FOLLOWING THE TRAILS OF ARTWORK TRANSFERS DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

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INTRODUCTION

The Museum Documentation Centre (MDC) preserves records on the historical development of all museum institutions in the Republic of Croatia in its archives. This is a result of the efforts of its founder, Antun Bauer, PhD, who spent decades collecting manuscripts, reports, official museum correspondence, and letters.1 This documentation is a point of reference for the study of the history of museum institutions for all researchers. While digitalizing the oldest part of the MDC Archives, correspondence between Antun Bauer and Hinko Lederer was discovered, prompting us to explore, as part of the Pilot Project to Determine the Provenance of Museum Objects Confiscated During and After WWII, the role of Bauer in the handling Jewish families' private collections during the war.

A. BAUER – HIS STUDENT DAYS AND GYPSOTHECA

Antun Bauer, the founder of the Museum Documentation Centre and numerous Croatian museum institutions, as Vladimir Maleković noted in 1994, was "above all a gatherer" who would only later "become

a collector." After completing grammar school in Osijek, he enrolled at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, to study art history and archaeology. He began collecting as a school student and, upon arriving in Zagreb, started writing for Sremske novine (The Syrmian Paper)3 from Vukovar and Jutarnji list (The Morning Paper). This allowed him to visit exhibitions, meet artists and enter their studios.4 At the same time, it provided him with a wage that he spent so lavishly on artworks, that his parents were tempted to place him under the financial guardianship of his younger brother.5

Bauer's professor Viktor Hoffiller, director of the Archaeological Institute, assigned him the task of inventorying the Plaster Cast Collection of Ancient Sculpture acquired by Izidor Kršnjavi in 1892. Antun Bauer, while assisting Hoffiller with the collection's restoration and relocation, became an expert in conservation, restoration, and the production of plaster casts. Later, as a demonstrator, when he encountered foreign museums that collected and preserved plaster cast collections, he aspired to establish a similar institution in Zagreb, believing "that it would be justified for us here to primarily gather our monuments and works of domestic masters."6

In addition to purchased and donated artworks, Bauer, as he himself noted, also collected from the "rubbish heap behind the Academy of Fine Arts," where he found models from which he "– as they were too large and damaged – cut off only parts and transferred them to [his] collection, which grew relatively quickly."

After earning his degree in 1935, he was employed as an assistant at the Archaeo-

logical Institute of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb,⁸ but he continued collecting artworks and aspired to establish the plaster casts collection as a museum.

Following the suggestion of Prof. Petar Knoll, PhD, an old friend from Vukovar, he offered the collection to the City of Zagreb with the aim of establishing a new museum. He also requested permission from the City Administration to continue collecting materials and taking care of the collection *pro bono*. The plan came to fruition in October 1937, when the collection was officially handed over to the mayor of Zagreb, Teodor Peičić.

The establishment of the City Gypsotheca was supported by numerous institutions through their donations.9 However, the biggest challenge was finding a space appropriate for accommodating largescale plaster casts. The first temporary space provided by the City at address Bednjanska 23 housed "15 carts/platforms with a significant number of works, around 160 of which were exhibition items, while the rest were duplicates." A year later, an additional "27 carts/platforms of material" were added, rendering the allocated 160-square-meter space insufficient.10 This initiated new petitions and negotiations, eventually leading to the City granting a building at the address Ksaverska Street 21.

Throughout this period, Bauer simultaneously collected materials for the Gypsotheca, managed its upkeep, advocated for new spaces and resources, worked as an assistant at the Archaeological Institute and taught at the School of Crafts. In 1937, he defended his doctoral dissertation at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.

Although by mid-1939, Gypsotheca had spaces in Bednjanska Street, Ksaverska Street, and a workshop at Opatovina 11, Bauer notes that the situation was difficult as the collection was stored in five additional locations.¹¹ In his repeated search for a suitable space, Bauer accidentally came across the empty rooms of the former Zagreb Leather Factory, which had already been out of function for several years. One building of the factory complex was vacant, and it seemed that, for the time being, it would be suitable for housing the collection.¹²

Amid numerous challenges, including public criticism and debates about whether such an institution was necessary for the city of Zagreb, as well as the open opposition from other stakeholders who had aspirations for the leather factory buildings, Bauer turned to "the highest officials of cultural and scientific life in Zagreb, requesting their support to protect the existence of this institution, which, in a relatively short time, has shown certain results and gathered significant collections."¹³

Finally, after several months of debate, the Gypsotheca was granted the lease of a street-level building at Medvedgradska 2. The move to the new premises began on April 8, 1940.

A year later, after the establishment of the Government of the Independent State of Croatia, on April 21, 1941, the Minister of the Internal Affairs, Andrija Artuković, assigned the buildings of the former leather factory at Medvedgradska 2 to the Gypsotheca of the City of Zagreb by Decision No. 60.¹⁴

The space for the Gypsotheca was secured by the state, but the institution itself remained under the administration of the City of Zagreb. Bauer was appointed as the director of the Gypsotheca of the City of Zagreb by a decision from Mayor Ivan Werner on May 8, 1941, with a monthly fee of 1,800 dinars.¹⁵

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT BEFORE WORLD WAR II

For this research, it is important to further mention the relationships that the young Antun Bauer, a budding archaeologist and museum professional, established with prominent figures of the cultural and political establishment in the years leading up to World War II.

The aforementioned Plaster Cast Collection of Ancient Sculpture, which was purchased by Izidor Kršnjavi in 1892, served as the starting point for the collaboration between Viktor Hoffiller, PhD, a professor at the Faculty of Arts and director of the present Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and student Antun Bauer. However, this collaboration was further enriched by their additional shared interests.

