PROVENANCE RESEARCH AND THE ART TRADE

Ed. Peter Wehrle

Ketterer 🔂 Kunst

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Carolin Faude-Nagel

CASE STUDY THE JEWISH ART DEALER ARTHUR DAHLHEIM

In recent years, several paintings have appeared on the art market that carry two stamps with the initial 'J' on the reverse (*fig. 1*). In the cases of the stamps 'J. 33' in blue and 'J 34' in red, an initial assumption was that the initial 'J' could originate from the National Socialist era and might indicate Jewish ownership.¹ Most of these stamps were found on works by Lesser Ury, but also on the backs of, among others, paintings by Carl Hagemeister and Willy ter Hell. The protocol catalog for Paul Cassirer's Lesser Ury estate auction in 1932 revealed that the Berlin art dealer Arthur Dahlheim had acquired some of these works bearing the 'J' stamp (see the article by Christina Feilchenfeldt in this book).² This prompted a closer inspection of the person Arthur Dahlheim.

From a carpet dealership to an art empire

On January 31, 1866,³ Arthur Dahlheim was born into a middle-class Jewish family with close ties to the Berlin art scene. His father Saronÿ Dahlheim founded the very successful woolens and carpet factory Dahlheim & Co. in Berlin in 1845.⁴ It was not before the age of 52 that Arthur Dahlheim married Anna Albertine Elisabeth, née Neumann, widowed Pfuhl, and a baptized Protestant, in 1918. The late marriage remained childless, but his wife had three sons from her first marriage: Walter, Erich and Hellmuth Pfuhl.⁵

Initially specializing in carpets, Arthur Dahlheim began his career as an art dealer at his parents' house on Matthaikirchstraße 13 in 1895. He offered the carpets that the family business sold to artists in exchange for artworks. The carpet salesman thus became an art dealer.⁶ In 1899, he moved his art dealership, now under the name 'Gemälde-Salon vereinigter Künstler', to Wilhelmstraße 44. With a steady sales success and the desire to establish a kind of 'art department store', he took over the furniture factory H. Lipke in 1907 together with his brother-in-law Siegmund Klein, who became the new enterprise's managing director.⁷

Fig. previous page: Entrance hall of Kunstsalon Arthur Dahlheim, 1918, in: exhib. cat. Grosse Kunst-Ausstellung – Arthur Dahlheim, Berlin W – Potsdamer Strasse 118b, Berlin, 1918.

Henceforth Dahlheim wanted his art dealership to be the top address for all interior furnishings of luxury homes. For this purpose, he left the cramped premises on Wilhelmstraße and moved the gallery to the imposing 'Haus Merkur' at Kochstraße 6–8, which is still wellknown today.

Around 1912/13, the art dealer had the five-story office and commercial building built according to plans by Otto Bayer and Kurt Berndt.⁸ As of 1913, tenants included film companies and other art dealers, such as the art auction house Eugen Reiz and the art salon Keller & Reiner, Arthur Dahlheim had to take out a substantial loan to build 'Haus Merkur'.9 In order to continue to service this loan, he and his stepsons Walter and Hellmuth Pfuhl founded two stock companies in 1922. While one of them was founded for the purpose of purchasing the plot at Kochstraße 6/7, worth 800,000 Reichsmarks,¹⁰ the other, called 'Grundstücks-Gesellschaft Kochstraße 8 Aktiengesellschaft' had the purpose to purchase house number 8 in the same street for 500,000 Reichsmark.¹¹ Walter Pfuhl, based at Potsdamer Straße 118b, was appointed chairman of the board. In 1918, Dahlheim opened a second branch named 'Große Kunstausstellung' in the rooms of the art salon Keller & Reiner at Potsdamer Straße 118b (fig. 2, fig. 3 and p. 92).¹² Visitors entered the exhibition premises through a large entrance hall and the artworks were distributed across three imposing floors. From then on, the two companies shared the business address. From 1919, the stepson Hellmuth Pfuhl was the second managing director of Keller & Reiner GmbH, and managed the company alone in 1922.¹³ In April 1927, Arthur Dahlheim left the business



