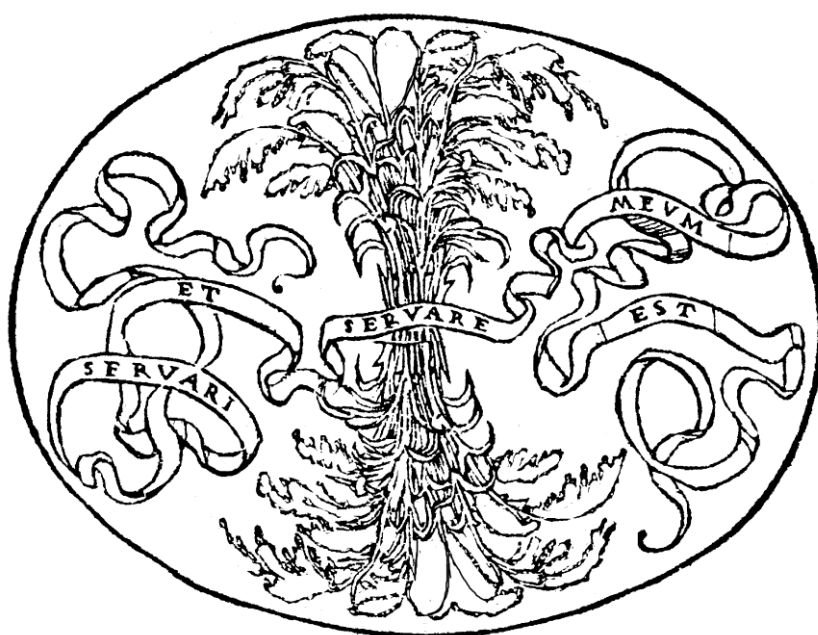


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THE DESTINY OF THE TILLA DURIEUX COLLECTION AFTER ITS TRANSFER FROM BERLIN TO ZAGREB

Tilla Durieux

Tilla Durieux was born on August 18th, 1880, in Vienna, as Ottilie Helene Angela Godeffroy. She was the daughter of Richard Godeffroy, a Chemistry professor, and of his second wife, Adelheid Ottilie Augustine Godeffroy, maiden name Hrdlička¹, a Hungarian pianist. Early on, her parents didn't support her acting career, so she shortened her name to Tilla and changed her last name to Durieux² after her French grandmother. Later on, she became a famous actress and she worked with Max Reinhardt, Otto Brahm, Leopold Jessner, and Erwin Piscator, among others. She played in many theatres across Germany and Europe and became the most famous German theatre actress, a big star, an uncrowned queen³. During her long life, Tilla Durieux was portrayed by many popular painters and sculptors, photographed by many important photographers; many companies published and sold postcards with images of Tilla Durieux and famous fashion designers made clothes for her. All that was without doubt evidence of her popularity. Even today, one can find a lot of postcards with the images of Tilla Durieux, wearing various costumes from her plays, in her fashionable clothes or in fancy interiors of her apartments (Fig. 1). Newspapers and magazines published a lot of articles about her life; journalists of that time wrote about her glamour, her popularity, her sense of style and fashion, her charismatic glow, her attractiveness, her talent, her life, as well as about the intellectual circles she frequented; «yellow press» reported her several affairs throughout her life. Tilla Durieux was adored by men and women, she was a true diva, a real star of many plays and silent movies, famous across Europe and America. During her interesting life, Tilla Durieux was married three times; first in 1904 to the painter Eugene Spiro, then in 1910 to the art dealer and editor Paul Cassirer, and, for the third time, since 1930, to the industrialist Ludwig Katzenellenbogen⁴.

The Art Collection and the Second World War

Tilla Durieux was not a professional art collector, but art had a major impact on her destiny and her life. Even though she was married to Egon Spiro, a secessionist painter, she discovered her true passion for art while she was married to her second husband, Paul Cassirer, a very influential person politically and socially as well as a successful art dealer, critic and editor. He had built a large art collection featuring some Old Masters; however, his collection mostly consisted of French paintings of the second half of the 19th and of the first decades of the 20th century. In addition to portraits of Tilla's family members, the Tilla Durieux and Paul Cassirer Collection included many 'modernist' works of art⁵. Since Paul Cassirer was involved in promoting impressionist and postimpressionist art and artists in Germany, one could conclude that he might have had a collection of these works, too. After

The research was conducted within the frame of HERA project/15.080 TransCultAA (Transfer of Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region in the 20th Century, www.transcultaa.eu).

¹ ŠTERK 2006, p. 10; DURIEUX 2001, p. 9.

² DURIEUX 2001, p. 19.

³ MGZG-DTD (for abbreviations see Bibliography), www.mgz.hr, about Tilla Durieux; ŠTERK 2006; DAMJANOVIĆ 2016; DURIEUX 2001.

⁴ DURIEUX 2001, pp. 316, 426-43; JOVETIĆ 2001, p. 15.

⁵ DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 139.

years of a very turbulent marriage, in 1926 this famous and successful couple decided to divorce. When Paul Cassirer was about to sign the divorce papers, he got up from the table where he was sitting, went into the room next door and killed himself⁶. Due to financial trouble she faced during her third marriage, she sold most of the paintings, including one by Van Gogh. Other than that sale, there is no other record of such paintings⁷.