By affirming his position as a museum and societal stakeholder, Bauer aimed to integrate the Collection of Ancient Sculpture into the Gypsotheca holdings, as its theme and material corresponded with the vision for the institution's development. The collection was owned by the Archaeological Institute and had become somewhat of a burden due to challenges in storing and displaying it properly. With increasing influence in museum and political circles, Bauer succeeded in physically housing the Plaster Cast Collection of Ancient Sculpture from the Archaeological Institute (including conservation and restoration of the plaster casts) in the Gypsotheca¹⁶ on Kožarska Street in 1940. However, when he sought to formalize the storage in 1941¹⁷ Hoffiller skilfully postponed the proposed concept for transferring the collection, with the written remark: "We must discuss this matter. No rush, it's not urgent."¹⁸

Meetings of the Numismatic Society were also held in the Department of Archaeology and History of the Croatian National Museum. A long-time esteemed member of the society was Hinko Lederer, as evidenced by his appointment to the Supervisory Board of the society in 1933.¹⁹ Lederer was a collector, a passionate numismatist, and occasionally a patron to certain artists, but fundamentally a very capable entrepreneur and the owner of a Raw Leather Trading Company (Fig. 1). He was an active member of the Zionist Revisionist movement. Originally from Hrvatska Kostajnica, he moved with his family to Zagreb in 1931, settling at Mošinskoga 7 (nowadays Nazorova Street), while his workspaces were located in Kustošija.²⁰

Lederer did very well in business, and his first acquisitions of artworks can be traced as early as 1911 in the business records of the *Ullrich* Salon.²¹

The purchase and sale of artworks and numismatics,²² in Lederer's case, did not remain within the borders of the then-existing state, which speaks to his collecting ambition, as well as his belief that certain items from his collection could be profitably sold abroad.

In her research of export permits in the archive of the Austrian Federal Monument Office in Vienna, colleague Iva Pasini Tržec found records that attest to Hinko Lederer purchasing artworks in Austria from 1923 to 1939.²³

In the Benko Horvat Archive of the Museum of Contemporary Art, there are letters from Hinko Lederer to Benko Horvat (written from Kostajnica, before his relocation to Zagreb in 1931) in which it is evident that Lederer, recognizing Horvat as an experienced collector, used him as an intermediary for purchases in Italy and sought his advice on the matter, while also boasting about the artworks he had acquired.²⁴

Particularly interesting is a memo sent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1937, in which Lederer offers a gold medallion with an anthropomorphic motif of St. Mark from 1756 for sale for five hundred dollars.²⁵ Building his pedigree in Zagreb's society, Lederer was an occasional patron of Ivan Generalić and Vanja Radauš,²⁶ and it was not uncommon for him to take artworks from his debtors as collateral for loans.

The Numismatic Society was a meeting place for the future collaboration between Hinko Lederer and Antun Bauer (Fig. 2). On the membership list of the scientific journal *Numismatika* (1934–1936), "Bauer, Ante, aps. phil."²⁷ is listed as a regular member, and it is quite possible that Hinko Lederer, a member of the society's Supervisory Board, gave his approval when new members were admitted.

If we were to draw conclusions from the letters from the MDC Archives and the photographs of the Lederer family,²⁸ the meetings at the Numismatic Society grew into a long-standing friendship. Lederer trusted that Antun Bauer would be the person to preserve his artworks with the announcement and establishment of the Independent State of Croatia.

Perhaps the most important connection that Antun Bauer established during this period was with Božidar Murgić.²⁹ In

provenance research of museum collections, the archival legacy of Murgić is an indispensable source.³⁰

Božidar Murgić was born in Zagreb and studied philosophy in Vienna, where he defended his doctoral thesis Die Kultur der Kroaten bis zum XII. Jahrhundert in 1928. Two years later, he was employed as an intern in the Department of Education of the Royal Banovina Administration of the Sava Banovina in Zagreb (banovina was an administrative subdivision of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). In 1939, he became an intern in the Education Department, and in 1940, he was appointed senior officer of the Department of Education of the Banovina of Croatia Administration. With the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, he became the head of the Sub-Department for Higher Education and Scientific Institutes in the Ministry of Education of the state.

Their first connection was likely Murgić's article published in the *Književnik* magazine titled *The Importance of Old Croatian Cultural Monuments*,³¹ which aligns with Antun Bauer's thoughts on the collection of plaster casts of old Croatian monuments that the Gypsotheca focused on.

Since 1939, Božidar Murgić was the president of the Croatian Society of Museum Professionals.³² In the decade leading up to World War II, when Murgić's role and influence in the museum sector grew rapidly, he was also Bauer's best man.³³

TRANSFER OF HINKO LEDERER'S ARTWORKS

The last trace of Lederer's stay in Zagreb after the outbreak of World War II was recorded by Hoffiller, who in his official report mentions that contact was made

on March 28, 1941, with an agreed sale of numismatic items to the Croatian State Archaeological Museum.³⁴ A few days later, Lederer left the capital with his family and went to Dalmatia.³⁵

Immediately after the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia, a series of laws were enacted allowing stripping Jews of rights and property. On May 12, 1941, the Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiques and Artworks, Cultural, Historical, and Natural Monuments from the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia was passed. This *Provision* prohibited the alienation and export outside the borders of the Independent State of Croatia of any antique artwork, cultural-historical, or natural monument without the knowledge of the Ministry of Religion and Education.³⁶ It was stipulated that state and religious institutions, as well as private individuals, were obligated to preserve and store such items in safe locations, and if they were unable to care for them, they were required to hand them over to the Croatian National Museum of the Independent State of Croatia.³⁷ After the *Provision* was issued, the Conservation Institute informed owners of antiques that they were required to notify the Institute about the possession of artistic or cultural-historical items. At the same time, conservators and curators from state museums began listing the items, and once the work was completed, the owners would receive a copy of the inventory. Although the items formally belonged to the owners, if they lacked the conditions or means to preserve them, the items were transferred to state museums.³⁸

Although the exact date is unknown, the artworks belonging to Lederer that remained in his apartment on Mošinskoga

Street were listed and transferred to the Gypsotheca of the City of Zagreb before the enactment of the *Provision* which stipulated that such items should be stored in state museums.