Fig. 1: Stamps 'J 34' and 'J. 33', reverse of Lesser Ury, *Birkenwald im Frühling*, 1890s, pastel on cardboard, 47.8 x 34.7 cm. *Photo:* © Ulf Palitza, restorer, Berlin



Fig. 2: Exhibition hall at Kunstsalon Arthur Dahlheim, 1918, in: Exhib. cat. Grosse Kunst-Ausstellung – Arthur Dahlheim, Berlin W – Potsdamer Strasse 118b, Berlin, 1918.

premises at Potsdamer Straße 118b, which until then had also been his private address, and moved the entire business to Kochstraße 6/7. Keller & Reiner GmbH and Möbelfabrik H. Lipke also moved to Kochstraße with him.¹⁴

Following the relocation from Potsdamer Straße 118b to 'Haus Merkur', the "Privatsammlung und gesamte Hausstand" ("private collection and the entire household effects") of the art dealer Dahlheim were auctioned at the art auction house Rud. Elsas in collaboration with the company Keller & Reiner on March 22 and 23, 1927.¹⁵ The couple moved into a new private residence on Lützowplatz 5. The auction suggests that Arthur Dahlheim was in financial troubles around 1927.



Fig. 3: Grand skylight hall at Kunstsalon Arthur Dahlheim, 1918, in: exhib. cat. Grosse Kunst-Ausstellung – Arthur Dahlheim, Berlin W – Potsdamer Strasse 118b, Berlin, 1918.

The decline

The following years saw the decline of Arthur Dahlheim's ambitious art trade projects. In September/October 1933, the three managing directors Arthur Dahlheim, Siegmund Klein and Hellmuth Pfuhl were banned from conducting business in their branch at Kochstraße 6–8 on the basis of an official order.¹⁶ The Dahlheim art dealership was "wegen Unzuverlässigkeit geschlossen und versiegelt" ("closed and sealed for unreliability") by the police.¹⁷ The order was based on the 'Verordnung über Handelsbeschränkungen vom 13. Juli 1923' ('Ordinance on Trade Restrictions of July 13, 1923'), which regulated price gouging.¹⁸ Arthur Dahlheim had always advertised with particularly favorable promotions and low prices (*fig. 4*). His pricing, however, was heavily criticized. In particular, his bartering of carpets for artworks met with criticism and even legal proceedings.¹⁹ His stepson Hellmuth Pfuhl and the succeeding art dealership 'Kunsthak' also had to justify themselves with regard to price gouging and excessive profit margins.²⁰ It seems that the official closures in 1933 were the result of price gouging on the one hand, but probably also because of late pay-



Fig. 4: Ads of A. Dahlheim, Keller & Reiner, H. Lipke, in: *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, morning edition, Sunday August 26, 1928, p. 8, digitized by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Image credits: https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/ S4UJJEOTX5YJ33ZTNYHFDVO44TG2UURK?issuepage=8 (last accessed on June 15, 2023)

ments of credit and mortgage interest on the other.²¹ We know that only two weeks after the closure on October 18, 1933, Dahlheim had to conclude a notarized contract with Süddeutsche Bodenkreditbank A.G., in which half of the warehouse worth 400,000 Reichsmark was transferred to the bank as security deposit.²²

Dahlheim then sold his art dealership to his stepsons Walter and Erich Pfuhl on November 2, 1933.²³ They had already founded 'Kunst und Handwerk GmbH' (short: Kunsthag²⁴) on October 20, 1933, with the objective of purchasing Arthur Dahlheim's 'Gemälde-Salon vereinigter Künstler'. They drew up a commission agreement for the stock-in-trade, in which they took over the commission for the sale of the inventory worth 800,000 Reichsmark for both Süddeutsche Bodenkredit A.G. and Arthur Dahlheim.²⁵ Accordingly, 'Kunsthag' had not acquired ownership of the goods. The Chamber of Commerce had considerable objections to this registration matter and demanded that ownership of the stock-in-trade had to be included in the sale to the Pfuhl brothers when the company was transferred. However, due to Arthur Dahlheim's illness and lack of capacity to act, this did not happen until after his death in 1935.²⁶