Tilla Durieux remarried again in 1930 to the industrialist Ludwig Katzenellenbogen. After Hitler's rise to power and also because of a court case brought against her husband, they emigrated from Germany in 1933. They took the family jewelry and the art collections with them, or at least what was left of them after the court had seized her assets during the legal case against her husband⁸. They first moved to Switzerland, but then changed their residence several times. One of those residences was Zagreb. In her memoirs, Tilla wrote how much she loved Zagreb, especially since this was the city where her mother and father had been schooled⁹. Indeed, she was a little afraid of living in a small city, but she soon learned to love Zagreb¹⁰. She continued to act in the theatre, but she tried to avoid Germany since a warrant had been issued for arresting her husband. During her stay in Zagreb, after one of the plays at the opera, she met Countess Zlata Lubinski, a very important member of the Croatian aristocracy at that time, and they became good friends. Later they even established that they were some distant relatives; as Tilla wrote in her memoirs « indeed, kinship goes back to my grandfather and her granduncle, the bishop Strossmayer »¹¹.

Following their arrival in Zagreb, Tilla and Ludwig rented an apartment with the help of friends, the Croatian architect Zdenko Strižić and his wife, whom they had met earlier in Switzerland¹². Earlier, her husband had invested in a bus-manufacturing company in Yugoslavia. However, eventually the company went bankrupt and Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, together with some of his financial partners, bought the Hotel Kristal (with 106 beds) in Opatija, on the Adriatic Coast. Due to the lack of money, Tilla went to Paris to sell one of the paintings from her collection¹³. The couple moved to Opatija in 1936 and seemed to be doing well for a while. The hotel business was fine, and they even shipped furniture and books from Germany to Opatija as they thought that the future was promising¹⁴. This good period in Opatija didn't last long since the repression exerted by fascist Italy was increasing day by day. They were forced to sell the hotel in 1938 and move back to Switzerland, and from there in the same year back to Zagreb where they lived in Zlata's villa on Jurjevska Street 27. Upon arrival, the couple settled down in an apartment on the first floor of the villa.

Since the repression against the Jews in Yugoslavia was increasing as well, in 1941 they tried to flee Europe. For them, as Jews, it was not possible to travel through Italy, so they decided to go to Belgrade in order to get visas and then to go to America through Greece and Turkey. At that time the couple had Honduran passports. While waiting for visas, they decided to wait in Skopje in Macedonia, since the city was closer to the Greek border than Belgrade. In April 1941 the couple split, for reasons that are unclear: Tilla went back to Belgrade to get visas and Ludwig remained in Skopje with their belongings (including her valuable jewelry collection and almost all of their money), expecting her to come back in a day or two. Even though he had money, he couldn't travel anywhere without his passport which

⁶ DURIEUX 2001, p. 306.

⁷ DURIEUX 2001, p. 330; DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 139.

⁸ DURIEUX 2001, p. 139.

⁹ DURIEUX 2001, p. 329; ŠEMBERA 1977A, pp. 37-39.

¹⁰ DURIEUX 2001, p. 332; BOGLIĆ 1982, p. 8.; ZAMODA 2006, pp. 104-113; ŠEMBERA 1977B, pp. 80-83.

¹¹ DURIEUX 2001, p. 332.

¹² DURIEUX 2001, p. 331.

¹³ DURIEUX 2001, pp. 330-334. She wrote in her memoirs that most of the paintings had already been sold, but she did not mention which one she sold in Paris; JURIČIĆ 2003, p. 10.

¹⁴ DURIEUX 2001, pp. 334-335.

Tilla had with her in Belgrade¹⁵. However, the day she arrived in Belgrade bombings started and she couldn't get back to Skopje. After traveling back and forth through Serbia, she managed to get back to Zlata in Zagreb¹⁶. Somehow, Ludwig Katzenellenbogen was arrested by the Gestapo agents in Thessaloniki and deported to Berlin where he died in the Jewish hospital in 1943¹⁷. Tilla didn't know of his tragic death until 1944¹⁸.

Following her return to Zagreb in 1941, Tilla Durieux lived at Jurjevska Street 27 once again, but on the ground floor since their apartment on the first floor was already occupied. Tilla and Zlata became very close friends and, although German officers and officials were living in the villa, they were very actively involved in the Yugoslav antifascist resistance movement. Their resistance code names were Cougar (*Puma*) and Red Countess (*Crvena grofica*) respectively¹⁹. Afterwards, Tilla Durieux wrote a play entitled *Zagreb 1945*, illustrating her life in Zagreb during the Second World War. It was successfully performed in Luzern in 1946²⁰.

The Tilla Durieux Collection and Its Protection in Yugoslavia

The chronology of the protection of the Tilla Durieux Collection in Yugoslavia goes back to November 13th, 1945, when the Commission for Gathering and Protecting of Cultural Monuments and Antiques proclaimed that the Zlata Lubienski Art Collection, at that time including Tilla Durieux's collection, was a 'protected' collection under the Section for Museums of the Department of Art and Culture of the Ministry of Education of the Federal Republic of Croatia²¹. Before taking that decision, on October 30th, 1945, the Commission had inspected the collection on Jurjevska Street 27, listed the art works and other valuable items in the apartment of Zlata Lubienski and provisionally decided that it deemed 'protection'²².

Later on, in 1946, the Tilla Durieux Collection received protection as well²³. The order for the formal protection of the two collections was issued on November 20th, 1946, on the basis of the Protection and Collection of Cultural Monuments and Antiques Act of October 4th, 1946²⁴.

