on ongoing Yugoslav restitution negotiations in the early postwar period. It focuses on negotiations with the Tripartite signatory powers (Germany/Austria, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria), i.e. with those countries which from 1941 had occupied Yugoslavia. It shows that cultural assets were only one, and certainly not the main, issue in complex negotiation processes which instead mainly dealt with industrial goods, machinery, naval and railway materials. However, the report highlights procedures implemented by the Allied Powers which also involved cultural and art assets. In particular the Yugoslav commission considered both the rigid deadlines for submitting claims and the obligation laid on Yugoslavia to identify and retrace removed assets as especially detrimental.

The report also complains about the Italian strategy of hindering restitutions on the basis of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty which ordered Italy to restitute to Yugoslavia cultural objects «having juridically the character of public property». The author also deplores that Yugoslav claims were regularly met by Italians declaring the private character of the requested assets. The scientific materials of the **Rovinj** Institute for Marine Biology (*Istituto Italo-Germanico di Biologia Marina*) were a case in point (see sect. XIX).

Additionally, information is given on negotiations with other countries, be they neutral or allied, that Belgrade authorities suspected of retaining assets belonging to Yugoslavia.

According to other coeval sources, Yugoslav difficulties in dealing with restitutions were also motivated by a lack of diplomatic connections and of experts, particularly legal specialists able to handle parallel negotiations. For example, no diplomatic relations with Italy had been established immediately after the war, which led Yugoslavia to initially try to pursue its claims through the American and the French commissions, in accordance with the truce signed between Italy and the Allies.

AM

Glavni problemi po pitanju restitucija

1. Bugarska

Restitucija iz Bugarske uglavnom je završena. Sporazumom od 15 juna 1946 godine regulisano je pitanje restitucije soli, duvana, kao glavnih predmeta za restituciju, tekstilnih otpadaka i novčanog plaćanja. Ovaj sporazum uglavnom je izvršen. Za sada osnovnu grupu sahteva za restituciju iz Bugarske predstavljaju kulturno umetnički predmeti. Od industrijskih predmeta imamo samo nekoliko i to: 1 linotip mašine, mašine tkačnice Aroesti i 1 rengen aparat. Za preuzimanje linotip mašine i prodaju mašine pomenute tkačnice poslati su stručnjaci u Bugarsku. Rad po predmetima restitucije vrše organi Ambasade

2. Madjarska

U Madjarskoj ostalo je za rešavanje, tj. za okončanje dvadesetak krupnijih predmeta. Glavni problem ovde je stanovište madjarskih vlasti, da su predmeti koje mi potražujemo došli u Madjarsku redovnim pravnim poslovima, a ne silom. Naše stanovište suprotno je ovome, tj. da su svi naši objekti i mašine, a sada se uglavnom radi o takvim predmetima, u Madjarsku došli silom i prinudom, jer su Madjarske okupacione vlasti za vreme okupacije zavele protivu našeg stanovništva, vlasnika ovih objekata, takve mere, koje su same po sebi predstavljale silu i prinudu. Radi se većinom o imovini Srba i Jevreja iz Bačke.

Svi predmeti za koje smo ustanovili u toku dosadašnjeg rada da su utrošeni, uništeni i za koje smo utvrdili da su doneti u Madjarsku, a nisu tu mogli biti pronađeni, prebačeni su na čl. 26 Ugorova o miru sa Madjarskom tj. za takve predmete su istaknuti zahtevi za dvo-trećinsko obeštećenje.

3. Austrija

U Austriji postoje specijalni problemi odvojeno u Sovjetskoj, a odvojeno u Anglo-saksonskoj i Francuskoj zoni.

Glavni problem u Sovjetskoj zoni predstavlja našu imovinu, koju su Sovjetske trofejne jedinice odnele u S.S.S.R. Sada postoji momentalno sa USIV-om spor oko isporuke 42 vagona konstrukcija, koje nam USIV-a treba da isporuči na osnovu sporazuma o kompenzaciji.

U Anglo-saksonskoj zoni osnovne probleme predstavljaju ograničenje rada po pitanjima restitucija. Naime Britanske okupacione vlasti u Austriji su odredile 30 april o.g. kao krajnji rok za podnošenje zahteva, a Američke 30 juni o.g. I jedni i drugi odredili su kraj ove godine kao rok za prestanak rada po restitucijama. Protiv ovih rokova mi smo protestovali kako kod okupacionih vlasti Britanskih i Američkih u Austriji tako preko Ministarstva inostranih poslova kod Vlada u Londonu i Vašingtonu.

Drugi osnovni problem u ovim zonama predstavlja restitucija kvislinške imovine. Naime Britanske i Američke okupacione vlasti ne dozvoljavaju restituciju imovine Nemaca bivših naših državljanina, kao i naših sunarodnika, koji su saradjivali sa okupatorom, a koji su uspeli da neposredno pre završetka rata otpreme svoju imovinu u Austriju. Mi smo i protiv ovakvog stava

protestovali kako kod okupacionih komanda u Beču tako i preko Ministarstva inostranih poslova kod odnosnih vlada.

Specijalan problem je restitucija naše imovine iz Francuske okupacione zone. Naime francuske okupacione vlasti nisu dozvoljavale uopšte restituciju naše imovine i postavljale su kao uslov za restituciju dozvolu rada francuskim organima za restituciju francuske imovine sa teritorije Jugoslavije. Ovaj uslov mi smo bez daljnega odbili jer se pitanje reciprociteta nije uopšte moglo postaviti, ali su Francuzi ostali uporni i tek su u aprilu ove godine dozvolili restituciju iz svoje zone, ali tada je već bilo kasno, jer se ispostavilo da su francuske okupacione vlasti odnele tako reći svu našu imovinu u Francusku.

Zajednički problem u sve tri zapadne zone je ograničavanje kretanja našim službenicima po zonama u cilju istraživanja naše imovine i teško davanje odobrenja da se izvrši pregled fabričkih postrojenja u cilju istraživanja i identifikovanja naše imovine.

4. Nemačka

U Nemačkoj postoje isti problemi kao i u Austriji, s tim što se Angloameričke okupacione vlasti strogo pridržavaju određenih rokova koje su ustanovili za primanje zahteva i za završetak rada po restitucijama. I u jednoj i u drugoj zoni rokovi za primanje zahteva su prošli to su bili 30 april i 30 juni, a za kulturno-umetničke predmete 15 septembra u Američkoj zoni, dok je u Britanskoj zoni i rok za primanje kulturno-umetničkih zahteva prošao 30 juna.

U Američkoj zoni rad po restitucijama završava se krajem ove godine, a u Britanskoj 30 juna 1949 god.

Protiv ovih rokova protestovali smo na isti način kao i u Austriji rasume se bez rezultata. Medjutim naše je stanovište da se pitanje restitucija može rešiti samo u Ugovoru o miru sa Nemačkom, a ne jednostrano, kod pojedinih okupacionih vlasti, te zato još i sada prikupljamo i postavljamo zahteve, a naročito za kulturno umetničke predmete.

Anglo-američke okupacione vlasti u mesecu avgustu donele su niz novih odredaba u pogledu restitucija od kojih je za nas naročito nepovoljna odredba, koja reguliše pitanje one imovine, koju su Nemci platili, tj. osporena je restitucija svake one imovine, koja je u Nemačku došla putem plaćanja protiv-vrednosti, bez obzira ko je robu kupovao, a ko prodavao. Na nama je teret dokazivanja da roba nije otišla u Nemačku u trgovačkom prometu, što je prilično teško.

Što se tiče Sovjetske okupacione zone i ovde glavni problem predstavlja pitanje one naše imovine, koja je odneta u S.S.S.R. U poslednje vreme prilično teško ide sa odobrenjem restitucije naše imovine iz ove zone.

5. Italija

U Italiji postoji niz problema. Glavne grupe naše imovine, koju tražimo po osnovu restitucija iz Italije predstavljaju: brodovi, železnički materijal, vojni materijal, kulturno-umetnički predmeti, zlato i srebro, pitanje restitucije "Romse".

Kod brodova osnovni problem je istraživanje i identifikacija. U vezisa oštećenjem osnovni problem predstavljaće pitanje dovodjenja u ispravno stanje. Isto tako predstavljaće problem i pitanje restitucije onih brodova, koji nisu potopljeni u italijanskim pribrežnim vodama. Italijani nisu još počeli sa vadjanjem i opravkom naših brodova.

Poseban problem predstavljaće naplata odnosno refundiranje onih troškova, koje smo mi imali za dovodjenje u ispravno stanje brodova, koje smo restituisali pre zaključenja Ugovora o miru, kao i pitanje dovodjenja u ispravno stanje onih naših brodova, koji su potpopljeni u bivšim italijanskim pribrežnim vodama, koje su Ugovorom o miru postale naše.

Što se tiče železničkog materijala za sada restitucija teče normalno, ali dok mi potražujemo od Italijana oko 5.000 raznih vagona oni su izvestili da naših vagona ima u Italiji svega oko 1.500. Pitanje istraživanja i identifikovanja ostalih vagona predstavljaće takodje veliki problem.

Kod vojnog materijala mi stojimo kod propisa čl. 75 Ugovora o miru sa Italijom i tražimo da se i vojni materijal restituiše u dobrom stanju. Italijani stoje kod čl. 67 Ugovora o miru, koji predviđa vraćanje vojnog materijala u stanju u kom se on nalazi.

Koliko su ova stranovišta oprečna najbolje će se videti, ako se uzme pitanje razarača "Dubrovnik", koji je potopljen u Djenovskoj luci. Prema našem stanovištu Italijani su dužni da nam "Dubrovnik" vrate u ispravnom stanju, dok prema stanovištu Italijana mi moramo sami, ne samo da osposobljavamo "Dubrovnik" nego i da ga vadimo iz vade.

Kod kulturno-umetničkih predmeta glavni problem imaćemo po pitanju identifikacije. Mi stojimo na stanovištu da su Italijani sami dužni da istražuju naše predmete i da pomažu našim organima u tome, dok Italijani zahtevaju da sami mi pokažemo gde se u Italiji nalaze naši kulturno-umetnički predmeti.

Naročite teškoće Italijani nam prave u pogledu restitucije imovine koja je posle 3 septembra 1943 godine odneta u Italiju sa područja, koja su Ugovorom o miru pripala našoj državi. Naime prema propisima Priloga XIV Ugovora o miru sa Italijom mi imamo pravo da restituišemo svu Italijansku državnu i poludržavnu imovinu, koju su Italijani odneli u Italiju sa navedenih područja posle 3 septembra 1943 godine. Sada redovno Italijani tvrde, kada je reč o restituciji ovakve imovine, da ona nije državna ni poludržavna nego da je privarna. Ovakav slučaj je sa instalacijama "Romse", sa premetima Postojinske Šilje i Pomorskobioškog instituta u Rovinju.

6. Savezničke i neutralne zemlje

Jedan deo naše imovine odnet je na teritoriju Savezničkih zemalja kao u Cehoslovačku, Poljsku, Francusku, Sovjetski Savez i Švajcarsku.

Glavni problem po pitanju restitucije ove naše imovine predstavlja nedostatak volje sadašnjih država naše imovine, da se naša imovina identifikuje i restituiše, tako da je redovan odgovor navedenih država, za svaki naš zahtev, da se potraživana imovina ne nalazi na njihovoj teritoriji.

Do sada smo restituisali nekoliko mašina VT Zavoda, Kragujevac iz Sovjetskog Saveza, i 2 mašine iz Švajcarske, koje su pripadale VTZ Vogošću.

Beograd, 29.IX.1948

72. Treatment of stored cultural objects, left by their owners during the occupation

Postupanje s pohranjenim spomenicima kulture, koje su vlasnici napustili u toku okupacije

Two-page typewritten letter by Anica Magašić, secretary of the Council of Culture and Science (*Savjet za kulturu i nauku*) of the People's Republic of Croatia, to all Croatian People's Committees and Institutes of Conservation as well as to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the National Library and the State Archives of Zagreb; with stamp («Savjet za kulturu i nauku Narodna Republika Hrvatska»)

21 April 1958

Croatia, Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Savjet za kulturu i nauku Narodne Republike Hrvatske, HR-HDA-1599, box 97

The letter touches upon the management of cultural objects which had been left behind by their former owners under the Independent State of Croatia and had been handed over to public collections in the early postwar period. It follows an order of the State Secretariat for Legal Administration (*Državni Sekretariat za pravosudnu upravu*) of the People's Republic of Croatia, published on 9 April 1958, stating: «[...] if close relatives of the deceased or missing owner of the abandoned property have not started the inheritance process (for which the deadline is one year), the objects in question will become national property, disabling any successor from successfully starting an inheritance process in the future, in order for those objects to be returned to them. Therefore, there is no impediment for museums and other institutions to have listed in their inventories those artworks that had been abandoned by their owners and had been stored during the occupation, as they have become national property». According to this order, the issue of legal ownership of many objects stored in Croatian public collection was considered as settled and those objects were integrated into museum inventories.

IPT

Narodna Republika Hrvatska
Savjet za Kulturu i Nauku

Broj: 273/2 -1958.
Zagreb, 21.IV.1958.

Svim Narodnim Odborima Kotara
Svim Konzervatorskim Zavodima
Jugoslavenskoj Akademiji Znanosti i Umjetnosti - Zagreb
Sveučilišnoj Knjižnici - Zagreb
Državnom Arhivu - Zagreb

Predmet: Postupanje s pohranjenim spomenicima kulture, koje su vlasnici napustili u toku okupacije

Na traženje ovog Savjeta kako da se postupi s umjetninema i drugim spomenicima kulture, koje su vlasnici napustili u toku okupacije, [u] koji su predmeti pohranjeni u muzejima, galerijama i drugim ustanovama Državni sekretarijat za prevosudnu upravu NR Hrvatske dostavio je pod brojem: Prav. 89/2-1958. od 9.IV. 1958. slijedeće saopćenje:

«Pizanje pravne sudbine umjetnima o kojme je riječ u vašem dopisu trebe prosudjiveti u prvom redu prema odredbama Zakona o postupanju sa imovinom koju su vlasnici morali napustiti u toku okupacije i imovinom koje im je oduzeta od strane okupatora i njegovih pomagača» ("Sl. I.FNRJ" br. 64/46.)

Prama odredbi člana 7. ovog Zakone, ako je vlasnik napuštenih stvari umro ili se nije pojavio, ostavljen je njegovim bliskim srodnicima kao nasljednicima rok od godine dane, da pokrenu ostavinski postupak, jer, u protivnom slučaju, napuštene imovine prelezi u vlasništvo države; tej rok se račune od 9.VIII.1946. godina kao dana stupanje na snagu cit. zakone, odnosno od dana pravomoćnosti odluke o proglašenu nastelog vlasnike umrlin. Prema toma, ukoliko bliski srodnici vlasnika napuštenih stvari koji je umro ili nastao nisu na vrijeme pokrenuli ostavinski postupak, postale su ove stvari općenarodna imovina i više se zahtjev za vraćanje tih stvari od strane nasljednike ne bi mogeo se uspjehom postaviti. Nema stoga zaprijeke da muzeji i druge ustanove kod kojih su pohranjene umjetnine, koje su vlasnici napustili u toku okupacije, uvede u svoje inventarske knjige, jer su te stvari postale općenarodnom imovinom. Sve to, naravno, uz pretpostavku, da se redi o slučjevima, u kojme je prošao rok za podnošenje zahtjeva za vraćanje odnosno za pokretanje ostavinske rasprave u smislu člana 7. cit. Zakona.

Ako se, medjutim, radi o pohranjenim umjetninama, čiji vlasnik nije umro, već mu je poznato baravište, bez obzira na to, da li je dosad stavio zahtjev za vraćanje ili ne, ili ako je vlasnik ti stvari umro ili je ne tao, o njegovi su nasljednici na vrijeme pokrenuli ostavinski postupak i primili sudsku odluku, kojom im se uručuje ostavina, onia se pohranjene umjetnine ne mogu smatrati općenarodnom imovinom. Muzeji i ostale ustanove ne ce stoga moći, da ove umjetnine uvedu u svoje inventarske knjige.

Na koncu napominjemo, da su sve umjetnine, bez obzira na to da li se radi o onima, koje su postale općenarodnom imovinom ili o umjetninama u privatnom vlasništvu, žastićene prema

odredbama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti (Nar. nov. br. 84/49.)
Sa navedenim saopćenjem potrebno je upoznati sva ustanove pod vašim nadzorom, koje ime-
ju pohranjene umjetnine i druge spomenike kulture, a koje su predmete pohranili sami vlasni-
ci ugroženi od strane okupatora ili su sakupljeni kao nepušteni po feudalnim dvorcima, privat-
nim stanovima i slično.

Sekretar Savjeta: Anica Magašić

XVIII.
COLD WAR SHADOWS
ON A BORDERLAND REGION

Elena Franchi

The Second World War had deeply devastated European cultural heritage. In the postwar period, protective structures and rubble were removed, movable works of art came back from their temporary shelters, museums gradually reopened and new exhibitions were held. Yet, at the same time, new protective measures were planned in the event of another war.

The Italian Minister of Education invited Rodolfo Siviero, head of the Office for the Recovery of Works of Art and Bibliographic and Scientific Material (*Ufficio per il Recupero delle opere d'arte e del materiale bibliografico e scientifico*, officially established in April 1946), to draw up a new plan for the protection of cultural heritage and to set up an appropriate international institute to be founded in Italy. On 11 January 1949, the first meeting for the foundation of the International Academy of Peace took place in Rome. On this occasion, a draft Convention on the Protection of the Artistic and Cultural Heritage of all the Peoples (*Convenzione internazionale per la protezione del patrimonio artistico e culturale dei popoli*) was presented. It was based on the principles expressed in the draft Convention for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War, elaborated by the Office International des Musées in 1938.

After the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the United Nations voted for intervention in defense of South Korea. Italy did not take part in the war because it would enter the United Nations only in 1955, but the fear generated by the new conflict also influenced the Italian political and cultural debate. Italian archaeologists and art historians, such as Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, Roberto Longhi and Lionello Venturi, were perfectly aware that the protective measures undertaken during the Second World War would not be sufficient to face a new war threat and its novel weapons.

In 1950, the Ministry of Education issued two confidential circulars (no. 17034 of 16 August and no. 89/23754 of 20 November), urging the Superintendent offices to draw up new protection plans and to take measures in order to safeguard cultural heritage in war times. In particular, Circular 89 claimed extensive emergency plans for the protection of frescoes and immediate measures for their detachment and their transfer to safe depots. The Superintendent offices were deeply worried about planning new protective measures. The detachment of the

most important frescoes, their transportation to new shelters, the supply of necessary materials and specialized teams were considered insurmountable obstacles.

On 29 March 1951, the Ministry of Education issued Circular no. 38, asking the Superintendent offices to examine whether existing locations, such as natural caves, underground rooms and solid buildings, could be used as deposits for movable artworks in the event of a war. They should protect artifacts against novel weapons and preserve them over a long period of time. Railway tunnels were not particularly recommended because of their excessive moisture. In the meantime, the Ministry also planned the design of new shelters and the construction of new storage facilities.

Selected bibliography

BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1950; FRANCHI 2012; FRANCHI 2020; LONGHI 1950 (1985); LONGHI 1957 (1985); RINALDI 2009; SIVIERO 1984; STONOR SAUNDERS 2004; VENTURI 1950

73. [Protection of artworks]

Two-page typewritten letter by Silvio Rutteri, director of the Trieste Town Museums of History and Art and the Risorgimento (*Civici Musei di Storia e Arte e del Risorgimento*), to Gianni Bartoli, Mayor of Trieste

27 February 1951

Italy, Trieste, Archivio Generale del Comune di Trieste, Gabinetto del Sindaco

In his letter to the Mayor of **Trieste**, Silvio Rutteri, director of the local town museum, discusses possible measures to be taken for the protection of art objects in case of air raids. He refers to a confidential letter sent by the Superintendent Office, probably prompted by the circular of the Ministry of Education of 20 November 1950. Considering any measure to contrast the impact of new technologies and weapons as unfeasible, he suggests learning from experiences gained during the Second World War. Rutteri proposes to use tunnels, in particular the tunnel dug into a rock wall under the Castle of San Giusto at Trieste, where artworks had been moved following the dismissal of the depot of Villa Manin in **Passariano** after 8 September 1943 (see sect. VIII). Here they had been stored up to the German military occupation of the Castle, when it was necessary to move them to other locations, such as a tunnel near the shipyard and the underground storage of the church of St Mary Major. Rutteri also discusses the characteristics and suitability of these locations, in particular of the depot near the shipyard where humidity had caused severe damages to a triptych (likely, the triptych of Santa Chiara, property of the Town Museum).

EF

N° I/1°-41/19/1-51

C O P I A - per atti d'ufficio.

CIVICI MUSEI
DI STORIA ED ARTE E DEL RISORGIMENTO
TRIESTE

Trieste, 27.2.51

n°52/51

Ilustrissimo Signor Sindaco,

con riferimento alla lettera riservata n. 98 del 12 gennaio a.c. della Sovrintendenza ai Monumenti, relativa alla collezione anti-aerea delle opere d'arte mobili, e con riguardo alla Sua lettera n° I/1°-41/19-51, si è dell'opinione che per il tutto basti pensare a un progetto, che abbia una certa concretezza in modo da renderlo, all'occorrenza, realizzabile. Naturalmente le nostre misure devono basarsi sull'esperienza del passato e non possono tener conto delle conseguenze, che potrebbero derivare dai nuovi impieghi di mezzi esplosivi bellici. Perciò, sulla base appunto dell'ultima guerra, la sicurezza maggiore è risultata nelle gallerie cittadine. Infatti, in un primo tempo, si era portato il più importante materiale artistico fuori della città, e precisamente nella villa di Passeriano, sita in aperta campagna, per quanto rilevabile facilmente dal suo colonnato del tipo della piazza S. Pietro e distante solo 6 km dalle polveriere di Codroipo. Il guaio susentrò con gli avvenimenti dell'8 settembre 1943, per cui le collezioni colà raccolte corsero pericolo di deprezzamenti. Abbandonate a se stesse, si provvide d'urgenza a riportarle a Trieste. E si credette, come si crede ancor oggi, sicurissimo rifugio il cunicolo a doppia entrata, scavato in una muratura della resistenza d'una roccia, che congiunge il Cortile delle Milizie del Castello con il piazzale del Parco della Rimembranza. L'ottima sede protettiva, completamente asciutta, venne fatta sgomberare dai tedeschi, con la loro occupazione del Castello. Fu una lunga lotta, protrattasi per un mese e mezzo, con la speranza sempre che l'indomani subentrassero i fattori decisivi per la fuga nazista, ma alla fine si dovette dar causa vinta, tenendo solo, con garanzia del Comando che poi non furono mantenute, un deposito nella Cappella. Ci si rifugiò allora nella galleria dei Cantieri, in una zona opportunamente murata, nella quale la permanenza fu soltanto di 5 mesi, ma tuttavia con conseguenze di umidità, particolarmente gravi per il Trittico trapanese. Per esso si dovette provvedere a un costoso restauro.

Quindi in una parte si hanno gli asciuttissimi rifugi nel cunicolo del Castello e nei sotterranei, anche felicemente assecurati, della chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore. Dall'altra parte in

sicurezza maggiore viene dalle gallerie, con la costruzione di una camera completamente isolata. Inoltre nel magazzino del Lapidario è stato fatto anche un rifugio a volta a 6 metri di profondità dal selciato dell'ingresso del Museo. A tutti questi rifugi si dovrebbe dare la preferenza, per l'assoluta asciuttezza, a quello del Castello, ma chi può garantire che quel compatto muro rimanga estraneo ad usi bellici? In tal caso si dovrebbe studiare una soluzione in una galleria urbana, non in prossimità dei Cantieri o di altri obiettivi bellici, creandovi un'ampia stanza separata, con porta ferrata nella muratura per poter fare dei controlli sulle condizioni interne, ma provvedendo anche prima a difese contro l'umidità.

Si ritiene che basterebbe per ora assicurare la Sovranità tenenza che si sta studiando questo genere di rifugio per le opere più importanti, mentre per le altre dovrebbe essere sufficiente il ricovero del Lapidario.

Sarebbe perciò opportuno un contatto con l'ing. Vittorio Zanetti, esperto nelle costruzioni dei rifugi durante l'ultima guerra.

Con distinti saluti.

Il Direttore: f.to Silvio Rutteri

Prego referto dell'Uff. Tecnico
quindi alla Soprintendenza

Il Sindaco

Passi in v.b. alla Direzione dell'Ufficio XII

SELE

con preghiera di riferire in merito alle proposte fatte
nella nostra lettera al prof. Rutteri.

IL CAPO DI CABINETTO
f.to avv. Fortuna

5.3.1951

XIX.
ITALY AND YUGOSLAVIA:
CLAIMS, REPARATIONS AND RESTITUTIONS
(1947-1961)

Elena Franchi

Italian postwar restitutions of cultural assets to Yugoslavia were fundamentally grounded on the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty between Italy on the one hand, and the Allied and Associated Powers on the other. Regarding the repatriation of cultural objects, the treaty defined both the nature of assets to be returned as well as the geographical area to which restitutions applied.

This geographical area comprised all territories gained by Italy through the treaties of Rapallo (1920) and Rome (1924) – with the exception of **Gorizia** and **Trieste** – as well as the regions annexed in April 1941, following the war on Yugoslavia. The area of applicability of Italian restitutions also comprised small zones around **Rijeka** and those Dalmatian territories which had been promised to Italy by the secret Treaty of London (1915) and had been occupied by Italian troops from November 1918 to 1921. Additionally, Italy had to restitute those cultural objects related to Yugoslavia that the Italian Armistice Mission in Vienna had obtained from Austria after the First World War (Paris Peace Treaty, art. 12, par. 1).

Restitutions should comprise all objects (including historical and administrative documents as well as bibliographical materials) juridically definable as public property and having artistic, historical, scientific, educational, or religious value (art. 12, par. 2). In case Italy was unable to return these objects, assets of similar kind and equivalent value were to be handed over to Yugoslavia (art. 12, par. 3). This obligation applied to all identifiable cultural property removed «by force or duress». Yugoslav claims for restitution were to be presented to the Italian government within six months from the Peace Treaty coming into effect. Whereas the claimant Yugoslav government had the responsibility of identifying the property and proving ownership, the Italian government had to prove that the property in question had not been removed by force or duress (art. 75, par. 7).

On this basis, bilateral Italo-Yugoslav talks on restitutions began in Venice on 14 July 1948. The Italian commission was led by the future ‘minister plenipotentiary’ Rodolfo Siviero, head of the Office for the Recovery of Works of Art and Bibliographic and Scientific Material (*Ufficio per il Recupero delle opere d’arte e del materiale bibliografico e scientifico*, officially established in April 1946). The head of the Yugoslav counterpart was the art historian Grgo Gamulin, who

kept in constant contact with the Yugoslav Minister Plenipotentiary and head of the Delegation for Restitution, Rafo Ivančević.

The Yugoslav delegation presented long lists of claims. According to the above-mentioned geographical area of application of restitutions, Italy divided claims into two groups: first, relating to the territories Italy had gained with the treaties of Rapallo (1920) and Rome (1924), to which contemporary Italian documents referred as «ceded territories»; and second, regarding the territories Italy had annexed in 1941 (defined as «Yugoslav territories»). Each of the two groups was in turn divided into three categories: a) sufficiently documented claims; b) problematic («discutibili») claims; c) claims which in 1949 had still to be taken into account.

The restitution of church bells typically went without controversy: 53 church bells of Yugoslav provenance had already been identified in the Museum of Udine and were ready to be restituted in 1949. Other bells claimed by Yugoslavia had been broken into pieces during the war, resulting in about 391,484 kg of scrap bronze transferred to Germany.

Talks mostly focused on so-called problematic claims, the most controversial being the restitution of the two Carpaccio paintings (*Saint Sebastian* and *Saint Peter Martyr*) to the Zagreb Strossmayer Gallery. As mentioned above (see doc. 46), they had been exchanged with the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav in 1942 and were then hung in the Correr Museum. During postwar negotiations, Italy refused to hand over the Carpaccio oils, arguing that they had not been removed from Croatia «by force or duress».

Restitution talks concerning cultural objects removed from the «ceded territories» initially focused on the legal status of research and scientific institutes which had asserted to be the rightful owners; later, negotiations concentrated on specific issues, such as artworks pertaining to the Museum of St Donatus in Zadar and to the Archaeological Museum in Pula (*R. Museo dell'Istria*), scientific materials of the Postojna-based Italian Institute of Speleology (*Istituto Italiano di Speleologia*) and of the Rovinj Institute for Marine Biology (*Istituto Italo-Germanico di Biologia Marina*), as well as books of the Paravia Library (*Biblioteca Comunale Paravia*) of Zadar.

However, since the 1948 negotiations left most issues unresolved, numerous claims became subject of further debate and in-depth investigation. Nevertheless, 80 boxes containing the so-called «Archives of Dalmatia» and a first lot of objects (mainly views of Split and a cast pertaining to the local Gallery) were consigned to Yugoslav authorities by the head of the Italian commission, Rodolfo Siviero, on 13 January 1949 on the basis of a bilateral agreement. Further consignments (mostly archival materials from Istria and Zadar) occurred between 1952 and 1954.

On 4 July 1949, the Yugoslav Minister Rafo Ivančević delivered a first unofficial *Memorandum*. Negotiations were resumed in Rome in October 1949 under

the supervision of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since Italy aimed at not compromising simultaneous talks on economic affairs with Yugoslavia, Rome intended to reach a bilateral agreement on cultural assets beforehand. Yet negotiations remained stalled and were finally suspended, while new provenance research was promised to be carried out.

After repeated exchanges of Yugoslav memoranda and Italian agreement proposals, talks were eventually resumed in June 1953. Italy proposed treating restitution affairs as a whole, while Yugoslavia, in contrast, claimed its right to present new claims for ten more years from the agreement's conclusion, demanding to adopt individual solutions for each item in question. At the same time, Italian authorities took different stances on the restitution issue. The Italian Ministries of the Interior and Education opposed the restitution of archives and artworks to Yugoslavia, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attempted to balance the need to maintain good diplomatic relationships with Yugoslavia, while at the same time avoiding to hurt the feelings of the roughly 300,000 Italian refugees forced to flee from Dalmatia, Istria and parts of the Julian March at the end of the Second World War.

Although negotiations once more had come to a halt, a bilateral commission of experts was created in 1953. While the previously established delegations had to list items to be returned to Yugoslavia, the task of the newly created commission was to inspect objects and sites. Italian experts called to participate in the commission changed over the years. In 1956, it included the art historian Vittorio Moschini and the archaeologists Mario Mirabella Roberti, Luigi Crema, and Bruna Tamaro Forlati, the latter playing a particularly active role up to the conclusion of negotiations. Among their Yugoslav counterparts were the art historians Grgo Gamulin e Milan Prelog.

Although the Yugoslav government had asked to resume talks as early as 1958, the delegations met again in Milan and Rome only in the first months of 1960. But it was only in June that a new willingness emerged on part of the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers to put an end to the controversy with Yugoslavia. By taking a leading role in the negotiations, it pushed the two ministries involved, Foreign Affairs and Education, to merge their different positions (agreement of 13 July). On this basis, in early August 1960, Pio Archi, who soon was to become head of the Italian delegation, was sent to Belgrade in order to immediately resume negotiations (in collaboration with the Italian Ambassador, Alberto Berio) and to lay the foundations for a final agreement. Bilateral talks led to signing a memorandum, in which both parties agreed on examining those claims which still had to be settled. The sudden speeding up of negotiations and their positive results were to be attributed to both partners being keen to renew an agreement on fishing rights in the Adriatic Sea. As a matter of fact, soon after signing the above-mentioned Memorandum, also the Adriatic fishing rights issue could be resolved.

Italo-Yugoslav restitution talks were concluded on 15 September 1961, when an agreement was signed in Rome (*Esecuzione dell'Accordo tra l'Italia e la Jugoslavia per il regolamento della restituzione alla Jugoslavia dei beni culturali, con scambio di Note, concluso a Roma il 15 settembre 1961*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale», 80, 27 March 1962), which contemplated restitutions, exchanges of artworks or, alternatively, financial compensation.

It did not apply to private citizens from any of the territories in question (i.e. territories annexed by Italy in 1920 and 1924 respectively, as well as territories occupied and annexed by Italy in 1941), nor did it apply to Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste. The thorny issue of Istrian artworks which had remained in Italy was left unresolved (see sect. XXI).

Italy was also granted the right to still claim restitution of those paintings which had been illegally removed to Germany during the war and had been subsequently stored at the Munich Central Collecting Point. In 1949, they had been erroneously handed over by the Allies to Topić Mimara, then adviser to the Yugoslav Military Mission, and were then donated by him to the National Museum in Belgrade (see sect. XX).

Selected bibliography

DOCUMENTI DELLA PACE ITALIANA 1947; FORLATI TAMARO 1963; FORLATI TAMARO 1984; GRISOLIA 1952; JAKUBOWSKI 2015; JAKUBOWSKI, FIORENTINI, MANIKOWSKA 2016; *LA SCONFITTA RIMOSSA* 2008; LAUTERBACH 2015; LORENZINI 2007; *MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE* 2004; OBLAK ČARNI 2008; PELLEGRINI 2017; PRIJATELJ 1963; RAINERO 1997; RAVAGNAN 1994; *STUĐIJSKI DAN MARIA MIRABELLE ROBERTIJA* 2014; TURCHETTO, MENEGHINI, NICOLSI 2008; *V ITALIJI ZADRŽANE UMETNINE* 2005; ZWITTER 1948-1949

74. Restitutions to Yugoslavia

Restituzioni alla Jugoslavia

Seven-page typewritten letter by Rodolfo Siviero, head of the Office for the Recovery of art works, books and scientific material (*Ufficio per il Recupero delle opere d'arte e del materiale bibliografico e scientifico*), to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education, Interior, Transport, Finance and Economy

20 July 1949

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione III, 1929-1960, folder 610

Following the presentation of a Yugoslav memorandum (4 July 1949) concerning the restitution of cultural assets from Italy, the Italian Office for the Recovery of art works provides a summary report on bilateral talks held in Venice from 14 to 18 July 1948. The report includes a list of cultural objects consigned by Italy to Yugoslavia on 13 January 1949.

Members of the Italian delegation to the bilateral talks were Rodolfo Siviero (head), Vittorio Moschini, Luigi Crema, Massimo Sella, Luigi Ferrari, Piero Zorzanello and Mario Mirabella Roberti, whereas the head of the Yugoslav commission was Grgo Gamulin. Yugoslav Minister Plenipotentiary Rafo Ivančević was absent at the Venice meeting having been stopped en route by industrial action.

In a first step, the delegations had examined controversial Yugoslav restitution claims such as those relating to the two Carpaccio paintings from Zagreb, handed over to the Correr Museum of Venice in 1942, in exchange with the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav delivered from the Museum to the Independent State of Croatia (see doc. 46). A 1948 Yugoslav proposal to retain the font as compensation for untraceable or dispersed objects was refused by the Italian delegation.

In a second step, ownership issues related to scientific and cultural materials of institutes, museums and libraries were debated (Archaeological Museum of Pula, Museum of St Donatus and Paravia Library in Zadar, Italian Institute for Marine Biology in Rovinj and Institute of Speleology at Postojna caves).

Ownership questions were particularly complicated in the case of the Pula and Zadar institutions. A great part of artifacts, books, scientific instruments and documents from the Museum in Pula belonged to the Istrian Society for Archaeology and Regional History (*Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*); after the war, during which many museum materials had been transferred to Italy, the Society insisted on its private status as ancient owner. The Paravia Library, which had been moved to Venice in two instalments in 1941 and 1943, included a col-

lection which had been bequeathed by Giorgio Nachich to the city of Zadar at his death in 1937 under the condition that Zadar would remain subject to Italian state sovereignty. Another intricate question was the case of the assets from the Zadar Museum of St Donatus, transferred to Venice in 1944. Among them were 14 crates with ancient glass that the Italian delegation was inclined to restitute in exchange for four large Roman statues. Originally from Nin, but since the 18th century preserved in Italy, these statues had allegedly been temporarily loaned by the Italian state to the Zadar museum in 1928 (see doc. 65).

No less confusing was the Postojna Institute issue. On 2 September 1943, prior to the Italian armistice of 8 September, its council board had transferred 133 crates of scientific objects to Recoaro, near Vicenza. Later, German occupation authorities moved 102 crates from Recoaro to the Reich, whereas after the war Allied authorities handed another 84 crates over to Italy which then were assigned to Bologna University. According to Italian authorities, however, the latter did not contain any material from Postojna. As for the whereabouts of the missing 31 crates, formerly stored in Recoaro, more investigation was needed.

Still different was the case of the Rovinj Institute of Marine Biology, due to its international character. In fact, in 1911, the local laboratory had been purchased by the Emperor Wilhelm Society for the Promotion of Sciences (*Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften*). After the First World War, the laboratory was refounded as the Institute of Marine Biology for the Adriatic Sea (*Istituto di Biologia Marina per l'Adriatico*), managed by the Italian Thalassographic Committee (*Comitato Talassografico Italiano*). After a preliminary agreement between the Italian Thalassographic Committee and the Emperor Wilhelm Society for the Promotion of Sciences, dated 25 February 1930, and a subsequent bilateral agreement, signed on 11 October 1930, the laboratory became the Italo-German Institute of Marine Biology («Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 91, 20 April 1931), jointly managed by the two nations. During the 1948 talks, Siviero proposed its transformation into an Italo-Yugoslav Marine Institute, having its seat in Venice, where some of its scientific objects had already been deposited in the city's Archaeological Museum in late 1943 or early 1944.

Final decisions on these issues were taken with the Italo-Yugoslav agreement of 15 September 1961 (see doc. 78).

EF

Repubblica italiana. Ministero della pubblica istruzione
Ufficio per il recupero delle opere d'arte e del materiale bibliografico e scientifico
via degli Astalli 3/A

Prot. No: 4653

Roma, 20 luglio 1949

Oggetto: restituzioni alla Jugoslavia

AL MINISTERO PER GLI AFFARI ESTERI

- S.E.T. II

MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE

- Dir. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti

- Dir. Gen. Accademie e Biblioteche

- Dir. Gen. Scambi Culturali e Zone di Confine

MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO

- Dir. Gen. Amm. Civile - Ufficio Centrale Archivi di Stato

MINISTERO DEI TRASPORTI

- Servizio Approvvigionamento

- Ufficio ripristino campane

MINISTERO DELLE FINANZE

- Dir. Gen. del Demanio

MINISTERO DEL TESORO

- Ufficio Beni Alleati e Nemici

ROMA

A seguito del telespresso urgente di cotesto On. Ministero n. 1266/C, in data 9 luglio 1949, si fa presente quanto segue circa l'allegato promemoria del Ministro Plenipotenziario di Jugoslavia Ivancevic.

Sugli stessi argomenti del promemoria succitato, ebbe luogo a Venezia una conferenza fra i rappresentanti del Governo italiano e quelli del Governo jugoslavo; le conversazioni ebbero inizio la mattina del 14 luglio 1948 nella sede del Palazzo ex Reale e si chiusero il 18 dello stesso mese.

Da parte italiana componevano la Commissione presieduta dal sottoscritto i Professori Vittorio Moschini, Luigi Crema, Massimo Sella, Luigi Ferrari, Piero Zorzanello, Mario Mirabella Roberti, ciascuno per la parte di sua competenza. La Commissione jugoslava era rappresentata dal Prof. Gregorio Gamulin, mentre il Ministro Plenipotenziario Ivancevic, che doveva presiederla, rimaneva bloccato sulla strada Padova Mestre a causa di uno sciopero e, non potendo raggiungere Venezia, ottenne, invece, dai dimostranti di proseguire per il confine jugoslavo. In assenza del ministro, il Prof. Gamulin si tenne in continuo contatto telefonico con le Autorità jugoslave a Roma.

In seguito alle istruzioni ricevute dal Ministero degli Affari Esteri e dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, il sottoscritto cercava di raggiungere un accordo, là dove sorgevano delle divergen-

ze, ed espletare il più sollecitamente possibile le richieste avanzate dai rappresentanti del Governo jugoslavo.

La Commissione italiana procedè, inizialmente, ad un primo spoglio delle richieste, scindendo quelle relative ai territori jugoslavi da quelle riguardanti i territori italiani ceduti alla Jugoslavia.

Per i territori jugoslavi non fu presentata nessuna opposizione sostanziale, tranne quella formale della imprecisione di molte richieste, per cui, mancando i dati relativi era praticamente impossibile giungere al rintraccio degli oggetti.

Tra le richieste concernenti i territori jugoslavi il Prof. Gamulin tenne a sottolineare l'importanza per Zagabria di riavere i due Carpaccio scambiati a suo tempo fra l'Accademia di Zagabria ed il Comune di Venezia con la Vasca Battesimale del Duca Vincislao e fece inoltre conoscere che la città di Zagabria avrebbe desiderato trattenere anche questa perché documento storico nazionale di grande importanza.

Il sottoscritto fece conoscere, in base alle opposizioni fatte dai rappresentanti della città di Venezia, che detto scambio non rientrava nei termini delle restituzioni contemplate dal trattato di pace e che in ogni caso se la Jugoslavia intendeva proporre l'annullamento del cambio questo avrebbe dovuto essere reciproco.

Il Prof. Gamulin, ribadendo sull'argomento, dichiarava che la Vasca Battesimale avrebbe potuto essere trattenuta, a termine del trattato di pace, in conto riparazioni per quegli oggetti da restituire, di analogo valore che non fossero rintracciati e riconsegnati dal Governo italiano. A questo punto il sottoscritto ribadiva il concetto della reciprocità e considerava in ogni caso possibile una discussione soltanto su questa base.

Per la parte delle richieste jugoslave al Governo italiano, concernenti i territori ceduti ai termini del trattato di pace alla Jugoslavia, le discussioni si sono protratte a lungo e per alcuni giorni sull'impostazione giuridica di molti Enti ed Istituti proprietari di oggetti, dei quali il Governo jugoslavo chiedeva la restituzione.

L'autonomia di tali Enti veniva sostenuta dai rappresentanti degli stessi alla presenza del Delegato jugoslavo. Particolarmente lunghe sono state le discussioni per l'Istituto Speleologico Italiano, l'Istituto Biologico Marittimo di Rovigno, il Museo Archeologico di Pola (una parte del quale sarebbe di proprietà della Società Istriana) e la Biblioteca di Zara, alla quale diverso materiale è pervenuto per un lascito valido solo fino a quando Zara venisse a trovarsi in territorio italiano, per espressa condizione del testatore.

Il sottoscritto condusse le discussioni in modo che per tutte le questioni concernenti i territori ceduti alla Jugoslavia fosse ricercata la via di un accordo.

Prendendo, poi, lo spunto dal fatto che l'Istituto Biologico Marittimo in precedenza si chiamava Istituto Biologico Marittimo italo germanico proponeva, con soddisfazione di ambedue le parti, la possibilità di una trasformazione del suddetto Ente in Istituto Biologico Marittimo italo jugoslavo con sede a Venezia. Da ciò il Prof. Gamulin veniva portato a discutere la possibilità di un accordo generale su tutti gli Istituti, Musei e Biblioteche che dovrebbero essere ceduti alla Jugoslavia.

A conclusione dei lavori della conferenza fu firmato dai presenti un accordo in via di massima sulla linea da tenere in questo senso e da proporre ai propri Governi. La conferenza, che avrebbe dovuto riunirsi nuovamente a breve distanza, venne rinviata sine die a causa di sopraggiunti cambiamenti fra i rappresentanti della Delegazione jugoslava.

Sulla base dei lavori espletati a Venezia il sottoscritto, a nome del Governo italiano, consegnò in data 13 gennaio 1949, con nota firmata anche dal Ministro jugoslavo Rafo Ivancevic, i seguenti oggetti:

- 1) Archivio della Dalmazia (60 casse)
- 2) Un quadro ad olio di Petrivic, raffigurante il Battistero di Spalato, proveniente dalla Galleria di Spalato
- 3) Due Acqueforti di Uvodic, raffiguranti il Peristilio e la Cattedrale di Spalato, provenienti come sopra
- 4) Un calco della Flagellazione, di Giorgio da Sebenico, proveniente come sopra
- 5) Una fotografia del Palazzo dei Signori di Ragusa, proveniente dal Museo Archeologico di Spalato
- 6) Un dipinto ad olio su tavola, raffigurante la Deposizione, di Girolamo da Santa Croce, proveniente dalla chiesa di Santa Maria in Campo di Lagosta
- 7) Un dipinto ad olio su tavola, raffigurante la Madonna in trono con santi, del Bissolo, proveniente come sopra

Circa il Museo Archeologico di Zara, nella predetta riunione a Venezia, il rappresentante della Direzione Generale delle Belle Arti presso la Commissione, Soprintendente Prof. V. Forlati, feci [sic] presente che a quel Museo erano state consegnate in deposito provvisorio quattro statue romane di altissimo pregio artistico, rimaste tuttora a Zara, e delle quali la Soprintendenza di Venezia rivendicava la proprietà. Nella discussione il Prof. Gamulin fece presente che si sarebbe informato sulla questione. Per questa ragione nel verbale di restituzione del sopra elencato materiale, il museo di Zara non venne incluso.

In merito alla richiesta di cui al promemoria del Ministro Ivancevic in data 4 luglio 1949, si nato [sic] che la questione dell'Istituto Speleologico di Postumia (paragrafo 2 lettera a) è assai complessa e presenta vari aspetti, di cui quest'Ufficio possiede larga documentazione. Anzi tutto, come ha precisato a suo tempo il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, le 84 casse restituite dalla Germania all'Italia sono un gruppo di materiale asportato non dalle grotte di Postumia, bensì da Recoaro, presso gli stabilimenti termali, dove era stato collocato prima dell'8 settembre 1943. D'altra parte i dirigenti dell'Istituto di Speleologia italiano fecero pervenire a suo tempo la documentazione che il materiale rapinato dai tedeschi a Recoaro era di pertinenza italiana e non rappresentava il nucleo delle cose di Postumia, che sarebbero invece rimaste in loco e poi asportate dai tedeschi, senza che la Missione di questo Ufficio in Germania ne abbia mai avuto informazione.

Il materiale asportato a Recoaro e riportato in Italia, dopo non indifferenti difficoltà con le autorità preposte alle restituzioni dal Governo Militare Alleato in Germania (per due volte ci fu rilasciato e per due volte fatto ricaricare dai camions e ripreso), è stato ora assegnato all'Università di Bologna.

Poiché le Autorità jugoslave insistono che fra detto materiale vi siano anche parte degli oggetti pertinenti a Postumia quest'Ufficio ha preso contatti con la Direzione Generale dell'Istruzione Superiore, la quale ha informato che si farà parte diligente per gli accertamenti del caso. Circa le altre 31 casse, che si troverebbero a Recoaro, provenienti dal ristorante della Direzione delle Grotte di Postumia, sono in corso gli accertamenti.

Per le campane, giacenti presso il Museo di Udine (paragrafo 2 lettera b) quest'Ufficio ha già fatto eseguire una ricognizione da suoi Funzionari, e si fa presente che non tutte provengono da territori ceduti alla Jugoslavia. Esse sono 67, di cui una è già stata restituita a Gorizia, da cui proveniva, 5 appartengono alla zona B, 8 al territorio libero di Trieste e le rimanenti al territorio jugoslava [sic]. 1133 campane, invece, di varia provenienza sono state distrutte ed i rottami trovansi in Germania, ove furono portati dai Tedeschi. Sono in corso le pratiche di restituzione.

La Biblioteca scolastica di Idria, che trovasi a Gorizia (paragrafo 2, lettera c), è stata oggetto di un particolare esame nella riunione di Venezia del luglio 1948 e, a causa di alcune obiezioni sollevate dai rappresentanti della Società Istriana, la discussione in merito fu rinviata.

Per quanto concerne le due medaglie e i cinque quadri che si troverebbero presso Abbadia San Salvatore (paragrafo 2, lettera d) questo Ufficio in data 6 luglio u.s. ha provveduto a dare disposizioni al Soprintendente di Siena, competente per territorio, perché provveda alla necessaria ricognizione. [ms note: f. n. 13 della richiesta]

Circa il trittico, inviato da Zagabria a Venezia nel 1940 (paragrafo 2, lettera e), da prime informazioni nulla risulterebbe in deposito alla Galleria di Belle Arti di Venezia.

Per la statua di Diana al Palazzo del drago, il leone di marmo a Firenze e gli oggetti del tesoro della Chiesa di Krk (paragrafo 2, lettera f, g, h) sono in corso le indagini.

Le voci di cui al paragrafo 3 furono lungamente trattate nel convegno di Venezia. Il rappresentante del Governo jugoslavo presa diretta cognizione delle difficoltà, riservandosi di presentare nuove documentazioni e nuove proposte sulla base delle precedenti discussioni.

Circa l'ultimo comma riguardante «una immensa quantità di richieste», quest'Ufficio è da lungo tempo al lavoro per l'espletamento di tali pratiche, che, insufficientemente documentate comportano difficoltà tutt'altro che indifferenti e spesso insormontabili.

Il Ministro

[signed:] Rodolfo Siviero

75. The Carpaccio problem

La questione dei Carpaccio

Two-page typewritten memo; no information given on author and place.

January 1958

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione III, 1929-1960, folder 612

The memo refers to the 1942 Italo-Croatian exchange of two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio (*Saint Peter Martyr* and *Saint Sebastian*), then in possession of the Zagreb Strossmayer Gallery, with the Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav and a painting erroneously attributed to Federico Bencovich (today considered as by a follower of Giovanni Battista Piazzetta), both then belonging to the Correr Museum in Venice (see doc. 46). The exchange, accomplished according to an agreement between Benito Mussolini and Ante Pavelić, became a major issue in post-war restitutions.

The memo summarizes Italo-Yugoslav negotiations started in 1948. Opposing an Italian proposal of maintaining the status quo, the Yugoslav delegation insisted on claiming the two Carpaccio paintings. The request met with resistance by the competent head of the Superintendent Office of Venice as well as of the Municipality, owner of the Correr Museum. Their position was adopted by the Italian delegation. Until January 1958, both sides had made several proposals for resolving the question, including compensation either in cash or kind: for example, in 1955 the Yugoslav delegation offered the hull of Guglielmo Marconi's ship *Elettra*, which had been half destroyed by bombing near Zadar in 1944.

The memo also refers to a notice by the Superior Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts (*Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti*) of the Ministry of Education, dated 16 December 1950. The Superior Council had suggested giving back the *Saint Peter Martyr*, artistically «less important» than the *Saint Sebastian*, and agreed on the estimates of the paintings made by the head of the Superintendent Office of Venice. It also added that, in case of restitution, the Italian state should compensate the City of Venice for its loss.

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LA QUESTIONE DEL CARPACCIO

Uno degli argomenti di maggior dissenso con la Delegazione Jugoslava concerne i due dipinti di Vittore Carpaccio, raffiguranti rispettivamente S. Pietro Martire e S. Sebastiano, che il Comune di Venezia (Museo Correr) ebbe nel 1941 dall'Accademia di Zagabria in cambio di una vasca battesimale raffigurante il Principe serbo Venceslao e di un dipinto attribuito al pittore dalmata Francesco Bencovich, raffigurante "San Bartolomeo".

Respinta la iniziale proposta italiana di mantenimento dello statu quo, la Delegazione italiana aveva prospettato una soluzione transattiva, suggerita dal Comune di Venezia, consistente nella cessione a favore dell'Accademia di Zagabria di uno dei due Carpaccio, e precisamente del S. Pietro Martire (ed al Museo Correr per tale cessione sarebbe stata corrisposta dal nostro Ministero del Tesoro una giusta indennità, a' sensi della legge 1 dicembre 1949, n. 908); dietro riconoscimento da parte della Accademia di Zagabria della proprietà del Museo Correr sull'altro dipinto del Carpaccio, raffigurante S. Sebastiano, e la restituzione allo stesso Museo Correr del dipinto del Bencovich.

Senonchè su quest'ultimo punto (della restituzione del Bencovich) si ebbe un irrigidimento della Delegazione jugoslava; mentre a sua volta il Comune di Venezia, cui venne prospettata anche la possibilità di un indennizzo del nostro Ministero del Tesoro per la rinuncia a tale opera, non credette di aderirvi; e nella riunione di Giunta del 12 ottobre 1953,

"considerato che, non avendo l'Accademia di Zagabria accettato integralmente le proposte del Comune di Venezia, questa devono ritenersi cadute"

riafferma "il principio che, risolta una convenzione o un accordo, le parti devono essere restituite nella condizione quo ante, e quindi, a logica e giuridica soluzione delle trattative in corso, l'Accademia di Zagabria restituisca a Venezia la Vasca Battesimale di Venceslao ed il dipinto del Bencovich, contro restituzione da parte del Comune di Venezia (Museo Correr) dei due Carpaccio rappresentanti San Sebastiano e San Pietro Martire".

Tale punto di vista venne ribadito dalla Giunta comunale di Venezia nella riunione del 12 aprile 1954; sicchè esso fu fatto proprio dalla Delegazione italiana e sostenuto nelle trattative con la Delegazione Jugoslava, che, d'altra parte, aveva finito per chiedere anch'essa il ritorno allo statu quo ante.

Senonchè, nella riunione del 22 dicembre 1954, la Delegazione jugoslava rinnovò la proposta di uno scambio parziale (Bencovich contro uno dei Carpaccio).

Da notare che, secondo il parere espresso nel maggio 1954 dal Soprintendente alle Gallerie di Venezia, il valore della Vasca Battesimale è per lo meno equivalente a quello complessivo dei due dipinti del Carpaccio, calcolato in diciassette milioni di lire; mentre il valore del dipinto raffigurante S. Bartolomeo, di cui non è neppure sicura la attribuzione al Bencovich, è inferiore alle trecento mila lire.

Con lettera del 30 agosto 1955 il Sindaco di Venezia - nel respingere una ulteriore proposta degli jugoslavi di scambio fra i due dipinti del Carpaccio e lo scafo del panfilo "Elettra", faceva presente che il Comune, già proprietario della Vasca battesimale del Principe Venceslao e del dipinto del Bencovich a suo tempo inviati in Jugoslavia, riteneva per suo conto definitivo lo scambio avvenuto; e che in via eccezionale sarebbe stato disposto soltanto al ritorno dello "statu quo", restituendo alla Jugoslavia i due dipinti del Carpaccio previa restituzione della Vasca Battesimale e del quadro del Bencovich.

Sulla questione del Carpaccio, il Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti Sez. II^a ha espresso il 16/12/1950 l'accluso parere.

Gennaio 1958

76. Pula - Museum of Istria

Pola - Museo dell'Istria

Two-page typewritten letter by Mario Mirabella Roberti, head of the Superintendent Office for Antiquities of Lombardy, to the General Department of Antiquities and Fine Arts (headed by Vito Agresti), Ministry, Ministry of Public Education, Rome

2 February 1959

Italy, Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione III, 1929-1960, folder 612

In his letter Mario Mirabella Roberti, director of the Museum of Pula from 1935 to 1947, questions the position of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in restitution negotiations with Yugoslavia, criticizing what he considers an overly thoughtless attitude. In particular, commenting on a letter sent to him by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he contests the idea of an exchange of the Italian paintings erroneously consigned by the Munich Central Collecting Point to Yugoslavia in 1948 (see sect. XX) against cultural objects that Italy had removed from Istria and Dalmatia for safety reasons during the war. Mirabella Roberti highlights some shortcomings and inaccuracies which emerged from the letter of the Ministry. He stresses that no material had been taken away from the museum of Poreč, as well as from the lapidariums of Novigrad, Izola, Buzet and Motovun, all of which belonged to the Istrian Society for Archaeology and Regional History (*Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*). He recommends that in case of an exchange of cultural objects, the property of private cultural societies (as the *Società istriana*) should remain untouched and instead state-owned cultural objects be offered for exchange. He also adds that the library of Poreč had remained in Istria, whereas the most precious volumes of the library of Pula and the Historical Archives of Istria had been brought to Zagreb. He mentions a number of private libraries (Callegari in Poreč, De Franceschi in Motovun, Scampicchio in Labin and Bajamonti in Zadar) which had become lost and adds that many cultural assets of local interest would have been destroyed if Italian authorities had not previously removed them from Istria in order to protect them.

At the end of the letter, as a sort of final remark, he asks to avoid the term «restituzione», restitution, because it implied that Italians accepted to give back what was not theirs, whilst, according to him, it was just a matter of «a delivery» under the constraint of a peace treaty.

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2 copie

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE ANTICHITÀ DELLA LOMBARDIA
MILANO - PIAZZA DEL DUOMO N. 14 - TELEFONO 80.45.22

ESPRESSO

Milano, 2 febbraio 1959

001873 - 5.FEB.1959

DIV. III

Ministero Pubblica Istruzione
Direz. Gen. Antichità e BB. AA.
Divisione III^a R O M A

Resp. a prot. 623

1159

POLA - Museo dell'Istria

Confesso di non aver capito la lettera del 3 gennaio 1959 del Ministero degli Affari Esteri:

Si dice che: "i beni di cui si tratta" per la cosiddetta restituzione ~~valgo-~~no, ~~al~~ valore attuale, vari miliardi di lire, che i nove dipinti di proprietà italiana che furono restituiti alla Jugoslavia in base all'esibizione di documentazione falsa, valgono fra un miliardo e un miliardo e mezzo di lire.

E poi si afferma che "in considerazione del fatto che i beni culturali da noi rivendicati hanno un valore commerciale di gran lunga inferiore a quello dei beni che dovremo restituire" alla Jugoslavia, sarebbe intenzione del M.A.E. di impostare le trattative in modo che non ci sia squilibrio fra il dare e l'avere. Allora noi dovremmo "restituire" materiale per un miliardo, un miliardo e mezzo di lire per avere quello che ci è stato estorto "in base all'esibizione di documentazione falsa". Ciò dobbiamo dare roba nostra per avere roba nostra.

Confido che lo scambio avvenga, se ha da avvenire, con materiale in Italia di sicura proprietà dello Stato e non con materiale della Società Istriana e comunque non facendo oggetto di tale scambio la Cappella d'avorio del V sec., di asserita proprietà statale, di cui ho parlato nella mia lettera dell'8 giugno 1955, come di cosa che è legata alla nostra cultura, e che può essere scambiata con parte di quel materiale della Società Istriana che è ancora a Pola e in Istria.

Ciò premesso non mi resta che far rilevare che quanto si ritiene asportato da Pola e dall'Istria dal M.A.E. è assai lontano dalla verità.

Non "le intere collezioni del Museo di Pola", ma il materiale di proprietà della Società Istriana (nella mia lettera del 23 agosto 1955 era compreso nell'Elenco D, materiale romano e preistorico da Nesazio, ora in Italia) quello di proprietà dello Stato limitatamente alle serie: Elenco A (preistoria di Pola), Elenco B (preistoria di S. Lucia), Cappella del V secolo, e quello di proprietà del Comune, Elenco H (materiale romano da Pola e da Caviano).

Il M.A.E. non ignori che nel Museo di Pola è rimasto il materiale preistorico da Nesazio (Elenco E) e il materiale romano da Nesazio (Elenco F) oltre ai monetieri, tutto proprietà della Società Istriana.

E inoltre tutto il materiale lapidario di proprietà dello Stato e del Comune (Elenco C) che riempie 6 sale e due lunghi corridoi.

Non mi risulta poi che da nessun altro museo istriano è stato asportata materiale: intatta la collezione di Parenzo, intatti i lapidari di Cittanova, Pinguente, Isola, Montona ecc., tutti della Società Istriana.

Intatta in Istria la biblioteca di Parenzo e tutto il più prezioso materiale della biblioteca di Pola (che è stato asportato a Zagabria), quasi intatto l'Archivio Storico dell'Istria (che è stato asportato a Zagabria).

Quanto all'Istituto Mauttino di Rovigno e a quello di Postumia io non ho dati.

Ma prego il MAE di non gravare la mano e di non farci apparire come scassinatori e distruttori di cultura locale, chè se molta di questa documentazione della cultura locale non fosse stata asportata per protezione antiaerea dall'Istria, ora sarebbe nelle foibe o in fondo al mare, come le biblioteche private di Parenzo (Callegari), di Montona (De Franceschi), di Albona (Scampichio), di Zara (Balamonti) disperse irrimediabilmente.

Mi permetto di pregare, se possibile, di non continuare a parlare di "restituzione", chè non si tratta di rendere cosa che era di proprietà altrui e si era tolto, ma di "consegnare", posto che si debba consegnare, in forza del Trattato di Pace.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(M. Mirabella Roberti)

77. Italo-Yugoslav negotiations on cultural assets. Restitution of paintings

Negoziati italo-jugoslavi per i beni culturali. Restituzione dipinti

Four-page typewritten letter by Pio Archi, head of the General Direction of Cultural Relationships with Foreign Countries (*Direzione Generale delle Relazioni culturali con l'Estero*) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Cabinet of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (*Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri*)

27 August 1960

Italy, Rome, Archivio generale della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Ufficio Zone di Confine, Sez. IV, b. 82, vol. I (142/6)

Pio Archi, General Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, traces the main phases of the still ongoing Italo-Yugoslav negotiations on the restitution of cultural objects, which had started in 1948. After focusing on the inconclusive talks held in Milan in January 1960 and in Rome between 27 April and 6 June of the same year, Archi argues that Yugoslav unwillingness to reach an understanding depended on the renewal of the expiring agreement on fishing rights in the Adriatic Sea. This assessment speeded up negotiations on cultural assets. Talks took place in Belgrade, leading to a protocol for a final agreement signed prior to 27 August which established that final negotiations should begin no later than 15 October 1960.

EF

Mod. T.U.C.

RISERVATO - URGENTE

TELESPRESSO N. 31/26878 U

Indirizzate a

PRESIDENZA DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI
DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI
GABINETTO

31 AGO. 1960

N° 200/7280/L. 131

R O M A

Roma, add. 27 AGO 1960

Posizione

Oggetto Negoziati italo-jugoslavi per i beni culturali.

Riferimento Fonogramma a mano n. 200/6966/4.131 del 20 corr.

(Custo)

Con riferimento al fonogramma a mano sopra citato si ha il pregio di comunicare quanto appresso circa l'argomento in oggetto:

In base al Trattato di Pace (art. 12 all. XIV par. 1 e 4) l'Italia è obbligata a restituire alla Jugoslavia tutti quei beni di carattere artistico, storico, bibliografico e religioso che, a partire dal 1918, (compresi pertanto quelli ceduti dall'Austria con il Trattato di S. Germano) siano stati da noi tolti dai territori ceduti e costituiscano dei beni pubblici o siano trattenuti dal Governo o da Istituzioni pubbliche italiane. Fa inoltre obbligo all'Italia di restituire il materiale culturale asportato dall'attuale territorio jugoslavo in conseguenza degli eventi bellici.

Nel 1948 furono costituite due Delegazioni che iniziarono i lavori a Roma e a Venezia. Si giunse alla firma di un protocollo che in linea di massima già forniva un orientamento per la soluzione di alcuni punti preliminari. Si procedette anche alla restituzione effettiva di alcune opere d'arte che erano

Alleg. N°

PRESIDENZA DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI
-4. SET. 1960

N°

L'Autore è tenuto a restituire al mittente il presente documento, l'Ufficio di provenienza.

-2-

seguito del "Edoardo" N.º

state asportate dall'interno della Jugoslavia. Nel 1952 - 1953 - 1954 furono egualmente restituiti alla Jugoslavia - sulla base dello stesso protocollo - notevoli complessi archivistici provenienti dall'Istria e da Zara.

Le trattative furono successivamente riprese nel 1953 - 1955 ma un progetto di accordo a titolo di "forfait" presentato dalla Delegazione italiana venne respinto dagli jugoslavi. I negoziati vennero pertanto interrotti. Soltanto nell'estate 1958 il governo jugoslavo chiese, tramite la propria Ambasciata a Roma, la ripresa delle trattative, nel quadro delle migliorate relazioni tra i due Paesi. Tuttavia dal 1958 al 1960 la richiesta jugoslava non ha avuto un seguito pratico.

Tra il 18 e il 28 gennaio c.a. le trattative tra i due Paesi sono state riprese a Milano. Alla fine dei lavori - secondo le direttive ministeriali - è stato sottoscritto da ambo le parti un verbale a carattere interlocutorio in cui si dà atto dell'avvenuto esame di tutte le questioni sospese. Al verbale sono uniti 14 appunti ciascuno relativo ad uno degli argomenti esaminati: tali appunti non hanno carattere ufficiale ma i testi sono stati concordati tra le due delegazioni ed esprimono i rispettivi punti di vista sulle singole rivendicazioni.

Il 27 aprile c.a. sono stati ripresi a Roma i negoziati fra le due delegazioni. Essi si sono protratti fino al 6 giugno u.s., ma senza raggiungere risultati conclusivi.

Contemporaneamente erano in corso trattative con la Jugoslavia in altri settori per raggiungere accordi a noi interessanti; primo fra questi il rinnovo dell'accordo per la pesca nell'Adriatico che scadeva il 31 luglio u.s. ed i cui negoziati da parte Jugoslava venivano condotti con estrema lentezza, ponendo ogni genere di difficoltà.

Pur non avendo tali trattative alcun rapporto con la questione

seguito del *Corriere* N.° = 3 =

della restituzione dei beni culturali, si è avuta la netta impressione - confermata dalla nostra Ambasciata in Belgrado - che il governo jugoslavo non avrebbe deflettuto dalla sua tattica temporeggiatrice fino a quando non fossero sbloccati i negoziati per i beni culturali.

Per questo motivo gli On.li Ministri degli Affari Esteri e della Pubblica Istruzione - quali maggiormente interessati al problema - si sono riuniti il 13 luglio u.s. e, dopo aver personalmente esaminato i vari aspetti della questione hanno fissato i punti che avrebbero dovuto ispirare la nostra azione per giungere ad una soluzione che - oltre riconfermare l'intenzione del governo italiano di rispettare gli impegni assunti con il Trattato di Pace - permettesse il raggiungimento di un accordo definitivo regolante tutte le materie inerenti la restituzione dei beni culturali, per evitare di dovere in futuro ritornare sull'argomento, e costituisse la premessa per intese in altri settori di comune interesse tra i due Paesi.

A tale scopo e per guadagnare tempo l'On.le Ministro degli Affari Esteri ha deciso di inviare subito in missione a Belgrado il Direttore Generale Aggiunto delle Relazioni Culturali per prendere, insieme con il nostro Ambasciatore in Jugoslavia, contatto con le Autorità jugoslave per riesaminare la complessa materia e gettare le premesse di un accordo ispirato alle decisioni prese nella riunione del 13 luglio u.s.

Le conversazioni italo-jugoslave si sono svolte nella prima decade del corrente agosto e la materia esaminata ha formato oggetto di un apposito verbale che - sottoscritto dalle due parti - elenca le materie in discussione sulle quali è stato possibile raggiungere un'intesa e quelle su cui i rispettivi punti di vista divergono.

Va rilevato che per i vari argomenti trattati - laddove la

seguito del Vedespise 1°

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materia in esame lo ha consentito - si è avuto cura di inserire nel verbale una frase affermante che ove il materiale da restituire non sia "reperibile" potrà essere sostituito con altro materiale equivalente. Comunque la questione - dopo che da parte dei vari Ministeri interessati si sarà fissata la procedura da seguire per dare sollecita esecuzione alle intese raggiunte e per fissare la nostra linea di condotta nelle questioni su cui i punti di vista delle due parti ancora divergono - è devoluta all'esame dei nostri esperti, che insieme a quelli jugoslavi dovranno riunirsi - così è stato stabilito - non oltre il 15 ottobre p.v.

Si fa da ultimo osservare, ad ogni buon fine, che il sopra menzionato accordo per la pesca ha potuto essere firmato in Belgrado soltanto dopo che le due parti hanno apposto la loro firma sul verbale delle riunioni per i beni culturali.

Il Direttore Generale aggiunto

V. Archij

78. Report to the Minister on the project of an Italian-Yugoslav agreement for cultural heritage

Relazione a S. E. il Ministro sul progetto di accordo italo-jugoslavo per i beni culturali

Five-page typewritten report by Pio Archi, head of the General Direction of Cultural Relationships with Foreign Countries (*Direzione Generale delle Relazioni culturali con l'Estero*) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Italian delegation for restitutions, to Antonio Segni, Minister of Foreign Affairs

14 July 1961

Italy, Rome, Archivio generale della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Ufficio Zone di Confine, Sezione IV, folder 82, vol. I (142/6)

The document summarizes the last and final phases of the negotiations between the Italian and Yugoslav delegations, concluded on 13 July 1961, and illustrates the main points of the agreement which is attached for the Ministry's approval. Pio Archi attests that since October 1960 negotiations took place «in an atmosphere of mutual understanding», but also alludes to a lack of expertise and to the distrustfulness by the Yugoslav experts («tecnici»), which is why an accurate translation into Serbo-Croatian was essential in order to avoid future complaints.

The agreement obliged Italy to consign to Yugoslavia, *inter alia*:

- Carpaccio's *Saint Sebastian*, since 1942 the property of the Correr Museum (which could keep its companion, the *Saint Peter Martyr*);
- a polyptych attributed to Jacopo da Pola (now attributed to Andrea da Murano's workshop) from the Church of St Francis of Pula;
- archaeological objects from the Museum of Pula;
- the Paravia Library (Zadar), except for the legacy of Giorgio Nachich (also: Juraj Nakić or Nakic or Nakich) d'Osljak;
- the library of the Franciscan convent of Kostanjevica (where the first Slovenian grammar by the 16th century Protestant preacher Adam Bohorič was kept);
- the *Biblioteca provinciale dell'Istria* of Pula, founded in 1930 by merging the library of the Istrian Society for Archaeology and Regional History (*Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*) as well as the regional library of Poreč and the town library of Pula;
- materials from the school libraries of the «ceded territories»;
- archival material of the State Archives of Trieste, relating to the «Yugoslav territory», covering a period from 1748 to 1918;
- all scientific materials of the Postojna Institute of Speleology (*Istituto Italiano*

- di Speleologia*), referring to the territories Italy had gained with the 1920 Treaty of Rapallo and the 1924 Treaty of Rome;
- 50% of the scientific materials of the **Rovinj** Institute for Marine Biology (*Istituto Italo-Germanico di Biologia Marina*);
 - church bells (46 of them, originally from Istria and preserved from melting by Someda de Marco during the war, were consigned on 1 December 1961).

According to the agreement, Italy was obliged to compensate Yugoslavia in cash (Lire 165,654,000) for assets that could not be found or that would remain in Italy «for historical or sentimental reasons or, in any case, to avoid upsetting the population of the Julian March and the refugees of the ceded territories, who are understandably sensitive to the issue».

Archi does not mention Italian restitutions to Yugoslavia. Instead he gives a list of those cultural assets which were to remain in, or – as in the case of the Nachich library – should be restituted to, Italy. Besides Carpaccio's *St Peter Martyr*, Archi cites an important mid-5th-century reliquary, known as the *Capsella Samagher*, until wartime kept in the Museum of Pula, and the Zadar ancient glasses (see doc. 65). Archi also mentions objects from the archaeological site of **Most na Soči** (nowadays Slovenia), handed over by Austria to Italy in 1919 according to the St Germain Treaty and since then preserved in the Town Museum of Trieste. The Italian delegation emphasized that the country's public opinion highly expected these objects to remain in Trieste. Archi finally lists seven precious ancient church bells as well as a considerable number of books and periodicals from several libraries and institutions of the «ceded territories».

As a matter of fact, according to the agreement published on the «Gazzetta Ufficiale» on 27 March 1962, the *Capsella* and the glasses, both assigned to the Venetian Archaeological Museum, were obtained in exchange with archaeological findings from **Nezakcij** (formerly in the Pula Museum) and with the four Nin statues exhibited in the St Donatus Museum, respectively. The archaeological objects kept in Trieste were left to Italy in exchange with a painting of a *Virgin and Child* by Giorgio Schiavone, considered as being of peculiar regional importance and delivered to the Gallery of **Split** (*Galerija umjetnina*).

In his report Archi is keen to point out that the agreement has been carefully designed, so as to avoid future disputes on the Yugoslav side, and that it does not involve private citizens; also, it does not affect the question of the eight Italian paintings erroneously handed over by the Allies to Topić Mimara in 1949.

EF

Ministero degli Affari Esteri
Direzione generale delle relazioni culturali con l'estero

RELAZIONE

a Sua Eccellenza il Ministro sul Progetto di Accordo Italo-Jugoslavo per i Beni Culturali

leri, 13 luglio, hanno avuto termine i negoziati delle Delegazioni italiana e jugoslava, intesi a regolare in maniera completa e definitiva le questioni connesse con gli obblighi derivanti all'Italia dal Trattato di pace, per quanto si riferisce alla restituzione alla Jugoslavia dei beni culturali.

- 1) I lavori delle due Delegazioni, che si sono trascinati tra alterne vicende fino dal 1948, hanno avuto inizio nella fase attuale nell'ottobre 1960 e nel complesso si sono svolte in una atmosfera di bene intesa comprensione, volta a raggiungere un accordo regolante tutta la complessa materia.
- 2) Su tutti i capitoli in cui – per facilitarne la trattazione – è stata suddivisa la materia nel processo verbale redatto a Belgrado l'11 agosto 1960, è stato finalmente raggiunto l'accordo. Mi onoro allegare il testo italiano del progetto di accordo predisposto delle due Delegazioni per l'approvazione dell'E.V., prima di inviarlo, ove V.E. lo approvi, ai Ministeri interessati, perché a loro volta esprimano l'avviso di rispettiva competenza.
- 3) Il testo dell'accordo e quello dei numerosi allegati, in corso di avanzata elaborazione, dovranno poi essere tradotti in lingua serbo-croata, essendo stato stabilito – come di consueto – che ambedue i testi faranno fede. Ciò richiederà un periodo di tempo di almeno due o tre settimane prima che si possa procedere alla firma dell'accordo: si tratta infatti di lunghi elenchi già predisposti di opere d'arte, incunaboli, manoscritti, libri, periodici, monete, ecc., che devono essere stesi nelle due lingue e raffrontati con la massima diligenza, per evitare che possano sorgere contestazioni con i tecnici jugoslavi – spesso di scarsa competenza e sempre diffidenti – che dovranno prendere in consegna il complesso e vario materiale.

Comunque la consegna dei beni in questione dovrà effettuarsi – come previsto dall'accordo – entro tre mesi della sua firma ed i versamenti in denaro non oltre il 31 dicembre 1961.

- 4) L'accordo prevede infatti (Art. II) che per taluni beni che non è stato possibile reperire e per certi altri che – a richiesta italiana – resteranno nel nostro Paese per motivi di interesse storico od affettivo, o comunque per non urtare le comprensibili suscettibilità della popolazione giuliana e dei profughi dei territori ceduti, vengano versati alla Jugoslavia compensi in denaro, per un ammontare complessivo di L. 164.654.000.
- 5) Per gli stessi motivi si sono anche ottenute dalla Delegazione jugoslava talune compensazioni (Art. I), mediante le quali resteranno in Italia o le verranno consegnati taluni beni culturali di notevolissimo valore artistico, quali
 - il famoso cofano in avorio del VI secolo, detto di Sanmagher (pezzo di eccezionale importanza storica ed archeologica in quanto in una delle sue facce è scolpita l'unica riproduzione esistente del sepolcro di S. Pietro nella primitiva Basilica Vaticana),
 - il materiale archeologico del Museo di Zara (circa 1000 pezzi in vetro dell'epoca romana),
 - un quadro di Carpaccio raffigurante S. Pietro martire, già proprietà della città di Zagabria,
 - il materiale archeologico conservato presso il Museo Civico di Trieste,
 - il lascito Nakich alla Biblioteca Paravia di Zara (di notevole importanza per la storia di tale città),

-
- un considerevole numero di opere librarie e di periodici appartenenti a biblioteche ed istituzioni dei territori ceduti,
 - n. 7 antiche campane di valore storico ed artistico.
- 6) La quietanza contenuta nell'Art. III, formulata in termini di reciprocità, è stata attentamente elaborata in modo che, a giudizio della Delegazione italiana, ci copre da ogni eventuale futura contestazione da parte jugoslava; non comprende i cittadini dei due Paesi contraenti (clausola che, se inserita, avrebbe potuto deludere i profughi dei territori ceduti) e – nella sua dizione – lascia impregiudicata la nostra precedente richiesta alla Jugoslavia di restituirci 8 pregevoli dipinti consegnati in Germania nel 1949 delle Autorità Alleate di occupazione alla Missione jugoslava, beninteso dietro presentazione da parte nostra della documentazione necessaria.
- 7) Da parte jugoslava ci è stato richiesto uno scambio di lettere da allegare all'accordo (v. testo unito) in cui si afferma che il Governo jugoslavo considera acquisito che terzi Paesi non possano invocare al loro profitto le clausole dell'accordo stesso, né possano ritenere che con esso siano state regolate le questioni relative alla restituzione di beni culturali, importati sul loro territorio, durante la guerra, dalla Jugoslavia e la restituzione dei quali quest'ultima pretende avere il diritto di domandare a terzi Paesi ai sensi del Trattato di pace.
- La Delegazione jugoslava insiste molto per ottenere tale scambio di lettere. Non si comprende bene a quale scopo preciso. Comunque, l'aver da parte nostra preteso, quale condizione per accettare – sia pure ad referendum – tale scambio di lettere, la frase che resta in ogni caso escluso ogni obbligo dell'Italia sia nei confronti della Jugoslavia che dei terzi Paesi a qualsiasi restituzione o compenso per i beni in questione ecc. ecc., sembra garantirci in modo completo da possibili sorprese.
- 8) Altra richiesta intesa ad ottenere l'inserimento di una seconda lettera – sia pure senza pretendere una risposta – per formulare riserve e precisare il punto di vista jugoslavo sulla questione della restituzione dei beni culturali della Zona B, è stata, dopo laboriosa discussione, nettamente respinta.
- 9) Il progetto di accordo che ho l'onore di sottoporre all'E.V. – negoziato allo scopo di liquidare le ultime pendenze derivanti dalle clausole del Trattato di pace e di contribuire alla conclusione di intese in altri settori di particolare interesse per il nostro Paese – costituisce, nel suo complesso, la soluzione più conveniente che, nelle circostanze, si potesse ottenere.