The friendly relationship between Lederer and Bauer had developed over the years through meetings at the Numismatic Society, and it is likely this bond that motivated Antun Bauer to take over and store the collection, as he later wrote in correspondence with Lederer: "For your sake [...] with the intention to preserve it for you."³⁹

Shortly after taking over the collection, in May 1941, Antun Bauer met with Hinko Lederer in Split⁴⁰ and handed him a list of the artworks stored in the Gypsotheca of the City of Zagreb.⁴¹ Upon receiving the list, Lederer soon sent a memo to the Gypsotheca referencing the artworks stored in the museum.⁴² This memo concerned items that were not his property but were in his possession at the time of their transfer. He identifies the rightful owners, financial debtors who had pledged the artworks, or artists from whom he had acquired the items with the intention of selling them for mutual benefit. Lederer emphasizes that the owners should not be harmed and that the items should be returned to them. He concludes by donating his "artworks and antiques to the City of Zagreb, requesting that they be included in the collection of Original Works at the Gypsotheca."43

The available data on these artworks had already been the subject of provenance research,⁴⁴ but the documentation in the MDC suggested that the existing information could be expanded, and the history of the transfer of Hinko Lederer's artworks could be further investigated.

Studying the correspondence from 1955 to 1957 in the MDC Archives, it became apparent that Bauer had taken the artworks in "two stages." 45

Confirmation that this was indeed the case was obtained when a copy of the document was provided by the Zagreb City Museum, which substantively confirmed that part of the newly acquired artworks and items of craftsmanship of Hinko Lederer had been handed over to the Zagreb City Museum.⁴⁶

Following this information, a document from July 11, 1941, was found in the State Archives in Zagreb, detailing the second acquisition of Hinko Lederer's artworks. The document includes a list⁴⁷ of 35 individually named artworks and their authors, as well as a collective entry under item number 36, listing items of artistic craftsmanship (Fig. 3).⁴⁸

The artworks from the house at Mošinskoga 7 were already in the Gypsotheca,⁴⁹ and considering that some items were also located in the business premises,⁵⁰ it is possible that the artworks and craft objects were taken from Hinko Lederer's working space at the address of what was then Ante Pavelić Street 3 in Kustošija during the liquidation of his company.⁵¹

In that case, the City of Zagreb legitimized the acquisition of the artworks, even though there was no legal basis for it, as the listing and acquisition of artworks were exclusively within the jurisdiction of the state authorities.

As part of the *Pilot Project to Determine* the Provenance of Museum Objects Confiscated During and After WWII, information was established about two paintings from this list – Madonna with Jesus by Palma il Vecchio and Lady in Gloves by Vlaho Bukovac.

Although the painting Madonna with Jesus by Palma il Vecchio was recorded in the property declaration of Hinko Lederer to the Office for Economic Renewal of the Ministry of National Economy (the so-called *Ponova*),⁵² this initial point of transfer had not previously been of interest to researchers, as the records that could track the painting's path were not available.53 However, in the document detailing the second transfer of property, the painting is identified, and its further transfer can now be traced. Madonna with Jesus was housed in the Gypsotheca from 1941, and its placement during World War II is recorded in a document when Bauer donated his prints collection to the City of Zagreb.⁵⁴ In the accompanying document from the Record of the Appraisal of the Graphic Collection and Certain Paintings in the Gypsotheca,55 three paintings by old masters are mentioned as of particular value, including *Madonna with Jesus* by Palma il Vecchio.

In the first letter to Bauer, preserved in the MDC Archives, Hinko Lederer confirms that the painting was returned to him.⁵⁶

The painting *Lady in Gloves* by Vlaho Bukovac is the second artwork from the list of July 11, 1941, whose transfer can now be traced, and its ownership and current location can be identified. In the MDC Archives, in the first letter to Bauer, Hinko Lederer writes: "In 1946, my son-in-law Vlado arrived in Bari [...] and with the greatest enthusiasm, he shared the joyful news that you managed to save all my belongings from the Ustasha confiscation, and that I should express my gratitude in any way for your care and dedication. As a token of recognition and as a memento, I am happy to transfer

the painting by Vlaho Bukovac from my collection to you."⁵⁷

Before the discovery of the document regarding the second acquisition of artworks, the information about Bukovac's painting in the correspondence between Lederer and Bauer in the MDC Archives had not been very useful.

The only painting by Vlaho Bukovac that was known before the discovery of the newly acquired artworks was the one that the debtor Erik Müller left with Lederer as collateral. He is mentioned by name in the group of rightful owners of artworks for whom Lederer requested that they not be damaged.58 The painting by Vlaho Bukovac was returned to Müller, the only one among all the listed debtors, as he managed to prove to the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia that he had repaid the debt and legally acquired the painting.⁵⁹ By checking the data on paintings depicting women in gloves in the catalogue of Bukovac's works from the monograph Vlaho Bukovac: Life and Work: 1855-1922⁶⁰ by Vera Kružić-Uchytil, it is concluded that the painting is the Portrait of Mrs. Perović, painted by Vlaho Bukovac in Vienna in 1903 (Fig. 4).⁶¹ The painting is currently housed in the permanent display of the Bauer Collection at the City Museum of Vukovar.62

By tracing the complex chronology of the acquisition and transfer of artworks, the provenance of the two paintings was clarified. To complete the information about them, it is necessary to return to the chronology of their transfer.