Zlata Lubienski and Tilla Durieux both personally appealed on August 30th, 1948, for the protection of their collections also as 'private collections of public interest'²⁵. Surprisingly, their appeal was denied²⁶. In their explanation for the denial, the Commission, consisting of Vladimir Tkalčić, the Director of the Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb, Ljubo Karaman, the Director of the Conservation Institute, and Draginja Zdenčaj, the Representative of the Department of Art and Culture, Section for Museums, stated that the collections of Zlata Lubienski and Tilla Durieux couldn't get the status of 'private collection of public interest' due

¹⁵ ŠEMBERA 1977A; ŠEMBERA 1977B; ŠEMBERA 1977C; ŠEMBERA 1977D.

¹⁶ DURIEUX 2001, p. 348.

¹⁷ N.N., 1970.

¹⁸ DURIEUX 2001, p. 370.

¹⁹ ŠTERK 2006, p. 44; DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, pp. 106-119, 120-152.

²⁰ The play was written in German and some decades later translated and published in Croatian too, see: DURIEUX 2001; *ZAGREB 1945* 1946 (page number unknown, copy of the article is preserved in MGZG-DTD).

²¹ MK-UZKB-KOMZA, Privatne zbirke, Zlata Lubienski Collection, document no. 25406-III-1- 1945, of November 13th, 1945.

²² MK-UZKB-KOMZA, Privatne zbirke, Zlata Lubienski Collection, document no. 315-1945; SLADE ŠILOVIĆ 1995, pp. 73-81.

²³ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 02-1028/1-1967. Decision of registration of Tilla Durieux collection in *Nation register of moveable Cultural Heritage*, of November 9th, 1967. In 1948 a list of items in the collection was made.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ HR-HDA, archive group 291, box 65, doc. no. 69570-VI-3-1948; archive group 1095, box 93 (for these documents I thank my colleague Iva Pasini Tržec).

²⁶ HR-HDA, archive group 291, box 65; Minutes of the Commission of November 4th, 1948.

to «overcrowding and housing in the four rooms where these items are». The Commission noticed that «the collection does not give a real impression and is not so arranged as should be a collection of public interest under the control of the State»²⁷. However, it was important for Zlata and Tilla to get the status of 'private collection of public interest' because in that case they were not at risk of being sent by housing authorities to live in spare rooms, as it was often the case after the Second World War in Zagreb due to the shortage of housing. Indeed, the owners would receive yearly income from the State for maintaining the collection and keeping it open to the public. Concluding the report, the Commission forbade any kind of relocation of any part of the collection, even its relocation to another room of the Villa Lubienski. It was also forbidden to place the collection into storage. The collection should remain exactly in the state it was when the Commission visited the apartment²⁸. They also remarked that the collection contained some art works which were unique in Zagreb, such as Chinese ceramics, Egyptian artefacts, wooden sculptures from the Pacific, many items from the late bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, as well as many modern German works of art. The Commission also noticed that many students and critics were interested in this collection and that it also included a large library with many art books and graphic materials²⁹.

Since there should be an open day for public viewing of the collection, Zlata and Tilla picked Sunday as the visiting day. On those mornings, Tilla was able to recreate something of that lost pre-war artistic and intellectual world she had experienced in Germany before the Second World War: her collection inexorably contained and mirrored her life and the artistic atmosphere of Berlin before 1933³⁰. Among others, many members of the art field and of the intellectual elite of Zagreb (writers, artists, conservators, art historians, painters, poets and other intellectuals) visited Villa Lubienski. At the same time, organizers of thematic exhibitions would borrow items for exhibitions. Some of the items played authentic mute roles in film co-productions³¹. The collection, with its educational and spiritual characteristics, placed a special and distinctive stamp on the City of Zagreb. After the end of the war, many friends and guests from abroad as well as many amateurs and artists also came to see the Zlata and Tilla art collections, such as the sculptor Henry Moore and the infamous national socialist art historian Bruno Lohse³².

The Tilla Durieux Collection in Zagreb

Since Tilla Durieux had some problems extending her Honduran passport, in 1950 she decided to take the Yugoslav citizenship: «I have chosen Yugoslavia, the country which took me in and shielded me in time of need, the country I learned to love»³³. She decided to continue her life in Zagreb after the Second World War. Since she didn't speak Croatian well enough to act in theatres, she took a job as a seamstress at the Puppet Theatre in Zagreb. In

²⁷ *Ibidem*. «However, due to overcrowding and housing in the four rooms where these items are, the collection does not give a real impression and is not so arranged as should be a Collection of public interest under the control of the State, therefore we think that it should not be officially recognized as a Collection of public importance, but only ask the housing authorities to make, as before, the collection available to visitors in the name of public cultural interests».

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ LUGARIĆ 1963, pp. 28-30; LAZAREVIĆ 1966, pp. 21-28.

³¹ MGZG-DTD, www.mgz.hr.

³² DAMJANOVIĆ 2016.

³³ DURIEX 2001, p. 372; GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 14-3/1-10430/1-1968, Letter from City administrative bodies of Public safety to City Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Nature, of March 27th, 1968, it stated that Tilla Durieux took a Yugoslav citizenship on April 21st, 1950, under no. 4149-IV-1950; before that she had a Honduras citizenship.

1951 she published an article in Croatian language entitled *Seamstress at the Puppet Theatre (Krojač u kazalištu lutaka)*³⁴. Tilla Durieux worked there from 1945 to 1951. At times, her income was so low that she needed to knit and sell socks and mittens to get by, since she was not allowed to sell anything from her collection, at least not legally³⁵.

