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# Between Lost and Found. Notes on historical aspects of transition of art objects from the Berlin Sculpture Collection during and after WWII

This paper provides an insight into the destiny of translocated art objects from the Berlin Sculpture Collection after WWII. Numerous pieces of art were lost, damaged and moved to the USSR; some objects were returned to the GDR in the 1950s, others remained in the Soviet Union. The author explains a methodology for their identification. By studying the complex ways of their translocations after WWII the author analyses materials related to the activities of the Soviet trophy brigades, including condition reports upon the arrival of the German art works in the Soviet museums. The analysis is focused on the artworks from the Byzantine and Sculpture Collections of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. The paper concludes with a plea for the continuation of research to enable filling the gaps in our knowledge concerning the destiny of translocated artworks and reconstruct their history.

Dedicated to my mentor Prof. Dr. Victor Golovin (1954-2007)

Beauty is in the eye of beholder. However, finding and witnessing beauty, opening yourself to its revelation, sharing its splendor by involving a piece of art into its historical and cultural context requires – as *minimum minimorum* – the possibility of viewing it. This is problematic, sometimes nearly impossible for many artworks from the famous Sculpture Collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, now Bode-Museum in Berlin. Numerous pieces of art, damaged, fragmented, deformed, lost and found, identified or unidentified, reconstructed or still waiting for reconstruction, destroyed or partially demolished during and after the Second World War are no longer visible. Can we reveal their glory by following the complicated, fragile lines of their stories, by investigating their fate? Can we try to come closer by finding missing links in their historical continuity thus hoping to contribute to the reconstruction of their destiny?

Around 2.6 million cultural valuable objects from German museums were transferred to the USSR after WWII. After the waves of restitution in the 1950s there are around 1.5 million pieces remaining in Russia and in the former Soviet republics<sup>1</sup>.

Evacuated to different storages in Germany in the hope of being preserved from imminent devastation and plunder, they were desperately and hastily replaced and removed by the German museums staff members shortly before capitulation and finally submitted to chaos during *Stunde Null*.

Stolen or taken away by many different actors, in particular by Soviet trophy brigades after the end of the war, some artworks were restituted to the GDR, some were dispersed between countries, museums and their hidden depositories. The facets of the history of the collections from German museums and the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in particular seem to be countless, the complexity overwhelming. As such, the burdens of responsibility of a provenance researcher are more than ample.

Following the steps in the fate of artworks removed to the USSR, trying to analyze and to recover their puzzling routes is challenging and disappointing at the same time. Challenging, as there is plenty of documentation for almost each link in the chain of the activity of the Soviet trophy brigades, providing the opportunity to track many art objects with remarkable precision. Disappointing, because the documentation is subject to many factors influencing its objectivity and completeness, from political matters and thus availability of information to technical aspects such as partial unreadability, especially of hand-written papers. The "almost there" euphoria can disappear at any moment by stumbling over blurred or contradictory notes, or missing pages.

We are trying to trace the destiny of art pieces from the Berlin Sculpture Collection after the Second World War to open perspectives for the further identification of displaced artworks. This research is based on fund 962 in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow, containing documents describing the activity of the Soviet trophy brigades in Germany and the records of the unpacking and reception of the works of art in the USSR, mostly in Moscow and in Leningrad. The study also takes into consideration other historical sources, as well as respecting and relying upon contemporary studies by art historians and restorers from Germany and Russia, and upon the results of their long-term cooperation. The purpose of this article is to systemize general problems faced by scholars on the German displaced artworks, based on a study of a sample set of art pieces from the collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. In our view, the challenges are based on multi-facetious organizational difficulties to execute plans approved by the Soviet government, on poor mitigation of external factors such as disasters and damages at art depositories in Germany, and on ambitions of influential Soviet actors which led to separation of collections and the parts of damaged artworks. At the same time, we believe that Soviet art historians' meticulous efforts to describe artworks and collections in their post-war transit from Germany laid the foundation for our further research, whose ultimate goal is to expand the knowledge about displaced artworks to the extent humanly possible these days.

Igor Grabar: «Do you think it is possible to replace a Rembrandt?»<sup>2</sup>. The concept of substitution of Soviet cultural losses with their "equivalents" from the enemies' museum collections

In this first part of the article we will describe how the Soviet art experts backed by the top officials have worked to create a scientific and legal framework for compensating Soviet Union's cultural losses, and how these ambitious planning has been undermined in its execution.

In order to understand the premises for the transportation of artworks from German museums into the USSR, we have to turn some pages backwards.

The radical idea to extract compensation for lost and destroyed cultural property from the collections of the enemies was proposed by Soviet academic Igor Grabar (1871-1960). Art historian, artist and an active figure on the Soviet cultural-political scene, Grabar was head of the commission for the registration of damaged architectural monuments from 1942, thus being responsible for keeping records and systematizing the losses during the war. In 1943 Grabar developed an organizational structure for his initiative: a governmental committee called the Expert-bureau, consisting of art connoisseurs to be given the task of composing lists of equivalents to compensate the damages. The members of the committee were about sixty prominent and respectable art historians, archeologist, architects, high school professors and academic staff members of leading Soviet museums, as well as political functionaries<sup>3</sup>. From September 1943 till the beginning of 1945 the experts discussed the principles and the methods of fair appraisal of Soviet cultural damages, which concerned both architectural monuments and museum collections, as well as the forms of their compensation through selected masterworks from German, Austrian, Italian, Hungarian and Rumanian museums and private collections.

Meant to be developed after the end of WWII to support negotiations with allies about reparations, the lists of equivalents had to be an objective, fundamental and irrefutable document. It had to be based on financial calculation as well as on the significance of the losses for Russian cultural integrity, underlining the artworks' international importance and their value as national symbols. The activity of the experts was aimed at the correct appraisal of the damages and at the establishment of criteria to compensate for them, which was an unprecedented act in modern history. The documentation of almost two years of these experts' meetings is a thrilling historical source for a social study of cultural and political discourse in the Soviet Union: indeed, controversial dialogues and excited debates between highly educated art historians and pragmatically minded communist Party

officials covered a wide range of topics. The themes of their heated discussions were diverse and included: prices at international auction houses as appraisal values; the enemies' moral responsibility; the creation of a new world museum in Moscow filled with the equivalents from the best European museums; the discrepancy between political and cultural attitudes as far as national treasures were concerned; the methodology of estimating Soviet losses in the destroyed museums without the support of catalogues and inventories; the ranking of German and also Italian art works on the "first and second level"; and much more.

Visiting the "enemy" museums during the war was not possible. So the members of Expert- bureau had to rely upon pre-war notes and professional visual memories from their past journeys to Europe. Igor Grabar studied in Germany and knew its collections very well. Victor Lasarev was one of the famous Soviet specialists in Byzantine and Italian art, and had his articles published in different German art journals<sup>4</sup>; Vladimir Levinson-Lessing had been in Germany as well as in Italy and left inspired memoirs; Boris Iofan got his architectural degree at the Regio Istituto Superiore di Belle Arti in Rome; during his years as a student, Boris Vipper travelled and studied in Italian, German, Austrian and Dutch libraries and museums. Before the war Vipper used to teach an academic course about Renaissance Art at Moscow State University. The catalogues of the main museums were integral parts of the experts' own private libraries, and this gave them the opportunity to specify lists with detailed references to sources and old inventory numbers.