Shortly after the second part of Hinko Lederer's artworks was acquired, the first official Report on the Implementation of the Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiques and Artworks, Cultural, Historical, and Natural Monuments from the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia was written. This report was prepared on July 26, 1941, by Božidar Murgić, who was the head of the Department for Higher Education and Scientific Institutes in the Ministry.⁶³

By analysing the data on the inventory and transfer of materials to state museums in Zagreb, Murgić concludes in the aforementioned document that "they could not have recorded more favourable results." He explicitly writes about the collection that "was stored in the Gypsotheca before the law was enacted" and that "steps have been taken for this collection to be stored in the museum's premises in accordance with the law, as only state museums are authorized to store such collections, and the Gypsotheca is owned by the city and lacks the necessary facilities with properly organized protective measures required for the storage of such collections, as well as the necessary professional staff."64

This official report shows that Antun Bauer did not act in accordance with the regulations of the time, as confirmed by the document Božidar Murgić sent the day before, on July 25, 1941, to the directors of the Archaeological Museum and the Museum of Arts and Crafts. In this document, Murgić demands, under the threat of imprisonment and a fine, that they take immediate action to transfer Lederer's collection from the Gypsotheca to state museums (Fig. 5).⁶⁵

Less than a month after the Report on the Implementation of the Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiques and Artworks, Cultural, Historical, and Natural Monuments from the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia, on August 14, 1941, artworks

from the City Gypsotheca were transferred to the Croatian State Museum of Arts and Crafts. 66 On that occasion, only the artworks of Lederer's debtors arrived at the Museum. What happened to the remaining items, aside from the transfer of the two aforementioned paintings, is currently not possible to determine.

The research of documentation and of-

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ficial correspondence that Bauer sent to numerous institutions from 1941 until almost the end of the war suggests that Bauer was very well informed about the real situation both in Zagreb and beyond. In his attempts to defend the storage of artworks in museum institutions outside the legal regulations, Bauer justifies his actions and proposals by stating that the "circumstances were uncertain," 67, that "misconduct" was occurring,68 that "it was possible for this collection to also disappeared"69 and by claiming that some artworks were lost. He frequently used the warning phrase that any collection could also be "swallowed by the darkness." 70 After the end of the war and the return of part of the Lederer family to Zagreb, the first written request for the return of artworks came in January 1946 from Mira Carin Lederer,⁷¹ the daughter of Hinko Lederer, who at that time was still living abroad. In the same year, Antun Bauer received confirmation of the donation of Bukovac's painting Lady in Gloves (Por-

The process of returning the artworks and numismatic items to their owner, Hinko Lederer, began with the determination of their location. In a legal process that

trait of Mrs. Perović).72

lasted several years, Antun Bauer and Dr. Ivan Meixner were called as witnesses in 1954, as they had been present during the cataloguing and retrieval of the artworks during the war.⁷³

By the decision of the District Court for the City of Zagreb in 1954, 28 artworks that had been stored in the Museum of Arts and Crafts and the Modern Gallery were returned to Hinko Lederer.⁷⁴

According to the correspondence found in the MDC Archives,⁷⁵ it appears that part of the collection was returned outside the judicial process, but there are no concrete documents to confirm this assumption, aside from the letters.

With the establishment of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Bauer began preparations with renewed enthusiasm for opening a museum in Vukovar.

On March 10, 1948, he notified the Ministry of Education that the Vukovar City Museum had begun operations.⁷⁶ The museum was located in just one room of the elementary school in Old Town, with one person employed.⁷⁷ By mid-October of the same year, Bauer donated the first shipment of artworks to the Vukovar City Museum.⁷⁸

In 1951, Bauer appointed his long-time collaborator and friend, Ante Eugen Brlić, as the director of the Vukovar City Museum.⁷⁹ The collaboration between the two directors was very intensive and close, and despite difficulties, the museum became well-established in eastern Croatia.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation, a large numismatic exhibition was held at the Vukovar City Museum, and it is possible that Hinko Lederer, as a passionate numismatist, visited Vukovar from Belgrade to view the exhibition and the museum's display.⁸⁰ A few months later, an intense correspon-

dence began, which would lead to the resolution of ownership and the return of the third artwork specifically mentioned in this research, the *Portrait of Eda Lederer*⁸¹ by the artist Bora Baruh.

The first letter from Hinko Lederer to Antun Bauer, dated 1955 and found in the MDC Archives, contains the following statement: "During a casual visit to the Vukovar City Museum, I discovered the portrait of my daughter Eda, painted by the artist Bora Baruh [...]. From a friendly conversation regarding this discovery, I learned, although I could not verify, that there are other items in the Vukovar Museum that are my property [...]."82

In his response to the letter, Bauer claims that he did not take the painting from the house at Mošinskoga 7 and therefore could not have known that the portrait depicted Eda Lederer, indicating that he was willing to proceed with the process of returning the artwork.

In agreement with the director of the Vu-kovar City Museum and the city administration, the Vukovar District Court, through a non-litigious decision, confirmed that the painting likely depicts Hinko Lederer's daughter, and that it had been in his possession until his emigration in 1941. The court also concluded that there were no obstacles to returning the painting to Lederer.⁸³

In the final letter of this correspondence chain, found in the MDC Archives, the director of the Vukovar City Museum, Ante Eugen Brlić, confirmed to Bauer on May 6, 1957, that Hinko Lederer came to the museum and retrieved the portrait.⁸⁴

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

This research focused exclusively on archival documentation as the main

source of information for determining the provenance of objects seized during World War II.