In order to settle any potential outstanding mortgage payments and overdue interest, Albertine and Arthur Dahlheim's "Luxus-Einrichtung und hervorragende Gemäldesammlung" ("luxury furnishings and outstanding collection of paintings") were in the meantime sold by the auction house Aktiengesellschaft für Auktionswesen (short: Afag) on October 2 and 3, 1934.²⁷ A draft of a purchase agreement from 1934 between Arthur Dahlheim and 'Kunst und Handwerk GmbH' shows that the warehouse contents had previously been subject to a "sorgfältige Schätzung" ("judicious appraisal") for the transfer of property by way of security to the Süddeutsche Bodenkreditbank, and that the purchase price, and thus the total value of the goods, had been reduced from 800,000 Reichsmark to 248,000 Reichsmark.²⁸ The bank visited the art dealer's premises in 1933, and very likely on multiple other occasions in 1934, in order to determine which parts of the stock-in-trade were to be used as security. Consequently, the stamps 'J. 33' and 'J 34' (fig. 1), which can be found on a large number of paintings with the provenance Arthur Dahlheim, can in all likelihood be explained as 'J' for 'Jahr' ('year'). The stamps affixed by the bank mark the bank's holdings and separate them from the remaining property of Arthur Dahlheim. Proceeds from the artworks marked 'I' were to be transferred to the bank.

Arthur Dahlheim's legacy

Arthur Dahlheim died after a long illness in Berlin on March 12, 1935. His wife Albertine,²⁹ was his sole heir and named her son Hellmut as heir in her will.³⁰ as she had made a different agreement with Walter and Erich: As early as April 15, 1935, the 'Kunst und Handwerk GmbH' of the brothers Walter and Erich Pfuhl concluded a contract with their mother Albertine Dahlheim regarding the "Warenlager[s], soweit es am heutigen Tage noch vorhanden und nicht sicherungshalber an die Süddeutsche Bodenkreditbank übereignet ist, einschließlich der in der Wohnung von Frau Albertinge Dahlheim – Händelstrasse 6 befindlichen Kunstgegenstände [...] zum Kaufpreis von 200.000 RM." ("stock-in-trade, insofar as it still exists today and has not been transferred to the Süddeutsche Bodenkreditbank as security, including the works of art located in the apartment of Mrs. Albertine Dahlheim - Händelstraße 6 [....] for the purchase price of RM 200,000.").³¹ The "Kommissionsvertrag" ("commission contract") remained in place for the "Warenbestände, die der Süddeutschen Bodenkreditbank sicherungshalber übereignet sind" ("goods transferred to Süddeutsche Bodenkreditbank by way of security")³². According to Albertine Dahlheim's will, her sons did not have to pay their mother the purchase price of 200,000 Reichsmark for her art collection; in a sense, it was their advanced inheritance.

So far, only the 'J' stamps that marked the works from the transfer of ownership to the bank by way of security, have provided any indication of the Kunsthak's actual inventory. However, there do not appear to have been many sales until 1945, as the aforementioned works by Lesser Ury show: In 1955, 1960 and 1961, a Mr. Kempfer successively consigned around ten paintings and pastels by Lesser Ury to a Berlin art dealer. Arthur Dahlheim had acquired all the works at Paul Cassirer gallery in 1932.³³ In those cases where reverse sides are known, they all bear the 'J' stamp on the stretcher. The decisive clue to the identity of Mr. Kempfer came from Walter Pfuhl's death certificate, which was signed by the



Fig. 5: Wilhelm Trübner, *Weg am Forellenteich*, sign. a. dat. 1913, oil on canvas, 80 x 95 cm, in: *Die Kunstauktion: internat. Nachrichtenblatt des gesamten Kunstmarktes*, vol. 2, no. 43, October 21, 1928, p. 6. *Image credits: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.47051.43*

'Lagermitarbeiter' ('warehouse employee') Albert Kempfer.³⁴ Consequently, the works by Lesser Ury from the estate auction had not left the Pfuhl brothers' warehouse before the 1950s. Whether Albert Kempfer was still working for Kunsthak at this time and had consigned them on their behalf could not been resolved conclusively.

Losses due to persecution?

Despite intensive research, it remains unclear whether the sale of Albertine and Arthur Dahlheim's entire household at the abovementioned auction in 1934 was the result of political pressure. During the research process, it also became clear that in the case of Arthur Dahlheim, it is almost impossible to differentiate between the private collection and the inventory. Three extensive catalogs from the years 1918 (exhibition), 1927 (auction) and 1934 (auction) provide insight. The titles of the two auctions suggest that the works on offer were exclusively from the Dahlheims' private collection.³⁵ However, illustrated newspaper ads show that he also used some of these works to promote his art dealership. Of the 118 works offered in the 1927 auction, 49 works, almost all of them illustrated, were still in the Dahlheims' possession in 1934. One of many examples is the work *Forellenteich und Park am Stift Neuburg* by Wilhelm Trübner. It was marked 'not for sale' in the *Große Kunstausstellung* in 1918. In 1928, Dahlheim placed an ad in the magazine *Die Kunstauktion (fig. 5)* showing the work from "Kunstsalon Arthur Dahlheim, Berlin - Kochstr. 6/7". In both 1927 and 1934, the Trübner picture was also offered for sale in the auctions of his private house-hold. It has not yet been determined whether the painting was actually sold in 1934.³⁶

No evidence could be found to suggest that the closure of Arthur Dahlheim's business premises in October 1933 was part of the first boycott measures by the Nazi regime and thus an act of Nazi persecution. Due to the simultaneous closure of the companies Kunstsalon Dahlheim, H. Lipke and Keller & Reiner GmbH under Hellmuth Pfuhl on Kochstraße 6–8, it can be assumed that this happened in the context of a joint illegitimate business activity. There is also no record of any personal persecution of Arthur Dahlheim. At the same time, however, neither can be ruled out.

When works with such findings appear on the art market today, discussions with the heirs of the former Jewish owner are the means of choice to ensure a secure sale. However, this is a rare and special case: Albertine Dahlheim's so-called subsequent heirs were her sons. Walter Pfuhl had no children and died of lung cancer in 1948. Erich Pfuhl had been a member of the SA since February 1934, according to his own declaration to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich Chamber of Fine Arts). His brother Hellmuth Pfuhl had been working for the trustee of the Reich Finance Administration Ernst Pilzecker "zwecks Verwertung von Waren, die das Finanzamt Charlottenburg Ost beschlagnahmt hatte" ("for the purpose of the utilization of goods confiscated by the Charlottenburg-Ost Tax Office") since at least 1936.³⁷ The rightful heirs of the Jewish art dealer Arthur Dahlheim, his stepsons, were Nazi perpetrators themselves.³⁸

The provenance research began with previously unknown 'J' stamps on the reverse sides and led to the enterprising Jewish art dealer Arthur Dahlheim and his Nazi heirs. The case shows how complex and multi-faceted the issues that Nazi provenance research must also address in the art trade can be. And there is another difficulty of a special kind: the need for prompt decisions on how to proceed.

ANNOTATIONS

- 1 A very similar 'J' stamp appears in the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, which has an accession book entitled 'J', in which so-called 'Judenbücher' from a pawnshop were recorded around 1944, https:// db.lootedculturalassets.de/index.php/Detail/objects/17292 (last access on February 15, 2023).
- 2 Dahlheim was a close acquaintance of Lesser Ury and traded his paintings in the 1920s at the latest. According to the protocol catalog of the estate auction, he acquired 27 works (see DOI: https://doi.org/ 10.11588/diglit.48864), probably partly as a commission agent on behalf of others. Many thanks to Dr. Sibylle Groß for her extensive help with the research on Lesser Ury.
- 3 See Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB), marriage certificate Berlin, no. 229, May 17, 1918.
- 4 Cf. Sandig, Marina: Die Liebermanns: Ein biographisches Zeit- und Kulturbild der preußisch-jüdischen Familie und Verwandtschaft von Max Liebermann. Neustadt a. d. Aisch 2005, pp. 325ff.
- 5 Albertine Elisabeth, née Neumann, widowed Pfuhl (February 20, 1869 May 09, 1952), Walter Pfuhl (January 13, 1890 July 04, 1948), Erich Pfuhl (August 05, 1891 November 17, 1947) and Hellmuth Pfuhl (born October 26, 1892), see LAB, A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016 Commercial register file 'Kunsthak' Kunst und Handwerk Gebr. Pfuhl.
- 6 Cf. *Die Werkstatt der Kunst*, XVII. vol. 46, September 2, 1918, pp. 372f.: Ueber Berliner Kriegskunsthändler [that is Arthur Dahlheim], see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.41229#0375.
- 7 Cf. Deutscher Reichsanzeiger 1907, Jan. 31, 1907, no. 29, p. 19, https://digi.bib.uni-mannheim.de/reichsanzeiger.fcgi?FIF=/reichsanzeiger/film/029-1907/0548.jp2&RGN=0,0,3.529787234042553,1.4659442724 458205&CVT=jpeg (last access on March 15, 2023). Samuel Siegmund/Siegismund Klein (December 2, 1864 – January 12, 1943) was the husband of his sister Antonie Klein, née Dahlheim (September 1, 1867 – October 4, 1920). Klein had fled Germany by 1935 at the latest.
- 8 See Haus Merkur, in: Denkmaldatenbank des Landesdenkmalamts Berlin, https://denkmaldatenbank. berlin.de/daobj.php?obj_dok_nr=09031171 (last access on July 6, 2023).
- 9 This is known since Dahlheim later fell into arrears on a mortgage amounting to 950,000 Reichsmarks.
- 10 See Bau-, Terrain- und Immobilien-Gesellschaften, Schachtbau, Asphaltgewinnung und -Verarbeitung, in: Handbuch der deutschen Aktiengesellschaften, Hoppenstedt, vol. 35.1930, vol. 1, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 288, digitized by Library of Mannheim University, https://digi.bib.uni-mannheim.de/fileadmin/ hoppenstedt/1006345701_193000351/pdf/1006345701_0512.pdf (last access on February 15, 2023).
- 11 Cf. Verschiedene Gesellschaften, neueste Gründungen, in: Handbuch der deutschen Aktiengesellschaften, Hoppenstedt, vol. 38.1933, vol. 1, Berlin/Leipzig 1933, p. 1133, digitized by Library of Mannheim University, https://digi.bib.uni-mannheim.de/fileadmin/hoppenstedt/1006345701_193300381/pdf/1006345701_1303.pdf (last access on February 15, 2023).
- 12 Cf. Die Werkstatt der Kunst, XVII. vol. 45, 19.8.1918, p. 365, see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.41229.149.
- 13 Cf. LAB, A Rep. 243-04 No. 6660, personal file Hellmuth Pfuhl of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, application for admission dated Oct. 1, 1935.
- 14 Cf. Donath, Adolphe [ed:] Der Kunstwanderer: Zeitschrift für alte und neue Kunst, für Kunstmarkt und Sammelwesen, issue 8/9 1926/27, p. 336, see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.25876.88.
- 15 Auct. cat. Rud. Elsas, Kunstauktionshaus (Berlin): Auktion der Privat-Sammlung und des gesamten Hausstandes des Kunsthändlers Arthur Dahlheim im Hause Berlin, Potsdamer Straße 118 b: Versteigerung 22., 23. März [1927], Berlin, 1927, s. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.21690.
- 16 Cf. Zentrale Landesbibliothek, *Amtsblatt für den Landespolizeibezirk Berlin*, Ausgabe B: ohne öffentlichen Anzeiger, Berlin, 1935, February 11, 1935, no. 105, p. 45, interdiction of commerce mandated by the police commissioner on October 5, 1933.

- 17 "Kunsthandlung Dahlheim behördlich gesperrt", in: Internationale Sammlerzeitung: Zentralbl. für Sammler, Liebhaber u. Kunstfreunde, edition 25.1933, no. 19, October 15, 1933, p. 172, https://digi.ub.uniheidelberg.de/diglit/internationale_sammlerzeitung1933/0229 (last access on July 1, 2023).
- 18 Cf. Reichsgesetzblatt, Volume 1923, Part I, Verordnung über Handelsbeschränkungen, Section 1, § 25 Prohibition of Trade by the Court, p. 709, https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?apm=0&aid=dra&datum=1923 (last access on May 15, 2023).
- 19 Cf. Aus reiner Liebe zur Kunst, in: Die Werkstatt der Kunst: Organ für d. Interessen d. bildenden Künstler, 10.1910/1911, issue 28, p. 383, and 11.1911/1912, issue 29, p. 395, see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.52067.264.
- 20 Cf. LAB, A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016 Commercial register file 'Kunsthak' Kunst und Handwerk Gebr. Pfuhl; LAB A Rep. 243-04 No. 6660 Personal files Pfuhl of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste.
- 21 Cf. LAB, A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016 Commercial register file 'Kunsthak' Kunst und Handwerk Gebr. Pfuhl Commission contract dated November 3, 1933 between Kunst und Handwerk GmbH and Arthur Dahlheim.
- 22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

- 24 They later had to rename the company 'Kunsthak' because Kaffee HAG filed a trademark infringement suit against the company name.
- 25 Cf. LAB A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016, as note 21.
- 26 Cf. LAB A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016, lawyer's letter from Dr. Aloys Wetzel dated January 9, 1934, to the Berlin-Charlottenburg District Court in the register case Kunst und Handwerk, Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftpflicht, 'Kunsthag'.
- 27 Auct. cat. Aktiengesellschaft für Auktionswesen: Luxus-Einrichtung und hervorragende Gemäldesammlung: Berlin W 35, Lützowplatz 5, 2. Und 3. Oktober 1934, Berlin, 1934, see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/ diglit.7755.
- 28 Cf. LAB A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016, draft of a purchase contract from 1934 between Arthur Dahlheim and 'Kunst und Handwerk GmbH'.
- 29 Cf. LAB A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016, according to the bequeathed will dated October 9, 1933, mentioned in: Purchase agreement regarding the warehouse, dated April 15, 1935 and closed between Kunst und Handwerk GmbH and Albertine Dahlheim.
- 30 See Schöneberg Local Court, will of Albertine Dahlheim, née Neumann, deed no. 29 of 1952, estate proceedings concerning Albertine and Arthur Dahlheim.
- 31 Cf. LAB A Rep. 342-02 No. 25016, purchase contract dated April 15, 1935 between Kunst und Handwerk GmbH Albertine Dahlheim.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 It is likely that 'Kempfer' had also consigned works by other artists, but these results are based on the research for Lesser Ury's catalog raisonné. We are grateful to Dr. Sibylle Groß for providing information and support.
- 34 Albert Kempfer signed as a witness and confirmed the death of Walter Pfuhl on July 15, 1948. It can be assumed that he was possibly a warehouse employee at the Pfuhl brothers' 'Kunsthak' company. LAB, vital records, death records, deed no. 1125, in: https://www.ancestry.de/discoveryui-content/view/51260055:2958 (last access on July 1, 2023).
- 35 Cf. note 15 and note 27.
- 36 Cf. Die Kunstauktion: internat. Nachrichtenblatt des gesamten Kunstmarktes, vol. 2, no. 43, October 21, 1928, p. 6, see DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.47051.43.

- 37 Cf. LAB A Rep. 243-04 No. 6659-6661_Personenakten Pfuhl der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, application for admission dated Oct. 1, 1935. It is known that Pilzecker had been working as a representative of the Chief of Police or the trade police since around 1929. As part of his duties, he also prohibited Jewish auctioneers from continuing their activities.
- 38 The discussion about the 'Unwürdigkeitsklausel' (unworthiness clause) shall only briefly be mentioned here. Cf. Gesetz über Staatliche Ausgleichsleistungen für Enteignungen auf besatzungsrechtlicher oder besatzungshoheitlicher Grundlage, die nicht mehr rückgängig gemacht werden können (Ausgleichsleistungsgesetz - AusglLeistG): § Section 1 Entitlement to compensation, https://www.gesetze-iminternet.de/ausglleistg/BJNR262800994.html (last access on March 15. 2023).

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