By the time the lists of equivalents were finalized, Italy declared its capitulation and could not be considered as an enemy anymore<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, the Italian Renaissance works remained a source of everlasting inspiration for the Soviet art historians and paradoxically continued to be seen as objects of desire even at the beginning of 1945, when the completed lists had already been submitted to the Soviet government. During one of the discussions about the possibility of financial compensation, lofan pointed out: «From a country like Italy we could probably receive nothing but its art works»<sup>6</sup>. Grabar regretted the early Italian capitulation too: «We had done an enormous work to define the equivalents, and it's a pity that the overwhelming majority of work was done for Italy»<sup>7</sup>. The fantasy of enriching soviet museums with Italian art masterpieces was too fascinating to sacrifice it to the political reality, so many works from Italian museums still remained in the final version of the lists dated 2 February 1945 (figs. 1-2)<sup>8</sup>.

In total, the Expert-bureau carefully selected 1,745 art objects with their exact appraisal in US dollars for compensation. Paintings were the absolute priority with 813 items. The list continued with 382 drawings, 107 sculptures, 217 objects of antique art, 210 artifacts from Egypt and Mesopotamia, and 16 Byzantine artworks.

### In focus: Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin

Remarkable collections of paintings, sculpture and applied art were stored and exhibited in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin before the war. The lists of equivalents of European – mostly Italian – artworks included 110 sculptures and 11 objects of Byzantine art from this museum. They were listed on 19 pages, and each entry was supplied with a handwritten value<sup>9</sup>.

Some German artworks were crossed out from the final version of the lists. The possible reason for their exclusion could be the general intention to be discreet about the removal of German art objects, an issue that was intensively discussed at the meetings of the expert commission. «It seems to me, we must restrict seizing exhibits from German museums which are considered to be national monuments. [...] They damaged a lot of our historical national monuments, but I don't think these national aspects should be emphasized»<sup>10</sup>, advised Grabar. His position was supported – as far as possible, since they were later members of the military trophy brigade's structures – by Lasarev and Blavatsky. During their activity in Berlin in 1945, they recommended a deliberate approach to German cultural property and even suggested to return some artworks, museum archives and inventories<sup>11</sup>.

The list of sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum was logically systematized and supplied with German scholars' attributions and references to the German museum catalogues<sup>12</sup>.

The final lists of equivalents from the collection of Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin included following categories:

Byzantine art works: Two sarcophagi and one pilaster, mentioned in *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. Teil 1. Altchristliche Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1909 were chosen in the equivalent list.

One of these three art pieces, which were found important enough to compensate the Russian museum collections, was the marble sarcophagus – or, to be precise, only its roofing – with the inv. no. 3020 (fig. 3). This impressive Byzantine work was transported by the Soviet trophy brigades to the State Hermitage Museum in June 1946, together with other works of Byzantine art, and was restituted to the Berlin sculpture collection in 1958<sup>13</sup>.

German and Dutch sculpture: 17 pieces.

In the final version of the lists, three works were crossed out, probably considered as belonging to the German national heritage: *Büste eines Mannes*, Conrat Meit and Johann Gregor van der Schardt, *Büste der Anna Imhoff* and *Büste der Willbald Imhof*. However, the final list included masterpieces by Veit Stoß and

Tilman Riemenschneider, *Amor* by François Duquesnoy<sup>14</sup> and one work by Franz Ignaz Günther.

9 French sculptures, including *Vestalin*, *Glück* and *Bust of Voltaire* by Houdon, *Mercur* and *Venus* by Pigalle and *Adam* by Francois Gaspard (fig. 4).

80 Italian art works from wood, marble, terracotta and bronze were selected to be removed from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum as equivalents (see Appendix). None of the Italian works was crossed out in the final version of the list (fig. 5-7).

While researching the destiny of the Italian artworks brought to the USSR by the trophy brigades it was possible to identify many objects. The author was looking for 744 Italian artworks mainly based on the catalogue of losses of the Sculpture Collection and was able to rediscover around 250 of them<sup>15</sup>. The identification of each work, however, has a certain degree of uncertainty as the documentation itself is quite heterogeneous, both in format and content. Some of the pages of the protocols of 1945-1946 are not readable or missing. Art historians in Soviet museums compiled the descriptions of the artworks after the war, while working in a terrible lack of time and space. Soviet museums were absolutely overwhelmed by the urgent task of dealing with thousands of artworks delivered to them, both from their own collections returning from evacuation as well as from Germany. Many objects were damaged during the war, and were badly deformed, fragmented and smashed when they arrived at the Soviet museums. This did not allow any attribution study to be conducted; many sculptures had similar iconography, so it was difficult, if not impossible to define the subtle details between works with the same subjects to allow an exact attribution by comparing the descriptions with the images of the art works. Despite the efforts of Soviet art historians to be as detailed and conscientious as they could, they could hardly supply every work with a precise, comprehensive report. The historical inventory numbers are sometimes mentioned, sometimes missing. This could have been caused by several factors, including: the presence or not of the inventory number on the work; the availability or unavailability of a German catalog in a Soviet museum at the moment of the unpacking; the international significance of the artworks; the professional skills and research focus of each person.

The identified sculptures are listed in the attached Appendix. The documentation of the activity of the trophy brigades enables us to follow the traces of the artworks further on and to "accompany" them on their complicated paths by focusing on the details of their packing, transportation, by "opening" the cases they were put in, by leafing through the numerous pages and protocols of their condition reports upon arrival in Soviet museums and – last but not the least – by diving into the historical and cultural context of this difficult time.

## Utopian vision confronts dystopian reality

In this part of the paper we analyze challenges faced by researchers depending from external factors, ranging from military bombardment to floods in depositories on German soil. We also demonstrate how different Soviet administrators' ambitions and the lack of coordination in the actions resulted in separation of fragmented art pieces displaced from Germany.

As we have seen, 80 important Italian works from the Sculpture Collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin were carefully selected by the art experts. However, during the years of engaged conceptualization of a virtual collection of Italian sculptures to be brought to the USSR, nobody seemed to consider the unfortunate possibility that the same tragic fate which befell Russian museums – damage, loss and destruction – might have also been encountered by European museums. Many works, optimistically targeted to replace the war damages in the USSR, would themselves be lost and damaged in the chaos of war actions, exactly at the end of the war during the final battles in Berlin and shortly afterwards. Many "survived ones", mostly in a poor condition, would be packed and transported by the Soviet trophy brigades.

In February 1945, when the equivalent lists were finally submitted to the soviet government, the Sculpture Collection was already spread among different storages in Berlin: on the Museums Island, in the Flakbunker Zoo, in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain, and in the New Mint along with many others. Some works of art from the Sculpture Collection were instead evacuated West to storages in the Kaiserroda Mines at Merkers in a territory which was not under the Soviet occupation, thus avoiding the seizure of artworks by the Soviet trophy brigades.

In the last days of April/first half of May 1945 several disastrous coincidences and tragic accidents resulted in considerable losses for the sculpture collection. The works from the Flakbunker Zoo were hastily removed to the central storages of the trophy brigades in Berlin, sometimes without taking due care. Because of the political situation, priority was given to moving the greatest possible amount of works, with little attention being paid to museum standards as far as packing and transportation were concerned. Countless works from the Museums Island had suffered from severe bombardments and artillery barrage. The works in the New Mint were badly damaged by the humidity due to flood water used to extinguish the fire after the bombing. The Flakbunker Friedrichshain suffered two fires, explosions and robberies by private persons. The excavations of the damaged works from the ashes and ruins lasted many months, with a pause in winter 1945-1946.

During the excavations, the retrieved pieces of art – many of them literally in pieces! – were carefully collected in boxes marked "B" for Bunker (i.e. the Flakbunker Friedrichshain)<sup>16</sup>. Many artworks, dwelling in the visual memory of the Soviet art experts and in their optimistic collective dreams, had suffered from the effects of various disastrous circumstances and either did not exist anymore or were so badly deformed that they completely lost their artistic and cultural identity. The utopian vision of collecting a "fair amount" of masterpieces was shattered by the dynamic of war actions and turned into a dystopian odyssey for the Sculpture Collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum.