In 1951 the news that Tilla Durieux had survived the war hit Germany. She found out that theatrical circles still were interested in her and in her life. Therefore, she moved back to Berlin. In 1952, after nineteen years of what she called 'exile', at the age of seventy-two, she landed at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin where she was greeted by many journalists of newspapers; radio and TV stations reported her return as major news. She realized she had not been forgotten³⁶. Tilla used her husband's last name, Katzenellenbogen, until 1953, and then changed it back to Durieux. Perhaps her plans to move back to Germany and continue her professional career were the reason why she did so after so many years³⁷. During those years she lived between Zagreb and Berlin, but in 1955 she decided to permanently move back to Germany.

As for the collection, at that time it remained in the same rooms in the apartment on the ground floor of Villa Lubienski. The collection was not transferred to a museum, possibly because Tilla and Zlata had been actively involved in the antifascist resistance movement during the Second World War. Most privately owned artworks in the former Yugoslavia were collected from their original locations and transferred to museums and galleries after the war. During the following decades many items were proclaimed missing, and most of those objects are still missing (in total more than thirty objects)³⁸.

As mentioned above, during the first years following the Second World War, the collections of Zlata Lubienski and of Tilla Durieux had been exhibited in four rooms on the ground floor of Villa Lubienski (three for the first and one for the second) and were initially registered as the Zlata Lubienski Collection. The first list was made in the months after the end of the war in 1945. In 1948, the Tilla Durieux Collection was separated from the Zlata Lubienski Collection and a new list was made with a total of 52 works of art. Number 53 listed a collection of 3000 books. The list was signed by Tilla Durieux and by the Commission members Vanda Pavelić and Greta Surin³⁹. Later, when the legal battle started, The Institute for Conservation of Cultural Heritage made an inventory list and found some new items that had not been registered earlier. The final list contained 68 items⁴⁰. Later, some authors indicated that the Tilla Durieux Collection included 84 art items and 3000 books⁴¹. The problem with the incorrect registration of items was that until 1948 the Tilla Durieux Collection was registered as the Lubienski-Durieux Collection. Many items were wrongly

³⁴ DURIEUX 1951, pp. 95-115.

³⁵ PREUSS 2001, p. 395; HR-HDA, archive group 1095, box 93, doc.no. 9549/54 of December 8th, 1954, documentation regarding Tilla Durieux's request of exporting a work by Marc Chagall and explanation for the denial of the request.

³⁶ PREUSS 2001, p. 394.

³⁷ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 14-3/1-10430/1-1968, Letter from the City administrative bodies of Public Safety to the City Bureau for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Nature, of March 27th, 1968; it stated that Tilla Durieux changed her last name from Katzenellenbogen to Durieux on March 27th, 1953.

³⁸ ŠTERK 1987, p. 8. Slavko Šterk was the first curator of the Tilla Durieux Collection in Zagreb; he stated that 30 items were stolen, missing or destroyed from her collection. He also published two books about Tilla Durieux and her collection in Zagreb: see ŠTERK 1986; ŠTERK 2006. Nowadays the curator is Vesna Vrabec, whom I would like to thank for help with documentation. See also: DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 149, who affirms that thirty-two objects are missing.

³⁹ GZZSKIP-DTD, List of art objects from 1948; the list was made on February 24th, 1948, document no. 96-1948.

⁴⁰ DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 146.

⁴¹ ŽIC 2002, 89-94, pp. 94, writes that collection holds more than 80 art items and 3000 books; GZZSKIP-DTD, List of art items from 1948; ZCM-DTD, copy of the list of art items from 1948.

registered in both collections, either as a part of the Lubienski or of the Durieux Collection⁴² (Fig. 2).

A new list of works of art in the Durieux Collection was made in 1969 and it was established that many items were missing, such as very valuable works of art by Marc Chagall and Paul Klee⁴³. In June 1970, Herta Kučera took over as the assignee of the Tilla Durieux Book Collection.⁴⁴

The Collection remained in Villa Lubienski, even after Zlata Lubienski passed away in March 1969 and Tilla Durieux died in 1971⁴⁵. Four years earlier, in 1967, Tilla Durieux had started a legal battle (later continued by her heir Erika Dannhoff) to export the art items and the book collection from Yugoslavia to Germany⁴⁶. In the same year, the collection was registered with the National Register of Mobile Cultural Heritage (as RZG-9)⁴⁷. The request for the export of the art collection was denied. Tilla and her legal representative Leo Rotter went to the Supreme Court, but the verdict remained unchanged⁴⁸. Due to the legal process, the collection was closed and sealed on March 26th, 1969, in the same room where it was at the end of the Second World War. An inspection of the collection had established that many items were missing, such as Paul Klee's watercolour *Befestigter Ort*, Marc Chagall's gouache *Murder*, a few valuable sculptures, six small sculptures by August Gaul, etc.⁴⁹ (Fig. 3).

After Zlata Lubienski's funeral, the representatives of the Institute visited the Villa. Zlata's heirs, her daughter Vlasta Scholz and the lawyer Mijo Repar, gave them the list of jewelry from the late archbishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, inherited by his niece Vlasta Lubienski. They stated that the jewelry was taken as a pledge by Tilla Durieux for her art collection left in Villa Lubienski when she moved to Germany. Mijo Repar, the family lawyer, insisted that the Tilla Durieux Collection, even though it was separated from the Lubienski Collection in 1948, had to be registered as the estate of deceased Zlata Lubienski until her family gets the family jewelry back.⁵⁰ He informed the representatives that he had sealed the room with the Tilla Durieux Collection. Even though the court requested access to the collection, Mijo Repar didn't answer. It was only after the verdict was announced on April 10th, that the Tilla Durieux Collection was included in the estate of deceased Zlata Lubienski and the access to the collection was permitted.