Fifteen letters from the MDC Archives are a valuable source of information that, through digitalization, have become accessible to the wider public. However, without the assistance of additional records and colleagues from other museums, these letters alone would not have been sufficient to accurately establish the history of the transfer of the paintings *Madonna with Christ* by Palma il Vecchio, *Lady in Gloves (Portrait of Mrs. Perović)* by Vlaho Bukovac, and *Portrait of Eda Lederer* by Bora Baruh.

The process of establishing the provenance of museum objects seized during and after World War II must be promoted, professionalized, and continually developed among museum professionals as an essential part of museum work. It is also a contribution to fulfilling obligations related to social responsibility and correcting injustices committed during and after the war.⁸⁵

NOTES

- ¹ The oldest materials from the MDC Archives have been scanned and are in the process of being published in the Online Catalogue of the Museum Documentation Centre: https://katalog.mdc.hr/hr/Pretraga?PageIndex=1&Filters%5B-zbirke%5D=Arhiv (accessed 16 August, 2024).
- ² Vladimir Maleković, "Antun Bauer kao kolekcionar," *Muzeologija* 31 (1994): 21.
- ³ The MDC in the Personal Archive of Distinguished Museum Professionals holds the editorial ID card of Antun Bauer from the *Sremske Novine* of Vukovar (from 1931 and 1935).
- ⁴ Antun Bauer, *Gipsoteka 1937. 1947.* (Zagreb: self-published 1948), 2.

- ⁵ Nevenka Nekić, *Život i rad dr-a Antuna Bauera:* prema kazivanju dr-a Antuna Bauera (Đakovo: Karitativni fond UPT, 1994), 14.
- ⁶ Bauer, Gipsoteka, 2.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ MDC Archive, Archive of Museums and Galleries of Croatia, A-6722, A. Bauer, "Izvještaj o radu Arheološkog zavoda i Zbirke sadrenih odljeva Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu u škol. god. 1940-41," ms., https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-6722.pdf (accessed 16 August, 2024); Nekić, Život i rad dr-a Antuna Bauera, 12.
- ⁹ The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, The Academy of Fine Arts, The Committee for the Erection of the King Tomislav Monument, The Archaeological Institute, artist donors. Bauer, *Gipsoteka*, 11.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹¹ The material was located in the premises of the Archaeological Institute at Boškovićeva 3, in the basement of the main university building, in Bauer's temporary apartment at Pantovčak 29, and in a shed at the Academy. *Ibid.*, 12.
- ¹² Gliptoteka HAZU, "Gipsoteka Antuna Bauera," https://gipsoteka.hazu.hr (accessed 30 October, 2024); Gliptoteka HAZU, "Od tvornice do muzeja," http://virtualna-izlozba-gliptoteka.mdc.hr/main (accessed 30 October, 2024).
- ¹³ Bauer, Gipsoteka, 14.
- ¹⁴ MDC Archives, A-6721, memo from A. Bauer to the Croatian Parliament, Education Committee, "Prostorije Gipsoteke oduzimaju se za kovnicu," 1942, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-6721.pdf (accessed October 7, 2024).
- ¹⁵ State Archives in Zagreb, HR-DAZG-5.319-PRS-1941, memo from Ivan Werner to A. Bauer, "Dr Bauer Antun honorarno namještenje," May 8, 1941.
- ¹⁶ MDC Archives, A-6745, memo from A. Bauer to the Archaeological Institute of the University of Zagreb, "Zbirka sadrenih odljeva Arheološkog zavoda," March 13, 1940, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-6745.pdf (accessed August 7, 2024).
- ¹⁷ MDC Archives, A-6725, A. Bauer to the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of the Independent State of Croatia,

August 4, 1941, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-6725.pdf (accessed August 7, 2024).

- ¹⁸ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁹ Numismatika 1 (1933): 39.
- ²⁰ Ivo Goldstein, ed., *Židovski biografski leksikon:* radna verzija (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, s. a.), s. v. "Lederer, Hinko," https://zbl.lzmk.hr/?p=1000 (accessed August 7, 2024).
- ²¹ Žarka Vujić, *Salon Ullrich: o stotoj obljetnici* (Zagreb: Art magazin Kontura, 2010), 81–82. In the documentation of the *Ullrich* Salon held by the Archives of Fine Arts at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), seventeen purchased artworks can be identified.
- ²² In the *Numismatic News* during the 1930s, there were small advertisements on the last pages where members of the Society would post what they wanted to buy or sell. Hinko Lederer regularly advertised the purchase of antique gold coins and Roman glass cups, bottles, and similar vessels. In the same journal, he also offered certain numismatic items and "packages" of mixed Roman coins for sale.
- ²³ Iva Pasini Tržec, "Izvozne dozvole iz arhiva austrijskog Saveznog zavoda za spomenike u Beču kao izvor saznanja o skupljačkoj praksi zagrebačkih kolekcionara," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 46 (2022): 163.
- ²⁴ In Hinko Lederer's acquisitions, Benko Horvat likely used his intermediary in Padua, art dealer Sanavio Ferrucci. See: Tanja Trška, "Lica i figure prošlih vremena iz Zbirke Benko Horvat," in: *Sven Klobučar: 3 ujutro: U dijalogu Zbirka Benko Horvat, 7. 5. 28. 5. 2020.*, ed. Jadranka Pintarić (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2020), 9–12, http://www.msu.hr/upload/dogadanja/2020/05/2020-05-04/425/Tanja_Trska_Lica_i_figure_proslih_vremena_iz_Zbirke_Benko_Horvat.pdf (accessed August 28, 2024).
- ²⁵ American Numismatic Society, memo from Hinko Lederer to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, September 23, 1937, https://archive.org/details/ledererhinkosept00amer/page/1/mode/1up (accessed August 16, 2024).
- ²⁶ In the Glyptotheque, there is a plaster *Portrait* of Miss Lederer, 91 cm in height, made by Vanja Radauš in 1939 (stored by Jelka Radauš Ribarić).
- ²⁷ *Numismatika* 2/4 (1934/1936): 169. In the documentation of the MDC Personal Archive of

Distinguished Museum Professionals, there is a membership card of the Numismatic Society of Zagreb issued to "Ante Bauer, stud. phil., Zagreb."

- ²⁸ In the MDC Photo Archive, there are five photographs of the Lederer family members: Hinko, his wife Irma, daughter Ruth with grandson Nikola Davičo, and daughter Eda Lederer.
- ²⁹ In the Croatian State Archives, there are three boxes of archival materials purchased in 2000, documenting the development of museum activities in Croatia and the state of Croatian museums in the 1930s and 1940s, a period when Božidar Murgić was professionally active. The documentation primarily consists of transcripts and original documents from various museum and related institutions received by the Department of Education of the Banovina of Croatia, later the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia. After withdrawing in 1945, Murgić settled in Rome, where he worked in art history. His citizenship was revoked in 1951, and the State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes of Occupiers and Their Collaborators declared him a war criminal. He lived in Argentina until 1959, and in early 1960, he moved to Germany under the orders of the Croatian Liberation Movement. After conflicts following Pavelić's death, he collaborated with the rival Jelić's Croatian National Council and edited its émigré publication Hrvatska država. He lived very modestly in Munich, and after 1966, there is no trace of his life and activities.
- ³⁰ Iva Pasini Tržec, Ljerka Dulibić, Ivan Ferenčak and Bartol Fabijanić, *TransCultAA istraživanja u Strossmayerovoj galeriji: Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora: 24. rujna 27. listopada 2019.* (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2020), 68–71, https://www.transcultaa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Katalog-interactive.pdf (accessed August 7, 2024); Iva Pasini Tržec, "O sudbini pet privatnih zbirki zagrebačkih židovskih obitelji za vrijeme i nakon sloma Nezavisne Države Hrvatske," *Peristil* 64 (2021): 97–113.
- ³¹ Božidar Murgić, "Važnost starohrvatskih kulturnih spomenika," *Književnik: hrvatski književni mjesečnik* 2, no. 9 (1929): 331–338.
- ³² Croatian State Archives, Božidar Murgić Collection of the museum activities from the 1920s to the 1940s (hereinafter: HR-HDA-1149).

- ³³ Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb, Collection of Registers, Parish of St. Peter in Zagreb – Vlaška, Marriage Register IX., 1933 – 1940, year 1940, 359, no. 167. Antonija and Antun Bauer met when Antun Bauer, as a university assistant, led the 1938 excursion of the Music Society of Intellectuals to Slavonski Brod. Antonija Bauer, a law student and future wife of Antun Bauer, was a member of the society and sang there. The coincidence of having the same surname (and first name) as well as the similarities in the names and surnames of their fathers and other family members marked the beginning of their relationship, marriage, and professional collaboration, which would last until Bauer's death in 2000. Antonija Bauer came from a respected family; her uncle was the Archbishop of Zagreb, Antun Bauer. After his death in 1937, Alojzije Stepinac succeeded him as Archbishop of Zagreb, with whom both Antun and Antonija Bauer had been friends even before his appointment. Two years after meeting, on May 16, 1940, Antonija and Antun Bauer were married by Archbishop Stepinac at the Church of St. Mary on Dolac. Their wedding godfather was Božidar Murgić, a civil servant in the Department of Education of the Banovina of Croatia. MDC Archive, Personal Archive of Distinguished Museum Professionals, File Antonija Bauer, Antonija Bauer, "Šezdeset godine sa čovjekom rođenim da bude donator," 2001.
- ³⁴ Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (hereinafter: AAMZ) 37/8, File *Hinko Lederer*, memo from V. Hoffiller to the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia.
- ³⁵ Lederer and his family temporarily lived on Korčula, where he was interned. With the Dalmatian refugees, he was transferred to southern Italy, where he awaited the end of the war. After the war, he lived in Israel, and following the death of his wife Irma in 1952, he moved to Belgrade.
- ³⁶ A. Mataić, ed., *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska: Zakoni, zakonske odredbe i naredbe proglašene od 11. travnja do 26. svibnja 1941.*, book I, vol. 1–10 (Zagreb: Naklada knjižare St. Kugli, 1941), 227–228.
- ³⁷ Naida-Michal Brandl, *Oduzimanje židovske imovine u Hrvatskoj: Zagreb kao studija slučaja* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2022), 96–97.
- ³⁸ Anuška Deranja Crnokić, "Nastanak Registra kulturnih dobara povijest i sadašnjost inventa-

riziranja kulturne baštine u Hrvatskoj," *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 37/38 (2013/2014): 25–38.

- ³⁹ MDC Archives, A-4327, Bauer to Lederer, October 1955, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4327.pdf (accessed August 10, 2024).
- ⁴⁰ Antun Bauer, a year earlier, worked on a plaster cast of the Trogir portal. In 1940, due to a lack of financial resources, he was unable to send the molds to Zagreb. A year later, he personally stayed in Split and Trogir to negotiate the transfer of the casts.
- ⁴¹ The original list of artworks that Bauer took to the Gypsotheca has not been found.
- ⁴² Croatian State Archives, Ministry of National Education of the Independent State of Croatia fonds (hereinafter: HR-HDA-216), box 1454, Lederer to Bauer, Lopud, May 19, 1941.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁴ Pasini Tržec, Dulibić, Ferenčak and Fabijanić, *TransCultAA*; Pasini Tržec, "O sudbini pet privatnih zbirki zagrebačkih židovskih obitelji," 97–113; Pasini Tržec, "Izvozne dozvole iz arhiva austrijskog Saveznog zavoda za spomenike," 46.
- ⁴⁵ Although in the letter, Antun Bauer wrote that he took the materials in two stages, the details he provides about the acquisition do not align with the legal provisions and principles of acquisition at the time. Bauer writes: "Much later, I took the remaining items from Dr. Meiksner's basement, which were then under the control of 'Ponova,' commissioned and listed by them, and according to that list, Leon took the items. There were two commissions at that time, as I took the items in two stages. The only things I did not acquire through the commission were two cabinets with numismatics, which I took when your office was liquidated." Antun Bauer could not have taken the materials with the assistance of the Office for Nationalized Property, i.e., 'Ponova', as he was the director of a municipal institution where the storage of artworks was not possible. MDC Archives, A-4327, Bauer to Lederer.
- ⁴⁶ The document states: "The Gypsotheca of the City of Zagreb received from Mr. Hinko Lederer, as a gift to the city of Zagreb, 38 (thirty-eight) antique glasses, 1 (one) cup, and 1 (one) set for oil and vinegar two bottles. The mentioned items were accepted by the Decision of the City

- Mayor No. 80909-IX-1941 dated July 11, 1941, as the property of the City of Zagreb, gifted by Mr. Hinko Lederer. As the aforementioned items are of a nature that belongs to the City Museum, the Gypsotheca is transferring them to the museum. By the same decision, two mortars (under No. 36 listed in the Decision) were also accepted from Mr. Lederer, which are also being transferred to the City Museum. These items are to be included in the inventory of the City Museum." City Museum of Zagreb, Documentation Department, "Zapisnik načinjen u Gipsoteki grada Zagreba, dne 11. kolovoza 1941."
- ⁴⁷ State Archives in Zagreb, City Administration of Zagreb fonds, HR-DAZG-10, Decisions of the City Mayor, No. 419, "Zbirka Hinka Lederera poklon Gradskoj gipsoteci," July 11, 1941.
- ⁴⁸ Two bronze mortars, antique coins, jewelry, cameos, medals, forty glass glasses and vessels.
- ⁴⁹ According to the documentation of the Housing Office, Eugen Kvaternik moved into Mošinskoga 7. State Archives in Zagreb, City Administration of Zagreb fonds, HR-DAZG-24, II Housing Office, file 9442.
- ⁵⁰ MDC Archives, A-4327, Bauer to Lederer.
- ⁵¹ On July 7, 1941, the Raw Leather Trading Company was liquidated, and Pero Nikolić was appointed as the commissioner. Croatian State Archives, Ministry of State Treasury of the Independent State of Croatia, Department of Finance, State Property and Debt, Office for Nationalised Property (PONOVA), HR-HDA-1076-3.2.2.3462, "Odluka," March 16, 1943.
- ⁵² HR-HDA-1076-31-79-3488, property declaration of Hinko Lederer to the Office for Economic Renewal of the Ministry of National Economy. The declaration is described and signed by his long-time manager Marko Lederer on June 30, 1941, as Hinko Lederer had left Zagreb several months earlier.
- ⁵³ In the asset declaration form, under section "XI. Furniture, foodstuffs, clothing, and other household property," it is stated that Hinko Lederer owns (and possesses) a painting by Palma il Vecchio, valued at 16,000 dinars. *Ibid*.
- ⁵⁴ On April 13, 1943, Antun Bauer donates a print collection to the City of Zagreb, specifically to its mayor, Ivan Werner.

- ⁵⁵ In the accompanying document Assessment of the Value of the Prints Collection prepared by Frano Buntak, Marija Hanževački, Slavko Šohaj, and Antun Bauer.
- ⁵⁶ We have no insight into how the painting was returned or when. MDC Archives, A-4321, Lederer to Bauer, October 6, 1955, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4321.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- 57 Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Erik Müller left two paintings as collateral for the borrowed money with Hinko Lederer *Girl* by Vlaho Bukovac and *Allegory*.
- ⁵⁹ On September 9, 1944, in the premises of the Croatian State Museum of Arts and Crafts, the painting *Girl* was returned to its owner, Erik Müller, who had been requesting it since April 1942. HR-HDA-216, box 1454, Erik Müller to the Museum of Arts and Crafts, April 25, 1942; record of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, September 9, 1944.
- ⁶⁰ Vera Kružić-Uchytil, Vlaho Bukovac: život i djelo: 1855. 1922. (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 2005).
- ⁶¹ Marica Perović was the wife of Ivo Perović, who held the position of the Grand County Prefect of the Split Region and Assistant Minister of the Interior. From 1931 to 1935, he was the *Ban* of the Sava Banovina, and from October 11, 1934, to March 27, 1941, he served as the royal regent for the underage King Peter II Karađorđević. After World War II, he was sentenced to eleven years in prison, along with the loss of all civil rights and the confiscation of his entire property. It is unclear how the painting of Marica Perović came into the possession of Hinko Lederer.
- 62 The *Portrait of Mrs. Perović* was loaned to the City Museum of Vukovar in 1966. The record from November 18, 1966, state: "Thanks to the assistance of A. Bauer, the Gallery will be able to organize permanent and occasional exhibitions, expand its activities in promoting visual culture in this region, and conduct exchanges of exhibitions with galleries in Osijek and Vinkovci. For such exchanges and the loan of artworks from the collection of A. Bauer, prior approval from the owner is required." MDC Archives, A-5168, City Museum of Vukovar. "Zapisnik o preuzimanju slika i skulptura iz zbirke dr. Antuna Bauera," November 18, 1966, https://

- katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-5168.pdf (accessed September 12, 2024).
- ⁶³ HR-HDA-1149, box 1, B. Murgić, "Izvještaj o provedbi Zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske."
- 64 Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ AAMZ 37/8, File *Hinko Lederer*, "Ledererova zbirka starina pohrana u Hrvatskom državnom arheološkom muzeju i Hrvatskom državnom muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu."
- ⁶⁶ Archives of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (MUO Archives), br. 437-1941.
- ⁶⁷ AAMZ 37/8, File *Hinko Lederer*, memo of A. Bauer to the Office for Nationalised Property, "Ključevi sefa Zemaljske banke u Sarajevu," December 18, 1942.
- 68 Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ AAMZ 37/8, File *Hinko Lederer*, A. Bauer, "Numizmatička zbirka Lederer," April 28, 1944.
- ⁷⁰ AAMZ 37/8, File *Hinko Lederer*, Bauer, "Ključevi sefa Zemaljske banke u Sarajevu."
- ⁷¹ Geni, "Dr Mira Carin," https://www.geni.com/people/Dr-Mira-Carin/600000076793400420 (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁷² MDC Archives, A-4321, Lederer to Bauer.
- ⁷³ MDC Archives, A-4282, Ervin Oranin to Bauer, January 29, 1954, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4282.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁷⁴ State Archives in Zagreb, Decision of the District Court for the City of Zagreb, March 30, 1954. The artworks that were not owned by Hinko Lederer but were in his possession in 1941 as collateral for a loan or those he took as a patron to sell were returned to him. The list of the rightful owners of these artworks, which Lederer sent from Lopud on May 19, 1941 (HR-HDA-216, box 1454), matches the artworks returned to Hinko Lederer according to the decision of the District Court for the City of Zagreb on October 13, 1954.
- ⁷⁵ In the letter, Lederer writes: "Throughout all these years, and especially after my return to Yugoslavia, I was surprised to find that my children received only a small part of my belongings (not quantitatively), in other words, nothing signifi-

cant from my collections except the painting by Palma il Vecchio, which was already under state protection." MDC Archives, A-4321, Lederer to Bauer.

- ⁷⁶ MDC Archives, A-4185, memo from A. Bauer to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia, "Izvještaj o kreiranju grad. Muzeja u Vukovaru," March 16, 1948, https://katalog.mdc. hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4185.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁷⁷ MDC Archives, A-5264, Bauer to the City Department of Education Vukovar, "Linić Marko, penzioner predlog za postavljanje za v. d. kustosa gradskog muzeja," March 9, 1948, ms., https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-5264.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024). Although without formal education and practical museum experience, Marko Linić was employed at the Museum, where he worked directly under the instructions and guidelines of Bauer.
- ⁷⁸ MDC Archives, A-4172, "Zapisnik o primopredaji zbirke profesora Bauera ustupljene gradskom muzeju u Vukovaru," October 17, 1948, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4172.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁷⁹ MDC Archives, A-5426, memo from A. Bauer to the Commission for Education and Culture of the City People's Committee, Vukovar, "Brlić Ante postavljanje u gradskom muzeju," April 20, 1951, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-5426. pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁸⁰ In the 1955 annual report, the director of the Museum, Ante Eugen Brlić, writes about the numismatic exhibition, which was visited by 3,641 visitors. MDC Archives, A-4818, A. E. Brlić to the Museum-Conservation Workers' Society of the People's Republic of Croatia, "Rad i djelovanje ustanove u god. 1955.," January 30, 1956, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4818.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁸¹ Geni, "Eda Naomi Tandler," https://www.geni. com/people/Eda-Tandler/600000105786990062 (accessed September 11, 2024).
- 82 MDC Archives, A-4321, Lederer to Bauer.
- ⁸³ MDC Archives, A-4364, memo from A. E. Brlić to the District Court of Vukovar, "Portrait Lederer Beograd," January 8, 1957, https://katalog.

- mdc.hr/sekundarna/arhiva/a-4364.pdf (accessed September 11, 2024).
- ⁸⁴ MDC Archives, A-4385, Brlić to Bauer, May 6, 1957, https://katalog.mdc.hr/sekundarna/ar-hiva/a-4385.pdf (accessed August 7, 2024).
- ⁸⁵ I thank my colleagues for the help they provided in researching the provenance and writing this text. I dedicate this research to my Žuža, who listened to and commented on the new findings about the provenance of artworks every day for a year.

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- Ministarstvo narodne prosvjete Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, HR-HDA-216
- Zbirka Božidara Murgića o muzejskoj djelatnosti u Hrvatskoj od 1920-ih do 1940-ih, HR-HDA-1149

Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu

Odjel dokumentacije Muzeja grada Zagreba

TRAGOM PRIJENOSA UMJETNINA TIJEKOM I NAKON DRUGOGA SVJETSKOG RATA

Tekst donosi rezultate istraživanja najstarije dokumentacije Arhiva Muzejskoga dokumentacijskog centra (MDC-a) u kojemu je tijekom postupka digitalizacije pronađena korespondencija osnivača MDC-a dr. Antuna Bauera i kolekcionara Hinka Lederera. U pismima iz 1955. do 1957. godine, sačuvanima u Arhivu MDC-a, otkriva se da je Antun Bauer netom prije osnutka Nezavisne Države Hrvatske pohranio zbirku umjetnina Hinka Lederera u Gipsoteku grada Zagreba. Proučavajući fragmentiranu dokumentaciju iz vremena Drugoga svjetskog rata koja se nalazi u Gliptoteci HAZU, Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu, Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, Muzeju grada Zagreba, Muzeju suvremene umjetnosti, Strossmayerovoj galeriji starih majstora HAZU, Javnoj ustanovi Spomen-područje Jasenovac, Odjelu za dokumentaciju kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture i medija, Hrvatskome državnom arhivu te Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, napravljena je rekonstrukcija prijenosa umjetnina Hinka Lederera, a za pojedine slike utvrđena je i njihova provenijencija.