Turbulence during the multi-stage transportation of the fragile art pieces to the USSR, including operations of packing in storages and unpacking in the museums, also negatively influenced the artworks' already pitiful condition. The tragic fires in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain, where the Sculpture Collection was stored, were unpredictable. Such a catastrophe was unforeseen for Soviet art experts in February 1943 who compiled the lists of equivalents.

Was the amount of the damages still unknown to Dr. Josef Orbeli, the director of the State Hermitage in Leningrad, when he composed the List of the works of art from Berlin museums to compensate the damage to the State Hermitage, which included many sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in August 1945?<sup>17</sup> Or had his colleagues from Moscow and Leningrad, who were taking part in the excavations in Berlin, already informed him about the disastrous situation in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain and about the damages occurred in the New Mint? After learning about the arrival of trophy art at the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow, Dr. Orbeli suggested considering the possibility of fair dispersal of the masterworks between the main Soviet museums which had suffered from the war, and attached a list of art works for the State Hermitage: this included pictures from the Gemäldegalerie, Renaissance sculptures, antique sculptures and excavated objects from the Berlin Antiquarium etc. Among the 46 sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum chosen by Dr. Orbeli, were works originally mentioned in the list of equivalents (such as masterpieces by Donatello, Verrocchio, Pollaiuolo, Luca della Robbia, Sansovino, Giovanni Pisano and other artists) as well as others not included as equivalents. In the time of compilation of the Orbeli-list, most artworks were already damaged. As archeologist and scientist dedicated to preserving cultural treasures, Dr. Orbeli must have been truly disappointed by the confrontation with another war tragedy after the devastation of his Hermitage museum; however, a sight of the damaged objects from Berlin Museums in the State Hermitage was still in the future.

Until August 1945 there were four transports with trophy art objects to the

USSR: special train 177/4162 from Meseritz<sup>18</sup> to Moscow in March-April 1945, special train 177/3339 from Schlesien to Moscow in April-May 1945, an airplane from Berlin to Moscow in June 1945, and special train 175/3631 from Dresden to Moscow in July-August 1945.

The next train from Berlin arrived in Leningrad in October 1945, carrying 40 wagons, in total 1,128 boxes with art objects from Berlin museums. So far it has been possible to identify some of the sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Italian collection which reached USSR on this special train. During the unpacking of the boxes, the works were mostly found in a relatively – in comparison to the works of art which would arrive to USSR later – satisfactory condition.

One of the identified works which arrived on this train was the statuette of *St. Peter*, a wooden wall figure (fig. 8). The statuette was evacuated to the Flakbunker Zoo and did not suffer from the fire there. It was transported to the central storage of the trophy brigades in Karlshorst<sup>19</sup> and afterwards travelled inside a separate box to the State Hermitage. *St. Peter* is a truly rare example of a "lucky one", a work which managed to survive all the war calamities, tightly keeping a key in his hand and a calm expression on his colored face.

The further trains from Berlin brought to Leningrad and to Moscow the art objects which had been mostly badly damaged during the disaster in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain<sup>20</sup>.

The excavation of artworks by the Soviet trophy brigades in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain was a complex and long-term operation. Blavatsky and his colleague archeologist Michail Ivanov-Tchuronow inspected the bunker in July 1945 and documented the stages of the tragedy: partly or completely burned, deformed, melted, smashed art objects made of wood, marble, metal and clay were lying on the floor covered with ashes. Not only two devastating fires, but presumably further explosions and the collapse of metal and plaster building structures caused the artworks to be damaged and their fragments to be spread out and separated from each other. Blavatsky noted that after the initial phase of excavation it was possible to recover around 1,500 fragmented art objects, which were packed in 40 boxes (figs. 9-10)<sup>21</sup>.

It was obvious for the art historians that the objects had to be excavated and restored as soon as possible, but the possibility to carry out their professional and ethical duties was limited by the military system. In August 1945 the head of the trophy brigades Andrej Belokopitov, former director of a Moscow theatre in "civil life", and Blavatsky recommended to proceed immediately with the organization or the professional excavation (approx. 500-600 sqm; many months of expected duration; a minimum staff of 2 archeologist and 10 auxiliary workers) immediately<sup>22</sup>. Despite

the appeal for urgency, systematic excavation only began in December 1945 and went on until about March 1946. Upon finishing the activity in the Flakbunker Friedrichshain, Blavatsky protocolled that it had been possible to retrieve around 10,000 objects of antique and European art and to pack them into 117 "B"- boxes. *«All the fragments are scorched and crumbling»*<sup>23</sup>. *Case studies of damaged sculptures upon their arrival in the USSR* 

Let us now focus on some identified sculptures which arrived at the State Hermitage and the State Pushkin Museum later, in order to trace their destinies. By following the lines of their stories, we relied upon the condition reports made in both museums upon arrival of the trains with the trophy art from Berlin. Such material is both breathtaking and fascinating as it reflects different facets of the professional and personal perception of art historians in Soviet museums after the war. Thousands of boxes with diverse objects arrived at the museums, which were badly damaged during the war and still unprepared for receiving numerous artworks and carrying out proper, detailed scientific documentation, unpacking, inventory, and storing operations. An astonishing number of artworks had to be identified, described, and distributed among the different museum departments according to their iconographical and material characteristics, origins or historical period.

Irina Antonova (1922-2020), a museum custodian and later director of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, described the arrival of the works as follows: «At some point – it was during the summer of 1945, when I already had the honor of working for the museum – we received boxes and bags with rather strange contents. They were the fragments of huge broken vases and sculptures, made from terracotta, clay or marble, and works in bronze which had been scorched by fire, and so on. In other words, material which might have been treated as rubbish. And nobody would have objected to that, because they were all covered in tar, in soot, in dirt, and wrapped in scraps of newspaper. So, we were in possession of this stuff. In order to somehow put things back together, identify them, and restore them, we needed to do a great deal of research. We had to compare all these cleaned-up fragments with one another»<sup>24</sup>. An extreme complexity of this task, or in many cases what made it even impossible, was the fact that the detonations and fire had spread the fragments of art works widely apart, as described above. During the excavations in Berlin, conducted by various archeologists over a long period of time working in different layers of ashes, it was hardly possible to identify fragments as belonging to a single object and therefore to pack them together in order to enable their future restoration.

One of these works reduced to rubbish could be the one described by

Irina Antonova and which it would not have been thinkable to integrate into a one artwork in 1945-1946: the pieces of the relief *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli* by Clemente Bandinelli (fig. 11)<sup>25</sup>, evacuated to the Flakbunker Friedrichshain in the box KFM 93<sup>26</sup> and fatally split during the fire. The fragments of the relief were transported by different trains to the State Hermitage in Leningrad and to the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow. Three parts were later returned to Berlin, while others are still in Moscow and elsewhere in Russia – long presumed to have been lost, they have been discovered only recently.

Dr. Orbeli mentioned a relief as a *Self-portrait of Bandinelli* in position 33 in the *List of sculptures from the Berlin museums intended to compensate damage to the State Hermitage* among the first-rated works, between Michelangelo and Jacopo Sansovino, supplying the reference to a historical catalogue<sup>27</sup>. «Obviously these lists are tentative, as I don't know exactly what departments of Berlin museums are being removed to us, in the USSR», noted Orbeli in August 1945, up until that moment certainly unaware that the relief had already been reduced to shreds in May 1945.

Bandinelli's work was about to arrive at the Hermitage merely as a «fragment of relief. Terracotta. Lips and a part of the beard are burned» and would be unpacked in the State Hermitage from box B-105 in July 1946.

Indeed, in the *List 19, burned sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, 1945* we can find the relief among many other famous sculptures, mentioned in the equivalent list, documented as destroyed (fig. 12)<sup>28</sup>. Although the mentioned sculptures truly suffered during the fire, some of them survived and were brought to the USSR.

One of the criteria for restitution to GDR was that the artwork should be in sufficiently good condition<sup>29</sup>. Although the burned fragments could have remained in the USSR, three pieces of the relief were returned from Leningrad in 1958 and are now in the storage of the Bode-Museum (fig. 13).

Burn marks are evident on another work from the collection of Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, which accompanied Bandinelli's work in box B-105 to Leningrad, as well as on its way home to Berlin in 1958: the sculpture *Fighting children* by the Master of the Unruly Children (figs. 14-15)<sup>30</sup>.

The *Fighting children*, together with the above mentioned "lips and a beard" of the Bandinelli, also found their way home to Berlin.

Other fragments of the Bandinelli's relief came the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow on a different train in box B-51 and were unpacked in September 1946.

If we "open" this very box, we will find several art pieces there:

• Fragmented relief of Madonna and child. Clay, marks (traces?) of gilding; broken into 16 parts, some of the parts are lost. This relief could not be identified.

• Fragment of a plate: relief with ornament and inscriptions. Terracotta, marks of coloring. Cracks, traces of fire (burned marks). This fragment could not be identified either.

• Fragmented plate with relief of a battle scene. Terracotta. 4 fragments, some parts are missing. Damaged by fire. This artwork could be identified as belonging to the circle of Wenzel Jamnitzer, *Battle scene with two riders*, inv. no. 516, Nuremberg, around 1570-1580 from the Berlin Sculpture Collection<sup>31</sup>.

• A plate with a relief of Madonna with a child. Marble. 8 fragments, badly damaged, 1 fragment is missing, chipped (split). Could not be identified.

The remaining parts of the relief of Baccio Bandinelli: «a plate of half-length relief of a man. Terracotta. 6 fragments, some parts are missing. Damaged by fire»<sup>32</sup> were found in this box as well. After unpacking, the fragmented artwork got a new inventory number: B-8371.

The fragments of the relief are now in the Pushkin State Museum in Moscow (fig. 16). Time will show whether its unification with the Berlin fragments and restoration of the *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli* is possible.

# Filling the gaps through decades/ Reconstruction of the history in presence/ Expert dialogs

As in Berlin in 1945-1946, an operation on a political level is beyond the capacities of art historians and restorers nowadays. But there are no limits to scientific research in order to identify the lost and removed artworks. Selectively looking inside only two "opened" boxes B-105 and B-51 (consider that alone the train 176/1759 which arrived in Moscow in March 1946 carried 794 containers full of numerous artworks!) from the Flakbunker Friedrichshain, we encounter the remarkable attention of Soviet art historians to every detail in the description (specifying historical inventory numbers, exact location of damage etc.) with could possibly lead to identification of even a tiny, completely damaged piece.

With notable professional diligence and impressive attention to detail Soviet museum co-workers did their best to document the shades, intensity, deepness and variety of burned marks and a number of fragments in the boxes unpacked in the museums. In another box from the Bunker Friedrichshain, B-23, we "find" 150 objects, mainly from the Antique Collection and the Sculpture Collection, seriously damaged by fire and deformed: «27 fragments of female figures»; «57 fragments of heads from terracotta»; «23 fragment of hands and feet from little sculptures». The fragments were not only mentioned but even got a new inventory number.

We believe that the great effort put by soviet art historians in 1945-1946 can be instrumental in filling knowledge gaps concerning the damaged art pieces, as well as contribute to the study of displaced art works. "Opening" each box with the artworks from Berlin Sculpture Collection is a privilege which allows you to meet a colleague from a Soviet museum through the prism of time and distance. Can these descriptions be seen as a message for our generation, enabling and encouraging the identification and hopefully restoration of art objects which suffered during the war? Can the documentation of the damaged artworks be treasured as a kind of love letters, bearing witness to a dedication to art as an integral part of human personality, independent of any political disturbances and conflicts? If so, let us keep our eyes open.

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- 1 Das verschwundene Museum. Verluste der Berliner Gemälde-Die und Skulpturensammlungen 70 Jahre nach Kriegsende, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, Bode-Museum, 19 March 27 September 2015), by J. Chapuis, S. Kemperdick, Petersberg, ed. 2015. 11. <https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/schwerpunkte/ p. provenienzforschung-und-eigentumsfragen/kriegsverluste-der-sammlungen/ kriegsbedingt-verlagerte-kulturgueter-in-russland.html> (last accessed 16 September 2021).
- 2 I. Grabar, *A Shorthand of the Meeting of an Expert-Bureau*, 24.12.1943. State Archive of Russian Federation (GARF), Fond 7021, Inv.121, Act 17, p. 59.
- 3 Among the ca. 60 members were archeologist and ethnographer Sergei Tolstov; architect Boris Iofan; art historian and professor of the Moscow State University Victor Lasarev; professor und archeologist Vladimir Blavatsky who would be heading the excavations in the Flakbunker Friedrichhain and examined other Berlin museums storages and depositories; Jury Almasov from the Moscow Museum of Natural History; art historian and porcelain expert Sergei Troinitzky; Boris Vipper, deputy director of the State Pushkin Museum, Moscow; architect Alexey Shchusev; art history professor Michail Alpatov, art historian Michail Dobroklonsky; Vladimir Levinson-Lessing, art historian, deputy director of the State Hermitage, Leningrad in the evacuation.
- 4 Together with M. Alpatov, Victor Lazarev published the following article in Germany: Ein byzantinisches Tafelwerk aus des Komnenenepoche, in «Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen», XLVI, 1925, pp. 140-155; see also: V. Lazarev, A Great Rediscovery of 11th-Century Byzantine Art, in «Illustrated London News», 17 July 1937, pp. 127-129; id., Byzantine Icons of the 14th and 15th Centuries, in «The Burlington Magazine», LXXI, 1937, pp. 249-261.

- 5 The Armistice of Cassibile between the Kingdom of Italy and the Allies during WWII was signed on 3 September 1943 by Walter Bedell Smith and Giuseppe Castellano and was made public on 8 September. It stipulated the surrender of Italy to the Allies.
- 6 GARF, Protocols of the discussions of Expert-Bureau, Fond 7021, Inv. 121, Act 17, p. 97-98.
- 7 *Ivi*, p. 102.
- 8 Paintings: Venice: R.R. Gallerie di Venezia: 13 paintings, among them: Lorenzo Veneziano, Vittore Carpaccio, Tintoretto, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, Pietro Longhi, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, Francesco Montemezzano. Three paintings were manually crossed out: Tintoretto, *Miracle of St Mark*; Veronese, *Feast in the House of Levi*; Veronese, *Procession in St. Mark's Square*; Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi: 9 paintings, among them: Filippo Lippi, *Virgin and Child with two Angels*; Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna della Melagrana* and *Madonna with Saints*; Piero di Cosimo, *Perseus Frees Andromeda*; also included in the list but crossed out: Sandro Botticelli, *The Calumny of Apelles*; Raphael, *Portrait of Pope Julius II*; Titian, *Venus of Urbino*; Michelangelo, *Tondo Doni*; Rome: Palazzo Doria Pamphili: Velazquez, *Portrait of Innocent X*; Pinacoteca di Verona: Cavazzola, *Flagellation and Coronation of Christ*; Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte: Bruegel, *The Blind Leading the Blind*. See: GARF, Fond 7021, Inv. 116, Act 291, pp. 61-71. List of drawings: 33 works from Florence, Uffizi; 1 work from Siena; 1 work from Rome; 3 works from Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia; 1 work from Brescia, Pinacoteca. See: GARF, Fond 7021, Inv. 116, Act 293, pp. 43-44.
- 9 GARF, List of equivalents of sculpture objects, Fond 7021, Inv. 116, Act 17; GARF, List of equivalents of art objects from Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Byzantium, Fond 702, Inv. 116, Act 296.
- 10 Brief record of the session the Expert Bureau 22.10.1943. GARF, Fond 702, Inv. 121, Act 17, p. 102.
- 11 In A letter to Georgy Malenkov about the activity of the expert commission inspecting the condition of Berlin Museums, inter alios signed by Lasarev, end of May, 1945. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1357, pp. 258-260.
- 12 Following catalogues were mentioned in the Soviet equivalent lists: O. Wulff, Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen, 3. Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke, Berlin, 1909; W. Vöge, Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen, 1. Elfenbeinbildwerke, Berlin, 1900-1911.
- 13 It was not previously known that the object came with the special train 178/4090-91 from Berlin to Leningrad in a good condition in a separate box CB-27C (SW-27S), the characters can be interpreted as "Oriental Sculpture" – Skulptura Vostochnaja, Скульптура Восточная.
- 14 Even if François Duquesnoy was neither a German nor a Dutch artist. The sculpture was transported to the State Hermitage in February 1946 and was restituted to Berlin in 1958.
- 15 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste. Skulpturensammlung, 7. Skulpturen, Möbel, ed. by L. Lambacher, Berlin, 2006. The documentation includes losses of the Sculpture Collection and Museum of Byzantine art.
- 16 Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1292, p. 172.
- 17 The State Hermitage Museum. The Displaced Art. 1945–1958: Archival documents, ed. by A. Aponasenko, St. Petersburg, 2014, p. 112: A letter about the necessity to complete the fond of the State Hermitage with the "trophy collections" (Director J.A. Orbeli. 30.08.1945).

- 18 Międzyrzecz [miɛn'dzizɛt͡ş] (Latin: Meserici, German: Meseritz) is a town in western Poland, on the Obra and Paklica rivers. In the late days of WWII, Meseritz was occupied by Red Army forces in the course of the Vistula-Oder Offensive on 31 January 1945. Left to the Republic of Poland, it was incorporated into Poznań Voivodeship on 7 July.
- 19 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste, cit., p. 134
- 20 Special train 176/1758, Berlin (15.01.1946) Leningrad (12.02.1946), 41 wagons, 1265 boxes with art works; special train 176/1759, Berlin (18.12.1946) Moscow (17.03.1946), 794 boxes with museums objects; special train 178/4091, Berlin (06.06.1946) Leningrad (22.06.1946), 37 wagons, 1593 boxes with museum objects; special train 176/8092 (August 1946) Leningrad (14.08.1946), 24 wagons, 846 boxes with museum objects.
- 21 Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1357, pp. 300-301.
- 22 Ivi, p. 302, 03.08.1945.
- 23 From a description in the protocol of unpacking the art works from Berlin museums in the State Hermitage, Leningrad. Box B-105. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1338, p. 36. 23.07.1946.
- 24 <http://www.cultradio.ru/brand/episode/id/57958/episode\_id/1047793/> (last accessed 17 August 2021).
- 25 Two fragments identified in two different Russian museums: The State Hermitage and The State Pushkin Museum; Moscow, Inv. 273; 74 x 74 cm. See H.-G. Moek, with A.Yurchenko, *Fall32:DieWiedergeburtdesBaccioBandinelli*, in «Arsprototo», 2, 2019 (<https:// www.kulturstiftung.de/fall-62-die-wiedergeburt-des-baccio-bandinelli/>, last accessed 17 August 2021); *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste*, cit., p. 253.
- 26 KFM for Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin.
- 27 W. Bode, H. von Tschudi, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epoche*, Berlin, 1888, p. 66.
- 28 Central Archive of the Berlin Museums, SMB-ZA, I/SKS 0146, Liste der im Bunker Friedrichshain verbrannten Kunstwerke der Skulpturensammlung, Frühchristlich-Byzantinischen Sammlung und des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museumsvereins nach Inventarnummern und Kistennummern, 1945, Liste 19; undated, circa 1945.
- 29 Aponasenko, The State Hermitage Museum, cit., p. 63. See also V. Rastorguev, From a Russian Perspective. Notes on the History of the Italian Sculptures from the Berlin Museums in the Custody of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, 1945–2015, in «Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz», LI, 2015, p. 176.
- 30 *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste*, cit., p. 253: *Streitende Kinder* (*Gruppe*). Meister der unartigen Kinder. Florence, second half of the fifteenth century; 27 cm (height). Inv. no. 1585. Evacuation: Flakturm Friedrichshain, Crate 221. The description of the condition of this sculpture in the State Hermitage was: «a little group. Two fat figures. Terracotta. The head, left feet and the foot of the right feet is broken down by the left figure. Only the upper body remained from a crying one. Everything crumbles». Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1338, p. 36. 23.07.1946.
- 31 K. Akinscha, G. Koslow, C. Toussaint, Russische Dokumente zur Beutekunst. Bemerkungen zum Aktenfonds Akinscha / Koslow im Archiv des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, in «Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums», 1997, pp. 148-149; Staatliche Museen

*zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste*, cit., p. 49. Evacuation: Flakleitturm Friedrichshain, Box Nr. 624 DM. Liste 19. p. 25. Not restituted.

32 Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Fund 962, Inv. 6, File 1354, p. 132.



Giovanni Pisano Virgin and Child Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 31	Identified in Box B-80. "Statuette of Madonna with a child. Marble. The heads of both figures are broken down, the protruding parts are severely damaged, the edgings are crumbling. Giovanni Pisano". The State Hermitage, Lenin- grad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1338, p. 30.
Giovanni Pisano <i>The Dead Christ with Angels</i> (reading pulpit) Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 32	
Giovanni Pisano <i>Two Sibyls</i> Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-3 and 3C-4. Transferred after WWII. Until 1 945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. 2946 and 2947	Evacuation: Flakturm Friedri- chshain, Box 25 KFM.

Arnolfo di Cambio <i>Dormitio Virginis</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2827	
Andrea Pisano Virgin and Child Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 34	
Nino Pisano Virgin and Child Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 4994	
11.Jacopo di Piero Guidi <i>Musician Angel</i> , later transformed in a <i>King David</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2794	

Jacopo della Quercia Angel of the Annunciation Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 198	
Jacopo della Quercia <i>Virgin of the Annunciation</i> Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensamm- lung, Inv. 199. Lost since 1945	
Donatello <i>The Flagellation of Christ</i> Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-10. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 1979	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain, box 73 KFM. Identified in box B-63 (2) "Fragmented relief plate depicting "Flagellation of Christ". Marble. Brocken into 14 pieces". The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1351, p. 94.

Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano Bust of the Young St John the Baptist Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensam- mlung, Inv. 1793. Lost since 1945	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain, box 8a KFM.
Donatello Virgin and Child, called the Pazzi Madonna Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 51	
Donatello Virgin and Child with four Cherubs Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 54	
After Donatello Virgin and Child, called the Verona Madonna Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensam- mlung, Inv. M 24. Lost since 1945	Evacuation: New Mint, box 750 KFM. Presumably identified in box sr.13 (Russian: cp.13) "Relief. Madonna with a child. Cartapesta, coloured. School of Donatello. Relief is very blackened, severely damaged, left shoulder of the child with the hand is broken off". The State Hermitage, Lenin- grad

Attributed to Nicolò Baron- celli and Domenico di Paris Portrait of Ludovico III Gonzaga Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 52	
Donatello St John the Baptist Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-8. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 50	Evacuation: box Nr. 67 KFM Flakbunker Friedrichshain. Identified in box B-52 "burned, severely damaged, both arms and lower parts of legs are broken and lost, multiple chips, the surface is severely damaged, restored before" The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1354, p. 38.
Donatello Dancing putto with a Tambou- rine Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2653	
Donatello David with the Head of Goliath Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2262	



Luca della Robbia Virgin and Child with Angels Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2967	Identified in box СД (SD) 036 "Luca della Robbia Virgin and Child with Angels. Lunette. Satisfactory condi- tion." The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1354. p. 190.
Andrea della Robbia Bust of a Young Man Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2183	Identified in box B-109 "High relief portrait bust of a youth with curly har – majolica. Burned, broken into 8 pieces – the left side of the head together with the background and with a piece of the background on the other side are broken off". The State Hermitage, Lenin- grad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1338, p. 27.
Luca della Robbia <i>Madonna and Child</i> , called the <i>Alessandri Madonna</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 139	

Andrea della Robbia Madonna and Child with Saints, called the Sassetti Altar Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 147	
Attributed to Santi Buglioni <i>Pietà</i> Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensam- mlung, Inv. 2723. Lost since 1945	
Desiderio da Settignano Portrait of a Young Lady, called Marietta Strozzi Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 77	
Gregorio di Lorenzo Portrait of a Young Lady Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 1557	

Follower of Desiderio da Settignano Portrait of a Young Lady, called the <i>Princess from</i> <i>Urbino</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 78	Identified in box B-79 "Female bust of Urbino princess. Limestone – on the left cheek a white spot. Desiderio." The State Hermitage, Lenin- grad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1338. p. 29.
Settignano Portrait of a Young Lady Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensam- mlung, Inv. 1773. Lost since 1945	Presumably identified in box B-105. "Fragment of a female bust, probably a circle of Desiderio da Settignano, terracotta – a mask of a young face with the eyes looking to the left side remained. Italy, XV century" The State Hermitage, Lenin- grad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1338. p. 37.
After Desiderio da Setti- gnano <i>Virgin and Child</i> , called the <i>Foulc Madonna</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2015	

After Desiderio da Setti- gnano <i>Virgin and Child</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 88		
Antonio Rossellino, <i>Virgin and Child</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 1709		Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain, box 153 KFM. Probably identified in box B-80 "Relief rectangular – marble. Half figure of Madonna with child. Rossellino. Broken into many parts. Many parts are lost". The State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1338. p. 30.
Follower of Antonio Rossel- lino <i>Virgin and Child</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 82		
Mino da Fiesole <i>Virgin and Child</i> Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensamm- lung, Inv. 98. Lost since 1945	Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray Picture Libray	

Mino da Fiesole Portrait of a Young Lady Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-35. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 97		Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain, box 16 KFM. Identified in box B-47 "Bust consisting of three fragments, head and the right side of lower part is lost. Woman in clothes. Italian Renaissance. Chips, cracks, burned, covered with soot". The State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1354. p. 24.
Mino da Fiesole Portrait of Niccolò Strozzi Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 96		
Andrea del Verrocchio <i>The Entombment</i> Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-12. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 117		Evacuation Flakbunker Friedrichhain box 28 KFM. Presumably identified in box B-25. "Fragmented plate with a relief depicting a religious theme (the lamentation of Christ). Terracotta. 6 pieces. Damaged by fire". The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1351. p. 168.

Andrea del Verrocchio Sleeping Youth Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 112		
Follower of Andrea del Verrocchio <i>Mary Magdalene</i> Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-13. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 113		
Florentine Sculptor <i>St John the Baptist</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2954		



Lorenzo "the Magnificent" de' Medici Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 184	Identified in box 322. "Bust of Lorenzo the Magnifi- cent. Gips. Painted". The State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1258. p. 4; File 1261, p.96 reverse.
Bolognese Sculptor Presumed Portrait of Niccolò Sanuti Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. M 9	
Bolognese Sculptor Virgin with the Sleeping Child Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensam- mlung, Inv. 7136. Lost since 1945	

Attributed to Guido Mazzoni Portrait of a Man Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 1892	
Tullio Lombardo Shield Bearers Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 212 and 213	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichhain.
Antonio Tamagnini Portrait of Acellino Salvago Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2750	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain.
Francesco Laurana Portrait of a Young Lady, called the <i>Princess from</i> <i>Naples</i> Head: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 260 Bust: Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-58. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulptu- rensammlung, Inv. 260	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichhain, box 51 KFM. Identified in box B-47 "Bust consisting of four fragments. The head is lost. The clothes are decorated with relief ornament. Pedestal with relief. Depicting (Italian Renais- sance) Francesco Laurana – Bust of Neapolitan Princess. Marble. Chips. Cracks." The State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1354. p. 24.

Giovan Battista and Domenico Pieratti <i>Aristaeus</i> Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensamm- lung, Inv. 264. Lost since 1945	Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichhain, box 3 KFM.
Follower of Michelangelo (?) <i>Apollo</i> or <i>Orpheus</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2407	
Francesco da Sangallo Virgin and Child Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 288	
Alessandro Vittoria Porträtbüste des Ottavio Grimani Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 303	

Gian Lorenzo Bernini Group of Tritons Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 1795	
Melchiorre Cafà Frame with Angels Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2192	
Alessandro Algardi Portrait of Laudivio Zacchia Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2765	
Francesco Maratti Portrait of Carlo Maratti Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 346	

After Desiderio da Setti- gnano Portrait of a Boy Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-459. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staat- liche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. 2746	before WWII	after WWII	
Attributed to Gian Marco Cavalli Portrait of Giovanni Battista Spagnoli Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-454. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staat- liche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. 1555			Evacuation Flakbunker Friedrichhain box 723 KFM. Identified in box B-59 "Sculptured head of a man in a hood in a laurel wreath. Bronze. Satisfactory condi- tion." The State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1333. p. 39.
Attributed to Giulio Mazzoni Portrait of Franceso del Nero Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 3C-224. Transferred after WWII. Until 1945-46: Staat- liche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. 2261			Evacuation Flakbunker Friedrichshain box 748 KFM. Identified in box B-48 "Bust of a man draped in an overcoat. Pedestal is lost. Severely damaged by fire". The State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Fund 962. Inventory 6. File 1333. p. 39.
Antonio Lombardo Portrait of a Young Lady Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 298			
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Bertoldo di Giovanni <i>Hercules</i>		Evacuation: Flakbunker Friedrichshain, box 220 KFM.	
Antonio del Pollaiuolo <i>Hercules</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 3043	Real Provide American Science Provide American		
Attributed to Bartolomeo Bellano <i>Hecate</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 1942			

Andrea Riccio <i>Toad</i> Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensamm- lung, Inv. 7299 or 2310. Both lost since 1945	<b>Inv. 7299</b>	Inv. 2310	
Andrea Riccio <i>Crab</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 2103	C.A.		
Giambologna <i>Nessus and Deianira</i> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. M. 38			

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Fig. 1: Excerpt from the final lists of equivalents, 2 February 1945. State Archive of Russian Federation, Fond 7021, Inv. 116, Act 291, pp. 61-71.

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	Королевская Галлёрея в Еснеции .
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. 24° -	<ol> <li>Лоренцо Венециино. Пять изооражении на досках. В середине "Благоведекае", по сторонан св.Грыго- рии, нован креститель, наков и Стебин. 9.</li> <li>Цогелар Уследова.</li> </ol>
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1	60.000
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1	-Tintoretto . Li miracolo di S.Marco. 47.
	3. Витторе Карпаччо. Сретение . 44. 75.000
	Vittore Carpaccio. La prezentazione di Gesu Bambino al fdeerdote Simeone. 44.
1	4. Наоно Беронезе. Щар в доме Девита . 203.
1	-Paolo Veronese., Il convito in casa di-Levi. 203
	5. THHEODETTO. HOPPPET HEY CHATODOB. 240 40.000 Tintoretto. Atratti di due senatori . 240-
1	6. Цж.Б.Тьеполо. Медний змый. 343 Сонста
	Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. Il serpente di pronzo. 345.
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ľ	7. Пъстро Лонги. Утро венецианской дами. 464. / 5. 2007. Pietro Longni 1 mettino ei una rightra veneziona. (5)
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-	8. Пьетро Лонги. Концерт. 466. Pletro Longhi. L concerto . 406 . 1 25-200
	<ol> <li>Джованыя Баттиста Пьяцетта. Двое оножей, игранцях с собаков. 483.</li> <li>Giovanni Battista Piszzetta. Duo giovanicontodine au me- giovanni battista Piszzetta. Duo giovanicontodine au me- 483.</li> </ol>
	Giovanni Battista Pizzetta, Duo giovantonioni 483 . resto che conerzano con un cane. #- 483 .
-	Pouena 520
	10. Opanyecko Montemennano. Benepa . 520 . Francesco Montemezzano- Verere e due amorini. 520 .
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Fig. 2: Excerpt from the final lists of equivalents, 2 February 1945. State Archive of Russian Federation, Fond 7021, Inv. 116, Act 291, pp. 61-71.



Fig. 3: Sicily, Sarcophagus, first quarter of the fourth century, marble, 105 x 242.5 x 81.5 cm. Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 3020. Photo: ©Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin / Jürgen Liepe.

- 5 -26. Гудон. Глюк. Гипс. 20,000 Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. B.T., Brl. 1910, 1 453 ( J.1960 ) Houdon. Glück. Gips. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Zrochen. B.IY, Brl.1910. N 453 (J.1960). 27. Пигаль. Меркурий. Мрамор. 30.000 Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Brochen. B.IY, Jrl. 1910, N 443 ( J.355 ) Pigalle. Merkur. Marmor. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. B.IT, Brl.1910, N 448 ( J.356 ) . 28. Пирель. Венера. Мранор. 30.000 chreibung der Sillmarke der christlichen Enochen. B.IY, Brl.1910, N 449 ( J.2836 ) Pigelle. Venus. Marmor . Beschreibung der Bildworke der christlichen Epochen. B.IY, Brl.1910, N 449 (J.2836) 29. Ipancya Tacnap? Agan. Tomisen Mosinna. 15.000 Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen-B.IY, Brl. 1910, W 450 (J.2832) François Gesbard Adam. Schmerin. Harmor. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. B.IY, Erl.1910, N.450 (J.2832) - Итальянская скульптура. Italienische Flastik. Кайзер Гридрих Шузеум . Keizer Friedrich Museum . 30. Падонна пресвитера Партинуса. 1199 г. Дерево . 20.000 Esschreihung der Bildwarke der christlichen Buochen. B.III, Beil II, Berlin I9II, 11 1830 ( I. 29 ) Medonna des Presbyter Martinus vom J.1199. Holz. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Spochen. B.III, Teil II, Berlin I9TI, M 1830 ( 1.29 )

Fig. 4: Excerpt from the list of equivalents of French sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. Staatsarchiv der Russischen Föderation (GARF) (im Bestand Akinscha/Koslow): Akte 79, Fundus 7021, Inventar 116, Akte 291, p. 5.

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-		Boschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen
1		B.III, Ceil II, Berlin 1911, H 1813 ( 1.34) N.Pissno. Madonnenstatuette. Alabaster.
F		rescareibung den Bille
F		Brochen.
		B.III, Teil II, Parlin 1911, N 1813 ( 1.34 ).
1	4I.	падонна. Алебастр.
1		Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen.
-		B.III, Teil II, Eerlin 1911, N 1814 ( 1.4994 ).
1		N.Pisano. Medonnenstatuette Alabaster.
RF		Baschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Bpochen.
		B.III, Teil II, Berlin 1911, N 1814 (1.4994 ).
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24		Beschreibung der Bildwerke der obristlichen
		B.Y, Brl.1913, M 3 ( 1.2794 ).
		Nenni di Banco. König David.Marmor.
		Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen
		Brocher. B.Y, Erl.1917, N 3 ( 1.2794 ).
		ілаговещение. Дорево. Ск. 1425. /о. от
E.C.	43-44.	Beschreibung der Bildverke der christlichen
		Beschreibung der Bright
		Zpochon. B.T. Barlin 1917, N 24-25 ( 1.198,199 ).
		Beschreiburg der Biliwerke der Bilitertiden
		Dochon. B.Y, Berlin 1913, N 24-25 ( 1.198,199 ).
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Fig. 5: Excerpt from the list of equivalents of Italian sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. Staatsarchiv der Russischen Föderation (GARF) (im Bestand Akinscha/Koslow): Akte 79, Fundus 7021, Inventar 116, Akte 291, p. 7.

12 I2 -Андреа Верроккио. Положение во гроб.Рельеф.Террикотта. 69. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Spochen. B.V., Berlin 1913, N 172 ( I.117 ) 8.000 Andrea Verrocchio. Grablegung Christi. Gebrannter Ton. Beschreibung der Eildwerke der christlichen Epochen. B.Y, Berlin 1913, N 172 ( I.117 ). 70. Алдреа Зерроккио. Спаций иноша. Терракотта. /о. от Beschreibung der Bildwerke dor ohristlichen Epochen. B.V. Borlin 1972, V 173 ( I.II2 ) Andrea Verrocchio. Schlafender Jungling. Gebrannter Ton. Beschreibung der Bildwarke der christlichen Epochen. B.V, Berlin 1913, N 173 ( 1.112 ). - - delive Андреа Берроккио. Мария Паглалина. Терракотта. PT. ------Beschreibung der Bildverke der christlichen Epochen. B.V., Berlin 1913, N 175 ( IIII3 ). Andrea Várocchio. Die HL. Maria Magdalene. Gebrannter Ton. Beschreibung der Bildverke der christlichen Epochen. B.V. Berlin 1913, N 175 ( I.II3 ). Екола Зерроккио. Моанн Бангелист. Терракотта. /2. ста 72. Boschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Frochen. B.V. Barlin 1913, N 177 ( 1.2954 ). Art des Veroschio. Johannes der Täufer. Gebrannter Ton. Basahreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. B.V, Berlin 1913, N 177 ( 1.2954 ). школа Дерроккио. Портрет мозимо недичи. ........ 73, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Spochen. 2.V. Borlin 1913, 1 133 ( I. 124 ) Art des Verocchio. Bildnis des Cosimo de'Hedici. Marmor. Beschreibung der Bildserke der christlichen Spochen. D.V., Parlin 1913, N 183 ( I.124 ). 74. Земелетто да найно. Нортрат млиппо Строции. 15.000 Тарракотта. Roschreibung der Bildrurke der christlichen Epochen. D,V, Berlin 1913, N 198 ( I.102) Benedatto da Maiano. Bildnis des Filippo Strozzi. Gebrannter Ton. Beschreibung der Bildmarke der christlichen Epochen. S.V, Eerlin 1913, N 198 ( I.102 ) and the second second

Fig. 6: Excerpt from the list of equivalents of Italian sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. Staatsarchiv der Russischen Föderation (GARF) (im Bestand Akinscha/Koslow): Akte 79, Fundus 7021, Inventar 116, Akte 291, p. 12.

- 13 -75. 10нодотто да Шамио. Пария с'Шладончот. Террекотта. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christitchen Epochen. B.V. Berlin 1913, N 200 (I. 104). Benodettorda Maianos Marga mit dem Kinde. Gebrennter Ton. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Bjochen-B.V, Berlin 1913, N 200 ( 1.104). 75. Поректикский мастер. Портрет Длов. Ручеллан. Штук. Berchreibung der Sildrenke der christlichen Epochen. B.V, Berlin 1913, N 234 ( 1.173 ) 8.000 Florentiner Meister um 1460-1470. Bildnie des Giovenni Beschreibung der Bildwerke dar christlichen Epochen. B.V, Berlin 1913, W 234 ( 1.173 ). ??. жлорантинскин мастер. Портрет Лоренцо да Недичи. Штук. Barchweibung der Pildmanke der christlichen Trochen. B.7, Jerlin 1917, N 255 (I.134) Florentiner Meister. Bildnis des Lorenzo . Medici. Beschreibung der Bildwerks der christlichen Epochen-B.V, Berlin 1913, N 236 ( 1.184 ). - 2 dist. 78. Ілорентинский мастер. Портрет монаха. Терракотта. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Spochen. B.V. Berlin 1917, M 237 ( 1.184 ) . 2 (mai 2. 1000 Florentiner Meister, Billais eines Minches, Gebrennter Ton. Peschreibung der Bildurke der obrig lichen Spochen. L.V. Berlin 1913, H 237 ( I.IPA ). . . Dinin The Las Land Caper.To Carron and and Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochan. B.V. Berlin 1913, H 279 & K.F.H.V. ) Sperendio di Bertolozneo. Bildnis des Miccolò Senuti. Gobranterrion. Derchreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Tycchen. 5.V. Borlin 1913, N 279 ( K.F.H.V. ). 30. Никаоло даль Арка. Падонна со сплани ладенцен. Терракота Beschreibung der 211d - inke der christlichen Locken E.J. Berlin 1913, 2 203 ( 1.7135 ) 7.000 Niccolo dell' Arce. Madonne mit dem schlafenden Kind. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der ahristlicher Epochen. E.V, Berlin 1913; N 283 ( 1.7136 ) the stand the property was a

Fig. 7: Excerpt from the list of equivalents of Italian sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. Staatsarchiv der Russischen Föderation (GARF) (im Bestand Akinscha/Koslow): Akte 79, Fundus 7021, Inventar 116, Akte 291, p. 13.



Fig. 8: *St. Peter*, Florence, around 1300, 91.5 x 37 cm. Until 1945 : Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Transferred after WWII. Now in St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage. Photo: The State Hermitage.



Fig. 9: Boxes with the damaged German artworks in the exhibition Custodians. War and peace in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Art in 1941-1945, Moscow, The State Pushkin Museum, 30 April 2015 – 21 June 2015. Photo: Ekaterina Allenova, Moscow, 2015.



Fig. 10: Boxes with the damaged German artworks in the exhibition Custodians. War and peace in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Art in 1941-1945, Moscow, The State Pushkin Museum, 30 April 2015 – 21 June 2015. Photo: Juri Avakumov, Moscow, 2015.



Fig. 11: Clemente Bandinelli, *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli* (before the War), mid sixteenth century, 74 x 47 cm, terracotta. Photo: ©Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin / Archiv SBM.

Inv. Mr.	Kiste 3	ir. Material	Gegenstand Ben.
269	221	Gebr. Ton	Eleinplastik.Giow.da Bologna, Liegender Flussgott.
270	221		<ul> <li>.Sach Giov.ds Bologna, Sitzender Flassgott.</li> </ul>
273	93		Bandinelli, Brustbild eines bärtigen Mannes.
276	636	Bronse	Kleinplastik.Ital.Florens 16.Jh.Pferd.
280	66	Marmor	Sansovino, Bildnis der Teodorina Cibo.
281 *	339		. Reliefbildnis des Kardinals Antonio del Monte.
285	631	Gebr. Ton	Sansovino-Kreis, Sebastian, Statuette.
290	665		Nach Girol. Campagna, Leichnam Christi, Relief.
293	742	Marmor	Römisch 16.Jh., Büste del Monte.
304	675		Werkstatt Vittoris, Bildnis Seno.
305	44	Gebr. Ton	Vittoria. Buste des Admirale Contarini.
314	665	Marmor	Bologna um 1530, Porträtkopf (Guido Pepoli?)
317	636	Ton	Kleinplastik.Italien 1520, Bildnis Francesco w.Urbino.
318	124	Marmor	Oberital. Anf. 17. Jh., Bildnis einer Brau, Relie
327	665	Gebr. Ton	Florens um 1550, Grusifixus n. Michelangelo Relief.
346	674	Marmor	Maratti, Bildnisbüste.
-352	678	Alabaster	Spanien 14. Jh, Relief.
365	333	Stein	Burnberg Ende 14.Jh., 3 Propheten vom Meister des Schönen Brunnens. (53K)
366	9		Fürstenstatue aus Sürnberg.
367	134	Gebr. Tom	and a second a second a second and
371	545	Marmor	Englisch 14.Jh., Auferstehung, Helief.
378	585	Stein	Bayrisch um 1400, Kniende Stifterin.
379	609	Hols	Bayrisch e.15.Jh., El. Laurentius.
365	599		Murnberg um 1500, Maria m. Kind.
407	371		Franken um 1500, Maris m.d. Kinde a.d. Mond- sichel
411 -	551		Verkstatt Riemenschneiders, Abt.
413	552		desgl. ,Hl.Elisabeth.
416	625	•	Nach Eiemenschneider, Anf. 16. Jh. Beweinung unter dem Kreus, Belief.
419	. 469		Brixen um 1490, H1.Georg.
437	735		Daucherbüste.
458	734		
440	735		
444	734		
449	754		the second s
188	735		Gregor Erbart, Bobutsmantelmadonna.

Fig. 12: Burned sculptures from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, list no. 19. Berlin, SMB-ZA, I/SKS 0146, Liste der im Bunker Friedrichshain verbrannten Kunstwerke der Skulpturensammlung, Frühchristlich-Byzantinischen Sammlung und des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museumsvereins nach Inventarnummern und Kistennummern, 1945, Liste 19; undated, circa 1945.



Fig. 13: Fragment of Clemente Bandinelli's *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli*, mid sixteenth century, 74 x 47 cm, terracotta. Restituted in 1958 from the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg, now in the storage of the Bode-Museum, Berlin. Photo: ©Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin / Archiv SBM.



Fig. 14: Master of the unruly children, *Fighting children* (before the War), Florence, second half of the fifteenth century, 27 cm (height), formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, inv. no. 1585. Photo: ©Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.



Fig. 15: Master of the unruly children, *Fighting children* (actual state), Florence, second half of the fifteenth century, 27 cm (height), now in the storage of the Bode-Museum, inv. no. 1585. Photo: ©Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.



Fig. 16: Fragments of Clemente Bandinelli's *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli*, mid sixteenth century, 74 x 47 cm, terracotta. Formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Transferred after WWII. Now State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Photo: The State Pushkin Museum.



Fig. 16: Fragments of Clemente Bandinelli's *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli.* mid sixteenth century, 74 x 47 cm, terracotta. Formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Transferred after WWII. Now State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Photo: The State Pushkin Museum.



Fig. 16: Fragments of Clemente Bandinelli's *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli.* mid sixteenth century, 74 x 47 cm, terracotta. Formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Transferred after WWII. Now State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Photo: The State Pushkin Museum.