Later, an engineer named Franjo Liszt was authorized by Zlata's heirs to be the custodian of the Lubienski and Durieux collections⁵¹. Even though it was forbidden to sell the house or relocate the collection without permission from the Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage, Franjo Liszt packed and removed the Tilla Durieux Collection from the sealed room and only informed the Institute about his actions at a later date. Art

⁴² GZZSKIP-DTD, Copy of list of objects of the Tilla Durieux Collection from 1948, 1968 and 1969.

⁴³ BALIJA 2014, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁴ GZZSKIP-DTD, document about the handover of the Tilla Durieux library dated June 10th, 1970, and signed by Franjo Liszt, Vlaho Kučera, Herta Kučera and Jeanette Reitmair. Part of the Tilla Durieux Book Collection was later donated to the City Museum in Zagreb.

⁴⁵ LAZAREVIĆ 1969, p. 19.

⁴⁶ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 02-1028/1-1967 of November 9th, 1967, Decision on registering the Tilla Durieux Collection.

⁴⁷ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 02-1028/1-1967, dated November 9th, 1967. Tilla Durieux Collection was registered under number RZG-9; Report on Court revision on the Tilla Durieux Collection of April 24th, 1969. The author of the report was Ivy Lentić Kugli, a representative of the Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage. The report was written a day after the revision.

⁴⁸ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 02-639/1967, dated November 1st, 1967; document no. 02-1028/1967, dated November 10th, 1967; document no. 1290/4-1988.MM/K, dated June 13th, 1968.

⁴⁹ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 02-639/93-67, dated October 5th, 1967; document no. 02-491/8-1969, dated May 5th, 1969.

⁵⁰ GZZSKIP-DTD, record about Tilla Durieux Collection, document no. 479/2, of August 15th, 1969.

⁵¹ GZZSKIP-DTD, record of the meeting of January 8th, 1985.

works, the book collection and other personal and valuable objects previously owned by Tilla were packed in boxes and stored in the attic of Villa Lubienski and in the small room in the garden, where they remained for the next eight years. The condition of those items was poor, and they were not safe at all.

Aftermath and the Court Settlement

The problem was not just Tilla's request to export the art collection; there was also a legal dispute between Zlata Lubienski's heirs and Tilla Durieux over Zlata's family jewelry collection that she took with her to Germany as a pledge for her art and book collection that she had left in Zlata's villa in Zagreb⁵². An official settlement between Tilla and Zlata's heirs was reached on February 10th, 1977⁵³. One of the documents attests that Zlata's heirs got reimbursed for the value of the jewelry⁵⁴.

The Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany visited the City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage and informed that a settlement had been reached. There were no more claims made by Zlata's son Boris Lubienski against Erika Dannhoff, Tilla's heir, and the pledge was no longer an issue.

A few years later, on February 17th, 1982, the City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage for the City Council in Zagreb gave a permit for the export of the Tilla Durieux Collection. A decision was made to divide the collection as Erika Dannhoff had suggested; 40% of the collection would remain in Zagreb and 60% would be exported to Germany⁵⁵. The importance of Tilla Durieux and the presentation of her life and legacy in Germany through her collection was an argument used by Erika Dannhoff. She stated that the collection would be used in Germany to establish a 'memorial' to Tilla Durieux. That was the main reason why the request was resolved, but it was also because the collection was taken from Germany as the owners fled the prosecution by the Nazi government, as well as the fact that the legal heir of the collection was a foreign citizen⁵⁶. A Commission for the takeover of the donated part (*Komisija za preuzimanje darovanog dijela*) of the Tilla Durieux Collection was established; its members were Ida Slade Šilović (City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage for the City Council in Zagreb), Zdenko Kuzmić and Zdenka Kazmar (City Museum in Zagreb), Dubravka Osrečki (Committee for Public Affairs) and Ljiljana Poljak (from City Administration). Tilla Durieux's heir Erika Dannhoff was also present with her legal representative from Zagreb, Eugen Zadavec, as well as the former custodian of the collection, engineer Franjo Liszt, together with two members from the former Commission for the selection of art works from the Tilla Durieux Collection (that will remain in Zagreb) Zdenka Munk and Nada Križić⁵⁷.

On the same date, the Commission visited the villa for the last time, and the Tilla Durieux Collection was formally divided and handed over according to the previous agreement. Nineteen art works remained in Zagreb as a part of the newly formed Tilla

⁵² GZZSKIP-DTD, record about the Tilla Durieux Collection, document no. 479/2, of August 15th, 1969.

⁵³ GZZSKIP-DTD, Letter from the City Institute for the Conservation to City Council in Zagreb about the Tilla Durieux Collection, of February 1st, 1982. Document no. 03-UP/I-833/14/ISŠ: DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 147, suggests the possibility that one of Chagall's work could be offered as a reimbursement for the value of the jewelry.

⁵⁴ GZZSKIP-DTD, document no. 03-UP/I-164-2, dated March 30th, 1978.

⁵⁵ MGZG-DTD, copy of the draft of the agreement between Erika Danhoff and the City of Zagreb; ŠEPAROVIĆ 1982, p. 8; ZIMA 2002, pp. 11; SUŠANJ 2002, pp. 70-71; KADIĆ 1984, p. 2.