Per il caso che V.E. concordi, sottopongo alla Sua firma l'unita comunicazione alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri ed ai Ministeri dell'Interno, della Pubblica Istruzione, del Tesoro e delle Finanze.

Roma, 14 luglio 1961.

Il capo della Delegazione Italiana

[signed:] Pio Archi

79. [Information on the (last) meeting of the Italian and Slovenian Restitution Delegations in Trieste]

One-page typewritten letter by Milko Kos, Secretary-General of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, to France Stele, both members of the Yugoslav Restitution Commission

21 October 1961

Slovenia, Ljubljana, France Stele Institute of Art History of the Research Centre at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Stele's Legacy, Letters

On 15 September 1961, almost 15 years after the end of the war, Italy and Yugoslavia signed an agreement on the restitution of cultural assets, including those removed from the Slovenian territory during the Italian occupation of the so-called Province of Ljubljana (*Provincia di Lubiana*). The Slovenian representatives of the Yugoslav delegation were the historian Milko Kos and the art historian France Stele. Both had studied in Vienna and had profound knowledge of historical documents, archives, archaeological objects and artworks. Both were also experts in the cultural heritage of those Slovenian territories that had belonged to Italy since the end of the First World War – in accordance with the Treaty of Rapallo, signed in 1920. On 21 October 1961, Milko Kos reported to Stele, who was unable to attend the meeting, that he and the director of the **Zadar** State Archives, Dinko Foretić, were leaving for **Trieste** for «the final act of returning cultural objects», presumably archival materials.

According to the Peace Treaty of 10 February 1947, cultural assets in public ownership removed by force or duress had to be returned to Yugoslavia. Croatia was much more successful than Slovenia in negotiating restitution with Italy. Objects from the Yugoslav-administered Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste were excluded from the restitution agreements due to the insistence of Italy, supported by the Vatican. In particular, the exclusion concerned those artworks from public institutions and churches that Italy had removed from **Koper**, **Izola** and **Piran** for safety reasons in the summer of 1940.

The Slovenian delegation's longstanding efforts to include these artworks in restitution claims were unsuccessful. This was probably also due to internal differences in Yugoslav political and professional views on the issue. Today, the works of art from Koper, Izola and Piran are still in Italy.

BM

Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani

Glavni tajnik

Ljubljana, 21 oktobra 1961

Dragi prijatelj, Tvoja gospa soproga je tako prijazna in me sproti obvešča o tem kako Ti je, kje si itd. Kar slišim me prav veseli, to se pravi ne, da si tam doli na Zaloški cesti, marveč da je vse zaenkrat kar gladko potekalo. Tako torej smemo upati, da se bomo v nekem bližnjem času zopet sestali pri "Slamiču" ali pa kje drugje. Prišel bi Te obiskat, pa ne kaže, kajti jutri v nedeljo odpotujem z drugimi člani delegacije v Italijo h končnemu aktu vračanja kulturnih dobrin. Direktor Foretić iz Zadra in jaz – kot pravijo – za 5-6 dni v Trst.

Želim Ti vse najboljše in Te lepo pozdravljam

Tvoj Milko Kos

XX.
FOR THE SAKE OF YUGOSLAVIA AND SELF-CELEBRATION:
THE MIMARA DONATIONS

Ivan Ferenčak

The flamboyant personality of Ante Topić Mimara played a significant role both in the field of postwar art restitutions to Yugoslavia and in the country's museum policy. Much of the biography of this Croatian art dealer and collector is still unclear and shady. Particularly shrouded in mystery (KUSIN 1987) are his early decades, when he presumably was trained as art historian, painter, and restorer. Topić Mimara, born shortly before the turn of the 20th century, started art collecting in the early 1920s, spending the 1930s and much of the 1940s in Berlin where he purchased artworks (FERENČAK 2018) and was allegedly in contact not only with high-ranking Nazi officials but with Adolf Hitler himself. The early postwar years saw him develop an ambitious zeal in substantially enriching Yugoslavia's art heritage: on the one hand, he managed to ship home his own artworks, previously collected in Berlin; on the other, he succeeded in unfairly interfering with the international artwork restitution process.

As a matter of fact, in late 1948, several dozen paintings and sculptures arrived in Belgrade and Zagreb, which Topić Mimara apparently intended to donate to the «Yugoslav nations and their great leader and teacher», Marshal Tito. It appears that at least part of these artworks was meant to be donated to the **Zagreb** Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters. In point of fact, however, the Topić Mimara collection ended up scattered among several sites, among which Tito's residence in Zagreb (first, at Villa Weiss in Prekrižje on the city's outskirts, and, from 1954, at the former Pongratz Palace, in 22 Visoka street). It therefore remained out of public reach for two decades until 1966, when Topić Mimara, directing an address to the Federal Assembly, urged Yugoslav authorities to exhibit his collection in the Strossmayer Gallery. Following preliminary research on the consistency and whereabouts of the collection, Mimara signed an official donation agreement with the head of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, Grgo Novak in May 1967. Only in 1969 did the Strossmayer Gallery display part of the Topić Mimara's collection for the public.

Heading back in time to early postwar artwork restitutions, we see Topić Mimara freely moving across Central Europe's borders thanks to a diplomatic passport he had obtained as adviser to the Yugoslav Military Mission in Berlin. This function allowed him to intervene in the hectic Munich Central Collecting Point's

restitution process. He fooled US authorities by falsely claiming, and finally obtaining, 166 works of art to be 'returned' to Yugoslavia. This is why Mimara's activities aroused the attention of several intelligence agencies from the 1950s onwards.

In the years to follow, while living in Tangier, Morocco (from the early 1950s), and Neuhaus castle, near **Salzburg** (from 1963), Topić Mimara continued to collect and sell artworks, obtaining notable results. Among them was his notorious sale of the Cloisters Cross to the New York Metropolitan Museum in 1963. Both deals and the 1966 address to the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, largely covered by both foreign and domestic press, made Topić Mimara widely known.

Moreover, in 1973, a donation of 3,500 artworks from his collection laid the foundations for what was to become the Zagreb Mimara Museum. It was opened on 17 July 1987, further enriched with 1,000 artworks donated in 1986. While strengthening his fame as one of Croatia's most prominent art patrons, these donations attest to his intention of erecting a monument to himself. Nonetheless, his involvement in numerous obscure transfers of artworks and the mystery surrounding his origin ensured that his role in art history remains ambiguous, making him a controversial character still to be intensively researched.

Selected bibliography

AKINSHA 2001; *ANTE TOPIĆ MIMARA* 2018; ČOLOVIĆ 2014; FERENČAK 2018; KUSIN 1987; *MUZEJ MIMARA* 2017; *ODABRANA DJELA* 2018; TERZIĆ 1997; *TRANSCULTAA RESEARCH* 2020

80. The Ante Mimara Collection of Paintings and Sculptures

Zbirka slika i skulptura Ante Mimara

Photo albums, by Ante Topić Mimara, Berlin (?)

1948

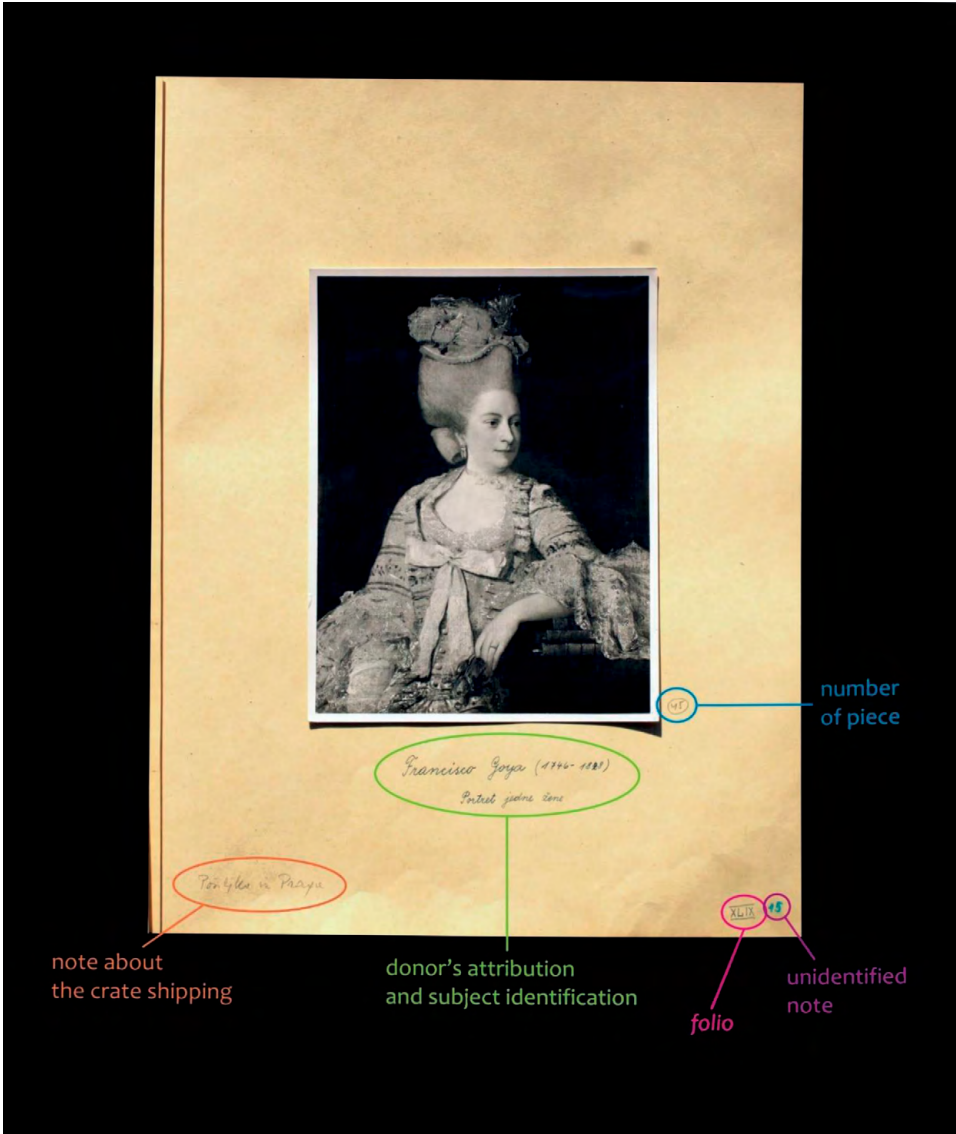
Croatia, Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, arhiv

The three albums assembled by Topić Mimara between December 1946 and August 1948, contain photographs (accompanied by short catalogue entries) of paintings and sculptures in his possession at that time. A letter by General Ivan Gošnjak to the Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito attested that the albums were sent from Berlin to Yugoslavia by Većeslav Holjevac, chief of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Berlin, in August 1948 (TERZIĆ 1997, p. 149; FERENČAK 2018, pp. 18-19). According to the dedication on the first page, they were meant to present the artworks which Topić Mimara intended to donate to the public.

The albums, as well as the collection of paintings and sculptures which were sent to Yugoslavia in several instalments, remained unknown to the public until the mid-1960s. Only in September 1966, following Topić Mimara's official request to the Federal Assembly in Belgrade to exhibit his collection, did a first group of paintings enter the holdings of the **Zagreb** Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters. Also, the albums were included in the Gallery's patrimony as part of Topić Mimara's collection.

The albums have been a fundamental tool in order to reconstruct the content of the donation which, after its arrival in Yugoslavia, had been scattered among several locations and official residences. In his search for «lost» pieces, Vinko Zlamalik, at that time curator of the Strossmayer Gallery, annotated the photos with information concerning the provenance (either Berlin or Prague) and the presumed whereabouts of the artworks. The page reproduced here shows the photograph of a portrait of a young lady, labelled as by Francisco Goya, but presently attributed to Johann Zoffany. It is an example of the usefulness of visual evidence in the difficult task of reassembling a dispersed collection, most of which is today in the Strossmayer Gallery.

IF



81. [Art objects in protocol photographs]

Photographs taken by the photo service of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Yugoslavia

1961 and 1962

Serbia, Belgrade, Muzej Jugoslavije, Foto-arhiv Josipa Broza Tita, inv. no. 1961, 180, 113, and inv. no. 1962, 195, 170; <http://foto.mij.rs/site/gallery/4774/photo/113>; <http://foto.mij.rs/site/gallery/5089/photo/170> <3 Jan 2018>

The public life of the Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito is documented by protocol photographs taken by the staff of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic. Accidentally, these photographs, often taken in state residences, also captured objects in the background. This was the case of paintings which presumably belonged to Topić Mimara's collection and only in the late 1960s were transferred to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters in **Zagreb**.

The two photographs presented here were shot in Banski dvori, at that time seat of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. They capture two moments during the receptions of the prince of Cambodia on 30 September 1961 and of the painter Omer Mujadžić on 30 May 1962. Arranged on the walls to fit the interior decoration of the state residence, three paintings can be identified as pertaining to the Mimara collection: in the first photograph, a 19th-century *Portrait of a Public Prosecutor* (Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, inv. no. SG-510) and a *Village Fair* (inv. no. SG-534), and in the second, a 19th-century *Portrait of a young lady* (inv. no. SG-514).

IF



82. [Topić Mimara's donation to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters in Zagreb]

Two-page typewritten letter by Ante Topić Mimara, Tangier (Morocco), to Većeslav Holjevac, president of the Croatian Heritage Foundation (*Hrvatska matica iseljenika*), in Zagreb

17 March 1966

Croatia, Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, arhiv, box *Donacija Mimara*

Mimara's letter is one of the earliest preserved documents shedding light on the transfer of his collection to Yugoslavia after the end of the Second World War. In his 1966 letter, he describes the circumstances of this transfer – partly from Berlin to **Zagreb**, partly, through the Yugoslav ambassador Marijan Stilinović, via Prague. According to Mimara, the idea of donating his collection to the Croatian people with the help of Tito, expressed as early as 1948, stemmed from Većeslav Holjevac, chief of the Yugoslav Military Mission to Berlin.

The letter also illustrates the first steps of Mimara's mid-1960s campaign to have his collection exhibited in the Zagreb Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters. In March 1966, some months before addressing the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, requesting to comply with his intention to donate his collection to the public, Topić Mimara again got in contact with Holjevac. Mimara firmly demands that his donation be handed over to the Strossmayer Gallery and exhibited as soon as possible. He adds that he had consigned his collection without any compensation, but not in favour of private individual or party officials. He was highly surprised that for almost 19 years objects of «great artistic value» had never been publicly displayed. Additionally, he even asked that the artworks be returned to him in case the state were unable to exhibit the collection.

IF

- 3 -

Prijepis

... Topić - Mimara...
 ... 9, Place des Nations...
 Telef. 126... 19...
 ... T.A.N. & B.R. ...
 ...

Drugu Vjenceslavu Holjevu
Zagreb

Veoma obojani i poštovani Prijatelju,

... izvijestite što vam se prije nisanjavio i zahvalio za povraćene mi Slike. Slike su došle kod mene u veoma lošeme stanju i bez mojih stari Okvira, tako dasam bio veoma ogorčen videći kakose sa stvarima i Slikama postupalo.

Jasam godine 1948 ondašnju moju Zbirku, kojase je sastojala iz stari i novijih Slika, iz raznovrsnog materijala, Vajarskih Radova, Keramike i.t.d. Poklonijo preko Maršala Tita, i po Vašem savjetu, Hrvackom Narodu.

Jedan dio Zbirke otišao je direktno, Kamionima, iz Berlina u Zagreb a drugi dio jasam lično predao Jug.Ambasadoru Marijanu Stilinoviću u Pragu da pošalje na adresu Maršala Tita u Zagreb. Vama sam u Berlinu predao Tri, u koži, vezana Kataloga u kojiman su bile uložene Fotografije i rukopisom opisane skoro sve stvari iz poklonjene Zbirke.

Ja te stvari, iz moje vlastite Zbirke, koje su neosporivo moje vlasništvo, nisam poklonio nikakvoj službenoj niti privatnoj osobi negosam poklonio mome viteškom i plemenitom Narodu Hrvackom.

Za taj moj Poklon ja netražim nikakav protu poklon ili na bilo koju protu Uslugu, ja se veoma čudin da nakon skoro 19 godina te stvari, od velike umjetničke vrijednosti, nisu bile nigdje izložene i javno pokazane.

Ja odlučno ZAKTJEVAM dase svih objekti, koje sačinjava moj poklon, čim prije predaju Upravi Strossmayerove Galerije u Zagrebu gdje da se čim prije izlože.

Iz Praga su Pogrešno bile poslate Tri stvari koje ja nisam nikada poklonio pošto nisu bile moje Vlasništvo. Te stvari treba da mi se bezuvjetno čim prije povrate.

- 2 -

Te stvari su sljedeće: Popravljeni Jedne mlade Žene, polikromirani Pješčeni Kamen, Dvje kineske uz zelenom Laku rezane Vaze. Od Mlade žene Prilazem Fotografijama . . .

Ulažen Takodjer razne Fotografije sa Svjedobama poznatih Stručnjaka kojih potvrđuju Originalnost raznih Poklonjenih Objekata.

Za slučaj da vi, iz bilo kojih meni nepoznatih razloga, niste u stanju ili nećete da od mene poklonjene umjetničke objekte javno Izložite, ja Vas unaprijed molim da mi se sve

te stvari na moj trošak čim prije na moju Salzburgku Adresu - od ovog u natrag Povratite. . .

Sa odlonim postovanjem Ostajem Vama Vaš odanih

A. Topić Mimara, v.r.

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XXI.
ISTRIAN ARTWORKS IN ITALY

Donata Levi, Barbara Murovec

Entering the Church of the St Francis Convent of **Piran**, today's visitors will still find some empty altars. One of them, shown in the photograph at p. 404, had once been ornamented with a painting by Vittore Carpaccio, representing Mary with Child, surrounded by the Saints Ambrose, Peter, Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Clare and George. On 20 June 1940, ten days after Italy had entered the war, the painting had been transferred for safety reasons by the Superintendent Office of **Trieste** to the collecting centre of Villa Manin in **Passariano**, where the most precious artworks of the area had been assembled (see sect. VIII). In autumn 1943, following the German occupation of Italy, the Superintendent Office decided to dismantle the collecting centre and to return, if possible, the artworks to their legitimate owners. On 29 October 1943, Carpaccio's painting was consigned to the Franciscan Province of Padua following a request from the Minister Provincial, Andrea Eccher, who had jurisdiction on the convent of Piran. In later years the painting was deposited in the *Museo Antoniano* of **Padua** (see doc. 84).

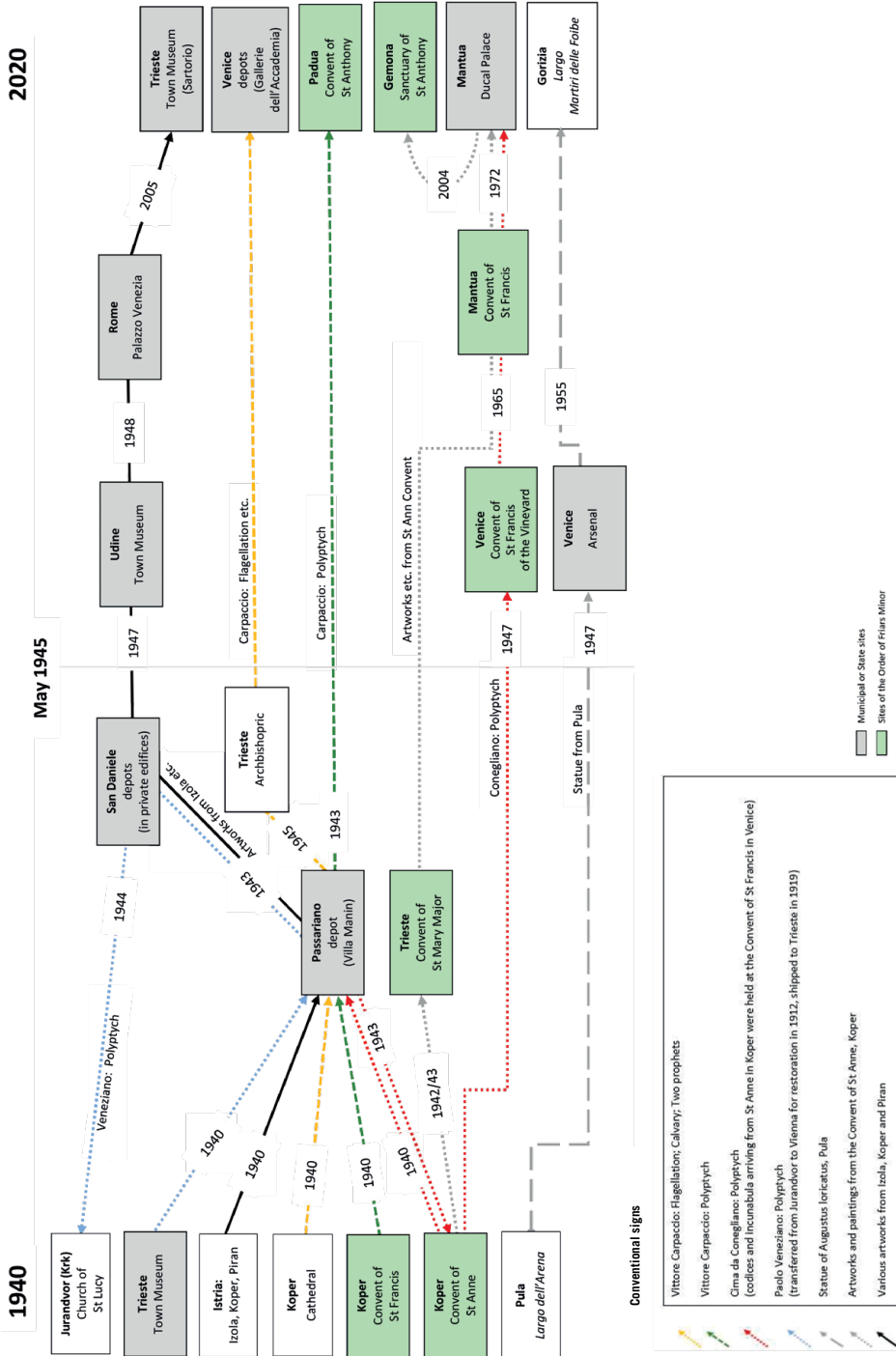
Political circumstances are also at the basis of events affecting further artworks from Istria (**Izola**, **Koper** and **Piran**), which partly share the destiny of Carpaccio's painting, inasmuch as they were all stored in the Villa Manin collecting centre in 1940. In fact, when in autumn 1943 the Superintendent Office of Trieste decided to dismantle the depot, not all artworks were retired by their lawful owners. Those which were not claimed were transferred to secret depots in the area of **San Daniele del Friuli**. Subsequently, in October 1944, by order of the Nazi authorities, the polyptych of St Lucy was returned to the Bishop of **Krk** (see doc. 28 and sect. VIII) and is today in the Archbishopric of the island. Some months later, on 17 January 1945, the Bishop of Trieste, Antonio Santin, requested four paintings by Vittore Carpaccio (the *Prophets Jeremiah and Zacharias*, the *Flagellation* and the *Calvary*), originally from the Cathedral of Koper, and on 2 March 1945 obtained them to be consigned to his envoyé, Mario Mirabella Roberti, director of the archaeological museum in **Pula** (*Museo dell'Istria*). Although in a report of the Superintendent Office of Trieste, dated 12 November 1945, the paintings are described as existing in the Town Museum of Koper, by then under Yugoslav rule, it is now ascertained that they were transferred instead to the Arch-

bishopric of Trieste and thence to the depots of the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice, where they still are today.

Most of the artworks from Istria were however retained by Italian authorities after the end of the war, when, following the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, Izola, Koper and Piran became part of the Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste, under Yugoslav rule. From the secret depots of San Daniele del Friuli the Istrian artworks were transferred to the Town Museum of Udine on 7 July 1947 and thence, on 11 April 1948, to Rome, where the boxes were stored in the *Museo Nazionale Romano (Terme di Diocleziano)* and later, from 1972, in Palazzo Venezia. Here they remained until 2002, when on the initiative of the Undersecretary of the Minister of Cultural Heritage they were restored. They were exhibited in the Municipal Revoltella Museum in Trieste in 2005, and since 2013 they are on display on the ground floor of the Sartorio Museum in Trieste in a special section entitled *Capolavori dall'Istria: Il nuovo allestimento*. On the Italian side, their 'rediscovery' and their new visibility aroused a harsh and strongly emotional political debate focused on the presumed 'italianità' of these artworks, because they stemmed from the Venetian school. They were largely perceived as an «ideal compensation» for the losses suffered by those Italians who were compelled to leave their Istrian homeland after the war. On the Slovenian side, the «empty frames on the walls and the altars» were considered not only as «a blind spot in the historical awareness of the region», but also as «a wound in the spiritual life» of its inhabitants (*HISTRIA* 2005, p. 9).

However, a different destiny was reserved for a series of paintings and liturgical objects originally from the St Anne's Church and Convent of Koper. Most of them were transferred by the St Anne's friars in 1942 or beginning of 1943 to their Convent of St Mary Major in Trieste. The polyptych by Cima da Conegliano, though, considered to be the most important artwork of the convent, had been transferred for safety reasons to the collecting centre of Passariano in 1940 and on 5 November 1943 had been restituted to the St Anne's Convent. According to some sources, in 1946, on the background of the harsh anti-religious policy of the new Communist regime of Yugoslavia, a friar brought it to the Franciscan Convent of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. Differently from the Istrian artworks burdened or hidden first in Udine and later in Rome, within the 'Franciscan circuit' there was more willingness to reconstitute the artworks to their original place. In 1956, the restitution failed because the Yugoslav Customs office of Koper refused to let the objects, mainly liturgical items, be imported without duties, as had been requested by the Friars. Later, between the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966, almost all the artworks from the St Anne's Convent of Koper arrived at the Franciscan convent of Mantua, appertaining to the Franciscan Province of Veneto. Thence, for conservative reasons, they were consigned to the Superintendent Office of Mantua and deposited in its seat, the Palazzo Ducale. Here the polyptych

Whereabouts of Selected Artworks from Istria and Northern Dalmatia, 1940-2020



by Cima da Conegliano, after a restoration, is still presently displayed, whilst in 2008 other St Anne artworks were transferred to the Museum Renato Raffaelli of **Gemona**, within the Sanctuary of St Anthony, another Franciscan complex. As the polyptych by Carpaccio from Piran, these artworks followed therefore the same 'Franciscan circuit'. Being artworks pertaining to Zone B, they were not included in the restitution negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia which had taken place from 1948 to 1961. Nor were the paintings of Palazzo Venezia included, but for different motivations. From the Italian side there was no interest in publicly raising the thorny issue of artworks which the Istrian refugees considered to be their cultural identity and a sort of revenge for the loss of their homeland, whilst the Yugoslav authorities, in a climate of anti-religious policy and secularization of the society, had little interest in having back religious objects. Until now, the efforts taken by those responsible for the protection of cultural heritage in Slovenia in order to have back the Istrian artworks have been unsuccessful.

Selected bibliography

BABELIĆ 2019; CABURLOTTO 2019; DRENIK 2017; GRIESSER-PEČAR 2003; *HISTRIA* 2005; MAGANI 2000; VENTURA 1994; *V ITALIJI ZADRŽANE UMETNINE* 2005

83. [Customs clearance of church property]

One-page typewritten official invitation letter by Adolf Lunaček, head of the Customs office in Ljubljana, to the Minister Provincial of the Franciscan Province in Ljubljana

30 January 1956

Slovenia, Koper, Slovenian Franciscan Province, Archive

The document shows that the Franciscans from the Italian Franciscan Province tried to return at least part of the liturgical objects and artworks to the Franciscan convent in Koper, but the Yugoslav authorities prevented this act of restitution.

In the summer of 1940, artworks belonging to the Franciscan convent and to the Church of St Anne in **Koper** had been removed to Villa Manin in **Passariano**, for safeguarding purposes (to protect the assets against damage inflicted, e.g. by air raids). As Carlo Someda de Marco, director of the Town Museum of **Udine**, wrote in his diary, five boxes had been transferred on 20 June 1940, and one box on 25 June 1940; both transports to Villa Manin had been accompanied by Nicolò Rota, honorary inspector of the Superintendent Office of **Trieste** (<https://www.dolmen-web.net/somedademarco/timeline.html.php?l=it&Y=1940>). In total, five artworks were deposited in Villa Manin. The polyptych by Cima da Conegliano, representing the Virgin with Child and Saints, was transported in several crates.

When the Italian Franciscans left the Koper convent in late 1942 or early 1943 and moved to the convent of St Mary Major in Trieste, they took cultural assets and liturgical objects with them. After the war, the Slovenian Franciscans started to prepare the return of the dislocated objects. In the process of inquiries and negotiations, they prepared lists of objects that had been removed. It was resolved that the Franciscan objects be returned to the convent; therefore, the Franciscan cultural assets were brought to Trieste. In order to be transported across the border to Yugoslavia, a permit was required. For this permission, the Yugoslav state demanded that the Slovenian/Yugoslav Franciscans pay customs duties on the import of artworks, although the objects were property of the convent of Koper.


In the document, the Minister Provincial of the Franciscan Province in **Ljubljana** is invited to visit the Customs Office in order to discuss the exemption from customs duties on artworks. But since the Franciscans were unwilling to pay fees and no agreement could be reached, the objects did not cross the border and remained in Italy – until today.

The most precious work, the polyptych by Cima da Conegliano, was restored in Rome between 1979 and 1992 and is presently displayed in the Palazzo Ducale

of Mantua. Another 60 paintings from the Franciscan convent in Koper were also restored in Mantua and in 2004 transferred to **Gemona**, where a special exhibition space was arranged in the Renato Raffaelli Museum in the Franciscan Convent of St Anthony of **Padua**. On the museum website the provenance of the objects is mentioned only in passing showing all the discomfort and uneasiness of unresolved property issues: «The Museum also houses works from the former Convent of St Anne of Koper, which was once part of the Venetian Province of the Order of Friars Minor: they date back to the 15th to 19th centuries and are on display, more than half a century after their recovery, thanks to the good offices and restoration of the Superintendent Offices of Mantua and Trieste» (<https://www.santantoniogemona.it/museo-raffaelli>).

For most of the 281 items listed by the head of the Superintendent Office of Mantua, Giovanni Paccagnini, in 1965 and 1966, today's place of preservation is not known.

BM



UPRAVA CARINA FNRJ
CARINARNICA
Br. 882
Jo.I. 882 1956 god.
LJUBLJANA

Provincialatu frančiškanskega reda
Ljubljana
Prešernov trg 4

Vabimo Vas, da se zglasite na Tajništvu Carinarnice v Ljubljani, Masarykova 17 - soba 19, radi pridobitve odgovora Carinarnice Koper, v zvezi s prošnjo za oprostitev cerkvenega inventarja, ki pripada samostanski cerkvi Šv. Ane v Kopru.

S. P. - S. N !

KV/DS.



Upravitelj :
(Adolf Lunačev)

84. [Altar of the Church of the St Francis Convent, Piran]

Digital photograph

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piran,_Franziskanerkirche,_Seitenaltar.jpg

Until 20 June 1940, this altar was ornamented with the painting by Vittore Carpaccio, representing the Virgin with Child, surrounded by the Saints Ambrose, Peter, Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Clare and George. As mentioned in the Epilogue, in October 1943 it was transferred to the Franciscan Province of Padua, which had jurisdiction on Piran, and was kept unappreciated in the Convent of St Anthony in Padua until its restoration in 1993. The restoration was illustrated during a symposium held in Padua in July 2000, when its restitution to the original seat was envisaged, also in view of the 7th centenary of the convent of Piran (2001). Probably due to political circumstances, the restitution did not take place and the painting still hangs in the *Museo Antoniano* of Padua.

BM



CONCLUSION

Donata Levi, Michael Wedekind

Frequent border changes and long-lasting processes of recognizing the realities of altered boundaries are prime characteristics of the 20th-century history of the Alpine-Adriatic region. For many decades, this tormented geography had an inescapable effect on the area's cultural heritage.

Boundaries on the Upper Adriatic were generally mobile and unstable for centuries and, as was generally the case, fluctuant, porous, and often ill-defined until the end of the *Ancien Régime*. Only the birth of modern states in the 18th century and the upcoming concept of nations in the 19th century generated linear boundaries. These began to segregate people neatly and to separate states and their administrative, juridical, socio-economic, and political orders. Swept away, and becoming nothing more than a (sometimes undesirable) memory of the past, was a perception of the Alpine-Adriatic area as a «cohesive region characterized by a multitude of boundaries» and dominions (CECOTTI 2010, 22).

From the second half of the 19th century, the Upper Adriatic – a unique European crossroads of cultures and languages, formerly an area of encounter and transition – became a region of ethnic conflicts and sharp boundaries. The latter continued to remain unstable and changed frequently until the early 1990s. With ethnic, linguistic, and cultural homogeneity and compactness becoming key criteria of nation states, moving borders now strongly impacted borderland societies, culminating in ethnic cleansing and ethnicity-based resettlements. However, political borders alone are not the sole indicators of divisions between people. Mental borders along various dividing lines, though invisible, are equally concrete and pervasive. In the case of those defined as ‘racial enemies’, mental borders were accessories in discrimination, hatred, violence, and extermination. In addition, aggressive intolerance typically holds more sway in borderland regions than in ethnic core territories.

In contested borderlands, cultural assets, and artworks in particular, were caught up inevitably in the maelstrom of political events: confiscated or safeguarded, removed, dismembered or destroyed, reused, concealed or, at best, restituted. Entangled destinies and mass transfers of cultural objects became the signature of the period following the First World War. Even allegedly secondary assets embarked on errant itineraries and suffered manifold fates.

‘Transfer’, however, is much more than a mere re-location of an object. Rather, physical movement through space often implies transfer of ownership. ‘Ownership’, in turn, does not only comprise legal, but also ‘ideal’ owners, i.e. those who consider cultural heritage as a shared belonging regardless of its juridical status. Transfers of cultural objects thus come to be intimately connected with the (hi)story of both individuals and communities.

As their owners, or those entrusted with them are on the move, cultural objects are, too. In times of hardship, both may have separate itineraries, sometimes converging again or definitely diverging. When forced to emigrate, some people carry their belongings with them, some store them, many are dispossessed. Some objects on the move may have been considered cultural assets already before departing from their location, others (even if apparently worthless) gain this status as testimony to persecution and coercive mass emigration. As a consequence, they become loaded with sentiments, emotions, and feelings.

Twentieth-century mass relocations of cultural objects, often intertwined with changes of ownership, were typically motivated by conflicting and opposing reasonings, running from indispensable and meritorious measures of safeguarding art in wartime to ideologically inspired efforts to ethnically ‘purify’ cultural landscapes. Yet, other goals also came to drive transfers of art assets: claims to political power, demonstrations of dominion and prestige, efforts to build new group identities and to redirect group loyalties, to mention only a few. Large-scale changes of art ownership, instead, typically happened during economic crises, in wartime (likely to cause cultural plunder following the breakdown of order and law), and in phases of power vacuums and transitions (among the dissolution of state superstructures as well as social and political changeovers). In the 20th-century Alpine-Adriatic region, mass changes of ownership also occurred from totalitarian regimes dispossessing Jewish property and ‘nationalizing’ aristocratic and bourgeois-owned assets.

Transfers of cultural assets may not necessarily involve changes in ownership, but they lead to profound changes in meaning. The context alone after relocation confers new meaning and significance; it may alter the object’s function, so that the asset gains or loses symbolical value. Objects may undergo additional processes leading to semantical occupation, resemantization and reinterpretation. Indeed, some objects became pawns or ‘hostages’; many were simply considered commercial assets, or indeed ‘worthless’, or provocative representations of a repudiated past.

Again, all movements of cultural assets imply a shift in meaning, since their twofold nature can be described as being at once ‘weak’ and ‘strong’. Objects may be defined as ‘weak’ not only because of their material fragility but also because they may be placed in multiple topographies, be they real or ideological, thus being subject to shifting interpretations. At the same time, cultural objects are ‘strong’ precisely and paradoxically because they permit different readings.

They are material rather than abstract evidence of the past. As such they not only become a privileged field for symbolic appropriation but straightforward agents for transmitting the values they are said to embody to a wider public.

Since cultural heritage has a primary importance in efforts to rewrite the past, it is the subject of particular attention from various players. In fact, in one way or another, and with different goals, many were protagonists in the field of semantically or *de facto* 'occupying' cultural assets: state, party, military and para-military authorities, art dealers, publicists and journalists, scholars of humanities, cultural institutions, associations as well as exponents of civil society. Professionals in particular, such as historians, art historians, librarians, and archivists, played a crucial role. Suffice to remember those art scholars who devoted their research to emphasising 'national characteristics' of local art and to separating what was one's 'own' from an inferior 'other', thus engaging in disseminating a belief in common cultural belonging and in delineating cultural borders which were meant to become political borders.

We thus find cultural heritage caught up in a complex and hard to unravel conglomerate made up of contrasting avidities, requests, needs, justifications, argumentations, motivations, and interpretations. The case of some Istrian artworks shows how inextricable this conglomerate can be: Until today, churches in the Slovenian coastal towns of Koper and Piran are deprived of the artworks which once embellished them. Paradoxically, stripped Istrian altars are the outcome of commendable protection measures taken by Italian authorities during the Second World War, when the objects in question were transferred to safe places in the hinterland. After 1945, with a profoundly changed geostrategic and political order of the region and sharply opposed ideologies, these safety measures became subject to unforeseen interpretations. In post-war Yugoslavia, they were seen as acts of misappropriation; in Italy, instead – in particular by Istrian refugees – they were considered as a symbolic, although by far insufficient act of compensation for a loss of territory which had been homeland to some hundred thousand people. Additional aspects came to further complicate these contrasting viewpoints: While highly charged with emotions by refugee communities, to which they became an emblem of displacement and persecution, the predominantly religious assets initially did not command particular attention from Socialist Yugoslav authorities. In later years, though, the restitution issue caused long-lasting diplomatic disputes. The void 'denounced' by Istrian altars is still as eloquent today as the 'ban' of their artworks from public view in Italy until twenty years ago. Even more significant is the emotional dimension that accompanied their recovery from Italian deposits and their display in Trieste since 2005. The Istrian episode is evidence of how conflicts confer new values and functions to cultural objects and of how semantic shifts of transferred artworks lead to entangle both psychological and political dimensions.

With present-day art historiography and museology focussing on spoliation, circulation, provenance, and restitution of cultural assets, and with contemporary art reflecting on concepts of ‘migration’, ‘threshold’, ‘loss’, and symbolic ‘recovery’ of identities, the present source edition aims to provide new insights into forced transfers of cultural heritage in one of Europe’s core regions. Yet, limited as it is due to its very character, this study does not intend to be exhaustive. Nevertheless, it throws crucial light on a multitude of settings, motives, circumstances, agents, juxtaposed authorities and mechanisms of power, victims, trajectories, and consequences of transfer processes. Only when based on the examination of these fundamental aspects, going beyond mere provenance research and its application-oriented interests in reconstructing itineraries and shifts in ownership, do studies on the transfer of cultural assets gain academic relevance. To our knowledge, no analogue transnational investigation into comparable European borderland artsapes has so far been launched. Yet, analogue research and comparative analysis (also taking into account the thorny issue of post-colonial restitutions) would help to place the Alpine-Adriatic case study in a broader context. They would allow to more accurately segregate regional peculiarities from common characteristics and to further elaborate theory-based principles for analysing forced transfers of cultural objects.

Miroslav Sinčić

Kunfini su naša propela

Kunfini su naša propela
mi ih nosimo
na svujen križnen putu
pred čelon
pred pogledun
i pred pensirun

Kunfini su naši dištini
mi ih nosimo
u srci
u kljetvi
i krvi

Kunfini med njivami
kunfini med boškami
kunfini med zemja i nebo
med dnevima i delima
med besedami
i med glavami

Kunfini pu krvi
kunfini ud krvi
kunfini kade su judi
kunfini kade se sudi
kunfini bogi propeti
naši križi zakleti
kunfini grobi otprti
ud rojstva du smrti

Borders are Our Cross

Borders are our Cross
we bear them
on our Via Crucis
in front of the forehead
in front of the eye
and before the thoughts

Borders are our destiny
we bear them
in the heart
in the curse
and in the blood

Borders between fields
borders between woods
borders between earth and heaven
between days and works
between words
and between heads

Borders after blood
borders of blood
borders where people are
borders where judging takes place
borders Gods on the Cross
our damned Crosses
borders open graves
from birth to death

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Abramić, Mihovil (Pula, 1884 - Split, 1962), was a Croatian archaeologist and director of the National Archaeological Museum (*Museo Archeologico Nazionale*) of Aquileia from 1913 to November 1918, when he was interned in Rome. He directed the Archaeological Museum (*Arheološki muzej*) of Split from 1926 to 1950 and conducted archaeological excavations (e.g. in Ptuj, Nin, Solin and Vis), publishing and editing numerous studies on classical archaeology, epigraphy and Greek colonization of the Adriatic coast.

ABRAMIĆ 2019 (<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=182>); *CURK* 2013 (<http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi1013770/#novi-slovenski-biografski-leksikon>)

Agresti, Vito (Rotondella [Province of Matera], 1908 - Rome, 1985), graduated in law before joining the Ministry of National Education in 1934. In 1939, he became first secretary and, in 1942, head of section in the General Direction of Academies and Libraries. From 1937, he was a member of the Italian Library Association (*Associazione italiana biblioteche*), a union of librarians established in Rome in 1930. After the war, he continued his career in the Ministry and was appointed General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts in 1970.

AGRESTI 2013 (<https://www.aib.it/aib/stor/bio/agresti.htm>)

ORBICCIANI 2011

Antal, Frigyes (Friedrich/Frederick) (Budapest, 1887 - London, 1954), studied in Berlin under Heinrich Wölfflin and in Vienna under Max Dvořák. Between 1914 and 1915, he worked at the Museum of Fine Arts (*Szépművészeti Múzeum*) in Budapest, where he joined the illustrious discussion group called Sunday Circle (*Sonntagskreis*). In 1918, he became a member of the Austro-Hungarian *Kunstschutzgruppe* in Udine, as an envoyé of the Hungarian National Council for Historical Monuments. During the interwar period he sojourned in Florence between 1919 and 1923, then in Berlin until 1933, when Jewish prosecutions forced him to leave for London. He lectured at the Courtauld Institute, becoming one of the main exponents of a Marxist approach to art history.

ANTAL 2019 (<http://www.arthistorians.info/antalf>)

Anti, Carlo (Verona, 1889 - Villafranca di Verona, 1961), was an Italian archaeologist who excavated sites in Anatolia, Egypt and Libya (then an Italian colony), where he was especially active in Cyrene. In 1932, he was elected Dean of the University of Padua and inaugurated an expensive modern renovation of its building. A promoter of the persecution of Jews in the Paduan University, he was appointed head of the General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of National Education under the Italian Social Republic in 1943.

BARBANERA 2015, pp. 143-144

Archi, Pio Antonio (Faenza, 1903 - place and date of death unknown), was an Italian diplomat who in the mid-thirties was appointed vice-consul of Šibenik. He served at the Italian Legation in Cairo in the late 1940s and subsequently became Ambassador in Beirut (1953-1958) and Budapest. Since 1964 he was head of the General Direction for Cultural Relationships (*Direzione Generale Relazioni Culturali*) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1969 he participated as Delegate for Intellectual Property Treaties at an international conference at Berne. He also was General Secretary of the Istituto Italo-Latino-Americano, established in 1966.

Attems, Ferdinand Maria (Wels [Upper Austria], 1885 - Brestermica [near Maribor], 1946), came from an ancient noble Friulian family and was the owner of an important art collection. He studied forestry and economics at the University of Munich, obtaining a PhD in both disciplines. After serving in the First World War, he tended his estates in both Graz and Slovenia (especially in Slovenska Bistrica). During the Second World War he served as captain of the Wehrmacht in Zagreb and Maribor, where his position allowed him to exempt some Slovenians from military service, for which he was dismissed in 1944. He was close to those aristocratic circles that opposed both to Nazism and Communism. In May 1945, he was captured by OZNA (*Odjeljenje za zaštitu naroda*), the security agency of Communist Yugoslavia, and transferred to Strnišče. Accused of collaboration, in August 1945 he was sentenced by a military tribunal to two years of forced labour and having his entire property confiscated. He was transferred to the labour camp of Brestermica, near Maribor, where he died in January 1946, presumably killed together with his wife and elder son.

HUSU [2020]; MILADINOVIĆ ZALAZNIK 2019

Badoglio, Pietro (Grazzano Monferrato [Piedmont], 1871 - Grazzano Monferrato [later renamed Grazzano Badoglio], 1956), was a senior Italian military officer. He played a controversial role in the First World War as Vice Chief-of-Staff (*Sottocapo di Stato Maggiore*). Having served as Governor of the Italian colonies of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica between 1929 and 1933, in 1935-1936 he was at the head of the Italian army invading Ethiopia. After Mussolini's fall on 25 July 1943, he was appointed Prime Minister by King Vittorio Emanuele III. On 9 September, he left Rome and, together with the King, his family and other Italian ministers, fled to Brindisi via Pescara, seeking Allied protection. He maintained his role as Prime Minister of the so-called Kingdom of Southern Italy (*Regno del Sud*) under Allied control until the Liberation of Rome (June 1944).

PIERI 1963

Further notice at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Pietro-Badoglio>

Bartoccini, Renato (Rome, 1893 - Rome, 1963), was an Italian archaeologist and head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments in the Italian colony of Tripolitania (1923-1928), in Ravenna, Apulia and Rhodes (1940-1941). From 1928 to 1940, he led an Italian archaeological mission in the Emirate of Transjordan. He joined the Italian Social Republic and worked for the safeguarding of archaeological objects. In 1944, he was sent back to Greece, in order to protect the belongings of the Italian School of Athens. After the war Bartoccini was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Southern Etruria.

MUNZI 2001, pp. 44-47; RINALDI TUFFI 1988; SANTI 2019

Baš, Franjo (Kamenče [Lower Styria], 1899 - Ljubljana, 1976), studied history and geography at the universities of Vienna and Ljubljana. From 1932 to 1941, he was director of the newly established archives (*Banovinski arhiv*) in Maribor, and in 1939 he became representative of the monument protection service for northern Slovenia. On 23 May 1941, he became director of the Town museum (*Stadtmuseum*) of Maribor, a position in which he was confirmed after the war on 20 May 1945 and kept until 1950, also acting as head of the local Federal Collecting Centre, situated in the museum. After the war he collaborated with the Department for borders (*Oddelek za meje*) within the Scientific institute (*Znanstveni inštitut*) of Ljubljana and was a member of Yugoslav commissions for war restitutions and reparations from Austria, and in particular of the Joint Austro-Yugoslav Commission for the Redelivery of Cultural Objects taken from Lower Styria by the Germans in the Years 1941 to 1945 (*Gemischte Österreichisch-jugoslawische Kommission für die Übernahme der in den Jahren 1941-1945 von den Deutschen aus der Untersteiermark überführten Kulturdenkmäler*/Mešana avstrijsko-jugoslovanska komisija za prevzem od Nemcev v letih 1941-1945 odpeljanih kulturno-zgodovinskih spomenikov iz Slovenske Štajerske v Avstrijo). In 1950 he was transferred to the Ministry of Science and Culture in Ljubljana, where he was head of the division for monuments, museums and fine arts until June 1952. Subsequently, he was appointed director of the Technical Museum in Bistra, where he served until 1963. In 1950, he was also appointed first professor of museology and protection of monuments at the Faculty of Arts in the University of Ljubljana.

HAZLER 2017; TEPLÝ 1959; TEPLÝ 1969; VILFAN 1987

Bertolini, Pietro (Venezia, 1859 - Torino, 1920), was an Italian politician. Member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1890, he was Minister for Public Works (1907-1909) and for Colonies (1912-1914), negotiating the peace with Turkey after the War of Libya. An uncompromising opponent to Italy entering the First World War, after 1915 he almost retired from political life, becoming however active in the assistance of the population of Veneto. In 1919 he was appointed senator and participated at the Paris Peace Conference as chief of the Italian Delegation to the Reparation Commission. He died unexpectedly on his return from Paris to Rome.

PIETRO BERTOLINI 2002; PROCACCI 1967

Biggini, Carlo Alberto (Sarzana [Province of La Spezia], 1902 - Milan, 1945), was an Italian politician and academic. He joined the National Fascist Party in 1928, becoming party secretary for the Province of La Spezia. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1934 and served in the army during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-1937). In February 1943, he became Minister of National Education and member of the Grand Council of Fascism, later joining the Italian Social Republic.

GARIBALDI 1983

Blantford Bate, Frederick (Chicago, 1886 or 1887 - Waterford [Virginia], 1970), was an American broadcaster and journalist. In 1912 he went to Paris to study art, later working for the French and Spanish branches of the Ford automobile company. He served in the First World War and was instrumental in the organization of the first Field Service of American

Ambulance in Paris. After the war he was appointed member of the Reparation Commission. Subsequently he became correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company in London, where he also covered the years of the Second World War. After 1945 he went back to the USA.

Further notice at: <https://anthonyjcamp.com/pages/anthony-j-camp-fred-and-gebe-bate>

Blaznik, Pavle (Škofja loka [Upper Carniola], 1903 - Ljubljana, 1984), studied history and geography at the University of Ljubljana. He worked as a teacher at the Gymnasium of Celje until the German occupation of April 1941 and then in Ljubljana until the Italian capitulation in autumn 1943. After having fled to the island of Murter (in Central Dalmatia), in 1944 he joined the partisans. After the war, he was at head of the Joint Austro-Yugoslav Commission for the Redelivery of Cultural Objects taken from Lower Styria by the Germans in the Years 1941-1945 (*Gemischte Österreichisch-jugoslawische Kommission für die Übernahme der in den Jahren 1941-1945 von den Deutschen aus der Untersteiermark überführten Kulturdenkmäler/Mešana avstrijsko-jugoslovanska komisija za prevzem od Nemcev v letih 1941-1945 odpeljanih kulturno-zgodovinskih spomenikov iz slovenske Štajerske v Avstrijo*) and a member of the Yugoslav Commission for the Determination of Damage to Cultural Objects (*Komisija za ugotavljanje škode na kulturnozgodovinskih predmetih*), first in Upper Carniola, later in Lower Styria. Between 1949 and 1950, he worked as an expert for archives and libraries within the Yugoslav-Austrian delegation for restitution. From 1950 to 1954, he was a researcher at the Faculty of Economy of the University of Ljubljana and from 1954 to 1957 worked at the State Archives of Slovenia. From 1957 to 1982 he was a researcher at the Milko Kos Historical Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

BIZJAK 2017; GRAFENAUER 1987

Bottai, Giuseppe (Rome, 1895 - Rome, 1959), started his career as a journalist at the National Fascist Party's newspaper «Il Popolo d'Italia» in 1921. After having been elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the same year, he founded the cultural review «Critica fascista» in 1923. On 15 November 1936, he was appointed Minister of National Education, a position which he held until February 1943. During his tenure, a law of fundamental importance concerning the safeguarding of cultural heritage (no. 1089 of 1939) was issued, also known as Bottai Law. During the same period at the Ministry, he took advantage of the collaboration of major exponents of Italian art history, such as Roberto Longhi, Giulio Carlo Argan and Cesare Brandi. In January 1944 he was sentenced to death *in absentia* for having voted in favour of Mussolini's deposition in July 1943. After having served the French *Légion Etrangère* from 1944 to 1948, he returned to Italy where he was active as a publicist.

GUERRI 2010

Brisighelli, Attilio (Udine, 1880 - Udine, 1966), started his activity as a photographer in Udine at the beginning of the 20th century. During the First World War he documented the occupation of the city (1917-1918) and subsequently the war damages to monuments and buildings, also specializing in Friulian landscapes and folklore culture. His photographs were published in many periodicals and books. During the Second World War he was employed both by the

Superintendent Office of Trieste and by the German authorities for photo documentation of cultural assets in the Adriatic Littoral.

GIUSA 2011

Further notice at: <http://www.dizionariobiograficodefriulani.it/brisighelli-attilio/>

Buberl, Paul (Františkovy Lázně [Bohemia], 1883 - Vienna, 1942), a pupil of the Viennese art historian Franz Wickhoff, became secretary of the Austrian Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Art and Historical Monuments (*Zentralkommission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*) in 1908 and *Generalkonservator* for the German-speaking crownlands and areas of Austria in 1914. Since 1920 he directed the art section of the Dorotheum in Vienna.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 35

Calligaris, Iginò (Gino) (Cormons, 1907 - place of death unknown, 1962), was an Italian antiquarian and art dealer with seat at Palazzo Vianelli in Terzo d'Aquileia (Province of Udine). His activities stretched to Croatia before, during and after the Second World War. In 1946, he probably was a major, if not the only, lender, for an Old Master exhibition (*Mostra di arte sacra antica dal '300 all'800*) held at Terzo d'Aquileia which comprised almost 80 valuable paintings. He also organized an exhibition of Dutch and Flemish 17th-century painters at Terzo in 1960. His collection of 966 items was sold at auction in 1968 in Cervignano.

ROSSETTI 2017

Carstanjen, Helmut (Graz, 1905 - Feldkirch [Vorarlberg], 1990), studied at Graz and Innsbruck Universities since 1924, obtaining his PhD in 1930. When still a student at secondary school, he joined nationalist associations and the *völkisch* movement, becoming a member and activist of the Association for Germanness Abroad (*Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*). In 1932 he became a Nazi Party member and in 1938 director of the *Südostdeutsches Institut* in Graz. He was a National-Political Consultant to the chief of civil administration in Lower Styria and to the Maribor office of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germandom (*Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*). He was engaged in the destruction of Slovenian cultural property and in particular the looting of books, some of which were incorporated into the library of the *Südostdeutsches Institut*. After the Second World War he was interned in the POW camp of Wolfsberg. In December 1946 he managed to escape before being extradited to Yugoslav authorities. Only in 1956 he returned to regular work as a teacher in southern Germany.

PROMITZER 2004; WEDEKIND 2006

Castiglioni, Arturo (Trieste, 1874 - Milan, 1953), was a historian of medicine. Having studied at the University of Vienna, he returned to Trieste, where he became Chief of the Medical Service of the shipping company Lloyd Triestino. From 1922 until the late 1930s he taught History of Medicine at the University of Padua while also lecturing in other European countries as well as in the Americas. Due to Italy's racial laws (1938), he emigrated to the United States in 1939, becoming professor at Yale University. His private library, which he

had left behind in Trieste, was confiscated. After the Second World War, he returned to Italy, where he continued lecturing.

CAPPELLETTI, DI TROCCHIO 1979; CONFORTI 2018

Caviglia, Enrico (Finalmarina, 1862 - Finale Ligure, 1945), served in the Italian Army as lieutenant general during the First World War, taking part in the most important Isonzo battles. He was appointed senator in 1919 and served as Minister of War from 18 January to 23 June 1919. In 1920 he succeeded general Pietro Badoglio as troop commander and extraordinary commissioner in the Julian March. He was charged with suppressing Gabriele D'Annunzio's rule over Rijeka. In 1926, he was appointed Marshal, the highest Italian military rank. In September 1943 he played an important role in the unsuccessful negotiations with German authorities for adhering to Badoglio's unilateral decision to declare Rome an 'open city'.

ROCHAT 1979

Civiletti, Benedetto (Alexandria of Egypt, 1907 - Grosseto, 1972), architect, was active in the Superintendent Offices for Medieval and Modern Art of Reggio Calabria (1934-1935), Campania (Naples, 1935-1939), and Rome (1939-1952). In July 1952, he was appointed *ad interim* («reggente») head of the Superintendent Offices for Monuments and Galleries of Veneto and Friuli (based in Gorizia) and for Monuments, Galleries and Antiquities of Trieste, then under the administration of the Allied Military Government.

COMINGIO 2011

Clemen, Paul (Sommerfeld, near Leipzig, 1866 - Bad Endorf [Bavaria], 1947), was a German art historian. In 1890 the Commission of Monument Statistics of the Rhine Province (*Kommission der Denkmälerstatistik der Rheinprovinz*) entrusted him with inventorying regional monuments – a task he conducted for 46 years as editor of the series *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*. In 1893, he was appointed keeper (*Provinzialkonservator*) of the Rhine Province in a newly created office which he organized and managed until the First World War. From 1902 to 1936, he taught art history at the University of Bonn, succeeding Carl Justi. During the First World War, Clemen was at the head of the *Kunstschutz* in Belgium, France and the Balkans, an activity which prompted the publication of the two-volume *Kunstschutz im Kriege* in 1919.

MAINZER s.d.

Coceani, Bruno (Monfalcone [Province of Gorizia], 1893 - Trieste, 1978) was an Italian historian, who participated at Gabriele D'Annunzio's occupation of Rijeka and, in the 1920s, joined the nationalist movement in Trieste. In 1931, he founded the Fascist journal «La porta orientale», inspired by strong expansionist and anti-Slavic feelings. In 1926, he became Secretary of the Fascist Industrial Union (*Unione Industriale Fascista*) of the Julian March. Elected member of Parliament in 1934, he was appointed member of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations (*Camera dei Fasci e delle corporazioni*) in 1939 – a legislative body which replaced the elected Lower Chamber in the Fascist régime. Since 1937, he also was president of the local branch of the Fascist Institute of Culture. During the Italian Social Republic, he be-

came head of the Province of Trieste. In 1946, he was condemned for collaborationism, but cleared of charge a year later. However, he retired from political life and worked mainly as a journalist and newspaper director.

MASERATI 1988

Coggiola, Giulio (Pisa, 1878 - Paderno [Province of Belluno], 1919), was a librarian at the libraries of Florence and Padua. Since 1913 he headed Venice's Biblioteca Marciana. During the First World War, he promoted a Committee for supplying soldiers with books and worked for the safeguarding of at least 30 libraries in Friuli, Veneto, Lombardy, and Emilia Romagna. Like Paolo D'Ancona and Gino Fogolari, he was a member of the Italian military mission to Vienna, in charge of the retrieval of cultural objects.

DE GREGORI 1999a

Colussi, Carlo (Rijeka, 1891 - unknown place, 1945) was an Italian journalist, joining the Italian nationalist movement of Rijeka before and after the First World War. In 1919, he participated in Gabriele D'Annunzio's occupation of Rijeka, founding and editing the journal «La Vedetta d'Italia». He joined the National Fascist Party and became head of the local savings bank; from 1934 to 1938 he was Major of Rijeka. Following the occupation of Yugoslavia in April 1941, he was appointed Commissioner for Bakar, some 20 km south of Rijeka. In 1945, having attempted to flee to Trieste, he and his wife were arrested by the Yugoslav Secret Police (OZNA) and shot dead.

DIZIONARIO BIOGRAFICO DEI GIULIANI 2009, p. 59

Further notice at: http://www.formula1-dictionary.net/rijeka_biografije_colussi_kolusic_carlo.html

Crema, Luigi (Rome, 1905 - Milan, 1975), was an Italian archaeologist and professor of art history. He graduated in civil engineering from the University of Rome (1927) and obtained a scholarship at the Italian Archaeological School of Athens (1928-1929). In 1933, he became an official in the Ministry of National Education – General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts. After the war on Yugoslavia in April 1941, he was appointed Commissioner for Antiquities, Monuments and Galleries for Dalmatia, with an office in Zadar. After the Second World War, he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments of Lombardy, teaching Medieval Art History at the Catholic University of Milan. He also became an advisor with UNESCO for conservation projects in Jordan and Iran.

BASCAPÉ 1975; BROCK 2007

D'Ancona, Paolo (Pisa, 1878 - Milan, 1964), was a Jewish art historian and a pupil of Adolfo Venturi. He started teaching art history in 1909 at the *Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria* of Milan, which he left for the University of the same city in 1915. In 1914, he published a seminal study on Florentine book illumination. Together with Giulio Coggiola and Gino Fogolari, he was a member of the military mission to Vienna charged with the retrieval of cultural objects after the First World War. In 1938 he had to resign his position as university teacher due to racial persecution, regaining it in 1945.

SILIGATO 1986

D'Annunzio, Gabriele (Pescara, 1863 - Gardone Riviera [Province of Brescia], 1938), was an Italian poet, playwright, writer, journalist, and politician. During the First World War, D'Annunzio became a national hero due to his adventurous (and somewhat propagandist) participation in raids and battles. Contravening the results of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, he occupied the city of Rijeka with a squad of Italian rebel officers. During his 15 months rule over the city, D'Annunzio anticipated the Fascist choreography of power. After the Italo-Yugoslav Treaty of Rapallo and the foundation of the Free State of Fiume, D'Annunzio and his followers (among them Carlo Colussi) were expelled from the city by regular Italian troops, headed by General Enrico Caviglia. From 1921 he carefully refurbished and enlarged the Vittoriale (Gardone, on Lake Garda), turning it into a shrine of Italian military prowess. The Vittoriale and D'Annunzio himself held symbolic significance in interwar Italy.
HUGHES-HALLETT 2013.

Deanović, Ana (Zagreb, 1919 - Ljubljana, 1989), art historian, graduated in 1942 from the University of Zagreb, where she obtained her PhD in 1957. From 1943 to 1961 she worked at the Zagreb Conservation Institute (*Konzervatorski zavod Hrvatske*), initially as a collaborator with the Commission for the Gathering and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (KOMZA). At the Institute she set up the Restoration Department in 1951. From 1962 to 1975, she was a research associate and advisor at the Institute of Fine Arts of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*, JAZU), being elected fellow in 1975.

TARTAGLIA-KELEMEN 1993

Della Torre, Ruggero (Cividale, 1861 - Cividale, 1933), was a member of an illustrious noble family. He made a name for himself as a historian, archaeologist and scholar of Vergil and Dante. He was appointed director of the National Archaeological Museum in Cividale in 1905 – a position he held until his death. Together with Gino Fogolari and other local scholars, in the same year, he founded the historical journal «*Memorie storiche civaldalesi*», which is still published today under the title of «*Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*». Della Torre led various excavation expeditions in both Cividale and its surroundings, discovering several Lombard archaeological sites (among which, in 1916, the necropolis of San Giovanni in Cividale). During the First World War, until the battle of Caporetto, he was engaged in safeguarding museum objects. After the war, back in Cividale, he overviewed the rearrangement of the Cividale museum, also resuming archaeological excavations.

SUTTINA 1931-1933

Demus, Otto (Harland, near Sankt Pölten, 1902 - Vienna, 1990), studied art history at the University of Vienna under Josef Strzygowski, receiving his PhD in 1928 and his *Habilitation* in 1937. In late 1929, he joined the Monument Service, becoming *Landeskonservator* in Carinthia until 1936. Afterwards he returned to the Central Office of Vienna, also teaching at the University between 1935 and 1938. In 1939, he left for London and, having been interned, he worked at the Warburg Library and at the Courtauld Institute. After the war, he was appointed president of the Austrian Federal Office of Monuments on 1 July 1946, a position he held until 1964. His second wife was Margarethe Witternigg (1911-1951), who between 1940 and

1945 had worked in the Office of the *Landeskonservator* in Carinthia (since 1941 including Carniola); here from 1942 to 1944, she also stood in for Walter Frodl. In 1963, Demus became full professor of art history at the University of Vienna. He was frequently invited as visiting scholar at Dumbarton Oaks between 1949 and 1981.

BELTING 1991; BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 46-47

Dettenberg, Johann Wilhelm (Plettenberg [Westphalia], 1908 - Golnik [Upper Carniola], 1942), studied fine and applied arts at the Academy of Düsseldorf and at the *Hochschule für Kunstszziehung* in Berlin during the 1930s, and then worked as a painter (specialized in still lifes) and sculptor, with a studio in Berlin. From August 1940 until his death in July 1942, he collaborated with the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of German Cultural Objects in Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, Lower Styria and Banat. A member of the SS, he was shot dead by Slovenian partisans near Kranj in the summer of 1942.

WEDEKIND 2019a, p. 47

Dosi, Giuseppe (Rome, 1891 - Sabaudia, 1981), was an Italian police officer, whose reputation is linked both to an attack against Mussolini foiled in 1925 and to a notorious case of sexual crimes in Rome. The latter provoked bitter acrimony from his superiors, causing his suspension and imprisonment in an asylum until 1941. After 1944, he collaborated with the Allies in the prosecution of war criminals. After the Second World War, he also became a co-founder of the Italian section of Interpol, an organization dedicated to international cooperation among police forces.

CAMPOSANO 2015

Dostal, Josip (Ljubljana, 1872 - Ljubljana, 1954), was a priest and an art historian. He was secretary of the Society for Christian Art (*Društvo za krščansko umetnost v Ljubljani*) from 1907 to 1913 and taught Christian art at the Priests' Seminary of Ljubljana from 1913 to 1919 as well as at the Theological Faculty of the University of the same city from 1921 to 1936.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 52

Dvořák, Max (Roudnice nad Labem [Bohemia], 1874 - Hrušovany nad Jevišovkou [Moravia], 1921), was a Czech-born Austrian art historian and, together with Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl, one of the major exponents of the famous Vienna School (*Wiener Schule*) of art history. He studied at the Universities of Prague and Vienna, where he lectured since 1903. In 1905, after Riegl's death, he was appointed head of the Central Commission for the Study and Conservation of Art and Historical Monuments (*Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*). In 1909, he was appointed full professor at the University of Vienna and developed a methodological approach to art history understood as «Geistesgeschichte». His tasks at the Central Commission included the supervision of inventorying activities (which led, for example, to the publication of the *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* in 1907) and of journals, such as the «Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Zentralkommission für die Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale», as well as the publication of guidelines for conservation, the *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (1916).

DVOŘÁK 2019

Fajfar, Tone (Spodnji Brnik [Upper Carniola], 1913 - Ljubljana, 1981), a printer in his youth, acted as a prominent member of the Slovenian Christian Socialists prior to the Second World War. In 1941, he was elected to the executive board of the Slovenian National Liberation Committee, formally joining the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1946. After the Second World War, he held various important political positions in several Slovenian ministries (Commerce and Supply, Labour, Health and Social Welfare), also acting as Minister of the Forestry, Trade and Forest Industry (1945).

LOLA BOŽIČ 2011; PRUNK 1989

Falke, Otto von (Vienna, 1862 - Schwäbisch Hall, 1942), was a German art historian with special interest in fine and applied arts. He became director of the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Cologne in 1895 and of the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Berlin in 1908. In 1920, he was appointed director of the *Berliner Museen*. During the First World War he participated in the activities of the German *Kunstschutz*; in particular, from September to October 1914, he reported on war damages in Belgium and Northern France.

FALKE 2019; GAEHTGENS 2018, p. 148

Federlin, Kurt (Frankfurt, 1912 - Frankfurt, 1986), after having studied at the *Städelschule* in Frankfurt, worked as a painter and designer. From July 1941 to July 1942, he collaborated with the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of German Cultural Objects in Poland and, from November 1941, in Lower Styria. Later, serving the Army, he was wounded fighting at the Sea of Azov. After the war, he continued his activities as a painter.

WEDEKIND 2019a, p. 48

Ferrari, Luigi (Padova, 1878 - Venezia, 1949), after studying at the *Scuola Normale Superiore* of Pisa, he was appointed as librarian at the University Library of Pisa in 1901 and at the library of the Italian Senate in 1904. In 1920, he became director of the *Biblioteca Marciana* of Venice and in 1921 head of the Superintendent Office for Libraries of the Tre Venezie (comprising the nowadays Italian regions of Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli and the Julian March), as well as of the Italian territories of Dalmatia. Despite his critical attitude towards the Fascist regime, he maintained his positions even during the period of the Italian Social Republic, when he was appointed General Director of Libraries. He is renowned for his *Onomasticon*, a directory of Italian authors from the 16th to the 19th centuries. After the war he was subjected to purging procedures, but soon acquitted.

TROVATO 2011

Fiocco, Giuseppe (Giacciano con Baruchella [Province of Rovigo], 1884 - Padua, 1971), was an Italian art historian. He gained his university degree at Bologna under the supervision of Igino Benvenuto Supino (1911) and received his diploma at Adolfo Venturi's School of Advanced Studies in art history in Rome (1914). After having served as an officer during the First World War, from 1919 he worked for the Superintendent Office of Venice, where he obtained a permanent position in 1921. His tasks included the inventorying of art heritage in Veneto, restitutions from Austria as well as the organization of exhibitions of restored art

objects. From 1922 he also held free courses of art history at the University of Padua. In 1927 he was transferred for a short period to the Superintendent Office of Florence, but – having obtained a chair – he opted for a university career. After teaching for a year in Florence, he was called to Padua where Carlo Anti had succeeded in establishing a chair for art history, the first in Veneto. Here he taught until 1955, contributing to the formation of at least two generations of art historians (such as Terisio Pignatti, Rodolfo Pallucchini and Lionello Puppi). Following his retirement, he promoted the establishment of the Art History Institute of the Giorgio Cini Foundation on the island of San Giorgio in Venice, to which he donated his huge photographic archive.

MORETTI 2005; TOMASELLA 2005

Fogolari, Gino (Milan, 1875 - Venice, 1941), was an Italian art historian. After studying in Milan, Florence and Rome, where he received his diploma at Adolfo Venturi's School of Advanced Studies in art history, he began a career in the administration of fine arts and museums. Since 1904 he worked at the *Galleria dell'Accademia* of Venice, where he was appointed director in 1909, along with the role of head of the Superintendent Office of the Medieval and Modern Museums of Veneto. During the First World War he was entrusted with the protection of art heritage and with the transfer of several chefs-d'œuvre to Florence (except Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin* which was brought to Cremona). In 1919 he was a member of the military mission to Vienna for the restitution of artworks. After the war he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Museums and Excavations in Veneto (1918-1924) and subsequently for Medieval and Modern Art, with competence on monuments as well. In 1935 he was suddenly transferred to Palermo for motivations which still remain unknown. Here he suffered a stroke which, in spite of his reintegration at the Superintendent Office of Venice in 1937, irreversibly undermined his health.

MANIERI ELIA 2007

Folnesics, Hans (Vienna, 1886 - Vienna, 1922), was an art historian who studied in Vienna and was a member of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*). In 1913, he became Secretary of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*) and *Landeskonservator* in Salzburg.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 69; FOLNESICS 1957

Forlati, Ferdinando (Verona, 1882 - Venice, 1975), was an Italian architect and engineer. After graduating in civil engineering at the University of Padua, he served as an architect at the Superintendent Office for Monuments in Venice (1910-1926). During the First World War, as an army officer, he was assigned to the Fortification Office with the task of protecting monuments. From 1926 to 1935, he was chief of the Superintendent Office for Antiquities and Arts in the Julian March, including Istria, and from 1935 to 1952 in Venice. After his retirement, he continued his activities, among others as Director of the Office for Works at St Mark's (*Proto della Procuratoria di San Marco*). Entrusted with the safeguarding of architectural monuments during the Second World War, he subsequently projected and directed the restoration of several damaged buildings, for which he developed innovative technical methodologies. He was

employed both as director and as consultant in the main restoration projects of 20th-century Italy. In 1952, the Yugoslav government asked his advice on the restoration of the Church of St Sophia at Ohrid (Northern Macedonia).

DI LIETO 1994; MENICHELLI 2011

Franco, Fausto (Vicenza, 1899 - Venezia, 1968), was an Italian engineer and architect, expert in Near East archaeology. After graduating in civil engineering at the University of Padua (1921) and architecture at the University of Rome (1927), he spent two years at the Italian Archaeological School of Athens and was a topographer in several Italian archaeological missions (in Egypt, Iraq and Crete) on behalf of the Ministry of National Education. In 1933, he became architect of the Superintendent Office of Lombardy, supervising restoration activities until 1938, when he was transferred to Venice. In 1939, he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March, including Pula and Rijeka. Attached to the office of the High Commissioner for the Province of Ljubljana, from 1941, he was also in charge of art heritage of that area. He was involved in the display of the Italian contemporary artworks donated by Benito Mussolini to the Gallery of Modern Art (*Moderna galerija*) of Ljubljana and, together with the architect Boris Kobe, he was engaged, in the restoration projects of the Cathedral and of the Castle in the same city. After 1943 he supervised the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of the Julian March and in Spring 1945, together with the Bishop of Trieste, Antonio Santin, played an important role in negotiating the peaceful retreat of the German army from Trieste. During the period of the Allied Military Government, he supervised the restoration of the city's damaged monuments. Having been head of the Superintendent Office of Monuments in Venice from 1952 to 1955, he was appointed general inspector (*ispettore centrale*) responsible for the Veneto in 1955.

LIGUORI 2011

Fresacher, Walther (Gmünd [Carinthia], 1884 - Villach? [Carinthia], 1982), studied at the University of Vienna, and subsequently worked as a teacher in Villach until 1934 and again from 1939 to 1945. He published on Carinthian history. In 1944, *Gauleiter* Friedrich Rainer entrusted him with building up an archive of historical and recent documents concerning the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, to be annexed to the Institute for Carinthian Regional Studies – an initiative which did not progress beyond a preliminary registration of the archives.

WEDEKIND 2012a, p. 161

Frodl, Walter (Strasbourg, 1908 - Vienna, 1994), studied art history and architecture in Graz under Hermann Egger (PhD 1930). He was director of the antiquities services of Carinthia and Styria from 1936 to 1945 and again from 1948 to 1952. From 1952 to 1970, he directed the Vienna-based Institute for Austrian Art Research of the Austrian Federal Antiquities Service (*Bundesdenkmalamt*), acting as its president from 1965 to 1970. Frodl was also in charge of registering, protecting, and transferring art objects in, and from, territories subject to resettlements or German occupation during the Second World War. He was a collaborator with the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* in South Tyrol from July 1940 and with an analogous

German commission operating in the Italian-occupied Province of Ljubljana in 1941-42. In addition, he oversaw safeguarding cultural assets in occupied Upper Carniola from spring 1941 and in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral from autumn 1943, where he was also engaged in seizing and transferring Jewish-owned cultural properties. Additionally, Frodl was a director of the Carinthian Regional Museum from 1942 to 1945, and a university lecturer and professor in the fields of art history and monument preservation in Graz and Vienna (becoming a full professor only in 1960). He had joined the Nazi Party in the early 1930s and enrolled in the SA.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH, 2001, pp. 75-76; SCHALLMEINER 2019; WEDEKIND 2019a

Fučić, Mladen (Malinska-Dubašnica [Otok Krk], 1922 - Zagreb, 2005), brother of the well-known art historian Branko, was an architect and engineer. He took his degree at Zagreb University in 1948, and from 1947 and until 1961 worked at the Croatian Conservation Institute (*Konzervatorski zavod Hrvatske*), initially as a collaborator with the Commission for the Gathering and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (KOMZA). Until 1987 he was active in the fields of urban planning and monument protection and restoration in many Croatian cities, such as Senj, Zagreb, Ilok and Velika Mlaka. He was also appointed director of the Architectural Department of the Archbishopial Curia (*Nadbiskupski duhovni stol*). ŠPIKIĆ 2017

Fürth, Viktor Georg (Teplice-Šanov [Bohemia], 1888 - Los Angeles, 1964), was married with Lilli Jane Karpeles (1900-1971). He worked as a bank employee until 1919, when he founded Fürth and Company, an Austrian selling agent of the US-based International Business Machines Company (IBM) which from 1928 operated under the name of *Internationale Geschäftsmaschinen-Vertriebsgesellschaft*, with Fürth as managing director. Following the «Anschluss», the Fürth family (Viktor, Lilli and their two children) left Vienna on 17 November and fled to Paris. From here, after one year, on 23 December 1939, they embarked on the ship *De Grasse* for America, leaving from Le Havre, with a visa issued in Bordeaux. They reached New York on 1 January 1940 and finally settled at Beverly Hills in California, where Viktor worked as a postal clerk. As already in Austria, also in the United States Viktor joined the Freemasons, becoming member of the Beverly Hills Lodge No. 528 and of the New Yorker *Humanitas*.

Galli, Edoardo (Maierà [Province of Cosenza], 1880 - Rome, 1956), archaeologist, began his career in 1907 in Florence first as vice secretary of the *Museo del Bargello* and then of the *Museo Topografico dell'Etruria* (destroyed in the 1966 flood). In 1924 he was appointed head in the newly established Superintendent Office for Antiquities and for Medieval and Modern Art of Calabria. In 1936 he was transferred to the Superintendent Office for Antiquities of Marche, Abruzzi, Molise and Zara, a position he held until 1946. PAPPALARDO, SCHENAL PILEGGI 2012

Gamulin, Grgo (Jelsa, 1910 - Zagreb, 1997), was a Croatian art historian, art critic and writer. He studied art history, archaeology, and French philology at Zagreb University, where he

graduated in 1935; afterwards, from November 1938 to June 1939, he undertook post graduate studies at the *Institut d'art et d'archéologie* in Paris. As a member of the Communist Party since 1934, he was imprisoned during the Second World War. Between 1945 and 1947 he was head of the Department of Culture and Art of the People's Republic of Croatia. In 1948-1949 he was head of the Commission for restitution. After having obtained a PhD in 1951, he taught at the Department of Art History in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, first as associate (1957) and then as full professor (1960). He was co-founder and first director (1961-1971) of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb. In 1972 he was forced to retire and accused of nationalist activities.

FLEGO 1998

Further notice at: <https://www.matica.hr/knjige/autor/499/>

Garber, Josef (Cermes [Province of Bolzano], 1883 - Munich, 1933), a pupil of Max Dvořák, was employed as an assistant in the Bolzano branch office for the Protection of Monuments of Tyrol since 1913 and appointed *Landeskonservator* of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*) in Tyrol in 1915.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 79; *GARBER* 1957

Garzolini, Eugenio (Trieste, 1873 - Trieste, 1952), was a school teacher and collector. In 1905-1906, he started as a teacher and director of an Italian-language primary school in Trieste, subsequently becoming supervisor (*direttore didattico*) of the city's primary schools. Garzolini also assembled a vast collection of art objects (ceramics, metalware, clocks, wood sculptures, etc.), sold for a lump-sum to the Italian state in two instalments, the first in 1939 and the second soon after the war. Having been a member of the supervising board (*Curatorio*) of the Trieste-based Revoltella Museum since 1939, he became head of this body in 1944, a position he held until his death in 1952.

LA COLLEZIONE GARZOLINI 1986

Gerola, Giuseppe (Arsiero [Province of Vicenza], 1877 - Trento, 1938), historian, studied in Padua and at the Institute for Historical Studies of Florence, where he graduated in 1898. Between 1900 and 1902 he conducted extensive research on the Venetian domination of Crete. After returning to Italy, he was appointed director of the Museum of Bassano del Grappa (1903-1906) and of the Museum of Verona (1907-1910). In 1909, he was promoted to Superintendent of the Monuments of Romagna, based in Ravenna, a position he held until 1920. Gerola returned to Greece in 1912 for a field study in the Dodecanese islands (then under Italian control) and in particular in Rhodes. After the war he was a member of the Italian restitution mission to Vienna, especially researching art objects from Trentino. In March 1920, he was appointed director of the regional office for Monuments, Fine Arts and Antiquities in Trento, with jurisdiction extended to Trentino and South Tyrol, which in 1923 became Superintendent Office for Medieval and Modern Art, also including Verona and Mantua for a short period (1923-1925).

NINZ 2007-2008; VARANINI 2011

Gnirs, Anton (Žatec [Bohemia], 1873 - Loket [Bohemia], 1933), attended high school in Chomutov, Bohemia, and studied art history and archaeology in Prague. Since 1902, when he was assigned responsibility for the antiquities of the Istrian districts of Pazin, Pula and Rovinj, he worked at the Austro-Hungarian Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Art and Historical Monuments (*Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*). He became responsible for the whole Austrian Littoral in 1912, and, in addition, for Carniola and Carinthia in 1915. During the First World War, he was engaged in safeguarding endangered monuments in proximity to the Austro-Italian Isonzo battle lines. When the Central Powers invaded Friuli and adjacent areas in 1917, Gnirs (together with Hans Tietze), joined the newly established Austro-Hungarian *Kunstschutzgruppe*, in charge of the protection of monuments in occupied Italian territories. Gnirs had worked as a teacher in Pula from 1899 to 1909 and continued to do so in Loket from 1918 to 1925. He directed archaeological excavations in both Istria (since 1904) and Czechoslovakia (after the First World War), widely publishing research in the field of archaeology and art history.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 84-85; HEID, MARIN 2012

Gošnjak, Ivan (Ogulin [Croatia], 1909 - Belgrade, 1980), was a Yugoslav army general and member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After the Second World War he was involved in the political life of Yugoslavia, acting as Federal Minister of Defense (1953-1967) and member of the Politburo.

ŠVAB 2002a

Gräff, Karl Peter Adalbert Walter (Kreuznach [Rhineland], 1876 - Munich, 1934), was an art historian who studied at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg. From 1908 he worked in Munich, first at the *Staatliche Graphische Sammlung* and then at the *Alte Pinakothek*, where he was appointed principal curator (*Hauptkonservator*) in 1920. During the First World War, he became a member of the *Kunstschutzgruppe* and was engaged in registering and cataloguing the art heritage of Friuli, producing an unpublished manuscript sought after by Walter Frodl and Erika Hanfstaengl after 1943.

BURMESTER, SIEFERT 1999

Grazioli, Emilio (Zibido San Giacomo [Milan], 1899 - Milan, 1969), was an early member of the Fascist Party (1921) and a politician. In June 1936 he was appointed head of the party (*Federale*) of Trento and, from October 1936, of Trieste. In 1939, he became member of the *Camera dei Fasci e delle Corporazioni*. In 1941, after the Italian occupation of Yugoslavia, he was appointed High Commissioner of the newly established Province of Ljubljana. In May 1943 he was designated as head of Province (*Prefetto*) and sent to Catania, from where he fled after the Allied invasion of Sicily (August 1943). He was again appointed High Commissioner of Ljubljana, but the German High Commissioner for the Adriatic Littoral banned his appointment. Subsequently, he became head of the Provinces of Bergamo (October 1943-May 1944), Ravenna (May 1944-September 1944) and Turin (October 1944-April 1945). After the end of the war he retired to private life. Demands from the Yugoslav judiciary to put him on trial were never met.

CIFELLI 1999

Hanfstaengl, Erika (Munich, 1912 - Munich, 2003), calling herself Grokenberger-Hanfstaengl while married to Otto Grokenberger from 1941 to 1949. After having studied art history in Munich (1931-1937; PhD 1938), Vienna (1932-1933) and at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts (1934-1935), she did apprenticeships at various German museums until 1941. From May of that year until November 1942, she worked for the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, registering art works and monuments in South Tyrol. On behalf of an analogous German commission, operating in the Italian-occupied Province of Ljubljana, she briefly interrupted her works in South Tyrol in mid-February 1942 in order to photograph cultural assets owned by the National Museum (*Narodni muzej*) of Ljubljana. From November 1942 to November 1943, she was given a grant from the Reich Minister for Science, Education and Culture to register cultural assets in Bavaria. She was then employed by the German Supreme Commissioner for the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (Department V) in November 1943, working together (and actually substituting) Walter Frodl until 25 April 1945, who was in charge of protecting cultural monuments in that region. Among other things, Hanfstaengl, mostly having her office in Udine, was engaged in seizing and transferring Jewish-owned cultural property. From June 1945, she worked at the American Central Collecting Point in Munich, becoming a collaborator with the Munich Central Institute of Art History (*Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte*) two years later and, in February 1961, an employee of the *Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus* in Munich.

WEDEKIND 2019a, p. 55

Haniel, Ellen (Munich, 1914 - Vipiteno [Province of Bolzano], 1970), was married to Otto Lutterotti von Gazzolis. She studied art history in Munich and began working at the *Kupferstichkabinett* in Berlin in 1940. From late spring 1941 she collaborated with the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, registering art works and monuments in South Tyrol, thus collecting materials which she inventoried from 1943 in the Ferdinandeum Museum in Innsbruck. During the German occupation, from September 1943, she was at the head of the Department for art and culture of the German administration for the Province of Trento.

WIDMOSER 1988, vol. 2, p. 211

Heigl, Paul (Maribor, 1887 - Vienna, 1945), studied history and geography at the Universities of Graz (PhD 1910) and Munich. After having participated in courses at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) in Vienna, in 1912 he became assistant at the same institute, maintaining this position also after the war. Since he had been a student, he was active in right-wing political circles, becoming member of the Nazi Party and of the SS in 1933, when both were illegal in Austria. Having taken part in the Nazi July putsch in 1934, Austrian authorities accused him of high treason and jailed him for six months. From July 1935, when he was expelled from Austria, until the «Anschluss», he worked as librarian in Germany. In 1938 he was appointed general director of the Vienna National Library. Following the German invasion of Yugoslavia, he became *Kommissar für die wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken in Jugoslawien* in April 1941 – a function which subsequently was extended to whole of South-east Europe. As such, he was active in Zagreb and in Slovenia, also showing great interest in obtaining books from a firm confiscated from its Jewish owner Geca Kon, one of the main publishing houses in Belgrade. In Trieste, also thanks to his friendship with the Supreme Commissioner Friedrich Rainer, he had an important role in the

selection of Jewish-owned books (collected in the local synagogue) for the Viennese library as well as for other Austrian and German libraries. On 9 April 1945, he committed suicide together with his wife.

BIEL 2013; HACHTMANN 2016; HALL, KÖSTNER 2006; KÖSTNER-PEMSEL 2011

Herzog (Hercog), **Žiga** (Šarengrad [Syrmia], 1871 - Zagreb, 1955), was a member of the Jewish community of Zagreb. He was a dentist and one of the co-founders of the Union of Croatian dentists (1903). He owned a fine art collection, which was plundered after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941.

HERZOG s.d.

Holey, Karl (Podmokly [Bohemia], 1879 - Vienna, 1955), was an architect who, from 1908, was employed by the Austrian Central Commission for the Study and the Protection of Art and Historical Monuments (*Zentralkommission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*), the later Federal Office for Monuments, where he functioned as a technical superintendent (*Technischer Generalkonservator*) from 1914 to 1939. During the war he was member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe*. In 1926 he obtained full professorship at the *Technische Hochschule* of Vienna.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 113-114

Holjevac, Većeslav (Karlovac, 1917 - Zagreb, 1970), was a Croatian writer, member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, lieutenant general, and politician. Having been head of the Yugoslav military mission to Berlin (1947-1948), he became Federal Minister for the Newly Liberated Regions (1948-1950) and subsequently Minister of Labor (1950-1951) and of Maritime Affairs of the government of the People's Republic of Croatia (1951-1952). Between 1952 and 1963 he was Mayor of Zagreb and from 1964 to 1968 president of the Croatian Heritage Foundation (*Hrvatska matica iseljenika*).

ŠVAB 2002b

Hundegger, Benno (Villach [Carinthia], 1906 - Villach, 1985), studied law and political science in Graz (PhD 1930) and initially worked as a lawyer in Villach. He was a member of the Nazi Party and became a senior civil servant in the Villach city government in October 1938. During the Second World War he temporarily served in the (SS-) Police Regiment 15. In September 1943 he was assigned to the Main Office of the Supreme Commissioner for the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral in Trieste (Department I - Internal Affairs / Division for the Supervision of Local Authorities), which partially withdrew from Trieste in 1944 and operated in Tarvisio until 7 May 1945. After the war, Hundegger was re-installed as chief of the municipal council of Villach.

MW

Ippen, Theodor Anton (Sezemice [Bohemia], 1861 - Vienna, 1935), was an Austro-Hungarian diplomat and an expert on Albanian issues, serving in the consulates of Shkodër

(Albania), Pljevlja (Montenegro), Istanbul, Jerusalem, Amsterdam, and Athens. In 1917, he was appointed special representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Supreme Command of the South-western front. After the war, for several months, he was Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and from 1921 to 1930 Deputy General Secretary of the International Danube Commission, established by the Treaty of Versailles to safeguard fluvial navigation. He played an important role in establishing Albanian cultural identity and widely published material on Albanian history and ethnography.

ELSIE 2010; *IPPEN* 1961

Ivančević, Rafo (Korčula [Dalmatia], date of birth and death unknown), was secretary of the National Liberation Committee of Korčula. He was appointed president of the Yugoslav Commission for Reparations after the Second World War. In the 1950s he was appointed Consul General of Yugoslavia in San Francisco and from 1960 to 1965 in Bombay.

Jakac, Božidar (Novo mesto [Lower Carniola], 1899 - Ljubljana, 1989), was a painter and one of the main exponents of Slovenian Expressionism as well as an important figure of Slovenian cultural life both before and after the Second World War, during which time he joined the partisans. In 1945 he was among the founders of the Academy of Fine Arts of Ljubljana, becoming its first rector. He is known for his portraits of Tito and of other leaders of the partisan Resistance.

KOMELJ 1990; KOMELJ 2018; MESESNEL 1928

Kantz, Ugo de (Venice, 1879 - place and date of death unknown), was an official of the Italian army, on leave with the rank of sub-lieutenant in 1906. After the First World War, as a major, he was attached to the Vienna Sub-Commission of the organizing Committee of the Reparation Commission. A member of the Fascist Party since 1924, he worked as a broker in Trieste, in 1932 becoming honorary consul for Chile. In 1939 the King of Italy appointed him Knight of the Order of SS. Mauritius and Lazarus.

Kaschnitz von Weinberg, Guido (Vienna, 1890 - Frankfurt, 1958), was an archaeologist and art historian. A pupil of Max Dvořák, he excavated sites in Dalmatia (1910-1913) and in Greece. He served in the army during the First World War and was sent to Friuli as member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe*. During his stay in Friuli, he wrote an extensive study on the Church of S. Maria della Valle in Cividale, whose manuscript got lost during the retreat of the Austrian army. After the war he worked in Munich and Rome, later becoming a professor of archaeology in Königsberg (since 1932), Marburg (since 1937) and Frankfurt (since 1940). From 1953 to 1956 he directed the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Rom.

PERUSINI 2017, pp. 202 and 204

Kastelic, Jože (Šentvid pri Stični [Lower Carniola], 1913 - Ljubljana, 2003), was an archaeologist, poet, and art critic. He graduated from the University of Ljubljana in 1939, where he received his PhD in 1943. In the early 1940s, he served as secretary in several high schools in

Ljubljana. Subsequently he was appointed curator of the National Museum in Ljubljana, where in 1944 he became head of the archaeological and prehistorical department which included the task of protecting archaeological sites. In 1945, he was appointed director of the same museum, which he headed until 1968. From 1968 to 1983, he was a professor of classical archaeology at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana.

GABROVEC 1991; KOKOLE 2003

Kidrič, Boris (Vienna, 1912 - Belgrade, 1953), joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the 1930s, and, along with Edvard Kardelj, was one of its most prominent Slovenian members. In 1937 he was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Slovenia and also played an important role in the Slovenian Resistance during the Second World War. Between 1945 and 1946 he was the president of the first Slovenian government and later, from 1946 to 1953, Yugoslav Minister of Industry, implementing the country's first Five-Year Plan.

MENCINGER 2018; PRUNK 1991

Klobučar, Olga (Zagreb, 1914 - Zagreb, 1996), after graduating in art history at the University of Zagreb, was appointed a curator at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb in 1943. She was an expert in ceramics and organized conferences and exhibitions after the war.

SENEČIĆ 1996

Koechlin, Raymond (Mulhouse, 1860 - Paris, 1931), was a journalist, art collector and one of the founders of the Société des Amis du Louvre in 1897. He acted as its General Secretary, becoming its head in 1911. In 1922 he was elected Head of the Board of the French National Museums. A collector of Japanese, Chinese and Islamic art, he was a distinguished scholar and expert on French Gothic ivories. He bequeathed many artworks to French museums.

TOMASI 2008

König, Julio (Julije) (Hroznová Lhota [Southern Moravia], 1877 - Canada, after 1945), was a prominent member of the Jewish community of Zagreb and an art collector. He owned a factory of candied fruits and chocolate. He was president of the Sporting Association Makabi (1923-1937), which he had co-founded. Upon the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, after a short imprisonment, he moved with his family to Canada.

KÖNIG s.d.

Kozak, Ferdo (Ljubljana, 1894 - Ljubljana, 1957), was a Slovenian novelist and politician. After graduating in Czech literature at the University of Prague in 1922, he worked as a librarian in the National Libraries of Belgrade and Ljubljana (1924-1927) and in the National Museum of Ljubljana (1927-1929). In 1929 he became a high-school professor. He was a supporter of the Communist Party and co-founder of the Slovenian National Liberation Committee in 1941. After having been placed into confinement to Italy from 1942 to 1943, in the following two years he was a member of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Bari. Soon after the war he was appointed Minister of Education of Slovenia (1945-1946). Subsequently he

became the first president (1946-1953) of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia and its vice-president from 1953 to 1957.

KOZAK 1932; KRALJ 1991

Kraut, Alfred (Nový Bor [Bohemia], 1900 - place of death unknown, 1982), studied history and political economics in Prague, Leipzig (PhD 1923) and Vienna (Dr. rer. pol. 1926). He worked for the Kodak company in Berlin and Prague, joining the Nazi Party in 1938 and the SS in 1940 (becoming *SS-Hauptsturmführer* in April 1943). In 1940, he was transferred to the Personal Staff of the *Reichsführer-SS* - Main Office *Ahnenerbe* and was appointed head of the Reich Main Office of the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of Cultural Assets. In this function he co-organized the pillaging and looting of cultural assets in German-occupied countries (Poland, Soviet Union, France: Alsace and Lorraine, Yugoslavia: Lower Styria and Upper Carniola). After the Second World War, he lived in Diessen (Bavaria), working for the AGFA company in Munich, and becoming editor of the rightist review «Politischer Zeitspiegel». He also was a member of the Sudeten German Homeland Association (*Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft*), an organization representing the interests of refugees and displaced Germans from the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.

MW

Kreft, Ivan (Gornja Radgona [Lower Styria], 1906 - Ljubljana, 1985), engineer and member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the 1930s. He first volunteered in the Spanish Civil War and then fought in Dalmatia during the Second World War. After the capitulation of Italy, he organised training camps for partisan fighters in Bari. In 1946 he was appointed head of the Restitution Delegation at the Political Representation of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Austria and worked at the Museum of National Liberation in Ljubljana since 1953.

FILIPČIĆ 1991; VODOPIVEC 2019

Kutschera, Franz (Oberwaltersdorf [Lower Austria], 1904 - Warsaw, 1944), after finishing secondary general school, started as a junior machinist in the Austrian navy, becoming a gardener after the First World War. From 1920 to 1928, he lived in Czechoslovakia. Back in Austria, he joined the Nazi Party in late 1930 and enrolled in the SS in early 1931 (becoming *SS-Brigadeführer* in 1940 and Major General of the German Police in 1942). He had been a Nazi activist even in the years when the Party was officially abolished in Austria. In 1938, he was appointed deputy Regional Party Leader (*Gauleiter*) of Carinthia, substituting the *Gauleiter* until November 1941, when Friedrich Rainer took over. Kutschera was nominated Chief of German Civil Administration in occupied Upper Carniola in April 1941, leaving this position to Rainer in November of that year. He was then transferred to Russia, where he participated in anti-Guerrilla warfare from February 1942 to September 1943. He was appointed SS and Police Leader for Central Russia (*Russland-Mitte*) in May 1943. In September of that year he was transferred to the General Government (*Generalgouvernement*), becoming SS and Police Leader for the Warsaw district, where he was responsible for mass executions of thousands of civilians. Kutschera was killed in Warsaw by members of the Polish Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*) on 1 February 1944.

WALZL 1992

Kutschera-Woborsky, Oswald von (Prague, 1887 - Vienna, 1922), was a pupil of Franz Wickhoff and Max Dvořák. He became a member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe* in Friuli, constituted in 1917. An expert in Italian Baroque painting, after the First World War he published several books and articles on monuments and works of art of Udine.

KRASA 1969

Laforce, Wilhelm (Munich, 1896 - Garmisch-Partenkirchen [Bavaria], 1965), had been a member of the Nazi Party since its foundation, joining the SS in 1933 and obtaining the grade of *Sturmbannführer* in 1941. From 1940 he was attached to the Representative of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germandom for the «Reichsgau» Wartheland (German-occupied Poland) and from June 1941 to May 1942 he was appointed Chief of Staff in the Office of the Representative of the RKFDV for Lower Styria. Since late 1942 he served in the *Waffen-SS* in Zhytomyr (Ukraine), where he suffered a stroke which prevented further employment.

MW

Lederer, Hinko (Kostajnica [Bosnia], 1886 - Belgrade, 1979), was a leather dealer in Zagreb and a prominent member of the Jewish community, active in the Zionist movement. On the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941, he escaped to the island of Korčula, then under Italian occupation, and thence to Italy and Israel. His important art and numismatic collection was confiscated by the Croatian state and went largely lost. After the war, some of his art works were restituted, while he donated the rest of his collection to the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, where he settled in 1952.

ARMANDA, MIRNIK 2013; *LEDERER* s.d.

Löhausen, Johann (Cologne, 1906 - Cologne, 1977), was a member of the SS since 1933 and later joined the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, where he worked in a special section devoted to archaeological excavations while participating in several expeditions. He collaborated with the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, a special mission of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* organization for transferring archaeological and art objects from the Soviet Union (Ukraine and Caucasus region) to Germany. Since 1941 he joined the General Trustee for the Safeguarding of German Cultural Objects in occupied Poland, Soviet Union, Lorraine and, from October 1942 to February 1943, in Upper Carniola. Having been attached to the Berlin office of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* from autumn 1943 to early 1944, he served in the army. After the war he continued his activities as technician of excavations in Cologne, both at the Cathedral and at the *Römisch-Germanisches Museum*.

MW

Ložar, Rajko (Ljubljana, 1904 - Milwaukee [Wisconsin], 1985), after graduating in art history and classical archaeology from Ljubljana University in 1925, received his PhD under Arnold Schober at the University of Vienna in 1927. In 1929 he was employed as an archaeologist at the National Museum of Ljubljana and in 1940 he became director of the Ethnographic Museum (*Etnografski muzej*), established in 1923, also lecturing in classical archaeology at the local university. Having left Ljubljana in 1945, Ložar took refuge in Allied Displaced Persons Camps in Austria, where he continued to research and teach. At the end of 1951 he emigrated

to the United States, becoming director of the Rahr Civic Center and Public Museum (since 1975 Rahr-West Art Museum) in Manitowoc (Wisconsin) from 1956 until his retirement in 1969.

PRETRGANE KORENINE 2005

Magašič, Anica see **Rakar**

Mal, Josip (Pretrž [Central Slovenia], 1884 - Ljubljana, 1978), studied history, geography and art history at the University of Vienna from 1904, obtaining his PhD in 1908. He was a member of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) from 1907 to 1909, when he began to work in the Regional (since 1921 National) Museum for Carniola in Ljubljana (*Landesmuseum Rudolfinum*), becoming its director in 1924. He was a member of several commissions established for the exchange of archives and engaged in the restitution of cultural objects from Austria (1919) and Italy (1926). During the Second World War he was active in the protection of archives. He retired in November 1945.

RIBNIKAR 1988

Mannowsky, Walter (Frankfurt, 1881 - Frankfurt, 1958), studied law in Wrocław (LLD 1907) and Munich as well as art history in Munich and Halle (PhD 1910). He worked at the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome from 1910 to 1914. During the First World War, he served in the German army. After the battle of Caporetto in late 1917, Mannowsky joined the German *Kunstschutzgruppe* in charge of the protection of monuments in occupied territories. After working at the Berlin *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* in the early postwar years, he became a museum director in the then independent city-state of Gdańsk in 1922 and in Frankfurt in 1938. Mannowsky, who was a Nazi Party and SS member, was involved in the dispossession of Jewish-owned art property. Although removed from the directorship of the Frankfurt *Museum für Kunsthandwerk* in June 1945, he regained his position in September 1946 and kept it until his retirement in 1948.

MUSEUM IM WIDERSPRUCH 2011, p. 352

Mantuani, Josip (Ljubljana, 1860 - Ljubljana, 1933), art historian and musicologist, graduated from the University of Vienna under the supervision of Franz Wickhoff in 1894. From 1891 he joined the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) in Vienna. From 1893 to 1908 he was a librarian at the Imperial Court Library in Vienna and from 1909 till his retirement (1924) he directed the Regional (since 1921, National) Museum for Carniola in Ljubljana (*Landesmuseum Rudolfinum*). During the First World War, while responsible for collecting metal liturgical objects for army supplies, he succeeded in preserving many historically important bells and organ pipes. He also taught art history and music history in several schools and from 1920 to 1924 he lectured on ancient art history, archaeology, and epigraphy at the newly established University of Ljubljana. He was one of the founding fathers of Slovenian art history.

CEVC, SIVEC 1992; GOLOB 2020; HÖFLER, CERKOVNIK 2012; KURET 1994; LAVRIČ, RESMAN 1994; MAHNIČ 2019; STELE 1933

Manzoni, Gaetano (Lugo [Province of Ravenna], 1871 - Kandersteg [Switzerland], 1937), was an Italian diplomat and politician, active in the main diplomatic scenarios of the Mediterranean area since the 1890s (Alexandria of Egypt, Cairo, Istanbul, Athens). From June 1913 to November 1920, he was Director of the Political Office (*Dirigente degli Affari politici*) of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later he served as Ambassador in Belgrade (1920-1922), Moscow (1924-1927) and Paris (1927-1932).

VISTOLI 2007

Marić (Mayer), Artur (Zagreb, 1888 - Petrinja [Croatia], 1941), was a member of the Jewish community of Zagreb. He was a businessman, attorney, and art collector. On fleeing from Zagreb in 1941, he was either killed or committed suicide. His assets were confiscated by the Croatian authorities, while his villa (today the seat of the Croatian Museum of Architecture) served as the residence of Minister Mile Budak during the Independent State of Croatia.

MARIĆ ARTUR s.d.

Marić (Mayer), Milan (Emil) (Zagreb, 1885 - place of death unknown, 1945), along with his brother Artur, was one of the wealthiest Croatian merchants and industrials of his time. He had a considerable art collection in his villa in Zagreb at 36, Tuškanac Street. At the time of the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, he was in Belgrade, from where he moved to Istanbul.

MARIĆ MILAN s.d.

Marriott, Basil (place unknown [Cornwall], 1902 - London, 1971), was a British architect. He became art director of the Empire Marketing Board and worked with the Copper Development Association as an advisor. In the late 1930s, he was engaged in the foundation of the London branch of the Reimann School, Britain's first commercial art school, originally based in Berlin. Appointed British officer of the Allied Sub-Commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives in Italy (MFAA) in 1944, he initially served at headquarters in Naples. In August 1944, he was appointed MFAA Officer for the Veneto Region but extended his activities also to the Marche region (particularly to Ancona). In late 1945, he was assigned to the British MFAA in Austria in order to report to the Allied Commission for Austria - British Element as MFAA Officer for Styria and Carinthia.

Further notice at: <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/marriott-maj-basil>

Mayer, Aldo (Trieste, 1882 - Trieste?, 1953), born into a Jewish family, studied in Vienna, Graz, Padua and Rome. He became a manager of the Trieste newspaper «Il Piccolo», which had been founded by his father Tommaso. He was a writer and a collector especially of archaeological objects, a member of an Association of art collectors (*Comunità dei collezionisti d'arte*) established in Trieste in 1927 and promoted by the *Federazione fascista autonoma delle comunità artigiane d'Italia*. In 1943, after the German occupation of Trieste, his library (about 600 volumes) and his collection were handed over to the city of Trieste.

MILOS 2010

Mesesnel, France (pseudonym: Martin Burja) (Cervignano [Italy], 1894 - Turjak [Slovenia], 1945), began studying art history at the University of Vienna in 1913-1914 and continued after the war at the University of Prague, where he obtained his PhD in 1922. Between 1923 and 1927 he served as an assistant at the art historical seminar of the University of Ljubljana and was an administrator at the National Gallery from 1927 to 1928, when he was appointed curator of the Skopje Museum of Southern Serbia (*Muzej Južne Srbije*). In 1933 he became an assistant professor at the University of Skopje. He succeeded France Stele as conservator at the Monument Office for Drava Banate in 1938 and became a part-time lecturer on Byzantine art at the University of Ljubljana in 1939. During the Second World War, he maintained his position as head of the Ljubljana Monument Office, however reporting from 1943 to German occupation authorities. On 29 September 1944 he was arrested by the collaborationist military organization Slovenian Home Guard (*Slovensko domobranstvo*), being accused of having criticised the Domobranci. Through the intervention of Walter Frodl, he was released and ordered to serve at the art deposit of Lienz as employee of Section 5 of the German Supreme Commissioner. Nevertheless, at the end of the war he was imprisoned in Ljubljana and executed by the Domobranci on 4 May 1945.

FRODL-KRAFT 1997, p. 517; MENAŠE 1953; *MESESNEL* 1933

Mihevc, Edo (Trieste, 1911 - Portorož [Istria], 1985), studied architecture at the University of Ljubljana under the mentorship of Jože Plečnik, becoming one of the most renowned architects in post-1945 Slovenia. Prior to the Second World War he worked for various building companies. During the war he became an important partisan commander. From May to November 1945 he was one of the representatives of the Yugoslav government in Trieste and from 1945 to 1946 head of the Cabinet of the Slovenian Minister of Industry. From November 1946 until his retirement in 1981, he lectured at the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy of the University of Ljubljana.

BREZAR et al. 2011; KOŠIR 2011; KRALJ PAVLOVEC 1999a; KRALJ PAVLOVEC 1999b; KREČIČ 1993

Mikuž, Stane (Šmarje pri Ljubljani [Lower Carniola], 1913 - Ljubljana, 1985), studied art history under France Stele at the University of Ljubljana, receiving his PhD in 1940. He followed in Stele's footsteps as conservator at the Monument protection office in Ljubljana (1938-1944). Having joined the National Liberation Front, he was interned in Dachau from 1944 to 1945. After returning to Yugoslavia, he was head of the Department for Fine Art and Museums (1945-1952) at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Slovenia, thus playing a major role in postwar cultural politics. He was also appointed head of the Federal Collecting Centre for Slovenia. Between 1952 and 1983, he was professor of European Art at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana.

KASTELIC 1986; KOMELJ 1993; LAZARINI 2016; ŠUMI 1987

Millo, Enrico (Chiavari [Province of Genova], 1865 - Rome, 1930), was an Italian politician and admiral. He took part in the Italo-Turkish war for the possession of Libya (1911-1912) as a navy officer. In 1913, he was appointed senator by King Victor Emanuel III. From July 1913 to July 1914 he served as Minister of the Navy. After the First World War he was appointed

Governor of Dalmatia, a role he performed from November 1918 to December 1920, when a civil administration was established in Zadar. He was highly sympathetic to Gabriele D'Annunzio's occupation of Rijeka.

Further notice at: <http://www.marina.difesa.it/noi-siamo-la-marina/storia/la-nostri-storia/medaglie/Pagine/MilloEnrico.aspx>

Mirabella Roberti, Mario (Venice, 1909 - Milan, 2002), was an Italian archaeologist who took his degree at the Catholic University of Milan in 1933. Between 1935 and 1947 he was director of the *Museo dell'Istria* in Pula, established in 1930. In Istria and especially in Pula he directed several archaeological expeditions and during the war he cared for the safeguarding of local monuments. Soon after the war he supervised the restoration of the Temple of August, of the Cathedral and of the Church of St Francis, which had been almost destroyed by air bombing. Having left Pula in September 1947, he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments, Galleries and Antiquities of the Julian March and later of the Superintendent Office of Antiquities in Milan (1953-1973).

CONTRIBUTI DI ARCHEOLOGIA 2007; *STUDIJSKI DAN MARIA MIRABELLE ROBERTIJA* 2014; *SURACE* 2012

Modigliani, Ettore (Rome, 1873 - Milan, 1947), born into a Jewish family, studied philology at the University of Rome and obtained his diploma at Adolfo Venturi's School of Advanced Studies in art history in 1900. In 1902 he entered the state administration, serving from 1902 to 1907 at the *Galleria Borghese* in Rome, becoming director of the *Pinacoteca di Brera* of Milan in 1908. In addition, in 1910 he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Galleries, Museums, Medieval and Modern Art of the Provinces of Milan, Como, Bergamo, Brescia, Sondrio, Cremona, and Pavia. During the First World War, he distinguished himself in defending and securing the artistic heritage of Lombardy and Veneto and in 1919 played a role during the negotiations for the Paris Treaty. An influential advisor to the Reparation Commission in Vienna in 1919 and 1920, he organized the huge exhibition of the art works obtained from Austria shown in Palazzo Venezia in Rome in 1923. In 1925 he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Medieval and Modern Art of Lombardy. In 1935 he was unfairly transferred to the Superintendent Office of L'Aquila, following some conflicts with the newly appointed Minister of National Education, Cesare Maria De Vecchi. Soon after the promulgation of the racial laws in 1938, he was dismissed in spite of having almost reached the age of retirement. During the Second World War he hid in the countryside together with part of his family until 1944, when he was called back to service after the Liberation of Rome. In 1946 he was reinstated as director of the Brera gallery, supervising the first works of reconstruction of the buildings destroyed by air bombing.

ETTORE MODIGLIANI 2019; *ETTORE MODIGLIANI* 2021; *PACIA* 2007

Molajoli, Bruno (Fabriano [Province of Ancona], 1905 - Rome, 1985), studied art history at the Universities of Bologna (under Iginio Benvenuto Supino) and Rome (under Adolfo Venturi and Pietro Toesca), where he obtained his PhD. After a temporary assignment to the Superintendent Office of Ancona, he began his career in Bari in 1933. In 1934 he was transferred with the grade of inspector to Turin, where in 1935 he was appointed director of the *Galleria*

Sabauda. Subsequently he served as head of the Superintendent Office in Trieste (1936-1939) and Naples, where he remained until 1960. Here he was active both in the safeguarding of monuments during the Second World War and in conservation and promotion activities of the postwar period. In 1960 he became General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, a position he held until his retirement, in 1970. In the following years he was involved in UNESCO activities, also teaching at advanced studies institutes.

PAMPALONE 2007

Morandotti, Alessandro (Vienna, 1909 - Zurich, 1979), was an Italian art dealer. Initially he worked as a journalist, but from 1937 he was employed by the Jewish antiquities dealer Adolph Loewi at the latter's Italian office in Palazzo Mocenigo in Venice. When Loewi left Italy for Los Angeles in 1939, he turned over the firm to Morandotti, who moved the stock to Rome in 1940 and opened the antique gallery *Antiquaria* in Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. After the Second World War, Morandotti returned the firm to Loewi and later, in 1950, purchased the Rome gallery from him. Here, both during and after the war, he organized exhibitions of Italian paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries, often in collaboration with his friend, the Italian art historian Giuliano Briganti.

Further notice at: <http://www.giulianobriganti.it/index.php?id=152>.

Morassi, Antonio (Gorizia, 1893 - Milan, 1976), was an Italian art historian. A pupil of Max Dvořák and Julius Schlosser at the Vienna School of art history (*Wiener Schule*) and of Adolfo Venturi at his School of Advanced Studies in art history at the University of Rome, he enrolled in the Italian administration in 1920. He worked at the Superintendent Offices of Trieste (1920-1925), Trento (1925-1928) and Milan (1928-1939), where he was also appointed director of the Brera Gallery (*Pinacoteca di Brera*). He taught art history at the Universities of Milan and Pavia. In 1939 he became head of the newly established Superintendent Office for Galleries in Genua. During the war he worked tirelessly in defending and securing the artistic heritage of Genua and Liguria and in avoiding the transfer of art works to Germany. He also was in contact both with Allied intelligence and with members of the National Liberation Committee (*Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale*). He left the state administration in 1949 but continued his research activities and maintained strong links with the art market and with several private collectors.

ANTONIO MORASSI 2013; CATALDI GALLO 2007

Moretti, Giuseppe (San Severino Marche [Province of Macerata], 1876 - Rome, 1945), was an Italian archaeologist. He was enrolled in the state administration in 1902 and worked at the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, frequently also engaged in excavation expeditions to Anatolia. In 1920 he was transferred to Ancona as inspector and in 1923 was appointed head of the Superintendent Office of the Marche (which also included Abruzzo, Molise and, from that year, Zadar). Here he directed and rearranged the National Museum of Ancona. In 1930, he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Antiquities in Rome and director of the Roman National Museum.

BRUNI 2012

Morpurgo de Nilma, Mario (Trieste, 1867 - Pordenone, 1943), a member of a wealthy Jewish family, was a prominent exponent of the cultural life of Trieste and an art collector. He was member of the *Società di Minerva* and of the *Circolo Artistico* as well as of an Association of art collectors (*Comunità dei collezionisti d'arte*), established in Trieste in 1927 and promoted by the *Federazione fascista autonoma delle comunità artigiane d'Italia*. In 1937 he entered the Board (*Curatorio*) of the Revoltella Museum. He bequeathed his assets, including his palace and its contents, to the city of Trieste, but due to the German occupation after 8 September 1943, the collection was partially pillaged and the donation only took place officially after the Second World War. Today the apartment in which he lived is part of the Town Museum (*Civici Musei di Storia e Arte*) of Trieste.

DA DALT 2017; RESCINITI 1999

Moschini, Vittorio (Monteleone Calabro [today Vibo Valentia], 1896 - Venice, 1976), was an Italian art historian. He obtained his diploma at Adolfo Venturi's School of Advanced Studies in art history in 1923. In 1925 he was appointed inspector in the National Gallery of Parma and one year later at the Superintendent Office for Medieval and Modern Art of Venice. He was director of the *Galleria dell'Accademia* of Venice from 1933 until his retirement in 1961. During the war he was involved in safeguarding and managing of several deposits of art works. An expert on Venetian art, he supervised the reorganization of the *Galleria dell'Accademia* in the late 1940s and in the 1950s in collaboration with the architect Carlo Scarpa.

NoÈ 2007

Müller, Carl Theodor (Ingolstadt [Bavaria], 1905 - Munich, 1996), after having studied art history at the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Zurich, he graduated with a dissertation on the Gothic sculpture in Tyrol in 1928. He then joined the Bavarian National Museum (*Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*) in Munich, becoming its director in 1948. In the second half of the 1930s he did research in Slovakia (Spiš), Romania (Transylvania) and Poland and from 1940 he was a member of a research team headed by Walter Frodl within the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. After the war he collaborated with the Munich Central Collecting Point from the summer of 1945 to February 1948.

LAUTERBACH 2015, *passim*; MÜLLER 2019

Murgić, Božidar ([places of birth and death unknown], 1901 - after 1966), was a senior official at the Ministry of Religion and Education of the Independent State of Croatia, appointed by Ante Pavelić as head of the Department of Higher Education and Institutes of the Ministry of Education (*Odjel visokih škola i znanstvenih zavoda Ministarstva nastave*) in 1941. He also worked for periodicals and newspapers, such as «Spremnost», «Neue Ordnung» and «Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien». After 1945 he moved to Rome, and later – having been declared a war criminal in 1951 – he escaped first to Argentina and then, apparently, to Germany.

Further notice at: http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=3_12346

Newton, Norman Thomas (Corry [Pennsylvania], 1898 - Cambridge [Massachusetts], 1992), one of the so-called 'Monuments Men', was a landscape architect who in 1923 received the

Rome Prize and sojourned in Rome for three years. From 1933 to 1939 he worked for the National Park Service and designed the setting for the Statue of Liberty. From 1942 to 1943 he served as senior monuments officer at the Sub-Commission for Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (MFAA) Section of the Civil Affairs Division, first with the 330th Air Service Group and then attached to the British 8th Army. He remained in Italy until February 1946 as director of the MFAA Sub-Commission. After his return to the United States, he taught at Harvard University.

MUSCHAMP 1992

Further notice at: <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/the-heroes/the-monuments-men/newton-lt-col-norman>

Oberwalder, Oskar (Krems [Lower Austria], 1883 - Vienna, 1936), a pupil of Franz Wickhoff and Max Dvořák, from 1910 was employed at the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments in Vienna (*Zentralkommission Denkmalpflege*). In 1913 he was appointed *Landeskonservator* in Linz. During the war he was member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe* in Friuli.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 192-193; WACHA 1978

Ojetti, Ugo (Rome, 1871 - Fiesole, 1946), was a highly influential Italian writer, journalist and art critic. He regularly wrote for the newspaper «Corriere della Sera», which he directed in 1926-1927, for «L'Illustrazione Italiana» and for «Giornale d'Italia». In 1920 he founded the art magazine «Dedalo» (1920). A fervent nationalist and a volunteer in the First World War, he was involved in the Office for Civil Affairs and later in the Press Office of the Supreme Command in Udine, largely contributing to Italian propaganda as regards the cultural heritage of contested territories. In 1925 he was one of the influential Italian intellectuals who signed the Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals (*Manifesto degli Intellettuali Fascisti*). During his career he also organized important art exhibitions, for example on the Italian Art of Portrait (Florence, 1911), on Italian painting in the 17th and 18th centuries (Florence, 1922) and on Italian historical gardens (Florence, 1930), as well as the *Exposition de l'art italien* (Paris, 1935). He joined the Italian Social Republic and was disbarred from the Order of Journalists after the liberation of Rome in 1944. He spent the final years of his life in his villa Il Salvatino in Fiesole.

BERTINI 2005; NEZZO 2003; NEZZO 2017

Ongaro, Massimiliano (Max) (Padua, 1858 - Venice, 1924), was an Italian architect influenced by Art Nouveau. In 1902 he was enrolled as architect-engineer in the Regional Office for the Conservation of Monuments in Veneto (*Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti*) and, after the establishment of the Superintendent offices (1906), in the Superintendent Office for Monuments, which he officially headed from 1911 until his death. From 1914 he was also busy in restoration activities on the Isle of Crete. During the First World War he was fully committed to defending the historical and architectural heritage from the risks of war by studying and designing new systems of protection and new materials to implement cladding structures which were built around monuments. In the postwar period he promoted restorations and reconstructions of churches and abbeys in Veneto.

PRETELLI 2011

Ottmann, Franz (Vienna, 1875 - Vienna, 1962), was an Austrian art historian, writing for journals, such as the Munich-based «Kunst» (1914-1944) and, together with Hans Tietze, «Die bildenden Künste» (1919-1922). He was secretary of the Society of Friends of the Museum in Vienna (*Verein der Museumsfreunde*) and worked at the Print Room (*Kupferstichkabinett*) of the Vienna Court Library (today's Austrian National Library).

PERUSINI 2017, p. 202; SCHMIDT 1962

Pacchioni, Guglielmo (Pavullo Frignano [Province of Modena], 1883 - Milan, 1969), a pupil of Adolfo Venturi at the School of Advanced Studies in art history at the University of Rome, entered the Fine Arts administration in 1910 and was assigned to the Superintendent Office for Monuments of Verona, which at that time was also responsible for the Province of Mantua. Here he played an important role in the restoration of the Ducal Palace and in the rearrangement of its interiors. During the First World War he was engaged in safeguarding the art heritage of Venice (collaborating with Lionello Venturi) and of the Province of Udine. In 1919 he also took part in the Vienna negotiations for the restitution of artworks from Austria. In 1923 he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Monuments, Medieval and Modern Museums and Art Objects of Piedmont and Liguria. From 1934 to 1939 he was head of the Superintendent Office of the Marche, obtaining the same position for the Galleries of Milan in July 1939. Here, in 1940, he organized the protection of artworks, being also entrusted with the supervision of the art deposits located in Central Italy the following year. In 1946 he moved to the Milan Superintendent Office for Monuments, before being transferred to the Superintendent Office of the Galleries of Florence, Arezzo, and Pistoia in 1949.

ASTRUA 2007

Pagnini, Cesare (Trieste, 1899 - Trieste, 1989), lawyer, jurist, historian and writer, was a member of several Fascist associations, as well as Mayor of Trieste from October 1943 to 1945. After the war he was accused of collaborating, but was found not guilty. He devoted the final part of his life to historical studies.

TRAMPUS 2010; ZAGONEL 2012

Pavelić, Ante (Bradina kod Konjica [Herzegovina], 1889 - Madrid, 1959), was a Croatian general, who in 1929 founded and became leader of the Fascist ultranationalist organization known as Ustashe. In 1941 he became head (*Poglavnik*) of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*; NDH). The Ustasha regime under Pavelić's leadership persecuted racial minorities and political opponents, including Serbs, Jews, Romani, and anti-Fascist Croats. After the war, having been sentenced to death by a Yugoslav tribunal, he fled to Argentina in 1948 and to Spain in 1957.

PAVELIĆ 2019

Perroni, Felice Salvatore (Turin, 1888 - Genua 1951), after graduating in law, in 1912 was appointed archivist, first in Florence and then in Rome. Sent to Trieste to rearrange the archives of the Julian March in 1920, he also produced an important inventory of the Rijeka

archives (1924). He subsequently served in Trieste, where he was director of the State Archives from 1926 to 1936. During this period, he was a member of Italo-Yugoslav commissions for the division of archives. In 1936 he was transferred to the State Archives of Genoa, where he tirelessly worked for the safeguarding of ancient finds during the Second World War.

REPERTORIO DEL PERSONALE 2008; REPERTORIO DEL PERSONALE 2012

Pfeiffer, Oton (Otto) (Osijek [Slavonia], 1891 - Osijek, before 1961), was a merchant and art collector.

Pfeiffer, Ružica (Osijek [Slavonia], 1903 - Osijek, 1979), was an opera singer and a member of the Osijek Singing Society «Kuhač». In 1922, she married the Osijek-born Oton Pfeiffer, a wealthy merchant and art collector who founded the paper wholesale company «Artija». After the Second World War, their collection was confiscated, and some artworks were given to the Museum of Slavonia in 1948.

PFEIFFER s.d.; ZEC 2009

Piazzo, Umberto (Alessandria, 1900 - Rome, 1956), was an Italian architect who published a collection of plans and elevations of neoclassical buildings in Trieste in the series *I monumenti d'Italia*, edited by the *Accademia d'Italia* (1935). He worked in the restoration of the Basilica of Poreč, directed by Bruno Molajoli. He was enrolled as draughtsman (*disegnatore*) at the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of Trieste between 1933 and 1945, when the MFAA Subcommittee appointed him as responsible for Udine. In 1947 he was transferred to Rome as director of *Palazzo Barberini* and of the Vittoriano National Monument.

«L'ARENA DI POLA» 1957

Further notice at: <https://www.dolmenweb.net/somedademarco/scheda.php?l=en&id=35>

Pincherle, Gino (Trieste, 1905 - Trieste, 1983), was a lawyer, active (together with his brother, Bruno) in anti-Fascist propaganda from 1923. He was arrested in 1940 and interned in the camp of Urbisaglia (Province of Macerata) until October 1941. His collection of paintings was confiscated after September 1943. A member of the *Partito d'Azione*, he was arrested again in May 1944 and freed after the Liberation of Rome. After the Second World War he was Prosecutor for Nazi and Fascist crimes at the Special Assize Court of the Tribunal of Trieste.

CUDICIO 2019.

Pinterović, Danica (Osijek [Slavonia], 1897 - Osijek, 1985), from a prominent family of Osijek, studied art history and geography at the Universities of Zagreb and Vienna. Since 1919 she taught at various grammar schools in Osijek. She obtained her PhD at the University of Belgrade in 1933. Since 1943 she worked at the Museum of Slavonia as collaborator of Josip Bösendorfer and as director of the museum from 1945 to 1961. In 1945-1946 she was a member of the Commission for the Gathering and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiqui-

ties (KOMZA) and active in safeguarding cultural heritage in Slavonia and Baranja. From 1948 to 1956 she was honorary conservator for the city and County of Osijek. KOVAČ 2018; KOVAČ s.d.; PINTEROVIĆ s.d.

Pollitzer, Andrea (Trieste, 1892 - Trieste, 1972), studied law and chemistry in Vienna. After the death of his father Alfonso in 1940, he headed the family firm A.D.R.I.A. (*Antiche Ditte Riunite Industrie Adriatiche*), which produced soaps and detergents. A distinguished photographer and an excursionist, he was president of the *Circolo Fotografico Triestino* from 1947 to 1971. The family collection was pillaged during the Second World War and some artworks were transferred to the *Landesmuseum* of Klagenfurt.

AI MIEI «A» 1997

Ponti, Giovanni (Venice, 1896 - Padua, 1961), was a professor and lecturer of Italian literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. Probably thanks to his connection with Croatian authorities, he played an important role in the exchange of Višeslav's Baptismal Font for the Carpaccio paintings from the Strossmayer Gallery's holdings. In 1945-1946 he was Mayor of Venice.

PONTI 2011

Further notice at: <https://exhibit1.transcultaa.eu/#home>

Prelog Milan (Osijek [Slavonia], 1919 - Zagreb, 1988), studied art history and classical archaeology at the University of Zagreb, obtaining his PhD in 1951. From 1948 to 1984 he taught art history at the same university, where he also co-founded the Institute of Art History in 1961. From 1951 to 1953 he directed the Croatian Conservation Institute (*Konzervatorski zavod Hrvatske*). His teaching and research field also comply with a modern approach to the protection of cultural heritage and to urban issues.

REBERSKI 1988-1989

Quiquerez, Alfons Ivo (from 1929: Quiquerez-Beaujeu; Zagreb, 1881 - Vienna, 1966), architect, was *Landeskonservator* in Styria from 1912 to 1924 and then again from 1919 to 1931. During the First World War he was sent to Friuli as a member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe*, entrusted with the safeguarding of monuments until November 1918.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 216-217; PERUSINI 2017, p. 202

Rainer, Friedrich (Friedl) Alois (Sankt Veit an der Glan [Carinthia], 1903 - Ljubljana, 1947 or 1950), studied law in Graz (PhD 1926). He participated in the armed Austro-Slovene conflict in Carinthia in 1918-1919. Before joining the Nazi Party in 1930, he had been a member of nationalist and *völkisch* associations; he enrolled in the SA in 1923 and in the SS in 1934 (becoming *SS-Obergruppenführer* in 1943). Rainer was a staunch Nazi activist in Austria during most of the 1930s, when the party was officially abolished. He resumed a party career after 1938, becoming Regional Party Leader (*Gauleiter*) and head of the Provincial Government (*Landeshauptmann*, since 1940: *Reichsstatthalter*) of Salzburg in 1938 and

of Carinthia in November 1941. In December of that year he was additionally nominated as the Head of German Civil Administration in occupied Upper Carniola, becoming Supreme Commissioner for the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral in September 1943. In late May 1945 he was arrested by British forces in Carinthia, where he was interned until October. He was then transferred to Nuremberg where he appeared as a witness before the International Military Tribunal (Seyß-Inquart trial). After having been interned in Dachau, he was handed over to Yugoslavia in March 1947 where he was sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal of the IV Yugoslav Army on 19 July 1947. Until now, there is no reliable information on the date of his execution (18 August 1947 or November 1950).

WEDEKIND 2003; WILLIAMS 2005

Rakar Magašić, Anica (Zagreb?, 1914 - Zagreb, 2014), graduated in theoretical mathematics from the University of Zagreb in 1937. She joined the partisans in 1942, becoming a member of the Karlovac District Committee of the Croatian Communist Party. From 1957 she was a member of the Croatian *Savjet za nauku i kulturu*, becoming its president in the 1960s, a role comparable to that of a Minister of Culture and Science. She held further important political positions: she was a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists in Croatia (*Savez komunista Hrvatske*) (1959-1967), of the Croatian Council of Parliament (1963-1967) and of the Board of the Socialist League of Working People of Croatia (*Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Hrvatske*) (1953-1969). She was also elected to the Federal Assembly (*Savezna skupština*). She was later appointed director of the Museum of the Revolution of the Peoples of Croatia (*Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske*) of Zagreb, which in 1991 merged with the History Museum of Croatia (*Povijesni muzej Hrvatske*), reemerging as the newly established Croatian History Museum (*Hrvatski povijesni muzej*).

BLAŽINA 2019

Ricci, Corrado (Ravenna, 1858 - Rome, 1934), was an Italian art historian. After taking a degree in law at the University of Bologna, he devoted himself to art history. Under the aegis of his friend and colleague Adolfo Venturi, he became director of top tier Italian museums, such as the *Galleria Nazionale* of Parma (1894-1896), the *Galleria Estense* of Modena (1897), the Gallery of Brera in Milan (1898) and the Gallery of Uffizi and the National Museum in Florence (1903). In 1898 he also was in charge of the first pilot 'superintendent office', established in Ravenna. In 1906 he was appointed General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts Office of the Italian Ministry of Education. He was one of the promoters of the first Italian law on the protection of cultural heritage and landscape (Law 1909, no. 364). In 1925, he was one of the influential Italian intellectuals who signed the Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals (*Manifesto degli Intellettuali Fascisti*).

LA CURA DEL BELLO 2008

Ringler, Josef (Innsbruck, 1893 - Innsbruck, 1973), having studied at the Universities of Innsbruck, Munich and Cologne, was director of the Museum for Tyrolian Folk Art (*Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum*) from 1932 to 1938 and from 1945 to 1949. In 1940 he headed the research team for art, museums, and folk art within the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, based in Bolzano. From autumn 1943 he directed the Office for the conservation of monuments

(*Denkmalamt*) for the Province of Bolzano, heading the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of Trento in May 1944. He became involved in the affair of the paintings from Tuscan museums temporarily stored in South Tyrol (San Leonardo and Campo Tures).

FRANCHI 2012; WEDEKIND 2012a

Roberts, Owen Josephus (Philadelphia, 1875 - West Vincent [Pennsylvania], 1955), was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1930 to 1945. He is well known as the founder of the Roberts Commission which was established in 1943 to protect the cultural heritage in European war zones. The commission ran until 1946. He also promoted the establishment of a special intelligence unit within the Office of Strategic Services, with the task of dealing with Nazi-looted art.

BURT 2009

Further notice at: <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/roberts-owen-j>

Rösener, Erwin (Schwerte [Westphalia], 1902 - Ljubljana, 1946), an electrician, became a Nazi Party member in 1929 and joined the SS in 1930, being promoted to *SS-Obergruppenführer und Generalleutnant* in August 1944. From December 1941 to the end of the war he was Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Alpenland*) and Deputy of the Representative of the RKFdV for Upper Carniola. In 1943 he was appointed German Adviser (*Berater*) for the Province of Ljubljana. In 1945 he was captured by the British authorities occupying Carinthia and consigned to Yugoslavia, where he was sentenced to death and hanged in public one year later.

BIRN 1986

Rossi, Antonio Anastasio (Milano, 1864 - Pompei, 1948), after teaching in the Pavia Seminary, was appointed archbishop of Udine on 31 December 1909. An activist of the Catholic social movement, he proceeded to modernise the archbishopric of Udine which sometimes met with the opposition of the clergy. During the war he was involved in the safeguarding of Friulian art heritage. After the battle of Caporetto he escaped to Rome where he was busy in assisting war refugees. After 1918, he moved towards nationalist and philo-Fascist ideas. In 1927, due to the local clergy's opposition, he was removed from Udine and sent to Rome with the title of patriarch of Constantinople.

TESSITORI 2011

Rota, Nicolò (Trieste, 1895 - Trieste, 1967), was a teacher at primary and professional schools in Trieste where he became engaged in archaeological excavations, in the protection of cultural heritage, and in the promotion of cultural activities (exhibitions, fairs, etc.). In 1933 Rota was appointed honorary inspector for Monuments, Excavations and Objects of Antiquity and Art for the Province of Trieste. He was a member of several local commissions (e.g. the Building Commission, that is *Commissione edilizia*, of the Municipality of Trieste) and of cultural associations, including the National Committee for Folk Arts (*Comitato Nazionale Italiano per le arti popolari*) and the Royal Italian Geographical Society (*Reale Società Geografica Italiana*).

CANTAGALLI 2019

Rudolph, Martin (Olszyna [Lower Silesia], 1908 - Innsbruck, 1993), a civil engineer, studied at the *Technische Hochschule* (TH) of Dresden and of Braunschweig, becoming a lecturer in history of architecture at the TH of Mannheim and subsequently of Braunschweig. He was a member of the Nazi Party and of the SS from November 1939, becoming *Obersturmführer* in November 1942. In 1940 he joined the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and became chief of its Teaching and Research Institute for Germanic Architecture (*Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Germanisches Bauwesen*). Between 1940 and 1941, he collaborated with the cultural commissions of the *Ahnenerbe* organization, operating in South Tyrol (since 1940) and in Kočevje (since 1941) and focusing on Germanic architecture, especially on farmhouses. After September 1943, Rudolph became a member of a small *Ahnenerbe* branch office, temporarily based in Siusi allo Sciliar in South Tyrol. After the war he settled near Innsbruck and worked at the Building Department of Tyrol.

WEDEKIND 2019a, pp. 76-77

Rutteri, Silvio (Trieste, 1895 - Trieste, 1982), after studying in Graz, Rome and Padua, worked with Piero Sticotti, director of the Town Museum of Trieste. In 1933 he became professor of art history in a local high school, where he taught until his retirement. In 1934 he was appointed honorary inspector of the local Superintendent Office for Monuments. From 1940 to 1963 he was director of the Town Museum of Trieste, being involved in the acquisition of both the Morpurgo and Sartorio collections in 1946. During the Second World War he was a key figure in safeguarding public and private art collections in Trieste. In 1966 the president of the Italian Republic awarded him a gold medal for cultural achievements.

FELCHER 2017

Sachs, Paul J. (New York, 1878 - Cambridge [Massachusetts], 1965), was an American businessman, partner of the Goldman Sachs investment firm. In 1900 he graduated from Harvard University, where he was a classmate of Edward Waldo Forbes, who became director of the Fogg Art Museum in 1909. In 1914 Forbes convinced Sachs to become assistant curator at the Fogg. He was appointed assistant professor in 1917 and full professor in 1927 in the Fine Arts department at Harvard, inaugurating innovative courses of museum studies and on prints and drawings. During the Second World War he was a founding member of the American Defense-Harvard Group and a prominent member of the Roberts Commission. He retired in 1948.

DUNCAN, MCCLELLAN 2018

Further notice at: <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/paul-joseph-sachs>

Salvagno, Stefano (dates and places of birth and death unknown), assistant at the Superintendent Office of Trieste under Fausto Franco, was employed in excavations in Butrint (Albania) and in the creation of the local museum in 1937. During the Second World War he served in the Italian Navy and was in Zadar in Spring 1944, where he contributed to the protection of monuments, while also transferring 14 boxes with archaeological materials to Venice.

GOTTA 2017, p. 349; MLIKOTA 2012

Sattner, Hugolin (Novo mesto, 1851 - Ljubljana, 1934), a Franciscan monk, was a musician, composer and music teacher who organised and led many church choirs. During the First World War he was appointed Chairman of the Diocese Commission for Organs and Bells (*Diöcesankommission für Orgel und Glocken*) of Ljubljana.

KURET 1996; PREMRL 1960

Sbuelz, Raffaello (Tricesimo, 1854 - Udine, 1928), was an employee of the Technical Office of the Municipality of Udine, author of a map of the city. He was a member of an association of veterans (*Società dei reduci delle patrie battaglie*) established in 1877, becoming its secretary. He was a self-taught historian and a collector of objects related to 19th-century military history. In 1906, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the annexation of Friuli to Italy, he contributed to the establishment of the Museum of the Risorgimento of Udine, to which he donated part of his collection.

CERNO 2007; COMINO 1960, p. 103; RAFFAELLO SBUELZ 1928

Schneider, Artur (Zagreb, 1879 - Zagreb, 1946), was a Croatian art historian, music theoretician and art critic. He graduated in art history from the University of Vienna in 1902. In 1919 he was appointed director of the prints collection of the National University Library of Zagreb and professor of art history at the same university in 1922. From 1928 to 1946 he directed the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters. Between 1930 and 1941 he supervised inventorying and photographing campaigns of the architectural and art heritage of two Croatian regions, the Sava and the Littoral Banates (*Savska Banovina* and *Primorska Banovina*).

BACH 1996; SCHNEIDER 2019

Schott, Alberto (Trieste, 1880 - Auschwitz, after 15 November 1943), was a member of the General Board (*Consiglio Generale*) of one of the most important Italian insurance companies, the *Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà* (RAS). He also joined the private club *Circolo dell'Unione* and was among the promoters of an association of art collectors (*Comunità dei collezionisti d'arte*) established in Trieste in 1927 and promoted by the *Federazione fascista autonoma delle comunità artigiane d'Italia*. Together with other members, in 1929 he organized and arranged the first exhibition of the Association, *La Casa dei nostri nonni*, which presented reconstructions of 19th-century interiors.

DA DALT 2017

Schott, Enrico (Trieste, 1872 - Trieste, 1943), was an industrialist and eminent exponent of the cultural and musical life of Trieste, in contact with James Joyce and Cosima and Siegfried Wagner. Together with Salvatore Segré Sartorio he founded the Committee for musical performances (*Comitato per le esecuzioni musicali*) which promoted prestigious concerts (among others, of Gustav Mahler). He was also active in various cultural associations, such as the *Circolo Artistico*, the *Società di Minerva*, the *Schillerverein* (founded in 1859 in Trieste) and the *Brahms Gesellschaft* (founded in Berlin in 1906). A Jew, he was arrested on 17 November 1943. The circumstances of his death are not clear: either he was killed at Auschwitz or died of pneumonia at Trieste in December 1943 soon after having been released.

PAVLOVIĆ 2008

Schubert-Soldern, Fortunat von (Paris, 1867 - Vienna, 1953), studied law and was subsequently employed by the Austrian Ministry of Finance. In 1897 he started to study art history in Vienna, under Alois Riegl, and obtained his PhD from the University of Strasbourg. In 1899 he was appointed director of the *Kupferstichsammlung* in Dresden where he also directed the private library of King Albert of Saxony. From 1913 he joined the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*), becoming Chief of its *Staatsdenkmalamt* in 1917, holding this position until 1931.
BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 247-248.

Schwalm, Hans (Bremen, 1900 - Tübingen, 1992), studied geography, geology, art history, and economics at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, obtaining his PhD in 1925. From 1926 to 1932 he was scientific secretary of the Leipzig Foundation for Research on German Ethnic and Cultural Soil (*Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*) and in 1931 co-editor of the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, published in Wrocław between 1933 and 1938. A member of the Nazi Party from 1933, he worked for the SA in Kiel, where he also taught German folklore studies (*Deutsche Volkstumsforschung*) at the local university. Between 1936 and 1939 he was appointed head of the party district in the same city. From 1938 he worked for the *Ahnenerbe* organization and in 1940 was appointed member of the Commission for the Safeguarding of German Cultural Assets in Estonia (*Kommission zur Sicherstellung der deutschen Kulturgüter in Estland*) on behalf of the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture and of the *Reichsführer-SS*. From October 1941 to June 1942 he was head of the *Kulturkommission* attached to the German Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Issues in the Province of Ljubljana (*Deutscher Umsiedlungsbevollmächtigter für die Provinz Laibach*). From autumn 1942 to 1945 he was representative of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* in Norway within the Germanic Scholarly Mission (*Germanischer Wissenschaftseinsatz*). After the war he worked in urban planning and was a professor for East European geography at the University of Tübingen between 1959 and 1968.

HANDBUCH DER VÖLKISCHEN WISSENSCHAFTEN 2017, *passim*

Schweizer, Bruno (Dießen am Ammersee [Bavaria], 1897 - Dießen [Bavaria], 1958), was a German linguist, who became a member of, and worked for, the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, heading the Study Centre for Germanic Philology and Landscape Studies (*Forschungsstätte für germanische Sprachwissenschaft und Landschaftskunde*) from 1938. His research focused on German linguistic exclaves in Northern Italy. From October 1940 he headed the research team for dialects and onomastics within the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and was active in South Tyrol from October 1940 and temporarily, in November 1941, in the Province of Ljubljana (Kočevje). He continued his research also during the German occupation.

MW

Segre, Roberto (Turin, 1872 - Milan, 1936), was an Italian general during the First World War, subsequently becoming head of the Italian mission for the armistice in Vienna. He is remembered for his skill in mediating between Austrians and Yugoslavs in the dispute for the control over Carinthia in 1919. He also was a military historian.

ZARCONE 2014

Segrè Sartorio, Salvatore (Trieste, 1865 - Trieste, 1949), born into a Jewish family, married Anna Sartorio in 1907, heiress of an eminent family of art collectors. The Segrè Sartorio collection included a rare series of Tiepolo's drawings which were donated to the Town Museum of Trieste in 1910, but during the First World War were transferred to Ljubljana and only retrieved in 1941. Segrè Sartorio, manager and politician, was appointed senator in 1924 after joining the Fascist Party in 1919. Following the passing of the Italian racial laws (1938), Segrè Sartorio succeeded in obtaining the status of *discriminato*, i.e. exempt from anti-Jewish provisions, based of special services provided to the state or to Fascism. His wife Anna, who died in 1946, bequeathed her villa, including its contents and the art collection, to the city of Trieste.

RESCINITI 2017

Sella, Massimo (Monastero di S. Gerolamo [province of Biella], 1886 - Biella, 1959), graduated in natural sciences from the University of Rome in 1911 and served in the army during the First World War. He was then appointed director of the Institute for Marine Biology for the Adriatic Sea in Rovinj (1924-1943). After the Second World War he participated in the Commission for the delimitation of the Italo-Yugoslav sea borders.

MASSIMO SELLA 2015

Further notice at: <https://www.massimosella.it/images/sfogliabile/mobile/index.html>

Semetkowski, Walter von (Ptuj, 1886 - Knittelfeld [Styria], 1965), studied archaeology and early modern art history at the University of Graz under Josef Strzygowski, obtaining his PhD in archaeology in 1909. From 1913 he was active in the protection of monuments, becoming *Kunsthistorischer Landeskonservator* in Styria in 1920 and *Landeskonservator* in 1933. He maintained this position (which from April 1941 to April 1945 also included the territory of occupied Lower Styria) until 1948. He was member of several nationalist associations. In 1938 he applied for Nazi Party membership, which he was granted in 1941. From 1948 to 1951 he was deputy president of the Austrian Federal Antiquities Service (*Bundesdenkmalamt*), serving as honorary member from 1951 to 1958.

WEDEKIND 2019a

Sievers, Wolfram (Hildesheim, 1905 - Landsberg am Lech [Bavaria], 1948), publishing manager, was member of several extreme right-wing associations, joining the Nazi Party in 1929 and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the SS in 1935. In the same year Heinrich Himmler appointed him General Secretary (*Reichsgeschäftsführer*) of the *Ahnenerbe* organization. He was accused of crimes against humanity, put on trial in Nuremberg and executed in 1948.

KATER 2001

Siviero, Rodolfo (Guardistallo [Province of Pisa], 1911 - Florence, 1983), studied literature at the University of Florence. In the 1930s he was hired by Italy's secret services (*Servizio Informazioni Militare*) and joined the Fascist Party. In 1937, under the guise of a scholarship in art history, he was sent to Berlin to collect information on the Nazi regime. After 1943 he apparently changed his mind and collaborated with the partisans and with the Allied Forces. In 1946

the Italian Prime Minister appointed him 'minister plenipotentiary' and head of the diplomatic mission to Germany for the recovery of works of art looted during the Second World War. Until 1983 he worked for the Italian government, systematically researching artworks stolen and exported from Italy. In 1971 he also became president of the *Accademia delle arti del disegno* of Florence.

BOTTARI 2013

Someda de Marco, Carlo (Mereto di Tomba [Province of Udine], 1891 - Udine, 1975), was an Italian artist and art historian. He taught design at the academies of Modena and Venice and in 1931 was appointed director of the Town Museum of Udine. On 15 May 1940 the head of the Superintendent Office of Venezia Giulia, Fausto Franco, charged him with the protection of the art heritage of Friuli, the Julian March and Istria, and with the air protection of monuments in the Province of Udine. He also supervised the storage of artworks at the Villa Manin in Passariano (Province of Udine). During the five following years, Someda worked tirelessly for the defense of the art heritage of Friuli, both from war bombing and (from September 1943) from the risks of Nazi plunder. After the Second World War Someda de Marco, while continuing in his role as museum director, promoted the art and cultural heritage of Friuli through his research and by organizing several exhibitions.

CARLO SOMEDA 2006

Further notice at: <https://www.dolmenweb.net/somedademarco/page.php?l=en&id=18>

Stahuljak, Tihomil (Zagreb, 1918 - Zagreb, 2007), art historian and conservator, graduated in 1942 from the University of Zagreb and worked at the Conservation Institute of Croatia between 1941 and 1956. In the late 1950s he became lecturer in the theory and protection of cultural monuments at the University of Zagreb, where he established the Department for the Protection of Monuments.

Further notice at: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=57702>

Starzacher, Karl (Vienna, 1913 - Pordenone, 1945), studied history and was employed as an archivist in Klagenfurt. He joined the Nazi Party and the SS, becoming *Hauptsturmführer* in 1944. He worked with the Representative of the RKFdV for Upper Carniola in the field of archives, libraries, and museums. During the German occupation of the Adriatic Littoral he became Adviser (*Berater*) for the Province of Udine.

MW

Steinkühl, Bruno de (dates and places of birth and death unknown, presumably born in the first years of the 20th century), attended the *Scuola Reale Superiore* of Trieste between 1915 and 1921. An accountant, he acted as sequestrator of Jewish household goods in the port of Trieste, having been appointed by a Prefect's Decree of 11 May 1943. In 1953 the Allied Military Government (AMG) appointed him member of the Free Territory of Trieste Commission for Personal and Moveable Property Taxes (Administrative Order n. 60 of 14 September 1953).

Stele, France (Tunjice [Upper Carniola], 1886 - Ljubljana, 1972), one of the pioneers of Slovenian art history, studied under Max Dvořák at the University of Vienna, where he graduated in 1912 with a dissertation on medieval wall painting in Carniola. Since 1912 he worked at the Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments (*Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*) and was appointed Conservator for Carniola in 1913. Soon after the beginning of the First World War, he was captured by the Russian army. In 1919, when he was released from a Russian POW camp, he played an important role as head of the Office for monument protection of Slovenia, significantly contributing to the establishment and shaping of this service, which he directed until 1938. In 1940 he became a member of the (later Slovenian) Academy of Sciences and Arts, where he was head of the Philosophical-Philological-Historical Class from 1942 to 2 October 1945. In October 1944 German authorities appointed him monument conservator for the Province of Ljubljana. After the Second World War he worked for the Yugoslav restitution commission and was a member of the Yugoslav restitution delegation in Rome. From 1938 to 1957, when he retired, he was professor of art history at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. A member of many international societies, e.g. the *Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art* (CIHA) and the *Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art* (AICA), he was among the founders of the Slovenian section of the Pen Writers Club in 1926.

CEVC 1971; CEVC 1998; FRODL-KRAFT 1997; MUROVEC 2015; MUROVEC 2018

Sticotti, Piero (Vodnjan [Istria], 1870 - Trieste, 1953), archaeologist, graduated in classical philology and archaeology in Vienna in 1894. Since the early 20th century he largely excavated sites in Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro. In 1905 he was appointed Curator of the Town Museum (*Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte*) of Trieste, serving as its director from 1919 to 1940. He was a member of the Italian restitution mission to Vienna in 1919. He was the founder of the museum of the Risorgimento (*Museo di Storia Patria e del Risorgimento*) in 1925. He was a board member of several cultural associations, such as the *Società di Minerva* and the *Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, frequently contributing to their journals («Archeografo Triestino», which he directed until 1952, and «Atti e Memorie» respectively).
BRUSIN 1952-1953; PIERO STICOTTI 1953

Stilinović, Marijan (Sveta Nedelja [Croatia], 1904 - Zadar, 1959), was a Croatian journalist, politician, and member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After the Second World War he was ambassador in Prague and Buenos Aires.

STILINOVIĆ 1971

Stone, Harlan F. (Chesterfield [New Hampshire], 1872 - Washington, D.C., 1946), was an American lawyer and jurist. In 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him Chief Justice of the United States. He also was Chief of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art and Chancellor of the Smithsonian. In 1942 in a letter to Roosevelt he promoted the establishing of a presidential committee for the protection of monuments and art heritage in Europe, called the Roberts Commission.

FARMER 2000; UROFSKY 1997

Stupica, Anton (Moravci pri Mali Nedelji [Slovenia], 1900 - Šmarje pri Jelšah [Slovenia], 1973), after graduating from high school in 1920, studied art history in Ljubljana with Isidor Cankar, director of the National Gallery of Ljubljana, and later in Vienna and Prague. In 1945 he was appointed head of the district collecting centre of Celje and became director of the local museum in 1946, a position he retained until his retirement in 1964.

HRIBAR 1973

Šišić, Ferdo (Vinkovci [Slavonia], 1869 - Zagreb, 1940), was a Croatian historian and archivist. After graduating from the University of Zagreb, he worked as a high-school teacher from 1892 to 1902. He obtained his PhD in 1900. From 1906 to 1939 he was a university professor in Zagreb. From 1910 he was a member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and also a deputy at the Croatian Parliament (*Sabor*) from 1908 to 1911. From 1919 to 1920 he was a member of the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the Peace Conference in Paris, publishing extensively on Adriatic boundary issues. Because of his competences on archives and artworks, he was called as an expert in a special Italo-Yugoslav committee established in 1926 to discuss restitutions.

ŠIŠIĆ S.D.

Škodlar, Čoro (Franc) (Ljubljana, 1902 - Ljubljana, 1996), painter and restorer, before the Second World War worked as a journalist for the liberal newspaper «Jutro». In 1941 he joined the National Liberation Front, working in the field of culture and film propaganda. In 1943 he joined the partisans. After the war he was head of the Commission for evaluating war damages on cultural monuments (*Komisija za ugotavljanje kulturne škode*) of the Ministry of Education. In November 1945 he was appointed main secretary of the Federal Collecting Centre for Slovenia, but stepped down in 1946; in 1951 he was sentenced to eight years prison for stealing from the warehouse of the Collecting Centre. Later he lived as independent artist and restorer.

LAZARINI 2016; ŠKODLAR 1971; ZALAR 1999

Tamaro Forlati, Bruna (Grumello del Monte [Province of Bergamo], 1894 - Venice, 1987), was an Italian archaeologist of Istrian origin. After graduating at the Italian Archaeological School of Athens, she began working at the Superintendent Office of Trieste and was very active in the reorganization of the *Museo dell'Istria* in Pula, which opened in 1930. After marrying the head of the Superintendent Office Ferdinando Forlati, she moved with him to Venice in 1935, where she became director of the Archaeological Museum. She also taught archaeology at the University of Padua. After the Second World War, she was a member of the Commission for the restitution of cultural assets.

MATIJAŠIĆ 2005; RIGONI 2012

Thomaseth, Heinz Julius (Vienna, 1871 - place of death unknown, 1940), was keeper of the *Graphische Sammlung* of the Albertina at Vienna until 1918. He collaborated at the *Regesta Habsburgica* of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*). During the war he was member of the Austrian *Kunstschutzgruppe* in Friuli.

PERUSINI 2017, p. 202

Tietze, Hans (Prague, 1880 - New York, 1954), studied history, art history and archaeology in Vienna, obtaining his PhD in 1903. He also attended courses at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) and worked at the Austrian Historical Institute (*Österreichisches Historisches Institut*) in Rome. Since 1906, he was executive secretary of the Austro-Hungarian Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Art Works and Historical Monuments (*Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*). During the First World War, he was a member of the Austro-Hungarian *Kunstschutzgruppe* in charge of the protection of monuments in Friuli and adjacent areas, occupied by the Central Powers in 1917. After the war, the new government charged him with taking precautions against foreign claims for Austrian cultural assets, negotiating with the Italian Commission for Restitutions. He became vice-director of the Institute for Art History of the Austrian *Staatsdenkmalamt* and, from 1919 to 1925, was mostly engaged in the reorganization of Austrian museums. In the following years, Tietze focussed on research and university teaching, becoming a renowned art critic and promoter of contemporary art. Although he never became a full professor, he taught as a university lecturer of art history until 1937. While travelling in Italy in 1938, Tietze, who was born to an assimilated Jewish family, decided not to return to Austria. Together with his wife, the art historian Erika Conrat, he emigrated first to Britain and, in March 1939, to the USA, receiving US citizenship in 1944. Here he obtained only occasional guest professorships and collaborations with museums.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 272-273; KRAPP-WEILER 1999; WENDLAND 1999

Tkalčić, Vladimir (Zagreb, 1883 - Zagreb, 1971), was a Croatian art historian. He worked as a curator in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum (1907-1919) and in the Ethnographic Museum, becoming its director in 1927. He also directed the Museum of Arts and Crafts (1934-1952).

FLEGO 1996; TKALČIĆ 2019

Tolomei, Ettore (Rovereto [Province of Trento], 1865 - Rome, 1952), was a journalist, geographer, and politician. He promoted the annexation of South Tyrol by Italy and, after the First World War, its Italianization. In 1906 he founded the review «Archivio per l'Alto Adige». In 1919 he was appointed director of the office for the diffusion of the Italian language and culture (*Commissariato Lingua e Cultura per l'Alto Adige*). He was captured in early September 1943, interned in Dachau concentration camp and then moved to a sanatorium in Thuringia. His archive was partially sequestered by German authorities and transferred to Tyrol.

ETTORE TOLOMEI 1998; FRAMKE 1987

Topić Mimara, Ante (Korušce [Dalmatia], 1898 - Zagreb, 1987), was a Croatian art collector, art dealer and donor. He was engaged in the Yugoslav postwar restitution processes, acting as an adviser to the Yugoslav Military Mission in Berlin. Subsequently, for several decades, Topić Mimara was involved in numerous transfers of artworks across Europe and the Americas. The Mimara Museum was opened in Zagreb in 1987 to accommodate his collection of more than 3,000 artworks which he donated to the people of Croatia.

AKINSHA 2001; TOPIĆ MIMARA 2019

Trapp, Oswald (Amras, near Innsbruck, 1899 - Volders [Tyrol], 1988), studied history and art history at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna. From 1934 to 1959 he served as conservator for Tyrol and, from 1937 to 1948, as director of the regional museum Ferdinandeum. He was a member of the research team for art, museums and folk art within the *Kulturkommission* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, operating in South Tyrol.

OSWALD TRAPP 2013

Uiberreither, Siegfried (Salzburg, 1908 - Sindelfingen [Baden-Württemberg], 1984), attended high school in Salzburg and studied law in Graz, where he obtained his PhD in 1933, and then worked for a regional health insurance company in Styria. Uiberreither had been a member of nationalist and *völkisch* associations since the early 1920s, joining the Nazi Party in later years. He enrolled in the SA in 1931 (becoming SA-*Obergruppenführer* in 1943) and was appointed Regional Party Leader (*Gauleiter*) and head of the Provincial government (*Landeshauptmann*) of Styria in 1938. From October 1939 to July 1940, Uiberreither served in the army. He was nominated Chief of German Civil Administration in occupied Lower Styria in April 1941. In May 1945, he surrendered himself to the British Military Governor in Murnau (Styria). Uiberreither was interned in Dachau, in Nuremberg, where he appeared as a witness before the International Military Tribunal, and in Darmstadt. Arguably with the help of the US Secret Service, he managed to flee to Argentina so as to avoid being delivered to Yugoslavia. In later years, he lived under the false name of Schönharting in Sindelfingen.

KARNER 1994

Valenti, Rodolfo (Zadar, 1885 - died in Italy between 1951 and 1953), was an officer of the Prefecture of Zadar and honorary curator of the Museum of St Donatus from 1927 to 1934. In 1932 he published a catalogue of the Museum. After the Second World War he was chief of a «Comitato Dalmatico» of Italian refugees.

BRUNELLI 2016

Valmarin, Giuseppe (dates and places of birth and death unknown), was a physician and art collector. He contributed to the exhibition *La casa dei nostri nonni*, organized in 1929 by the Association of art collectors (*Comunità dei collezionisti d'arte*) established at Trieste in 1927 and promoted by the *Federazione fascista autonoma delle comunità artigiane d'Italia*. The name of his family is included in a list of Jewish collections sequestered by Nazi authorities in 1943.

Velikonja, Lenard (Narte) (Predmeja, 1891 - Ljubljana, 1945), was a writer and literary critic, who graduated in law from the University of Vienna in 1918. Since 1919 he served as an administrative lawyer in various provincial departments, becoming counsellor within the Provincial Department of Education. A fierce opponent to Communism already before the war, he collaborated with Leon Rupnik during the Fascist and Nazi occupations of Slovenia, when he was active in anti-Communist propaganda. On 24 January 1942 the Italian High Commissioner appointed him president of the Reliefs Charity *Družina* for the Province of Ljubljana. In May 1945, he was captured by the Secret Police (OZNA). In a trial he was found guilty of collaboration and sentenced to death; he was shot dead on 25 June.

DOLGAN, FRIDL, VOL 2014

Vigni, Giorgio (Siena, 1910 - Firenze, 1995), after obtaining his diploma at the University of Florence, served as inspector at the Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of Trieste from 1940 to the end of 1946, collaborating during the war with Carlo Someda de Marco. From 1947 to 1949 he rearranged the National Museum in Pisa and from 1949 to 1950 was head of the Superintendent Office for Galleries in Sicily. In 1958 he was appointed head of the Superintendent Office for Galleries in Rome (1958-1959), then central inspector at the General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of Public instruction.
SCUDERI 2007

Vodopivec, Vladimir (Gorizia, 1898 - Belgrade, 1994), graduated from high school in Ljubljana in 1916, attended the Austrian reserve officer school and served in the First World War. He joined the volunteer «fighters» of Rudolf Maister (*Maistrovi borci*) both in Lower Styria (November 1918) and Carinthia (November 1919). During the interwar period he served the Yugoslav army as head of the garrison of Delnice (today Croatia). During the occupation of Slovenia, he joined the partisans in Bela Krajina obtaining the rank of colonel. He became «komandant» of the city of Kočevje and fought both Italian and German occupation armies. In May 1945 he became the first military commander of Trieste under partisan rule. In 1946 he headed the Military Mission of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the Allied Council for Austria and afterwards held several posts in the Yugoslav Army.
DOLENC 1994; PRIMC 1995

Vrbanić, Ivana (Zagreb, 1925 - Zagreb, 2014), even before taking her degree in art history at the University of Zagreb in 1952, served as secretary of the Croatian Commission for the Gathering and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (KOMZA) and worked for the Zagreb Conservation Institute. After having worked at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Karlovac, she became director of the local town museum in 1952, a position she held until her retirement in 1973.
Božić 2014

Ward-Perkins, John Bryan (Bromley [Kent], 1912 - Cirencester [Gloucestershire], 1981), was a British archaeologist. After graduating in Oxford in 1934, he was appointed assistant at the London Museum. In 1939, he obtained the chair in archaeology at the University of Malta. During the Second World War, he served with the British army in North Africa, where he was in charge of the protection of archaeological sites at Leptis Magna and Sabratha. In May 1943, he was appointed deputy director of the Allied Sub-Commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives in Italy, playing an important role in the discovery of German art deposits in San Leonardo and in Campo Tures (South Tyrol), where paintings and other artworks from the Uffizi Gallery and of other Tuscan museums had been stored. From 1946 to his retirement in 1974, he was director of the British School at Rome, where he also became official advisor on art restitution issues to the British embassy.
RANIERI 2012

Further notice at: <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/ward-perkins-lt-col-john-bryan>

Weingartner, Josef (Dölsach [Tyrol], 1885 - Merano [South Tyrol], 1957), a pupil of Max Dvořák, was Secretary of the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments in Innsbruck from 1911 to 1915 and head of its Bolzano branch from 1915 to 1918.
BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 289-290; GADNER 2009

Wieser, Franz von (Kufstein [Tyrol], 1848 - Innsbruck, 1923), was an Austrian geographer, art historian and professor. He served as *Landeskonservator* and director of the Innsbruck regional museum Ferdinandeum.
BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, pp. 295-296

Witt, Robert (Camberwell [Surrey], 1872 - London, 1952), was an attorney and art collector. Together with Samuel Courtauld and Lee Hamilton, he founded the Courtauld Institute, to which he bequeathed his photographic archive. In 1903, he was among the founders of the National Art Collections Fund, which elected him as first honorary secretary, a role he kept until 1920, and as chairman from 1921 to 1945. From 1916, he was a Trustee of both the National and the Tate Gallery.
WITT 2019

Wolfram, Richard (Vienna, 1901 - Traismauer [Lower Austria], 1995), studied at the Universities of Vienna and Kiel, where he attended courses on German and Scandinavian studies and on art history, receiving his PhD in 1926. From 1928 to 1938 he was a lecturer for the Swedish language at the University of Vienna, with frequent visits to Scandinavia from 1934 to 1939. In this year he was appointed associate professor of Germanic and German folklore at the University of Vienna. From 1932 he had been an activist and member of the Nazi Party (banned in Austria from 1934). In 1938 Heinrich Himmler appointed him director of the Teaching and Research Institute for Germanic Folklore (*Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für germanisch-deutsche Volkskunde*) of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* in Salzburg. In 1940 and 1941 he collaborated with the cultural commissions of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, operating in South Tyrol and in Kočevje. He joined the Germanic Scholarly Mission (*Germanischer Wissenschaftseinsatz*) in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway. After the war he lost his position at the University, which he regained in 1954, serving as full professor at the University of Vienna from 1963 to 1971.
VÖLKISCHE WISSENSCHAFT 1994, *passim*

Wolkan, Rudolf (Přelouč [Bohemia], 1860 - Vienna, 1927), studied German literature in Prague and became professor and vice-director of the Viennese University Library. His research focused on Humanism and Reformation in Bohemian literature.
PERUSINI 2017, p. 202

Zaloziecki, Vladimir (Chernivtsi [Bukowina], 1884 - Yspres [Lower Austria], 1965), studied law at Chernivtsi University (PhD 1906) and then archaeology and art in Vienna, Paris, Munich, and Florence (PhD 1920). Recommended by Max Dvořák, he joined the Austrian Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments in Vienna in 1910, becoming co-editor of the

Commission's «Mitteilungen» (1914-1915). He had a special interest in landscape and nature protection (*Heimatschutz*). In the interwar period, having returned to his birthplace, he became known for his political activities, becoming leader of the National Ukraine Party, while continuing his studies on ethnography and art history. In 1944 he fled to Vienna, continuing his art historical studies.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 304.

Further notices: <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/366-Volodymyr-Zalozec%CA%BEkyj-Sas>

Zimmermann, Franz Xaver (Hopfgarten [Tyrol], 1876 - Klagenfurt, 1959), was an Austrian writer and historian. Having finished his studies at the German University of Prague, he served as a high school teacher in Moravia and, subsequently, in Gorizia (since 1908) and Klagenfurt (until 1923). He was an Austrian minister plenipotentiary to the Vatican between 1929 and 1938. During the German occupation of Italy, he was head of the Cultural Section within Department II (*Propaganda, Presse und Kultur*) of the German Adviser (*Berater*) for the Province of Gorizia and became a collaborator with the Klagenfurt-based Institute for Carinthian Regional Studies of the University of Graz (*Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung der Universität Graz in Klagenfurt*); during the same period, he ordered that the so-called Morelliano archive be transferred from Gorizia to Lusnizza (Val Canale), close to the German border. After the war he lived in Klagenfurt.

KITZMÜLLER 2011

Zlamalik, Vinko (Gradačac [Bosnia Herzegovina], 1923 - Zagreb, 1991), was a Croatian art historian and curator. He became director of the Zagreb Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters and was one of the founders of the Croatian Society of Art Historians. He co-curated the first exhibition of artworks from Topić Mimara's donation to the Strossmayer Gallery (Zagreb, 1969).

ZLAMALIK 2019

Zocconi, Mario (Judenburg [Austria], 1915 - Trieste, 1987), studied architecture at the University of Rome, taking his degree in 1939. From 1944 to 1945 the Superintendent Office of Trieste entrusted him with architectural surveys on monuments in Friuli and Trieste. Since 1953 he taught technical drawing at the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Trieste, also working as designer and builder. Later he was appointed director of the Surveying Office of the International Centre Andrea Palladio of Vicenza.

LA CITTÀ DELLE FORME 2004

Zorman, Ivan (Ljubljana, 1889 - Ljubljana, 1969), studied painting in Paris in 1908 and architecture in Prague from 1909 to 1914; here he was active in promoting students' cultural and publishing initiatives. Back to Ljubljana, during the First World War he ran his family business. Subsequently he took part in the cultural life of the city, in particular in the National Theatre and in the *Slovenska Matica*. A patron of artists, from 1918 to 1929 he was president of the National Gallery Society (*Društva Narodna galerija*), established in 1918, serving the National Gallery first as manager (until 1936) and then as director (until 1950).

MUNDA 1991

Zorzanello, Pietro (Arzignano [Province of Vicenza], 1883 - Venice, 1951), graduated from Padua University in 1907. In 1910 he began to work in State libraries. From 1927 to 1934 he was a director of the Palatina Library of Parma. Having refused to join the Fascist Party, Zorzanello was transferred to a lower position in the Marciana Library of Venice. After the Second World War, he was reintegrated as director of the Marciana, becoming head of the Superintendent Office for Libraries of the Veneto region in 1948, when he also was appointed member of the Italian Delegation negotiating restitution issues with Yugoslavia.

DE GREGORI 1999b

Zykan, Josef (Vienna, 1901 - Vienna, 1971), graduated in theology and law from the University of Vienna in 1923 and later studied art history under Josef Strzygowski, obtaining his PhD in 1933. In the same year he co-founded the Society for Comparative Art Research (*Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung*). He became an official of the Austrian Central Office for Monument Protection (*Zentralstelle für Denkmalschutz*) in Vienna in 1937, in charge of architecture and ecclesiastical art. After the war, he was nominated *Landeskonservator* for Vienna (1945-1951; in charge of ecclesiastical buildings from 1951 to 1966), Lower Austria (1945-1962) and Burgenland (1945-1947). From 1945 to 1966 he also was head of conservation works at the *Bundesdenkmalamt*.

BRÜCKLER, NIMETH 2001, p. 309; FRODL-KRAFT 1997, p. 442

CONCORDANCE OF PLACE NAMES

This list comprises those places which, due to changes of borders, are mentioned in documents with different names.

Alto Adige/Südtirol [South Tyrol]
Blansko/Blanz (CZ)
Boštanj/Savenstein
Brač/Brazza
Bresternica/Tresternitz
Brežice/Rann
Buzet/Pinguente
Celje/Cilli
Chernivtsi/Cernăuți/Czernowitz (UA)
Cres/Cherso
Gdańsk/Danzig (PL)
Gorenjska/Oberkrain [Upper Carniola]
Gorizia/Gorica/Görz
Hvar/Lesina
Izola/Isola
Jurandvor/San Giorgio
Katowice/Kattowitz (PL)
Kobarid/Caporetto/Karfeit
Kočevje/Gottschee
Kočevsko/Gottschee
Kostanjevica/Castagnevizza
Krk/Veglia
Labin/Albona
Lastovo/Lagosta
Ljubljana/Laibach/Lubiana
Łódź/Lodz (PL)
Lošinj/Lussino
Luka Baroš/Porto Baross

Maribor/Marburg an der Drau
Međimurje/Muraköz
Motovun/Montona
Nezakcij/Nesazio (Nesactium)
Novigrad/Cittanova
Opatje selo/Oppachiasella
Olszyna/Langenöls
Pag/Pago
Palagruža/Pelagosa
Pazin/Pisino
Piran/Pirano
Postojna/Postumia/Adelsberg
Poznań/Posen (PL)
Prekmurje/Muravidék/Übermurgebiet
Ptuj/Pettau
Pula/Pola
Rijeka/Fiume
Rogatec/Rohitsch
Slovenj Gradec/Windischgraz
Sinj/Signo
Siusi allo Sciliar/Seis am Schlern
Slovenska Bistrica/Windisch Feistritz
Split/Spalato
Slovenska Štajerska/Untersteiermark [Lower Styria]
Strnišče/Sternthal
Sušak/Sussak
Teharje/Tüchern
Trieste/Trst/Triest
Val Canale/Kanalska dolina/Kanaltal
Vis/Lissa
Vodnjan/Dignano
Wrocław/Breslau (PL)
Zadar/Zara

APPENDIX 1

TIME, PLACES, BORDERS: AN OVERVIEW

The following timelines refer to some sites of the Alpine-Adriatic region and allow to visualize changes of statal and administrative affiliations. Sites have been chosen according both to their importance as capitals of Provinces and regions and to their exemplarity as border places which underwent frequent changes. The timespan is from 1861 (establishment of the Kingdom of Italy – in order to include the pre-First World War period) to 1991 (establishment of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia).

		1918	1919	1941	1945	1991
MURSKA SOBOTA	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	III-VI/1919: "Republic of Prekmurje"	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Hungary (Regency)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	PREKMURJE, SLOVENIA		<i>Province of Vas, District of Muraszombat</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>		annexed to Hungary <i>District of Vas</i>
		1918	1919	1941	1945	1991
FIKŠINCI	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	III-VI/1919: "Republic of Prekmurje"	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	German Reich	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	PREKMURJE, SLOVENIA		<i>Province of Vas, District of Muraszombat</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>		annexed to the German Reich <i>(Reichs-) Gau of Styria</i>
		1918	1938	1945	1955	
GRAZ	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council		Republic of Austria	German Reich	Republic of Austria	
	STYRIA, AUSTRIA		<i>Duchy of Styria, Town with own Statute</i>	<i>Land of Styria</i>		<i>(Reichs-) Gau of Styria</i>
		1918	1941	1945	1991	
MARIBOR	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council		Kingdom of Yugoslavia	(German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	ŠTAJERSKA, SLOVENIA		<i>Duchy of Styria, Town with own Statute</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>		<i>Lower Styria</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)

		1918	1941	1945	1991
KRANJ KRANJSKA, SLOVENIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	(German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	<i>Duchy of Carniola, District Commission of Kranj</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>	<i>Occupied Territories of Carinthia and Carniola</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	1945-1946: <i>Federal Slovenia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Slovenia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Slovenia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Slovenia</i>	

		1918	1941	1943	1945	1991
LJUBLJANA KRANJSKA, SLOVENIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	<i>Duchy of Carniola, Town with own Statute</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>	<i>Province of Ljubljana</i> annexed to Italy	<i>OZAK</i> <i>Province of Ljubljana</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	1945-1946: <i>Federal Slovenia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Slovenia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Slovenia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Slovenia</i>	

		1918	1943	1945
FUSINE IN VALROMANA FRIULI, ITALY	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Republic of Italy
	<i>Duchy of Carniola, District Commission of Radovljica</i>	1918-1923: <i>Province of Udine</i> 1923-1940: <i>Province of Friuli</i> since 1940: <i>Province of Udine</i>	<i>OZAK</i> <i>Province of Udine</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	<i>Province of Udine</i>

		1918	1938	1945	1955
KLAGENFURT CARINTHIA, AUSTRIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Republic of Austria	German Reich	Republic of Austria	
	<i>Duchy of Carinthia, Town with own Statute</i>	<i>Land of Carinthia</i>	<i>(Reichs)-Gau of Carinthia</i>	<i>British Military Occupation</i>	<i>Land of Carinthia</i>
		1918	1938	1945	1953
LIENZ TYROL, AUSTRIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Republic of Austria	German Reich	Republic of Austria	
	<i>Princely County of Tyrol, District Commission of Lienz</i>	<i>Land of Tyrol</i>	since VII/1938: <i>(Reichs)-Gau of Carinthia</i>	<i>British Military Occupation</i>	since 1947: <i>Land of Tyrol</i>
		1918	1943	1945	
BOLZANO ALTO ADIGE, ITALY	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	German Reich	Republic of Italy	
	<i>Princely County of Tyrol, Town with own Statute</i>		1919-1922: <i>General Civilian Commission for Trentino-Alto Adige</i> 1923-1927: <i>Province of Trento</i> 1927-1943: <i>Province of Bolzano</i>		
<i>Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills, Province of Bolzano</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)		<i>Province of Bolzano</i> since 1972: <i>Autonomous Province of Bolzano</i>			

		1918	1941	1942	1945	1991
DRAVOGRAD KOROŠKA, SLOVENIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	(German Reich)	German Reich	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	<i>Duchy of Carinthia, District Commission of Spittal</i>	1920-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1941: <i>Drava Region</i>	<i>Occupied Territories of Carinthia and Carniola semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)</i>	<i>(Reichs)-Gau of Carinthia</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal Slovenia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Slovenia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Slovenia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Slovenia</i>	

		1918	1943	1945
TARVISIO FRIULI, ITALY	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Republic of Italy
	<i>Duchy of Carinthia, District Commission of Villach</i>	1918-1923: <i>Province of Udine</i> 1923-1940: <i>Province of Friuli</i> since 1940: <i>Province of Udine</i>	<i>OZAK Province of Udine semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)</i>	<i>Province of Udine</i>

		1918	1943	1945
GORIZIA VENEZIA GIULIA, ITALY	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy 1919-1923: <i>Province of Gorizia</i> 1923-1927: <i>Province of Friuli</i> since 1927: <i>Province of Gorizia</i>	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Republic of Italy <i>Province of Gorizia</i>
	<i>Austrian Littoral (Crownland of Gorizia and Gradisca), Town with own Statute</i>		<i>OZAK Province of Gorizia</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	
		1866	1943	1945
UDINE FRIULI, ITALY	till 1866: Austro-Hungarian Empire	Kingdom of Italy 1866-1923: <i>Province of Udine</i> 1923-1940: <i>Province of Friuli</i> since 1940: <i>Province of Udine</i>	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Republic of Italy <i>Province of Udine</i>
			<i>OZAK Province of Udine</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	
		1866	1943	1945
VENICE VENETO, ITALY	till 1866: Austro-Hungarian Empire	Kingdom of Italy <i>Province of Venice</i>	Italian Social Republic Republic	Republic of Italy <i>Province of Venice</i>
			<i>Province of Venice</i>	

1918		1943	1945	1991	
POSTOJNA NOTRANJSKA, SLOVENIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	<i>Duchy of Carniola, District Commission of Postojna</i>		1918-1919: <i>Governorate of the Julian March</i> 1919-1922: <i>General Civilian Commission for the Julian March</i> since 1923: <i>Province of Trieste</i>		

1918		1943	1945	1947	1954	
TRIESTE VENEZIA GIULIA, ITALY	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	1945-1947: Allied Military Government (Zone A)	1947-1954: Free Territory of Trieste (Zone A)	Republic of Italy
	<i>Austrian Littoral (Crownland of Trieste), Reichsunmittelbare Stadt (directly subordinate to the Emperor)</i>		1918-1919: <i>Governorate of the Julian March</i> 1919-1922: <i>General Civilian Commission for the Julian March</i> since 1923: <i>Province of Trieste</i>			

		1918	1943	1945	1947	1954	1991	
KOPER ISTRIA, SLOVENIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy		Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	1945-1947: Allied Military Government (Zone B)	1947-1954: Free Territory of Trieste (Zone B)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia
	<i>Austrian Littoral (Crownland of Istria), District Commission of Koper</i>	1918-1919: <i>Governorate of the Julian March</i> 1919-1922: <i>General Civilian Commission for the Julian March</i> since 1923: <i>Province of Trieste</i>		<i>OZAK Province of Trieste</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)			1945-1946: <i>Federal Slovenia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Slovenia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Slovenia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Slovenia</i>	

		1918	1919	1920	1924	1943	1945	1991
RIJEKA KVARNERSKO PRIMORIJE, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	1918-1919: Provisional Allied Military Administration	1919-1920: Italian Regency of Carnaro	1920-1924: Free State of Rijeka	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Corpus Separatum, Royal Free City of Rijeka</i>				<i>Province of Rijeka</i>	<i>OZAK Province of Rijeka</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

		1918	1919	1920	1924	1941	1943	1945	1991
SUŠAK KVARNERSKO PRIMORJE, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	1918-1919: Provisional Allied Military Administration	Italian Regency of Carnaro	1920-1924: Free State of Rijeka	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Province of Modrus-Rijeka, District of Sušak</i>				1924-1929: <i>Province of Karlovac</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>	<i>Province of Rijeka</i>	<i>OZAK Province of Rijeka</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)		
								1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

		1918	1920	1941	1943	1945	1991
KRK KVARNERSKO PRIMORJE, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic (German Reich)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Austrian Littoral (Crownland of Istria), District Commission of Lošinj</i>						
						1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

1918		1943	1945	1991	
CRES KVARNERSKO PRIMORJE, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy	Italian Social Republic	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
			(German Reich)		
	<i>Austrian Littoral (Crownland of Istria), District Commission of Lošinj</i>	1918-1919: <i>Governorate of the Julian March</i> 1919-1922: <i>General Civilian Commission for the Julian March</i> since 1923: <i>Province of Pula</i>	<i>OZAK</i> <i>Province of Pula</i> semi-annexed to the German Reich (German Civilian Administration)	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

1918		1941	1943	1945	1991	
RAB KVARNERSKO PRIMORJE, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Italy	Independent State of Croatia	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Dalmazia, District Commission of Zadar</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Karlovac</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>	<i>Province of Rijeka</i>	1943-1944: <i>Vinodol-Podgorje</i> 1944-1945: <i>Sidraga-Ravni Kotari</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

1918		1941	1945	1991	
PAG DALMATIA, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Independent State of Croatia	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Dalmatia, District Commission of Zadar</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Karlovac</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>	1941-1944: <i>Vinodol-Podgorje</i> 1944-1945: <i>Sidraga-Ravni Kotari</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

		1918	1941	1945	1991	
KARLOBAG	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	Kingdom of Yugoslavia		Indipendent State of Croatia	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Province of Lika-Krbava, District of Gospić</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Karlovac</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>		<i>Vinodol-Podgorje</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	
		1918	1941	1943	1945	1991
ZADAR	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy		Italian Social Republic	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Dalmatia, District Commission of Zadar</i>	<i>Province of Zadar</i>		<i>Province of Zadar since XI/1944 under Yugoslav control</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	
		1918	1941	1943	1945	1991
ŠIBENIK	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Yugoslavia		Kingdom of Italy	Independent State of Croatia	Yugoslavia
	<i>Kingdom of Dalmatia, District Commission of Šiben</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Split</i> 1929-1939: <i>Littoral Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>		<i>Governorate of Dalmatia, Province of Zadar</i>	<i>Bribir</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>

		1918	1941	1943	1945	1991		
LASTOVO DALMATIA, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy		Italian Social Republic	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia		
	<i>Kingdom of Dalmatia District Commission of Korčula</i>	<i>Province of Zadar</i>		1941-1943: <i>Governorate of Dalmatia, Province of Split</i>	since IX/1943 under control of partisans <i>Province of Split</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>		
		1861	1873	1918	1941	1943	1945	1991
PALAGRUŽA DALMATIA, CROATIA	Kingdom of Italy	Austro-Hungarian Empire The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	Kingdom of Italy		Italian Social Republic	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia	
	Province of Foggia	<i>Kingdom of Dalmatia, District Commission of Hvar</i>	<i>Province of Zadar</i>		1941-1943: <i>Governorate of Dalmatia, Province of Split</i>	since IX/1944 under British control <i>Province of Split</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

		1918	1941	1945	1991
ZAGREB, CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Independent State of Croatia	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, Town with own Statute</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Zagreb</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>	separate administrative entity with the status of a county directly subordinate to the Government	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

		1918	1941	1945	1991
ČAKOVEC, MEDIMURJE CROATIA	Austro-Hungarian Empire Kingdom of Hungary	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kingdom of Hungary (Regency)	Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia
	<i>Province of Zala, District of Čakovec</i>	1918-1922: former administrative districts maintained 1922-1929: <i>Province of Maribor</i> 1929-1939: <i>Sava Region</i> 1939-1941: <i>Croatian Region</i>	annexed to Hungary <i>District of Zala</i>	1945-1946: <i>Federal State of Croatia</i> 1946-1963: <i>People's Republic of Croatia</i> 1963-1990: <i>Socialist Republic of Croatia</i> 1990-1991: <i>Republic of Croatia</i>	

Correspondence Table of Political and Administrative Units Used in Timelines

Name used in timeline	Official name translated into English	Original terminology in				
		Croatian	German	Hungarian	Italian	Slovenian
Austrian Littoral		Austrijsko Primorje	Österreichisches Küstenld.	Osztrák Tengermellék	Litorale Austriaco	Avstrijska Primorska
Austro-Hungarian Empire		Austro-Ugarska Monarhija	Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie	Osztrák-magyar monarchia	Impero Austro-Ungarico	Avstro-Ogrska Monarhija
Croatian Region <i>see Region</i>						
Crownland of	Crown land	Krunska zemlja	Kronland		Terra della Corona	Kronska zemlja
- Gorizia and Gradisca	Princely County of Gorizia and Gradisca		Gefürstete Grafschaft Görz und Gradisca		Contea Principesca di Gorizia e Gradisca	Poknežena grofija Goriška in Gradišćanska
- Istria	Margraviate of Istria	Markgrofovija Istra	Markgrafschaft Istrien		Margraviato d'Istria	Mejna grofovija Istra
- Trieste	Imperial Free City of Trieste and its Suburbs		Reichsunmittelbare Stadt Triest und ihr Gebiet		Città imperiale di Trieste e dintorni	Svobodno cesarsko mesto Trst z okolico
District of		<i>(kotar)</i>	Bezirk	<i>(járás)</i>		<i>(okraj)</i>
- Čakovec		Čakovečki kotar	- Csakathurn	Csáktornyai járás		
- Gospić		Gospički kotar	- Gospić	Gospići járás		
- Muraszombat			- Olsnitz	Muraszombati járás		Soboški okraj
- Sušak		Sušački kotar	- Sussak	Sušaki járás		
District Commission of		Kotarsko poglavarstvo	Bezirkshauptmannschaft		Capitanato distrettuale di	Okrajno glavarstvo
- Hvar		- Hvar	- Lesina		- Lesina	
- Koper			- Capodistria		- Capodistria	- Koper
- Korčula		- Korčula	- Curzola		- Curzola	
- Kranj			- Krainburg		- Krainburg	- Kranj
- Lienz			- Lienz		- Lienz	
- Lošinj		- Lošinj	- Lussino		- Lussino	
- Postojna			- Edelsberg		- Postumia	- Postojna
- Radovljica			- Radmannsdorf		- Radmannsdorf	- Radovljica
- Spittal			- Spittal		- Spittal	
- Šibenik		- Šibenik	- Sebenico		- Sebenico	
- Villach			- Villach		- Villach	
- Zadar		- Zadar	- Zara		- Zara	

Name used in timeline	Official name translated into English	Original terminology in				
		Croatian	German	Hungarian	Italian	Slovenian
Drava Region <i>see Region</i>						
Duchy of			Herzogtum			Vojvodina
- Carinthia			- Kärnten			- Koroška
- Carniola			- Krain			- Kranjska
- Styria			- Steiermark			- Štajerska
Federal Slovenia						Federalna Slovenija
Federal State of Croatia		Federalna Država Hrvatska				
Free State of Rijeka		Slobodna Država Rijeka			Libero Stato di Fiume	
Free Territory of Trieste					Libero Territorio di Trieste	Svobodno tržaško ozemlje
General Civilian Commission for					Commissariato generale civile per la	
- the Julian March					- Venezia Giulia	Generalni civilni komisariat za Julijsko krajino
- Trentino-Alto Adige	General Civilian Commission for Tridentine Venetia		Ziviles Generalkommissariat für die Venezia Tridentina		- Venezia Tridentina	
Governorate of					Governatorato	
- Dalmatia		Guvernerat Dalmacije			- di Dalmazia	
- the Julian March (1918-1919)					- della Venezia Giulia	
Independent State of Croatia		Nezavisna Država Hrvatska				
Italian Regency of Carnaro		Talijanska uprava za Kvarner			Reggenza italiana del Quarnaro	
Italian Social Republic					Repubblica Sociale Italiana	

Name used in timeline	Official name translated into English	Original terminology in				
		Croatian	German	Hungarian	Italian	Slovenian
Kingdom of						
- Croatia and Slavonia		Kraljevina Hrvatska i Slavonija	Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien	Horvát-Szlavón Királyság	Regno di Croazia e Slavonia	
- Dalmatia		Kraljevina Dalmacija	Königreich Dalmatien	Dalmát Királyság	Regno di Dalmazia	
- Hungary	The Lands of the Crown of St Stephen	Zemlje krune svetog Stjepana	Länder der Heiligen Ungarischen Stephanskrone	Szent István Koronájának Országai		Dežele krone sv. Štefana
- Hungary (Regency)				Magyar Királyság		
- Italy	Kingdom of Italy				Regno d'Italia	
- Yugoslavia						
- 1921-1929	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca				Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev
- 1929-1941	Kingdom of Yugoslavia	Kraljevina Jugoslavija				Kraljevina Jugoslavija
Land of			Bundesland			
- Carinthia			- Kärnten			Zvezna dežela Koroška
- Styria			- Steiermark			
- Tyrol			- Tirol			
The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council	The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial Council		Die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder		I regni e le terre rappresentate nel Concilio imperiale	Kraljestva in dežele zastopane v Državnem zboru
Littoral Region <i>see Region</i>						
Lower Styria (Zone of Civilian Administration)			Untersteiermark (Zivilverwaltungsgebiet)			Spodnja Štajerska (območje civilne uprave)
Occupied Territories of Carinthia and Carniola (Zone of Civilian Administration)			Besetzte Gebiete Kärntens und Krains (Zivilverwaltungsgebiet)			Zasedena ozemlja Koroške in Kranjske (območje civilne uprave)
Operational Zone of the			Operationszone		Zona di operazione	
- Adriatic Littoral (OZAK)		Operativna zona Jadransko primorje	- Adriatisches Küstenld.		- del Litorale adriatico	Operacijska zona Jadransko primorje
- Alpine Foothills			- Alpenvorland		- delle Prealpi	

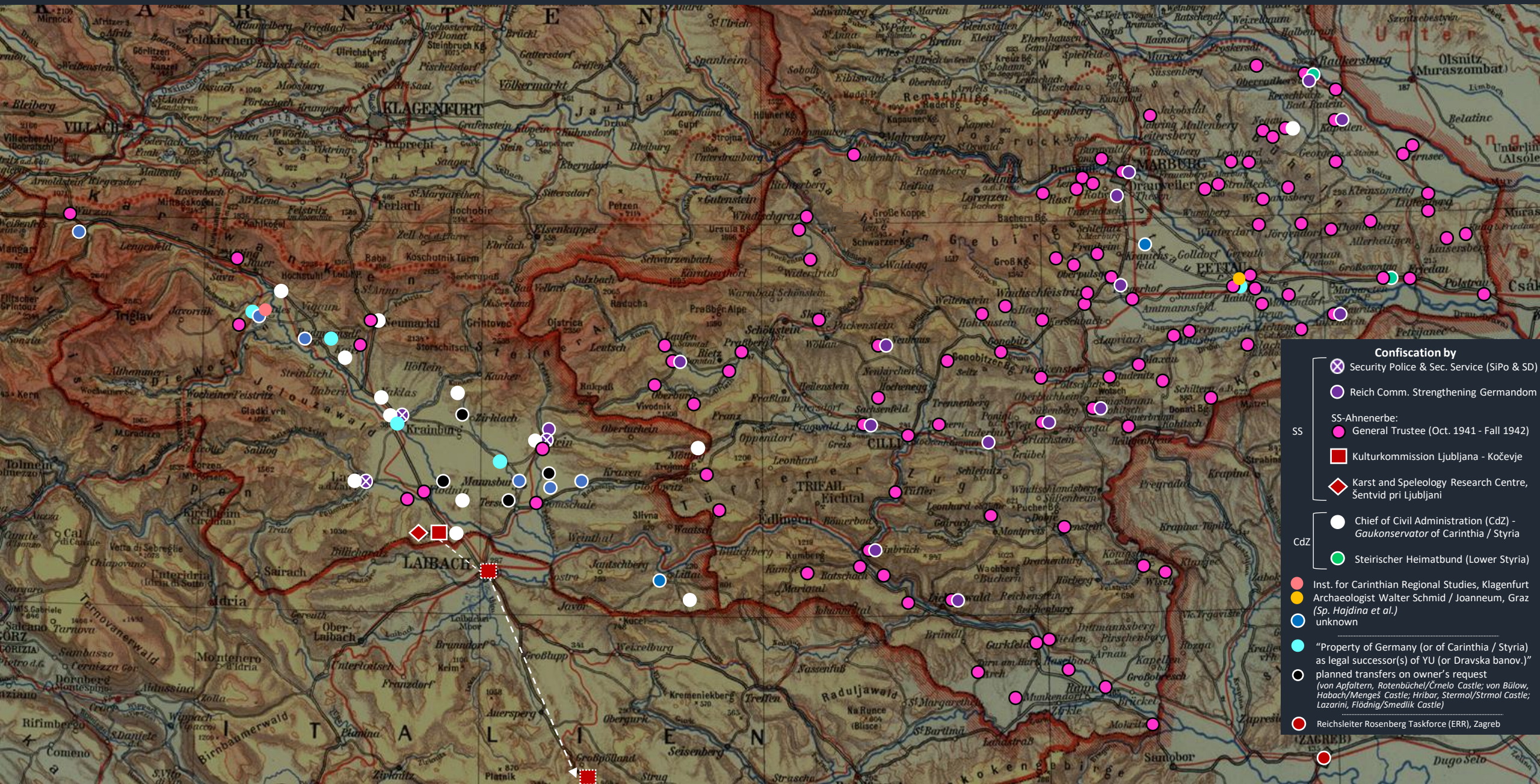
Name used in timeline	Official name translated into English	Original terminology in				
		Croatian	German	Hungarian	Italian	Slovenian
People's Republic of						
- Croatia		Narodna Republika Hrvatska				
- Slovenia						Ljudska Republika Slovenija
Princely County of Tyrol			Gefürstete Grafschaft Tirol		Contea principesca del Tirolo	
Province [Hungary] of		<i>(županija)</i>	Komitat	<i>(vármegye)</i>		<i>(županija)</i>
- Lika-Krbava		Ličko-krbavska županija	- Lika-Krbava	Lika-Krbava vármegye		
- Modrus-Rijeka		Modruško-riječka županija	- Modruš-Fiume	Modrus-Fiume vármegye		
- Vas		Željezna županija	- Eisenburg	Vas vármegye		Željezna županija
- Zala		Zalska županija	- Zala	Zala vármegye		
Province [Italy] of			Provinz		Provincia di / (* del)	
- Bolzano			- Bozen		- Bolzano	
- Gorizia			- Görz		- Gorizia	
- Foggia					- Foggia	
- Friuli (1923-1940)					- Friuli*	
- Ljubljana (1941-1943/45)			- Laibach		- Lubiana	Ljubljanska pokrajina
- Pula			- Pola		- Pola	
- Rijeka			- Fiume		- Fiume	
- Trento			- Trient		- Trento	
- Trieste			- Triest		- Trieste	
- Udine			- Udine		- Udine	
- Venice					- Venezia	
- Zadar					- Zara	
Province [Yugoslavia] of						
- Karlovac		Karlovačka oblast				
- Ljubljana						Ljubljanska oblast
- Maribor						Mariborska oblast
- Split		Splitska oblast				
- Zagreb		Zagrebačka oblast				

Name used in timeline	Official name translated into English	Original terminology in				
		Croatian	German	Hungarian	Italian	Slovenian
Region [Yugoslavia]						
Croatian Region		Banovina Hrvatska				Banovina Hrvaška
Drava Region		Dravska banovina				Dravska banovina
Littoral Region		Primorska banovina				Primorska banovina
Sava Region		Savska banovina				Savska banovina
Republic of			Republik Österreich			
- Austria						
- Croatia		Republika Hrvatska			Repubblica Italiana	
- Italy						
- Prekmurje				Vendvidéki Köztársaság		Republika Prekmurje
- Slovenia						Republika Slovenija
Royal Free City of Rijeka		Slobodni kraljevski grad Rijeka	Königliche Freistadt Fiume	Szabad királyi város Fiume	Regia città di Fiume	
Reichsunmittelbare Stadt <i>see Crownland of Trieste</i>						
Sava Region <i>see Region</i>						
Socialist Republic of						
- Croatia		Socijalistička Republika Hrvatska				
- Slovenia						Socialistična Republika Slovenija
Town with own Statute						
- in Austria			Stadt mit eigenem Statut		Città con statuto proprio	Mesto z lastnimi pravili
- in Hungary	Municipal city		Munizipalstadt	Törvényhatósági jogú város		
Yugoslavia						
- 1945-1963	Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia	Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija				Federativna Ljudska Republika Jugoslavija
- 1963-1992	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija				Socialistična Federativna Republika Jugoslavija

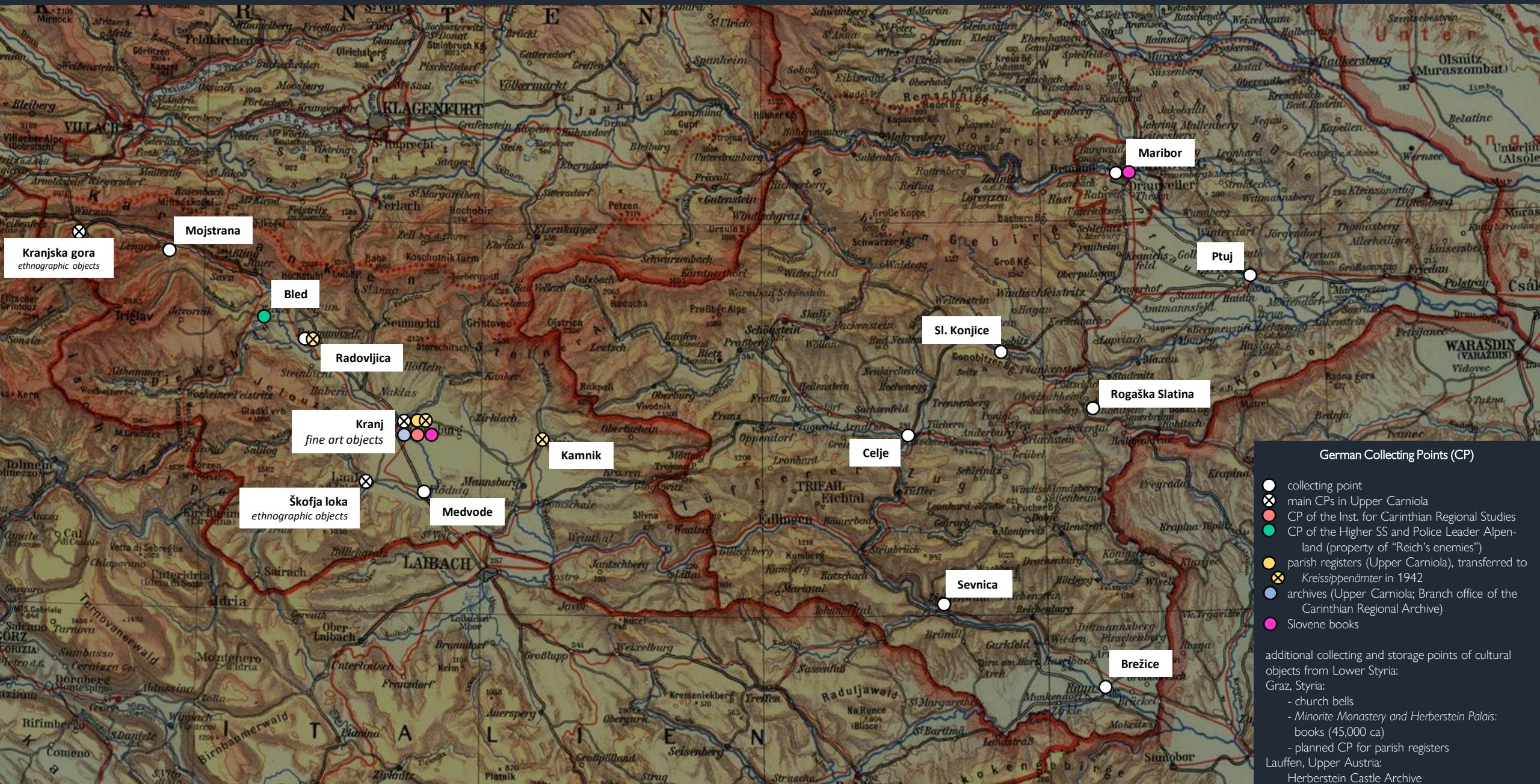
APPENDIX 2

MAPS 1939-1945

Occupied Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (1941-45): Seizing Movable and Immovable Cultural Heritage



Occupied Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (1941-45): German Collecting and Storage Points



Kranjska gora
ethnographic objects

Mojstrana

Bled

Radovljica

Kranj
fine art objects

Škofja loka
ethnographic objects

Medvode

Kamnik

Celje

Sevnica

Maribor

Ptuj

Rogaška Slatina

Brežice

German Collecting Points (CP)

- collecting point
- ⊗ main CPs in Upper Carniola
- ⊗ CP of the Inst. for Carinthian Regional Studies
- CP of the Higher SS and Police Leader Alpenland (property of "Reich's enemies")
- parish registers (Upper Carniola), transferred to
- ⊗ Kreisspindenämter in 1942
- archives (Upper Carniola; Branch office of the Carinthian Regional Archive)
- Slovene books

additional collecting and storage points of cultural objects from Lower Styria:

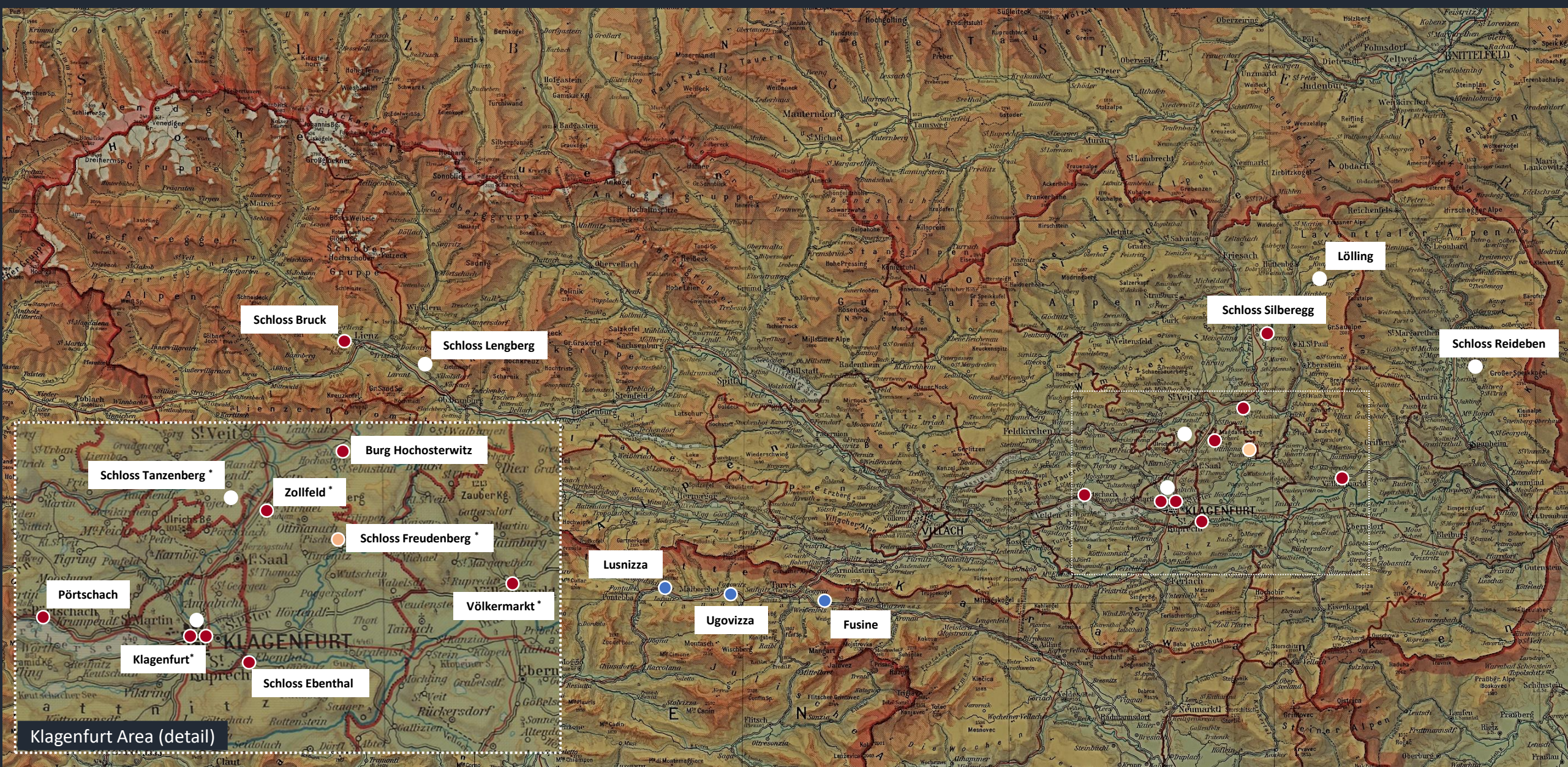
Graz, Styria:

- church bells
- Minorite Monastery and Herberstein Palais: books (45,000 ca)
- planned CP for parish registers

Lauffen, Upper Austria:

- Herberstein Castle Archive

Carinthia (then Germany) and Canal Valley (Italy): Collecting and Storage Points (1943-45)



● Schloss Bruck

● Schloss Lengberg

● Schloss Silbereg

● Schloss Reideben

● Burg Hochosterwitz

● Schloss Tanzenberg *

● Zollfeld *

● Schloss Freudenberg *

● Lusnizza

● Ugovizza

● Fusine

● Klagenfurt

● Pörschach

● Klagenfurt *

● Schloss Ebenthal

Klagenfurt Area (detail)

● collecting and storage point

● collecting and storage point of goods from Trieste

● storage point of cultural goods from the "Adriatic Littoral", except Trieste

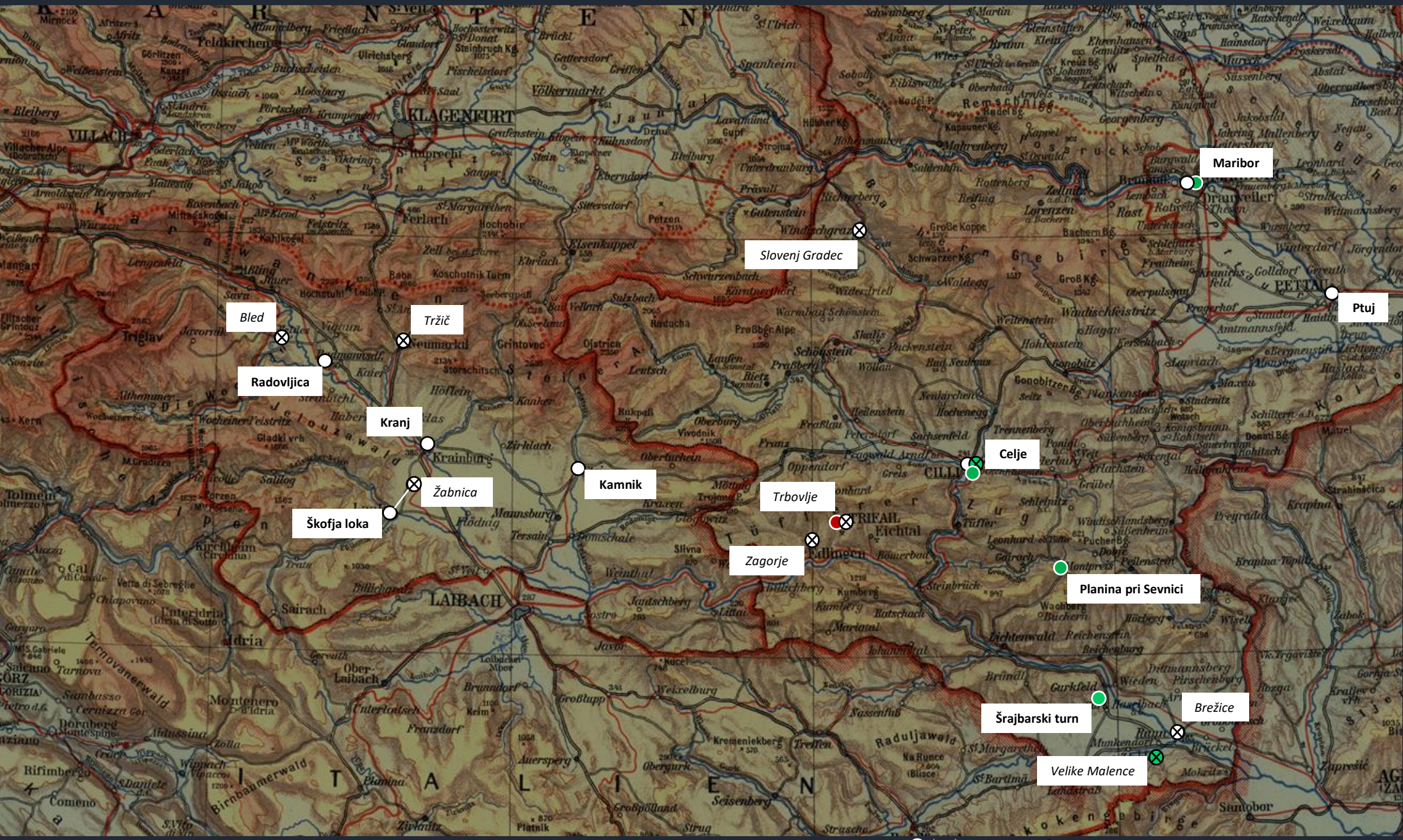
● Canal Valley storage points of goods from the "Adriatic Littoral"

* Klagenfurt: Reichsgauarchiv
* Schloss Tanzenberg
(books from Dutch and Belgian libraries)

* Klagenfurt: Dorotheum; Landesbergeamt
* Völkermarkt: Bergeamt
* Zollfeld: Gauleitung

* Schloss Freudenberg
(Princely Thum and Taxis library from Duino)

Occupied Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (1941-45): Envisioning the Invisible - Showcasing New Identities



Monuments, statues, plaques etc. (Re-) Erection

Celje (Cilli)

- Statue to Emperor Joseph II
- Memorial plaque to Joh. Gabr. Seidl
- Planned memorial grove dedicated to fallen German soldiers

Maribor (Marburg)

- Statue to Archduke John of Austria
- Statue to Adm. Wilh. v. Tegetthoff
- Memorial stone to Fr. Ludw. Jahn

Planina pri Sevnici (Montpreis)

- Memorial plaque to writer Anna Wambrechtsamer

Šrajbarski turn (Thurn am Hart)

- Anastasius Grün Mausoleum

Velika Nedelja (Großsonntag)

- Planned transformation of Castle Chapel into a commemoration room dedicated to the Teutonic Order

Velike Malence (Groß-Malenitz)

- Planned consecration site dedicated to Germans resettling from Kočevje

Demolition, elimination, replacement

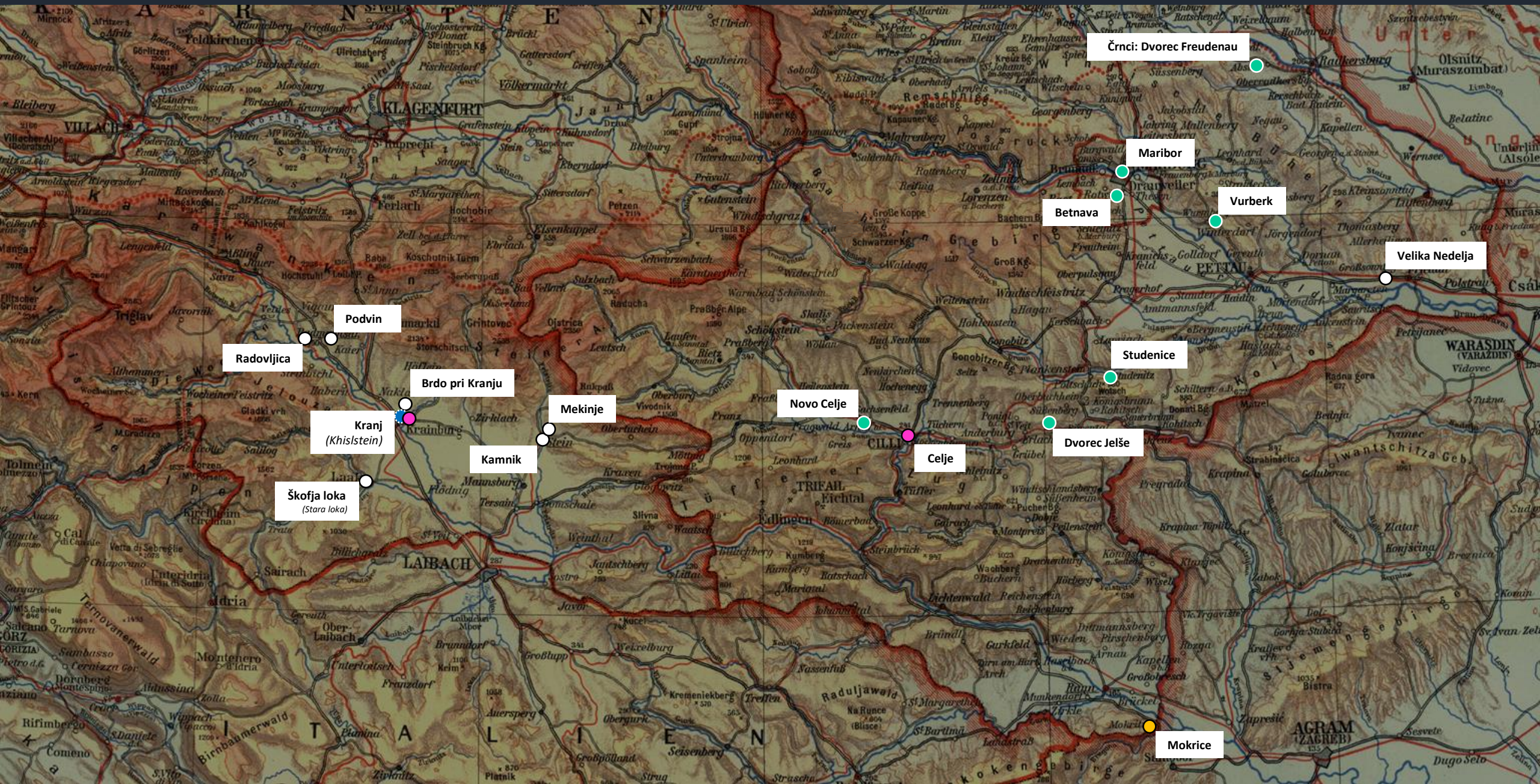
Ljutomer (Luttenberg)

- Replacement of a Slovene WW I memorial by a German one
- Demolition of a bust dedicated to Slavacist Franc Miklošič by unknown

museums: ● rearrangement of existing or establishment of new museums ⊗ planned museums

monuments, statues, plaques etc.: ● (re-) erection ⊗ planned erection ● demolition, elimination, replacement

Occupied Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (1941-45): Conversion of Historical Buildings - Reuse for Party & Administrative Purposes

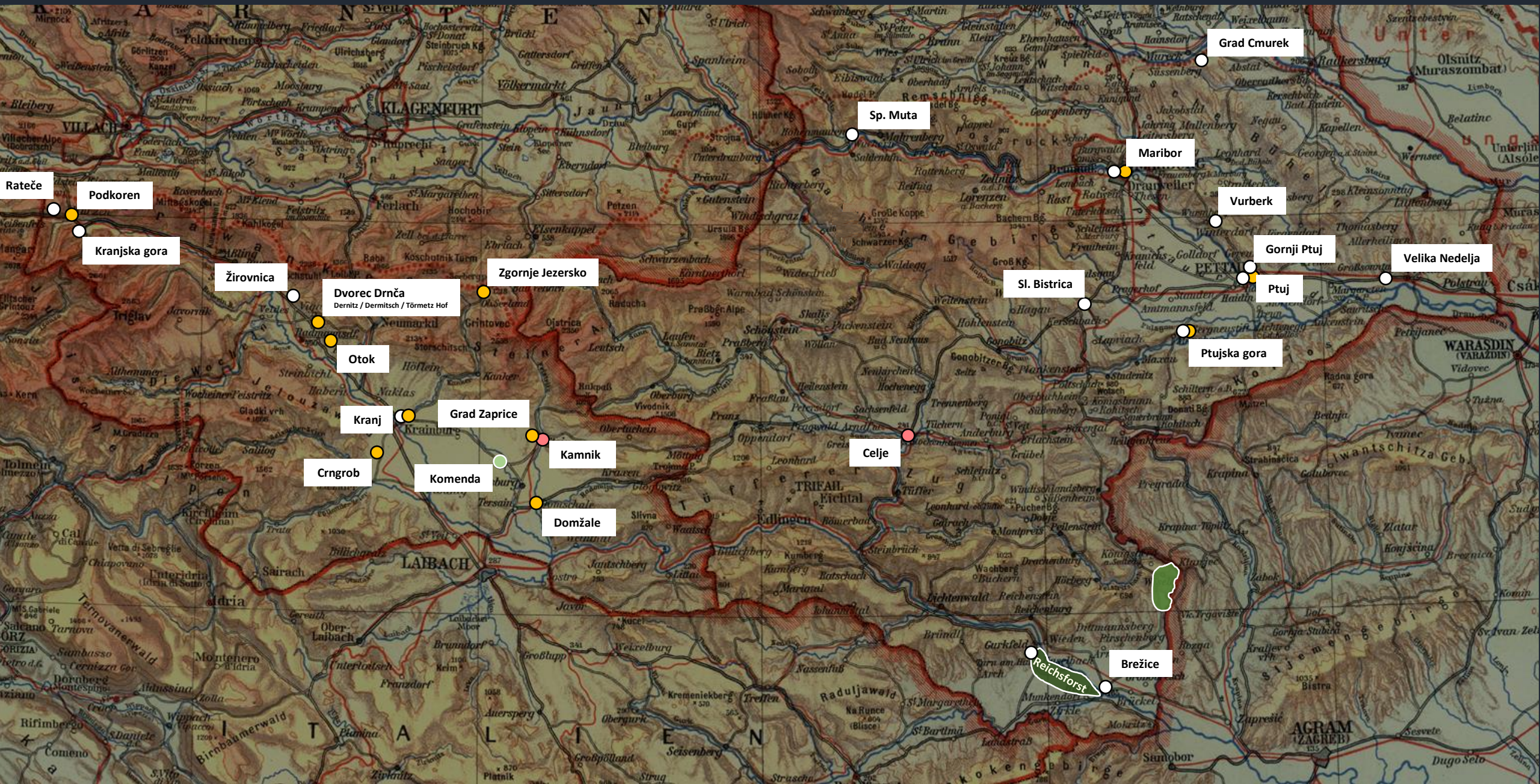


para-party purposes: ● Steirischer Heimatbund
● Kärntner Volksbund (planned)

party purposes: ● Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt

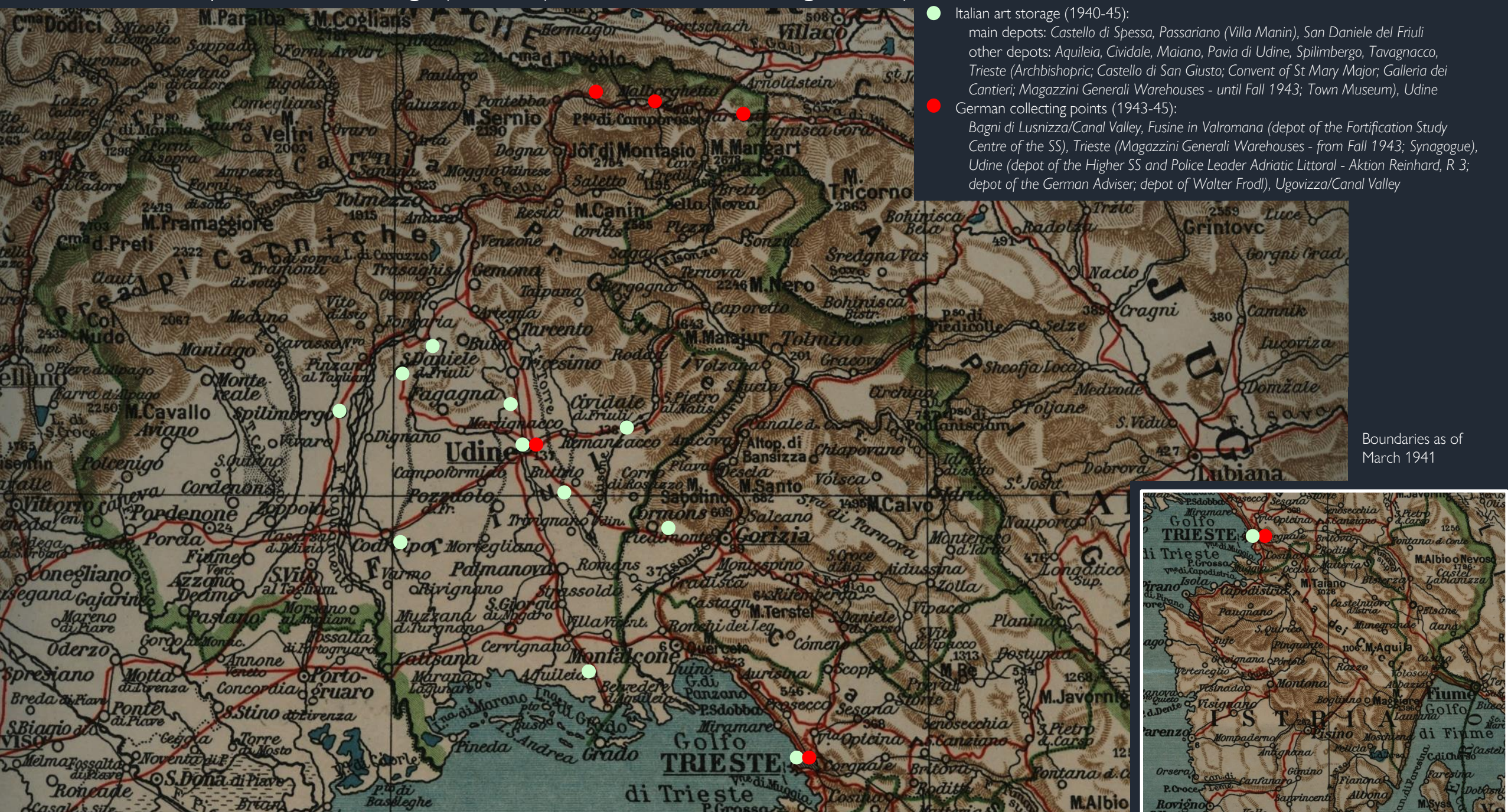
● administrative purposes
● other purposes

Occupied Upper Carniola and Lower Styria (1941-45): Preservation and Restoration

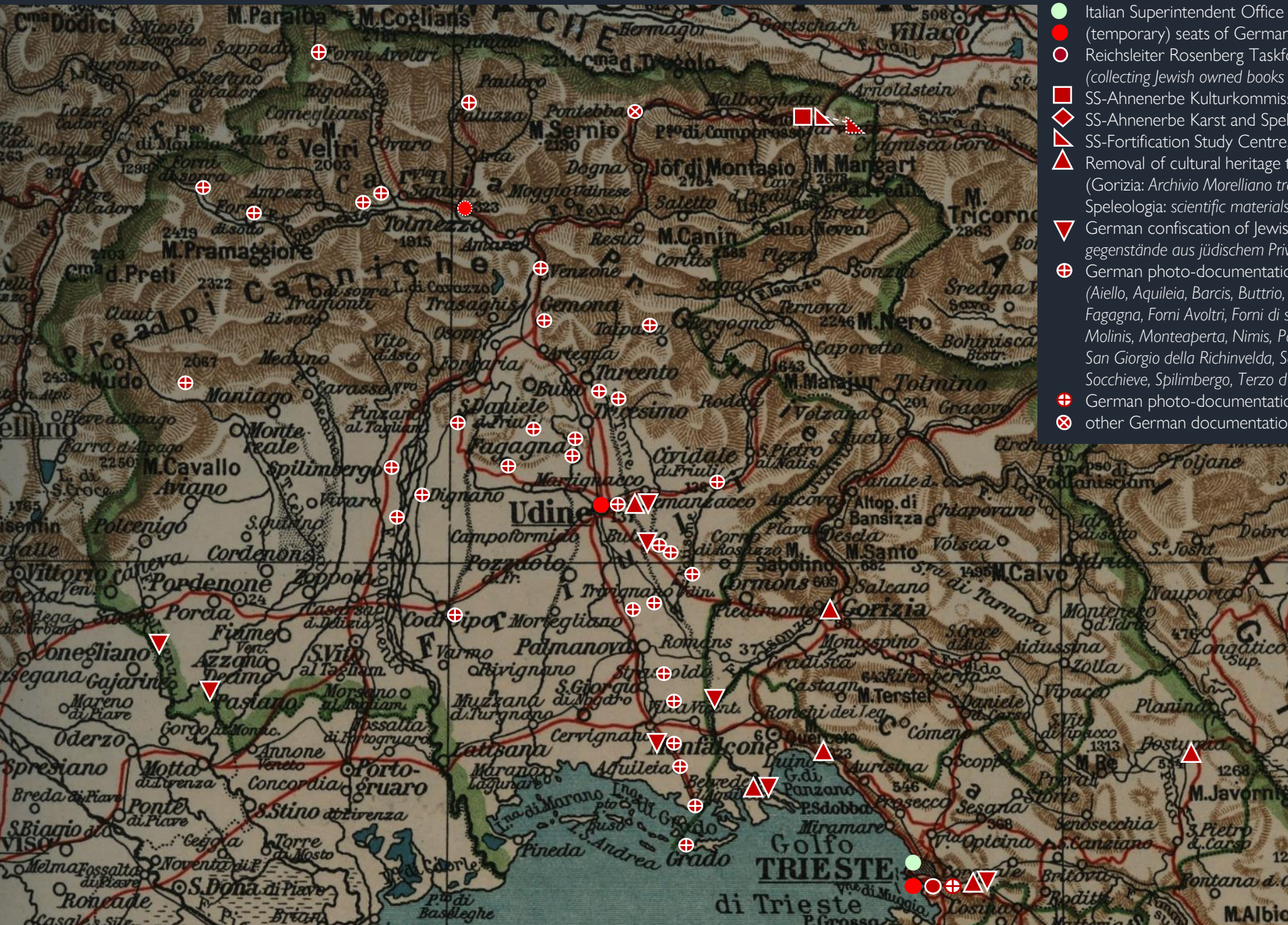


preservation of buildings restoration of buildings, monuments, or art works
preservation of townscapes restoration of townscapes
preservation of nature restoration of nature
preservation of landscapes restoration of landscapes

North-Eastern Italy: Italian Art Storage (1940-45) and German Collecting Points (1943-45)



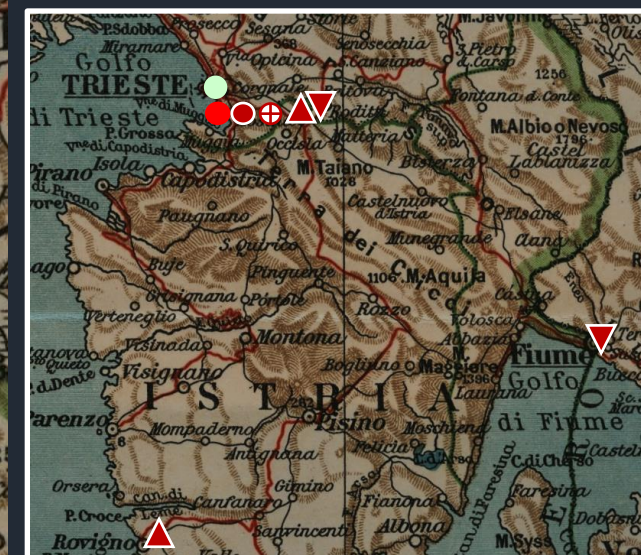
North-Eastern Italy: Taking Hold on Cultural Heritage (1940/43-45)



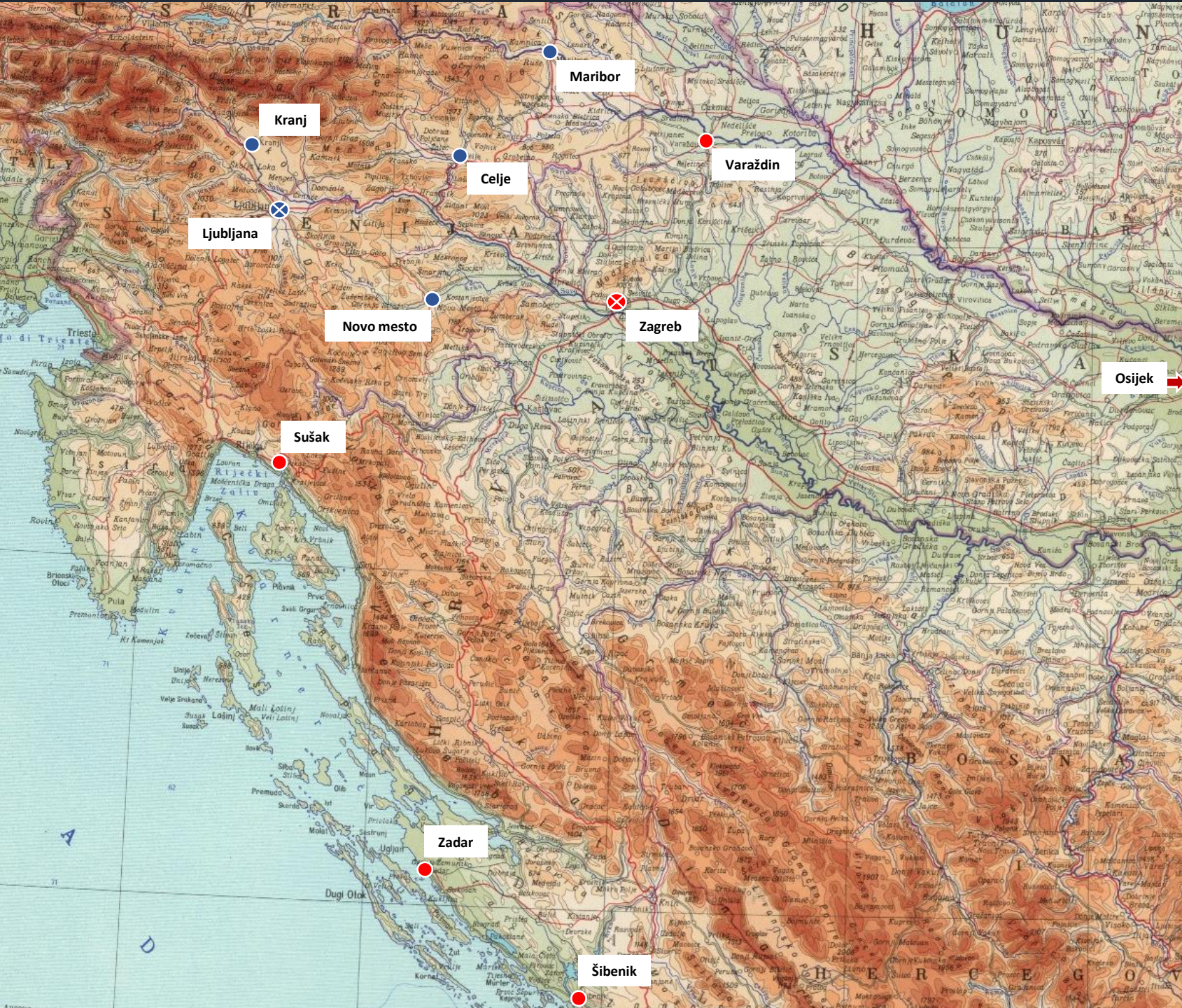
- Italian Superintendent Office for Monuments and Galleries of the Julian March, Trieste
- (temporary) seats of German Art and Monument Protection offices (Frodl et al.)
- Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce (ERR) - Special Command Italy (collecting Jewish owned books and archives)
- SS-Ahnenerbe Kulturkommission: South Tyrol - Canal Valley / Ljubljana - Kočevje
- ◆ SS-Ahnenerbe Karst and Speleology Research Centre, Šentvid pri Ljubljani
- ▴ SS-Fortification Study Centre, Tarvisio, Canal Valley (collecting point: Fusine Valromana)
- ▲ Removal of cultural heritage to Germany (Gorizia: Archivio Morelliano transferred to Bagni di Lusnizza, Canal Valley; Postojna - Istituto di Speleologia: scientific materials transferred to Ugovizza and Fusine, subsequently to Pottenstein)
- ▼ German confiscation of Jewish art property (based on "Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Kunstgegenstände aus jüdischem Privatbesitz im Adriatischen Küstenland")
- ⊕ German photo-documentation of cultural heritage (by order of Frodl / Hanfstaengl) (Aiello, Aquileia, Barcis, Buttrio, Caminetto di Buttrio, Cividale, Colza, Dignano sul Tagliamento, Fagagna, Forni Avoltri, Forni di sopra, Forni di sotto, Gemona, Grado, Lauzzana, Leonacco, Molinis, Monteaperta, Nimis, Pagnacco, Paluzza, Passariano, Sacileto, San Daniele del Friuli, San Giorgio della Richinvelda, San Giovanni al Natisone, San Marco, Santa Maria la Longa, Socchieve, Spilimbergo, Terzo d'Aquileia, Trivignano, Udine, Venzone)
- ⊕ German photo-documentation of "Germanic" cultural heritage (ERR Taskforce - Italy)
- ⊗ other German documentations of cultural heritage (Hanfstaengl)



Boundaries as of March 1941



Post-1945 Yugoslavia: Slovenian and Croatian Art Collecting Points



Federal Slovenia / People's Republic of Slovenia

- ⊗ Federal Collecting Centre for Cultural and Historical Objects (Federalni zbirni center za kulturno-zgodovinske predmete; FZC)
- District Collecting point (Okrožni zbiralni center)

Federal State of Croatia / People's Republic of Croatia

- ⊗ Central Collecting Point of the Commission for the Gathering and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštitivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina; KOMZA)
- KOMZA Regional Collecting Point

LIST OF ARCHIVES

Austria

Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt

Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv

Croatia

Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv

Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti

Germany

Berlin, Bundesarchiv

Italy

Ancona, Archivio della Soprintendenza

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato

Rome, Archivio Generale della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri

Rome, Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri

Rome, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale

Trento, Archivio di Stato di Trento

Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste

Trieste, Archivio Generale del Comune di Trieste

Udine, Archivio di Stato di Udine

Udine, Civici Musei, Fototeca

Udine, Archivio Storico Diocesano

Venice, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico
e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della Gronda Lagunare,
Archivio storico

Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA)

Serbia

Belgrade, Muzej Jugoslavije, Foto-arhiv Josipa Broza Tita

Slovenia

Koper, Slovenska Frančiškanska Provinca, Arhiv

Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije

Ljubljana, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti -
Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Arhiv

Ljubljana, Narodni muzej Slovenije

Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor

Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož, Arhiv

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DONATA LEVI, MICHAEL WEDEKIND (edited by), *Contested Space – Contested Heritage. Sources on the Displacement of Cultural Objects in the 20th-Century Alpine-Adriatic Region*, 2021

This online edition investigates the transfer of cultural assets during the 20th century in the Alpine-Adriatic area, one of Europe's core regions, featured by moving borders and ethnic conflicts. The volume presents more than 80 commented documents which throw crucial light on a multitude of settings, motives, circumstances, agents, juxtaposed authorities and mechanisms of power, trajectories, and consequences of transfer processes. The contemporary views the records express allow insight into procedural mechanisms, reveal bureaucratic implementations of political expectations, expose complicity on behalf of professional caretakers of cultural heritage and scholars, detail the mindset of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders, unveil agendas, and expose myths, legends and competing nationalist narratives. This research is to be considered within the context of present-day art historiography and museology, focussing on spoliation, circulation, provenance, and restitution of cultural assets, and in relationship with contemporary art, today reflecting on concepts of 'migration', 'threshold', 'loss', and symbolic 'recovery' of identities. The book is the outcome from a European research project (TransCultAA) funded by HERA - Humanities in the European Research Area.

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