

GOUDSTIKKER ART RESEARCH PROJECT

THE MISSING PAINTINGS FROM THE JACQUES GOUDSTIKKER COLLECTION

The works of art from the Jacques Goudstikker collection listed in the LostArt database were looted in July 1940 by Hermann Göring in Amsterdam. There are still no traces of many of these paintings but it can be assumed that most of the artworks described below still exist. Recent experience indicates that many looted artworks from the Jacques Goudstikker collection are either scattered undiscovered throughout the world on the walls of public museums and in the collections of unexpected individuals or are deliberately being concealed by collectors who are completely aware of the precarious provenance of their possessions.¹

The reconstruction of this quintessential looting of artworks therefore primarily also fulfills an historical function and should serve as an example of how the life's work of a Jewish art dealer's dynasty was effectively crushed over night by a corrupt and brutal apparatus of power.

AMSTERDAM 1940

On the day in May 1940 when the German Wehrmacht occupied the Netherlands, Jacques Goudstikker was able to leave the country on one of the last boats along with his wife Desirée (née von Halban) and their young son Eduard. His life was however tragically cut short during the stormy journey to England as a result of a fall on board the ship.

After the Wehrmacht's Blitzkrieg wore down the Western Front several weeks later, the second man in the hierarchy of the Nazi regime arrived in Amsterdam and immediately stated his interest in taking over the artworks of the famous Goudstikker Gallery. Even through the war was still raging, the commander-in-chief of the German Air Force and "art collector" had nothing more urgent to do than be on the look-out for the treasures left-behind by Jewish refugees. Assisted by the Munich banker Alois Miedl and his chief purchasing agent, the art dealer Walter Andreas Hofer, Göring was able to annex the gallery's stock by July 1940 by means of a sham. By threatening to deport Goudstikker's mother and by offering huge bonuses to the Goudstikker dealership's employees, Göring and Miedl were able to acquire the business and all of its assets without



Jacques Goudstikker (August 30, 1897 - May 16, 1940)

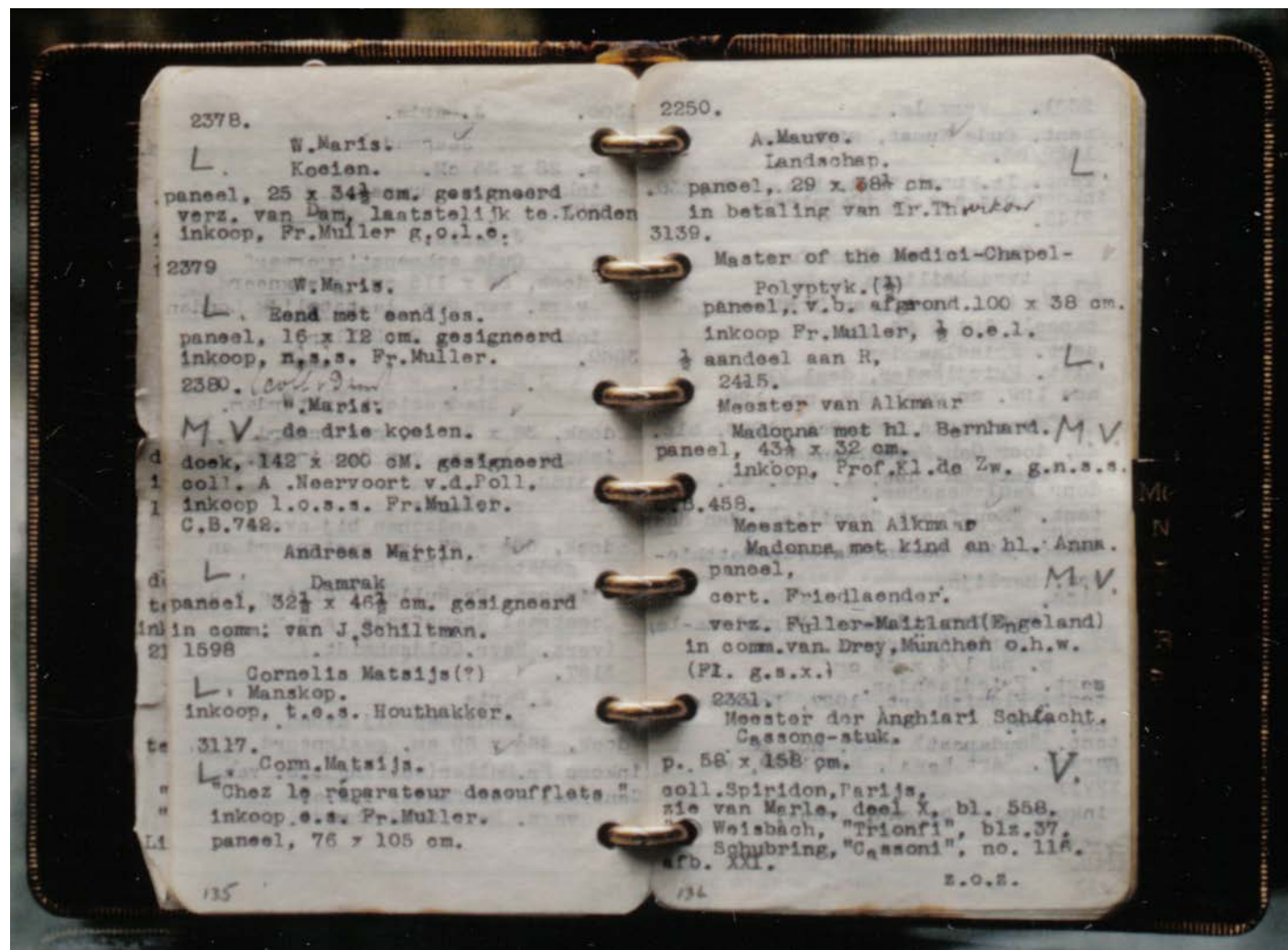
the approval of Goudstikker's heirs, his widow, Desirée, and infant son, Edo. Göring and Miedel ultimately acquired die "Goudstikker Art Trading Corporation" with approximately 1,400 works of art as well as other assorted valuables for a price of 2.5 million Dutch guilders on July 13, 1940. The purchase money was deposited in a frozen account. Jacques' widow Desirée, now the art dealership's principal stockholder, vehemently opposed the compulsory sale from her home in exile. But to no avail. By quickly taking over the internationally renowned art dealership, Göring pre-empted any possible interest in the collection by Hitler and acquired Goudstikker's important art collection for his own personal enrichment. The takeover of the Goudstikker company by Göring and Miedel was nothing less than a "classic Aryanization" (quote: Neue Züricher Zeitung) and has been sufficiently explained in numerous publications. In the London Declaration of January 5, 1943, the Allies reserved their rights to declare invalid the forced dispossession of property in enemy-controlled territories. Those victims of National Socialism in occupied countries who were forced to sell with their backs to the wall should not legally lose their property.

THE FATE OF THE ARTWORKS AFTER THEIR LOOTING IN JULY 1940

What happened to the works that were sent from Amsterdam to Berlin? What do we know today about the whereabouts of the 479 missing works that came into the possession of the Reichsmarschall in 1940?

Göring had about 800 artworks from the gallery's stock transported to Germany and channeled off about 300 of them to supplement his own personal collection. Most of these paintings were secured in early 1945 in the Reichsmarschall's hiding-places by the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives ("MFAA") officers of the United States military and are not a subject matter of this documentation. Göring sold the paintings he did not integrate into his own private collection during the war years via various German auction houses, the flourishing German art trade and the Aryanized Goudstikker Gallery. There are still no traces of the current whereabouts of most of these works.

No less than 345⁹ of the missing works were rejected by Göring and his advisors for the Göring collection shortly after they arrived in Berlin in the summer of 1940 and they were immediately returned to the Goudstikker gallery, which was now operated by Miedel, for sale. Göring arbitrarily relocated paintings between



Jacques Goudstikker's „Black Notebook“

his "private collection" and the Aryanized Goudstikker company. These relocations clearly indicate how generously the second most powerful man in Germany operated regarding the separation of private and "entrepreneurial" assets for the benefit of his own personal financial advantage. Miedel largely sold Göring's consignment goods at various auctions in Germany; the art market boomed during the war years because many buyers in the "Reich" increasingly favored tangible assets. If it was not possible to successfully sell the Göring paintings, a renewed attempt was made at a different

auction house. If the auction was again unsuccessful for Miedl, the twice failed works were offered and sold on the open market.

Along with further artworks that did not originate from the looted Goudstikker holdings, an additional 50 of the missing works were used by Göring in 1944 as partial payment in an exchange for a – as it later turned out – forged Vermeer. The seller of the Vermeer was again Göring's Amsterdam business partner Alois Miedl who marked the circa 50 Goudstikker works with a so-called H number and integrated them in the gallery's sales stock.

For at least 35¹⁰ of the missing works we can be sure that they survived the war undamaged. This group of paintings belonged to the Goudstikker works discovered by the Americans in Germany in 1945 and they were given for safekeeping to the Dutch government. But instead of restituting them to Desirée Goudstikker (von Saher), they were sold at various auctions in the early 1950s by the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (SNK). When it becomes necessary to find this group of pictures, there are at least traces of them in diverse post-war auction catalogs that often contain handwritten notes on the prices and the purchasers.

There are no known paths for the last circa 40 paintings that remained with Göring. We know for a fact that Göring anonymously had paintings auctioned at the state-owned Viennese Dorotheum auction house. Aside from the so-called Vermeer exchange and deliveries to auction houses, it is naturally possible that Göring used other methods to sell paintings. Investigations made by the American intelligence service indicate that Göring also sold many works to industrialists he was friendly with as well as to other high-ranking Nazis. It is also possible that he had especially valuable paintings sent abroad shortly before the military downfall.

2	Middelenham (1490) <i>St. George</i>	10	+ 207
3	Thyrsche Heide 16 ^{de} eeuw	10	+ 608
5	Spaansche sch. <i>Rembrandt</i>	10	+ 103
6	<i>idem</i>	10	+ 184
7	Onbek. Meester (niet) <i>Madonna</i>	10	
11	Onbek. Meester (niet) <i>Frans van</i>	10	
13	Onbek. Meester (niet) <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
16	Onbek. (niet) <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
17	<i>idem</i>	10	
19	<i>Spalms</i> <i>Madonna</i>	10	
20	<i>Leut</i> <i>Spalms</i>	10	
21	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
23	<i>Leut</i> <i>Madonna</i>	10	
24	<i>Leut</i> <i>St. Johannes</i>	10	
27	Onbek. (niet) <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
29	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
30	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
31	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
32	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
34	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
42	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
43	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
44	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
45	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
46	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
47	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
48	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
49	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
53	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
54	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
55	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
56	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
57	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
58	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
59	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
<i>(Dertig duizend Gulden)</i>		50000	
<i>geplaatst October 1931</i>			
KUNSTHANDEL J. GOUDSTIKKER N.V. DIRECTEUR			
1932	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
60	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
61	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
62	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
63	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
64	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
65	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
66	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
67	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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69	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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72	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
73	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
74	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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76	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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78	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
79	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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81	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
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86	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
87	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
88	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
89	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
90	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
91	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
92	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
93	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
94	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
95	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
96	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
97	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
98	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
99	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	
100	<i>Leut</i> <i>Bruegel</i>	10	

No. 1065

Naam van den Schilder
Jurriaan van Leeuwen
(toegeschr. aan, in de manier van, school)

Geboren te
Amsterdam
in \pm 1632 ; gestorven te
Amsterdam
in 1670?

Voorstelling: *Sillewen*

Doek, paneel, koper, doek op paneel
Hoog *54* cM., breed *54* cM., diam. cM.

Signatuur
inches, inches, inches.

Gedateerd, te dateeren
Foto *Bijl 511*

Pedigree
Entombeling, Port Sillewen Amsterdam, 1923 n: 304.

Meeningen van deskundigen:
garantie D. C. Hofstede de Groot
Jun 1923, n: 1662

Literatuur:
cat. Goudstikker, n: 27-117.

Schilderijen ter vergelijking:

Voor dit stuk komen in aanmerking:

Verdere bijzonderheden:

No. 1065

Gekocht van — in commissie van — in bewaring van

Naam
f. H. G. Duit.
Straat
Amsterdam
Woonplaats
Datum
Datum van bet.

Door bemidd. van:
Ons aandeel

Tezamen met:

Inkoopsprijs
f. 1.2.

In commissie voor
"

Afmaken
"

Commissie ()
"

Reiskosten
"

Vracht
"

Restauratie ()
"

Lijst ()
"

Expertise ()
"

Afschrijving
"

Balanswaarde
"

(In te vullen bij verkoop)
f

Gezonden, of mee gegeven aan:

Naam
Woonplaats
Datum
Doel
Terug

Depot Keimüller. Nijmegen.
24/4/42.
10/6/42

" Joh. Nijzig 292

Aan te bieden aan particulieren voor f

Aan te bieden aan den handel voor f

Verzeerde waarde f *65,-* zegge

AFSCHRIJVING	Aangeboden aan	Naam	Woonplaats	Wijze	Prijs	Datum

Verkocht aan	Naam	Straat	Woonplaats	Prijs	Datum	Afge.	Factuur	Voldaan

THE SOURCES FOR ART RECOVERY AFTER NEARLY 80 YEARS: "BLACK NOTEBOOK" — INVENTORY REGISTER — PHOTOGRAPHS — INVENTORY CARDS — GALLERY LABELS AND SEALS

Inventory Card from the Jacques Goudstikker Gallery

THE "BLACK NOTEBOOK"

The most important primary research source is the "Black Notebook,"² which Goudstikker laid out under the threatening clouds of his time. It is a small commercially available black leather loose-leaf binder with an index: Goudstikker recorded his current art collection shortly before his flight in May 1940 in a handy loose-leaf binder. The "Black Notebook," which does not contain illustrations, lists the artworks alphabetically according to the artist - typed and easily readable.

THE INVENTORY REGISTER

A preserved gallery Inventory Register³ provides information about works that were either still a part of the gallery in early 1940 or sold at an earlier point in time. The items are arranged chronologically according to date of acquisition and are assigned an inventory number.⁴

The two books supplement each other and can be used as a kind of concordance: the inventory numbers are included with each art-entry in the "Black Notebook" and the artist's name is noted

after the inventory number in the Inventory Register. Both sources additionally contain further data indispensable for the conclusive identification of the individual artworks.

Alongside these books, the collection of photographs that once belonged to the Goudstikker art dealership is of great importance. The photographs have not been in the Goudstikker family's possession since the early 1950s. The original photographs from the in-house archive illustrate the gallery's stock. They were sent by Goudstikker for inspection to potential customers as well as to specialists for the preparation of their expert opinions or they were used for reproduction in exhibition catalogs and other publications.

THE GOUDSTIKKER PHOTOGRAPH ARCHIVE

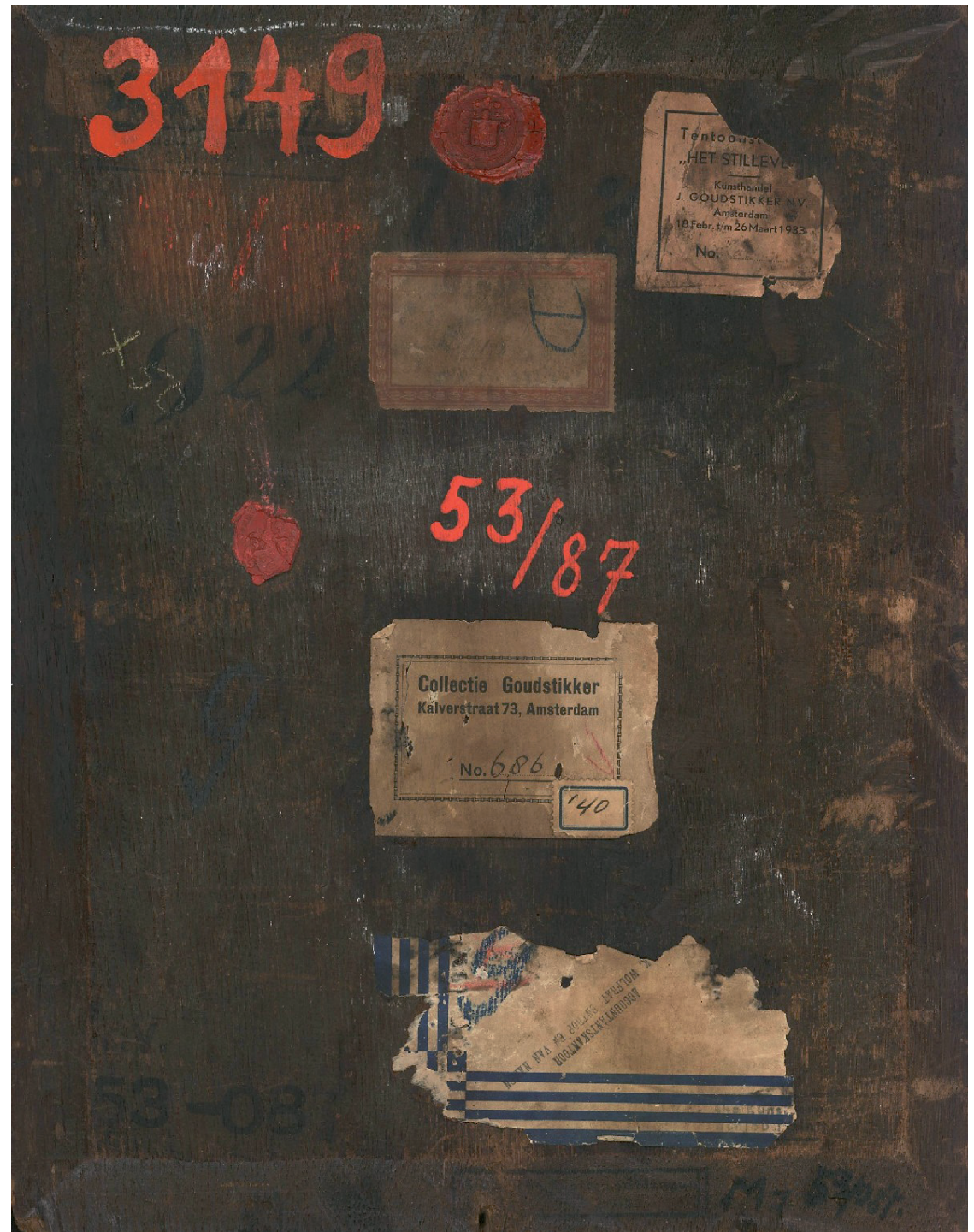
The Goudstikker Gallery's comprehensive photograph archive contained photographs of the artworks owned by Goudstikker at the time he fled and of the paintings which he had previously sold. Along with the entire inventory of the Amsterdam gallery, Miedl also took over the photograph archive and the library in 1940. Desirée von Saher, Goudstikker's widow, acquired both back after the end of World War Two.

In March 1951, she commissioned the Amsterdam auction house Frederik Muller & Co. with the auctioning of both Goudstikker's library and the comprehensive photograph archive under a single lot number. The de Boer gallery secured Goudstikker's original photographs and the photograph archive. The Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague (RKD) assumed the library and ca. 1500 index cards on the individual works as well as the negatives of the original photographs.⁶

The survival of the Goudstikker photograph archive despite the adverse circumstances between persecution and Post-War history was a piece of good fortune for our research. While the photographs have been integrated into de Boer's classification system and thus detached from their original context, the pictures have never been mounted on cardboard – probably because of the fewer users of the archive compared to the RKD. The photographs are therefore immediately identifiable as original Goudstikker photographs due to the notes, numberings, and stamps from Goudstik-

The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 686 with:

- Goudstikker Gallery Seal
- Label Exhibition „Het Stilleven“
- First Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73 with
- Revision sticker „40“
- Label „Accountantskantoor...“



ker's time, which are still visible on the reverses. In some cases even the inventory numbers ("Black Notebook numbers") are noted. A definitive attribution of such pictures to works noted in the "Black Notebook" could be made.

THE GLASS NEGATIVES IN THE RKD

The foundation of the RKD holdings comprises the bequest of Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1863-1930) and a larger donation by Frits Lugt (1884-1970).⁷ Goudstikker maintained intensive contacts to these two famed art historians who all exchanged photographs of their newest "discoveries" on the Old Masters market. Many of the prints therefore already stemmed from the Goudstikker art dealership at the time the RKD was founded. In addition, Goudstikker, like many of his colleagues, continued to regularly send photographs to the RKD after it was founded. In 1951, the RKD acquired the original glass negatives of the Goudstikker gallery at a Fred. Muller & Co. auction. New prints were subsequently made from these negatives and integrated into the archive.

To improve their use by the many art historians who seek out the RKD as a public research institution, the photographs are and have been affixed to cardboard backings.

THE INVENTORY CARDS

Along with the negatives, an ample proportion of the Goudstikker inventory card file was also acquired by the RKD in 1951. Like the "Black Notebook" and the inventory book, they also do not contain illustrations. But unlike the "Black Notebook," the individual index cards, in the event a photograph was taken, specify the name of the photographer and the photograph number and in which exhibitions catalogs or catalogs of the Goudstikker dealership the artworks were illustrated or described. Because Miedl continued the card file during the occupation period there are in many cases dispatch memoranda with the names of interested parties who were offered the paintings for sale as well as well as dispatch memoranda with the names of the actual buyers. The original Goudstikker card file is however by no means still complete. It is still unclear according to which criteria the index cards were removed, at what point in time and by whom.⁸

- First Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73, ca. 5.7 x 8 cm



- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73, square version, ca. 6.5 x 6.5 cm

A look at the reverse of a painting can provide further information: exhibition labels, stamps, seals, inscriptions and brands such as the marking from shippers and auction houses or preferably the original Goudstikker inventory number on a gallery label. A number of stickers can be found on the reverse side of a work of art, allowing the work to be securely assigned to the collection of Jacques Goudstikker's gallery.

First of all each work was provided with a label of the gallery. Depending on the time at which the work was included in the collection, the labels are different, and we have proof of a total of five different printed labels. The inventory number was then handwritten on the label. In some cases, the name of the artist was also noted. The earliest label can be found on works with low inventory numbers. It measures approx. 5.7 x 8 cm. In a simple frame the following text is written in sans serif black letters:

»Collectie Goudstikker
Kalverstraat 73, Amsterdam
No. _____«

A graphically more complex label which exists in two sizes also dates from the time when the gallery was located in Kalverstraat. The square version measures approx. 6.5 x 6.5 cm and bears the following text in the double decorative frame:

»COLLECTIE
GOUDSTIKKER

No.

KALVERSTRAAT 73
AMSTERDAM«

The rectangular version measures approx. 5 x 12 cm and carries the following text in a simple decorative frame:

»COLLECTIE GOUDSTIKKER
KALVERSTRAAT 73 - AMSTERDAM
No.«



- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73, rectangular version, ca. 5 x 12 cm with revision sticker „40“



- Third Gallery Label, Heerengracht 458 square version, ca. 7 x 7 cm

After the relocation to Heerengracht 458, the label also changes, the design remains basically the same, the formats change slightly. The square label measures 7 x 7 cm, the text in the double frame now reads:

»COLLECTIE
GOUDSTIKKER

No.....

HEERENGRACHT 458
AMSTERDAM«

The rectangular version measures approx. 5 x 11.5 cm and carries the following text in a simple frame:

»COLLECTIE GOUDSTIKKER
HEERENGRACHT 458 - AMSTERDAM
No.....«

On these labels the inventory number was also noted and in some cases additionally the name of the artist. It is possible that stickers have been lost or deliberately removed over time. On many pictures there are further stickers on the back, which allow an assignment to the gallery Goudstikker. A frequently found sticker probably dates from the time of the revision of the gallery stock in 1940. It is a toothed standard label with a blue double frame with rounded corners, which was used transversely rectangular. The dimensions are approx. 1.5 x 2.5 cm. The handwritten inscription reads:

» '40 «

Another frequently found sticker probably also dates back to the time of the revision of the gallery stock in 1940. It is also a standard etiquette, which is usually used as a text field for the lettering of notebooks or account books. It is a rectangular label with cut corners, which is elaborately designed with lines. It measures 11.5 x 7.5 cm. In addition to varying inscriptions, it contains the two-line text in the typeset stamp print:

»ACCOUNTANTSKANTOOR
POLAK, WOLFRAT, ENTROP EN VAN NAMEN«



- Third Gallery Label, Heerengracht 458
rectangular version, ca. 5 x 11,5 cm



- Standard Label with typeset stamp
„ACCOUNTANTSKANTOOR
POLAK, WOLFRAT, ENTROP EN VAN
NAMEN“

In some cases, where e.g. due to Florentine parquetry of a wooden panel there was not enough space for one of the Goudstikker Gallery labels, the above mentioned labels were cut to fit.

There are seals on many pictures of the stock, which are unfortunately often damaged or became a red color spot during a frequent woodworm treatment of wood panel pictures. A seal that can be found relatively frequently on pictures of the Goudstikker Gallery is round and made of red sealing wax. It shows a painting palette with brushes. It bears the circulating inscription:

»Collectie Goudstikker
Amsterdam«.

Other seals used by Jacques Goudstikker bear no inscription.

For the still life pictures, reference is made to the exhibition “Het Stilleven”, which was organized by Jacques Goudstikker and at which, in addition to several loans, pictures from the art dealers own collection were shown. For this exhibition, a special square label was produced, measuring approx. 5.5 x 5.5 cm. In a simple frame it is written in sans serif font:

»Tentoonstelling
„HET STILLEVEN“

Kunsthandel
J. GOUDSTIKKER N.V.
Amsterdam
18 Febr. t/m 26 Maart 1933

No. _____«

Jan Thomas Köhler, 2019

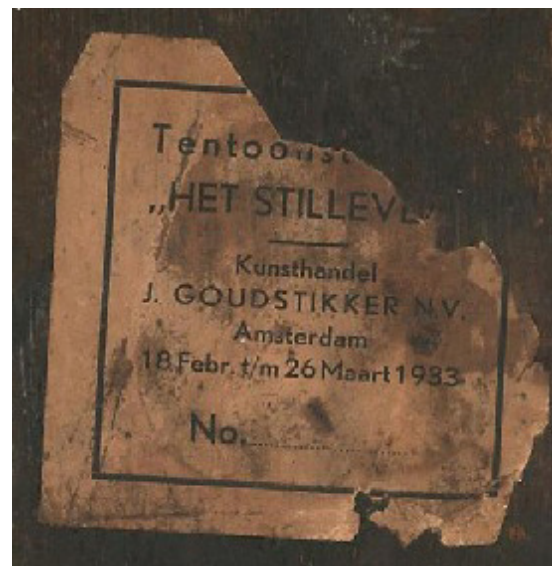


- Wax Seal with painting palette and brushes and inscription
„Collectie Goudstikker - Amsterdam“

- other wax seals used by the Jacques Goudstikker Gallery



- 1 The historical part of this text is based on the text "Looted by the Reichsmarschall" by Nina Senger, Jan Thomas Köhler and Clemens Toussaint. This text was printed in 2007 in an edition of 20 copies for the heirs of Jacques Goudstikker.
- 2 The "Black Book" is located in the Amsterdam Gemeentearchief, Goudstikker Bequest, inv. no. 1341, file 38.
- 3 The gallery's Inventory Register is located in the Amsterdam Gemeentearchief, Goudstikker Bequest, inv. no. 1341, file 97.
- 4 The entries of the artworks Goudstikker sold before he fled in May 1940 are crossed out but they are still legible and were very helpful for the present research.
- 5 Bundesarchiv Koblenz, NARA Washington D.C., Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische Dokumentatie (RKD), The Hague, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam, NIOD, Amsterdam, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
- 6 It is difficult to determine in detail today how the material sold in a single lot was divided up between the de Boer and the RKD.
- 7 With its more than 6 million photographs, reproductions, and Ektachromes, the picture archive at the RKD is the largest collection of visual art historical material in the world. Approximately 50,000 illustrations are added annually. The press documentation of the RKD contains a further 2 million newspaper clippings and miscellaneous printed matter such as advertisements and exhibition invitations. About 52,000 such items are added to the collection annually. The library, which contains about 450,000 volumes, is the largest art historical library in the Netherlands.
- 8 Very few cards are located in the Amsterdam Gemeentearchief, Goudstikker Bequest, inv. no. 1341.



- Label from the exhibition „Het Stilleven“, 1933



- partly erased Standard Label with typeset stamp „ACCOUNTANTSKANTOOR POLAK, WOLFRAT, ENTROP EN VAN NAMEN“ and seal



The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 1482 with:

- Goudstikker Gallery Seal
- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73
- Third Gallery Label, Heerengracht 458



The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 372 / 1177 with:

- Goudstikker Gallery Seal
- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73 with
- Revision Sticker „,40“
- Label „Accountantskantoor...“



The back side of a Goudstikker painting with:

- erased Goudstikker Gallery Seal

- partly erased Standard Label with typeset stamp „ACCOUNTANTS KANTOOR POLAK, WOLFRAT, ENTROP EN VAN NAMEN“

- damaged or partly erased seal



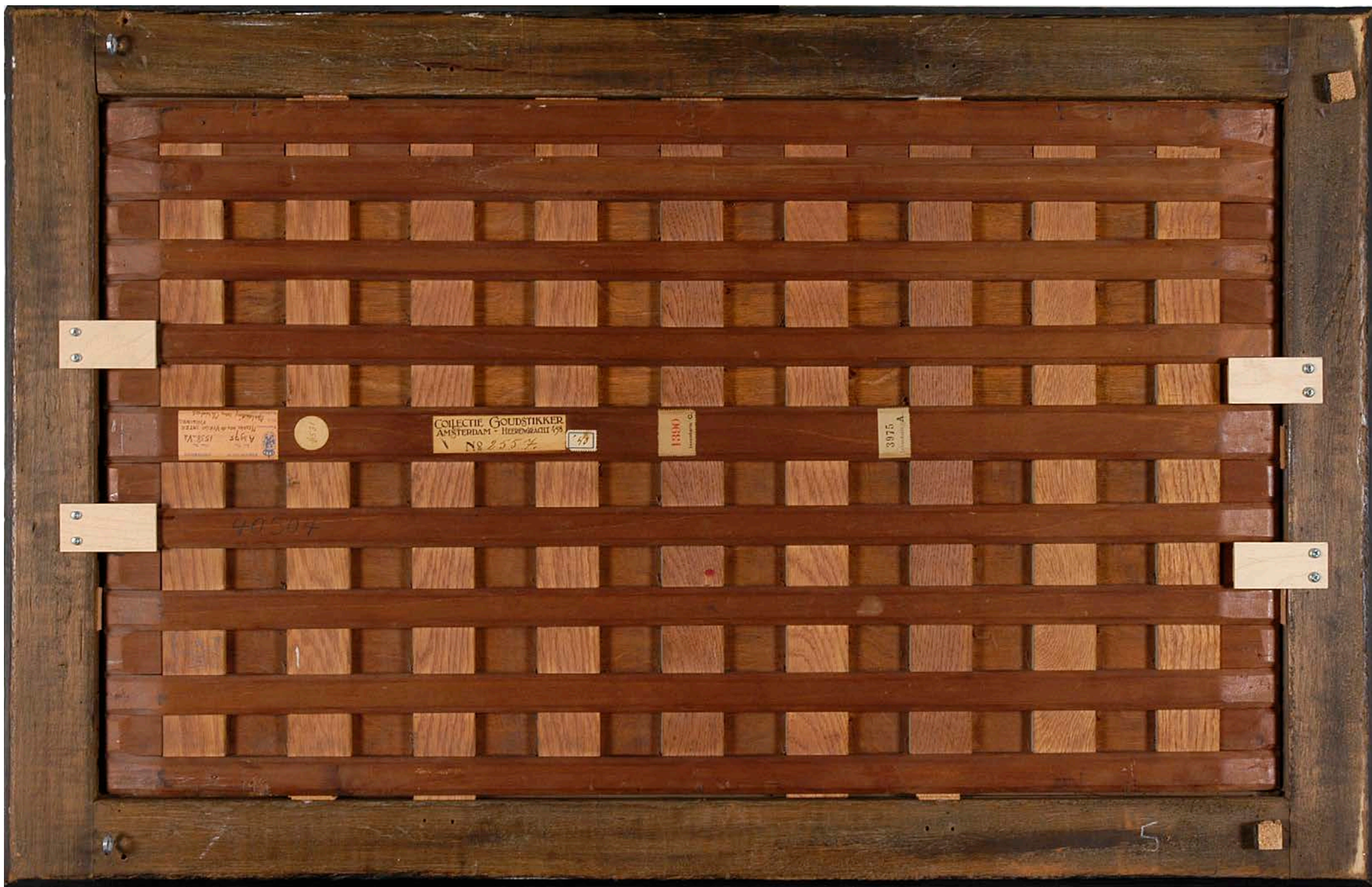
The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 1736 / 2489 with:

- Goudstikker Gallery Seal
- First Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73 on the frame
- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73 on the frame
- Second Gallery Label, Kalverstraat 73 on the backside over the Florentine Parquetry with
- Revision sticker „40“



The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 1446 with:

- Third Gallery Label, Heerengracht 458 on the backside cut down to the size of a field of the Florentine Parquetry



The back side of Goudstikker painting no. 2557 with:

- Third Gallery Label, Heerengracht 458 on the backside (cut down) on the Florentine Parquetry with
- Revision sticker „40“