⁵⁶ MGZG-DTD, copy of the documentation about dividing and taking over the T. Durieux collection.

⁵⁷ MGZG-DTD, Minutes from the collection takeover on February 17th, 1982 at 1PM.

Durieux Collection at the City Museum in Zagreb and 58 items were exported to Germany⁵⁸. However, the memorial in Germany to Tilla Durieux was never established and most of the collection was sold. Most of the items from the Tilla Durieux Collection that had went missing during the period they were in Zagreb were never found, except Paul Klee's watercolour *Befestigter Ort*, which was recently discovered in a private collection in Germany⁵⁹ (Fig. 4).

⁵⁸ ŠTERK 1983, p. 4-5; KUSIN 1986, p. 14; MIHALIC 1995, pp. 82-108; BRAJCIC PASARIC 1998, p. 20-21; MIHALIC 2008, p. 70-74.

⁵⁹ NOVAK 1969A; NOVAK 1969B.



Fig. 1: Postcard of Tilla Durieux as Königin Odatis in the play *Herr und Diener*, by Ludwig Fulda (Première, Deutsches Theater, Berlin, 1910). Photo Becker & Maas



Fig. 2: Zlata Lubienski in Tilla's former living room in Jurjevska 27 in Zagreb, with *Befestigter Ort* by Paul Klee on the wall, from: DAMJANOVIĆ 2016, p. 150

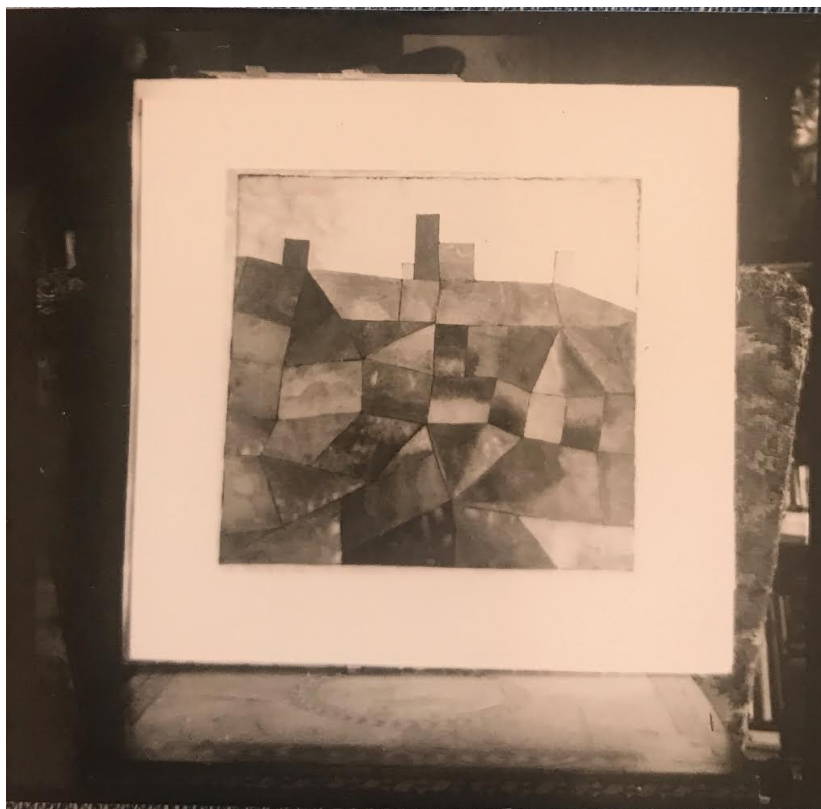


Fig. 3: Paul Klee, *Befestigter Ort*, bw and color photo, Zagreb, Archive of City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage. The color photo is from P. LUGARIĆ, *Louvre u Jurjevskejoj ulici*, «Globus», March 31st, 1963, p. 28

Prije nešto više od mjesec dana umrla je Zlata Lubiensky, vlasnica velike kuće i zbirke umjetnina u Jurjevskoj ulici 27. Pokojna Z. Lubiensky, osim velike kuće, ostavila je svojim nasljednicima, sinu, koji živi u Boliviji i kćerki, koja živi u Zapadnoj Njemačkoj znatnu količinu umjetnina iznimne vrijednosti, od posuda do pokućstva.

TKO JE UKRAO KLEEA

Na misteriozan način iz kuće Lubiensky nestalo je nekoliko slika: Prvi je nestao Klee, a zatim Chagall i jedna kineska plastika

Ova dragocjena zbirka radi svoje vrijednosti bila je dugo godina prisluškana i javnosti, tako da su se ljudi iz Zagreba trudili moći posjedovati ovu zbirku svake nedjelje. Ugodna proljetna ili jesenska šetnja Jurjevskom ulicom i posjet zbirci Lubiensky bila je omiljena razonoda mnogih Zagrepčana.

Osim zbirke umjetnina i pokućstva, smještenih u tri sobe u jednadžbi, stao stana nalazi se još jedna zbirka - vlasništvo Otilije Durieux, državljanka Zapadne Njemačke, koja je odmah nestala poslije zatajenja Z. Lubiensky, ostavivši umjetnine kod svoje prijateljice Z. Lubiensky s kojom je i stanivala.

Između ostalih umjetnina, koje su se nalazile u ovoj sobi nalazi se jedna slika Paula Kleea, "Befestigter Ort", četiri Chagalla i dr. Od svih, svakako je najvrednija bila slika Paula Kleea jednog možda i najvećeg njemačkog slikara novijeg doba. Otilije Durieux živjela je prije rata u Parizu i bila prijateljica mnogih velikih slikara, a između ostalih i Paula Kleea, pa je logično bila ne samo strastvena prijateljica slikara nego i strastvena kolekcionar slika.

