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**Gerardo de Simone, Emanuele Pellegrini** - [predella@predella.it](mailto:predella@predella.it)

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**«I am really proud to have in my room my Guercino and my Cavallino».  
Ludwig Pollak and *The dream of Joseph*. On the intricate Provenance of a Neapolitan Baroque Painting**

The dream of Joseph from the workshop of the Neapolitan Baroque painter Bernardo Cavallino (1616-1656) has been part of the collection of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig since 1963. In 2021 the museum decided to list it on the Lost Art Database as suspected of being Nazi-looted art; since then, the painting has been subject to intensive research, given its intricate provenance related to the renowned Prague Jewish archaeologist, art dealer and collector Ludwig Pollak (1868-1943), who had been deported from Rome to Auschwitz in autumn 1943 and whose prominent art collection was largely dispersed during the Nazi-fascist period. By reconstructing the intricate biography of the painting and illustrating the persisting provenance gaps and open questions that relate to the fate of Pollak's art collection, the paper aims to discuss the frequent challenges in the field of provenance research as well as to highlight the importance of transnational cooperation and transparent communication amongst international scholars to overcome such obstacles.

### Introduction

The question of the provenance of art and cultural assets has always been a fundamental issue in museums and collections research. However, it took a new dimension with the adoption of the *Washington Principles* in 1998, which call for the identification of Nazi-looted cultural property and the search for the previous owners or their heirs to find «a just and fair solution» with them<sup>1</sup>. Italy and Germany are amongst the forty-four countries that have signed the legally non-binding *Washington Principles*<sup>2</sup>.

In Germany, the Federal Government, the *Länder* and the national associations of local authorities committed themselves in 1999 in the *Gemeinsame Erklärung (Joint Declaration)* to the identification and restitution of Nazi-looted cultural property<sup>3</sup>. To implement the *Joint Declaration*, a legally non-binding *Handreichung (Guidelines)* was presented in 2001 as guidance for provenance research in public collections, museums, libraries and archives<sup>4</sup>. On this basis, the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig, a *Landesmuseum* (state museum) in Lower Saxony, is also committed to proactively, systematically and continuously investigate the question of provenance to search for artworks and cultural assets in its collections that might have been seized or looted under the Nazi regime and to restitute the affected objects or to find another just and fair solution together with the rightful owners<sup>5</sup>.

Despite intensive research, the question of provenance cannot always be answered quickly and easily: there may be decisive gaps in the provenance chain

because documents may be missing or ambiguous, because there may be more or less room for interpretation, and access to archives may be difficult. Furthermore, the objects in question have often travelled across different countries, they might have been translocated during political conflicts or wars, and might have circulated on the international art market. Provenance research, therefore, requires a transnational perspective, it thrives on international networking, transparent exchange, and collaboration.<sup>6</sup>

This paper aims to tackle the above challenges by illustrating a case study, which has not yet been possible to resolve regardless of four years of research and the consultation of archives in Germany, Italy, Great Britain, the United States of America, the Netherlands, and Brazil<sup>7</sup>. This research has brought together the three authors, based in Italy and in Germany, who herewith wish to take the missing parts up for discussion in the hope that it will provide new impetus for the ongoing research of this particular case. At the same time, the contribution aims to highlight the importance of international exchange, considering that many of the illustrated results would not have been achieved without research beyond borders and transparent communication between international scholars.

What is the starting point of this article? It is about the provenance of the painting *The dream of Joseph* from the workshop of the Neapolitan Baroque painter Bernardo Cavallino (1616-1656) kept in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig (fig. 1)<sup>8</sup>. The initial reason for more in-depth research about its provenance had been the following information: «[...] Rom, Studio d'Arte Palma 1944–1945; Rom, Ludovico Pollack 1921-1938 [...]» in the collection catalogue of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum published in 2004<sup>9</sup>. It quickly became clear that «Ludovico Pollack» referred to the renowned Prague Jewish archaeologist, art dealer and collector Ludwig Pollak (1868-1943) who was arrested in Rome on 16 October 1943, together with his wife Julia, née Süssmann (1877-1943), and their children Susanna (1910-1943) and Wolfgang (1902-1943), and deported and murdered in the Auschwitz concentration camp<sup>10</sup>.

The painting *The dream of Joseph* was therefore suspected of being Nazi-looted art. It was accordingly reported to the German Lost Art Foundation by the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum and has been listed in the Lost Art Database since May 2021<sup>11</sup>.

### *The Provenance of The dream of Joseph from 1909 until 1944*

«[...] I am really proud to have in my room my Guercino and my Cavallino [...]». This sentence by Ludwig Pollak was written to Denis Mahon in a postcard sent

to the young British scholar on 9 May 1937 (fig. 2a-b)<sup>12</sup>. At that time, Mahon was only twenty-seven years old, while Pollak was approaching the tragic end of his life in October 1943 at seventy-five years. Despite the large age difference, they became sincere friends thanks to their shared *connoisseurship*, skills and passion for the art of the Italian Baroque masters. Among them, we can certainly include Guercino (1591-1666) and Bernardo Cavallino (1616-1656), but also Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and Domenico Guidi (1625-1701), to name just a few.

Our research demonstrates that the Cavallino painting mentioned by Pollak in his postcard to Mahon is most likely the oil on canvas representing *The dream of Joseph* preserved since 1963 at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Whilst in spring 1937 it was still hanging on the wall in Pollak's prestigious apartment in Palazzo Odescalchi in Rome<sup>13</sup>, in the following decades it passed through various hands and countries until its arrival – by acquisition – in one of the most important museums of Lower Saxony. There, the painting was attributed to Cavallino's workshop, which means that the painter of this artwork could not be precisely identified: was he a contemporary of Bernardo Cavallino or Cavallino himself? In any case, it must have been an artist who was close to him. A better-known version of the same holy scene, which instead can be clearly attributed to the Neapolitan master, is kept in the collection of the Narodowe Museum in Warsaw<sup>14</sup>.

In the first half of the last century, the painting attracted great attention from both private collectors and art dealers. Documents related to several ownership changes between 1909 and 1963, as well as scholarly contributions by renowned art historians, prove this persistent interest, and, nowadays, they are key instruments for the reconstruction of the provenance of *The dream of Joseph*. The first fundamental sources are almost from the same period; we refer to an article written in 1920 by the Roman antique dealer Ettore Sestieri in the prestigious journal «L'Arte», founded and directed by Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941), and the catalogue of a selection of Bernardo Cavallino's paintings edited by Aldo De Rinaldis (1881-1948) in 1921<sup>15</sup>. Sestieri mentioned the oil on canvas in Ludwig Pollak's collection as a faithful and well-preserved copy of the painting *The Holy Family with the Angel*, then in the private collection of the Neapolitan «[...] sig Ciardiello [...]»<sup>16</sup>.

The second author, however, presents an important detail regarding the previous owner, attesting to the presence of Pollak's painting already in 1909 in the art collection of Ugo Jandolo, a famous Roman antiquarian who used to collaborate with the Prague archaeologist in art dealing with prestigious international clients, such as Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929)<sup>17</sup>.

Since De Rinaldis published his volume in 1921, testifying the presence of the painting in Ludwig Pollak's collection but without giving any specific information about when and how he acquired it, we should search for another useful source to fill the gap between Jandolo and Pollak. We can find it in a letter written by Pollak to Bode, for whom he had been the most trusted art dealer on the Roman art market between 1902 and 1929<sup>18</sup>. In this precious and unpublished document, dated 29 May 1910, the archaeologist mentioned a painting attributed to Bernardo Cavallino – unfortunately without any specification of the subject – that was part of his collection. We can quite surely assume that he referred to *The dream of Joseph*. Pollak was inclined to give this painting «as a gift» to the Italian government – represented by Corrado Ricci (1858-1934) who, at that time, was the general director of the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – to obtain in exchange the export license for a prestigious sculpture: the cera model for the bronze equestrian monument of the duke of Parma and Piacenza, Alessandro Farnese (1545-1592), cast by Francesco Mochi (1580-1654) for the central square of Piacenza<sup>19</sup>. The archaeologist was very keen on this sale because he wanted to satisfy one of his best clients, Wilhelm Bode, who wished to acquire the cera for the sculpture collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin<sup>20</sup>. This letter has particular relevance as it helps to reconstruct a significant ownership passage of the painting. In fact, it reveals that Ludwig Pollak acquired *The dream of Joseph* for his collection in 1909 or 1910 from Ugo Jandolo, assigning it a value comparable to the rare and precious cera model by one of the most renowned Italian sculptors of the Baroque. It also shows that he had no doubts about the attribution of the painting to Bernardo Cavallino. However, Ricci did not accept Ludwig Pollak's proposal, which is why the oil on canvas remained in his private collection for many more years, as we can learn, for instance, from the testimony of the Austrian art historian Otto Benesch (1896-1964), who confirmed the presence of the artwork in the archaeologist's property in 1926 and considered it as a noteworthy example of classicism of the Neapolitan caravaggism<sup>21</sup>.

In the following years, and particularly in the second half of the 1930s, Ludwig Pollak faced difficult times due to the general contraction of the art market and the increasing antisemitism which in 1938 led the Italian government to implement the racial laws. Consequently, he tried to sell several artworks from his collection at auction or through private sales to gather money and potentially prepare himself and his family to flee the country. One of the first attempts can be retraced in the archive of the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti in the Central State Archive in Rome. In 1935, Pollak handed in a request to lift the export ban – which had been notified on 19 September 1919 – for thirteen works of

art including paintings, archaeological pieces, marble sculptures and some small objects of applied arts, which he presumably wished to sell abroad. *The dream of Joseph*, indicated with the different title of *The angel warning the Holy Family*, was among these objects, but the Ministry, after having asked for a detailed opinion from the then Superintendent of the Galleries and Medieval and Modern Works of Art of the Province of Rome, Federico Hermanin (1868-1953), refused to lift the export ban for this painting, still considering it an authentic and valuable work by Bernardo Cavallino<sup>22</sup>.

Further documentation attests Pollak's attempts to sell the Neapolitan painting. We are referring to three photographs preserved in the photographic archive of the Federico Zeri Foundation in Bologna. One of them belonged for sure to the Czech archaeologist because the following notes on the back side reveal his unmistakable handwriting: «Bernardo Cavallino/1622-1654/Canvas/98 cm h. 72 cm l. without the old gilt frame/Published by de Rinaldis Cavallino pl. l» and, in a different handwriting, «Cavallino, 3000 dollari» (fig. 3a-b)<sup>23</sup>. These annotations not only document the object's basic data – author, date, technique, size and bibliography – but also refer to its value, which leads to the assumption that this photograph had been sent to potential buyers in the United States.<sup>24</sup> However, most likely due to the persisting export ban on the painting, Ludwig Pollak could not sell *The dream of Joseph* abroad. It, therefore, remained in his apartment in Palazzo Odescalchi, as testified by the aforementioned postcard to Denis Mahon in May 1937, and it surely did so until the first months of 1943 because then the painting was listed, with several other objects, in a fire insurance policy that Ludwig Pollak took out in Rome with the Danubio Company on 30 March 1943<sup>25</sup>. There, the painting, listed as number 4 and entitled *L'angelo che veglia la Sacra Famiglia*, is still attributed to Bernardo Cavallino, with a value of 40.000 Lire, but the artwork has then been erased with a pen stroke, accompanied by two handwritten notes: firstly «(28.6.43)» written in black pen, and secondly, «giugno 43» in grey pencil. This most likely indicates that the notes were written by two different hands or by the same person in different moments (fig. 4). Interestingly, the insurance policy also includes another sheet with the same list of artworks, where *L'angelo che veglia la Sacra Famiglia* is erased again with a red and blue pencil stroke (fig. 5)<sup>26</sup>. We do not exactly know what the two colors refer to, but if we look at the back of the painting's lower frame, we can clearly still notice an evident stroke in red and assume that it relates to the annotations in the insurance policy (fig. 6)<sup>27</sup>. These indications lead to the presumption that Ludwig Pollak might have sold the painting in June 1943, however we do not have any information about the potential buyer.

About a year and a half later, after Pollak's deportation and death, the painting reappeared at the temporary exhibition *Mostra di pittori italiani del Seicento* at Galleria Palma in Rome, founded and owned by Pietro Maria Bardi (1900–1999)<sup>28</sup>. In the catalogue, with a foreword by Giuliano Briganti (1918–1992), the painting was entitled *Il sogno di Giuseppe*, considered to be an early work by Bernardo Cavallino and particularly appreciated for the figures of St. Joseph asleep with a serpentine pose and the flying angel on the left side. The painting was on show from December 1944 until February 1945, on loan from a Roman private collection. We do not know for sure by whom the painting was owned at that stage, and we have not yet been able to identify the «Roman private collection» mentioned in the catalogue. One could argue that it was owned by Pietro Maria Bardi because it was him who, in August 1946, sent the photograph of *Il sogno di Giuseppe* to Federico Zeri, which we have already discussed above. The name of Pollak's heir, Margarete Süßmann Nicod, his sister-in-law, also comes to mind, but the painting for sure did not belong to her any longer in January 1946, because of its absence on a second list of artworks, formerly in Ludwig Pollak's collection, sent by her and the roman art dealer Manlio Goffi to the company Danubio on 1 January 1946 to renew the above mentioned fire insurance policy from March 1943 (fig. 7)<sup>29</sup>. And then another name comes into play when we consider the next secured provenance information, fourteen years later, in 1960: Alessandro Morandotti.

#### *The Provenance of The dream of Joseph from 1960 until today*

In 1940, the Vienna-born art dealer Alessandro Morandotti (1909–1979) opened the Galleria Antiquaria in Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne in Rome. Previously, he had collaborated with the Jewish German art dealer Adolph Loewi (1888–1977) in Palazzo Nani Mocenigo in Venice. But when Loewi emigrated to the United States due to the Fascist racial laws, he left his business to Alessandro Morandotti, who then moved it to Rome. During the Second World War, Morandotti acted as a middleman for Hermann Göring's (1893–1946) art agents, who travelled several times to Rome to acquire artworks for the Nazi leader's private collection. Though, at the same time, it is said that Morandotti hid Jewish friends in his art gallery, which was just across the street from the Gestapo headquarters<sup>30</sup>.

Shortly after the liberation of Rome by the Americans in June 1944, Morandotti became the director of Giuliano Briganti's newly published newspaper «*Cosmopolita. Settimanale di Vita Internazionale*»<sup>31</sup>. In that very same newspaper Briganti, on 13 January 1945, published the unabridged text of his foreword *La*

*pittura del Seicento e il Barocco* from the exhibition catalogue *Mostra di pittori italiani del Seicento* at the Galleria Palma, the same exhibition where *The dream of Joseph* was on show. One can assume that Morandotti, as director of the newspaper, was familiar with his editor's article and that he, therefore, was very much aware of the *Mostra di pittori italiani del Seicento*. But that is all we know for that period.

The next thing we know is that in 1960 Alessandro Morandotti was in possession of *The dream of Joseph*. When and how it passed on to him is currently unknown. He did, however, sell the painting to the Kleinberger Galleries in New York in the same year<sup>32</sup>. Again, it remains unclear whether the painting was his property or whether he sold it on commission. Since the Kleinberger Galleries inventory card of the painting contains the annotation «Coll Dott. Pollak Rome»<sup>33</sup>, it can be assumed that Morandotti knew that the painting once belonged to the renowned archaeologist and art collector Ludwig Pollak – such a prominent provenance would make a painting more attractive to buyers –, but the sale to New York also testifies that the Italian export ban must have been lifted in the meantime. When and on which grounds this happened remains uncertain, given that the export license or any other useful documentation related to the exportation is missing. Though, it is interesting to observe that Alessandro Morandotti somehow did manage to export the painting, whilst Pollak's request in 1935 had been strictly rejected<sup>34</sup>.

Thanks to additional records in the Kleinberger Galleries' archive, we can establish that the sale of *The dream of Joseph* must have taken place before 11 October 1960. In fact, on that date, Harry G. Sperling (1906-1971), the Kleinberger Galleries' president in New York<sup>35</sup>, wrote to Morandotti that he was interested in a Ribera painting, but that the price had to be fair right, just as «something in the neighborhood of the price of the Cavallino», most likely our painting<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, relatively soon after acquiring the Cavallino, Sperling seems to have been thinking about selling it again, as we can assume from a letter, dated 4 April 1961, that Morandotti wrote to him: «[...] und wenn Sie Ihren Cavallino verkauft haben werden[,] kann es sein, dass ich einen noch wichtigeren finde»<sup>37</sup>.

The sale finally took place one year after, when Sperling consigned the painting to Sotheby's in London where it was sold at auction on 4 April 1962<sup>38</sup>. The painting was purchased by the art dealer G. Cramer, Oude Kunst, based in The Hague<sup>39</sup>. In the same year, the painting was advertised in «The Burlington Magazine» in the section «Notable Works of Art now on the Market» under the title *The dream of St Joseph with the Holy Family asleep by Bernardo Cavallino*. The article – in addition to the references to Ludwig Pollak's previous ownership and Bernardo



Cavallino's version in the Narodowe Museum in Warsaw, particularly highlighted the cleaning of the painting by the restorer of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, Jan Cornelis Traas<sup>40</sup>, from which it is said to have «[...] emerged brilliant in colour»<sup>41</sup>.

The newly restored painting was acquired by the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in 1963 from the Dutch art gallery, registered under the accession number 7147 and inventoried under the inventory number GG 789, dated 19 June 1963<sup>42</sup>. The Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum is thus at the end of the provenance chain for the painting *The dream of Joseph*, which, after extensive research, still shows considerable gaps between 1943 and 1960 and leaves several questions open.

*Open questions about the key gap in the provenance chain of The dream of Joseph*

This particularly concerns the question of the transfer of ownership from Ludwig Pollak's collection, in whatever form, under whatever circumstances and to whomever. The answer to this question is of the utmost importance for the decision of whether the painting *The dream of Joseph* should be considered looted art or not. The date of the critical transfer of ownership in 1943 seems clear: based on the annotations in Pollak's fire insurance policy, *The dream of Joseph* was probably removed from his collection in June 1943<sup>43</sup>. The form of transfer of ownership may have been a donation or a sale. A loan can probably be ruled out, because, in that case, the object would certainly not have been removed from the fire insurance list without a further note. If Pollak donated the painting or handed it over for safekeeping, the question remains to whom, why and under which conditions. Lastly, a sale seems most likely, also considering Pollak had already tried to sell the painting in 1935<sup>44</sup>. But again, it raises doubts of the circumstances under which Pollak would have sold it only a few months before his deportation to Auschwitz.

In this context, it should be noted that racial laws had been in force in Italy since 1938, which increasingly marginalized Jews both socially and economically<sup>45</sup>. Under the impression of the growing pressure of racial persecution, Pollak had evidently begun to liquidate parts of his collection, as we have pointed out before. We are aware of at least three auctions in Rome – in May 1942, March and April 1943 –, where Pollak consigned a considerable number of art objects from his collection, and which had only a moderate success<sup>46</sup>. In light of this, the inevitable question arises whether Pollak would have sold the painting *The dream of Joseph* in June 1943 if he had not been under the pressure of persecution. The question then arises, whether he received an appropriate and «fair purchase price» for the painting and, related to this, whether he «was free to dispose of the purchase

price as desired»<sup>47</sup>. And consequently, what does «free to dispose» mean in view of Pollak's deportation and death just a few months later in October 1943? Do tax files or bank statements still exist (at which bank did Pollak have his accounts?) that could provide information about the sale price and perhaps also about the identity of the buyer? Who could be a potential buyer? We can only speculate. At the current stage, Pietro Maria Bardi or Alessandro Morandotti are the most likely candidates.

*The dream of Joseph* was shown in Bardi's Galleria Palma in Rome in the *Mostra di pittori italiani del Seicento* exhibition in 1944-1945. Bardi himself could have been the person behind the «Collezione privata, Roma», indicated in the exhibition catalogue<sup>48</sup>. And it was him who sent a photo of the painting to Federico Zeri in 1946<sup>49</sup>. However, Bardi could of course also have received the photo from the actual owner of the painting as part of the exhibition loan, or he could have commissioned it for the exhibition, or acquired it from a third party on another occasion. Finally, even if the painting belonged to him in those years, it remains unclear whether he purchased it directly from Pollak in 1943 or from another person who had owned the painting between 1943 and 1944. If Bardi was the owner at the time of the exhibition, however, he must have sold it before he emigrated to Brazil in 1946, given that there is no mention of the painting in connection with his emigration or afterwards<sup>50</sup>.

In Morandotti's case, it can be assumed that he would at least have heard about the exhibition at Bardi's Galleria Palma in Rome in 1944-1945 via the article by his publisher Briganti *La pittura del Seicento e il Barocco* in their joint newspaper «Cosmopolita». Perhaps he even visited the exhibition and saw the painting *The dream of Joseph* on that occasion, was enthusiastic about it and bought it. It is also not inconceivable that Morandotti already owned the painting at that time, and that he could have been hiding behind the «Collezione privata, Roma». Though, the questions remain the same, to whether and under which circumstances he acquired the painting directly from Pollak or, alternatively, from another, to us still unknown, intermediate owner.

What if Ludwig Pollak did not sell the painting *The dream of Joseph* at all? What if he gave it to Bardi, Morandotti, or another person on commission? He could have also left it with the Galleria Simonetti in Rome, which provenly has kept objects for him and consigned them to Pollak's heir after the war. Not least, Pollak's fire insurance policy, which is the most interesting document in relation to the whereabouts of the painting in 1943, emerged from Simonetti's archive only recently<sup>51</sup>. If it was with the Galleria Simonetti or another dealer, collector, or friend of Pollak, what did that person do with the painting after Pollak's death?

Did he keep it or sell it? And if so, to whom? Or – and this is the last option – was the painting at some point returned to the last heir of Ludwig Pollak, his sister-in-law Margarete Süssmann Nicod, and was she the one behind the «Collezione privata, Roma» in the 1944-1945 exhibition? Unfortunately, Margarete Süssmann Nicod died in 1966 and left no relatives behind nor any documentation which could shed light on her potential ownership<sup>52</sup>.

These are all, at the current stage, just theories. The only secured fact is that Alessandro Morandotti possessed the painting in 1960, be it as the rightful (?) owner or as an art dealer who sold the artwork on behalf of the actual owner. Without further documentation, we will never know to whom and under what circumstances Ludwig Pollak passed on or sold the painting in 1943. These questions will remain unanswered, and we will not be able to close the provenance gap between 1943 and 1960.

### *Conclusion, context and prospect*

The key could be hidden in the archive of Ludwig Pollak, kept at the Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco (from now on, Museo Barracco) in Rome since 1951<sup>53</sup>. Giovanni Barracco (1829-1914) was a wealthy born intellectual and politician. Advised by Hugo Helbing (1863-1938) and Ludwig Pollak, he collected principally Egyptian art, antiquities, and medieval art. In 1902, upon donating his collection of sculptures to the city of Rome, he built a museum for his collection and named Ludwig Pollak as its first director. Due to this close relationship between Barracco and Pollak, after World War II Margarete Süssmann Nicod decided to donate not only parts of Pollak's remaining collection – consisting of antiquities, books, and manuscripts –, but also the entire letter and photographic archive to the city of Rome, which then assigned it to the Museo Barracco. Therefore, Pollak's archive is today preserved in the small but exquisite civic museum in Via Vittorio Emanuele and consists of the most valuable documentation regarding Pollak's own art collection as well as numerous art objects, which in the years of Pollak's activity as *marchand-amateur* went through his hands to private collectors and museums all over the world.

Unfortunately, the archive has been closed to the public for many years albeit numerous and continuous requests from international historians, art historians and – more specifically – provenance researchers. The persisting denial of making the archive accessible or at least responding to research inquiries, leaves us and other scholars, who conduct research on the fate of Pollak's art collection or any other artwork connected to Pollak, with the nagging doubt of what one could

actually find in Pollak's documentation. Could we find all the answers to the questions mentioned above? Could the documentation permit a clarification – or at least a clearer vision – of what happened with the remaining objects of his art collection in the years before and after his deportation in October 1943? In this specific case, could it be possible to establish under which circumstances and to whom *The dream of Joseph* was sold or handed over in June 1943?

Insights into the archival holdings in the Museo Barracco can be found in several catalogue contributions of the exhibition *Ludwig Pollak. Archeologo e mercante d'arte*, which took place between December 2018 and May 2019 at the Museo Barracco and the Museo Ebraico di Roma<sup>54</sup>. Amongst these, one should particularly highlight the one by Elena Cagiano de Azevedo, because it demonstrates a profound knowledge of Pollak's archive and a critical approach to its archival organization and conservational condition. From a perspective of a provenance researcher, one stumbles particularly over the mentioning of «[...] circa 1700 stampe fotografiche relative a opere d'arte (quadri, sculture, bozzetti e disegni) e antichità [...]», of which – according to Cagiano de Azevedo – many relate directly to his activities as art dealer as well as to his own collection<sup>55</sup>. Furthermore, it preserves annotated catalogues of the 1942 and 1943 auctions, with which it could be possible to identify the objects that were consigned by Pollak as well as which ones were sold and to whom<sup>56</sup>. But it also consists of numerous letters from international art critics, intellectuals, and art dealers as well as Pollak's diaries. All of these could reveal substantial information about artworks such as *The dream of Joseph*.

Furthermore, Cagiano de Azevedo openly discusses the dispersal of parts of Pollak's collection, which happened on the one hand under the pressure of the political situation in the 1930s – as she notes – «attraverso vendite e depositi all'estero», that were often conducted in secrecy, sometimes even using other names<sup>57</sup>. And on the other, due to the raids and looting of the abandoned home after Pollak's deportation, where apparently not only furniture, valuables and everyday objects were stolen, but also a substantial part of the archive<sup>58</sup>. To this regard, it should be noted that according to our research no official confiscation of Pollak's belongings has ever taken place, neither by the German forces nor by the Italian fascists. Therefore, the flat must have been illegally sacked, either by Nazi forces just as well as by Fascist forces or civilians.

In the postwar period, several artworks from the Ludwig Pollak collection started circulating on the international art market and ended up in public or private hands<sup>59</sup>. Some were probably sold by Pollak's heir Margarete Süssmann Nicod, but many others emerged on the art market from various Roman antiquarians, and it

is yet unclear how they came into possession of the objects<sup>60</sup>. Occasionally, still today, artworks with Pollak provenance appear at auction, only to immediately disappear again after being sold off.<sup>61</sup> It is at current stage impossible to evaluate whether those artworks, which have once belonged to Ludwig Pollak – unless they changed ownership before the 1930s –, should be considered looted art and therefore subject to restitution. Undoubtedly, the archive of Ludwig Pollak could shed light on this question. For instance, Cagiano de Azevedo in her contribution from 2018 also refers to a few photographs in the archive, which illustrate the interiors of Pollak's apartment in Palazzo Odescalchi and on which reverse Margarete Süßmann Nicod wrote «Wo?» («where?»), indicating the art objects that were missing from Pollak's home at the end of war<sup>62</sup>.

Where? This is also one of the core questions which remain in our case regarding the whereabouts and ownership of the painting between 1943 and 1960. Research across borders and transparent communication between international scholars have enabled the reconstruction of major parts of the provenance chain of *The dream of Joseph*. Nonetheless, one piece is missing and will probably keep missing until the archive of Ludwig Pollak is opened for consultation. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to when that will happen. In the meantime, we will continue our research elsewhere. Provenance research needs patience, time, and consistency. Provenance research is an ongoing task.

To conclude with the broader picture, this case study highlights the enormous possibilities of provenance research when scholars stop working in their own niche and overcome the fear of sharing research results and exchanging relevant documentation<sup>63</sup>; but it also shows the limits that provenance research can encounter when archival material is not accessible; and in this case not because it has been destroyed or cannot be found, but because access is simply denied. Considering that Italy is one of the countries that have signed the *Washington Principles* and has renewed its commitment over the past years by signing the *Terezin Declaration* in 2009, and again on 5 March 2024 the *Best Practices* in recognition of the 25th anniversary of the *Washington Principles*, it is most notable that in the case of the archive of Ludwig Pollak – a victim of the Shoah – at least one principal guideline has up to date not been implemented or acknowledged, as it says under point «H. Provenance researchers should have access to all relevant archives and source documents»<sup>64</sup>.

1 U.S. Department of State, *Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art*, principle no. 8: <https://www.state.gov/washington-conference-principles-on-nazi-confiscated-art/> (last accession on 19 February 2024); Commission for Looted Art in Europe, *Washington*

- Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art*, Washington, DC, 3 December 1998: <https://www.lootedartcommission.com/Washington-principles> (last accession on 12 February 2024).
- 2 Commission for Looted Art in Europe, *Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art*, Washington, DC, 3 December 1998: <https://www.lootedartcommission.com/Washington-principles> (last accession on 12 February 2024).
  - 3 See Joint Declaration (Common Statement), *Statement by the Federal Government, the Länder and the national associations of local authorities on the tracing and return of Nazi-confiscated art, especially Jewish property*, December 1999: <https://kulturgutverluste.de/en/contexts/nazi-looted-cultural-property> (last accession on 13 February 2024).
  - 4 See *Guidelines for implementing the Statement by the Federal Government, the Länder and the national associations of local authorities on the tracing and return of Nazi-confiscated art, especially Jewish property*, ed. by Minister of State for Culture and the Media, December 1999, new edition 2019 (<https://kulturgutverluste.de/sites/default/files/2023-06/Guidelines.pdf>) (last accession on 14 February 2024).
  - 5 See Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, *Provenance Research*: <https://3landesmuseen-braunschweig.de/en/herzog-anton-ulrich-museum/the-museum/research/provenance-research> (last accession on 12 February 2024). The first object restituted by the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum was the painting *Bildnis eines bärtigen Mannes* attributed to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770). The restitution to the heirs of the Dutch-Jewish art dealer and art collector Jacques Goudstikker (1897-1940) in 2006 was also the first restitution of a painting by the state of Lower Saxony. See Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur, *NS-Kunstraub Land Niedersachsen gibt erstmals Gemälde an jüdische Eigentümer zurück*: <https://www.mwk.niedersachsen.de/startseite/aktuelles/presseinformationen/-18397.html> (last accession on 18 February 2024). See also: Lootedart.com, The Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property 1933-1945, *Provenance Research: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum - Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen (Art Museum of the Federal State of Niedersachsen)*: <https://www.lootedart.com/MFEU4D94023> (last accession on 18 February 2024).
  - 6 For further discussion and information on the methods of provenance research, its challenges and scientific potential see the recent publication: J. Schuhmacher, *Nazi-era Provenance of Museum Collections. A research guide*, London, 2024.
  - 7 Reference is made, among others, to the following institutions and auction houses: Archivio Ludwig Pollak, preserved at the Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, Rome; Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan; Istituto Bardi, Casa de Vidro, São Paulo; Mauritshuis, The Hague; Sotheby's, London.
  - 8 *The dream of Joseph*, oil on canvas, 102,5 x 74,9 cm, inv. no. GG 789 (Lost Art-ID 595884). The painting is currently in the deposit of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.
  - 9 S. Jacob, S. König-Lein, *Die italienischen Gemälde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, Sammlungskatalog des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums*, München, 2004, pp. 39-40.
  - 10 For detailed information about Ludwig Pollak's life and activity see: V. Perretta, *Ludwig Pollak uno 'Swann romano'*, in *Gli autografi goethiani della raccolta Pollak*, ed. by C. Riessner, Roma, 1978, pp. IX-XXVIII; M. Merkel Guldan, *Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893-1934*, Wien, 1988; L. Pollak, *Römische Memoiren. Künstler, Kunstliebhaber und Gelehrte 1893-1934*, ed. by M. Merkel Guldan, Roma, 1994; *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte (Praga 1868-Auschwitz 1943). Gli anni d'oro del collezionismo*

*internazionale da Giovanni Barracco a Sigmund Freud*, exh. cat. (Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco and Museo Ebraico di Roma, 5 December 2018 – 5 May 2019), ed. by O. Rossini, Roma, 2018; *Ludwig Pollak archaeologist and art dealer (Prague 1868-Auschwitz 1943). The golden years of international collecting from Giovanni Barracco to Sigmund Freud*, exh. cat. (Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco and Museo Ebraico di Roma, 5 December 2018 – 5 May 2019), ed. by O. Rossini, Roma, 2019; F. De Giambattista, *Sacro e profano nella collezione d'arte di Ludwig Pollak. Una scultura di Diana cacciatrice di epoca imperiale e una Madonna col Bambino del Trecento napoletano*, in «Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma», XXXV, 2021, pp. 5-22; *ead.*, *Ludwig Pollak, Wilhelm von Bode's Trusted Art Dealer on the Roman Art Market (1902-1929): New Findings on the Provenance and Historical Context of Early Medieval and Byzantine Liturgic Sculptures sold to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*, in «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», LXIII, 2023, pp. 65-90; *ead.*, *Il contributo di Ludwig Pollak per l'arricchimento della collezione paleocristiana e medievale del Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum di Berlino. Le opere d'arte vendute a Wilhelm Bode tra il 1902 e il 1904*, in «Arte Medievale», XIII, 2023, pp. 271-290.

- 11 See Lost Art-ID 595884: <https://www.lostart.de/en/Fund/595884> (last accession on 13 February 2024). H. Pötzsch, *Zwischen NS-Kulturgutraub und Kolonialen Kontexten. Provenienzforschung an den 3Landesmuseen Braunschweig*: <https://3landesmuseen-braunschweig.de/blog/artikel/zwischen-ns-kulturgutraub-und-kolonialen-kontexten> (last accession on 13 February 2024). Parallel to Lost Art, basic biographical information on Ludwig Pollak and his family is being compiled in the provenance research database Proveana of the German Lost Art Foundation: <https://www.proveana.de/en/link/act00000438> (last accession on 21 February 2024).
- 12 This postcard, with several other documents referred to Ludwig Pollak, is preserved at the National Gallery of Ireland, Sir Denis Mahon Library&Archive, inv. no. IE NGL/DM/1/2/3/2/1/6/17, Denis Mahon Guercino Research: Italy: Dr Ludwig Pollak.
- 13 The palace was a highly representative residence owned by the Odescalchi family, one of the most noble families of Rome. Between 1699 and 1701, the Queen of Poland Maria Casimira Sobieska, widow of John III, also lived there together with her court, her niece Maria Casimira the younger and her father, Cardinal Enrico d'Arquien. See Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali. Direzione generale per le antichità e belle arti, *Maria Casimira Sobieska a Roma, in Polonia: arte e cultura dal medioevo all'illuminismo*, exh. cat. (Rome, Palazzo Venezia, 23 May – 22 July 1975), ed. by I. Faldi, Firenze, 1975, pp. 199-215.
- 14 The painting, oil on canvas, 102 x 75 cm, is preserved in the Early European Art Collection of the Museum, inv. no. M. Ob.640. MNW. It was acquired by donation from the bishop A. Jelowicki's collection. See J. Bialostocki, M. Walicki, *Europäische Malerei in Polnischen Sammlungen 1300-1800*, Warszawa, 1957, p. 511, cat. no. 179.
- 15 See E. Sestieri, *Cenni sullo svolgimento dell'arte di Bernardo Cavallino*, in «L'Arte. Rivista bimestrale di storia dell'arte medievale e moderna», XXIII, I-II, 1920, pp. 245-269, in part. pp. 259, 264, note 1, fig. 14; A. De Rinaldis, *Sei e Settecento italiano: Cavallino. Ventisei riproduzioni con testo e catalogo*, Roma, 1921, p. 17, tav. I.
- 16 Since Ettore Sestieri did not mention the collector's first name, we can't know if he referred to the well-known painter Carmine Ciardiello or not.
- 17 Ugo Jandolo, together with his brothers Ettore and Augusto, was the owner of a famous antique gallery in Rome, in via del Babuino 91. See A. Jandolo, *Le memorie di un antiquario*, Milano, 1938; *id.*, *Antiquaria*, Milano, 1947; K. Thurmair, *Jandolo, Ugo*, in *Bloomsbury Art Markets*, ed. by I.L. Severin, E. Evans, S. Goodrum, J. Maho, J. Nathan, London, 2022, <http://>

[dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350924390.1165840](https://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350924390.1165840) (last accession on 5 March 2024).

- 18 See De Giambattista, *Ludwig Pollak*, cit.
- 19 The monument was cast in 1612 at the request of Ranuccio Farnese to honor his father Alessandro. See T. Montanari, *Capolavori fuori centro: i Cavalli di Piacenza di Francesco Mochi*, Milano, 2020, pp. 15-129. The cera model, 61.5 cm, is kept in the collections of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, inv. no. Cere 427. The Fondazione Federico Zeri in Bologna preserves three old photographs of the model, gelatine silver prints, section Scultura Italiana, folder 8, Francesco Mochi, inv. nos. 147501, 147524, 147525 (the first one by the famous firm Fratelli Alinari, the other two commissioned by the Gabinetto Fotografico delle R.R. Gallerie degli Uffizi in Florence).
- 20 The letter is preserved at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv/IV\_Nachlass Bode 4215: «[...] Ich bot ihm darauf mein Bild des Cavallino als Geschenk für irgend eine Gallerie an, wenn man die Cera freiläße [...]»; transl.: «[...] I offered him my painting by Cavallino as a gift for one of the Galleries, if he would release the export for the wax [...]». See also E. Doderò, *“Die Vielseitigkeit und das Gedächtnis!“. Ludwig Pollak e la collaborazione con Wilhelm von Bode*, in *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte*, cit., pp. 72-81, in part. p. 79, notes 45-47.
- 21 See O. Benesch, *Seicentostudien*, in «Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien», I, 1926, pp. 245-268, in part. p. 248, fig. 172.
- 22 The document entitled *Opere d'arte di proprietà del Prof. Ludovico Pollak, richieste di svincolo d'importante interesse*, found by Katharina Hüls-Valenti, is preserved in Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Fondo Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II, 1934-1940, env. 122, folder 473. Together with *The Angel warning the holy Family* was mentioned a Florentine *Crucifixion*, that most likely refers to a Ferrarese *Crucifixion*, dated about 1480, now kept in the depots of the Musei Capitolini in Rome, inv. no. dep. MC 123. The painting was donated to the Museums of the Municipality of Rome in 1951 by the last heir of Ludwig Pollak, his sister-in-law Margarete Süßmann Nicod (died in 1966).
- 23 The photographs, three gelatine silver prints, are preserved in the section Pittura Italiana, env. 153, folder 3,3, inv. nos. 108909, 108911, 108915. They are part of the documentation donated by Antonio Muñoz (1884-1960) to his cousin Federico Zeri (1921-1998) at the end of the Fifties, including more than two thousand photographs of paintings, sculptures, architecture, archaeological objects, rare and illuminated books. See G. Calanna, *Da Antonio Muñoz a Federico Zeri: un'eredità culturale svelata dalle fotografie*, in *Critica d'arte e tutela in Italia: figure e protagonisti nel secondo dopoguerra*, conference proceedings, Perugia 2015, ed. by C. Galassi, Passignano sul Trasimeno (PG), 2017, pp. 599-611.
- 24 The other two photographs show on the back side/verso some handwritten notes by Federico Zeri. The first one, inv. no. 108909: «B. Cavallino (copia)/Sotheby's April 4 1954, lt. 54? / Tela 40 x 29,5 cm/54/28 4/firma Sotheby's», the indication «Sotheby's April 4 1954» seems to be a confusion with the Sotheby's auction on 4 April 1962, lt. 54, where the painting was actually sold. The second one, inv. no. 108915: «Roma Gall. Palma/B. Cavallino/già Pollak/copia del quadro del museo di Varsavia?/Braunschweig/Foto avuta da Bardi il 23.8.46» reveals that Ludwig Pollak's painting passed through the Galleria Palma in Rome and then through Braunschweig.
- 25 At that time the painting was stored in a depot owned by the family Lizzani in Rome, via Curtatone 4, near the Termini Station. The Danubio Società Anonima di Assicurazioni



Generali was founded in Rome in 1867.

- 26 These documents are preserved in the Simonetti Gallery Archive owned by the Roman gallerist Giovanni Carboni, because Ludwig Pollak's heir, Margarete Süssmann Nicod, was helped by Attilio Simonetti's son-in law Manlio Goffi to manage the collection of his brother-in law. Goffi in particular organised the sale of twelve paintings insured on 30 March 1943: anonymous painter from the Brescian school, *Portrait of a father with his son*, oil on canvas, dated 1548; Joos de Momper, *Dutch landscape*, oil on panel; Aelbert Cuyp, two landscapes, oil on canvas; Angelika Kauffmann, *Attilio Regolo*, oil on canvas; Genoese school, *Allegorical subject*, oil on canvas; Guercino, *Tentazional [sic], di san Francesco*, oil on canvas; Woz Belmann, *On the Roman forum*, oil on canvas; Maestro delle mezze figure, a diptych, oil on panel; Eugène Isabey, *Shipwreck*, oil on canvas; Jacopo del Sellaio (attr.), *San Girolamo*, oil on panel. To these paintings should be added the boxes B1, B2 and B3 containing plaques, bronzes and various private correspondence, and box H with drawings, sketches and an ancient painted wooden figure. The diptych attributed to the Maestro delle mezze figure was acquired by Manlio Goffi on 14 October 1945; the receipt is mentioned in a handwritten note at the bottom of a letter that he wrote to Margarete Süssmann Nicod on 28 July 28 1945. Moreover, the painting appears in a handwritten list of works of art, dated 13 April 1949, sent by Manlio Goffi to the Museum of São Paulo in Brazil to his colleague Pietro Maria Bardi who purchased the diptych for 180.000 lire. The two landscapes by Cuyp were collected for sale by Manlio Goffi on 17 November 1945, the boxes B1 and B2 were also purchased by him on 15 March 1946 for one million and one hundred thousand lire as attested by two receipts issued by Margarete Süssmann Nicod to Goffi on the corresponding dates.
- 27 The red pencil stroke is located in the center of the lower slat of the frame, while on the upper slat Ludwig Pollak wrote the indication: «Cavallino».
- 28 See *Mostra di pittori italiani del Seicento*, exh. cat. (Rome, Studio d'arte Palma, December 1944 - February 1945), ed. by G. Briganti, Roma, 1944, pp. 25-26, cat. no. 21. The Gallery opened in 1944 with a focus on old master paintings and the production of the main contemporary artists, such as Afro Basaldella (1912-1976), Giuseppe Capogrossi (1900-1972), Leoncillo Leonardi (1915-1968) and Mino Maccari (1898-1989). See F. Zeri, *Confesso che ho sbagliato: ricordi autobiografici di Federico Zeri*, Milano, 1995, p. 60.
- 29 Simonetti Gallery Archive. At the bottom it is clearly indicated that all the artworks were stored in Manlio Goffi's ground floor studio in via San Nicola da Tolentino, no. 72.
- 30 A. Bartoli, *Flagging a Red Flag: Contextualizing the Activities of Alessandro Morandotti between 1939 and 1945 in Light of the Art Looting Investigation Unit Report (1946-1947)*, in «Studi di Memofonte», XXII, 2019, pp. 174-197, 190: [https://www.memofonte.it/files/Studi-di-Memofonte/rivista/XXII/XXII\\_2019\\_BARTOLI.pdf](https://www.memofonte.it/files/Studi-di-Memofonte/rivista/XXII/XXII_2019_BARTOLI.pdf) (last accession on 28 February 2024).
- 31 *Ivi*, p. 187.
- 32 See Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *F. Kleinberger Galleries Inc. Records*: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/manuscript-collections/kleinberger-galleries> (last accession on 13 February 2024).
- 33 In addition to the reference to Ludwig Pollak's collection, there are also these additional entries, listed before Pollak: «Ugo Jandolo 1909» and «Sestieri, Rome». ARC-Kleinberger-A-1384\_recto, Kleinberger Galleries Records, *The dream of St Joseph*, The Met: Watson Library Digital Collection: <https://cdm16028.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/>

- [collection/p16028coll23/id/12042/rec/3](#) (last accession on 14 February 2024).
- 34 See note 22.
- 35 See Harry G. Sperling, The Frick Collection, *Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America*: <https://research.frick.org/directory/detail/1362> (last accession on 14 February 2024) and F. Kleinberger Galleries (New York, N.Y.), The Frick Collection, *Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America*: <https://research.frick.org/directory/detail/455> (last accession on 14 February 2024).
- 36 Getty Research Institute Digital Collections, Kleinberger & Co., Inc. records: Morandotti, folder 10: Morandotti 1959-1968, image 029, [https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps\\_pid=IE1050990](https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE1050990) (last accession on 14 February 2024).
- 37 *And when you have sold your Cavallino[,] it may be that I will find an even more important one.* Getty Research Institute Digital Collections, Kleinberger & Co., Inc. records: Morandotti, folder 10: Morandotti 1959-1968, images 020, 021: [https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps\\_pid=IE1050990](https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE1050990) (last accession on 14 February 2024).
- 38 Sotheby's, Fine Old Master Paintings, London, 4 April 1962, lot 54: «BERNARDO CAVALLINO[,] THE DREAM OF ST. JOSEPH, with the Holy Family sleeping, *unframed*».
- 39 Message from Sotheby's, London, to Hansjörg Pötzsch dated 15 December 2020.
- 40 Jan Cornelis Traas (1898-1982) is probably meant here, who was restorer at the Mauritshuis from 1931 until 1962. See M. Bailey, *How a concierge restored 200 Van Gogh paintings, including the Sunflowers. The astonishing tale of Jan Traas, a caretaker and intern conservator in the 1920s, who later worked on Vermeer's Girl with the Pearl Earring*, in «The Art Newspaper», 28 June 2019: <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2019/06/28/how-a-concierge-restored-200-van-gogh-paintings-including-the-sunflowers> (last accession on 14 February 2024). For the biographical data of Jan Cornelis Traas see: J. Traas-Janssen, Obituary of Jan Cornelis Traas, NRC Handelsblad, 27 December 1982: <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=%22Jan+Cornelis+Traas%22&coll=ddd&identifier=KBNRC01:000027982:mpeg21:a0099&resultidentifier=KBNRC01:000027982:mpeg21:a0099&rowid=1> (last accession on 7 March 2024).
- 41 *Notable Works of Art now on the Market*, plate IV, *The Dream of St Joseph with the Holy Family asleep by Bernardo Cavallino*, in «The Burlington Magazine», June 1962, CIV, 711, Suppl. *Notable works of Art now on the market*, unpaginated.
- 42 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Access Book, No. 1-7465 (Copy of the handwritten original, unpublished), No. 7147, GG 789. See note 8.
- 43 See notes 25-26.
- 44 See note 22.
- 45 See A.O. Guerrazzi, *Kain in Rom. Judenverfolgung und Kollaboration unter deutscher Besatzung 1943/44*, in «Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte», 54, 2006, 2, p. 231.
- 46 See Casa di Vendite Palazzo Simonetti, *Catalogo delle vendite all'asta per liquidazione totale negli studi terreni di via Margutta*, Roma, 11-21 maggio 1942, Roma, 1942; Galleria d'Arte "L'Antonina", *Catalogo delle vendite all'asta di pregiate raccolte private*, Roma, 22 marzo – 3 aprile 1943, Roma, 1943; O. Rossini refers to a third auction, which took place in summer 1943 at "L'Antonina", but she does not provide further information on the catalogue, Cf. O. Rossini, *Ludwig Pollak. La vita e le opere*, in *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte*, cit., pp. 15-35, in part. pp. 34-35.

- 47 *Guidelines* 2019, cit., p. 36.
- 48 See note 28.
- 49 See note 23.
- 50 «With the works brought from Italy», Bardi had organized the exhibition *Exposição de Pintura Italiana Antiga. Do Século XIII ao Século XVIII (Exhibition of Ancient Italian Painting. From the 13th to the 18th Century)* in Rio de Janeiro in 1946. Instituto Bardi, Casa de Vidro, *Pietro Maria Bardi, Arrival in Brazil and the first Exhibitions in Rio de Janeiro (1946-1947)*: [https://institutobardi.org.br/en/grupo\\_the-founders/05\\_pietro-maria-bardi\\_english/](https://institutobardi.org.br/en/grupo_the-founders/05_pietro-maria-bardi_english/) (last accession on 7 March 2024). According to the Instituto Bardi, São Paulo, the painting *The dream of Joseph* is not mentioned in the exhibition catalogue. *Exposição de pintura italiana antiga do século XIII ao século XVIII*, no Ministério de Educação e Saúde, Rio de Janeiro, 1946. Message from Instituto Bardi, São Paulo, to Hansjörg Pötzsch, 30 January 2024.
- 51 See notes 25-26.
- 52 See F. De Giambattista, *Sacro e profano nella collezione d'arte di Ludwig Pollak. Una scultura di Diana cacciatrice di epoca imperiale e una Madonna col Bambino del Trecento napoletano*, in «Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma», XXXV, 2021, pp. 5-22, in part. p. 6 and «Süssmann Nicod, Margarete (-1966) (Einzig Überlebende der Familie [Ludwig Pollak's] durch ihren Schweizer Pass. Lebte mit im Haus Pollaks und war seine Alleinerbin.)» (transl. «Only survivor of the family through her Swiss passport. Lived in Pollak's house and was his sole heir.»). Proveana. Provenance Research Database, German Lost Art Foundation, *Pollak, Ludwig*: <https://www.proveana.de/en/link/act00000438> (last accession on 21 February 2024).
- 53 For further information, please see: [https://www.museobarracco.it/it/il\\_museo/la\\_collezione\\_barracco](https://www.museobarracco.it/it/il_museo/la_collezione_barracco) (last accession on 7 March 2024).
- 54 See note 10.
- 55 E. Cagiano de Azevedo, *L'archivio Pollak al Museo Barracco: note per possibili ordinamenti*, in *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte*, cit., pp. 227-235, in part. p. 228 («circa 1700 photographs related to artworks (paintings, sculptures, sketches and drawings) and antiquities»).
- 56 See note 45: O. Rossini deduces from the annotated catalogues, that in the 1942 auction at Simonetti, 118 from the 973 lots belonged to Pollak, but only 23 objects were sold, significantly below value. The remaining objects were offered at L'Antonina in Spring 1943, but again only 30 of them were sold. At a third auction at L'Antonina further 57 objects were offered, only a few months before Pollak's deportation.
- 57 E. Cagiano de Azevedo, *L'archivio Pollak al Museo Barracco*, p. 234-235 («through sales and deposits abroad»).
- 58 Cf. E. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Fra commercio e istituzioni, La vita romana di Ludovico Pollak*, in: *Riflessioni sulla tutela. Temi, problemi, esperienze*, ed. by E. Cagiano de Azevedo, R.G. Nucci, Firenze, 2010, pp. 41-62, in part. p. 62; as well as: P. Cannata, *Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia. Sculture in Bronzo*, Roma, 2011, pp. 22-23.
- 59 Just to name a few institutions which own drawings, but also judaica: the Morgan Library, the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York and the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City. See F. de Tomasi, «...hanno portato i prezzi alle stelle...» *Ludwig Pollak e i collezionisti americani*, in *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte (Praga 1868-Auschwitz 1943). Gli anni d'oro del collezionismo internazionale da Giovanni Barracco a Sigmund Freud*, ed. by O. Rossini, exh. cat. (Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco and Museo Ebraico di

Roma, 5 December 2018 - 5 May 2019), Roma, 2018, pp. 163-171, p. 171.

- 60 See F. de Tomasi, *Ludwig Pollak e i collezionisti americani*, p. 171.
- 61 Predominantly drawings, see for example: Giovanni Battista Ferretti, *Susannah and the Elders*, Lot 520, Auction 414, Il Ponte Casa d'Aste dal 1974, Milan, 18 April 2018; Francesco Londonio, *Study of two Peasants*, Lot 141, Auction 8857, Sotheby's New York, 29 January 2013.
- 62 Cagiano de Azevedo, *L'archivio Pollak al Museo Barracco*, cit., p. 235.
- 63 An important contribution to networking in provenance research makes the international Arbeitskreis Provenienzforschung e. V. see: <https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/> (last accession on 18 February 2024). With regard to Italy see: <https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/arbeitsgruppen/ag-italien/> (last accession on 18 February 2024).
- 64 Best Practices for the Washington Principles on Nazi-confiscated Art, U.S. Department of State, Office of the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues. The «legally non-binding but morally important best practices have been signed by twenty two countries so far <https://www.state.gov/best-practices-for-the-washington-conference-principles-on-nazi-confiscated-art/> (last accession on 6 March 2024).



Fig. 1: Bernardo Cavallino (workshop), *The dream of Joseph*, oil on canvas, 102,5 x 74,9 cm, first half of the XVII c. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. GG 789. Photo: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kathrin Ulrich.

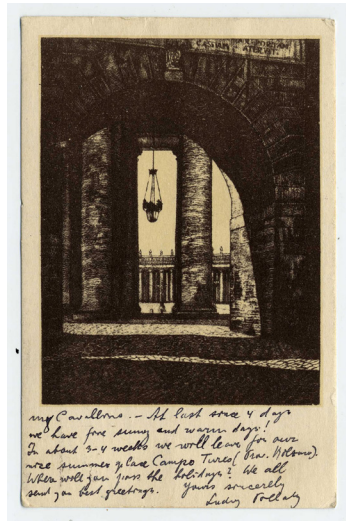
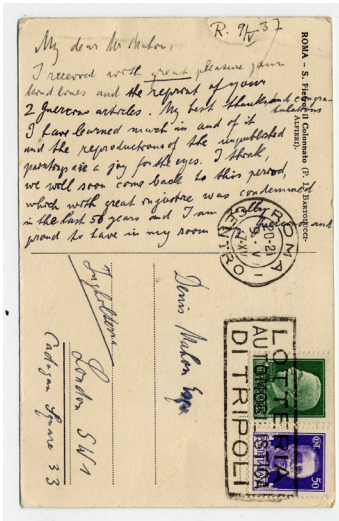


Fig. 2a-b: Ludwig Pollak, Postcard written to Denis Mahon on 9 May 1937 (front and backside). Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, Sir Denis Mahon Library&Archive, inv. no. IE NGI/DM/1/2/3/2/1/6/17, Denis Mahon Guercino Research: Italy: Dr Ludwig Pollak. Photo: National Gallery of Ireland, Sir Denis Mahon Library&Archive.

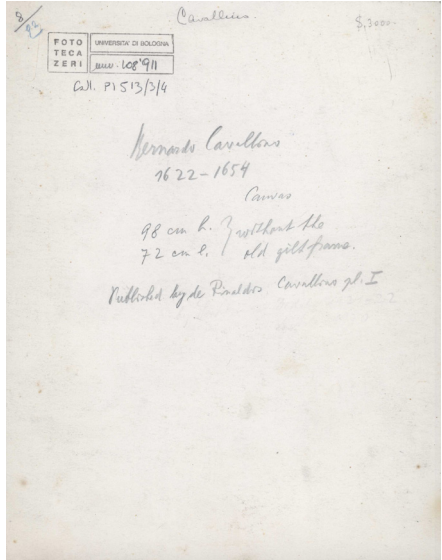


Fig. 3a-b: Unknown photographer, *The dream of Joseph* (recto and verso), gelatine silver print, 1910-1930 ca. Bologna, Fondazione Federico Zeri, inv. no. 108911.  
Photo: Photographic archive, Fondazione Federico Zeri.

Il valore dichiarato (per ciascun oggetto) cumulativamente per tutti gli oggetti non impegna la Compagnia poiché essa in caso di sinistro non sarà tenuta a risarcire che il valore risultante dalla perizia eseguita a termini di polizza.

Resta poi espressamente convenuto che in nessun caso la Compagnia dovrà pagare indennizzo maggiore di L. 60.000, per colli, e di L. 80.000, per casse, qualunque ne sia il valore risultante dalla perizia.

Quanto trovati al pianterreno del magazzino Mazzani in Via Carlstone nr. 4 :

|                    |                                                                                        |           |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Collo I° nr. 1)    | Luisa Scidler 1619: Ritratto della Sig.ra De Bondis colla figlioletta Lelli, tela olio | £. 30.000 |
| " " " 2)           | Scuola di Ulmi: fine quattrocento San Silvestro Papa, olio legno                       | £. 20.000 |
| " " " 4)           | M. Cavallini: Angelo che veglia la Sacra Famiglia, olio tela (1848)                    | £. 30.000 |
| " II° " 5)         | M. Giry: paesaggio, olio tela                                                          | £. 30.000 |
| " " " 6)           | " " paesaggio d'accompanio                                                             | £. 30.000 |
| " III° " 7)        | Angelilla Kauffaram: Attilio Regolo, tela olio                                         | £. 30.000 |
| " IV° " 8)         | Scuola Genovese: soggetto allegorico, tela olio                                        | £. 60.000 |
| " VI° " 10)        | Suocino Sentazionalidi S. Francesco                                                    | £. 30.000 |
| " VII° " 11)       | Renzoso Gozzolli: la Torre di Babele, grande disegno                                   | £. 15.000 |
| " VIII° " 14)      | I. G. : Schueta Francoforte sul Meno 1796 gnarzo                                       | £. 10.000 |
| " IX° " 15)        | Scuola Spagnola del seicento, Pastori, olio tela                                       | £. 30.000 |
| " XI° " 17)        | A. Kauffaram (?) ritratto di una nobile signora, olio tela                             | £. 25.000 |
| " " " 18)          | Scuola di Brescia 1548, ritratto di un padre col figlio, olio tela                     | £. 6.000  |
| " XII° " 19)       | A. de Vrees, ritratto di un vecchio 1646, olio tela                                    | £. 10.000 |
| " XIII° " 22)      | Polistoro da Caravaggio: scena Romana, tela olio                                       | £. 5.000  |
| " XIV° " 23)       | Sab. Mompert: paesaggio olandese, olio legno                                           | £. 4.000  |
| " " " 24)          | Woz Belmann : sul Foro Romano, lavori di C.L., tela olio                               | £. 5.000  |
| " IV° " 25)        | Il Maestro delle mezzefigure, Dittico, olio legno                                      | £. 15.000 |
| " XVI° " 27)       | Scuola Ferrarese del quattrocento: Cristo Crocifisso, olio legno                       | £. 20.000 |
| " " " 28)          | Gubleyres, ritratto di un predicatore                                                  | £. 5.000  |
| A REPORTARE.....£. |                                                                                        | 450.000   |

Fig. 4: Fire insurance policy took out by Ludwig Pollak with the Danubio company, 30 March 1943. Rome, Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.

Photo: Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.



| Importo pagabile | IMPORTO assicurato<br>Lire | OGGETTO DELL'ASSICURAZIONE                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | QUALITÀ della costruzione |       | IMPORTO da pagarsi<br>Lire |
|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
|                  |                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | almeno al tetto           | tetto |                            |
|                  |                            | Il valore dichiarato (per ciascun oggetto) cumulativamente per tutti gli oggetti non impegna la Compagnia poiché essa in caso di sinistro non sarà tenuta a risarcire che il valore risultante dalla perizia eseguita a termini di polizza. |                           |       |                            |
|                  |                            | Resta poi espressamente convenuto che in nessun caso la Compagnia dovrà pagare indennizzo maggiore di L. 50.000, per collo, e di L. 80.000, per casse, qualunque ne sia il valore risultante dalla perizia.                                 |                           |       |                            |
|                  |                            | Quanto trovasi al pianterreno del magazzino Liziani in Via Curtatone nr. 4 :                                                                                                                                                                |                           |       |                            |
|                  | I° no 1                    | Luisa Seidler 1819: Ritratto della Sig. Ra De Randa colla figlioletta Lelli, tela olio                                                                                                                                                      |                           |       | £. 30.000                  |
|                  | " " 3                      | Scuola di Ulm: fine quattrocento San Silvestro Papa, olio legno                                                                                                                                                                             |                           |       | £. 20.000                  |
|                  | " " 4                      | B. Cavallini: L'angelo che veglia la Sacra Famiglia, olio tela                                                                                                                                                                              |                           |       | £. 40.000                  |
|                  | II° no 5                   | B. Citty: paesaggio, olio tela,                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                           |       | £. 30.000                  |
|                  | " " 6                      | " " paesaggio d'accompagnio                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                           |       | £. 30.000                  |
|                  | III° no 7                  | Angelika Kauffmann: Attilio Regolo, tela olio                                                                                                                                                                                               |                           |       | £. 30.000                  |
|                  | V° no 9                    | Scuola Genovese: soggetto allegorico, tela olio                                                                                                                                                                                             |                           |       | £. 60.000                  |
|                  | VI° no 10                  | Guercino: Tentazioni di S. Francesco                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                           |       | £. 30.000                  |
|                  | VII° no 11                 | Benozzo Gozzoli: la Torre di Babele, grande disegno                                                                                                                                                                                         |                           |       | £. 15.000                  |
|                  | VIII° no 14                | I. G. : Schuetz Francoforte sul Meno 1796 guazzo                                                                                                                                                                                            |                           |       | £. 10.000                  |
|                  | IX° no 15                  | Scuola Spagnola del seicento, Pastori, olio tela                                                                                                                                                                                            |                           |       | £. 40.000                  |
|                  | XI° no 17                  | A. Kauffmann (?) ritratto di una nobile signora, vetro                                                                                                                                                                                      |                           |       | £. 25.000                  |
|                  | " " 18                     | Scuola di Brescia 1548, ritratto di un padre col figlio, olio tela                                                                                                                                                                          |                           |       | £. 10.000                  |
|                  | XII° no 19                 | A. de Vries, ritratto di un vecchio 1646, olio tela                                                                                                                                                                                         |                           |       | £. 5.000                   |
|                  | XIII° no 22                | Polittico da Caravaggio: Scena Romana, tela olio                                                                                                                                                                                            |                           |       | £. 5.000                   |
|                  | XIV° no 23                 | Sab. Mompes: paesaggio olandese, olio legno                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                           |       | £. 4.000                   |
|                  | " " 24                     | W. Bermann: sul Foro Romano, lavori di G.L., tela                                                                                                                                                                                           |                           |       | £. 3.000                   |
|                  | XV° no 25                  | Il Maestro delle mezzefigure, Battico, olio legno                                                                                                                                                                                           |                           |       | £. 15.000                  |
|                  | XVI° no 27                 | Scuola ferrarese del quattrocento: Cristo Crocifisso, olio legno                                                                                                                                                                            |                           |       | £. 20.000                  |
|                  | " " 28                     | Subleyras, ritratto di un predicatore                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                           |       | £. 5.000                   |
|                  |                            | A RIMPORTARE.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                           |       | £. 430.000                 |

Fig. 5: Fire insurance policy taken out by Ludwig Pollak with the Danubio company, 30 March 1943, Rome, Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.  
Photo: Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.

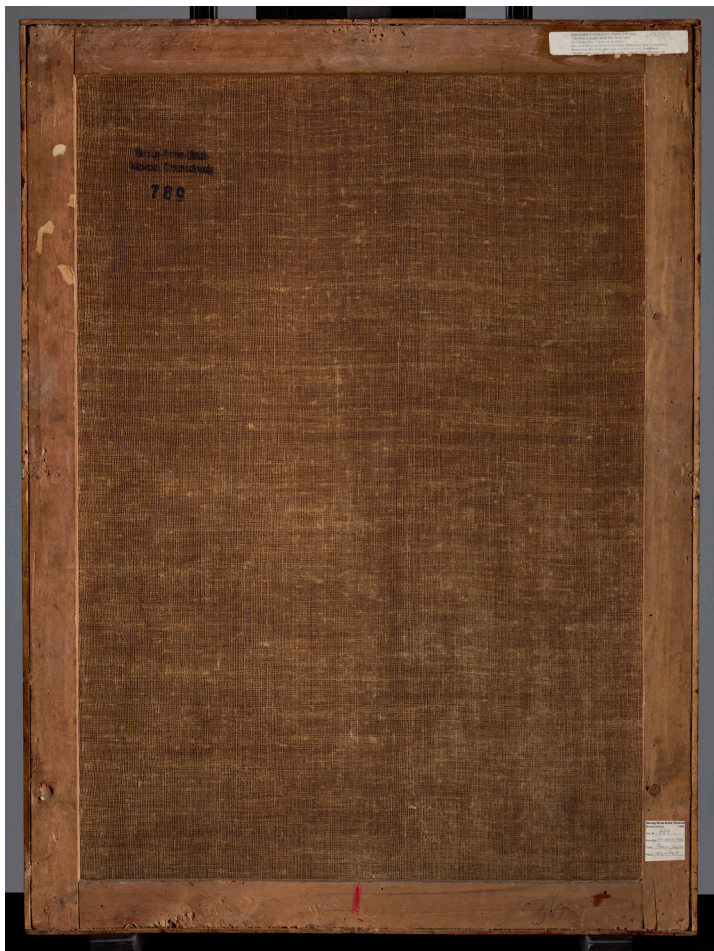


Fig. 6: Bernardo Cavallino (workshop), *The dream of Joseph*, oil on canvas, 102,5 x 74,9 cm, first half of the XVII c., verso. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. GG 789. Photo: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kathrin Ulrich.

Roma 1 Gennaio 1946

Spett. Società Assicurazioni Generali D A N U B I O

prendere nota

Riferendomi al verbale colloquio Vi prego delle seguenti variazioni da apportare alla polizza Incendio

II9389:

=Gli oggetti da assicurarsi sono attualmente i seguenti e per i valori a fianco indicati:

ANTICHI DIPINTI:

=I=Luisa Seidler.1819/Ritratto della Sig.ra Randolf col=

la figliuola Lolloi .Tela ad olio L.110.000=

✓=Scuola di Ulm:Fine quattrocento S.Silvestro papa olio su legno " 85.000.=

=Benozzo Gozzoli.La Torre di Babele,grande disegno " 45.000.=

✓=I.G.Schuetz.Francoforte sul Reno.1796.Guazzo " 45.000.=

✓=Scuola Spagnola del 600.Pastori Olio su tela " 150.000.=

✓=A.Kauffman.Ritratto di nobile Signora.Olio tela " 90.000.=

=A.De Vries.Ritratto di vecchio1646 Olio su tela " 36.000.=

✓=Polidoro da Caravaggio:Scena romana Tela olio " 20.000.=

✓=Scuola ferrarese del 400:Cr sto Crocefisso,olio legno 68.000.=

✓=Subleyras.Ritratto di Predicatore Olio tela " 20.000.=

=Rilievo di altare scultura in legno policroma Seccolo XV Madonna Venezia " 60.000.=

✓=Polidoro da Caravaggio.Grande disegno sottovetro " 20.000.=

✓=Ritratto del Pittore Koch,olio sutela " 25.000.=

Totale da assicurare " 774.000.=

Tutti gli oggetti suddetti sono attualmente ricoverati in Via S.Niccolò da Tolentino N°72 nel grande studio al piano terreno.

Con distinti saluti.

*na del 1919/16 che è in vendita in deposito  
prezzi in coll. di coll. la vendita in un g. precedente  
della*

Fig. 7: List of works of art belonging to Ludwig Pollak insured with the Danubio company, 1 January 1946. Rome, Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.  
Photo: Archivio Simonetti di Giovanni Carboni.