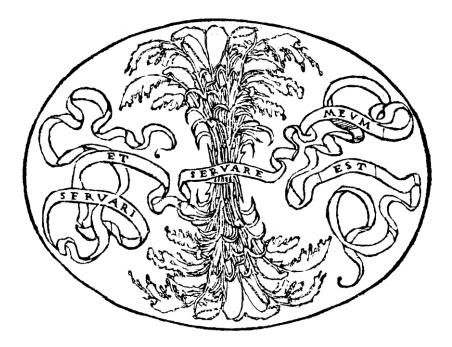
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THE DISPOSSESSION OF ITALIAN JEWS: THE FATE OF CULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE ALPE ADRIA REGION DURING SECOND WORLD WAR

On November 29, 1943, the Superintendent for the Monuments and Galleries of Venezia Giulia and Friuli, Fausto Franco, sent a list of Jewish-owned art collections located in the area to the Head of the Province of Trieste, Bruno Coceani¹.

This list included books, artistic objects and musical instruments that the Superintendence of Trieste judged to have prized artistic value. These collections were owned by Andrea Pollitzer, Mario Morpurgo de Nilma, Aldo Mayer, Count Salvatore Segrè Sartorio, Arturo Castiglioni, Enrico and Alberto Schott and the Valmarin family². The collectors were part of the Art Collectors' Community of Trieste, acting as promoters of exhibitions and patrons of local contemporary artists in the years preceding the war³.

A few days before sending the list, the same Superintendent Franco invited his officials to supplement the list with more names of Jewish collectors in Trieste with the aim of requesting that the Prefecture proceed with 'any form of seizure and detention' of the reported collections⁴.

The collections listed in the report sent to the Prefecture were verified by Silvio Rutteri, Director of the Civic Museum of Art History of Trieste, providing details about their location and status⁵. While the Segrè Sartorio collection was already considered a non-Jewish collection, since Count Sartorio had submitted the request to be declared not belonging to the Jewish race, the status of the Morpurgo de Nilma and Aldo Mayer collections was 'resolved' or 'in the process of being resolved'⁶.

Despite his investigation, Rutteri was not able to provide information about the location of the bronzes collection owned by Alberto Schott, and of the collection of musical instruments owned by Enrico Schott.

Together with the first list, another list was compiled detailing only the collections in Trieste that were protected by Article 1 of the Law on the *Protection of Historic and Artistic Heritage* (Law no. 1089, June 1st, 1939). Of the fourteen collections included in this list, three were Jewish-owned collections well known to the Superintendence of Trieste: the archeological collection of Aldo Mayer, the collections of «paintings, antique Japanese prints,

¹ BON 2001, p. 59; SPAZZALI 2000, p. 356; Trieste, Archivio di Stato di Trieste (here referred to as: ASTs), Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto, Affari Generali, 1944, b. 470, f. «Sequestro di opere d'arte di proprietà ebraica», Letter from Franco to Coceani, November 29, 1943. In the essay, I use the term 'Superintendence of Trieste' to refer to the Superintendent for the Monuments and Galleries of Venezia Giulia and Friuli.

² The name Valmarin is probably referring to Giuseppe Walmarin and his collections. Rutteri noted, on the same list, that: «more than two years ago the collections had to be sold» [translation by the article's author].

³ BASILIO 1934; CRUSVAR 1979; LA GALLERIA NAZIONALE 2001, pp. 20-29. The Superintendence of Trieste's list was composed by the Art Collectors Community of Trieste (*Comunità dei Collezionisti d'Arte di Trieste*). The Art Collectors Community was directed, for many years, by Baron Morpurgo de Nilma joined by Alfredo Pollitzer, Aldo Mayer, Alberto Schott, together with Oreste Basilio (1887-1965) and Lodovico Braidotti (1865-1939), who organized many local exhibitions with their personal art collections.

⁴ Trieste, Archivio Storico Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia (here referred to as: ASDSABAPFVG), Archivio Istria, b. 44, f. 2808, Letter from Franco to Vigni, November 27, 1943; *Ivi*, Letter from Franco to Coceani, November 29, 1944.

⁵ Ivi, Rutteri Report, December 11, 1943.

⁶ Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato (here referred to as: ACS), Ministero dell'Interno, DGDR, Div. Razza, fasc. personali, b. 41, 1941, b. 26, f. 3650 Salvatore Segré Sartorio. BON 2000, p. 250. The Law no. 1024, July 13, 1939 on the supplementary norms on the defense of the Italian race law, admitted the figure of the «discriminati». A special Court of Race, appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, could declare as not belonging to the Jewish race and in contrast to the results of the civil status records, those applicants who could boast «Special merits» or «Fascist merits» [translation by the article's author]. They enjoyed a privileged treatment compared to Jews. On the 'discrimination' requests in Trieste, see: BON 2000, pp. 177-180.

miniatures, crystals and rare book editions» of Mario Morpurgo de Nilma; and the «painting from the Friuli school, the wooden Tuscan statue depicting "Madonna with Child" and the collection of ancient artistic objects» owned by Augusto Pollitzer (1861-1940)⁷.

The speed with which the Superintendence of Trieste mobilized its officials and other civic administrative authorities continued to verify the conditions of the most important art collections in the area was due to the fact that the German authorities had already begun the process of confiscating Jewish property in the first months of occupation⁸.

As required by Circular no. 665 titled the *Requisition of artworks Jewish-owned* issued by the Ministry of National Education on December 1, 1943, Jewish owners had to report all the artworks they owned to the superintendence in charge of their area, by mid-December 1943⁹. Circular no. 665 appears to be quite articulate and trenchant, clearly expressing the intention to exploit self-disclosures on soon-to-be-seized works of art to obtain as much information as possible: quality, a short description, author and location. The Circular defined artwork as including all of the figurative arts (paintings, sculptures, engravings, etc.) and applied arts which, due to their value, cannot be considered objects of common use. This information naturally helped in including more works of art in the confiscation orders to be issued in accordance with the Italian Racial provisions, provisions that were in the process of being enacted (*New provisions concerning assets owned by citizens of Jewish race*, RD no. 2, January 4, 1944)¹⁰.

The superintendence could then perform all the necessary inspections in order to verify not only these self-disclosures, but also the actual amount of the declared cultural property. In fact, the superintendence was to select the items of high artistic value («pregiato valore artistico») which were to be seized from among the sum of declared cultural property, distinguished from those regarded as everyday objects.

In spite of these intentions, the correspondence between the Superintendence of Trieste and the various prefectures operating in the area, shows that self-disclosures of the possession of artworks were scant, even in cities known to host art collectors. There were no selfdisclosures for the Provinces of Gorizia, Rijeka, Laurana and other towns, while from Opatjia the Superintendence received only few self-disclosures, mostly listing modern paintings without proper historical or economical appraisals¹¹. The owners of these art works declared to the authorities were first imprisoned at Risiera di San Sabba by the Germans in June 1944 and then deported to Auschwitz, from where they never returned¹².

⁷ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 44, f. 2808, List of the Jewish owners of protected artworks, no date [translation by the article's author].

Augusto Pollitzer was the father of Andrea Pollitzer and an important art collector of Trieste; https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040159-0000?search=020e1d8a527b026f74f59d9911c34732&searchPos=15, <January, 2019>.

⁸ Ivi, Letter from Superintendence of Trieste to the Ministry of National Education, July 22, 1944.

⁹ Ivi, Circular no. 665, Ministry of National Education, December 1, 1943; «Il Piccolo», November 26, 1943.

¹⁰ As consequence of the Circular no. 665, the corresponding law regarding the confiscation of the cultural property Jewish-owned dated March 2, 1944 never entered into force and was absorbed by the RD no. 2, January 4, 1944.

¹¹ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 44, f. 2808, Letter from the Prefecture of Carnaro to the Superintendence of Trieste, February 29, 1944.

¹² Ivi, Mrs. Frida Reimy (1876-Holocaust) declared to own a German automatic organ and a small wooden statue depicting *Saint George*, together with two old paintings (January 13, 1944). Mrs. Reimy was arrested on June 1944, and deported to Auschwitz where she was killed shortly after her arrival; Mr. Giovanni Cohm (?) reported, without indication of author and value, the pictures existing in her house. Mrs. Ilona Glück (1883-Holocaust) reported to own a lithography depicting a *Head of a man* with the indication «1693-1784» (January 12, 1944). Mrs. Glück was arrested on June 1944 by the Nazis and imprisoned at San Sabba. In the same month she was deported to Auschwitz where she was immediately killed. Mrs. Dora Gépész (?-Holocaust), reported to own two paintings of the Hungarian artist Herman Lipót depicting a *View of Opatjia* and *Idyll* and another view by the local painter Lia Litrov (January 10, 1944). Mrs. Gépész, together with her sisters and brothers (except his brother

In Udine the only reported good was a wrought iron stair railing from the second half of 16th century, which was disclosed by Rodolfo Brunner (1859-1956), a Jewish textile businessman from Trieste. The antique stair railing was part of Villa Antonini-Brunner located at Campolongo Topogliano (UD), an agricultural estate that had been used as a prestigious countryside residence since the end of the 16th century¹³ (Fig. 1).

When Rodolfo Brunner bought the entire complex, including buildings constructed for agricultural use, from the Antonini family at the end of the 19th century, the estate enjoyed great prosperity, especially following the economic policy put in place by the Fascist Regime to make Italy self-sufficient in grain production (referred to as the 'Battle of Grain')¹⁴. In this context, renovation was carried out in 1926 to enrich the main villa, already adorned with 16th century frescos, by adding stucco decorations and new frescos by Edmondo Passauro in its salons, decorations that featured the Brunner emblem¹⁵. The villa, today in a state of total abandonment, was also sure to have been decorated with fine furnishings and artworks in line with its countryside location¹⁶. When it was occupied by German artillery troops, the porcelain and crystal sets together with fine furniture were removed, as reported by the villa administrator appointed by the Supreme Commissioner of *Adriatisches Küstenland* to manage the Jewish agricultural estates in the area¹⁷. Other estates owned by Rodolfo Brunner were occupied by German troops and partially robbed of their movable assets, as in the case of Tenuta Panigai of Regina Segré (1867-1948), wife of Rodolfo and sister of the Italian Senator and Count Salvatore Segré Sartorio (1865-1949)¹⁸.

In was during the period in which these self-disclosures were being submitted and the Superintendence of Trieste went about verifying the reported artworks that the situation quickly deteriorated and the dispersion of the artistic heritage of Jewish owners largely took place. By then, Germans authorities were issuing countless confiscation orders for Jewish properties through which the movable assets contained in houses, villas, and rural estates were inventoried, confiscated and removed.

On January 15, 1944 the Supreme Commissioner of the *Adriatisches Küstenland* gave to the various local prefectures the order to forward the self-disclosures they had received and maintain the artworks they had already seized¹⁹. Although in Ministerial Circular no. 5 of April 13, 1944 the Ministry of National Education appointed the superintendents as sequestrator of the Jewish-owned artworks protected by Law no. 1089/1939 to avoid «any dispersion of the cultural private property existing in the country», Superintendent Franco clarified that it was impossible to exercise any form of protection in the area given that neither he nor his office were involved in any confiscations, these being conducted exclusively by the occupation forces²⁰.

The Revenue Office of Trieste requested the Superintendence of Trieste to provide a list of Jewish-owned artworks to be seized at the end of December 1943, but even though the Superintendence responded promptly, it was already too late²¹. The Superintendent Franco

Michele), were deported to Auschwitz in June 1944 where they were killed. <u>https://www.bh.org.il/jewish-spotlight/fiume/?page_id=282</u>, <January, 2019>.

¹³ Ivi, Letter from the Prefecture of Udine to the Ministry of National Education, January 24, 1944.

¹⁴ Segrè 1982.

¹⁵ Del Torre 2006.

¹⁶ https://www.fondoambiente.it/luoghi/villa-antonini-brunner-krcvoj?ldc, <January, 2019>.

¹⁷ ASTs, Fondo Casa, b. 3, Tenuta di Cavenzano (ex Rodolfo Brunner), f. 13, Letter from the administrator of the villa Augusto Zanolla to the German general administrator Oscar Casa, March 15, 1945.

¹⁸ Ivi, b. 1, Tenuta di Panigai – Aquileia – (Regina Segré in Brunner), f. 7.

¹⁹ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 44, f. 2808, Letter from the Prefecture of Udine to the Ministry of National Education, January 24, 1944.

²⁰ *Ivi*, Circular no. 5, April 13, 1944; *Ivi*, Letter from Franco to the Ministry of National Education, May 7, 1944 [translation by the article's author].

²¹ Ivi, Letter from the Revenue Office of Trieste to the Superintendence of Trieste, December 20, 1943.

invited the Revenue office, as he had done previously with the Prefecture, to adopt whatever the measures it believed were still feasible: «Praticamente in questa zona le disposizioni [...] trovano difficile applicazione, essendo le proprietà ebraiche già state poste sotto sequestro e sigillate dalla Polizia tedesca. In ogni modo si trasmette a questa Intendenza l'elenco dei cittadini ebraici già proprietari di oggetti d'arte, per i provvedimenti ch'essa ritenga di poter adottare al riguardo»²². The new list the Superintendence of Trieste submitted included only three of the eight names listed one month earlier: Anita Pollitzer Pollenghi, Alberto Schott, and Arturo Castiglioni.

Before analyzing these three collectors, it is worth dwelling on those that had been removed from the first list. While the Walmarin collections were considered to have been sold prior to the war, the status of the collections owned by Baron Morpurgo de Nilma and Aldo Mayer were considered 'resolved' or 'in the process of being resolved'. The Director of the Civic Museum of Trieste, Rutteri, used the word 'resolved' to synthesize the fact that both collections were already at the disposal of the Italian authorities in that they had been donated to the City of Trieste.

Although the Morpurgo de Nilma donation, signed by Mario Morpurgo de Nilma himself (1867-1943) on November 26, 1943, a few weeks before his death, was revealed in advance by provisions of his will authenticated as early as 1941, this act was a shrewd choice that allowed most of the collection to be preserved in Trieste, and protected it from the German confiscation²³.

The agreement on the placement of Morpurgo's collection, made by the Italian local authorities and the Supreme Commissioner, also allowed to take back the confiscated assets transported to the Free Port of Trieste on November 16, 1943 by the German Finance Department (*Finanz-Abteilung*)²⁴. The objects confiscated, consisting of pieces of furniture, a safe, few marble and bronze statues, candlesticks and 44 paintings of different dimensions, from the Morpurgo city palace (today site of the Civic Museum Morpurgo), were already equipped with the pass issued by the port customs office to be shipped out of Trieste²⁵.

Despite the return of the confiscated objects, in early November 1943 German soldiers looted certain artistic objects: Japanese prints, porcelain sets and a large group of antique carpets. The latter were thrown from the windows because of their weight and then loaded onto a truck. When the Morpurgo palace was occupied by a German police command, only the direct intervention of the High SS and Police Commander Odilo Globočnik following the Supreme Commissioner request, had prevented future uncontrolled plundering: «Ich erhalte Bericht dass ein Polizeikommando in die Wohnung gelegt wurde und dass die Wagen der Kunstschaetze ohne Bedenken ziemlich ruecksichtlos beiseitgestellt worden sind. Ich bitte, unverzueglich dafuer zu sorgen, dass durch die Einquartierung der Polizei die Kunstsammlungen nicht beschaedigt werden und dass nichts wegkommt»²⁶.

The looting that took place in the Morpurgo city palace is just the most well-known of the cases involving Morpurgo properties. The Morpurgo countryside estates were located in S. Andrea of Pasiano (province of Udine) and in Sacile (today province of Pordenone)²⁷. Both

²² Ivi, Letter from the Superintendence of Trieste to the Revenue Office of Trieste, January 4, 1944.

²³ See the essay by Camilla Da Dalt published in this «Studi di Memofonte» issue.

²⁴ Trieste, Historical Archive of the Jewish Community of Trieste (here referred to as: ACETr), Ju/12, c. 1, confiscation inventory, November 8, 1943.

²⁵ Ivi, c. 4, Report of Finanz-Abteilung, December 3, 1944. The safe was the only object not returned, it was transferred to the *Adriatisches Küstenland* headquarters located at Court Palace of Trieste. The gold and silver that was found in the same safe by Elsenwenger was deposited to the Finance office on November 10, 1943.
²⁶ Ivi, c. 8, Letter from Rainer to Globočnik, November 11, 1943.

²⁷ ACS, Ministero Pubblica Istruzione, AABBAA, Div. III, 1940-1960, b. 258 TER, f. «Collezioni di quadri dei sigg. Morpurgo, Pollitzer di Trieste asportati dai tedeschi», Letter from Franco to the Ministry of National

rural estates soon become agricultural models in the area due to their having adopted modern cultivation systems in the second half of the 19th century²⁸. The S. Andrea property maintained its rural character, while that of Sacile was transformed in an exclusive place for the family's leisure and entertainment. Villa Varda of Sacile had been seriously damaged during the Great War, but was made even more splendid thanks to the substantial restoration work commissioned by Mario Morpurgo de Nilma in 1926²⁹. As a consequence, the villa was converted into a rich bourgeois countryside mansion, including artistic objects, crystal and porcelain sets, an important library of European and Jewish texts, and furniture reflecting the tastes of the Morpurgos, as expressed so well in their palace in Trieste³⁰ (Fig. 2).

The Superintendence of Trieste began to pay attention to these properties too late, after the seizure of the Morpurgo city palace and when the properties had already been managed by the administrator appointed by the Supreme Commissioner, Oscar Casa³¹. And it is important to mention that part of the art collections hosted in Trieste, the paintings in particular, had been hidden among the farmhouses of S. Andrea at the beginning of 1943 and later at Villa Varda³².

Antonino Rusconi, Superintendent of the Monuments and Galleries of Trento, alerted his colleague Franco about the collection that might be on display at Villa Varda. Although Rusconi did not have a precise overview of it, he pointed out the valuable porcelain and crystal sets, together with the Japanese prints and precious Persian carpets that Mario Morpurgo de Nilma had used to collect. The chance that some of these valuable pieces might have also been stored in the countryside, was enough for Superintendent Franco to send Someda de Marco, director of the Civic Museum of Udine, on a mission to verify the collections hosted there³³.

After the visit, Someda reported that there were no artistic objects significant enough to alert the Superintendence of Trieste, as the villa was mostly furnished in 19th century objects lacking in any cultural value. Or rather, that there were no objects that could have been turned into a museum collection: «[...] l'arredamento di detta villa è costruito da un complesso di

Education, November 20, 1943; ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico, b. 291, f. «Eredità Morpurgo», Relation of the Superintendence of Trieste, November 19, 1943.

²⁸ BALBO 1930; *LA VILLA VARDA* 1898; BARTOLIN 2009. The countryside estates of S. Andrea of Pasiano and Villa Varda in Sacile were bought respectively by the brothers Giacomo (1836-1884) and Carlo Marco Morpurgo (1826-1899) in the sixties of the 19th century.

²⁹ Villa Varda, like the palace of Trieste, was donated by Fanny Mondolfo (1848-1940) to his son Mario Morpurgo de Nilma in 1923. The estate of S. Andrea was inherited equally by Mario and her sister Matilde Colonna dei Principi di Stigliano (1869-1961). Mario Morpurgo de Nilma donated Villa Varda to the Diocesan Seminary of Concordia (today province of Pordenone) in 1943 and half-property of S. Andrea to the City of Trieste together with his city palace and the collections conserved in it. On Villa Varda today, see: http://www.villavarda.it, <January, 2019>.

³⁰ CRUSVAR 1990, pp. 24-30; RESCINITI 1998.

³¹ The administrator Oscar Casa was appointed on January 21, 1944.

³² Rome, Archivio Ministero Affari esteri, Ex-Archivio Siviero, prat. 3/208, Letter from the Superintendence of Trieste to Capitan Enthoven, Regional MFAA officer, November 23, 1945. Among the artworks safeguarded in Villa Varda were: the *Nymphs surprised by the satyr* by Arnold Böcklin, coming from the collection of the architect Augusto Guidini, the *Head of a Young woman* by Domenico Morelli purchased in 1929, a canvas of Emma Ciardi bought in Trieste in spring 1938 and displayed in the posthumous exhibition dedicated to the artist (See: Trieste, Archivio Civico Museo Morpurgo, Fondo Mario Morpurgo de Nilma, Serie 7, b. 116, f. 3, Certificate of authenticity of the Böcklin painting, October 30, 1928; *Ivi*, f. 4, Galleria Sciarra receipt of the Morelli painting, March 20, 1929; *Ivi*, f. 28, 29, Receipts of Galleria d'Arte Trieste for the Emma Ciardi paintings, April 25; May 15, 1938). In a handwritten list (*Ivi*, Serie 3, b. 11, f. 70, List of paintings sent to S. Andrea, unknown handwriting, no date) are reported the paintings deposited at S. Andrea including a *Portrait of a nun* by Mosé Bianchi bought by Morpurgo for Lire 3,000 in 1935 (*Ivi*, serie 7, b. 116, f. 14, Receipt for the Mosé Bianchi painting, January 1, 1935), together with the *Female portrait* by Ingres, and the *Scene of War* by Gerolamo Induno.

³³ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico, b. 291, f. «Eredità Morpurgo», Letter from Rusconi to Franco, December 27, 1943.

mobili e quadri dell'Ottocento del più pessimo gusto, un Museo che si rispetta se viene in possesso di detta roba non farà che riempire le sue soffitte di quadri e mobili senza alcun valore [...] pochi pezzi destano interesse artistico [...]»³⁴. Erika Hanfstaengl of the Department of Monument Protection (*Abteilung Denkmalschutz*) of the Supreme Commissioner made the same comments on the collection when she inspected Villa Varda at the time it was occupied by *Luftwaffe* officials. While on one hand she reported that the movable assets in the villa were well preserved (and inventoried), her comments on the collection's value were disparaging: «Die augenblicklich im Schloss vorhandene Einrichtung entspricht ganz dem Stil des Palazzos in Udine ohne besondere Kunstwerke zu enthalten»³⁵.

More than a collection with cultural value, therefore, this case appears to involve a group of artistic objects furnishing a bourgeoise residence according to the trends of the time³⁶. These comments are not surprising, having been repeated in the majority of the confiscations of Jewish houses in the area, for example, in relation to the collections hosted in Palazzo Morpurgo in Trieste themselves. On that occasion, the commentator highlighted that the collection – albeit composed of sumptuous pieces of furniture, rich damask draperies and curtains and sophisticated objects – had the primary purpose of furnishing rather than creating a unique collection that could enrich a museum's collection, if not only a museum of modern furniture: «Es handelt sich fast durchwegs um prunkhafte Einrichtungsstücke von Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts. [...] Diesen Gegenständen kommt kein kunstgeschichtlicher Wert zu, Bedeutung hätten sie lediglich für ein Möbelmuseum, das insbesondere Möbel des 19. Jhdts. sammelt»³⁷.

However, the grand piano of Villa Varda was requested by the *Luftwaffe* hospital (March 1944) while the valuable furniture, porcelain and crystal sets of the dining room and the carpets of the music room were looted by the *Luftwaffe* officials of Sacile and Fontanafredda³⁸. It wasn't only the *Luftwaffe* officials who looted objects from Villa Varda, but also different gangs, which made raids in the villa and in S. Andrea to take the harvest and the wine. A large part of the furniture and the silk tapestry of Villa Varda was destroyed during a raid that took place at the end of October 1944, while the artistic harquebuses were looted few months later³⁹.

In all of the Morpurgo estates, however, art experts noted the high quality of the libraries featuring a general overview of European literature and art history. At Villa Varda, two medium-sized cabinets displayed a notable library composed of Italian, French and German 19th century editions of Goethe, Lessing, Goldoni, and Molière, that captured the interest of Erika Hanfstaengl, leading her to try to verify their market value: «Bibliophile Werte wurden bei der flüchtigen Durchsicht nicht festgestellt»⁴⁰.

The Superintendence of Trieste soon understood that donating to a civic institution just might be the best legal tool for avoiding German confiscations of Jewish-owned art and book collections: «[...] potrebbe essere generalizzata a tutte le proprietà artistiche di cittadini di

³⁴ *Ivi*, Letter from Someda de Marco to Franco, December 31, 1943. Part of the collections of the city palace was packed in twelve crates – containing paintings, ceramics and crystal sets – and transferred to S. Andrea. Of these, three crates were transferred to Villa Varda, before the administrator of the villa escaped (Nov. 1943) due to the war events.

³⁵ Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv, R. 14, Italian Jüdischer Besitz, no. 6, Letter from Hanfstaengl to Frodl, December 15, 1943.

³⁶ CRUSVAR 1990.

³⁷ Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv, R. 14, Italian Jüdischer Besitz, no. 6, Letter from Frodl to *Finanzabteilung*, November 14, 1943.

³⁸ ACETr, f. Ju/12a, c. 39, Letter from Casa to Fischbach, July 1, 1944.

³⁹ Ivi, c. 46, Letter from Casa to Fischbach, October 10, 1944.

⁴⁰ Vienna, Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv, R. 14, Italian Jüdischer Besitz, no. 6, Letter from Hanfstaengl to Frodl, December 15, 1943. About the Morpurgo library, see: MILLO 1989, pp. 195-196.

razza ebraica che preferiscano fare dono alla propria città di quanto altrimenti andrebbe certamente diperso»⁴¹.

Following Superintendent Franco's idea, Rutteri looked into fulfilling the desire of his friend Salvatore Sabbadini (1873-1949), professor of ancient Greek and Latin and a significant Jewish studies scholar, to donate his book collection to the city of Trieste⁴². Thanks to this stratagem, part of the Sabbadini's library, together with a pair of silver candelabra, a *banukkah* lamp and two paintings that had already been put in 'temporary storage' under the safekeeping of the Civic Museum of Trieste on May 1940, remained in Rutteri's custody⁴³. Nevertheless, his library suffered a considerable loss: the component that remained in the Sabbadini house was plundered and some of it marked to be pulped. This fact is confirmed by the testimonies of the neighbors that Sabbadini himself reported in 1946 and by the sale receipt of what considered only 'old paper': «Le ss tedesche dapprima suggellarono l'appartamento già da me abitato, poi lo invasero e ne asportarono tutto ciò che vi era contenuto (mobili e vestiario, biancheria da letto e da mensa, libri e manoscritti, ogni corrispondenza epistolare e ricordi di famiglia [...] tutto quanto c'era di cartaceo nell'appartamento fu gettato alla rinfusa in sacchi e destinato al macero [...]»⁴⁴.

A receipt by the shipping company Kühne & Nagel dated March 14, 1944 confirmed the transfer of 'crates of books' from his house⁴⁵. At the end of the war, some books from the Sabbadini's library were found in the Synagogue of Trieste among many others from plundered Jewish libraries⁴⁶. The Synagogue was the main storage site in Trieste the Germans authorities used to collect books and artworks confiscated from the Jewish houses of Trieste and its surroundings.

As in the case of the Morpurgo collection, the Mayer one was likewise, to quote Rutteri, 'in the process of being resolved'.

In fact, while the Morpurgo de Nilma donation was being formalized, Aldo Mayer (1882-1953), son of the famous Teodoro (1860-1942), founder of the Trieste newspaper «Il Piccolo», made a massive donation of books and archeological objects to the Civic Museum of Trieste, the last of many made in prior years⁴⁷. Mayer's passion for collecting archeological objects was a familial interest that he shared with the family of his wife, Aglae Geiringer (1883-1969), and his sister Marcella (1884-1977), married name Sinigaglia⁴⁸. The collections were displayed in the exclusive Villa Mayer in Via Commerciale, the same villa that was requisitioned by the Italian Royal Navy on June 1943, and in other real estates⁴⁹.

⁴¹ ASTs, Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto, b. 427, Letter from Franco to Coceani, November 18, 1943.

⁴² ANDREATTA–MORGAN 2003 pp. 22-23; MORGAN 1998.

⁴³ Segrè 1998.

⁴⁴ Ivi, p. 24; HALL-KÖSTNER 2006, p. 457; ACETr, f. Ju/260, Sale receipt of old paper for Lire 700.

⁴⁵ ACETr, Box 2 Miscellanea, Kühne & Nagel receipt, March 14, 1944.

⁴⁶ *Ivi*, p. 22. Sabbadini made many notes to his book register: «Found in the Jewish Community 1944-45» or «Found by Rutteri» [translation by the article's author].

⁴⁷ VOLPATO 2009-2010, pp. 15-18. The Mayer donations are dated: September 29, 1909; February 22, 1928; September 15, 1931; January 12, 1932; April 18, 1933; December 3, 1943 and May 4, 1956. The last one was made by his sister Marcella Mayer Sinigaglia. The Mayer books collection was marked with an *ex libris* having triangular shape like a xylography (signed PG) executed on rough paper depicting a naked man standing against a boat and observing a waterfall. I would like to thank Livio Visieri, Cultural Heritage Assessor of the Jewish Community of Trieste, for the archival reference given.

⁴⁸ The archeological collection of the builder-architect Eugenio Geiringer (1844-1904), father of Aglae, was displayed at Villa Geiringer on the Scorcola hill of Trieste. Today the villa, the *European School of Trieste*, still shows, in its external structure, the ancient tombstones and coat-of-arms that were walled in by Geiringer; <u>https://quitrieste.it/eugenio-geiringer-2/</u>, <January, 2019>.

⁴⁹ *PARCHI E GIARDINI STORICI* 2004, p. 454. ASTs, Fondo Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto, 1923-1952, 1943, b. 449, f. «Villa Senatore Teodoro Mayer. Requisizione, 1943, no. 2443», Request of requisition submitted by the Italian Royal Navy to the Prefecture of Trieste, June 17, 1943. The request was accepted on June 21, 1943 and confirmed on October 15, 1943.

As reported in the entrance register of the Civic Museum, on December 3, 1943, 30 crates filled with 1,353 books plus a series of archeological items (vases, objects clays figures, etc.), the latter packed in seven crates, were brought to the Civic Museum of Antiquities in Trieste. A letter by the director of the museum, Piero Sticotti and dated December 18, confirms that the Mayer collections were immediately taken into custody⁵⁰.

Mayer donated part of his book and archeological collections, the latter protected by Law 1089/1939, to the City of Trieste on December 31, 1934⁵¹. The Sticotti declaration, dated at same day, showed that the removal of the museum display cases, bulky and difficult to transport, together with some books, and a number of archeological objects including vases, sculptures, and lances, was postponed: «[...] più viva riconoscenza per la tua offerta in dono a questi musei della tua preziossisima collezione archeologica, nonché dei moderni mezzi espositivi di vetrina e di scansie. [...] Conviene che una sala sia dedicata tutta alla magnifica raccolta [...]. Devo però a malincuore rimandare a quell'epoca il ritiro della preziosa suppellettile sia scientifica che espositiva perché non saprei come collocarla degnamente [...]»⁵² (Doc A).

When the German confiscations took largely place in Trieste in the last months of 1943, the Mayer collections donated to the City of Trieste nine years earlier were taken to be safeguarded in the museum. The Finance Department of the Supreme Commissioner, while confiscating the Mayer real estates, requested to Sticotti a self-declaration that the Mayer collection was donated: «Dichiaro che come direttore del Museo Comunale di Trieste nel 1934 ho ricevuto come regalo dall'ebreo Mayer una collezione d'antichità per il museo. [...]»⁵³. By the way there is no evidence that all the donated objects and books, including new museum display cases, were transferred to the museum⁵⁴.

In fact the furniture and the ornaments, including porcelain, crystal sets, vases and wooden statues, together with some museum display cases preserved in the Mayer's apartments, were confiscated by the Finanz-Abteilung on February 15, 1944⁵⁵. In the next months (March-June) the objects, packed in 230 crates, were sold to private buyers, the «Adria» firm (a German firm instituted for buying and selling the Jewish assets on the region) and Istrian troops of Pula⁵⁶. It would be risky to hypothesize about the destiny of all the Mayer collections, but there is no question that today only about half of the books listed in the 1943 donation are held at the Civic Museum of Trieste. Surely a part of the books distributed in 12 crates were transferred from the Mayer property to the Synagogue of Trieste⁵⁷.

Instead, the Villa Mayer's furniture was exclusively used by the Italian Navy command of Trieste, situated in the villa. It is interesting to notice a handwritten note in Italian without date and conserved in the Mayer German folder, in which were listed various modern paintings (followed by an inventory number ?) of local painters and few marbles fragments with wooden works, all conserved in Villa Mayer (as was noted)⁵⁸.

⁵⁰ VOLPATO 2009-2010, p. 15.

⁵¹ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico, b. 262, f. «Collezione Mayer», Letter from the Superintendence of Trieste to the City of Trieste, January 30, 1934.

⁵² ACETr, Ju/89, c. 12, Letter from Sticotti to Mayer, December 31, 1934.

⁵³ Ivi, c. 13, Sticotti self-declaration, February 19, 1944. I would like to thank Dr. Claudia Crosera of the Superintendence of FVG for the information given.

⁵⁴ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico, b. 262, f. «Collezione Mayer», De Grassi Report, January 26, 1944. The new museum display cases were bought by Mayer after the inspection made by the Superintendence Inspector De Grassi. On that occasion the inspector observed that the archeological objects were kept too crowded inside the display cases, not adequate for their dimension.

⁵⁵ ACETr, Ju/89, c. 15, Confiscation's inventory, February 15, 1944.

⁵⁶ BON 2001, pp. 338-339.

⁵⁷ ACETr, Ju/89, c. 2a, Kühne & Nagel sale receipt, March 28, 1944.

⁵⁸ Ini, c. 12a, Handwritten note, no date. The paintings listed were: Amalia Besso, Beach; Giovanni Zangrando, Village; Santo Lucas, Two heads of youngsters; Amato, Landscape (arcades); Lion head by V.O.; Reflected light and Female

Most likely the last name – Enrico Schott – not included in the list sent by the Superintendence of Trieste to the Revenue Office was eliminated because his property had already been seized by the Germans.

Enrico Schott (1872-1943) was a rich industrialist with Austrian and Romanian roots, who ran an eminent wool washing company inherited from his father Maximilian. He was driven by a great passion for art and music in particular⁵⁹. Schott held many positions in the city's artistic circles, including in the Schilleverein, Società di Minerva and the Società dei Filarmonici and he was the founder, together with Count Segré Sartorio, of the committee – *Comitato per le grandi esecuzioni musicali* – organizing musical performances to be played in Trieste's main theaters⁶⁰. He was also one of the greatest advocates of the foundation of the Trieste Conservatory, supporting countless musicians. Alongside this active participation in the musical life of the city, he also collected rare musical instruments and objects, including two Guernieri violins, and a Wagner manuscript⁶¹. Is seems that an important sheet of music by the Austrian compositor Gustav Mahler, held by the Conservatory of Trieste (no. 3327), had been a gift from Enrico Schott although there is no entry to tell us when the sheet of music was added to the Conservatory's collection⁶². Enrico Schott was arrested in Trieste on November, 1943 and shortly after he was released, died of natural causes in Trieste⁶³.

As mentioned above, the three names of collectors the Superintendence of Trieste submitted to the Revenue Office were Anita Pollitzer Pollenghi, Alberto Schott, and Arturo Castiglioni.

Although Alberto Schott's name is included, we have little evidence to indicate what ultimately happened to his bronze collection and other property. An undated note by the Superintendence of Trieste suggests that everything was seizured by the Germans⁶⁴. In fact, the confiscation inventory of his property was made by the Finanz-Abteilung on June 8, 1944. Although the inventory included many paintings (more than thirty), valuable pieces of furniture and ancient clocks, it did not list artistic bronzes⁶⁵. Alberto Schott (1880-Holocaust) was a prominent figure in the Jewish bourgeoisie of Trieste, having married Lea Brunner (1891-1991), a member of the leading Brunner family, and being distinguished by his charity activities and philanthropy for children. In recognition of his commitment to charity he was bestowed with the titles «Knight of the Italian Crown» (1914) and later «Commander of the Italian Crown» (1934)⁶⁶. Although he was nominated councilor of the Fascist National Federation of Traders of Trieste and had been declared 'Aryan' by law, his name is included in the list of the deportees to Auschwitz⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico Istria, b. 291, f. 148, Undated note of the Superintendence of Trieste.

⁶⁵ ACETr, Ju/111, Schott's inventory, June 8, 1944.

figure by Glauco Cambon; Street by R.V.; Carlo Rossi, Campfire; Horse by [...] Naples; Mask by [...]ellovick; Onza, Oysters; photography of the Fire at «Il Piccolo»; a copy of a work by Guglielmo Oberdan and a series of works made by unknown painters (A Greek saint; Jewish head; Lion head; Priest; Flowers). Among the objects there were: a Head of Christ carved on wood, a Christ on mirror, seven marble and stone fragments, four small Florentine lamps, a cross and a rosary in box and a parchment in wooden frame.

⁵⁹ PAVLOVIĆ 2006-2008, p. 33, footnote no. 8; MILLO 1989, p. 197.

⁶⁰ Ivi, p. 34.

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² *Ivi*, p. 132.

⁶³ The proof of his death is a letter sent by Ulrica Tschalakoff, wife of Enrico Schott, to the Financial Department which indicated that she was already a widow on February 8, 1944 (see: ACETr, Ju/2019).

⁶⁶ ACS, Ministero dell'Interno, DGPS, Div. Razza, fascicoli personali, b. 44, f. 3727, Alberto Schott, Attachment no. 4. Alberto Schott was for a long time the Italian Vice Consul in Trieste (1905-1913) and the Director of the Banca d'Italia in Trieste (1911-1915). I would like to thank Dr. Luca Saletti of the State Archive of Rome for the archival reference given [translation by the article's author].

⁶⁷ Ivi, Attachment no. 10. Schott was declared 'Aryan' on March 13, 1939 (Ivi, Letter the Minister of Interior to the Prefecture of Trieste, April 16, 1939). <u>http://digital-library.cdec.it/cdec-web/persone/detail/person-8337/schott-enrico.html</u>, <January, 2019>.

When at the end of the Second World War, the Schott's attorney informed the Property Control of the American Military Government that he was searching the looted property of his client, he listed the objects that were still missing, including the collection composed of bronze pharmacy mortars: «[...] mancano tre vassoi grandi d'argento, due cassette contenenti vari oggetti artistici di valore, tre orologi da tavolo, una raccolta di mortaretti di bronzo da farmacia, una raccolta d'orologi d'oro [...]»⁶⁸.

In the case of Arturo Castiglioni (1874-1953) and his collection of antique pharmaceutical vases, the Superintendence of Trieste report indicates that he probably left this collection in storage at the Milanese branch of Banca Commerciale before fleeing Trieste to the United States⁶⁹.

Castiglioni was an eminent Italian medical historian who held chairs in that field at universities in Siena, Padua, and Perugia and served as chief medical officer for various steamship lines, including Lloyd Triestino⁷⁰. In 1938, due to Italian Racial legislation, he was ousted from his teaching posts (October 16, 1938) at Italian universities and dismissed from his positions as medical officer⁷¹. As a consequence, his medical publications were also outlawed from the libraries⁷². After he moved to United States, he became a research associate and lecturer in the History of Medicine at the Yale School of Medicine between 1940 and 1947, after which he returned to Milan⁷³.

What is sure is that, before leaving Trieste, he sent seven crates containing 350 Italian pharmaceutical vases dating from the 15th to the 18th century to the pharmaceutical firm Prodotti Roche S.A. in Milan (and not to the bank): «Le casse sono ben custodite e non corrono rischi di sorta: s'intende però che io non sono responsabile per eventuali incerti, quali incendi, rischi di guerra o simili»⁷⁴. The collection was appraised for sale in April 1939 by the art historian and expert in antique majolica, Gaetano Ballarini: «Si tratta circa di 350 capi per la quasi totalità di produzione italiana, dal sec. XV al XVIII (alberelli, brocche, boccie, pillolieri ed altre forme), la quale mostra all'evidenza lo spirito scientifico e d'arte, con cui fu messa insieme, di certo in molti anni di ricerche e di cure»⁷⁵ (Fig. 3).

Castiglioni had mainly purchased his pharmaceutical majolica vases from Italian private collections and Roman art dealers (Salvadori, Sangiorgi, Jandolo). Some of the pieces were bought at European art auctions, such as those of the collections of Emerich Pekár from Budapest and of Adolf von Beckerath⁷⁶.

Together with the collection of ancient pharmaceutical vases, the paintings were also appraised. Despite the fact that the collection was considered only a set of paintings without

⁶⁸ ACETr, Box 2 Miscellanea, c. 24, Letter from the Schott' attorney to AMG, November 20, 1945.

⁶⁹ *CATALOGO ILLUST*RATO 1924, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰ ASTs, Fondo Arturo Castiglioni, Letter from the Ministry of Interior to Arturo Castiglioni, November 27, 1925.

⁷¹ Ivi, Letter from Università degli Studi di Padova to Castiglioni, October 10, 1938; Letter from Lloyd Triestino to Castiglioni, October 26, 1938; ACS, Ministero dell'Interno, DGPS, Div. AA.GG.RR, Cat. A1, 1941, b. 26, f. Arturo Castiglioni; LA POSIZIONE DEI PROFESSIONISTI 1940.

⁷² Ivi, List of the books outlawed from the libraries of Trieste, no date.

⁷³ FULTON 1953. Castiglioni was an Associate in History of Medicine (1940-1943), and a Lecturer in History of Medicine in the after war (1946-1947). On his career at the Yale University, see: Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Arturo Castiglioni Papers, MS 1286, 1930-1949.

⁷⁴ ASTs, Fondo Castiglioni, b. 1, f. Varie, Letter from Prodotti Roche S.A. to Castiglioni, September 19, 1939.

⁷⁵ For the inventory and evaluation, see: *Ivi*, sf. «Parere intorno all'acquisto di una importante collezione di circa 450 Vasi da Farmacia in maiolica Italiana dei sec. XV-XVIII», April 7, 1939. There is no evidence that the collection was sold or recovered at Banca Commerciale in Milan. I would like to thank Dr. Guido Montanari of the Historical Archive of Banca Intesa San Paolo of Milan for the information given.

⁷⁶ DIE SAMMLUNG EMERICH V. PEKÁR 1922; DIE MAJOLIKASAMMLUNG 1913. BODE 1911, pp. 15, 28 (respectively no. 1 and 14 of the Castiglioni inventory).

importance, it did include some valuable pieces from the Venetian School and many portraits of Castiglioni by the local painter Gino Parin⁷⁷.

Unfortunately the Superintendence of Trieste did not take into account Castiglioni's large library containing medical writings (pamphlets and books) and photographs together with a valuable Dante volume dated 1490 and other rare incunabula. This library, which represented Castiglioni life's work and passion, had been destined to be a gift to Yale University. When Castiglioni transferred his pharmaceutical vase collection to Milan, he stored his large library in the care of the Cimadori firm in Trieste, and that collection was confiscated by the Germans on August 7, 1944.

In fact, as Castiglioni's administrator reported to the Superintendence of Trieste at the end of the war, she tried to transfer the library's crates to Ditta Exner, but due to a lack of transportation 61 crates remained at Cimadori warehouse⁷⁸. After that the Finance Department of the Supreme Commissioner made a more detailed inventory of the goods contained in the stored crates – an arduous task as all the crates were large and compactly placed – and decided to transport the large painting to the *Adriatisches Küstenland* headquarters located at Court Palace of Trieste together with a crate containing porcelain & crystal sets, house linen, vases and a few paintings. The remaining 59 crates filled with books were transferred to the Synagogue of Trieste⁷⁹. Supposedly, after that the Castiglioni library that was stored at the Synagogue was transferred out of the city. It is no coincidence then that some of the Castiglioni books left in the city were later found in the Synagogue of Trieste after the war⁸⁰.

A large component of the Pollitzer collections was also relocated to the Synagogue. In this case, there were two houses from which art objects and libraries were confiscated, registered to Andrea Pollitzer (1892-1972) and his wife Anita Morpurgo Pollitzer (1908-1987)⁸¹. The Pollitzer collections had been assembled by the head of the family, the industrialist Augusto (1831-1896), founder of the famous soap company «Adria», and then enriched by his son Alfredo (1861-1940), a well-known Trieste art collector, and later by his nephew Andrea⁸².

Their collections were well known to both local critics and the Superintendence of Trieste for their pieces of handcrafted inlaid furniture (wardrobes, chests, chairs, etc.), all from Friuli and Istria⁸³. They had also collected many religious objects from local churches such as kneelers, bishop's armchairs, and statues of saints⁸⁴. As in the case of the Morpurgo de Nilma collection, the many examples of applied arts together with the antique and contemporary paintings were distributed and positioned to decorate a prestigious bourgeois house.

⁷⁷ ASTs, Fondo Castiglioni, b. 1, f. Varie, List of paintings owned by Castiglioni, no date. The paintings were: Venetian School, *Mythological painting* (*Rape of Europe*?), 17th century; School of Palma il Vecchio, *Portrait of old man with white bear*, panel, 24x31 cm, on the back was written: *Portrait of Prospero Colonna*, provenance from the Roman art dealer Mariani, 1920; German School (?), *Portrait of a blonde young man*, panel, 17x25 cm, provenance from Trieste; a copy by Cristoforo Allori, *Judith and Holofernes*, oil on canvas, 120x92 cm, provenance inherited; School of Piazzetta, *Bishop carrying a cross*, oil on canvas, around 17th century, 50x42 cm, provenance from Trieste; Spanish School, *St. Giovannino*, oil on canvas, 40x32 cm, provenance from Trieste; Rosa di Tivoli, *Hunting Scene*, oil on canvas, 90x70 cm, provenance Vienna; Flemish School, *A doctor examining a sick person*, oil on canvas, in bed condition; Gino Parin, *Portrait of Arturo Castiglioni*, 1926; other portraits made by Gino Parin.

⁷⁸ HALL-KÖSTNER 2006, p. 457; ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 44, f. 2808, Report made by Franco, February 12, 1946. The crates were selected by German experts and transferred to various places on August 9, 1944.

⁷⁹ ACETr, Ju/906, Receipt of the *Cimadori* firm, August 9, 1944.

⁸⁰ BON 2001, p. 59.

⁸¹ ABRAMI-RESCINITI 1992, pp. 121-123.

⁸² Mastrolonardo 1921.

⁸³ CESARI 1931, p. 8.

⁸⁴ Ivi, pp. 5-10.

The most valuable of the paintings' series were taken into custody by the Superintendence of Trieste together with the most significant private (Segré Sartorio, Basilio, Economo, Torre e Tasso, etc.) and public collections found in the area⁸⁵.

On March 28, 1943, twenty-three paintings and two antique frames packed into twelve crates were selected and transferred to Villa Manin in Passariano, one of the places identified as enjoying wartime cultural heritage protection⁸⁶ (Doc B).

The paintings of the Pollitzer collection included many 16th-17th century Italian School works that illustrated one of the Pollitzers' collecting trends. Some of the canvases safeguarded were also displayed at the art exposition organized in Trieste in 1925, such as the canvas depicting *St. John* by Giuseppe Angeli, and originally attributed to Piazzetta, and *David and Abigail* by Antonio Zanchi (?)⁸⁷.

The only works from the collection to be selected were paintings, leaving aside other valuable pieces such as a unique 16th century Flemish tapestry depicting the *Cambrai Peace* (the Peace treaty signed in 1529 between Francis I of France and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) which was later confiscated by the German authorities and today listed among the Italian artworks missing from the Second World War⁸⁸.

The Pollitzer collection was not the only Jewish collection taken into custody by the Superintendence of Trieste at Villa Manin (then transferred to San Daniele del Friuli after September 1943); there was also a 13th century fresco depicting *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* from the Arnstein collection and a group of modern and antique paintings from the Lekner collection, singled out by the Superintendence of Trieste for their high artistic and historical value⁸⁹.

It was a few years later that Elisabetta (1900-?) and Federico Arnstein (1894-?) took refuge in South America in 1938, while their real estates, including the villa in Via Bellosguardo, were occupied by different civil and military Fascist institutions⁹⁰. Although the most valuable pieces of furniture together with the artistic objects were exported to South America, the old furniture and the everyday tablewares were confiscated by the Germans on December 9, 1944⁹¹. In March 1945 the few objects found were sold to the Supreme Commissioner canteen of Trieste⁹².

The Arnstein fresco was then returned on August 17, 1949, while the Lekner pantings were given back on November 4, 1943, in the same months in which many artistic objects

⁸⁵ https://www.dolmenweb.net/somedademarco/page.php?l=it&id=1, <March 2019>.

⁸⁶ BRASCA 2017, p. 102; ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 35, f. 1468, no date. In most of the documents is indicated the month of March, in others February.

⁸⁷ LA GALLERIA NAZIONALE 2001, pp. 20-29, figures no. 13, 14, 15. The subject of the canvas David and Abigail looks more like an allegorical scene depicting *Musical and Amorous Enchantment*. In the last decades, alternately the critic attributed the painting to Antonio Zanchi or to Pietro Negri or again Ruschi. On it, see: *CATALOGO ILLUSTRATO* 1925, no. 204.

⁸⁸ L'OPERA DA RITROVARE 1995, no. 195; <u>https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040156-0000?search=c3d0eb5492ad92282f45b7dc7a943e5e&searchPos=13</u>, <January, 2019>.

⁸⁹ For Arnstein collection, see: ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 35, f. 1468, no date, Box 20, inv. no. 176: Unknown author, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, 13th century, fresco on canvas. The fresco was taken into custody on April 7, 1941. CROSERA–SPAGNOLETTO 2020. For Lekner collection, see: *Ini*, Box 1, inv. no. 492: Ribera (attr.), *Head of St. Peter*, School of Tiepolo, *Sleeping putto*; Gino Parin, *Interior with figures*; Alfredo Tominz, *Running horses*, Neapolitan school and *Head of Moses*; Neapolitan School, *Head of an Apostle*; Guido Guidi, *Figure in front of a mirror*; Albert Stolz, *A choir*, L. A. Blanc, *The escape (three figures)*; Floc, *View of Ragusa*.

⁹⁰ The Villa Arnstein in Via Bellosguardo no. 12, is better known with the appellation of Villa Trieste having been used as headquarter of the Police Special Inspectorate for Venezia Giulia ('Banda Collotti').

⁹¹ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Storico, b. 275, f. «Esportazione 1936/1940», export declaration no. 19, August 12, 1939. Four modern paintings by Albin Egger-Lienz, Michele Cascella and Luigi Crisconio were exported to South America in 1939.

⁹² ACETr, Ju/1225, Sale receipt of the objects bought by the German canteen, March 8, 1945.

were returned from Villa Manin storage to their rightful owners due to the military operations in the area⁹³.

Given the elevated risk associated with the attempt to transport artworks through active conflict zones, the Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie opted to confirm the Superintendence of Trieste's custody of three portraits⁹⁴. The paintings, owned by Teresa Handler (1875-?) and her son Dr. Carlo Horvat (1896-?), both foreign Jews of Yugoslav nationality who had been residing in Opatjia since 1924, had been seized following the War Law issued in 1938 (RD No. 1415, July 8, 1938)⁹⁵. The estates owned by Horvat and his family, such as the *Sanatorium* with its park, the nursing home directed by Dr. Horvat, and the villas Flora and D'Annunzio with their annexes, were quite prestigious. After Italy entered the war on June 10, 1940, the assets of individuals whose countries of citizenship were considered 'enemies' for the nation by the Fascist Regime, were seized (RD No. 566, June 10, 1940, Articles 292-313).

The seizures were headed by a public institution called Real Estate Management and Liquidation Institution (Ente di Gestione e Liquidazione Immobiliare), also known as EGELI (RD No. 665, March 27, 1939)⁹⁶. This institution, depending on the Ministry of Finance, was founded in the framework of the Racial Laws of 1938, to manage and liquidate the Jewish assets confiscated in the course of implementing RD No. 126 of February 9, 1939. EGELI was nominated the sequestrator of the seized assets and it delegated some of its functions to national credit institutions scattered all over the country with a view to maximizing its results. EGELI appointed the Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie, headquartered in Verona, to cover the provinces of Venezia Eugenea, Trieste, Pula, and Rijeka, and the Credito Fondiario di Gorizia to cover Gorizia and its province. Surprisingly, the Horvat family paintings were the only artworks held by Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie that were given into the custody of the Superintendence of Trieste to guarantee better safekeeping than could be provided by the bank itself⁹⁷. We might well wonder whether there were really no other collectors among the 107 names of foreign Jews whose property was seized by the bank. In Opatija alone, the seized movable assets of villas Celestina and Waldhein owned by US citizen Carolina Keppelmann were recorded as having the considerable value of Lire 181,616 in 1942⁹⁸. Both the Horvat and Keppelmann properties were handled by the Yugoslav authorities at the beginning of July 1945⁹⁹.

Most of the Pollitzer collections not held by the Superintendence of Trieste, were confiscated and sent to various scattered locations according to the destinations decided by the Finanz-Abteilung. While the Pollitzer house was being plundered, the «Adria» factory was also taken by the Supreme Commissioner through an Austrian sequestrator it had appointed:

⁹⁸ http://augusto.agid.gov.it/gazzette/index/download/id/1942029 P2, <January, 2019>.

⁹³ KNEZ 2016.

⁹⁴ ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 35, f. 1468, Letter from the Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie to the Superintendence of Trieste, December 21, 1943.

⁹⁵ Ivi, no date, inv. no. 515: Unknown author, Portrait of an Archduke, 42x57 cm; Unknown author, Portrait of a prelate, 66x76 cm; Unknown author, Portrait of a woman in white, 50x63 cm. The paintings returned to the sequestrator nominated by Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie on June 26, 1956.

About the family, see: <u>http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricercafiume.php?a=view&recid=0</u>, <January, 2019>; <u>http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricercafiume.php?a=view&recid=25</u>, <January, 2019>. Despite the research that I have conducted with the support of the Archival Superintendence of Friuli Venezia Giulia, UniCredit Historical Archive and Dr. Elena Franchi, it was not possible to find the EGELI archive group of Istituto Credito Fondario delle Venezie.

 $^{^{96}}$ Levi 1998.

⁹⁷ RAPPORTO GENERALE DELLA COMMISSIONE [ANSELMI] 2001, pp. 209-210. The bank seized in total 3,400 assets, 127 of these were referred to foreign Jews.

⁹⁹ College Park (MD), National Archives, AMG, Property Control, RG 331, b. 3476, f. 251, Property in Jugoslav Territory, July-Sept. 1945, List of Allied Proprieties in Area occupied by Jugoslav authorities, c. 2, July 5, 1945.

«Nell'autunno del 1943 il Comando tedesco delle truppe di occupazione impose alla fabbrica un commissario, tale Hans Brunner di Klagenfurt. Il direttore dello stabilimento Giovanni Miletta e numerosi altri dipendenti furono imprigionati. Ebbero allora inizio lo spoglio e il saccheggio sistematico [...]»¹⁰⁰.

After the confiscation of the two family houses (April 12 and July 7, 1944), the movable assets were selected and removed. The first confiscation inventory (April 12, 1944) was splitted in different sections according the destination of the confiscated items¹⁰¹. Most (but not all) of the furniture, divided among 216 crates, together with 4 crates full of silverware, crystal and porcelain sets, were assembled in warehouses no. 25 and no. 2, respectively, of the Free Port of Trieste, to be re-distributed¹⁰². The relevant artistic pieces with the books were instead deposited at the Synagogue of Trieste (three crates). The items taken to the port, among them different packages of paintings, were forcibly auctioned off to the highest bidder, within more than 180 lots being sold on May 1944¹⁰³. Others crates of furniture, mainly wardrobes, were sold to the Supreme Commissioner itself and other private local buyers, while the photographic materials along with a few carpets were taken to the *Adriatisches Küstenland* headquarters.

The second inventory (July 7, 1944), instead, was divided in three sections: the first one listed the objects to be sold, and the other two parts the artistic objects that had to be given to the local museum or to Klagenfurt museums. According to a handwritten note added on the second confiscation inventory, the Pollitzer collection was firstly evaluated by Mrs. Pommerhanz, sister of Globočnik and German informer during confiscation of Jewish property in Trieste¹⁰⁴.

After the agreement between the Superintendence of Trieste and the Abteilung Denkmalschutz to preserve the works of Venetian art or pieces of local interest in the museums of Trieste and Udine and to earmark the others to be sent to the public museums of Klagenfurt, the Pollitzer art collection was sorted and split into two parts in March 23-27, 1944.¹⁰⁵ The Museum of Trieste received a group of statues, furniture, paintings and ornaments, while bookcases, other paintings and some works of applied arts, taken from the Pollitzer houses, were shipped to Klagenfurt¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 4).

The few artworks selected for Klagenfurt's public museums included an oil panel depicting an *Adoration of the Magi*, two fragments of a 15th century wooden bust (*Saint with tunic* and *Saint*) and three small wooden carved boxes representing local craftsmanship¹⁰⁷. The fact that these these pieces had arrived in Klagenfurt was confirmed by MFAA officers in July 1945¹⁰⁸.

The Pollitzers' *Steinway & Sons* piano (no. 122736) had been appraised by professor Robert Kehldorfer of the Conservatory of Klagenfurt on October 16, 1944; he was frequently in Trieste to search for sheets of music among the looted Jewish assets that had been taken to

¹⁰⁰ MIAN 1997, pp. 71-72. A painting of Carlo Sbisà, *The soap factory* (oil on canvas, 1945, 134x190 cm, private collection), reproduced the «Adria» factory in 1945 when it had started working again despite the difficulties of the post-war period.

¹⁰¹ ACETr, f. Ju/27, c. 1, Confiscation inventory, April 12, 1944.

¹⁰² Ivi, c. 2, the objects were transferred to the Port of Trieste by Kühne & Nagel on April 15, 1944.

¹⁰³ Ivi, c. 9, 16, 18, Sale receipts dated from the end of May to the end of June 1944.

¹⁰⁴ ACETr, Box 2 Miscellanea, Annotation on the confiscation inventory.

¹⁰⁵ BRASCA 2017.

¹⁰⁶ ACS, Ministero Pubblica Istruzione, AABBAA, Div. III, 1940-1960, b. 258 TER, f. «Collezioni di quadri dei sigg. Morpurgo, Pollitzer di Trieste asportati dai tedeschi, Report made by Franco for MFAA, July 14, 1945.

¹⁰⁷ L'OPERA DA RITROVARE 1995, no. 49; 68; *Ivi*, b. 309, f. «Relazione sulle attività dei tedeschi nel periodo 1943/1945 nella Zona d'Operazioni Costiera dell'Adriatico, nel campo delle arti, biblioteche ed archivi», August 14, 1946, Attachment no. 12, Letter from Hanfstaengl to the Supreme Commissioner, March 17 1945.

the Synagogue of Trieste¹⁰⁹. The piano was then sold one month later (November 28) to a local buyer for an extraordinary price¹¹⁰. Instead, the Grenzland Konservatorium bought some wardrobes used to conserve musical instruments on October 28, 1944.

Despite research conducted after the war and the various restitutions of the objects that had been identified and located, several pieces of furniture are still missing, including one of five Istrian art inlaid chairs with decorative elements in the back depicting spirals of leaves and flying birds together with a large carved wardrobe, a 15th century table, antique chests, a pair of inlaid bed side tables and several armchairs upholstered in red damask¹¹¹.

Regarding the Pollitzer library, divided into an impressive 53 crates, it was transported to the Synagogue of Trieste on July 15, 1944: «Im Ganzen sind 47 Kisten Buecher und 6 Kisten mit ganz neuen Buechern von Pollitzer»¹¹².

Most of these 20,000 volumes of European literature, philosophy, art, poetry, music and science written in four languages that had been displayed on the walls of three rooms in the Pollitzer house, were shipped to Austria. Today, between 15,000 and 17,000 volumes are still missing¹¹³ (Fig. 5).

Despite the huge losses, a small component of the library, assembled by Alfredo and Andrea Pollitzer, namely 762 volumes comprising the series of commercial acts issued in Trieste when the city was an Habsburg emporium, together with books about the history of photography, and art criticism, was donated to the City of Trieste in 1972. The donation was supplemented by 234 books owned by Elda Luzzato (1868-1962)¹¹⁴.

While in most of the cases the interventions carried out by the Superintendence of Trieste were, as we have seen, aimed at stemming the dispersion of the Jewish-owned 'prized collections', in the end too little was saved and too many shadowy doubts about the fate of seized cultural assets have yet to be resolved. Unquestionably, the collections that the Superintendence of Trieste reported to the Prefecture and Revenue Office of Trieste were only a small part, the most well-known, of the larger cultural heritage adorning the many bourgeois houses, villas and palaces of the region owned by Jewish families. At this point we should ask what happened to the rest of them, the lion's share. How many goods were forcibly sold, as in the Pollitzer case? How many libraries and artworks were piled up to be looked over in the Synagogue of Trieste? How much of what was looted is still located somewhere in the region and how much is outside the country? To these and many other questions, the research currently being conducted will attempt to provide answers.

¹⁰⁹ HALL–KÖSTNER 2006, p. 449.

¹¹⁰ ACETr, Box 2 Miscellanea, Annotation on the confiscation inventory.

¹¹¹ MAE-S, prat. 3/208, Pollitzer declaration, 1966 (?); <u>https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040169-0000?search=020e1d8a527b026f74f59d9911c34732&searchPos=22</u>, <January, 2019>. Many pieces of the collection were sold between the collection inventory made around 1929 and the legacy of the collection by Andrea Pollitzer in 1940.

¹¹² ACETr, Box 2 Miscellanea, Annotation on the confiscation inventor.

¹¹³ BDA-Archiv_RestMat_K.40-2_Luzzato-Pollitzer, Elda, The Elda Luzzato *ex libris*, designed by the Viennese Angerer & Göschll, represents a maple leaf with the motto Sinceritas in corde in ore veritas.

¹¹⁴ <u>http://www.bsts.librari.beniculturali.it/patrimonio3.asp</u>, <January, 2019>.

Appendix¹¹⁵

$\operatorname{Doc} A$

List of the archeological items to be donated to the Civic Museum of Antiquities of Trieste by Mario Mayer, December 31, 1934 (ACETr, box Miscellanea 2, c. 12).

30 Box Roman lanterns	1 Classic sculpture
27 Archaeological	1 Sculpture fragment
29 Archaeological	40 Cuspids and lance
32 Archaeological	1 Lance
33 Archaeological	Small animal on a hoof
37 Archaeological vessels	Showcase with three statuettes
35 Archaeological	Tombstone with epigraph
34 Archaeological	2 Briefcases with fibulas
38 Archaeological vessels	4 Bas-relief fragments
46 Assyrian idol	6 Fragments
40 Archaeological clays	12 Books
36 Archaeological vessels	16 Books
42 Vessels, bronzes	23 Books
41 Clays figures	5 Books
45 Clays vessels	7 Books
39 Archaeological vases	18 Books
44 Fragile vessels	1 Showcase in two parts
1 Wall showcase	1 Cabinet with shelves painted in blue
1 Showcase	1 Showcase in two parts
1 painting Fire at «Il Piccolo»	3 Showcases with shelves
1 Small showcase	1 Blue painted shelf
1 Showcase	1 Small showcase
1 Showcase with idol	1 Large showcase divided in more parts

¹¹⁵ Author's translations from Italian documents.

1 Small showcase with fibulas	1 Showcase painted inside in red
2 Showcases	1 Corner showcase
1 Showcase painted inside in red	1 Blue shelve with rack
1 Archeological bust	Archeological no. 25
1 Woman head	2 Tables and small showcases
1 Capital	No. 24 Package with Egyptian fragments
1 Wall showcase	No. 18 Lamps for the showcases
6 Shelves	3 Stone fragments
3 Black wall shelves	No. 26 Archeological
2 Showcases	No. 19 Archeological
1 Showcase	1 Tiny showcase
3 Shelves	2 Panels fragments
1 Marble sculpture	1 Wall showcase painted inside in red
1 Archaic sculpture	16 Boxes of books
1 Ancient Florentine Lamp	

Doc B

List of the paintings of the Pollitzer collection deposited at Villa Manin in Passariano and San Daniele del Friuli, March 28, 1943-April 2, 1948. (ASDSABAPFVG, Archivio Istria, b. 35, f. 1468).

BOX 1, inv. no. 498

• School of Friuli, *St. Michael with St. Laurent and St. Anthony*, 16th century, panel, 168x121 cm, modern wooden frame¹¹⁶.

The panel was protected by law 1089/1939 since November 3, 1923.

BOX 2, inv. no. 494

- Francesco Ruschi, David and Abigail, 1630-1661, canvas, 120x116 cm, gilded frame¹¹⁷.
- Woman playing a harp with a listening warrior.

¹¹⁶ <u>https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040140-0000?search=c3d0eb5492ad92282f45b7dc7a943e5e&searchPos=4</u>,<January, 2019>.

¹¹⁷ <u>http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda/opera/61140/Ruschi%20Francesco%2C%20David%20e%20Abigail,</u>
<January, 2019>.

BOX 3, inv. no. 495

• *Still Life*, canvas, 117x83 cm.

BOX 4, inv. no. 496

• Madonna with Child and God, altar panel, 77x145 cm.

BOX 5, inv. no. 503

• Guercino, A young Bacchus, oval canvas, 95x73 cm, ancient gilded frame.

BOX 6, inv. no. 499

- Palma il Giovane (attr.), *Two old men with two naked women; one tied to a tree*, canvas, 55x82 cm, golden frame.
- An ancient richly carved gilded frame, 62x48 cm.
- An ancient richly carved frame, 23x31 cm.

BOX 7, inv. no. 500

- Bartolomeo Schidone (?), Madonna with Child and Saint, canvas, 41x48 cm, ancient gilded frame.
- Andrea del Sarto (?), Madonna with Child and Saint, canvas, 64x85 cm, carved gilded frame.
- Neapolitan School, *Head of an old woman with a head scarf*, canvas, 17th century, 49x61 cm, carved frame of 17th century.

BOX 8, inv. no. 505

- Old woman with a scarf on her hair, canvas, 41x53 cm, richly carved gilded frame.
- Madonna with Child, canvas, 32x43 cm, richly carved gilded frame.

BOX 9, inv. no. 501

- Gino Parin, Portrait of Alfredo Pollitzer, 1925-1928, oil on panel, Trieste, Private Collection¹¹⁸.
- G. B. Piazzetta (?), Saint John the Evangelist, canvas, 72x55 cm gilded frame.
- Man with child, canvas, 55x60 cm, ancient gilded frame.

BOX 10, inv. no. 504

- Madonna with Child and two saints, panel, 61x41 cm, gilded frame.
- Lombard School, Christ head, copper, 35x45 cm.
- Boltraffio (?), Portrait of woman with red hair, canvas 46x57 cm, richly gilded frame.
- Violinist.

BOX 11, inv. no. 497

- Roman School, *Country dance*, panel, 17th century, 44x36 cm, ancient gilded frame¹¹⁹.
- View of St. Mary of Health in Venice, canvas, 33x43 cm, carved gilded frame.

¹¹⁸ RAGAZZONI 2003, cat. no. 185 or 186. Alfredo Pollitzer was portrayed two times by Gino Parin. Also his wife, Elda Luzzato Pollitzer, was portrayed in 1942 (cat. no. 326).

¹¹⁹ <u>https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040163-0000?search=020e1d8a527b026f74f59d9911c34732&searchPos=17</u>, <January, 2019>.

BOX 12, inv. no. 502

- *Madonna with Child*, canvas, 20x24 cm, richly carved frame of 16th century¹²⁰.
- Christ with a sphere in a hand, panel, 20x25 cm, ancient gilded frame.

¹²⁰ <u>https://www.alinari.it/it/dettaglio/ACA-F-040141-0000?search=020e1d8a527b026f74f59d9911c34732&searchPos=5</u>, <January, 2019>.



Fig. 1: Wrought iron stair railing, second half of 16th century, former Villa Antonini-Brunner, Campolongo Topogliano (UD). © 2019 Archivio Fotografico Storico SABAPFVG. Riprodotto su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia, n. inv. ud 55310. Ogni diritto riservato



Fig. 2: Villa Varda, Sacile (PN), around 1930. © 2019 Comune di Brugnera (PN), Villa Varda. Riprodotto su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Friuli Venezia Giulia, n. inv. ud 55310. Ogni diritto riservato

	PAUL.		
20	Alberelle a Foglio di seguito	N.,	
87	Casa Pirotta 1500		
	Albarello ispano-moresco (Firenze)	L.	.500.=
58	ADruzzi (Saugiorgi)		1.500.=
59	Boccia toscana, Leda col cigno	"	800.=
30	Albarello faentino 1600 (Roma)	n	800.=
31	Albarello Caltagirone o Venezia (Antica farmacia di Palermo)	"	500.=
32			800.=
	detto		800.=
33	Baccia detto		800.==
34	Vase tescane datate 1562 "Ol.Sambuci" (Roma - Disegni)		1.400.=
35	Albarello Casa Pirotta (Faenza privato)	"	2.500.=
36	Vaso toscano tentativo di riflesso metallico Venezia Guggenheim		200.7
37	and former in a second se	"	2.000.=
38	Boccia toscana datata 1558 (Aqua ungulae cabaline"Firenze"		500.=
V,	Albarello faentino a doccie (Firenze privato)	Ħ	1.000.=
39	Albarello toscano "Ung.molificativo"(Firenze privato)	"	300.=
40	Albarello con decorazioni arabiche in blu scuro v.coll. Wallis:The Albarello, pag. 23.L'unico esemplare identi si trova nel South Kensington Museum, Londra (Dry Monaco M.2.00	0	10.000.=
41	Albarello " Dia seminib"1551 (asta Pesaro-Milano)		2.200.=
42	Albarello gotico v.Beckerath (Drey Monaco) M. 2.000	u	10.000.=
33	Grande vaso "M. Damocrato" Faenza 1600		2.500.=
44	Vaso 1618 "Sy iuleb.ros" (Coll.Ceci,Todi)		1.000.=
45	Vaso faentino con stemma: Lupa S.P.		800.=
VI	Albarello "Sine quibus"		700.=
46	Vaso grande con l'Annunciazione di Maria (Urbino 1500)		2.000.=
V	Albarello faentino "Da. Cassia cum manna"		500.=
48		11	400.=
49	Albarello "zucaro rosa" toscano 1500	"	300.=
1	Vaso datato 1665 "Ossi-sacai"		500.=
57	Albarello toscano "Ell.de Sebeste"		3.000.=
52	V aso faentino a piume di pavone (asta Pesaro-Milano))	3.000.=
53	Vaso toscano a doppia ansa coll. Imbert (Asta Pesaro-Milano		

Fig. 3: Excerpt from the inventory of the Castiglioni collection of ancient pharmaceutical vases (ASTs, Fondo Castiglioni, b. 1, f. Varie, April 7, 1939, p. 2). © 2019 Archivio Stato di Trieste. Riprodotto su concessione dell'Archivio di Stato di Trieste, ogni diritto riservato

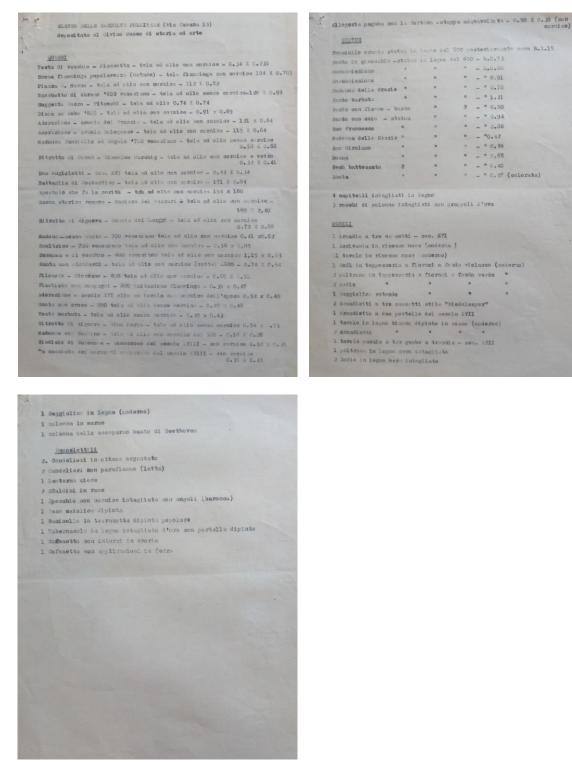


Fig. 4: List of Pollitzer's artistic objects deposited at the Art History Museum of Trieste, March 1945 (ACS, Ministero Pubblica Istruzione, AABBAA, Div. III, 1940-1960, b. 258 TER, f. «Collezioni di quadri dei sigg. Morpurgo, Pollitzer di Trieste asportati dai tedeschi, Report made by Superintendent Franco for MFAA, July 14, 1945). © 2019 Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma. Riprodotto su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo, ogni diritto riservato (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, 2019, 2453/28.10.13)

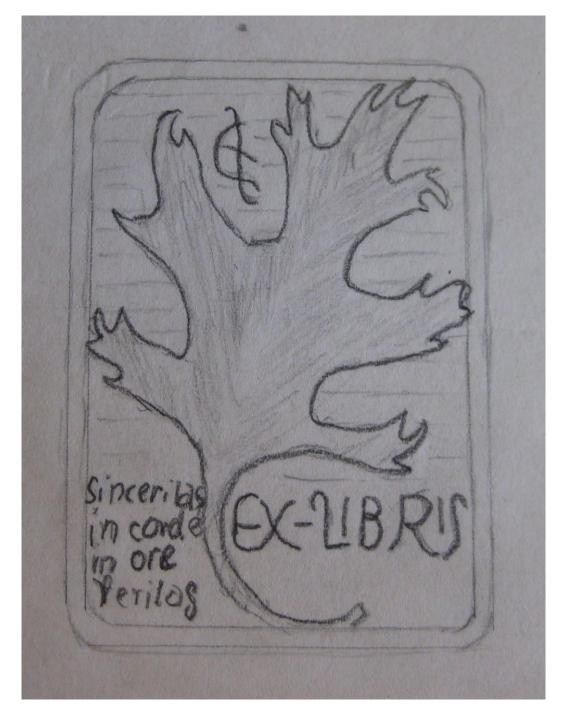


Fig. 5: Luzzato Pollitzer *ex libris* (BDA, Archiv Rest. Mat., K.40-2, f. Luzzato-Pollitzer, Elda). © 2019 BDA-Archiv Wien

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ABSTRACT

The author illustrates Jewish-owned art and book collections in the Alpe Adria region, notably in Trieste and its vicinity, which, due their high artistic value, were reported by the Superintendence for the Monuments and Galleries of Venezia Giulia and Friuli to the Italian Social Republic authorities after the establishment of the *Adriatisches Küstenland* in September 1943. The archival research conducted for this essay reveals the shadow areas in which authorities responsible for protecting the Jewish-owned cultural property operated.

L'autore affronta le collezioni d'arte e librarie di proprietà ebraica aventi particolare interesse storico ed artistico ed esistenti nel territorio Alpe Adria che vennero segnalate dalla R. Soprintendenza ai monumenti e alle gallerie della Venezia Giulia e del Friuli alle autorità della Repubblica Sociale Italiana dopo l'istituzione della *Zona d'Operazioni del Litorale Adriatico* nel settembre 1943. L'articolo, attraverso la ricerca d'archivio condotta, pone in evidenza le zone d'ombra entro le quali hanno agito le autorità predisposte alla tutela del patrimonio culturale di proprietà ebraica.