Tristom stotina iz, naše zemlje Otilije Durieux ostavila je slike čit se po našem zakonu umjetnine, a nimalo izvesti, a u zalogu je od Z. Lubiensky uzela Stroganovov nakit, između ostalog s jedan eldonski nakit neprocjenjive vrijednosti.

U listopadu prošle godine Z. Lubiensky se razboljela i zbirka je zatvorena za javnost. Od tog dana kćer Lubiensky posjećivala da samo najintimnije prijateljice i naravno, kućne pomoćnice. Osim njih u posjet je dolazila i kćerka Vlasta Scholz iz Z. Njemačke.

Kada je nestao Klee?

Prošli mjeseca 27. ožujka u 11 sati prije podne SUP-u je prijavljen nestanak Kleeove slike "Befestigter Ort" iz Otilije sobe, odnosno zbirke, a istoga dana, u jutro, u 730 Vlasta Scholz je otpisala kolima u Zapadnu Njemačku. Ovo naravno, u istrazi nije nigdje naznačeno kao neka indicija ili sumnjiva okolnost nego se ključno kao slučajnost koja to može biti, ali i ne mora. Započela je istraga, s mnogo misterioznih indicija, međutim ni jedan put ne vodi k objašnjenju misterija. Prije svega, nemoguće je ustanoviti dan kada je slika nestala i u tom pogledu posto-

je mnoge kontradiktorne izjave. Jedna svjedokinja tvrdi da ga je posljednji put vidjela 21. kolovoza, druga nedjele u rujnu prošle godine, a stružnjaci Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika (to je najveći dokaz fotografirali su sliku u mjesecu rujnu. Od tog mjeseca dalje, ne može se tačno utvrditi kada je slika nestala. Niti tko je posljednji vidio sliku. Najzanimljiviji je iskaz kućne pomoćnice N. H. koja tvrdi da je posredno, jer stan uoči Božića posredovala s Otilije Durieux i između ostalog od njega i Kleeovu sliku. Ona čak tvrdi da su prijateljice Z. Lubiensky pokušale na nju djelovati da ona sliku uoči Božića nije mogla vidjeti. (?)

Slika vrijedna 50 milijuna starih dinara

Mogućnost iznošenja Kleea iz stana odnosa sobe, bila je zaista više nego povoljna. Ova slika, koja je iz 1928. godine (tempera na papiru) formata je 30x30, dakle mogao se bez opterećenja iznositi. Na dan kad je slika posljednji put vidjena nije istražnom službom. Prije istražnim sudcem Miri Vjekoslavom Tadićem stoji zaista velika zagonetka, jer osim krade, postoji i mnoge druge mogućnosti.

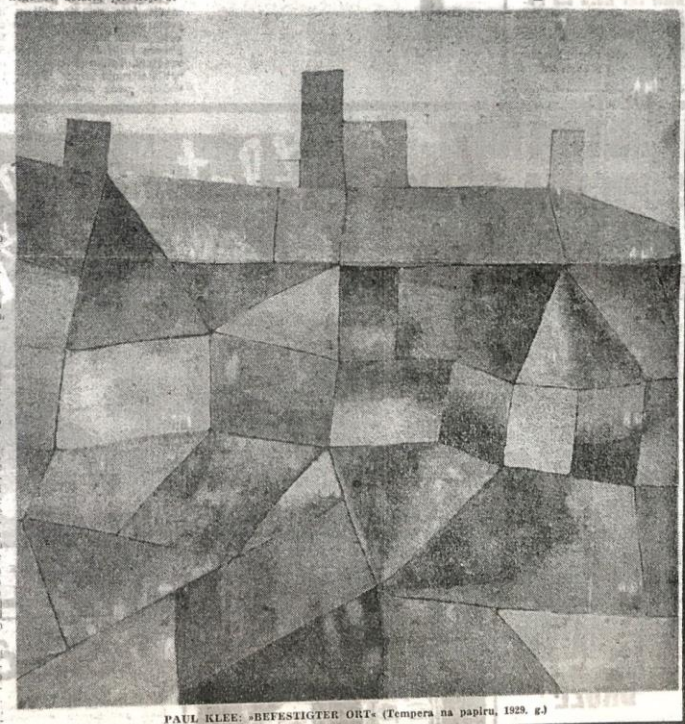
Od svega je najzanimljivije da nestanak te slike zaista nije bilo teško utvrditi jer soba Otilije Durieux nije bojadisana godinama, tako da je mjesto na kojem se nalazila slika potpuno bijelo u odnosu na ostali dio zida koji je sasvim potamnio. Da je onaj, tko je sliku odnio znao vrijednost slike, o tome nema sumnje, jer su se iznad Kleea nalazile još četiri Chagallove slike, a neznanka ili neznanka se opredjeljuje upravo baš za Kleea za kojega stručnjaci Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika tvrde da ima veliku vrijednost, da se Kleeove slike na svjetskim aukcijama prodaju veoma dobro, da bi nestala slika mogla imati na jednoj aukciji nekakvu vrijednost od najmanje 50 milijuna starih dinara.

Golem je labirint kojim bi trebalo doći do istine na koji način je slika nestala. Srećom sve nalazi u kući Lubiensky znalo se i u inozemstvu. Primjera radi, prošle jeseni, kad je Z. Lubiensky već bila bolesna, dobio je jedan Talijan s molbom da mu se prodaju dva venecijanska stolca, nudeći za svakog po 10 milijuna starih dinara, iako su stolci bili kopije, a ne originalni rad. Međutim,

je mnoge kontradiktorne izjave. Jedna svjedokinja tvrdi da ga je posljednji put vidjela 21. kolovoza, druga nedjele u rujnu prošle godine, a stružnjaci Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika (to je najveći dokaz fotografirali su sliku u mjesecu rujnu. Od tog mjeseca dalje, ne može se tačno utvrditi kada je slika nestala. Niti tko je posljednji vidio sliku. Najzanimljiviji je iskaz kućne pomoćnice N. H. koja tvrdi da je posredno, jer stan uoči Božića posredovala s Otilije Durieux i između ostalog od njega i Kleeovu sliku. Ona čak tvrdi da su prijateljice Z. Lubiensky pokušale na nju djelovati da ona sliku uoči Božića nije mogla vidjeti. (?)

Da li je Klee već u inozemstvu?

Što se tice Kleea, to je jedini Klee u Zagrebu i domaći čovjek vjerojatno ne bi imao nikakve koristi od nje, jer je ne bi smio nikome ni pokazati, a slika skrivena na tavanu nije slika. Sljedeći logičan korak je jedino put u inozemstvo, gdje se već možda "Befestigter Ort" i nalazi. To više što znamo da je preko naše granice mnogo lakše prenijeti jedno Kleea nego 10 dolara, jer koji bi



PAUL KLEE: "BEFESTIGTER ORT" (Tempera na papiru, 1928. g.)

se naš carinik osvrtno da neokakva opstrukciju stvaraju na papiru.

I druge okolnosti za iznošenje Kleea iz naše zemlje su dosta idealne. Will Grohmann iznio je od 1954. godine nekoliko izdanja Kleeove monografije a poplom njegovih radova, međutim u tom poplomu nedostaje jedna slika "Befestigter Ort" jer je tu sliku vjerojatno Otilije Durieux došla ili kupila od samog autora. I budući da u monografiji slika nigdje nije registrirana, pa prema tome ni njen vlasnik, onaj kod koga se slika nalazi ima idealne uvjete da se preko nje obogati. Vjerojatno SUP nije učinio ono što je moglo bilo najlakše, da obovijesti "Interpol", jer je više nego sigurno da se ta slika ne bi mogla prodati nigdje u Jugoslaviji, naravno ne za takve novce kao vani u inozemstvu.

Poslije Kleea nestao i Chagall

No, nije Klee jedini koji je nestao iz zbirke Lubiensky odnosno Durieux. Ovih dana nestala je i jedna Chagallova slika i jedna veoma vrijedna kineska plastika iz 17. stoljeća. Gledajući prema vrijednosti, sve dosadašnje provale i osiguranje. Komisija koja procjenjuje vrijednost jedne i druge zbirke upravo završava rad na čemu javnost obavijestiti o rezultatima. U sljedećem broju, od 6. svibnja objavit ćemo nastavak: DA LI JE CHAGALL PREŠAO GRANICU

vrijednost umjetnina zašto nije insistirao na čuvanju kuće poslije smrti Z. Lubiensky. Istina je, da se krivnja ne bi mogla pripisati ovom zavodu, jer je nekoliko dana Zavod plaćao iz svojih sredstava čuvara "Sigurnosti" ali je Gradska skupština veoma blagodisno odgodila prema tome kako nešto glasio od ovi zbirke, jer advokati peštati na vratima ove zbirke zalati nisu nikakvo osiguranje. Komisija koja procjenjuje vrijednost jedne i druge zbirke upravo završava rad na čemu javnost obavijestiti o rezultatima. U sljedećem broju, od 6. svibnja objavit ćemo nastavak: DA LI JE CHAGALL PREŠAO GRANICU

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MGZG-DTD – Muzej grada Zagreba, Dokumentacija zbirke Tilla Durieux/Zagreb City Museum, Tilla Durieux Collection, www.mgz.hr.

GZZSKIP-DTD, Gradski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode, Dokumentacija zbirke Tilla Durieux/City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage; Documentation of Tilla Durieux Collection.

MK-UZKB-KOMZA, Ministarstvo kulture, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Komisija za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika/Ministry of Culture, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Commission for Gathering and Protecting of Cultural Monuments and Antiques.

ZG-HDA, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu/Croatian National Archive in Zagreb.

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the art collection of Tilla Durieux, a famous German actress (born in Vienna), and with her life in Zagreb. Her art collection was amassed by her second husband, Paul Cassirer, an art dealer and editor. After their divorce and Cassirer's suicide in 1926, Tilla married Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, a Jewish industrialist. In 1933 they emigrated from Germany and found shelter in Zagreb, in former Yugoslavia. The article is focused on her destiny and the fate of her art collection before and after the Second World War.

Questo contributo esamina le vicende della collezione d'arte appartenuta all'attrice tedesca Tilla Durieux e in particolare i suoi legami con la città di Zagabria. La collezione era stata raccolta dal suo secondo marito, il mercante d'arte ed editore Paul Cassirer. Dopo il divorzio e il suicidio di Cassirer nel 1926, Tilla sposò l'industriale ebreo Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, con il quale nel 1933 fuggì dalla Germania per riparare a Zagabria, nell'ex Yugoslavia. L'autore si concentra quindi sul destino dell'attrice e della sua collezione prima e dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale.