



REPORT OF  
THE AMERICAN COMMISSION  
FOR THE  
PROTECTION AND SALVAGE  
OF ARTISTIC  
AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS  
IN WAR AREAS

1946

Report of  
The American Commission  
for the  
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of Artistic  
and Historic Monuments  
in War Areas

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Washington 1946

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
HISTORICAL REPORTS ON WAR ADMINISTRATION

The American Commission for the  
Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic  
Monuments in War Areas

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1946.

MY DEAR MR. JUSTICE:

I wish to take this opportunity, now that the work of the American Commission is coming to an end, to thank you and the other members of the Commission, and also your civilian advisers, for the valuable assistance given to the United States Government in the planning and execution of the Monuments and Fine Arts preservation program during the war years. The work which your Commission has done constitutes an achievement of permanent value, for which I wish to express my appreciation.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Honorable Owen J. Roberts,  
*Chairman,*  
The American Commission for the  
Protection and Salvage of Artistic  
and Historic Monuments in War Areas  
Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR THE  
PROTECTION AND SALVAGE OF ARTISTIC AND HISTORIC  
MONUMENTS IN WAR AREAS

June 30, 1946.

THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Pursuant to your letter of July 6, 1945, to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, I herewith transmit to you the report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas as part of the administrative history of the Government during World War II.

Respectfully submitted.

OWEN J. ROBERTS, *Chairman.*

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# PART I

## Introduction: The Creation of the Commission and Purposes for which it was Established

**D**URING 1942, as it became evident that the Allied armies were preparing to invade the continent of Europe, various groups of civilians in the United States began to formulate plans by which some measure of protection consistent with military strategy could, in the war areas, be extended to the cultural monuments—buildings, works of art, libraries, and records—which constituted, in a broad sense, the heritage of the entire civilized world. In the autumn of that year, the President of the Archaeological Institute of America, the President of the College Art Association, and the Directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the National Gallery of Art in Washington proposed to Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone of the United States Supreme Court the creation of a governmental commission for the protection and salvage of artistic and historic monuments in Europe. Contact was also established with the Chief of the Civil Affairs Division, War Department, and with the Army Air Intelligence Service, to arouse interest and enlist their cooperation.

On December 8, 1942, Chief Justice Stone wrote to President Roosevelt asking his support of a plan for the "creation of an organization functioning under the auspices of the Government, for the protection and conser-

vation of works of art and of artistic and historical monuments and records in Europe, and to aid in salvaging and returning to, or compensating in kind, the lawful owners of such objects which have been appropriated by the Axis powers or by individuals acting with their authority or consent." At the same time he pointed out the incidental but important advantage to be immediately gained by proclaiming to the world, friends and enemies, our Government's practical concern in protecting these symbols of civilization from injury and spoliation.

The memorandum enclosed with this letter contained a parallel recommendation concerning the appointment of the proposed committee and a suggestion that the British and Soviet Governments be asked to consider parallel action on their parts in carrying out this work. The proposed functions of the committee were clearly outlined both for the war and postwar phases, and the membership of such a committee suggested.

To this letter, President Roosevelt replied on December 28 that he had referred the proposal to the appropriate Governmental agencies in order that it might be studied in detail, and indicated his confidence that there would be almost unanimous agreement with the objectives of the proposal.

On April 24, 1943, the President again wrote to Chief Justice Stone, informing him that the original memorandum concerning the creation of the Commission had been considered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who were in agreement as to its eventual desirability and would give it every practicable assistance which did not interfere with their military operations. President Roosevelt also stated that an approach was being made to the British and Soviet Governments, inquiring whether each would be prepared, in case the proposal met with general approval, to appoint a national committee to cooperate with the corresponding committees appointed by the two other nations.

On June 21, 1943, the Honorable Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, wrote to President Roosevelt summarizing the action to date on the proposed Commission. He informed the President further that, under the auspices of the War Department, a special section had been formed in the School of Military Government, functioning at Charlottesville, Va., under Brig. Gen. Cornelius W. Wickersham, with the idea of training certain officers in the Specialist Branch of the service so that they could be attached to the staffs of our armies to advise commanding officers as to the location of, and the care to be given to the various artistic and historic objects in occupied territories. When an occupied territory passed from a military to a civilian government, it was contemplated that this work would be turned over to the properly constituted civilian authorities representing the United Nations.

Mr. Hull suggested that "it would now be appropriate to appoint a commission to be known as The American Commission for the

Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe, such Commission to advise and to work with the School of Military Government at Charlottesville and subsequent organizations of civilian character which may take over control of occupied territories when it is possible to relinquish military control."

A proposed list of directors and members of the Commission was included, and it was suggested that the Commission should be authorized to secure, on a volunteer basis, the services of qualified persons to advise on the project and to furnish information required for carrying it out, and to collect for the use of the armed forces the valuable preliminary work already done by individuals in compiling lists of artistic and historic monuments and works of art in both public and private collections in Europe and in compiling charts and maps showing the locations of these objects. The functions of the Commission as set forth in this letter were:

a. During the war:

1. To work with the appropriate branch of the United States Army, for the purpose of furnishing to the General Staff of the Army, museum officials and art historians, so that, so far as is consistent with military necessity, works of cultural value may be protected in countries occupied by armies of the United Nations. There are, at present, serving in the armed forces of this country, qualified museum officials and art historians who could, if desired, be attached to general headquarters of armies on active combat in the European theatre of operations.

2. To compile, through the assistance of refugee historians of art and librarians, lists of property appropriated by the Axis invading forces, by representatives of Axis governments, and by private citizens of Axis countries.

b. At the time of the Armistice:

1. The American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments should urge that the Armistice terms include the restitution of public property appropriated by the Axis Powers. Where it is not possible to restore such property, either because it has been destroyed or cannot be found, restitution in kind should be made by the Axis Powers to the countries from which the property has been taken. In such cases, the Commission should recommend a list of equivalent works of art or historic documents which should be transferred to the invaded countries from Axis museums or from the private collections of Axis leaders.

2. The Commission should urge that restitution be made of private property appropriated by the Axis Nations.

It was suggested that the offices of the Commission be in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, in order to facilitate close contact with the Departments of War and State, and that approximately \$25,000 be set aside for clerical and other expenses of the proposed Commission, whose members would serve without compensation.

The approval of Secretary Stimson concerning the Commission was obtained, and Mr. Hull stated that he was prepared, should the proposal meet with the President's approval, to approach the various officials suggested to ascertain whether they would be willing to serve on such a Commission.

This letter was initialed "C. H. OK FDR, 6-23-43," and the official stamp of approval was thus placed on the creation of the Commission.

On August 20, 1943, the Department of State announced the establishment of the Commission, under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Owen J. Roberts, Justice of the United States Supreme Court, with its head-

quarters in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Mr. David E. Finley, Director of the National Gallery and a member of the Commission of Fine Arts, was appointed Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Huntington Cairns, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Gallery, was named Secretary-Treasurer of the Commission. The other original members of the Commission were: the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; the Honorable Archibald MacLeish, former Librarian of Congress; Dr. William Bell Dinsmoor, President of the Archaeological Institute of America; Dr. Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and President of the Association of Art Museum Directors; Dr. Paul J. Sachs, Associate Director of the Fogg Museum of Fine Arts of Harvard University; and the Honorable Alfred E. Smith of New York. Mr. Smith was succeeded upon his death by Archbishop (now Cardinal) Francis J. Spellman of New York. Mr. MacLeish resigned from the Commission upon his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State in January 1945.

As a result of requests from the Navy Department that the Commission prepare maps and lists of areas in the Far East containing cultural and historic monuments, the Commission was officially authorized on April 21, 1944, to change its name by the substitution of the words "War Areas" for the word "Europe".

The Commission from the beginning had the assistance of special advisers and many individuals whose voluntary efforts contributed to the fulfillment of its purposes. Mr. John Walker, Chief Curator of the Na-

tional Gallery of Art, was named Special Adviser to the Commission at the time of its creation. Dr. Sumner McK. Crosby of Yale University served in that capacity from September 1944. In April 1945, Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was appointed Special Adviser on matters concerning the Far East. Dr. Rensselaer W. Lee of Smith College and the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., was appointed Consultant to the Commission in May 1945 and worked closely with it in Washington until July of that year.

In the office of the Commission established in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., Mr. John A. Gilmore served as Administrative Officer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer from September 1943 until his resignation in June 1945. Mr. Charles H. Sawyer, Director of the Worcester Art Museum, succeeded him in July 1945 and served until his resignation in December 1945. Mr. Charles Seymour, Jr., Curator of Sculpture at the National Gallery, assumed the responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer until the arrival, in February 1946 of Mr. Lamont Moore, Associate Curator of the National Gallery. Mr. William L. M. Burke, Acting Director of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University, was Director of the research project of the Commission, originally instituted by the American Council of Learned Societies. His assistant was Miss Gladys Hamlin. Mr. John H. Scarff, formerly Special Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Commission, resigned on October 1, 1945. Miss Jane A. Mull was a Research Assistant to the Commission from September 1944 in Lon-

don and Washington. Also serving on the research staff of the Commission in New York and Washington from September 1944 until June 1945 were Miss Miriam Davenport and Miss Kathryn Springer. Miss Betty Grosch was Secretary to the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer until June 1945 and was succeeded by Miss Frances M. Dresser.

In the following sections a comprehensive description of the work of the Commission is included. In summary, the Commission carried out the functions for which it was created in the following ways. During the war, it was instrumental in the promulgation and adoption by the War Department of a Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives program for the protection of cultural materials in war areas, under the direction of the Civil Affairs Division. It recommended to the War Department men already in the armed forces who had the necessary training and experience to carry out the formulated plans, and who were withdrawn from other duties and reassigned to implement this program. Working through the American Defense—Harvard Group and the Committee for the Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas of the American Council of Learned Societies (two independent civilian groups established prior to the creation of the Commission, whose work is fully described in Part III below, p. 33), the Commission supplied the armed forces with over seven hundred maps of the important cultural centers and regions of Allied and enemy countries, both in Europe and the Far East, on which artistic and historic monuments and cultural deposits had been located and described in accompanying lists. Lists and Handbooks were also prepared and distributed to the military theaters for the use of

Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in the field and to aid them in the preparation of the official lists of sites and monuments to be protected. The members of the Commission during the early days of Military Government schools for Civil Affairs officers gave lectures on the care and preservation of works of art, monuments, and records, and as well, formulated instructions for publication on this subject. All reports from the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers were correlated by the Commission's staff, and the great amount of information therein on the condition of cultural monuments was made available to governmental agencies, scholars and students. The Commission continued to advise the War Department in the selection of American personnel for Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers throughout the war, and also gathered information on available qualified civilian personnel who might replace military personnel when Military Government was transferred to civilian hands.

Cooperating with Commissions established in the Allied countries for analogous purposes, and with the Department of State, the American Commission, in fulfillment of its terms of reference for the post-hostilities phase, considered the complex problems of the restitution of cultural materials, and advised the Department of State in the formulation of principles for restitution of this specialized type of material. It was also instrumental in bringing about the restitution to the owner Governments of identifiable looted public works of art found in the American Zone in

Germany. With the Office of Strategic Services, the Commission cooperated in the formation within that organization of a special unit specifically concerned with the investigation of enemy personnel suspected of participating in art looting activities. A large amount of information regarding German personnel and looting in the cultural field was thus made available to the War Crimes Commission and to the Military Government. In addition, the Commission also cooperated with several other agencies which were investigating German assets abroad, insofar as these assets involved cultural materials, and enemy art looting activities in Europe and their relationship to enemy activities in the western hemisphere; these agencies included: Department of State, Division of Economic Security Controls; Foreign Economic Administration, Blockade Division, Enemy Branch; and Treasury Department, Foreign Funds Control. The Commission recommended to the Treasury Department the establishment of a system of customs controls to prevent looted art from being imported into the United States, and examined the special licenses required for the importation of cultural material.

As the Commission concluded its three-year term, it left an extensive volume of information for the use of any agency concerned with the problems which came within its sphere, and for the use of scholars and students who may at any time in the future be interested in this unique program for the preservation of arts and monuments in war areas.

# PART II

## Activities of the Commission

### A. MEETINGS

**D**URING its three-year term of activity, nine full meetings of the members and advisers of the American Commission were held, on the following dates: in 1943, August 25 and October 8; in 1944, February 3, July 27, and October 11; in 1945, January 18, April 26, and September 25; in 1946, June 20. All of these, with the exception of two, took place in the Board Room of the National Gallery of Art. Those of September 25, 1945, and June 20, 1946, were held, at the suggestion of the Chairman, in law offices at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In addition to the principal meetings of the Commission there were frequent meetings of the subcommittees, especially during the first 2 years of the Commission's activity. Its administrative staff was in constant consultation by telephone, telegraph, or letter with the chairmen of the subcommittees, and conferences were often held on urgent questions in order to find solutions to problems presented to the Commission by the different Departments and agencies for which it was acting as an advisor.

In the matters discussed at the meetings, the over-all functions of the Commission and its broadening spheres of interest may be traced with a large degree of continuity throughout the three years. Most important during the war period were the relations of the Commission with the Departments of War, Navy, State, and Treasury, and with

such governmental agencies as the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information. As the Commission's representatives traveled abroad, the consideration of their reports on the work of the various interallied and national committees concerned with protection and restitution of cultural materials, on the steps being taken to implement cooperation between these bodies and the Commission, and on the work of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (henceforth MFA&A) officers in the field and their problems as related to the Commission, all formed a major part of the business of the meetings. During 1944 and 1945, the intricate problems of restitution and the establishment of principles of restitution for cultural materials in collaboration with the Departments of State and War, became matters of prime importance and urgency. As the Commission went into its third year of activity, the questions of protection and restitution in the Far East also involved considerable discussion and planning with the Department of State.

To implement the Commission's functions as set forth in its terms of reference, it was resolved at the first meeting to appoint seven subcommittees, with specific duties and membership. The Committee on Definition of Works of Cultural Value and Property, under Mr. David E. Finley, undertook to define more concretely those general terms which had appeared in the letter from the Secretary of State outlining the Commission's

functions. The Committee on Administration, composed of Mr. Finley and Mr. Huntington Cairns, considered and reported to the Commission on its administrative organization.

The Committee on Books, Manuscripts, and Other Printed and Written Material of Cultural Value was appointed to consider and report on the classes of these specific items with which the Commission should concern itself. Its Chairman was Mr. Archibald MacLeish, and its Advisers Dr. Solon J. Buck, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Dr. Henry M. Lydenberg, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, and Mr. Lewis Hanke.

In order to clarify the relationship of the Commission to the work of the private Committee on the Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas of the American Council of Learned Societies (henceforth ACLS) and the American Defense—Harvard Group, both of which had been functioning before the creation of the Commission with respect to the protection and salvage of works of art in war areas, the Commission requested that these groups continue their activities, but that their work be canalized through the Commission for distribution to the proper governmental agencies. To implement this policy, the Committee on Collection of Maps, Information, and Description of Art Objects was established, under the Chairmanship of Mr. William B. Dinsmoor and Mr. Paul J. Sachs, with Mr. Charles R. Morey, Mr. Sumner McK. Crosby and Mr. William L. M. Burke as Advisers. Detailed reports of this committee's progress, given in several of the Commission's meetings, reviewed for the members the concrete achievements in the mapping and listing of cultural treasures and

the preparation of handbooks, all sent through the Commission to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department. The uses of the files on war damage and looting, their coordination with work being done abroad, and the ultimate centralization of both files and research staff in Washington were determined at the meetings.

The Committee on Personnel, headed by Mr. Sachs, with Mr. W. G. Constable as Adviser, throughout the war submitted to the War Department names of personnel serving in the armed forces who, by training and experience, were qualified for appointment to the Civil Affairs Division for service in its MFA&A Section. After the war, it submitted names of qualified civilians both able and willing to carry on as civilian employees of the War Department the work begun by the Army. Closely allied to this committee was the Committee on Art Instruction in Military Government Schools, under Mr. Finley, which was appointed to confer with the officials of the Provost Marshal General's Office, and, when requested, to supply the names of qualified persons who would volunteer their services to instruct on the subject of protection and salvage of cultural and historic monuments.

Since its terms of reference instructed the Commission to urge at the time of the Armistice the restitution of public and private property appropriated by the enemy, the Committee on Axis-Appropriated Property was established to compile from all available sources a record of enemy looting. Mr. Francis Henry Taylor served as Chairman, Mr. John Walker as Special Adviser. The other committee members were Mr. Daniel C. Rich and Mr. Robert Woods Bliss. This

committee held a special meeting on April 15, 1944, at the National Gallery of Art, in order primarily to consider steps to be recommended for the customs control of looted art objects entering this country, and to review the policy of the Commission with regard to receiving claims from private individuals for looted art objects.

Several persons were invited into various of the meetings to express the views of their agencies on the purposes and program of the Commission, and to review the steps being taken within their agencies in cooperation with the Commission. Representing the War Department were Mr. Harvey H. Bundy, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War; Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring, Chief of the Civil Affairs Division; Lt. Col. James H. Shoemaker, Provost Marshal General's Office; and Col. Henry C. Newton, appointed by the War Department at the recommendation of the Commission to take charge of and coordinate the activities of the Monuments officers in the field with the program of the Commission. The formulation of special policies with regard to the protection and salvage of artistic and historic monuments and the prevention of looting and trafficking in art objects by the armed forces, the distribution of handbooks, maps, lists, and atlases of cultural material, liaison with the Air Forces, recommendation of personnel, and progress of the Monuments program in the Theaters of Operations, were all discussed.

For the Navy Department, Lt. John D. Rockefeller, III, Office of Military Government, and Capt. Harry L. Pence, Navy Office of Occupied Areas, attended portions of meetings, to express the Navy Depart-

ment's willingness to cooperate in the Commission's program and to consider the assignment to monuments work of certain of its officers who were fine arts experts.

For the Department of State, Mr. Charles A. Thomson, Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, and Mr. Ralph E. Turner were invited into the first meeting to describe plans with regard to the program for cultural and educational rehabilitation in war areas, and the development of activities abroad with respect to the preservation of artistic and historic monuments. The work of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (see below, Section F, p. 25), to which the Department of State sent an American Delegation with Mr. MacLeish as a member, was considered in the light of possible future relationships with the Commission.

For the Office of War Information, Mr. Robert E. Sherwood, Director of Overseas Operations, discussed with the Commission the matter of proper release of publicity.

The proceedings at one meeting included a report on the activities of the Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services, with which the Commission had cooperated from the beginning and in which it was deeply interested.

As various members and advisers of the Commission returned from trips abroad, they reported to the Commission their observations on conditions there with regard to preservation and restitution of cultural materials. Mr. MacLeish was concerned primarily with the work of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the steps taken abroad regarding restitution of art objects. At the fourth Commission meeting he submitted his

memorandum to the Assistant Secretary of State on recommendations of the American Education Delegation for the restoration of art objects and basic library materials, and the formation in London of the Conference's Inter-Allied Commission for the Protection and Restitution of Cultural Materials (Vaucher Commission; see below, Section F, p. 25). Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, at this same meeting, reported on his trip to England and Italy, with particular emphasis on the arts and monuments program in Italy, and the details of organization, membership, powers, and activities of the newly established British Committee for the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and Other Material in Enemy Hands (Macmillan Committee; see below, Section F, p. 27), and of the Vaucher Commission. It was decided at this time that the New York files of the Commission should be coordinated with the central card file of information concerning war damage and loot which was being established in London, by a subcommittee of the Vaucher Commission.

At the fifth meeting, Mr. Francis H. Taylor reported to the Commission on his trip to London and Paris, where he had been particularly concerned with the development and status of plans and procedure, both civilian and military, for the restitution of works of art, books, archives, and other cultural property.

At the sixth meeting, Mr. Sumner McK. Crosby reported on Monuments operations in the field, restitution developments abroad and the creation of French and proposed Belgian restitution commissions. At another meeting, Mr. John Walker reported on still later developments in these fields, with par-

ticular emphasis on the MFA&A officers' achievements in the care of works of art found in German and Austrian repositories.

Others invited into Commission meetings to give their views on pertinent matters were: Mr. John Nicholas Brown, who had been sent by the War Department, at the Commission's recommendation, to the European Theater as Adviser on Cultural Matters to the United States Group, Control Council for Germany, and who was able to give latest information on operations in the European Theater, the work of MFA&A officers and restitution procedure by the Army; two MFA&A officers, Maj. Theodore Sizer, who reported on MFA&A operations in Sicily, Italy, and England, and Lt. Comdr. George L. Stout, who outlined tentative plans for similar operations in the Far East; Sir John Forsdyke, Director of the British Museum and member of the Macmillan Committee, and Dr. Henry Thomas, Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum.

One of the most important matters considered at the Commission's meetings was that of establishing the principles and procedures with respect to restitution to be recommended to the Department of State. A full account of this procedure will be given below (Section B, p. 12); this problem formed the major business of the fifth and seventh meetings. At the latter meeting, another matter of significance was the designation of Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne as Special Representative of the Commission in the Far East. Mr. Jayne went to China as a representative also of the Cultural Relations Division of the Department of State, in order to consult with and advise the Chinese Government and the Allied military authorities in the Far East

with regard to the preservation and restitution of artistic and historic cultural material.

One of the Commission's final actions was the preparation of a resolution approved by all the Commissioners in answer to a resolution circulated throughout the country criticizing the United States Government for bringing certain paintings from Germany to the United States for safekeeping. The Commission's resolution, quoted below, was circulated to museums and art periodicals:

Washington, May 14, 1946: The members of the Commission have received copies of a resolution signed by Dr. Frederick M. Clapp, Director of the Frick Collection; Mrs. Juliana Force, Director of the Whitney Museum of American Art; and others who criticize the action of the United States Government, taken at the direction of the President and the United States Army Command in Germany, in bringing to this country certain paintings from German museums for safekeeping, until conditions in Germany warrant their return. The Clapp resolution compares the action taken by the United States Government to looting operations carried on by the Nazis during the war.

The Commission has also noted the statements issued by the White House on September 26, 1945, and by the War Department on December 6, 1945, that the works of art of bona fide German ownership, which may be brought to this country for safekeeping, will be kept in trust for the German people and will be returned to Germany when conditions there warrant.

The Commission has also noted the statement issued by the late Chief Justice Stone, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art, on December 14, 1945, that the Trustees of the National Gallery, at the request of the Secretary of State, had agreed to arrange for the storage space for such paintings as might be brought to this country by the United States Army for safekeeping, and that he felt the Army "deserved the highest praise for the care exercised in salvaging these great works

of art and in making provision for their safety until they can be returned to Germany."

The Commission accepts without reservation the promise of the United States Government, as voiced by its highest officials, that the works of art belonging to German museums and brought to this country for safekeeping, will be returned to Germany when conditions there warrant.

The Commission is strongly of the opinion that the resolution sponsored by Dr. Clapp, Mrs. Force, and others is without justification and is to be deplored.

These were the major issues with which the Commission meetings were concerned. Other matters not previously mentioned above were, in summary, the consideration of a Vaucher Commission resolution expressing the hope that some alternative to indiscriminate carpet bombing might be devised; the approval of representations to the War and Navy Departments for higher rank and decorations for MFA&A officers; organizational and budgetary details such as the allocation of funds to the ACLS Committee and the Harvard Group for their services to the Commission in editing, duplicating and maintaining the card index file of war damage, and in supplying microfilm copies for transmission to the Vaucher Commission, and lists of monuments for Far Eastern countries; discussions of the problem raised by the importation by returning military personnel of looted or illegally sold cultural property and the regulations which might be adopted for the inspection of such baggage. In connection with restitution, the steps taken by other governments and the proposal for the establishment of an inter-allied restitution commission were thoroughly reviewed. At another meeting, the Commission approved the continuation and comple-

tional period which were most helpful to Photographic Archive composed of photographs illustrating war damage to artistic and historic monuments, correlated with the Commission's files and reports on damage, and supported by the ACLS Committee with no formal obligation resting on the Commission. The detailed steps taken by the Commission in cooperation with other governmental Departments and agencies, as well as liaison with similar organizations abroad, are fully described below.

## B. RELATION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### 1. RESTITUTION PRINCIPLES

Among the functions of the American Commission were not only those relating to the period of the war, but also ones that would become operative at the time of an armistice and during the preliminaries of the drafting of the peace treaties. Although already envisaged in 1943 when the Commission was formed, as is indicated in the listing of the Commission's functions on page 2, it was only in July 1944, when the success of the Allied landings in France was assured and the victorious termination of the war a matter of time and effort, that the Commission felt able to consider in greater detail its functions at the end of hostilities.

At that time it informed the Department of State that it was prepared to perform these functions, which related principally to the restitution of property seized by the Axis Powers, and asked to be advised if any directives affecting historic monuments or works of art were being considered upon which it might be able to offer advice. It was informed that some statements of policy had been

formulated with respect to Germany but that no specific directives had yet been considered, and was asked to express its opinion on the application of certain principles relating to the restoration of looted cultural property.

In consequence, discussions were held and views examined among various Departments and agencies of the Government in Washington. As a result of these initial conferences, the Commission recommended to the Department of State a set of principles for the restitution of works of art, books, archives, and other cultural property, which embodied the following concepts: Germany would be obliged to restore identifiable works of art and other cultural treasures; such restitution should be limited to identifiable property existing before German occupation; the existing governments of the countries where the property was formerly located should at first receive such restored looted property rather than the former owners individually; such looted property should be restored in the condition in which it was found; unless Germany's other reparation obligations are expressly based on the removal of such looted property, the return of the latter should not be credited against those obligations; if identifiable looted works of art and other cultural objects cannot be located, Germany should be obliged to replace such objects by comparable works of art or cultural objects from her own public or private collections; such replacement in kind should be so limited as not entirely to deprive Germany of access to cultural materials; objects used for replacement in kind may not include works of art and objects of artistic and historic value used in connection with religious ceremonies or buildings of any faith which have proven

ecclesiastical ownership prior to 1938; all property taken to Germany during the period of German occupation should be considered to have been acquired under duress and therefore should be treated as looted property; a freezing control on the exportation and importation of works of art, books, archives, and other cultural property should be established by all European countries, neutrals as well as belligerents; if identifiable looted property has been destroyed by Allied bombing or other military action, Germany should still be obliged to make reparation or to replace that property with other cultural material; to carry out effectively the above policies, the creation of a United Nations committee, empowered to hold in trust and administer German cultural resources, should be considered, in order to repair so far as possible the injury done to peoples and communities deprived of access to libraries, galleries, scientific museums, and cultural materials generally. These principles formed the basis for conferences and discussions with the State, Treasury, and War Departments and with other agencies concerned that led to the formulation, in the spring of 1945, of a set of principles of restitution prepared in the Department of State. At the same time the principles governing restitution of cultural property, drawn up by the Department of State in consultation with the American Commission, were discussed with the European Advisory Commission (EAC) in London by the Commission's representatives. British reactions to the American proposals were investigated, and the French, Belgian, Dutch, and Luxembourg proposals for restitution, circulated in the EAC, studied in relation to the American ones. Upon the dissolu-

tion of the EAC the United States Draft Agreement on restitution principles was included with other agenda which were handed over to the Allied Control Councils for Germany and Austria.

In addition to the formulation of principles dealing with the kind of materials pertinent to the Commission's functions, much attention was given to the machinery by which such restitution could be effected. There had already been promulgated by Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), a directive on property control that "froze" the movement of works of art and objects of scientific and historical importance within Germany. The means of filing claims by governments and persons, the possibility of organizing a census of works of cultural value in Germany, and proposals for establishing and advising an international Restitution Commission were also considered from many points of view by all the groups whose functions were related to matters of cultural concern or to the general problems of restitution.

Such machinery had not been set up, although much discussion and planning had also taken place on this subject at the MFA&A Branch of the Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division of the United States Group, Control Council, Germany. The establishment of Central Collecting Points in several cities in Germany to which movable works of cultural value were taken from wartime repositories was one of the first steps toward the implementation of the policy of restitution. Details of the unilateral action of return of notable works of art to Belgium, France, and the Netherlands as well as to other countries will be given in the section

dealing with the activities of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in Germany (Part IV, p. 135). This action resulted from decisions made at the time of the Potsdam Conference and served as an initial step in what may prove to be a long and complicated proceeding, for agreement on the exact nature and scope of such an international Commission has not yet been reached.

## 2. THE DIVISION OF ECONOMIC SECURITY CONTROLS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Division of Economic Security Controls of the Department of State requested the cooperation of the American Commission in August 1945, in the investigation of art objects in Europe and the western hemisphere believed to be owned by the Axis Powers and their nationals. The primary interest of this Division was in the discovery of enemy property which might be sold and the proceeds used at a later period for clandestine operations or for a resurgence of German foreign economic aggression. The Division made frequent use of the files of the Commission in this connection. Through the economic representatives in the American Embassy in London, liaison was also maintained with the British Ministry of Economic Warfare, and through the Commission's London office, cases were cleared for investigation by British sources, by the Office of Strategic Services, and by the Macmillan Committee and the American Commission, as is described in Section F, page 24.

The Economic Security Division also cooperated with the American Commission and with the Office of Strategic Services and the Foreign Economic Administration in the investigation of individual cases of suspicious

art transactions in the western hemisphere. In these investigations, the Treasury Department also cooperated frequently. The Commission served as a clearing house for the investigation of cases within its field which were of interest to both the State and Treasury Departments. Mr. George W. Baker, Assistant Chief of the Division of Economic Security Controls, participated in the discussions on restitution policy between the Department of State and the American Commission, and at his request, Mr. Ralph H. Stimson was appointed the liaison representative of the Division to the American Commission. Mr. Stimson conferred frequently with the Assistant Secretary of the Commission and was granted full access to the Commission's files. The Commission initiated regular conferences with Mr. Stimson and with representatives of the Office of Strategic Services and the Blockade Division, Enemy Branch, of the Foreign Economic Administration to discuss art cases of mutual interest.

In October 1945 the Division of Economic Security Controls drafted a set of instructions to consular officers throughout the world requesting reports on looted or Axis-owned objects. Representatives of the Commission participated in the framing of these instructions. Representatives of the Department of State abroad were requested in these instructions to enlist the cooperation of the Governments of those countries where enemy assets were most likely to be confined. As a result of representations made jointly by the British, French, and American Missions, the Governments of Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden took legislative or administrative measures to restore looted properties to the

rightful owners. In connection with these instructions the Division of Economic Security Controls also circulated for the information of consular officials the revised edition of the report on enemy art looting activities prepared by the Foreign Economic Administration, as noted in Section E, page 23.

The control of the importation of objects to this country was primarily the responsibility of the Bureau of Customs and Foreign Funds Control of the Treasury Department, as related in Section D 1, page 21, but the investigation of suspicious cases abroad was of interest to the Division of Economic Security Control, to the Office of Strategic Services (Part III A, p. 38) and to the Foreign Economic Administration (Part II E, p. 21).

The American Commission acted as a clearing house both in Washington and through its representatives in London, for the information collected by these agencies and as a center for the coordination of their activities. In this respect the Commission's status as an independent Government bureau was useful in keeping it free of normal questions regarding a division of functions. The American Commission was not an operating agency but was concerned only with matters of policy and in serving as a clearing house for the benefit of all the participating agencies. While the limitations in the size of the Commission's administrative staff prevented it from being as efficient as might otherwise have been possible, its limited subject interest and the specialized knowledge and background of the Commission and its advisers was of value to all the agencies which were concerned with the much larger economic problems in the control of enemy trade as a whole. With the close of the opera-

tional phases of the war, and the gradual consolidation of the Government agencies in Washington, certain of the overlapping functions of both the Foreign Economic Administration and the Office of Strategic Services were gradually merged into the Division of Economic Security Controls of the Department of State.

## 3. COOPERATION WITH THE DIVISION OF CULTURAL COOPERATION

From its formation, the American Commission worked closely with the Division of Cultural Cooperation in the Department of State in matters which were of mutual concern. Until his resignation from the Commission in January 1945 Mr. Archibald MacLeish participated in these discussions on behalf of the Commission and after he assumed the post of Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner McK. Crosby, Special Adviser, and Mr. John A. Gilmore, Assistant Secretary, maintained liaison with the Division of Cultural Cooperation through Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, Acting Chief of the Division until September 1945. Representatives of the Division of Cultural Cooperation participated in the discussions on restitution principles that have been mentioned in Section B 1, page 12.

The American representatives of the American Commission in Europe, Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, Mr. Francis H. Taylor, Mr. Sumner McK. Crosby, and Mr. John Walker, were also accredited to the Division of Cultural Cooperation, receiving the cooperation of that Division in planning their itineraries, and worked closely with the head of the educational office in the American Embassy in London, the late Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver, whose office they at times shared. Mr. Horace

H. F. Jayne, Vice-Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was appointed in May 1945, at the request of the Department of State, as joint representative of the Division of Cultural Cooperation and the American Commission to visit China and to consult with the special Monuments Preservations Commission established by the Chinese Government. Mr. Jayne left for China in August 1945, and after consultation with officials in the American Embassy at Chungking, traveled extensively throughout China talking with officials of the Chinese Government and investigating the current state of the Chinese cultural treasures. His visit, which was concluded in late November, coincided fortunately with the first stages of occupation in China, and his two reports, submitted to the Department of State, were the first comprehensive and reliable evidence regarding the remarkable manner in which the Chinese salvaged so large a percentage of their own collections.

Through recommendation by the Commission, Miss Ardelia Hall was appointed, in December 1945, as Consultant in the Division of Cultural Cooperation, later in the Occupied Areas Division (for Japan and Korea) under the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Here she acted as liaison representative with the Commission, the different interested divisions of the Department of State and the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in the Far East.

#### 4. ACTUAL RESTITUTION (Foreign Service Administration—Special War Problems Division)

From its inception the American Commission was concerned with the actual resti-

tution of works of art seized by the enemy, as well as with the establishment of the principles of restitution, as has been related above. The Commission, however, had no clearly defined authority in restitution matters and both policy and limitations of staff necessitated the transfer to the Department of State of all specific requests on the part of citizens of the United States and of stateless persons for the return of their property confiscated by the enemy. Nationals of other Allied governments were referred by the Commission directly to their own governments, and in certain instances pertinent information was transmitted to the embassies concerned.

With the growing number of requests on the part of American citizens for the return of their property, it was necessary for the Department of State to establish in the summer of 1945 a special section to handle such restitution requests. This section was established as a part of the Foreign Service Administration and representatives of the American Commission conferred frequently with representatives of this Division and with Mr. Kenneth C. Krentz, the Assistant Chief. As the Commission was the recipient of frequent requests for restitution from individuals, and of considerable information pertaining to these cases, it was arranged to transfer all such information to the Foreign Service Administration and to retain in the Commission's files only a record of the correspondence. In some cases where special problems arose concerning the identification and location of confiscated property in enemy territory, the information was referred to the War Department for transmittal to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Offices in the Theaters of Operations.

The problem of the requests for restitution of so-called "stateless" persons, i. e., individuals who had been deprived of their citizenship by enemy decree, presented certain difficulties. Although the Department of State had no direct responsibility for this type of restitution request, the Department sought to cooperate in the identification of the sequestered objects and in the transmission of pertinent information to the military government authorities. A section was established for the collection and transmission of such information within the Special War Problems Division of the Department of State, and representatives of the American Commission maintained liaison with that Division. At informal conferences with representatives of the War and State Departments, it was finally agreed that such requests for restitution must be primarily the responsibility of the Civil Administration set up by military governments in enemy countries and that the function of the American agencies in these cases could not go beyond the preliminary investigation of such restitution requests and their transmission to military government authorities. With the dissolution of that Division, these requests were placed under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Service Administration.

It is obvious that the problems of actual restitution will far outlast the term of appointment of the Commission. The investigation of individual claims and the identification of missing objects is a more complex undertaking than this Commission can encompass within its terms of reference. The policy, therefore, which the Commission adopted was one of limiting its own function to that of adviser on policy matters and to the gathering and transmission of informa-

tion. Representatives of the Commission referred cases called to their attention to the Department of State for action. In all cases, both the Department and the individual claimants were advised that the Commission could not act as an actual restitution body.

### C. RELATION TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT

#### 1. ARTS AND MONUMENTS PERSONNEL

As already indicated in Part I, the American Commission's original terms of reference included the function of advice to the War Department in the appointment of Specialist Officer Personnel for service with the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section of the Civil Affairs and Military Government organizations in Europe. Mr. Paul J. Sachs was Chairman of the Commission's Committee on Personnel, and Mr. W. G. Constable, Curator of Paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, assisted him as Adviser. As indicated in Part III of this report (p. 33), this advisory function in personnel matters was a continuation of the previous activities of the American Defense—Harvard Group. This committee had prepared an initial list of several hundred qualified provisional personnel in the fields of fine arts, architecture, and library work. The cooperation of the American Institute of Architects, the American Association of Museums, the American Library Association, and of individual leaders in these respective fields was enlisted by Mr. Sachs and his committee in the formation of this list. After the formation of the American Commission, the American Defense—Harvard Group list was made available for the Commission's files and an additional set was sent

to Europe for the use of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Headquarters, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF).

The Office of the Secretary of the Commission was responsible for liaison with the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department in arts and monuments personnel matters. Frequent conferences were held with the personnel officers of the Civil Affairs Division and most requests for specialist personnel in this field were referred by the Division to the American Commission for recommendation. In certain instances the Commission itself took the initiative in making suggestions to the War Department regarding the appointment of specialist arts and monuments personnel, but it was the general policy of the Commission to act only upon request from the War Department.

The Commission was successful in securing the initial appointment of the senior personnel for arts and monuments operations in the European Theater and also in securing a limited number of Naval officers to implement the original roster. Restricted Tables of Organization in the arts and monuments sections and the difficulty of coordinating requests for personnel by the Theaters and the War Department in Washington somewhat hampered the effectiveness of the Commission in this respect. When a specific request was received from a Theater indicating the rank and the qualifications of the officer desired, the Commission and its representatives were successful in securing action in the War Department. When only (but on the basis of) verbal or unofficial statements of future personnel requirements were available, attempts to anticipate a definite request from the Thea-

ter for additional officer personnel were in almost every instance unsuccessful. Also, during the period of operations, any branch of the service was reluctant, if indeed able, to permit the release or transfer of its members to another. It was only when the operating phase was over and the period of occupation had begun that it was possible to secure the release of key specialist personnel from other branches of the armed forces for assignments to the Civil Affairs Division for the Monuments and Fine Arts program.

The Commission made frequent representation to the War Department on the appointment from civilian ranks of specialist personnel for arts and monuments work, and on the securing of adequate rank for the officer and enlisted specialist personnel already serving in the Theaters. In both instances the Commission was not successful in securing favorable action on the part of the War Department, as it was the Department's policy to limit rigidly the direct commissioning of officer personnel from civilian ranks, while recommendations for higher rank were at the discretion of Theater commanders. In the light of the very extensive amount of work that had to be done, it is probable that the original Tables of Organization set up for arts and monuments work should have called for a larger personnel and for higher rank for its senior officers, similar to those exercised by parallel activities.

The experiences gained from the solution of problems in the European operations were valuable in the formulation of arts and monuments operations for the Far East.

With the transfer of Lt. Comdr. George L. Stout (USNR), who was on active duty in the European Theater for over one and one-

half years, to the Far East, it was possible to set up the limited personnel requirements for the Far Eastern operations with specific relation to personnel already available in the Theater and to request key personnel with sufficient rank for the assignments which they were called upon to fill. The experience in both Theaters had indicated that it was far easier to secure adequate personnel in the Theater itself than by special assignment from the United States. It is estimated that at the beginning of military government operations in Germany over half the existing arts and monuments personnel had been recruited in the Theater. While some of these officers were men without specific art background, they had the important advantage of a working knowledge of military procedure and of military operations which was essential to the effective operation of specialist personnel. The Commission's role in the recruiting and coordination of arts and monuments personnel was entirely advisory throughout; the initiative and the final authority and action remained always with the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department.

## 2. LIAISON WITH CIVIL AFFAIRS DIVISION

(a) PERSONNEL. Regular liaison between the American Commission and the War Department was maintained through the Civil Affairs Division. Matters requiring decisions on Army policy were referred to Mr. John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, and to Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring, Chief of the Civil Affairs Division. Both Mr. McCloy and General Hilldring took a personal interest in the arts and monuments operations and were most cooperative in their consideration of the Commission's requests. General Hill-

dring appointed an officer attached to the Government Branch of the Civil Affairs Division to act as a liaison officer in matters of special concern to the American Commission or to the National Archives and the Library of Congress. Over a period of two years several officers occupied this post which was most vital to the operation of the Commission. Special mention should be made of Lt. Col. Charles L. Kades, who served as the first liaison officer with the Commission, of Maj. Claude R. Minard, as the second, and of Maj. John H. Pritchard, who served as liaison officer from May through December 1945, at a time when the details of arts and monuments operations required almost daily conferences between the Commission and the War Department. These officers took a personal interest in this activity and much of the success that the Commission had in securing favorable action on its recommendations from the War Department was due to their cooperation and understanding of the problems involved.

(b) PUBLICATIONS. The publications prepared for the American Commission by the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Defense—Harvard Group, described in Part III, page 33, were transmitted to the War Department through the Civil Affairs Division. The proper and effective distribution of these publications through Army channels was from the beginning a most perplexing problem. In some instances, maps and lists of monuments and technical manuals which had been prepared with great effort and considerable expense for the use of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in the field were delayed in transmission to the Theaters to a degree

which minimized their operational usefulness. In most instances this was the result of faulty distribution within the Theater itself. Lists of European monuments, for example, which might have been of operational value to the Air Force Intelligence during 1944 and 1945 were later discovered in the Army Historical Archives at Cheltenham, England. In spite of these lapses and omissions in distribution, the publications prepared by the Commission's representatives for the War Department played an important and effective part in the location and identification of key monuments to be listed for preservation. The Official Lists of Protected Monuments prepared in the Theaters were based in large measure on these preliminary lists. Especially in the Mediterranean Theater there was in this respect a high degree of coordination between the civilian operations and the work of the individual arts and monuments officers in the Theater.

These lists and maps served in many instances to call to the attention of higher commanders, and to the Army as a whole, the importance and significance of the greatest cultural treasures. The instructions for the preservation of arts and monuments issued to the field commanders by higher headquarters were to a considerable extent inspired by this information and were generally effective in minimizing damage to the extent that military operations permitted. In Italy the Air Forces used the maps of all the important cities to prepare specially annotated reconnaissance photographs showing the most important artistic and historic monuments, for distribution to Army Groups. Accompanying these photographs were lists that established priorities in the consideration of cities as tar-

gets; i. e., those in class A were not to be bombed, those in class B could be considered limited targets, and those in class C could be targets at the discretion of the tactical commander. The greatest use of these special publications was made by the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers attached to the military government and civil affairs sections at Army and Army Group Headquarters.

(c) **REPORTS.** The American Commission also received from the War Department field reports by arts and monuments officers. After initial delays during the first months of operations, reports from the Mediterranean Theater reached the Commission regularly. These reports, prepared at Allied Commission Headquarters for Italy, represented one of two complete sets of field reports; the other set was forwarded to the British War Office in London. On the American side, therefore, these field reports from Italy represent unique material which is not available elsewhere in the United States.

During the SHAEF phase or operational phase in the European Theater, field reports from individual officers were sent to SHAEF headquarters and were edited and duplicated there for transmission to the War Department. While this resulted in some delays in their transmission to the Commission and in editorial selection and omission of information that prevented completeness, this system had the advantage of providing additional copies which could be made available for the use of other government agencies. On the whole, both the individual Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in the field and those at higher headquarters deserve credit for their prompt transmittal of field reports during this difficult opera-

tional period which were most helpful to the Commission and its advisers and also in the preparation of the Commission's files, described in Part III, page 44.

After assumption of control of military government operations in Germany by the Allied Control Council and the United States Group, Control Council, the transmission of field reports to the War Department was unfortunately curtailed, in favor of digests prepared by United States Forces, European Theater Headquarters. It became increasingly difficult on this account to maintain an effective picture of the arts and monuments problems and operations, and certain problems which arose between the Theater and government agencies in Washington were due in considerable extent to the lack of adequate information through regular War Department channels. At the Commission's request, Major General Hilldring made informal representations to Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Deputy Chief of Military Government for Germany, and authority was granted to forward again through regular command channels the field reports of arts and monuments officers to the War Department for transmission to the American Commission.

(d) **PHOTOGRAPHS FROM SIGNAL CORPS.** The field reports of the MFA&A officers were frequently accompanied by photographs that revealed the extent of damage to important artistic and historic monuments and showed activities in the program of first-aid repair of such buildings and the recovery of displaced objects. However, they were relatively restricted in number and it was felt to be desirable to obtain additional ones from all possible sources. Since the largest collections of photographs of the war were the official ones made

by the general photographic services of the War Department, it was necessary to obtain access to their files, especially those of the Pictorial Record Libraries of the Signal Corps and the Army Air Corps.

Access to these sources was obtained through the Civil Affairs Division, which indicated to the Public Relations Section the great importance of securing a very complete file of visual records related to the MFA&A operations and to the interests of the American Commission. Such a selected collection, revealing the state of culturally important buildings and objects from the time of the Allied occupation, would serve as a permanent record both complementary to and also an extension of the written reports. An account of the operations relating to such photographs is given in Part III, page 36.

## D. RELATION TO THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

### 1. *INSTIGATION OF TREASURY CONTROLS*

Mr. Huntington Cairns, Secretary of the Commission, acting upon the suggestion of several members, addressed a letter dated September 1, 1943, to the Treasury Department requesting that appropriate steps be taken to control such property imported into the United States as would be of interest to the Commission in the furtherance of its program to salvage and restore to their rightful owners such objects of art as might have been appropriated by the Axis powers. A letter of response, signed by Mr. J. W. Pehle, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, indicated that the Treasury Department had already contemplated this particular problem and to that end was drafting appropriate documents concerning such

control. These documents were presented to the Commission for suggestions and approval early in 1944. Essentially, the Treasury Department's plan was to issue a new Treasury Decision (T. D. 51072) with specific reference to art objects. Members of the Commission's staff, notably Mr. Gilmore and Mr. Scarff, made suggestions and conferred with the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Customs officials. The principles of control as set up in T. D. 51072, were also approved by Mr. Francis H. Taylor in his capacity as Chairman of the Committee on Axis-Appropriated Property.

The Treasury Department established the controls as set up in the new Decision on the basis of continued advice from the Commission in regard to specific applications for licenses on works of art entering the United States. In March 1946 an emendation was recommended by the Commission to amplify the categories of works of art in order to include cultural objects peculiar to the Far East. Because it was felt clarification might assist Collectors of Customs to interpret the Decision, the Bureau of Customs issued a circular letter in which reference was made to the Commission's interest in controlling Axis-confiscated property.

In practice the effective control of such material through the cooperation of the Bureau of Customs, the Treasury Department and the American Commission, worked as follows: when works of art of unusual value were declared at ports of entry and if, in the opinion of the Bureau of Customs, the works of art fell within the purview of T. D. 51072, the owner was instructed to make application for a license on a form set up by the Treasury Department and approved by the Commis-

sion. This form was forwarded through the Treasury Department, Foreign Funds Control Section, to the Commission and application for license granted if, in the opinion of the Commission, it appeared that no works of art were included which formerly were confiscated by Axis Powers.

By the terms of the Decision, art objects from the United Kingdom, the British Dominions, and British Colonies were excluded from the regulation, and there was broad latitude in individual interpretation at various ports of entry.

In the early stages of planning, when the amount of dislocation of works of art was not known, it was conceivable that many movable works of art would not be located by the Allied forces. It therefore seemed advisable to establish such a control as the Decision provided. Experience proved, fortunately, that most collections were located or accounted for. Many requests for licenses under T. D. 51072 were reviewed by the Commission and several cases subjected to careful examination because of the possibility that certain works of art were in the Axis-appropriated class. During the final months of the Commission's existence, an increasing number of cases were brought to its attention due to improved transportation facilities and the desire of many collectors to import their collections immobilized in Europe because of the war. However, since these imports evidently did not include works of art or other cultural material acquired by enemy agents, the Commission recommended that the particular controls set up under T. D. 51072 be discontinued, and that imports enter this country under normal Customs procedures.

## 2. COOPERATION WITH THE TREASURY BUREAU OF CUSTOMS REGARDING IMPORTATIONS OF WORKS OF ART BY MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES

At the meeting of the Commission in September 1944 Monsignor Griffiths, representing Archbishop Spellman, had called the attention of the American Commission to numerous reports of the importation of objects of artistic and religious importance by members of the armed forces. The Commission agreed that this was a problem which should be explored with the proper government authorities and the Secretary was requested to confer with them on the subject. Military Government Law 52, established during the period of the Supreme Commander's control in Europe and continued during the period of our Allied military government control in Germany and Italy, prohibited the exportation of works of art or other objects of cultural importance from the Theater.

In June 1945 Mr. John A. Gilmore, then Assistant Secretary of the Commission, conferred in New York with representatives of the Bureau of Customs regarding the Treasury Department controls under T. D. 51072 with special relation to possible importations by the armed forces. The Customs authorities admitted that the extent of the importation by members of the armed forces was considerable and that existing controls could only consist of spot checking. The Treasury Department was compelled to rely in large measure on controls established by military authorities. A representative of the Customs Mail Division informed Mr. Gilmore that it would require 6,000 to 8,000 additional in-

spectors to screen completely parcel-post shipments from abroad.

As these facts would indicate, the establishment of controls over these importations by the armed forces was a tremendous problem. The Commission did, however, take the initiative in investigating cases where the origin of the object was clearly identifiable, and secured the complete cooperation of the Bureau of Customs in these cases. Where the facts could be clearly established, the cases were then referred to the proper military authorities for action, and in several cases the actual restitution of objects was instituted through War Department channels. There remain, undoubtedly, many cases which have not come to the Commission's attention and which may require continuing government interest and future action.

## E. RELATION TO THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

Because of its concern with control over enemy economic activities, the Foreign Economic Administration participated in the setting up of controls over the exportation of art objects from Europe. The Enemy Branch, Blockade Division of the Foreign Economic Administration, prepared in May 1945 an extensive report on enemy art looting in Europe and art collecting by enemy nationals in the western hemisphere. This report was based primarily on material in the files of the American Commission. Mr. John H. Scarff participated in the preparation of the first draft of the report. Miss Hélène M. Crooks, Research Analyst (FEA), served as their liaison representative with the American Commission and prepared the report, under the direction of the Chief of

the Enemy Branch. Because much of the material was of necessity based on unevaluated evidence, it was necessary to revise the Foreign Economic Administration report in August 1945 in the light of later evidence. Both the Division of Economic Security Controls in the Department of State and the Office of Strategic Services participated in furnishing information for the revised edition and in checking the validity of material published in the original draft. As already noted in Section B 2, page 14, this final draft of the Foreign Economic Administration report was circulated by the Department of State to consular offices throughout the world. Since this report contains citations of cases still under investigation it is, of necessity, classified as "Secret" and is not available for distribution.

#### F. LIAISON WITH AGENCIES ABROAD

1. By the spring of 1944, it was becoming increasingly apparent that discussions concerning the problems of protection and ultimate restitution of works of art and cultural materials could most easily and far more advantageously be carried on in London, where the planning boards for the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEP) and the United States Group, Control Council for Germany, had been established and where representatives of the Allied nations were beginning to study pertinent problems in this field. The American Commission felt that observers should be sent abroad from time to time, in order that the following general problems could be more intelligently and expeditiously dealt with:

a. To ascertain in what ways the American Commission could cooperate with agen-

cies established in London and on the Continent in studying questions of restitution.

b. To discover whether, and in what ways, the work of the American Commission's research staff could be coordinated with that of agencies abroad, in order to centralize information pertaining to damage and to looting of works of art by enemy personnel, to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, and to ascertain in what ways the information compiled could best be transmitted and made useful to interested military and civilian agencies.

c. To maintain closer contact with the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section of the Army in the European Theater of Operations, in order to facilitate recommendations for personnel and the channeling of material from the Commission for the use of MFA&A officers, and to provide liaison with the British War Office, since MFA&A work was a joint operation.

d. To discuss certain problems involving art objects and hidden enemy assets with economic agencies largely centered in London.

From April 1944 until October 1945 various representatives of the Commission went to London where temporary office facilities were accorded them through the courtesy of the American Embassy. Liaison was established with British, American, and international agencies, both civilian and military. The Commission's representatives also traveled extensively abroad, in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany, to view at first hand the work of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers in the field, to consult with them on personnel and supply problems, and to discuss questions of restitution with the military authorities and

with national civilian commissions in those nations which had established them.

2. Centralized in London during 1944 and 1945 were a large number of national and international agencies interested in some or all of the problems involved in protection, restitution, and reparation of cultural material. The international agencies were:

a. London International Assembly, which drew up a preliminary scheme for the restitution of objects of art entitled, "Reparations: Objects of Art and Other Cultural Treasures."

b. International Committee of the Central Institute of Art and Design, which was concerned primarily with international cooperation in post-war reconstruction in relation to the employment of the artist craftsman and industrial designer. This Committee compiled a memorandum, "The Revindication of Objets d'Art."

c. Comité des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, established by the Foreign Ministers of the nine occupied countries of Europe with governments in London, whose Comité Interallié pour l'Etude de l'Armistice, appointed to formulate proposals respecting armistice terms, was concerned, among other things, with the restitution of works of art.

d. The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, founded in October 1942, on the initiative of the British Council in consultation with the Foreign Office and the Board of Education. This group, which contained representatives of Great Britain and her Continental Allies and to which the U. S., U. S. S. R., India, and the Dominions sent observers, was interested in the problems of restitution and reparations. It cooperated with the three above-mentioned agencies, and through its Books and Periodicals Com-

mission drew up memoranda in the form of a "Scheme for the Restitution of Objets d'Art, Books and Archives." All the various schemes for restitution were submitted to and studied by the Conference.

On the matter of restitution, the only steps which could then be taken, apart from the general principles of procedure and policy, were those relating to the accumulation of information concerning looting and destruction. The only concentrated effort made in that direction by 1944 had been that of the Polish art historian, Dr. Charles Estreicher, who had spent nearly three years on the accumulation of a file of persons and places so far as they related to Poland. Similarly the American Commission, through the American Council of Learned Societies Committee, had for some time been collecting such information as it could with regard to actual looting, but sources of information in this country were limited and almost entirely secondary. A centralization of this sort of information seemed mandatory; it was therefore decided to establish, in April 1944, the Inter-Allied Commission for the Protection and Restitution of Cultural Material (Vaucher Commission), under the chairmanship of Professor Paul Vaucher, and composed of representatives of the various Allied governments, as a subcommission of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. Its purpose was to study problems relating to protection, restitution and reparations, and to collect and organize information relating to looting, for the eventual use of SHAEP and particularly of its Civil Affairs Section. This was the agency with which the Commission's representatives abroad were at first chiefly concerned. The first member of the Commis-

sion to go to London was, in fact, instrumental in bringing about the creation of the Vaucher Commission itself, and in establishing liaison between it and the appropriate sections of SHAEF. The Vaucher Commission, in turn, invited representatives of the American Commission to attend its meetings, and from the beginning, every attempt was made on the part of the Commission to cooperate fully with the Vaucher Commission.

Using as a nucleus the files on looted objects and on personnel concerned with looting, particularly in Poland, prepared by Mr. Streicher, the Vaucher Commission, through a subcommittee, proceeded to build a file on loot and enemy personnel involved in looting to which was added the file of information concerning loot and war damage compiled by the ACLS Committee in New York. A system was established whereby the accessioning and filing in the two centers were made identical, and duplicates of the index cards in microfilm were interchanged between this country and the Vaucher Commission. The work in preparing new cards was centralized in London, and the research in New York brought to a close in this particular project, since it was obvious that London was a far more appropriate working center for the convenience of all agencies interested in this type of information and since new and more immediate sources of information were much more readily available there. During the year, the various representatives of the Commission were in constant touch with the Record Office of the Vaucher Commission concerning this mutual undertaking, in determining the form of the cards, and the manner of their distribution to agencies to which the information could be most useful.

The American Commission also assisted in establishing liaison whereby information from SHAEF and from the various governmental and Special Service agencies on the Continent might pass to the Vaucher office for processing, in the processing and classification of some of the cards, and in doing research on special phases of the information, as, for example, the histories and identification of certain objects believed to be looted. However, problems of military security and policy made it difficult, in the end, to achieve coordination of this material.

Discussions were frequently held with the various members of the Vaucher Commission concerning ultimate methods and machinery for restitution of looted works of art, and in studying and evaluating various schemes for restitution promulgated by the Vaucher Commission and other agencies. A great deal of time and effort were expended in an attempt to make the secretariat of the Vaucher Commission the official central bureau for information on looted objects for the eventual use of an interallied restitution commission, should it be established. Although there was general agreement on the necessity of this move, it was impossible to achieve because of the actual factors of military security and the general policy of the governments concerned, which militated against this coordination, and as well because of the final precipitate surrender of the German forces and consequent developments. The secretariat of the Vaucher Commission continued to function as a central bureau for information on looted objects supplied by the different national commissions, and issued lists of looted objects for the use of Monuments officers in identifying loot

in Germany and Austria, until its dissolution in November 1945. The fact that the Vaucher Commission never had official recognition by the governments concerned seriously curtailed its maximum effectiveness in spite of the sincere and concentrated efforts of its members and the individuals working with it.

e. The European Advisory Commission (EAC), composed of representatives of the American, British, and Soviet Governments, with their military advisers, meeting in London, worked on broad lines of tripartite policy regarding restitution and reparations to be applied in Germany and Austria after the defeat of Germany. It was largely through the efforts of representatives of the American Commission that the EAC considered matters of policy concerning the control and restitution of works of art and cultural materials as a special and rather different problem from restitution in general. In August 1944, the Commission's representative was invited to prepare the EAC draft directive for the Supreme Authority in regard to the control of monuments, works of art and other cultural materials, which incorporated the provisions of the previous SHAEF directive on property control (the "freezing" order issued by the Supreme Allied Commander upon entry into Germany), and also attempted to pave the way for the establishment of machinery for post-war restitution. The directive was prepared with the advice and collaboration of the MFA&A officers and the Property Control officers at SHAEF, and the advisory group, political and legal, of the EAC, and was submitted to the Department of State for clearance. It stated that machinery should be established for restitution by the Supreme Authority and gave certain direc-

tions toward that end, but did not state what that machinery should be nor how it might operate, it being the responsibility of the Supreme Authority in consultation with the various governments to determine the nature and character of such machinery.

Discussions were carried on throughout the year with members of the EAC concerning the establishment of an interallied restitution commission to consider problems relating to the restitution, replacement in kind and reparations of cultural material and to advise the military authorities on restitution.

f. The War Crimes Commission requested the cooperation of the American Commission abroad in regard to the problems of punishing persons guilty of looting and other crimes against property, including cultural objects. The War Crimes Commission was also interested in the central file of the Vaucher Commission on looting personnel, and arrangements were made whereby the information could be made available and useful to them when required.

3. The national civilian committees concerned with the same problems as the American Commission, and with which constant liaison was maintained, were the following:

a. **MACMILLAN COMMITTEE.** The British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and Other Material in Enemy Hands, generally known as the Macmillan Committee after its Chairman, Lord Macmillan, was founded in May 1944, as a counterpart to the American Commission. It differed from the latter chiefly in that its terms of reference limited its interest primarily to problems of restitution and repatriation, leaving the question of protection solely to the military authorities. The policy of

the Macmillan Committee was to initiate or take action only as requested by the Foreign Office. Representatives of the American Commission were consulted before the formation of the Macmillan Committee in order that its terms of reference might be made as nearly like the American Commission's as possible, and they were from the beginning invited to attend the Macmillan Committee meetings. Through the Macmillan Committee the American Commission was afforded liaison with the British Foreign and War Offices. Restitution principles and machinery were mutually discussed throughout the year, and joint memoranda, for submission to the Prime Minister and the Department of State, were drawn up regarding both aspects of this problem. The first, of September 4, 1944, was concerned with the creation of a provisional interallied commission for restitution; the principles of this memorandum were later embodied in a recommendation of November 15, 1944, to the Prime Minister. The American Commission's representative was consulted and apprised of all steps in this matter and was able to report all developments immediately to the Commission in Washington for its consideration and parallel action.

The restitution principles formulated by the Department of State with the advice of the American Commission were thoroughly discussed with members of the Macmillan Committee, the War Office, and the Foreign Office, and their suggestions incorporated in the final report on negotiations both to the EAC and the American Commission. The Vaucher Commission's memorandum, "Measures to be Taken Immediately Upon the Occupation of Germany," was also considered fully by members of the Commit-

tee and this Commission's representatives. The American Commission also agreed to give all possible help to the Macmillan Committee in its publication concerning war damage in the occupied territories of Europe, and provided certain basic documents requested for this work.

b. FRENCH, BELGIAN, AND DUTCH COMMISSIONS. In September 1944, members of the American Commission and the Macmillan Committee went together to Paris to discuss with the officials of the Louvre the possibility of creating a French Commission similar to the American and British Commissions. In October, another representative of this Commission went to Paris for similar consultation, and to Brussels to discover and discuss Belgian plans for a national restitution commission. An informal committee, later formally established, was functioning in Holland by October. The French Restitution Commission was appointed in December 1944, and the Belgian a short time thereafter. Liaison between these national commissions and the American Commission was maintained through contacts with their representatives at the Vaucher Commission's meetings and in individual conferences.

4. One of the primary needs for representation of the Commission in London was to establish closer contact with the MFA&A Section of Civil Affairs, both in SHAEF and the Control Council for Germany, in order to facilitate the Commission's recommendations to the War Department concerning personnel, and to transmit information as quickly as possible to the Commission concerning requests for material for the use of MFA&A officers in the field. The Commission's representatives were able to consult as

the need arose with the MFA&A administration personnel of SHAEF in London, and, after September 1944, in France. Personnel needs were worked out in detail and the information transmitted to Washington for the Commission's consideration and action. Delivery of additional maps, field books, cameras, and other equipment for the officers in the field was expedited. The draft directive in regard to the control of monuments, works of art, and other cultural materials was prepared in close collaboration with the MFA&A officers and the Property Control officers at SHAEF. The work of MFA&A officers in the field, at first in regard to protection, later in connection with depositories of looted art, was observed at first hand, throughout the year, by the Commission's representatives, at first in Italy and northern France, later in Belgium, Germany, and Austria.

In the long-range planning of the United States Group, Control Council, Germany, the Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division, of which MFA&A was a Branch, was also concerned with problems and policies of ultimate restitution, in which the Commission was vitally interested. The United States Group, Control Council, had its headquarters during the latter part of 1944 and until the spring of 1945, in and near London, so that liaison between them and the Commission's London office was easily established. Here also personnel and equipment needs could be discussed as they arose. The staff of the MFA&A Branch was very small and was often overburdened with a great deal of detailed work, and the Commission's representatives were frequently able to help them in preparing lists of monuments for protection in Germany and

of possible repositories of looted works of art. The proposed interallied restitution commission and its secretariat, and the problems of restitution machinery were discussed at length to discover the military points of view and suggestions on these questions. The Commission was apprised of actual and probable changes in the organization of the MFA&A Branch of the Control Council during the transition period from SHAEF to the Control Council, as well as of organizational plans for Austria. The possibility of rotation of civilian personnel after the military phase had been completed was thoroughly discussed and a memorandum submitted to the Commission. A policy of immediate restitution of important identifiable works of art to the owner governments was developed.

Liaison was likewise established with the British Element of the Control Council. Through the London office, the work of this group, particularly its investigations of looted art, such as the Schenker and Bunjes papers, and the report of Squadron Leader Douglas Cooper on Switzerland, were made available to the Commission. This group was also consulted frequently in matters pertaining to the over-all policy of restitution and restitution machinery.

With the British War Office, liaison was immediately established with Lt. Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, Archaeological Adviser to the War Office. His opinion was sought by the various members of this Commission on all matters of policy, both in protection and restitution. His digests of the Monuments officers' reports were transmitted through the London office to the Commission, and the basic information therefore often preceded the full reports.

5. In London, the Economic Warfare Division of the American Embassy, in close liaison with the British Ministry of Economic Warfare, received a great deal of information on looting of works of art, hidden enemy assets in this form, and the attempted export of questionable art objects. The problems relating to restitution and reparations faced by these agencies included consideration of works of art as economic assets, and they consequently sought the Commission's advice on matters within the scope of the latter's interests. Through liaison with the Economic Warfare Division, information on works of art in their files, reports on looting and dispossession of art objects, and reported questionable transactions in art objects were transmitted to the Commission's London office and thence to Washington, where liaison had been established with the agencies concerned with economic matters. The London office of the Commission, at the request of the Economic Warfare Division, also transmitted this information to the other London agencies which were interested in it, and attempts were made to coordinate the work of all in this particular field. That project of the Economic Warfare Division, of which the over-all object was to deprive the enemy of his assets abroad, was of particular interest to the Commission, and all problems arising in the field of art were referred to its representatives for discussion and information. The British system for control over the export of works of art, particularly from neutral countries, and the arrangement of the Ministry of Economic Warfare with the Macmillan Committee for the identification and prior clearance of such works, were discussed in London and trans-

mitted to the Commission in Washington for comment and parallel action in identification on the part of the American Commission. Further measures for the control of exports of works of art, and measures for controlling imports by returning military personnel, were worked out during the year both in London and in Washington, by discussion and cooperation between the Economic Warfare Division and the Commission.

6. Other agencies centered in London with which liaison was established were:

a. The special Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services, initiated late in 1944, which was from the beginning of especial interest to the Commission. This project was concerned with the collecting of such information relating to looting, confiscation, and transfer by the enemy of art properties in Europe, and to individuals and organizations involved in such operations as would assist the United States agencies empowered to effect restitution of such properties and the prosecution of war criminals. A more detailed account of this project is included in Part III, page 38, of this report. The London office of this Unit was established early in 1945, and close liaison was maintained with representatives of the American Commission, who aided the staff of OSS in the preparation of certain lists needed by the latter's field representatives and by the MFA&A officers in the field. Liaison of the OSS Unit with the Vaucher Commission and with the Economic Warfare Division and the Ministry of Economic Warfare was initially facilitated through the Commission's office.

b. The representatives of the American

Commission abroad were, in several instances, also appointed Consultants to the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State. The Commission's representatives were invited to participate in discussions of the United Nations Organization for the Educational and Cultural Reconstruction of Europe and to give suggestions and advice insofar as it was concerned with art matters.

c. With the American Office of War Information the Commission's representatives cooperated in the preparation of the text for a pamphlet (not published) on the work of the MFA&A officers in the field and war damage to cultural monuments in Europe, and also in the preparation of press releases relating to this work.

d. The British Ministry of Information was extremely cooperative in allowing the Commission's representatives to examine its photographs on war damage, in furnishing photographs on request, and in providing lists of damage to monuments in Great Britain. A member of the Ministry of Information also was helpful in suggesting certain addenda to

the Japanese lists drawn up by the Commission's staff.

e. The National Buildings Record (British) proved to be very helpful to the Commission in furnishing information on bombing and war damage in Great Britain.

7. The representatives of the American Commission abroad were as follows:

April 1944: Mr. Archibald MacLeish (who proceeded to London as a member of the American Delegation to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education).

April to July 1944: Mr. William Bell Dinsmoor.

July to September 1944: Mr. Francis H. Taylor.

September to December 1944, and March to June 1945: Mr. Sumner McK. Crosby, Special Adviser.

July and August 1945: Mr. John Walker, Special Adviser.

September 1944 until August 1945: Miss Jane A. Mull, Research Assistant.

July to October 1945: Mr. John H. Scarff, Special Assistant.

# PART III

## Preparation of Commission's Archives

### A. WORK OF AFFILIATED AGENCIES

#### 1. *AMERICAN DEFENSE—HARVARD GROUP AND COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES*

THESE two groups were the principal agencies which prepared technical information, later channeled through the American Commission, for the use of the War Department. They were also the groups that were in a large measure instrumental in the establishment of that Commission, and of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department.

During the year 1942, considerable private discussion had taken place among American educators and museum officials on many aspects of the danger of destruction and loss which threatened so much of the cultural heritage of Europe. As a result of several conferences among such groups a letter was written in January 1943, by Mr. George L. Stout, Mr. Paul J. Sachs, and Mr. George H. Chase to Mr. Francis H. Taylor, President of the American Association of Museums, Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, President of the Archaeological Institute of America, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, and Mr. Laurence V. Coleman, Director of the American Association of Museums, inclosing a draft of a petition to the Government to create a Commission for the protection and

restitution of cultural objects affected or threatened by the war. This petition as drafted included the statement, "To safeguard these things will show respect for the beliefs and customs of all men and will bear witness that these things belong not only to particular peoples but also to the heritage of mankind." The details of the creation of this Commission have already been related.

Aside from the impetus given by these groups toward the establishment of the Commission their principal functions were to serve as working and research organizations.

#### AMERICAN DEFENSE—HARVARD GROUP

The chief activities of this group were performed by a special subcommittee appointed on March 20, 1943, consisting of Mr. Paul J. Sachs, Mr. W. G. Constable, and Mr. H. O'Neill Hencken. They began to work in response to the request of March 10 from Lt. Col. James H. Shoemaker of the Office of the Provost Marshal General that there be assembled information on art objects and monuments which might need protection in possible theaters of war or occupied territories. Mr. Hencken was released by the Peabody Museum to act as general organizer of the project, and all the clerical work was performed by the group, much by volunteers. Appeals were at once made to a wide circle of scholars, sixty-one in number, who had special knowledge of the various countries concerned. Much of the success of the project is

due to their ready cooperation and devoted labors.

From the beginning it was the desire of the subcommittee to conform as promptly and as fully as possible to the wishes of the War Department. In less than three months the first lists of cultural monuments were being sent to Washington, the one for Sicily being dispatched on June 12, nearly three weeks before the invasion of that island. The others followed quickly, timed always to keep ahead of the march of events. The work of this kind completed and sent to Washington falls into three parts.

There were longer lists, in mimeographed form, for each country: Albania, Austria, Belgium and Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy with Sardinia and Sicily, Yugoslavia, Norway, Rumania, and Tunisia, and for Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies in Asia. They were prefaced by an introduction outlining the significance of the material in the national and religious sentiment of the country in question, and a short historical outline. Each list was prepared by individuals or groups with special knowledge of the countries concerned, and included material not to be found in guidebooks. Throughout, special care was taken to include material which for any reason was treasured or revered by the local population, quite apart from any general historical or artistic interest.

In addition shorter lists were prepared for the same countries, which were based on the longer lists, but included only monuments of outstanding importance. These were primarily designed for incorporation in manuals prepared by the War Department dealing

with all aspects of military government. A few additional countries were covered by lists of moderate length; they were China, Japan, Korea, and Thailand.

Beyond these forty lists of longer or shorter form, the group supplied a brief manual of safeguarding and conservation in the field, an application of the principles of "first aid" to cultural material, dealing with the treatment of different types of material, each section being contributed by an expert.

The principal additional function of the group was to draw up preliminary and provisional lists of American personnel likely to be useful in the work of conservation and safeguarding. These lists were selective, the names being limited to persons known to have had experience in the handling of cultural material. They were later taken over and expanded by the American Commission. The personnel and consultants of the American Defense—Harvard Group are listed on page 161.

COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL  
OF LEARNED SOCIETIES ON THE PROTECTION  
OF CULTURAL TREASURES IN WAR  
AREAS

At the annual meeting of the American Council on January 29, 1943, this committee was created under the chairmanship of Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, and was aided by financial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and later from the American Commission.

Its headquarters were established at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York which generously made space and staff available. Because of the great amount of space needed for the work, the Library closed its doors to the public until January 4, 1944, when the Committee was able to restrict its

working space. Here and at the Blumenthal House, a branch of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the greatest part of its work was done between July 1, 1943, and April 1, 1945. The small technical staff was aided by more than a hundred expert scholars, art historians, collectors, and artists, many of them refugees from Europe, in compiling lists and catalogues and preparing maps of the monuments, fine art objects, and archives to be protected in all theaters of war.

The plan of mapping and listing adopted, simple and effective in concept and use, called for great ingenuity and an enormous amount of patient detailed work in its preparation. The lists of cultural treasures put together by the American Defense—Harvard Group were of invaluable assistance in this operation. A master index was set up covering each of the occupied countries and each of the provinces in that country, which listed, described and located the edifices, works, and objects of art which might be encountered by the Allied armies.

Ordinary records in the United States could not supply the vast amount of detailed information needed for this index. To obtain this information several thousands of questionnaires were sent out to officials and scholars of American art and educational institutions asking for data on their recent research abroad. All kinds of guide and special reference books were studied. The Smithsonian Institution, the National Archives, the American Library Association, the Library of Congress, and other institutions lent a hand with their files and staffs.

As the master index grew, it was checked and rechecked by the experts and the Committee's specialists. Separate lists of churches,

palaces and houses, monuments, and cultural institutions were compiled. As they were completed they were photostated and copies were forwarded to the War Department at Washington. Working from the information assembled in the master file, detailed maps of the principal cities, regions, and countries of all areas involved in the war were prepared for the use of Army ground and air forces. Objects to be protected were spotted in on a tracing overlay on the maps (Figs. 1 and 2), many of which were supplied by the Army Map Service, and the whole was photostated, five at first, eventually more, positive prints of each then being sent to Washington. In addition, a negative photostat of each was transmitted to the Army Air Corps, thus permitting duplication to as great an extent as was necessary for the Service Forces. Reproduction of these photostatic maps, in itself, was an extensive project supported by the Frick Art Reference Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Maps of the most important areas were printed and bound up into atlases by the Provost Marshal General's Office; these areas were Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Germany, and Japan. In all, the War Department was supplied with comprehensive data on Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, French Indochina, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Java, Korea, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, Rumania, Sumatra, and Yugoslavia. The total number of these annotated maps was 786.

The files of cards used as preparatory material for these maps, the originals and negative and positive photostatic copies of them

were deposited with the Commission and will go, along with all of the Commission's other files and the files of the Photo Archive Project, into the National Archives.

In September 1945, with 1,200 photographs assembled from official and commercial sources, the Committee inaugurated its Photo Archive Project. The file expanded until it numbered some 15,000 photographs selected from all possible sources to show not only the activities of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program in war areas, but in the broadest sense to indicate the damage, loss, or survival of historic monuments and collections.

For example, one series of photographs shows the damage suffered by the Campo Santo at Pisa, Italy, from the initial state at the time of the Allied occupation, through the overseeing of the most urgent repairs performed by trained civilian personnel, to the installation of temporary roofing or other shelter to safeguard fragile works of art from further damage by wind, rain or snow. Others reveal the trifling damage suffered by such world-famous buildings as the Cathedrals of Amiens and Beauvais in France, shrines like that of San Francesco at Assisi, and of cities such as Siena in Italy. Still others record the chance discovery of works of art in minor repositories like that at Geilenkirchen in Germany, or of some of the world's greatest masterpieces in the Italian, Bavarian, and Austrian depots. The photographs are provided with captions and accession numbers, and are arranged alphabetically, by country and town. This arrangement, parallel to that in the Analytical File of the AMG reports, makes possible a precise visualization of the written record, at the same

time that it also permits the visual image to be completed by a detailed description of the condition of the building or movable work of art.

This file of picture evidence, a part of the Commission's Archives (see Part III, B, p. 44), was housed in an office of the National Archives Building in Washington and administered by Miss Miriam Davenport with the assistance of Miss Kathryn Springer.

The second principal activity of the Committee was to assemble information on the vicissitudes of buildings and cultural objects under wartime conditions. Files of such information are more fully described in the following section. From them material was assembled for three reports: "War Damage to Libraries and Archives in Europe and the Far East," "Netherlands Art Treasures since the German Occupation," and "War Damage in France." Being based, as they were, on sources of varying and often questionable reliability, these reports could not be definitive in character, but they were valuable in informing a wider audience of many instances of probable damage and loss.

It was felt that a much more adequate center for the efficient accumulation of information of such current activities on the European continent would be London rather than New York. In consequence, with the establishment of an interallied agency, the Vaucher Commission, this file of the Council's Committee was edited and microfilmed. Photographic copies were then made which, in conjunction with the file on Polish information set up in London by Mr. Estreicher, served to form the foundation of a complete file of information on persons, places, and

objects of interest to all the Allied nations.

Another activity of the Committee was the preparation of a lecture on the importance of protecting and salvaging the artistic and historic monuments in Europe to be given as part of the curriculum of the Civil Affairs Training Schools throughout the country. This lecture, illustrated with 54 slides, was given at Yale, Pittsburgh, Harvard, Western Reserve, Northwestern, Stanford, Wisconsin, and Michigan Universities. A printed statement entitled, "First Aid Protection for Art Treasures and Monuments," mainly an abstract from the manual prepared by the American Defense—Harvard Group, was prepared and distributed to the Civil Affairs officers attending these lectures. The personnel and consultants of the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies are listed on page 162.

## 2. OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

In connection with its work of coordinating and disseminating information in order to keep the world abreast of the intentions and actions of the warring powers, the Office of War Information (OWI) found a large amount of useful material in the establishment and activities of the American Commission and in the work in the war areas of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Sub-commissions of the War Department. The existence of such agencies proved the falsity of German charges that the Allies lacked an appreciation of Europe's culture and assisted in combating German propaganda that vandalism and looting would follow the military success of our armies.

The collaboration began on October 8, 1943, when Mr. Robert E. Sherwood, Director of

Overseas Operations, stated at a special meeting of the Commission that the OWI was anxious to publicize the work of the Commission and of the MFA&A Subcommittee in Italy under the Civil Affairs Division headed by General Hilldring. In consequence, information was supplied about the mission and accomplishments of these agencies as well as of such civilian groups as the American Council of Learned Societies Committee and the American Defense—Harvard Group.

In addition, beginning in 1944, when the monthly reports from the field and other factual evidence about the damage to cultural treasures and the first-aid repair operations of the Monuments officers became available in Washington, increasingly large new funds of information became accessible. Mrs. Marjorie Mathias of the Foreign Information Research Division of OWI took over the duty of reading these reports and obtained from them valuable items for various types of publicity.

One of the principal means of transmitting news of these kinds was through special articles for different publications, such as the five that appeared in as many numbers of the illustrated *Photo Review*. The titles of these were: "The Louvre; Hidden Treasures are Returned to World-Famous Museum," "Art Exhibit in Rome; Paintings Protected from Germans are Shown to Public," "Restoration of Art; Allies Aid in Rebuilding Damaged European Landmarks," and "Historic Landmarks are Preserved."

Other special articles were ones like Mr. Morey's on "Protecting Europe's Art Treasures" that had originally appeared in *Art News*, which came out as a digest reprint in *USA* published in several languages.

The great bulk of the publicity was, how-

ever, compiled as either background or specific feature material sent throughout the world by radio broadcast, or channeled more directly to specific outposts among the neutral and belligerent powers. An example of the latter was an article, "Preservation of Art in Europe," by Mr. John Walker, which had originally been scheduled to appear as an article in the *National Geographic Magazine* in the spring of 1945, but was instead given as a lecture and then turned over to the OWI which found that there was widespread interest in its contents. In consequence it was also published in the Swiss periodical *Pro Arte*, and *Les Arts* of Paris.

Mrs. Mathias continued until July 1945, to read the AMG reports deposited with the Commission, making extracts and summaries of pertinent information, one of which was a mimeographed list of looted works of art that was used as "Basic News" for radio broadcasts and was also sent to all OWI outposts.

To counteract German and Fascist propaganda pamphlets illustrating damage to artistic and historic monuments by Allied bombing, the OWI began to prepare for circulation in Europe a factual illustrated booklet on the constructive measures taken by the Allied governments to prevent such damage and to initiate preliminary repairs. The Commission was able to supply much basic and detailed information from its records and from the AMG reports from northern Europe as well as Italy. The booklet had not been completed by the time of the German surrender, which was followed by the virtual suspension of operations in OWI, so that what might have been a valuable means of informing the world of the motives and accomplishments of these

military and civilian agencies of the Allied governments was not issued.

In the War Department Maj. William A. Aiken of the Civil Affairs Division acted as liaison officer for the OWI and in this capacity wrote a directive outlining the purposes of the American Commission, which established the proper line to be taken by the professional personnel of OWI in writing of the Commission's functions, the background of its members, and its accomplishments in assisting the War Department in implementing its program for the protection of cultural treasures.

This agency was also useful in providing from its sources photographs which supplemented those of the Army Signal Corps and Air Force. These were later transmitted to the Photo Archive Project of the American Council of Learned Societies Committee where they were, as noted elsewhere in this section, processed and filed to afford a lasting visual complement to the written reports stored in the Commission's files. The Office also took a series of photographs that were originally intended for the abortive booklet on the activities of the principal American agencies concerned in the reduction of damage and loss to man's artistic and historic heritage.

### 3. OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

The Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services had, from the inception of this agency, assembled information on many phases of activity of interest to the Commission. Such pertinent data was transmitted from time to time to the Commission and certain affiliated agencies, and these, in turn, brought additional material to the attention of the Branch.

In October 1943, the Office of Strategic

Services issued, for the use of the American Commission, a "Report on Looting and Damaging of Art Works in Europe." This was followed in December 1943, by a bulletin, "German Publicity on Measures for the Protection of Art in Italy." These publications inaugurated a close collaboration between the American Commission and the Office of Strategic Services. Data on German art and library personnel collected by the Office of Strategic Services was forwarded to the American Council of Learned Societies Committee in New York and to the Vaucher Commission in London for coordination with their files.

In March 1944, the Secretary of the Commission, in a letter to Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan, Director of the Office of Strategic Services, requested the further assistance of that organization in the collection of information on the looting and removal of art objects by the enemy, on damage to such objects, on protective measures taken by the Allies and by the Axis, on enemy art personnel, and on the activities of dealers in art objects in every occupied area. Material of this nature was supplied from time to time by the Office of Strategic Services to the Commission, and through it, to the American Council of Learned Societies Committee in New York.

In November 1944, the Office of Strategic Services established a special Art Looting Investigation Unit. During the early stages, the reports which the Commission had received from the MFA&A officers in the field, and the data assembled by the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies were used in the preparation of the Unit's preliminary list of persons known to be, or suspected of being, connected with art dealing and looting. Later, the Unit provided the Com-

mission with access to intelligence information which was of primary interest, and, with the use of specialized personnel, actively engaged in independent investigations of art looting in Europe.

The chief mission of the OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit was "to collect and disseminate such information bearing on the looting, confiscation, and transfer by the enemy of art properties in Europe, and on individuals or organizations involved in such operations and transactions, as will be of direct aid to the United States agencies empowered to effect restitution of such properties and the prosecution of war criminals."

To operate this Unit, the Office of Strategic Services assigned six members of the United States Armed Forces, qualified by their civilian experience in art museums and universities, together with civilian analysts and clerical personnel. Headquarters were established in Washington and an Operations Office was opened in London in December 1944. In the early months of 1945, operations were initiated on the Continent.

Members of the Unit felt that if restitution of art objects was to be effective, it would be of primary importance to investigate first the devious methods used by the enemy in making extensive acquisitions, and to determine where and how the enemy had hidden or preserved these valuable tangible assets. The investigation of these problems was undertaken in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany.

During the months before May 8, 1945, considerable evidence was furnished the Commission concerning a large number of works of art missing from the German-occupied countries. Locations of secret deposits of art objects

in Germany were reported, evidence of art hidden by the enemy in neutral countries was uncovered, information concerning enemy personnel involved in art acquisitions was collected, and details of the methods used were explored. As a result of independent investigations, interrogations of enemy personnel, and the examination of documents, the general pattern of art looting by the enemy began to emerge.

By VE-day, the Unit had amassed records on several thousand individuals concerned directly or indirectly with art acquisition by the enemy, and much detailed information on German art repositories had been passed on to G-5, SHAEF, for action. It had also prepared a "target list" of key enemy personnel concerned with art looting to be captured and held for interrogation in Germany.

Of this list, the majority was captured, and from June to October 1945, members of the Unit interrogated the captured personnel at a special Detention Center in Austria.

As a result of these interrogations, and earlier investigations in other European areas, as well as from inspection of large numbers of captured enemy documents, the Unit was able to issue a series of three Consolidated Interrogation Reports:

- a. Activity of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France.
- b. The Goering Collection.
- c. Linz: Hitler's Museum and Library.

Detailed Interrogation Reports were also written on 15 of the leading enemy personalities connected with art looting, and a final report incorporating a comprehensive biographical index concluded the series.

These reports revealed the general pattern of the methods used by the enemy, set forth

the details of many of the actual transactions, and made clear the Nazi ideology responsible for this looting. Copies of the reports were used in the trials at Nuremberg of Goering and Alfred Rosenberg. They were also of considerable assistance to the Allied restitution authorities in Germany.

The Art Looting Investigation Unit, through its London office, worked closely with Allied commissions concerned with art looting, and was regarded as the central depository for all Allied information on enemy looting gained through intelligence channels. Several investigations were made in close collaboration with members of the British Element, Control Council for Germany. The French and Dutch also contributed information at their disposal concerning enemy personnel engaged in art looting, and the Unit's London office was regarded by them as a "Cultural War Room."

The Washington office of the Art Looting Investigation Unit served not only as headquarters, but also maintained close liaison with the Commission. It also coordinated its information with other agencies having parallel interests, such as the Department of State; War Department, Civil Affairs Division; Treasury Department, Division of Foreign Funds Control and Customs; Foreign Economic Administration; War Crimes Commission, and other government and private agencies.

It was through the efforts of the Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services, in company with other Allied agencies, that the entire German art looting organization, a highly developed and effective machine, was exposed, its leading members arrested, and information furnished

which has assisted restitution authorities in discovering and effecting the return of a large percentage of the works of art looted by the Nazis throughout Europe in World War II.

#### 4. THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Like most of the agencies which were later to play a principal part in the combined effort to preserve as much as possible of the cultural heritage threatened by the war, the National Archives did not immediately become aware of its responsibilities and opportunities in connection with the protection of archives in Europe and Asia. But by the spring of 1943, there was growing consciousness of the imminent threat to the countless ancient records, and awareness of the practical importance of modern administrative records in connection with the government of conquered territory.

This interest was fostered by Mr. Fred Shipman, Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, who was prompted to write a memorandum to President Roosevelt setting forth something of the importance of protecting records from the viewpoint of military government as well as because of their cultural values. The President brought the matter up at a Cabinet meeting and asked its members to give attention to it and issue any necessary orders to see that records in war areas were given the necessary protection.

The National Archives felt that it had important information and possible valuable advice to offer if proper channels of communication to the armed forces could be opened. The National Archivist, Mr. Solon J. Buck, became a member of the Commission's special committee on books and other

cultural material which was organized under the chairmanship of Mr. MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress. While this committee took part in the establishment of the initial policies concerning the protection of such material, it was never active in personnel matters. In June of 1943, Mr. Buck accepted an invitation to membership on the Committee on the Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas of the American Council of Learned Societies. Conferences were held to ask the Archives' advice and cooperation in the development of lists of cultural monuments, treasures, and institutions which were later incorporated, in part, in the Civil Affairs, handbooks and atlases. A plan for the compilation and furnishing of such information on archival repositories in Europe was presented and agreed upon.

Work was begun on archival repositories in Italy in July, and before the Sicilian campaign was over information as to the name, location, official head, holdings, and buildings of some 140 archival repositories in Italy had been furnished on 4- by 6-inch cards to the ACLS Committee. By the end of September similar information was furnished for about 370 repositories in France, as well as for ones in Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

As much of the data contained on these cards was omitted from the annotated maps, the Archives thought it necessary to supplement this indirect and unofficial channel to the War Department with more direct ones. In consequence the data on the cards was re-typed on full-sized sheets that were reproduced by hectographing, assembled, and stapled by country and made available for direct distribution to interested government

agencies and officials. The first such document, "List of Archival Repositories in Italy," was so successful that a second run was necessary to answer the request of the Military Government Division of the Provost Marshal General's Office for its distribution to officers being trained for civil affairs. In the next eighteen months similar information was prepared for the ACLS Committee and also independently issued for twenty-one additional countries in a total of nine lists, one of which was issued by the War Department.

In all, these lists provided data on some 1,700 archival repositories, minor ones and offices maintaining only current administrative records being omitted. In the Theaters these lists were used to some extent as reference tools by intelligence units, but their main use was by the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers for the purpose of identifying and checking on the fate of archival buildings and their contents. They were also drawn upon in the preparation of other lists of officially protected monuments and cultural institutions, which, published with appropriate orders and directives, became part of the governing body of regulations under which troops operated.

Such lists were much appreciated for their convenient form and arrangement and for their exact information. They were also helpful in making evident the nature and magnitude of the problem of archives, which was more thoroughly understood in the later phases of the campaign in Italy and Germany, as will be indicated in the sections on these areas dealing with the activities of the Monuments officers.

This and other similar activities formed the informational part of the program of the

National Archives. In this there was close cooperation between the Commission and the Archives in the exchange of information, and while the association was entirely unofficial, and was based primarily on the needs and activities of the operational organizations abroad which combined archival operations with the arts and monuments program, it proved to be a satisfactory arrangement.

Mr. Buck and his associate, Mr. Oliver W. Holmes, took an active interest in the proper organization of archives in enemy and other occupied territory and were primarily responsible for establishing plans and personnel for the effective preservation of much of this irreplaceable documentary material. In order to implement an effective field program for the care of archives, they wanted to have more trained archivists among the subcommissions in the Mediterranean and European Theaters of Operations and although they formulated several good programs and made recommendations of several qualified persons, it was only during the last phase, during the control period in Germany, that an even partially adequate group was assembled. There were several reasons for this failure; one was the very limited number of specialist officers allocated to the MFA&A Section in the Table of Organization, and the fact that professional art historians, historians, architects, archaeologists, and museum personnel were first in the field as the subcommissions were being staffed. Another reason, most strongly felt in the European Theater, was the difficulty of coordination in the planning period so that by the time operations had begun in 1944, it was impossible to secure the release of trained men recommended for proposed assignments as Archives officers. Usually the men recom-

mended were already in positions of some importance and it was very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the release of men then connected with the operating forces.

Despite this failure of coordination, archives were not too seriously neglected. By the summer of 1944, there were two British archivists in Italy and in September an American was added. In addition all Monuments officers were highly trained professional specialists with a general, if not a particularized, knowledge of the value of records, and they gave their attention to the problems of archives.

In addition, British and American specialists made trips of inspection in Italy and in northern Europe, where they gave the benefit of their knowledge to the personnel already organized to deal with records. Mr. Shipman, in a two-month tour of the Mediterranean Theater during the spring of 1944, and Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, Secretary of the British Public Records Office, worked out with Advance Intelligence officers procedures for better control of the handling and exploitation of records needed for intelligence purposes. They also arranged with Civil Affairs officials for the application of the same principles of protection for the records when they came into the custody of the military government.

In September, Mr. Shipman made another trip, this time to the European Theater, where, at SHAEF, he worked on directives, reviewing and commenting on them, endeavoring to reconcile the divergencies in the viewpoints of the British and Americans. Although, in part for the reasons given before, the assignment of archivists to Armies was not very successful during the operating

phase, in March 1945, Mr. Sargent B. Child was approved as Archives Adviser to the United States Group, Control Council for Germany. He was aware that the problem of administration of captured German records would soon reach formidable proportions, and started, in April, to build a new organization. Several Collecting Centers were established in the American Zone of Occupation, one at Frankfort, another near Kassel (Ministerial Collecting Center), with over 2,000 tons of records in this repository, a third at Oberammergau, for all southern Bavaria and for German materials that were removed to Austria, and others at Bamberg and Landshut. These were in addition to eight so-called Documents Centers, later consolidated into two, at Heidelberg and Freising, established by G-2 for records thought to have intelligence value and containing records mostly of an industrial, economic, political or party, and scientific character. Five well-trained civilian archivists are handling the assignment, which is a very large-scale one that will probably not be completed for several years.

In the Philippines, Maj. Arthur E. Kimberly arrived in June 1945, where he made a comprehensive survey of the condition of the archives and advised as to further action. The National Archives is now working on a major program of archival rehabilitation and reconstruction with the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State.

The field work in archives will continue into the future both in Europe and in the Far East. The following quotation from a paper by Mr. Oliver W. Holmes, read at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Indianapolis on November 6, 1945, indicates the current attitude of the National

Archives with respect to a part of its wartime activities:

The National Archives looks back upon its record with mingled feelings of both success and failure. It kept ahead of developments generally so far as furnishing information when needed. Its promotional work has had definite results of beneficial character both in Washington and in the theaters of operations. There is no question but that we should have been in touch earlier with Intelligence and Civil Affairs authorities in the War Department, working out with them plans and procedures for the handling of records that could have been integrated with their general planning and training of Intelligence and Civil Affairs officers . . .

## B. COMMISSION FILES

The files of the Commission contain material drawn from varied sources, ranging from official American and Allied government reports to propaganda pamphlets and leaflets prepared by the enemy, from rumors of damage to artistic monuments or the forced sale of works of art and from extracts of the monitored broadcasts by the Federal Communications Commission to interrogations of prisoners of war who were connected with the looting of private collections in France and Italy, such as interrogations of Field Marshal Hermann Goering and his agents.

The Commission began to assemble parts of this material in September 1943, when the Allied Military Government (AMG) reports began to arrive, transmitted by the War Department, from the specialist officers accompanying the invasion of Sicily in July. These were received from that date, following the course of activity in the Mediterranean Theater of Operations. The files, with their detailed monthly and special reports of the manifold duties and activities of the

Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee, and their inclosures of local newspaper and periodical clippings, guide-books prepared for the use and instruction of Allied troops, and handbooks of exhibitions of works of art arranged by members of this specialist officers group, are very full and are unique in this country. The character of the campaign in Italy was so different from that in other areas that only there was it possible to make a complete official survey of the extent of damage and loss suffered; this will always insure the importance of these reports as historical documents of primary value. Later, as the European Theater of Operations unfolded from June 6, 1944, similar reports came in of activities in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, and Norway.

In addition to these reports considerable amounts of material of a documentary and intelligence nature came to the Commission from agencies and commissions of the Allied governments, transmitted directly from them, or through its representatives in London, or through our embassies and legations. These have a place in the Commission's files, as do Censorship Intercepts and the Foreign Funds Control Reports dealing with the transfer of works of art the ownership of which may be doubtful. In the last case the Commission acted as a technical adviser to the appropriate department or agency which was trying to uncover property controlled by enemy governments or agents, and so freeze these potential assets.

In March 1945, the files of the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies in New York were transferred to the Commission. These consisted primarily of reports

of damage and loss, and of records of sales of works of art assembled largely from a nine-month examination of foreign newspapers, periodicals, and books in the Interdepartmental file at the Library of Congress and from microfilm of like material obtained from the Alien Property Custodian on deposit at the Library. Use was also made of American newspaper clippings and of the daily report of the foreign radio broadcasts monitored by the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service of the Federal Communications Commission. Because of the generally tendentious, and often unreliable character of the information available there, the addition of new material to these files was stopped after the capitulation of Germany and Japan; the official nature of the AMG reports and the information received from American and Allied agencies was sufficient to guarantee the accuracy of all subsequent data. These files had more than an interim value, however, for the system of analysis and filing adopted for them was later used for a large part of the AMG reports.

In this system items containing cogent information were either copied in toto or an extract of all essential data was made with a heading referring to the principal person or place mentioned in the item. These extracts were typed on 4- by 6-inch cards and were filed alphabetically by country and city, or by the names of persons, with key numbers and letters to subdivide categories of subjects, and with accession numbers for separate items filed under a single locality or personal name. Cross-entry cards were made for subordinate or subsidiary references within a single major entry, which also contained the specific reference to the source of information.

This scheme, which proved to be satisfactorily simple and flexible, was adopted for use in the analysis of the AMG reports between March and June 1945. One change was made, however, as the reports were generally cast in a prescribed form, which was to have duplicates made of all the most important data on 35-millimeter microfilm negatives which were then enlarged photographically to a width of 6 inches. In all, over 2,400 pages were so processed from the first 139 reports received by the Commission. When the individual entries were clipped apart and pasted on 4- by 6-inch cards, with the type additions referring to the source of information, and the necessary cross-entry cards were made, the file finally contained about 25,000 cards.

An addition to the ACLS system of analysis was the use of varicolored visible tabs for several subject headings at that time of particular interest to several agencies; viz., for reference to libraries and archives, loot, and repositories.

The Analytical File of the AMG reports covering the first 139 reports is supplemented by a simple card index of all the reports. This also consists of 4- by 6-inch cards listing the Branch or Division of the MFA&A Subcommittee that prepared the report, and, through report No. 139, a summary tabulation of its contents. For all later reports this index is more detailed, giving the names of all places and of the principal persons discussed.

This system of analysis of the unorganized and unindexed primary source material should make it possible for the essential information in the reports relating to the damage done to artistic and historic monuments

and the displacement and recovery of movable works of art to be available with ease and accuracy, at the same time that it will insure the minimum of handling of the original documents, many of which are of a rather fragile nature.

In addition to the above files, the ACLS Photo Archive Project, described in Part III, A 1, page 36, is available at the National Archives Building in Washington as a pictorial supplement to the catalogued factual material.

#### A NOTE ON THE FINAL MEETING OF THE COMMISSION

THE final meeting of the Commission was held on June 20, 1946, in the Morris Building in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The activities of the Commission were brought to a close by providing for the continuation of its work by the offices for Germany-Austria and for Japan-Korea of the Occupied Areas Division (ADO) of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) of the same Department. By this means the interest of a permanent agency of the American Government was assured and the receipt and preservation of further reports from the European and Asiatic Theaters was guaranteed. The close working relationship that had existed between the Commission and the Office made the continuation logical and effective.

The records and files of the Commission were transferred to the custody of The National Archives at Washington. Those files dealing with the fate of cultural monuments, objects and records will be available there for study by qualified persons. The special files relating to the continuation of the Commission's activities have been loaned to the OIC where they will be retained as needed until such time as all the problems relating to the functions of the Commission and to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program of the War Department have been terminated. Ultimately the integral records of the Commission and of the Photo Archive of the ACLS Committee will be housed together in The National Archives. All official information about artistic and historic monuments and cultural objects and records, and about the contents and use of the files and of the photographic archives will be available through the OIC.

The Commission went on record at its final meeting with respect to the use of cultural objects as reparations material. A resolution was passed that: "The American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas recommends that cultural objects belonging to any country or individual should not be considered or involved in reparations settlements growing out of World War II."

This resolution was transmitted to the Secretary of State as the official statement of the Commission concerning this matter.

## PART IV

### Field Operations of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Officers

#### A. MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS (MTO)

##### 1. INITIAL PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

THE protection of cultural treasures by the Allied armies had its first beginning in the private initiative of Maj. (later Lt. Col.) J. B. Ward Perkins (Br), who was attached to the British Eighth Army in Tripolitania. He had been disturbed by the fact that with the British occupation, the Italian administration for the protection of the important Roman remains in this area fell to pieces and that British troops often treated the ruins with considerable disregard, driving their tanks into them to have their pictures taken. With the support of a fellow archaeologist, Brigadier Wheeler, he was appointed to the staff of the British Chief Civil Affairs Officer for Tripolitania, Brigadier Lush, and succeeded in getting the Italian custodians of the historic monuments, most of whom had remained at their posts, recognized and paid, and the monuments themselves put off limits to troops.

When the invasion of North Africa was projected, a plan for civil affairs was drawn up but was never put into operation because the French administration was recognized and left in control of civil affairs. During the invasion there was some repetition of disregard for ruins, and the French authorities of

the Service des Monuments Historiques in Morocco and Algeria approached General Eisenhower, who instructed his Provost Marshal General to have notices printed and posted on all historic and artistic monuments and to take measures to protect them from harm at the hands of the Allied forces. In consequence, only slight harm was suffered by the Roman ruins in North Africa during the course of the Allied occupation.

These civil affairs plans were used as the basis for drafting plans for Sicily, although the original ones did not provide for any protection of cultural treasures there. However, it was at this time that the American Council of Learned Societies Committee and the American Defense—Harvard Group's Subcommittee were drawing up lists of important monuments in various countries, and preparing annotated maps of cities and regions important for their historic and artistic buildings. At this time also the American Commission was being formed, and this interest and work in the United States resulted in the introduction into the civil affairs plans of an Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments at the headquarters of Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMGOT). This Adviser was Capt. (later Lt. Col.) Mason Hammond (US), who reported for duty on June 7, 1943, at the holding center for AMGOT, then situated at Chrea and later transferred to Tizi Ouzou (North Africa).

Here about 200 officers, British and American, were collected for the original staff of AMGOT for Sicily, and the short time of waiting for the invasion was spent with lectures, study and the drafting by a special planning staff of a civil affairs handbook, including a brief section on the protection of historic monuments prepared by the Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments.

During the summer the first photostatic copies of the ACLS Committee's maps and lists of monuments arrived at Tizi Ouzou, unfortunately too late to be of immediate use for Sicily; later the maps for central and northern Italy were received in time for use in planning those phases of the campaign. The lists of the Harvard Group were provided to officers selected for civil affairs training at Charlottesville, Va. Here Maj. Theodore Sizer (US), who was one of the first of such officers selected, assisted Professor Paul Sachs in advising the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department on personnel, recommending the procurement of many of the officers who later made the Monuments operations so successful.

With the surrender of Italy and the armistice on September 8, 1943, the Civil Affairs operations changed, with the Fifteenth Army Group under Allied Force Headquarters in charge of the zone of operations, with the British Eighth and the American Fifth Armies under it, and the Allied Control Commission (called, after the fall of Rome, the Allied Commission) under AFHQ in charge of the zone of communications, divided into different Regions. Civil Affairs officers were attached to Armies, Army Group, Region, and (Control) Commission Headquarters, but the great difficulty was the absence of

direct communication between the Commission and the Regions under it with the staffs of the Armies. By the winter this problem was resolved by breaking up the Civil Affairs staff of Army Group and absorbing it into the Commission, at which time the office of Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments was dissolved and the duties were taken over by what was for the remainder of the campaign to remain the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee of the Civil Affairs Division of the Allied Commission. Then, in addition to the officers at its headquarters, there were ones attached to Armies during operations, and ones for Regions who took over when the operational phase was terminated.

On December 29, 1943, General Eisenhower issued the following letter concerning the preservation of historic monuments, which clarified and gave the highest official sanction to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives policy:

Today we are fighting in a country which has contributed a great deal to our cultural inheritance, a country rich in monuments which by their creation helped and now in their old age illustrate the growth of the civilization which is ours. We are bound to respect those monuments so far as war allows.

If we have to choose between destroying a famous building and sacrificing our own men, then our men's lives count infinitely more and the buildings must go. But the choice is not always so clear-cut as that. In many cases the monuments can be spared without any detriment to operational needs. Nothing can stand against the argument of military necessity. That is an accepted principle. But the phrase "military necessity" is sometimes used where it would be more truthful to speak of military convenience or even of personal convenience. I do not want it to cloak slackness or indifference.

It is a responsibility of higher commanders to determine through AMG Officers the locations of historical monuments whether they be immediately ahead of our front lines or in areas occupied by us. This information passed to lower echelons through normal channels places the responsibility on all Commanders of complying with the spirit of this letter.

This statement was made public by President Roosevelt at a White House Press Conference on February 15, 1944.

## 2. SICILY.

The amphibious assault on the island of Sicily was launched by the United States Seventh Army and the British Eighth Army on July 10, 1943, along approximately 100 miles of the coast between Syracuse and Licata. For weeks previously, airfields, rail lines, and enemy fortifications had been reduced by aerial bombardment. By July 16, almost one quarter of the island had been taken. On July 22, Palermo fell to American forces after their rapid thrust across the western end of the island. By late July, only the northeastern corner of the island remained to the enemy. Catania was occupied by the British early in August, and on the 16th, combined forces entered Messina. The next day organized resistance ceased; in 39 days the Sicilian campaign had ended.

The pattern of war damage to the monuments of Sicily clearly reflected the course of the island's rapid conquest. The preliminary air bombardments wrought havoc on the centers of the larger cities, particularly Palermo, where more than 60 churches were damaged or destroyed (Fig. 7). Fortunately, of the great Siculo-Norman monuments, only the Magione was injured; the others—the Cappella Palatina, the Martorana, S. Giovanni

degli Eremiti, S. Cataldo, the Cathedrals of Monreale and of Palermo—were unharmed. Of the Gothic churches, S. Maria della Catena and S. Francesco d'Assisi were damaged, but not beyond repair. Most of the casualties included the Baroque churches, although here too an extensive repair program was quickly inaugurated.

In Trapani, the bombing damaged the Museo Pepoli and many churches; in Marsala, bomb damage was heavy, but the loss in individual monuments was not of high significance aside from the destruction of two Serpotta sculptures in S. Gerolamo.

Although the port of Syracuse took considerable bombing, the Greek and Roman antiquities on the hills above the town were unharmed except for the Ginnasio Romano, and even the Temple of Apollo, in the town, was unscathed. Damage to the Cathedral was light; S. Maria dei Miracoli was largely destroyed. Although the Museo Archeologico was badly smashed, the most important material had been evacuated to safety in the distant Castello Eurialo.

After the bombing came the momentous invasion landings, so swiftly executed that virtually no harm was done even in the few places, like Gela and Noto, where there are noteworthy monuments. In the western provinces, where progress was astonishingly rapid, almost no damage occurred except at a few points of enemy resistance, of which Agrigento was unfortunately one. Even here, although the town was hard hit, the renowned Greek temples were virtually unharmed and the collections of the Museo Archeologico, itself damaged, had been removed to safety. Only trifling injury beyond that already caused by bombing touched such

notable western sites as Selinunte, Segesta, Erice, Solunto, and Imera.

In the east, progress was likewise fast through the Province of Ragusa, where the only monument requiring subsequent repair was S. Bartolommeo at Scicli, and through the Province of Syracuse, where the ancient site of Palazzolo Acreide and the monuments of Lentini were undisturbed.

Before Catania, however, and on the western approaches to Mount Etna, the enemy dug in and sharpened his defenses to ferocious intensity. Caltanissetta, Caltagirone, and then the towns of the Province of Enna—Assoro, Enna, Leonforte, Nicosia—were badly battered, and those around Etna itself became scenes of bitter fighting and destruction. In Adrano, eight churches were seriously hit, and the little mediaeval town of Randazzo, an enemy strongpoint on the northern route around Etna, was all but destroyed.

When Catania fell early in August, the shelling had added its devastation to what remained of this eighteenth-century city after its pre-invasion bombing. Outstanding losses were few, however, since the city contained only two important structures antedating the earthquake of 1693: part of the Cathedral and Frederick II's Castello Ursino. Both of these were hit, but not seriously. The collections of the Museo Civico, housed in the Castello, were found safely stored in subterranean vaults.

The churches of Acireale, to the north, next received their share of damage, and at Taormina the bombing of the main German headquarters brought ruin to the southwest corner of the town, but the Graeco-Roman theater in the eastern end remained intact.

Along the northern coast of the island the approach to Messina was somewhat easier and consequently less disastrous to monuments. The Cathedral of Cefalù was untouched. Churches were hit at Patti and especially at Milazzo, but the Greek remains at Tindari were unharmed.

Our patrols entered Messina on August 16 from both north and south, and the next day all resistance ceased. The town, almost entirely leveled by the earthquake of 1908, had undergone even worse destruction in 1943. It was not rich in monuments; only the Cathedral and the Museo Nazionale could be classed as first-rank casualties. That they were only damaged instead of being utterly destroyed, is little short of miraculous, for Messina bore the full brunt of the finale of Sicilian destruction, first from heavy air bombardment, then from naval shelling, then from the Allies in taking it, and lastly from the infuriated Germans across the Straits after they had lost the town—and Sicily.

As Sicily was in many ways a proving ground for the tactics of amphibious warfare, so it was the testing place for the first Allied Military Government. As one facet of that over-all function, the section of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives received here its initial try-out and its first experience. The Office of Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments to the Chief Civil Affairs Officer of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory (AMGOT) was approved in May 1943. On October 25, 1943, AMGOT became Region I of the AMG under the Allied Control Commission (ACC), with a Subcommittee on Fine Arts and Monuments (soon changed to Monuments, Fine Arts, and

Archives). On February 11, 1944, military government ceased in Sicily, and Region I of AMG became Region I of the Allied Control Commission with responsibility in the hands of the Italian Government, under advisory surveillance of the ACC.

Capt. (later Lt. Col.) Mason Hammond (US), the first Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments, arrived in Syracuse on July 29, 1943, and on August 4, established his headquarters at Palermo. Since no Adviser on Education was at first assigned to AMGOT, he combined this function with his regular duties until he was relieved of this responsibility by the arrival of an Educational Adviser in early September. With the administrative change in October, Captain Hammond became Acting Deputy Director of the Subcommittee on MFA&A. The Director, Maj. P. K. Baillie-Reynolds (Br) reported in November. Capt. F. H. J. Maxse (Br) was assigned in September as Assistant Adviser in AMGOT, and later, MFA&A Adviser to the Regional Commission, with the specific duty of handling eastern Sicily, and with offices in Catania and Syracuse. Lt. Perry B. Cott, USNR, was assigned in October as MFA&A Adviser specifically for western Sicily, with offices in Palermo. On briefer assignment to MFA&A in Sicily were Maj. Theodore Sizer (US), Capt. (later Maj.) Bancel LaFarge (US), Capt. (later Maj.) Norman T. Newton (US), Lt. Glanville Downey (US), and Capt. E. Croft-Murray (Br). The MFA&A officers were aided by Pfc. (later Cpl.) Nick Defino and Staff Sgt. Bernard Peebles (both US). On March 24, 1944, the MFA&A office of Region I ACC was closed, and full responsibility was handed over to the Italian Fine Arts Superintendents. The last Advisers left Sicily

in March, although Captain Maxse returned to make tours of inspection during April and May.

The first tasks of the Advisers consisted in the collection of reports of damage done by aircraft before the complete occupation, the inspection of all monuments of cultural and historic importance, collections, libraries, archives, etc., and a survey of the immediate first aid and repairs necessary either to protect buildings and their contents from further damage and deterioration, or to facilitate the reopening of cultural institutions.

Closely allied to these urgent and concrete matters was the task of revivifying the Italian administrative machinery charged with the responsibility for monuments and works of art. Fortunately most of the personnel had remained at their posts. It was, however, a slow process to secure payments of salaries often due for several months back, and to insure maintenance expenses, since all financial arrangements had to be approved by the Chief Finance Officer. The process of actually getting the money to the employees was complicated also partly because of the lack of means of forwarding funds, and partly because payments formerly made directly from Rome or through the Superintendencies, were, under AMGOT, paid through the Provincial Treasuries which were not used to making these payments and were consequently slow in getting them out. In the end, no institution or employee was refused continuance under AMGOT, and a gradually broader series of rulings permitted the payment of salaries and extra expenses not only for the occupation period but for previous times. These final arrangements entailed endless negotiations with the Financial Offices and detailed stud-

ies of the Italian administration for Fine Arts, in itself a complex organization.

In Palermo, from the beginning, a committee was formed of the Superintendent of Galleries for all Sicily, Professor Di Pietro, the Superintendent of Monuments for Western Sicily, Architect Dr. Guiotto, the Superintendent of Monuments for Palermo and Trapani, Signora Dr. Bovio Marconi, the Acting Director of the National Library, first Signorina Tamajo and later Signora Daneu, and the Director of the State Archives, Dr. Gentile. This committee, meeting weekly with the Advisers on Fine Arts, discussed various common problems, and submitted proposals for payment of personnel. All these officials, as well as those in other parts of Sicily, were invited to study and present a program of the urgent works necessary to prevent further damage to the monuments and institutions under their care. The Advisers found them from the beginning willing and eager to cooperate in every possible way.

Another major task of the Advisers was the provision for the conservation of monuments and works of art themselves. Here the strict rule was that only the measures most urgently needed to conserve them from further deterioration would be undertaken, and that no restoration beyond this would be approved. In order to initiate conservation measures, estimates had to be secured and then approved by headquarters, as required by the Chief Civil Affairs Officer, which often meant long delays. The work was also made difficult by the lack of transport to allow the Advisers and Superintendents to ascertain damage on the spot, by the impossibility of getting an over-all picture and the consequent

necessity of dealing with the problem piecemeal, and by the lack of materials for repairs. By November, however, the Advisers had submitted to the Chief Civil Affairs Officer a fairly complete list of the damaged churches in Palermo, with estimates of repairs by the Genio Civile and the Superintendent of Monuments, as well as reports of damage and estimates for repairs for many other towns, notably Catania, Agrigento, and Trapani. Some 20½ million lire had been estimated for repairs, and some 7½ million actually appropriated, with considerable additional sums tentatively approved. The actual work of conservation was well under way in Palermo and had begun in other places. Certain minor repairs had been recommended to be done locally at municipal or provincial expense. The Advisers were greatly aided in this work by an Italian civil engineer, Ingegner Perricone, who was attached to the staff of the Division of Public Utilities with the understanding that he be available for consultation by the Advisers. He had had wide experience in construction and was Assistant in Engineering at the University of Palermo, so that his advice on estimates, his examination of works in process, and his check of bills submitted for approval proved extremely helpful.

The inspection of monuments entailed traveling by the Advisers over the entire island, to every place where monuments of cultural significance existed, and contacting local officials in each place to aid in protection and in the assessment of damage and necessary repairs. During his first days in Sicily, Captain Hammond had met the Superintendent of Antiquities for Eastern Sicily, Dr. Bernabò-Brea, with whom he surveyed the

most damaged monuments in Syracuse and in Ragusa and Lentini, and had made a preliminary survey of damage in Palermo. By early October he had toured eastern Sicily, examining monuments in such important centers as Cefalù, Messina, Taormina, Bronte, Catania, Syracuse, Caltagirone, Caltanissetta, Enna, and intervening points. He had established contact with local AMGOT headquarters and with Italian officials concerned with fine arts and monuments, including Dr. Dillon, Superintendent of Monuments for Eastern Sicily, and with local custodians. He had also covered much of western Sicily, including Segesta, Erice, Trapani, Marsala, Selinunte, Castelvetro, and smaller places, in company with Architect Dr. Guiotto and Signora Dr. Bovio Marconi. Inspection was made of the condition of and damage to monuments, and arrangements made for the renewal of contracts with custodians. Captain Maxse had, with the Superintendent of Galleries and Works of Art for Sicily, Professor Di Pietro, examined the Museo Pepoli and art objects at Trapani, and, with Architect Dr. Guiotto as well, had surveyed the condition of and damage to buildings in Agrigento, where arrangements were made for the financing of institutions.

The field trips of the Advisers, though curtailed by pressure or organizational work in Palermo, did not stop after the first surveys had been made. In November, Captain LaFarge toured eastern Sicily and reported to the Advisers on damage to monuments in several small places, progress in repairs, and the condition and storage of the church treasuries of Patti, Messina, Catania, Syracuse, Randazzo, Caltagirone, and Enna. At Catania he joined Captain Maxse, who was also tour-

ing the eastern provinces with particular attention to monuments in Messina and Taormina. Lieutenant Cott made a trip to Agrigento in November, inspecting en route the work on the Cathedral at Enna and the church at Assoro. At Agrigento he inspected all the chief monuments and consulted with the Honorary Inspector of Monuments, Professor Zirota, and with the Superintendent of Antiquities, Dr. Griffo. The chief object of his visit was to determine what steps should be taken to conserve frescoes in the churches of S. Maria dei Greci and S. Nicola. Major Sizer, Major Newton, and Captain LaFarge also made a series of inspections of monuments in Palermo under the guidance of Engineer Sannasardo of the Superintendency of Monuments.

In February, Captain Maxse and Major Baillie-Reynolds, with Dr. Dillon, Superintendent of Monuments for Eastern Sicily, inspected progress in Catania, and with Dr. Bernabò-Brea, Superintendent of Antiquities for Eastern Sicily, monuments in Syracuse. Meanwhile, the Italian officials continued to send in reports on progress in repairs and the condition of monuments in their respective regions.

A few specific examples will serve to illustrate more clearly the work of the MFA&A officers in Sicily. The most important movable works of art had been taken by the Italian Government from the exposed museums, churches, and other public buildings, and stored in various places of safety, sometimes in air raid shelters in the museums themselves, and sometimes in isolated places in the country. For example, most of the treasures in Palermo were stored in the Convent of San Martino delle Scale. The Advisers inspected

as many of these repositories as possible and found that the objects were, on the whole, well packed and adequately protected. These objects were under the care of the Superintendent for Galleries and Works of Art, who received grants with the aid of the Advisers to examine the stored works for possible deterioration due to shipping, crating, etc., and necessary restoration. The most important works of art from the damaged Palazzo Reale were transported to the convent in a truck provided by AMGOT headquarters. The Advisers procured cement through AMGOT Civil Supply to make rooms in the convent fit for the storage of these works. Certain pictures, notably those recovered from the ruined Church of the Soledad, were restored by an able Italian restorer, Professor Violante, who also later was enabled to travel about Sicily to restore paintings in the provinces.

Work was begun in September on the Museo Nazionale at Palermo, to repair the buildings and remove rubble. Books from the library, and pictures which had been stored in damp places were transferred to dry rooms, and the debris which had fallen in the cloister was sifted so as to recover architectural pieces and important artistic fragments.

In the case of libraries, the loss of books was not great, but both the National Library at Palermo and the University Library at Messina suffered heavily in their buildings, and other libraries to a lesser degree. At Palermo, the main floor of the Palazzo Mazzarini was requisitioned as a temporary home for the most-used part of the library, and funds were provided to allow for the installation of equipment, transfer of books, etc., and for the protection of books that remained in the damaged building. Fortunately most of the books

had been stored in cellars and were safe, but some needed immediate rescue from rubble; openings left by the bombings, through which thieves were entering, were closed. The Advisers were, after some delay, able to go to Taormina and bring back the Vice-Director of the library, Signora Daneu, whose services were urgently needed in Palermo.

Both buildings of the State Archives at Palermo, which are near the harbor, were hit heavily and loss of documents was considerable. Many were exposed to the elements in and under piles of rubble. Funds were granted and work was begun in August with 35 workmen clearing away the rubble and recovering documents in the badly damaged Gancia Convent. Many documents had to be spread out to be dried, and the labor of sorting and regrouping scattered leaves and determining the losses was immense; in actual preservation, at least two-thirds of the work had been accomplished by October. The Genio Civile initiated work to repair the roofs of both the Gancia and the Catena Convents, used by the State Archives. One interesting incident was the discovery by Staff Sergeant Peebles of certain documents, among them one of Philip V dated 1713, which were being used as wrapping paper in a certain shop. He offered to buy them but the proprietor instead gave them to him. Subsequently the documents were identified as belonging to the State Archives, and the case was investigated.

Other major losses in archives were the destruction of the Archives of the Sezione Notarile at Messina, and part of the State Archives at Syracuse. The latter had been sent to the Municipio at Palazzolo Acreide for protection, and were buried under rubble when the building was destroyed. These were

salvaged as far as possible and sent back to Syracuse. The Advisers were greatly aided in their work on archives by the visit to Sicily of Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, Secretary of the Public Record Office in London.

The general situation in regard to monuments has been reviewed above. The type of repairs and general work carried out on the recommendation of the Advisers are typified by the following examples. In Palermo alone, more than 40 churches were repaired by AMG. The Gothic Chiesa della Magione was badly damaged by bombs, the apse and transept being shattered and the roof of the nave left leaning. Here a project was recommended for the consolidation of the central arch and the east wall to save as much of the structure as possible from further deterioration and for future reconstruction. Of the many Baroque churches, the Olivella and the Gesù (Casa Professa) were the most injured. The Olivella lost its dome and most of its transepts; a new wall was constructed here, separating the ruined choir from the nave. The transepts and nave of the Gesù were completely ruined; all rubble was cleared away and the fragments collected; the roof over the west end of the nave was repaired. By the end of September work had begun on the Oratories of S. Zita, where the roof and windows were repaired, and S. Lorenzo, where the roof was restored and some badly executed preliminary repairs to the west wall done over again (in May 1944). These two oratories contain the finest stuccoes of Serpotta; damaged pieces of the stuccoes were taken to the Palazzo Reale for protection when they could not be properly sheltered in situ. In the church of S. Giuseppe dei Teatini the roof was completely repaired, doors restored, the side cupolas, which threat-

ened to fall into the nave, strengthened and restored, and a large hole in the floor filled up. The badly damaged Renaissance church of S. Maria della Catena required extensive repairs to the vaults and roofs of the nave and north transept; the north aisle was completely restored with the old stonework; the dividing wall between the second and third chapels of the north aisle, and the chapel arcades, were rebuilt; doors were replaced and rubble cleared away. The Palazzo Sclafani, which lost one side of its cortile and was otherwise badly damaged, is being repaired. From the completely destroyed church of SS. Annunziata capitals and significant architectural fragments were recovered from the rubble. A protective wall was built before the ruined façade and nave of S. Chiara, and an Allied contribution of 85,000 lire made toward the postwar reconstruction of the church. In S. Francesco d'Assisi, interesting discoveries of two Roman sarcophagi, and the bases and column of an earlier Gothic church were made in the damaged parts; fortunately the Gothic façade and fine Renaissance chapels are intact.

An important project in Syracuse was the removal with great care of the damaged walls of the Chiesa dei Miracoli so that they might eventually be reconstructed. The Archaeological Museum was repaired; and with a grant of additional lire through AMG for maintenance expenses, the restoration of valuable archaeological specimens, rearrangement of the library, revision of the catalogue, and reclassification of the photographic archives were made possible. A barbed wire fence was erected to prevent free entry of the public into the undamaged Temple of Apollo.

By February a custodian for the damaged monuments at Randazzo had been appointed to supervise the repairs. At the church of S. Maria, a new roof was laid, and the portico containing important architectural pieces wired up and closed. At S. Martino, the Gagini statue of the Madonna and Child was found and protected, and a fifteenth-century Pietà and Gothic altar recovered from the rubble; the campanile and west façade were saved. S. Nicolò was severely damaged, but its architectural stonework, portico, and columns were collected inside, the Gothic font repaired, the organ-panels stored in the Sacristy, and the baldocchino and the famous Gagini statue of S. Nicolò covered; marble panels of the Gagini altar were collected; ceiling cracks and the west door were repaired; the south wall was rebuilt, and the windows blocked. At Taormina, the badly shaken Palazzo del Duca di San Stefano was buttressed and partially rebuilt, and the architectural stonework fragments were sifted from the rubble and collected. At Catania, the valuable choir stalls of S. Nicolò were restored, and four windows on the north aisle blocked to prevent soot from the military kitchen in the courtyard outside from penetrating into the church. At Agrigento, the temples were not damaged, but they were protected by AMG.

These few examples are typical of the type of repairs, large and small, initiated throughout Sicily for all damaged monuments.

The very effective cooperation of the Advisers with the Italian officials is shown by the following typical incidents, extracted from the report for the month of October 1943. Captain Hammond flew to Catania, where he picked up a rather decrepit truck in which he

went to Taormina in order to take Signora Daneu, Assistant Director of the National Library, back to Palermo to assume charge of the library. At this same time, Captain Maxse took to Imera Signora Marconi, Superintendent of Antiquities for the Provinces of Palermo and Trapani, and an assistant, with eight rolls of barbed wire secured from AMGOT. The assistant was left at Imera to arrange for the erection of a fence to protect the foundations of the Greek temple, whose original fence had been removed during the occupation confusion. Captain Maxse and Signora Marconi left to inspect the Cathedral of Cefalù and the monuments of Termini Imerese, returning later to Imera to check on the newly erected fence. Arrangements were made to pay for the work and also to pay the salaries of custodians at Campofelice and Baghera. Later, Captain Maxse visited Trapani with Professor Di Pietro, Superintendent of Galleries for all Sicily, and Signora Spadafora, Acting Director of the Museo Pepoli, in order to transfer this Museum from the latter's care to that of another official. The reason for this transfer was that Signora Spadafora's services were urgently needed at Palermo, and all arrangements were made by the Advisers to enable her to go there.

Even after the last Adviser had left Sicily, tours of inspection were taken by Captain Maxse in April and May of 1944, to see how the administrative and financial machinery under the new Italian Government was functioning and to endeavor to smooth over any difficulties which the Superintendents might be experiencing with their new supervisors after the withdrawal of the Advisers on MFA&A in Sicily. He also reported on progress of repairs and examined new work. Cap-

tain Maxse brought together in Sicily the Head of the Exchequer for Sicily, the Chief Engineer, who must approve all new projects for repair or reconstruction of damaged buildings, and all the Superintendents for Fine Arts, to discuss problems and set up a procedure for the financing of repairs to monuments. By May, nearly all the work authorized on the most important monuments and those most urgently in need of repair had been completed, apart from Palermo where there was still much to be done. These repairs had been accelerated by the approval at the end of December of relatively large sums for the Superintendent of Monuments and the Genio Civile. The lack of essential materials such as cement, wood, roofing paper, nails, and window glass, was, however, a serious handicap. Work in the provinces was proceeding according to plan. Authorization had been given to allow the transfer of the famous fifteenth-century fresco, The Triumph of Death, from the wall of the seriously damaged Palazzo Scafani to a large room in the Palazzo Comunale, where also were exhibited the works of art which the Allied Government had allowed to be restored. Libraries were again functioning in Palermo and Catania. In the final report on Sicily of November 1945, nearly 200 different repair projects on all damaged monuments throughout Sicily were detailed as completed or in progress.

This report has dealt mainly with the primary tasks of the Advisers. Their work was not, however, limited to these. They prepared a Memorandum in English and Italian addressed to Superintendents and other officials concerned with monuments, which explained the relation between them and AMGOT and details of financial procedure. They submitted

to the Civil Affairs Division a detailed study of the Italian administrative set-up for monuments and fine arts. "Notes on the Functions of an Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments in the Headquarters of a Military Government" were prepared for the Schools of Military Government at Tizi Ouzou (North Africa), Charlottesville (USA), and Wimbledon (England). A report on damage to monuments in Sicily and a preliminary list of outstanding monuments of cultural significance in Italy were prepared for the RAF Special Air Mission, for use in planning operations, at the request of the Mission. They prepared press releases, and aided Italian personnel in the preparation of radio broadcasts requested by the Psychological Warfare Branch for Radio Palermo, on the care of monuments and works of art under AMGOT auspices, which served as counterpropaganda to Axis reports. Suggestions for future operations of MFA&A, based on the experiences of the Advisers in Sicily, were submitted to the Civil Affairs Division. One thousand copies of "Notes on the History, Art, and Monuments of Sicily" were prepared, printed and widely distributed through AMG.

The accomplishment of this record is a personal tribute to the men who made it possible, when one realizes the problems which this small and somewhat fluctuating complement of officers had to face.

Though the original planning instructions for the Sicilian operations contained a statement on the protection of monuments and works of art and on looting or export of works of art, the first orders on the subject were not issued until December. The result of this delay was that, at least in the beginning, most of the British and American off-

cers and troops had never heard of the Monuments officers or of the problems of protection and salvage, beyond the general clauses in the Rules of Land Warfare, and were acting solely according to their personal judgments, which varied considerably, while the MFA&A officers themselves had no standing or authority. The initial planning had specified a lieutenant colonel and a major for the Monuments program; in the end, one captain was at first sent, and only one of the officers in Sicily was ever of higher rank. No maps or lists of monuments in Sicily were delivered to the officers for several weeks, although these materials were in the Theater and merely needed proper routing. Notices, other than "out-of-bounds" signs, too, were not generally posted in Sicily, although such notices had often been discussed in the planning phase.

Most serious of all, however, was the lack of adequate transport, which greatly handicapped the Advisers, as well as the various Italian officials with whom they worked, in controlling on the spot such problems as the checking of the condition of buildings and sites immediately so as to control future charges of damage by Allied occupying troops, the need and extent of repairs, and the advising of commanders as to the monuments and sites to be respected. The work of the Monuments officers consisted largely in going about and seeing persons and buildings, not only within the cities but also in remote parts of the island. At first they were entirely dependent on the chances of travel with others, which bound them to established routes and disposition of time. Sporadic means of transportation were eventually provided in the form of three decrepit and short-lived Italian

cars in rather slow succession, that of longest use being known, by virtue of its constant and inevitable breakdowns, as "Hammond's Peril." None of these machines endured and the Advisers ended their careers as they began, on their feet.

The work of the Advisers in Sicily was terminated in March 1944, when Captain Maxse, Major Baillie-Reynolds, and Lieutenant Cott were assigned to the Subcommittee for Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives in Italy, and Captain Hammond was transferred to the European Theater of Operations. That so much was accomplished, in spite of the innumerable difficulties encountered, was due in large part to the initiative, devotion, and constant interest of the Advisers, who were from the beginning untiring in their efforts. To the Advisers, the meaning of their work is perhaps best explained in the following extract from one of their reports:

. . . The most rewarding aspect of the work of the Advisers has not been the opportunity to repair in some small way the ravages which war has wrought on the art treasures of Sicily; it has been in the human relations established. On the side of AMGOT, a task which might well have been regarded as unmilitary, as less urgent than food and shelter, bridges and roads, has received most sympathetic hearing and ready support in every quarter. . . . The basic hope of an *Allied* military government has been realized in harmonious collaboration between British and U. S. Officers both within the office and in dealings with other branches. On the side of the Italian administration, there has been real and appreciative cooperation, an understanding of delays and denials, and a return of self-confidence and of hope for the future, which, in the still dark days through which Sicily is passing, has strengthened the hands and hearts both of the Advisers and of the Italians themselves.

### 3. ITALY

#### INTRODUCTION

In October 1943, an officer of the Education and Fine Arts Subcommittee of the Allied Control Commission set up an office at Naples, center of activity for the region of Campania. He was transported there via Ischia from an earlier field of activity in Sicily, and was soon joined by other officers on the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee assigned to the regions of Calabria, Lucania, and parts of Apulia.

They arrived in these regions not long after the amphibious landings made by the British and Canadian troops of the Eighth Army in Calabria on September 3 that were quickly followed by ones of the Fifth Corps at Taranto and of the American Fifth Army on the beaches below Salerno. After a short period of bitter fighting to secure a strong beach-head below the Salernitan mountains and of heavy aerial bombing of communication centers in Campania, the passes into the plain of Naples were seized and at the end of the month Naples was entered.

The southern provinces were so rapidly freed from the retreating Germans that large-scale damage was limited to important ports (Fig. 5), such as Reggio Calabria and Naples, to communication lines and junctions such as Benevento, Cosenza, Capua, Catanzaro, Foggia, and Potenza, and to areas close to other military installations.

As winter set in the pursuit northward continued with decreasing rapidity until the German defensive line in the mountains from the Liri Valley to that of the Sangro was reached. An attempt to turn this line at the end of January was made by amphibious

landings at Anzio and Nettuno. With the failure of this venture the winter campaign became one of positional warfare with consequent extensive devastation of many of the characteristic small mountain towns and cities of northern Campania and southern Abruzzi. In addition, the communication lines and centers of central Italy were heavily bombed in preparation for the coming spring offensive.

The stalemate was broken in May when the Fifth Army broke through the so-called Gustav Line. The subsequent advance through Latium, Umbria, and northern Abruzzi was rapid and was attended by relatively light damage, after the initial thrusts. Rome was occupied on June 4, Orvieto on the 14th, Siena on July 3. As the Germans were pressed back toward their uncompleted fortified line in the Apennines north of Florence their resistance increased and the struggle for the coastal towns of the Marches and for the cities and towns of central Tuscany was severe and the destruction great. Although the outskirts of Pisa on the Arno were reached on July 23, the impetus of the great advance was spent. The desperate month-long struggle for this city reduced large sections to rubble, while on the opposite side of the peninsula ineffectual German mining operations destroyed nearly all the characteristic and lovely campanili of Fano. For the MFA&A officers entering Tuscany and the eastern Marches in the wake of the advancing Allied armies there was even more work to do than there had been the year before in Campania.

By October 1944, there was a resumption of positional warfare on the German defensive line from the area north of Lucca to that near

Forlì and Faenza. Intense artillery and aerial bombardment caused severe damage to many regions in southern Emilia. With the coming of spring the British Eighth Army moved with increasing rapidity over the flooded and frozen areas in the lower Po Valley until the break-through, in April, to Bologna and across the Po at Ferrara where there was bitter fighting and widespread destruction. It was mercifully followed by the quick collapse of the German forces during the next month. As a result the damage in the north was almost entirely local, being confined to a relatively small number of cities that suffered heavily, Genoa, Turin, Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Trento, and Bolzano, the great industrial and communication centers that were the targets of aerial bombing for several years. In some of these cities the damage to cultural monuments and centers is light although all have suffered in many of their characteristic aspects, and some, like Milan, are little more than hollow shells over many acres of territory.

#### GENERAL MISSION

Through the course of more than two years of constant activity the MFA&A officers were engaged in a multiplicity of duties (Fig. 4), changing in emphasis and pattern with the character of the campaign in the different regions and with the varied nature of the problems which were presented for solution. The mission and functions which remained constant were contained in a statement made by the Director, Maj. (later Lt. Col.) Ernest T. DeWald (US), to the Secretary General of the Allied Control Commission on March 23, 1944:

#### FUNCTIONS OF MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES SUBCOMMISSION

##### 1. Mission

To prevent as far as possible destruction of and damage to historical monuments, buildings, works of art and historical records of Italy; to safeguard and preserve them, and to give first-aid in repairs when needed; and to assist in the recovery and restitution to their rightful owners of any works of art which have been looted, removed, or otherwise misappropriated.

##### 2. Major Functions

(a) Advises on orders to be issued by commanders to their troops for the protection and safeguarding of monuments, buildings, works of art, etc.

(b) Maintains liaison with ground and air forces in order to furnish them with information concerning historical monuments within their respective theaters of operation.

(c) Formulates and distributes plans and directives.

(d) Collaborates with other subcommissions, including Public Safety, Public Works, Property Control, and Education.

(e) In collaboration with Public Relations prepares and/or approves publicity relating to monuments and fine arts within its jurisdiction.

(f) Acts in advisory capacity to Italian Ministry of Education.

(g) Submits periodic reports on matters relating to preservation and protection of monuments and art objects.

##### 3. Operational Functions

(a) Prepares regional and provincial lists of monuments, etc., to be safeguarded, and distributes some to regional commissioners and to units in the field.

(b) Provides measures to safeguard monuments, etc., in regions occupied by Allied forces.

(c) Advises unit commanders on matters pertaining to requisitions on national monuments.

(d) Collects information regarding the damages of war to monuments, etc.

(e) Investigates reports of alleged looting or other unlawful appropriation of art or historical objects,

and recommends appropriate action for restitution of same.

(f) Aids Italian government agencies concerned with respect to preservation, including urgent repairs necessitated by war damage to national monuments, protection of works of art and historical records, including salvage collection, housing, and restitution to rightful owners of same.

(g) Prepares guide books for military personnel and cooperates with the Red Cross and Special Services in arranging tours for same.

#### SOUTHERN ITALY

A typical case of the planning and early operational activities of such an officer of the MFA&A Subcommission is contained in the report of December 17, 1943, by Maj. (later Lt. Col.) Norman T. Newton (US) to the Regional Civil Affairs Officer of Region II. In November, at the direction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he had sent out to the provincial Senior Civil Affairs Officers copies of the Subcommission's lists of monuments to be checked for their condition. These lists had contained not only an alphabetical arrangement of the principal towns and cities of the various provinces, defined by map coordinates, and with a tabulation of the churches, palaces, museums, libraries, and archival deposits of greatest cultural and historical importance, but an introduction with orders from General Alexander which:

... direct that every officer brings continually to the notice of those serving under him our responsibility and obligation to preserve and protect these objects (art treasures and monuments) to the greatest extent that is possible under operational conditions.

It also contained general administrative instructions on "The Preservation of Property of Historical or Educational Importance in

Italy" issued by Major General Robertson, Chief Administrative Officer.

Major Newton's report continues that:

... the gross inadequacy of both personnel and transport for so large a territory, added to the urgency of such immediate problems as food and shelter for the populace, has perforce prevented anything approaching systematically complete coverage of the question of monuments.

During his trip he was, however, able to have a conference at Taranto with the Superintendent of Antiquities of Apulia and Matera from which it emerged that all antiquities in the province of Matera had been immune to the effects of war. He was also able to confer with the responsible local personnel at Bari and Potenza and receive from them reliable reports on the condition of monuments in these regions.

In subsequent reports until the termination of Allied Military Government in Calabria and Lucania on February 11, 1944, and until his reassignment because of the light program of work in this area, this officer was able to visit or obtain reliable accounts of the condition of all the monuments, which led to the following summary in the final report for Apulia, Calabria, and Lucania, dated September 1, 1945:

... The only noteworthy instances of serious damage were the Musci Civici of Foggia, the Museo Provinciale of Potenza, the Biblioteca of Cosenza, and the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento at Reggio Calabria. The major archeological sites of Magna Grecia suffered no damage at all.

The first important cultural center in Italy to be occupied by Allied troops was Naples, which was entered on October 1, 1943. Maj. (later Lt. Col.) Paul Gardner (US), head of the Section of Education and Fine Arts at

Headquarters, Region III, AMG, reported there on October 19. He found that the following protective measures had been taken on October 2: (a) guards had been requested from the 82d Airborne Division for the Museo Nazionale, the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, and other historical monuments; (b) contact had been made with the superintendents of the museums who are the local representatives of the Minister of Fine Arts; (c) constant protests were made against the quartering of troops in museums, libraries, and other historical monuments, and (d) directors of various historical monuments were provided with "off limits" signs.

Major Gardner immediately made a tour of inspection of the chief museums and collections, the palaces and churches, and the site of ancient Pompeii, accompanied by the responsible Italian officials. As a result of this examination he took the following steps and made recommendations:

(a) Contact was made with all superintendents of museums, monuments and excavations, and all directors of libraries. All badly damaged monuments were visited and all officials concerned were requested to have an immediate survey made by the civil engineers and immediate reports made of material and funds needed to provide the necessary protection to insure against further damage from the elements or possible collapsing of walls and for the salvaging of works of art from the wreckage.

(b) Additional "off limits" signs were provided for monuments occupied in part by troops.

(c) Recommendations to evacuate certain monuments occupied by troops were made.

(d) Contacts were made with Commanding Officers of troops quartered in historical monuments in an attempt to obtain better guarding of sections still occupied by the collections, and to prevent further looting.

(e) Lists of historical monuments in advanced

areas were provided to all SCAOs in order that they might be guarded against looting in case they had been damaged and requests made for detailed information on any damage sustained by such monuments.

It was further recommended:

... that in the future occupation of any city like Naples, it is of urgent necessity that a close liaison exist between the authorities requisitioning buildings for the quartering of troops and the head of the Section of Fine Arts, and that a list of historical monuments which cannot be requisitioned be supplied for their guidance.

In view of the allegation of damage having been caused to real and personal property of historical and educational importance, an Allied Commission of Enquiry was appointed under the presidency of Maj. Gen. A. L. Collier. It met, heard and took evidence from December 28 to January 21, 1944, and issued a set of recommendations.

As a result of this and similar recommendations, General Eisenhower, in General Order No. 68, dated December 29, 1943, commanded that:

... no building listed in the section "Works of Art" in the "Zone Hand-Books" of Italy issued by the Political Warfare Executive to all Allied Military Government Officers will be used for military purposes without the explicit permission of the Allied Commander-in-Chief, 15th Army Group in each individual case. Commanders concerned are authorized, as a further measure of security, to close and put out of bounds for troops any of the buildings listed in AMG "Zone Hand-Books," that they deem necessary. Notices to that effect will be affixed to the buildings, and guards provided to enforce them if necessary.

Allied Military Government Officers are prepared to furnish commanders with a list of historical buildings other than those listed in the AMG "Zone Hand-Books." These buildings are of secondary importance and may be used for military purposes

when deemed necessary. Commanders are reminded that buildings containing art collections, scientific objects, or those which when used would offend the religious susceptibilities of the people, should not be occupied when alternative accommodations are available. The prevention of looting, wanton damage and sacrilege of buildings is a command responsibility. The seriousness of such an offense will be explained to all Allied personnel.

Copies of this Order were given wide circulation, were included in the mimeographed interim lists for central and northern Italy, and in the small printed booklets entitled "Lists of Protected Monuments, Italy" which superseded the "Zone Hand-Books" referred to in General Eisenhower's Order. These convenient pocket-sized booklets of from 45 to 75 pages in length covered the regions of Lazio and Abruzzi-Molise, Tuscany, Umbria and Le Marche, Liguria and Piedmont, Emilia and Lombardia, and Le Tre Venezie.

The scope and variety of the activities of the MFA&A officers in Naples and its vicinity affords a very complete summary of all types of operations, from the concern at use as Allied Force Headquarters of the Palazzo Reale at Caserta to the repair of such outstanding and sadly damaged churches as Santa Chiara in Naples and the Cathedral of Benevento, from the recording of wanton German destruction of many of the most precious records of Naples by the burning of the archival repository at Villa Montesano near San Paolo Belsito to the listing and tracing of objects of art removed by the Hermann Goering Division from the depot at Montecassino until they were discovered in and recovered from a salt mine in Austria.

In early September 1943, the grandiose Palazzo Reale at Caserta, a 1,200-room "Versailles" built in the eighteenth century

for the Bourbon kings of Naples, was requisitioned as Allied Force Headquarters. It had been occupied for several years by the Italian Aviation College and by German troops. There had been little war destruction to palace or park, minor bomb damage being confined principally to the chapel and the monumental staircase.

It was, however, used as a repository by the Superintendent of Monuments of Campania and contained, in addition to great quantities of ordinary palace furniture, over 500 framed paintings, about 1,000 pieces of fine furniture, and 20,000 books from the Royal Palaces of Naples and Caserta, and among other sets of drawings, 700 by the architects Vanvitelli. Under the original terms of the Allied requisitioning all the custodians and state employees charged with the care of the palace, its contents of fine arts, and of the park were to be moved at once.

Major Gardner discussed these conditions with Major Smith of the Advance Echelon of AFHQ, who expressed his willingness to allow the custodians to segregate the more valuable furniture which could then be moved along with the books and other art objects. However, Dr. Bruno Molajoli, the Superintendent of Monuments, indicated that even if transportation were available it would be impossible to find a place to house it because of the current situation of requisitioning in all parts of Campania.

As a temporary measure, an MFA&A officer, Capt. E. Croft-Murray (Br), was assigned to supervise the requisitioning of the palace and its furnishings. Three of the large state apartments were left to the palace authorities for the storage of the paintings and the more important furniture. The rooms used by the

military showed comparatively few signs of deterioration; the theater, in good condition, was used for operas and other entertainments. Some slight damage of an apparently wilful nature had been caused to the ordinary palace furniture by souvenir hunters. But all the more valuable furniture was stored and in good condition and all the Camp Commandants were cooperative in offering to recall any pieces which the MFA&A officer considered to be worth preserving from increased deterioration by ordinary use.

By the end of June, AFHQ proposed to occupy the storage rooms because of operational necessity and urgency. Since satisfactory alternative accommodation was released elsewhere in Campania, the stored material was moved, and several trips were made by MFA&A officers in connection with the transfer to the new storerooms where the material was checked and found to be in good order.

Through the initiative of the officers of this section and by representations made to the Real Estate Section, the billeting of troops in the Museo Nazionale at Naples was prevented and its use as storage space for medical supplies was finally ended. Similarly, the requisition of the Amphitheater of Santa Maria di Capua Vetere was terminated, the occupation of the Palazzo Badiale at Mercogliano near Avellino, which was a repository for paintings from the Museo Nazionale and from churches in Naples, was prevented, and troops were removed from the long unused church in the Capuchin hermitage in the grounds of the Palazzo di Capodimonte on the heights above Naples. These vigilant officers were, however, by no means always successful in preventing occupancy of large buildings due to the urgencies and demands

of war. But their activity and example served to make the other branches of the service aware of the historic and artistic value of the buildings and furnishings, so that all were cooperative within the limits of operational possibilities.

Another of the principal concerns of the MFA&A officers was the prevention of further loss to already damaged buildings. Of the many churches of Naples which suffered severely from explosive and incendiary bombs during the attacks preceding the invasion of Italy, those of Santa Chiara and the Santissima Annunziata will serve as typical examples. Founded in 1310 and richly redecorated in the eighteenth century, Santa Chiara (Fig. 9) was the Pantheon of the kings of the Angevin and Bourbon dynasties. In 1940, the responsible Italian authorities had installed protective measures which were proof against concussion but not, unfortunately, against fire. The great mediaeval sculptured tombs, including the magnificent one of Robert of Anjou by Giovanni and Pacio da Firenze placed behind the high altar, were encased in sandbags on a wooden reinforcing armature; during the incendiary bombing raid of August 4 the whole interior was gutted, and the wealth of sculptural ornament was severely injured (Fig. 10).

It was inspected by Major Gardner shortly after his arrival on October 19, and one of his first concerns was to consult with the Royal Superintendents and the Civil Engineers in order to initiate urgently needed projects of a purely protective nature. By the end of the month it was one of six projects of rehabilitation and restoration for which funds had been granted by the Italian Government through recommendation of the Allied Commission.

Subsequently there were periodic inspections with the Superintendent of Monuments and the Civil Engineers, conferences with the Regional Finance Officer on funds for the continuation of the project of clearing and salvage, and assistance was given to contractors to obtain materials from requisitioned sources. The remains of the tombs of the Bourbon kings were salvaged, and in September arrangements were made to transfer the mortal remains of these monarchs to the church of San Francesco di Paola. By September 11, 1944, when the administrative control of Campania was turned over by the Allied Commission to the Italian Government, 580,000 lire had been expended in the clearing and salvaging operations and 1,980,000 lire were projected as the necessary expenditure to terminate the first-aid treatment.

During a ten-day temporary tour of duty in Campania in November 1944, Major Gardner reported of Santa Chiara that:

... the work of salvaging the important monuments in the church is progressing and the lower third of them (the Angevin tombs) will be saved. The project of Genio Civile to cover the roofless choir is progressing slowly but the work on the vaults of the aisles and preparing the side walls for the roof trusses is well under way. Damage to the arcade of the Majolica Cloister has proved more serious than first thought and some eight arches and terraces above are being remade.

In the publication issued jointly by Major Gardner and Dr. Molajoli on July 31, 1944, entitled *Per I Monumenti D'Arte Danneggiati Dalla Guerra Nella Campania*, the authors call this one of the most serious and irreparable losses to the artistic patrimony of Naples, but of its future they can say:

... it will be possible to restore stability and formal unity to the remains of the mighty structure erected

by the piety of Robert of Anjou and Queen Sancha. The catastrophe has both revealed and spared its austere simplicity and unusual spaciousness.

The lightly constructed and daringly soaring Baroque churches were among those suffering most severely. The great domed church of the Santissima Annunziata, built between 1760 and 1782 by Luigi and Carlo Vanvitelli, is typical. Its dome pierced, and the structural arches of the crossing and drum heavily shaken, the labor and cost of consolidation have been great, 2,880,000 lire being expended by July 31, 1944, and an estimated expenditure of an additional 6,700,000 lire being necessary to complete the initial work of salvage. By November 20, 1944, Major Gardner could report that great progress had been made, the steel scaffolding under the dome having been removed with the weight of the dome supported on the heavily reinforced drum; all openings in the dome had been filled in, breaks in the main arches had been repaired, the nave and transepts were entirely re-roofed, and work was almost completed on the roof of the choir and apse.

In their report of July 31, 1944, Major Gardner and Dr. Molajoli reported the following figures in connection with the most essential first-aid work in Naples and Campania:

... 46 historical monuments were in course of repair,  
23,500 square meters of roofs had been restored,  
6,360 cubic meters of walls had been demolished,  
5,400 cubic meters of walls had been rebuilt,  
20,780 cubic meters of masonry had been removed,  
46,500 cubic meters of scaffolding and bracing had been constructed,  
42,500 work-days had been expended,  
25,435,625 lire had been spent by July 31, 1944,  
63,140,000 lire were secured and allocated as the total sum for this work.

All these figures will have to be multiplied by the hundreds to reach an estimate of the cost of the barest minimum in salvaging the artistic and historical monuments of Italy.

Perhaps the most heavily damaged building of artistic importance in southern Italy was the Cathedral in Benevento (Fig. 8), a city that was a focal point of communication lines and which was repeatedly bombed. This church possessed two famous sculptured bronze doors with 72 panels cast in the thirteenth century representing, among other things, 43 scenes from the life of Christ. For some reason these easily demountable panels were not taken down and placed in safety, as was done with so many less portable works of art in central and northern Italy, but they were protected by the usual system of sandbags on a wooden armature that proved so ineffective against the great heat of incendiary bombs. Salvaging operations began soon after the Allied capture of the town; where possible the panels were salvaged intact, and the debris has been so carefully examined that hundreds of fragments have been found. They are stored in the Seminary at Benevento, and preliminary sorting and rearrangement were undertaken by the clerical custodians. In February 1944, Major DeWald went to Benevento to examine the results of this initial reconstruction and prepared a detailed list from which it appears that, from the panels with scenes from Christ's life, four are lost, twenty-three are in relatively bad condition and sixteen are in fairly good shape.

The most famous antique site in southern Italy, Pompeii, likewise suffered some damage, although not nearly so grave as was claimed by German propaganda. The objective of the bombing attacks in September

1943, was a German command post in a hotel near the Porta Marina. Unfortunately this was not far distant from the museum and the Forum. The south portion of the museum was completely destroyed, and many objects recovered during more than a century of excavation in the old city were again buried in rubble. Decorative details from a number of the famous houses and from the Doric Temple were destroyed, but Maj. J. B. Ward Perkins, the Deputy Director, summarized the condition of Pompeii on the basis of Capt. F. H. J. Maxse's report as follows:

... Seen in perspective the damage is far less than early reports would suggest and, with the careful work of clearance and consolidation now in progress under the direction of Signorina Elia, will leave little permanent trace on the excavation.

As at most buildings and sites of artistic and historical importance, notices posting certain areas as "off limits" were set up, and in view of the extensive area covered by the excavations and the open character of most of the buildings, a Military Police post was established here to control the actions of the local population and of Allied soldiers as well. This did not mean the closing of the whole area, for its cultural value, which had made it a great tourist center in time of peace, was fully recognized and utilized by thousands of young men from other continents (Fig. 6).

In Benevento as also in Naples and elsewhere in Italy the good offices and assistance of the MFA&A Subcommittee were at the disposal of Allied correspondents, such as Mr. George Silk of *Life* magazine, who took several series of photographs of historical monuments where repair projects were in progress. Similarly, the Subcommittee cooperated

with the Public Relations Branch by preparing articles or giving facilities to military writers for publication in such popular papers as *Stars and Stripes*.

On December 19, 1943, little more than three months after the initial landings in Italy, Mignano was captured. For the next six months Allied troops were within sight of Montecassino which dominated the pass of the Liri Valley into Latium. Although the German High Command had apparently issued orders that troops were not to enter the monastery under any circumstances, there were enemy observation posts and mortar and other defensive positions all over the mountain around the abbey, and to the Allied armies the towering walls crowning the mountain may well have grown to be a symbol of the opposition against a victorious advance. In any case these defensive positions and the abbey were blasted by artillery and aerial bombardments and the abbey was very largely destroyed in attacks on February 5, 8, and 11, culminating in the aerial assault of February 15.

Of the seventeenth-century church almost nothing remained. The monastic buildings, library, picture gallery, and all structures were reduced to rubble. Only the subterranean rooms, passages and tunnels, and the foundations of the entire structure are intact and may serve as the basis for some new buildings, which are in fact already projected.

Major DeWald, accompanied by Captain Ellis (Br), Archivist, and Captain Tanner of the British Film Unit, made a tour of inspection of the abbey on May 27, little over a week after its capture (Fig. 12). He reported, among other things, that a considerable number of sculptural fragments of the seventeenth-

century choir-stalls' angels' heads, carved columns and capitals, and arabesque panels were seen lying around in the debris, some still in excellent condition. The library, picture gallery, and the archives were completely covered in a heap of rubble. It was unknown if their contents had been removed earlier or could be in part recovered. The same uncertainty was true of the eleventh-century bronze doors of the basilica and of its mosaic floors, and of the sixteenth-century tombs in its presbytery. Only after much heavy labor and a considerable time would it be known how much could eventually be salvaged. On the basis of his examination he recommended for immediate action:

(a) That either the abbey be declared "off bounds" to all troops for the time being, or, that guards be placed at the sanctuary end of the basilica to prevent the looting of the choir-stall fragments.

(b) That fragments of the choir-stalls be collected at once and placed in some depot for safety.

(c) That small architectural fragments (found near the small court to the east of the campanile) be removed to safety.

Some of these recommendations were followed; the abbey was placed "off bounds," but as Col. Henry C. Newton (US), Special Representative of the War Department, reported on August 20 after his tour of inspection on July 5:

... it was practically impossible to enforce this order due to a lack of sufficient guards... the building itself could be reached by climbing the mountain at any point, and to effectively guard this large area would have required more troops than could be spared... the guarding of Historical Monuments is one of the very difficult problems which this Sub-Commission has to consider, particularly because Allied troops *absolutely cannot be spared for this detail* except in the forward combat zones. This leaves the problem entirely in the hands

of the Italian Government and the effectiveness of this method is somewhat questionable . . .

A few monks lived on in the ruins and searched for objects of value and personal property, but lack of labor and material prevented the erection of protective devices to shelter those portions of the ruins containing the most valuable remaining material.

The destruction of this seat of religious and educational activity for more than 1,400 years is a great loss. It is not so much that the artistic damage was great, for many other places in Italy, France, and Germany have suffered more serious artistic destruction. But Montecassino has long been a symbol of the preservation and cultivation of the things of the mind and the spirit through periods of great stress. So long as these things are not lost or destroyed the loss of material objects should not be too distressing, for new buildings can be erected to house the indestructible heritage of Saint Benedict.

The material and artistic loss would have been much greater if objects stored in the monastery had not been removed to a safer shelter in the Vatican City. There were two groups of such things, the archives and libraries normally in the abbey, and works of art which had been sent there for safekeeping from Naples. The latter consisted of 187 cases of paintings, large and small bronze sculptures, and minor art objects from the Museo Nazionale, the Galleria Nazionale, the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, the Palazzo di Capodimonte, and the Mostra d'Oltremare. Along with many cases containing priceless manuscripts and printed books and archival records dating from the ninth century these were transported by trucks of the Hermann Goering Division in October 1943. Taken

first to Spoleto, on December 8 they were brought to the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, from which the Montecassino cases were removed to the Vatican on December 9 and 10, where they were checked. The finest manuscripts were later put on exhibition in its library.

The cases of paintings and sculpture from Naples were first taken to the Palazzo Venezia, where it was found that 15 cases were missing. The German officer in charge claimed that they were on two trucks that were delayed because they had been damaged by machine-gun fire. Italian superintendents and officials had been refused permission by the German Art Commission at Rome to visit the deposits to check on the pictures and their condition. After the fall of Rome the Director of the MFA&A Subcommittee checked these cases, which had finally been deposited at the Vatican, and found a number of paintings and sculptures to be missing. The story of the later travels and final discovery of these missing works of art will be told in the following section.

#### ROME

Rome was occupied by troops of the American Fifth Army on June 4, 1944. War damage to the city and its immediate environs was very slight (Fig. 16), the major injury to any of its host of irreplaceable historic monuments having occurred nearly a year earlier when the ancient Basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (Fig. 13) was struck, on July 19, 1943, by one 1,000-pound, high-explosive bomb during the attack on the great railway freight yards to the southeast of the city.

The damage was a misfortune of war, since the proximity of the venerable church

to important communication lines serving the enemy made its location near a legitimate target extremely hazardous. The bombing crews had been carefully briefed before the attack. One of the officers who helped draw up the plan has said that Vatican City and other sacred institutions of the city were outlined in white on every target chart carried by the pilots, with each of the locations being marked by a legend that read: "Must Not Under Any Circumstances Be Damaged." There were strict orders not to fly within three-quarters of a mile of these places, so that it was thought that even if some anti-aircraft fire cut the bomb shackles, Vatican City would not be damaged. Nevertheless, with heavy anti-aircraft fire disturbing the calculations of the bombardiers unintentional damage was never impossible, and to this must be attributed the injury to San Lorenzo.

Col. Henry Newton, in his report of August 20, 1944, was aware that much thought and attention had been given to the matter of the preservation of artistic and historical monuments by all forces concerned. The annotated maps prepared by the ACLS Committee in New York, copies of which had been received by the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, were felt to be excellent:

. . . as a basis of further exploration of the problem but hopelessly insufficient as a means of providing all essential Headquarters with the required number of copies.

As a result of a series of conferences it was decided that MAAF would fly reconnaissance-photographic missions over all the principal cities of Italy, prepare their own aerial photographs and through the assistance of the staff of the MFA&A Subcommittee plot on

them the locations of various monuments, objects and areas of historic or cultural interest. This work was carried out and aerial photographs were taken of 79 cities and towns (Fig. 3), a fairly small number of Italian cities, but they were areas where targets were known to exist or where tactical planning indicated that suitable targets might develop. These were then distributed to all appropriate headquarters down to groups.

These had in fact already been passed to all operational formations by command of Brigadier General Norstad, USA, accompanied by a preface containing instructions to be observed with regard to the bombing of towns and cities in which important monuments exist, and were of the greatest value in the briefing of bomber crews to minimize cultural damage.

By August 19, 1944, Col. Henry Newton reported of San Lorenzo that:

. . . the damage was largely confined to the front portion (entrance) of the Basilica. The roof and entire façade had caved in and the forward portion of the nave contained a mass of brick, stone, roof trusses and splintered beams. This great mass of wreckage, coupled with the obvious scars caused by bomb fragments, resulted in first estimates of the damage being very pessimistic. A gradual removal of the debris, however, disclosed that the damage was not as severe as first supposed. The façade was practically demolished, only two of the six columns were left standing. The XIII Century frescoes on the walls of the Portico were totally destroyed which in itself was quite a loss. The XIV Century mosaics on the façade were also completely destroyed . . . The VI Century mosaics over the sanctuary arch above the main altar are practically unscathed . . . The entire apse is intact except for minor damage, as well as the atrium of the ancient church which is now the tomb of Pope Pius IX. The great mosaics covering the walls of the atrium, which is under the sanctuary proper, are likewise undamaged. The magnificent

baldacchino covering the main altar is in perfect condition.

Of the work of reconstruction Colonel Newton continues:

... The work of clearing the debris out of the structure, removal of all works of art possible to safe storage was undertaken immediately and the work of salvage and reconstruction started. Upon the occupation of Rome by the Allied troops the carrying on of the program of reconstruction fell under the control of Lieutenant (later Lieutenant Commander) Perry Cott (USNR), MFA&A Officer for the Rome Region. The work is being carried out entirely by the Italian government under the terms set forth and approved by the ACC. The Ionic columns of the façade have been salvaged and erected, the entire interior has been properly scaffolded, the roof is being rebuilt, frescoes either removed or protected and every care is being exercised to complete the restoration as faithfully as possible.

Photographs of the work of repair and the extent of the damage indicate that a restoration close to the original appearance of the basilica will be possible.

Diplomatic pressure from the Vatican upon the German High Command was undoubtedly instrumental in saving Rome from being seriously defended and so spared the amount of destruction which was visited upon Naples, Florence, and Pisa. But the detailed and extensive plans made by the Allied armies to spare artistic and historic monuments insofar as was tactically possible are clearly shown in the following excerpts from reports relating to the air and ground forces.

On March 1, 1944, the Director of MFA&A Subcommission reported on the activities of the Regional and Provincial Commissions for Rome and Latium:

1. Attention is called to the fact that this Division is not yet in its own theater of operations and that therefore its activities have been chiefly concerned

with inspections, liaison with Region III, and planning for its own region and for AMG 5 Army. These activities have been carried out as follows:

(a) During November and a part of December . . . [inspection trips were made in Region III]

(b) During most of December and January definite operational plans were made for the protection of monuments in Region IV which at that time comprised Lazio and the Abruzzi. As the result of the difficulties experienced by the Regional Officer of Region III in enforcing the protection of monuments in his Region and in preventing requisitioning and billeting by military personnel in historic buildings and in order to avoid such difficulties in Region IV a memorandum was sent to the Regional Commissioner of Region IV recommending certain directives from higher authorities. The possibility of having a MFAA officer from Region IV go forward with advanced units of the 5th Army was taken up in personal interviews with the Regional Commissioner of Region IV and with the Deputy CCAO AMG 15th Army group. Later the Regional Officer of MFAA Region IV was placed on a list of officers to go with such an advanced AMG 5th Army party to Rome-city. In the final disposition both the Regional Officer and the Deputy Regional Officer were attached to the forward parties of AMG 5th Army, the former officer as member of the Rome-city party and the latter as member of the party in the field.

(c) Planning for AMG Region IV:  
—detailed inventory lists of the treasures stored at the Abbey of Montecassino by the Italian Government were secured from officials of the Museo Nazionale.

—lists of monuments to be protected supplementary to those already at hand were procured from the same officials for the areas between the battle front and Rome and between Rome and the confines of Lazio.

—operational plans for Rome-city were drawn up and submitted on December 30, 1943.

—lists of protected monuments in the various provinces of the regions of Lazio and the Abruzzi were prepared for distribution to the SCAOs of these provinces. Those for the provinces of Lazio were sent out with the covering instructions to be effective

when Region IV takes over these provinces. Those for the Abruzzi have been withheld because that region is no longer under the jurisdiction of Region IV.

(d) Planning for AMG 5 Army:

—General advisory assistance for Rome-city planning was supplied to Captain S. M. Waugh.

—detailed operational plans for Rome-city were submitted. These include:

(A) a list of the monuments in Rome to be protected.

(B) the preparation of "OUT-OF-BOUNDS" posters and posters bearing the names of individual buildings to be placed on protected monuments. These were submitted to the CG 5 Army for approval, were printed and are ready for use.

(C) the interviewing of government and museum officials.

(D) the preparation of inventory-forms to be submitted to church, museum, and library authorities for reports on the condition of buildings, monuments, and works of art under their jurisdiction.

(E) the preparation of a short guide to monuments and works of art in Rome for use of military personnel. Contacts were established with Red Cross and Special Services personnel in order to coordinate plans for future tours by military personnel in Rome.

(F) arrangements were made with the Chief, Public Safety Division AMG 5 Army to put up the posters mentioned in A and to place guards at the protected monuments and buildings on arrival in Rome. To facilitate the work of his personnel the list mentioned in A was prepared according to the police precincts in Rome and each building or monument given its proper map coordinate. Contact was also made with officers under the PM 5 Army to discuss the use of military guards whenever necessary.

(G) lists of protected monuments in areas outside Rome through which 5 Army will eventually pass were submitted and the places in which they are were given their map coordinates.

(H) special arrangements were made for the Deputy Officer of MFAA Region IV attached to AMG 5 Army and also for the Regional Officer in

MFAA to visit and inspect the condition of the abbey of Montecassino as soon as it becomes feasible.

Upon the entry of troops under his command into Rome General Mark Clark instructed Corps, Division, and Separate Organization Commanders:

1. It is of prime importance that the victory of the Fifth Army in the present campaign, which has resulted in the capture of Rome, be followed by conduct on the part of Fifth Army troops in Rome which will be a credit to the Army and will impress the inhabitants of Rome and the world at large with the Fifth Army's discipline and standards of appropriate conduct.

2. It must be borne in mind by personnel of all ranks that Rome is the first of the European capitals to be liberated from Axis domination and slavery; that the standards and conduct of the occupying military forces will be scrutinized carefully by the peoples of all nations, and will set the pace for future conduct of the Allied Forces in other parts of Europe. To these ends all unit commanders will give continuous attention to the appearance and conduct of all personnel who have occasion to be in Rome. Special stress will be given to smartness of dress, saluting and the imperative necessity for troops to refrain from disorderly deportment of any kind.

3. It is not intended that troop units will enter or bivouac in Rome except when necessary. However, rest camp facilities in the Rome area are being arranged with dispatch, and it is planned that available and deserving personnel will be given pass privileges in Rome as soon as conditions permit; also that conducted tours of the city will be organized.

4. Rome is a center of ancient and artistic monuments of all kinds: buildings, museums, art galleries, etc. It is in the interest of the civilized world that these be preserved undamaged. The Army Commander desires and has confidence that no member of the Fifth Army will cast discredit on his Army or his country, or display such utter lack of appreciation as such action would indicate. All signs indicating that places are out-of-bounds will be scrupulously

obeyed. The Vatican City is neutral territory and will be placed out-of-bounds to all ranks of the Allied forces. It may later be possible to arrange controlled visits for worship, etc.

5. I desire that you take promptly the necessary measures to implement these instructions. You will be held personally responsible for repeated violations by members of your command.

When the American Fifth Army and the MFA&A officers attached to it entered Rome the preliminary operations were at once performed. Lieutenant Cott interviewed the responsible officials for antiquities, for monuments, for fine arts, for galleries, and museums, asking for reports on the condition of the buildings or repositories in their custody. Inspection tours were made to damaged towns, cities, and villages in Latium to obtain estimates of the extent of the havoc that had been caused, to initiate inquiries into the costs and materials needed for the most urgent salvage operations, and then, upon return to Rome, to prepare schedules of costs and work for the approval of the Regional Finance Officer so that the necessary repairs could be made (Fig. 11). Subsequent activities of this kind were very much like those which have already been described in Naples and Sicily.

Still another activity of the MFA&A Subcommission was to examine and record the evidences of wanton German destruction and looting. In the southern area one of the most flagrant of such cases was the deliberate burning of the archives, especially those of the Angevin dynasty, in their repository at the Villa Montesano near San Paolo Belsito south of Nola on September 30, 1943. This act of destruction was as senseless as that later suffered, during the night of May 31, 1944, by the two Roman pleasure barges of Tiberius or Caligula at Nemi. After the occupation of

Rome, the Regional Commissioner examined the museum in which the barges had been housed. They had been recovered from the lake after the expenditure of much time and thought on the part of the Fascist Government from 1929 to 1932. For no reason other than senseless destruction German soldiers attached to a nearby battery had set fire to the museum and within a few hours the remains of the imperial ships were only a few bronze nails and other metallic structural parts. Many instances of sporadic German damage and looting are recorded but in most important cases the acts were intended to have some relation to the campaign in progress even if they were unsuccessful.

Such was the case at Fano in the Marches where the campanili of five churches and that of the Palazzo della Ragione were mined and blown up in an attempt to create road blocks. The Germans were singularly inept at this but did so arrange the destructive charges that not only were the campanili felled but in most cases they collapsed into the interior of the main structures causing additional, and perhaps unintentional, damage. Additional instances will be cited later.

Among the MFA&A activities which were continued in Tuscany after having had great success in Rome was the preparation of exhibitions of works of art for the benefit of the Allied military personnel as well as the Italian people. The scheme for such an exhibition as the "Exhibition of Masterpieces of European Painting," which was opened at the Palazzo Venezia on August 27, 1944, was conceived by Lieutenant Cott, Regional MFA&A Director in the Rome area. He had worked for over two months in close collaboration with the various Italian Ministries and the Director

of Fine Arts for the Vatican State, and had assembled 46 splendid paintings by great Renaissance masters from Masolino to Velazquez. Almost all of them were from well-known Italian State Galleries such as the Capitoline, Borghese, Corsini, and Palazzo Venezia in Rome, the Brera in Milan, the Academy in Venice, the National Gallery in Urbino, and the Museums of Naples and Palermo, as well as a magnificent group lent by Prince Doria. Illustrated catalogues were prepared, Military Police and Royal Carabinieri guarded the paintings, and the Public Relations Section of the AC arranged for adequate publicity in the military and Italian press.

The exhibition had been scheduled to run for two, or possibly three, months, but owing to the large attendance and public demand, an estimated 100,000 persons had visited it by the date of its closing on February 18, 1945. From the admission fees and the proceeds from the sale of catalogues, 1,625,000 lire were on deposit at the Banca Commerciale Italiana earmarked as a fund for repair projects to war-damaged buildings, and on March 27, the Regional Commissioner handed to the Italian Government the sum of 1,589,660 lire, the net proceeds of the exhibition.

In March 1945, another exhibition was held in the Galleria Borghese, where many of the works shown in the exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia were again on view in addition to many paintings belonging to the Galleria itself. On April 21, an exhibition of Umbrian painting was opened at the Civic Museum of Perugia to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Umbrian painter, Pietro Perugino. There was arranged in the Diocesan Museum at Cortona a fine

small exhibition of paintings, sculpture, ecclesiastical vestments, and religious metalwork for the instruction of the leisure hours of Allied military personnel.

Most of the paintings shown in the first exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia which had come from the galleries of northern Italy had been deposited for safekeeping at the Vatican. Since the bulk of these works were masterpieces of the Venetian school a newly formed group, the Associazione Nazionale per il Restauro dei Monumenti danneggiati dalla Guerra, was assisted by the Director General of Fine Arts in assembling 58 works from public collections, mostly from northern Italy, to which were added 60 from private collections in Rome to make the second exhibition held at the Palazzo Venezia.

Another activity begun under the aegis of the MFA&A Subcommission which was welcomed by Romans and Allied soldiers alike was the removal of protective coverings installed by the Italian Ministries at the outbreak of war from monuments and works of art most exposed to damage or destruction. Thus, Michelangelo's great statue of Moses in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli (Figs. 14 and 15) was freed from its swaddling bands of rock-wool and brick walls, as was also the Santa Teresa of Bernini in Santa Maria della Vittoria. The sandbags and wooden reinforcing around the triumphal arches were removed, as they would also be later from so many other buildings, such as the façade of the Cathedral at Orvieto, and San Marco in Venice. The mosaics in the Roman churches had been protected by strips of burlap glued to their surfaces and then covered with sheets of aluminum foil; this covering too was gradually taken away. Works of

sculpture which had been hidden away in the country or put into safe cellars were reinstated in their original positions, like the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio, or that of Cosimo I de' Medici in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, or the antique bronze horses of Saint Mark's in Venice that were again placed in state above the façade.

The earlier history of one of the most blatant cases of German looting has already been mentioned, the removal of certain paintings, sculptures, and works of minor art from Naples which had been sent for safekeeping to the abbey at Montecassino.

When the Allied troops occupied Rome it was one of the first interests of the MFA&A Subcommission to check the contents of the cases containing these works of art which the Hermann Goering Division had turned over to the authorities of the Vatican City. On six separate occasions from June 26 to July 17, these cases were checked personally by the Director, in the presence of and with the assistance of representatives of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction and with the permission of the Director of the Vatican Galleries, against the inventory lists supplied in Naples by the Superintendent of Monuments. The Director's findings were:

(a) *The Cases Containing Pictures from the National Gallery, Naples*

1. Case No. 1 is missing. According to the inventory list it contained three pictures. One of these, "Blind Leading the Blind" by *Peter Breughel*, is not on hand. Of the other two, the "Crucifixion" by *Ant. van Dyck* was found packed in as an extra in case No. 58, and the "Portrait of a Dutchman" by *DeKeyser* was similarly found in case No. 29.

2. Case No. 3 is completely missing. It contained: *Pannini, G. P.*, "Charles III at S. Peter's." *Battistello*, "Flight into Egypt." *Titian*, "Danae."
  3. Case No. 8. Two of three pictures are missing. They are: *Filippino Lippi*, "Annunciation." *Joos van Cleve*, a Triptych. The third picture, "Cain" by *B. Cavallino*, was found packed in with the pictures of case No. 29.
  4. Case No. 10 is missing. It contained: *Raphael*, "Madonna of the Divine Love." *Colantonio*, "S. Jerome."
  5. Case No. 25 is missing. It contained: *Palma Vecchio*, "Sacra Conversazione." *Claude Lorraine*, "Landscape."
  6. Case No. 51 contained three pictures. At present there are two pictures in the case. The third, "Madonna" by *B. Luini* is missing.
  7. Case No. 57 is missing. It contained: *Sebastiano del Piombo*, "Portrait of Pope Clement VII."
  8. Case No. 38 contained two pictures. The portrait of "Layinia" by *Titian* is missing. In its place a package with watercolors from a case not belonging to the Naples Museum and a small canvas by a 19th century painter was substituted. The evidence therefore of the foregoing is fairly complete that the cases were tampered with prior to their reaching Rome. The particular evidence of cases Nos. 1, 8, and 38 shows that these pictures were intentionally taken.
- (b) *Cases from the National Museum at Naples Containing Ancient Bronzes and Minor Art Objects.*
1. Of the 27 cases containing large bronze statues four are missing:
    - Case No. 7 with the *Two Deer* from *Herculanum*.
    - Case No. 16 with the *Apollo* from *Pompei*.
    - Case No. 19 with the *Mercury Resting*.
    - Case No. 28 with the *Female Dancer*.

2. Of the Minor Arts there are missing:
  - Case No. 1 with gold objects.
  - Case No. 55 with various small objects.

(c) *Cases from the Mostra d'Oltremare.*

1. Two are missing out of 31:
  - One with a canvas by *Tiepolo*, "Neptune Offering Gifts to Venice." [From the Palazzo Ducale in Venice].
  - The other contained a *Suit of Armor* belonging to Emperor Charles V. [From the Bargello, Florence].
2. Various other things out of the cases are missing:
  - Watercolors by *Ligozzi*, property of the Uffizi Gallery (case 13).
  - "Marine Scene with Eastern Merchants" by a follower of *Falcone* (case 514-Vatican).
  - Silver-gilt water jug from the Pitti Gallery (foglio 54).
  - Decorated silver basin from the Pitti Gallery (foglio 52).

Records of these and other missing works of art were kept at the central office of the Subcommission in Rome and were distributed to the various regional offices. The objects or news of their possible whereabouts were constantly sought as the Allied armies advanced through Italy. Information or lack of news was often given in the monthly reports of the Subcommission. Since the Hermann Goering Division had been the German agency transporting the cases from Montecassino to Rome there seemed a strong possibility that the missing works of art had been taken to Germany. In consequence the American Commission, the Macmillan Committee and other agencies of the Allied Governments were kept informed of developments and these in turn passed on information to the different intelligence organizations that were building up files which would be useful when Germany would be occupied.

Ultimately the missing works were traced; a letter of August 7, 1945, reads:

... it is understood that the whole or greater part of the works of art stolen by the Hermann Goering Division from the deposit at Montecassino has been recovered near Salzburg and is now being sorted and checked at Munich.

This was correct, and the history of the treatment of these works learned from interrogations of associates of Field Marshal Goering leaves no doubt that this was a clear case of theft. The story of the discovery of these and many other works of art in a salt mine near Alt-Aussee will be told in detail in connection with MFA&A activities in Germany and Austria.

The Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services had kept in its files many kinds of intelligence reports, among them ones relating to the objects from Montecassino. Early in June 1945, officers of this unit began interrogations at Alt-Aussee, Austria, of nearly a dozen persons intimately connected with the administration of Goering's household, and with his acquisition of works of art. One of these men, Walter Andreas Hofer, an art dealer and director of the Reichsmarschall's collection and his chief confidential adviser on such matters, said that he first became informed of the appearance of these works of art in December 1943, when:

... he was called to Reinickendorf [near Berlin], the headquarters of the Hermann Goering Division, by a group of officers who revealed to him that they had brought the objects to Berlin with the intention of presenting them to Goering as a surprise for his birthday [12 January].

The attitude of the Marshal and the further history of the objects is also contained in this Interrogation Report:

#### CENTRAL ITALY

... The cases containing works of art were moved to Carinhall and there Gritzbach, Brauchitsch, and Hofer set to work preparing them with the other presents for their chief. However, Fräulein Limberger [Goering's confidential secretary] heard about this and told Goering, who immediately called in Hofer and told him that he would under no circumstances allow such things to be presented to him as birthday presents. He gave instructions that they be set aside as a temporary exhibit in Carinhall. After a few months the paintings were moved to the anti-aircraft shelter at Kurfuerst. The sculpture and objets d'art remained in Carinhall. About a year later, in February 1945, Goering suddenly ordered Hofer to take all works of art from Monte Cassino to the Reichskanzlei, where they were to be given to Reichsleiter Martin Bormann, who, he said, was to send them to Munich. Hofer carried out these instructions and from then on heard no more about the objects.

However, there was also found the log book of the mine at Alt-Aussee, where parts of the collections of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg and of Hitler were also stored.

Entries in this log book show that the Montecassino works of art arrived there in a shipment on March 28, 1945, and record a telephone conversation in which von Hummel, Bormann's secretary, announced their arrival, referring to them as "the most important works from Reichsmarschall Goering's collection." And there are lists made both at Carinhall and at the mine which show that all the works mentioned as having come from Montecassino at Carinhall also were deposited at Alt-Aussee. These lists mention the paintings, bronzes, minor works of art, and drawings that were noted as missing a year earlier in Rome. Discovered in early May by officers of the Third U. S. Army, they were transported to the Central Collecting Point at Munich, to await final disposition.

Action of a similar nature was taken to recover four panels containing eight scenes from the life of Christ painted by Hans Multscher. They were taken illegally from the Commune of Vipiteno (Sterzing) by Mussolini and presented to Goering as a birthday gift in January 1942.

Goering's acquisitive instinct for these works of art seems to have been aroused in 1941 for he ordered Hofer to go to Vipiteno and make a report on the altarpiece. At about the same time he told Alfieri, the Italian ambassador to Germany, that he would like to have the panels for his private collection, also mentioning that in return he proposed an exchange with some well-known Italian work of art in Germany. Thereupon Mussolini decided to present the works to the Reichsmarschall and set in motion the appropriate machinery in the Ministry of National Education. Such a gift was illegal, contravening current Italian law on the exportation of great works of art which were part of the national patrimony. The Superintendent of Monuments and Galleries at Trento, Antonino Rusconi:

... raised every conceivable objection [to these instructions but] was peremptorily telegraphed on 7 January 41 by the Ministry of Fine Arts that a special diplomatic courier would arrive the next day at Trento to get the paintings destined for Berlin.

The Italian Government set up a Commission to determine a fair price to be paid to the Commune by the Ministry. This met twice, on February 5, 1942, and January 8, 1943, and fixed a price of 9 million lire, but it is still disputed as to whether the Commune was actually paid.

After the Allied occupation of Venezia Tri-

dentina and the interrogation of the persons concerned in the transaction, the MFA&A Subcommittee in Italy sent out a report accompanied by the pertinent receipts and telegrams, and by photographs of the panels, to the American Commission, the Macmillan Committee, and to the Army Control Councils in the American and British Zones in Germany and Austria. Of these

... each is requested to inform this office if the paintings are discovered, so that the information may be passed to the Italian Ministry.

These panels were found together with many other artistic possessions of Goering at Berchtesgaden and have been taken into custody by MFA&A officers in Germany.

In 1943, the German Wehrmacht seized the royal treasure of the Italian monarchy. Among many other items of great value the king's splendid numismatic collection, one of the finest in the world, with more than 50,000 ancient gold coins dating back to the first days of the Roman Empire, was removed from its storage place in the cellars of the royal castle near Cuneo. It was finally found in the villa at Bolzano occupied by Gen. Carl Wolff, Senior SS officer in Italy (who was also ultimately responsible for the removal of the many works of art from their repositories in Tuscany to the Alto Adige), and was then safely transported back to Rome.

In a like manner, the Abyssinian crowns brought to Rome after the conquest of that country in 1936, and placed in the Museo Coloniale were removed in 1943, with the invasion of Italy. Found at Monza by agents of the Ministry of Africa Italiana, they were returned to Rome where the ultimate restitution has been referred to high political authority for decision.

In his monthly summary for July 1945, the Director of the MFA&A Subcommittee was able to report, under the heading "Displaced Works of Art and Antiquities within Italy":

... confirmation of the safety in Rome of two crates of valuable antiquities from Tripolitania and Cyrenaica ... leaves the whereabouts of the famous *Codex Aesinas* of Tacitus as one of the few major unsolved mysteries.

This famous tenth-century manuscript owned by Count Baldeschi Balleani of Jesi was stated by the overseer of the Villa Fonte Damo to be safe at the Vatican "or elsewhere," but Vatican authorities said that it was never consigned to the Vatican Library or to the Archivio Segreto, and its present location is still unknown, one of the few cases of such uncertainty.

The most notorious instances of German removals were those of paintings and sculptures from the repositories in Tuscany to the Alto Adige through the efforts of some officials of the German Kunstschutz agency, in Italy. The guile of the Germans, the exhaustive records of the Italians, and the pertinacity of the Allied officers that led to the final recovery of these works of art and their triumphal return to Florence are well documented in the reports of these Allied officers.

After several months of preliminary activity an official German Kunstschutz was set up in Italy as Section V6 of the German Military Government directly under the control of the Commanding General, with Professor H. G. Evers of Munich University as the Director, taking up his appointment on November 23, 1943, at Rome. He was soon superseded by Professor Doctor Alexander Langsdorff of the Prussian State Museums, an SS Colonel who remained its chief until the capitulation.

In their report of June 30, 1945, Wing Commander Douglas Cooper, Acting Director of the MFA&A Branch of the British Element of the Control Council for Germany, and Lieutenant Colonel DeWald, Director of the MFA&A Subcommittee of the Allied Commission state:

... an official agreement with the Italian authorities [was made by the Germans], on the conditions under which those works of art which had been evacuated to the country would be returned [to Florence] with German aid ... at the FLORENCE end only a certain number of deposits were returned (some only in part) such as SCARPERIA, STRIANO, BARBERINO DI MUGELLO, CAFAGGIOLO, etc. The sculpture which was stored in the disused railway-tunnel at INCISA was also returned in great haste, on special orders from KESSELRING, who needed to reuse the tunnel because the new line had been destroyed by bombardment ...

After the fall of ROME, and with the front moving ever closer towards FLORENCE, conferences were held between LANGSDORFF, HEYDENREICH and POGGI (the Superintendent of FLORENCE) and it was decided that, owing to the danger from fighter-bombers, no further removals should be made from outlying deposits back into the city.

But this agreement was not maintained, for on July 3 the contents of the deposit at the Villa Bossi-Pucci at Montagnana consisting of 291 paintings from the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries were removed to Marano sul Panaro near Bologna over the protests of the Italians. Poggi requested Langsdorff to explain the change in plan and after several days of conferences with the military authorities Langsdorff formulated a policy stating that:

... Some art deposits in villas in the countryside are now in range of artillery fire ... Am taking in hand immediately supervision and direction of evacuation measures by our own troops ...

At the same time he was making off with two paintings by Lucas Cranach, "Adam" and "Eve" which were stored at the Castello Guicciardini at Oliveto, about which he did not consult or inform Poggi, although he later claimed that he would try to trace them.

Langsdorff then returned to northern Italy where he had an interview with General Wolff, as a result of which Himmler was consulted and General Wolff:

... issued a special order to LANGSDORFF to "go and remove whatever could be saved of the endangered works of art belonging to the Uffizi and Palazzo Pitti in FLORENCE."

Langsdorff lost no time and on July 28 the first set of the trucks put at his disposal was laden with 26 cases of antique and mediaeval sculptures that had been deposited for safe-keeping at Dicomano, and transported to Verona where they arrived on August 4. In preparing for this removal Langsdorff had called on Poggi who told him that the deposit at Dicomano was the one in the most immediate danger and:

... that if it had been decided to move it then the contents ... must be brought back to FLORENCE. This instruction was entirely ignored.

The attempts of the Italian officials in northern Italy, who were building a large repository on the Borromean Islands, to have these works brought there were equally unavailing; the Germans continued to make preparations to remove them to an area under their lasting control arguing, as General Wolff did, "that he felt 'they were safer in a German Gau than upon an Italian island.'"

Their activity continued through August; a number of truckloads with a total of 153 cases of sculptures and 532 paintings were removed from the above places and from the

Villa Medicea at Poggio a Cajano, the Villa Bocci at Soci, and the Castello Poppi near Bibbiena. In addition three private collections were transported, that of the French banker Finally from Florence, that of the Florentine dealer Contini which had been in a private repository at Podere di Trefiano, and that of the Duke of Bourbon-Parma.

At first they seem to have acted in a confused manner, for after General Greiner of the 362nd Infantry Division had moved the Montagnana paintings to Marano sul Panaro he:

... then asked Army Group what to do with them and was told on July 14 to offer them to the Cardinal Archbishop of BOLOGNA or the Bishop of MODENA for safe-keeping. But as neither of these prelates was properly informed of the situation and both were afraid of some German trick, both declined.

Less than two weeks later General Wolff's directive to Langsdorff settled the action and destination of these works of art.

The various loads of paintings and sculptures went over the mountains to Forlì, Marano, Bologna, and Riola, soon thereafter to be sent on to Verona and Bolzano. General Wolff had made arrangements with Franz Hofer, gauleiter of Southern Tyrol, for storage accommodation at the Ochsenkopf, but when the first consignment reached there Major Reidemeister, who was in charge, found that this place was "quite unsuitable as it was very damp and also the main ammunition dump." A search for suitable accommodation was instituted and two were finally selected, a disused jail at San Leonardo in Passiria (Fig. 22), north of Merano, and Schloss Neumelans at Campo Tures near Bolzano:

... both of them remote villages on the way up to the BRENNER Pass. Possibly the extensive storage space selected is a good indication of the quantity of works which REIDEMEISTER expected to store.

By the middle of September all these works had been stored at the two new repositories, but the Germans were perturbed. The Italians were pressing to receive permission to examine the works and began to intimate that they doubted German honesty. From Rome broadcasts called the action theft. Langsdorff replied to the suggestions proposed to him by one of his more honorable assistants, Professor Heydenreich, that full lists of the works be immediately handed over to the Italians, that an Italo-German team of art experts make a visit of inspection, that a supervisory body of the leading German art experts be responsible for the protection and preservation of the Italian collections, and that Hitler issue a special order announcing that the works of art removed were being held in trust for the Italian nation with:

... a cold answer saying that Gauleiter Hofer would not allow Italian visitors, that the Führer and General Wolff alone would decide the fate of the works of art and asking why Heydenreich was showing so much interest in the Italians.

In December Wolff received an order from Himmler to move the contents of both the deposits to Alt-Aussee, one of the biggest art deposits in Austria. Wolff replied that he was unable to do this from lack of military transport and gasoline. The Italians continued to try all means to obtain possession of the works, but were unsuccessful:

... indeed when the end came General WOLFF supplied LANGSDORFF with a demobilisation order and appointed him his representative for handing over the CAMPO TURES deposit *not* to the Italians but to the Allied authorities. At the same

time REIDEMEISTER and BRUHNS were sent to S. Leonardo for the same purpose.

When the final Allied drive into the north got under way in April, information about these two repositories which had been obtained from the Superintendent of Galleries in Bologna and from other sources was transmitted from the office of the director of the MFA&A Subcommittee to the partisans with the request that they prevent further removals. The S-Force of the operating armies was also informed and by early May the deposits and the chief German personnel of the Kunstschutz staff in all northern Italy were in Allied hands.

In his final and general report on the two repositories Captain Deane Keller (US) on August 1, 1945, tells the story of their capture:

... Early in May 1945, at San Leonardo and Campo Tures large deposits of Art treasures from the Florentine Galleries were found by elements of the 88th and 85th Divisions. Guards were immediately placed on them and since that time they have continued to be protected by American Military personnel.

A quick estimate of the condition of the paintings showed that almost every one was marked with signs of the vicissitudes of the trip. The mode of transport with army blankets and straw as the packing used for most of the works resulted in more or less serious scratches for nearly every painting, a large area on the sky in "The Return of the Peasants," one of the greatest of the rare landscapes by Rubens, being completely rubbed off and irreparable. More serious potentially was the fact that dampness had begun to stain many of the canvases and was probably at work on the panels as well. Oddly enough the Germans recorded their inade-

quate means of transport in a series of photographs.

Lieutenant Colonel Perkins (Br), the Deputy Director, Captain Keller and Lieutenant Frederick Hartt (US) of the MFA&A staff, accompanied by Signor Rossi, the Superintendent of the Florentine Galleries, who had completed inventories of the works that should be there, visited the two depots on May 14 and 15 and many times thereafter until they were finally brought back to Florence on July 21.

Superintendent Rossi placed a conservative estimate of \$500,000,000 as the value of the works of art in these repositories. They included some of the greatest paintings by Rubens, Botticelli, Breughel, Raphael, Bellini, Tintoretto, and many others, and sculptures such as the "Bacchus" of Michelangelo and the "Saint George" by Donatello. Such treasures were worthy of careful handling and scrupulous attention, which they received from all Allied and Italian personnel responsible for their recovery.

The works were checked against the inventories, photographs and written records were made of the damage incurred under German hands, many crates were built by professional packers under Army and Italian supervision, plans were made and executed to have trucks, cranes, and railway freight cars at the disposal of the movers at the proper times.

Captain Keller's report on the transportation of the crated works gives a clear picture of the care taken at all times:

... Special RR cars were hauled from Brunico to take certain pieces that were too large to fit the ordinary RR freight cars of German and Italian type ... No piece, either at Campo Tures or at

San Leonardo, was dropped or manhandled in any way. On the trip to Florence no jarring or incident detrimental to the things occurred, nor was there any incident there which might have damaged any single one of the works of art ... The Italians were in on the deal from the beginning and nothing was kept from them during any stage of the proceeding. Their advice was sought at all times ... According to Lieutenant Hartt, the Italians had complete confidence in the Americans all along and understood that the American idea was diametrically opposed to the German: there was never any secrecy; the things were expertly packed by Italians; the motivating force was the RETURN of Florence's Art Treasures to Florence; top priority was obtained for the trip back to Tuscany ... In the words of the Director of the Fine Arts Section of AC, this was the final and crowning act through an arduous campaign of protection for Italian works of art and was indicative of the point of view of the Allied forces in Italy.

The train of 13 cargo cars, 6 guard cars, a kitchen car, a passenger and office car, and a flatcar carrying 2 jeeps, pulled by an electric engine, left the station at Bolzano on July 20 and arrived exactly 22 hours later at the Campo di Marte Station in Florence. On the 22d a token load of 6 trucks was packed; they were decorated with American and Italian flags and a huge sign on either side with the insignia of the Fifth Army and the legend "Florentine Works of Art return from the Alto-Adige to their Proper Home" in Italian. These were parked in the Piazza della Signoria (Fig. 23), where 3,000 Florentines heard a short and eloquent speech by General Hume turning the Art Treasure over to Signor Pieraccini, Mayor of Florence. This was followed by an ovation, a banquet, and orations. At 8 p. m. the last case of sculpture was "expertly unloaded ... at the Bargello Museum and this ended the story." But the story

was not ended, for some works which were at the deposit at Montagnana were still missing. Among 9 from the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries were the "Deposition" by Bronzino and the "Labors of Hercules" by Antonio Pollaiuolo. At Campo Tures, 7 paintings from Poppi and Soci, 37 from the Finally Collection, and 8 from the Contini Collection were also missing. Records of them were being kept and circulated through the areas under Allied control until their fate might be determined.

Most of the official repositories in Tuscany fared better, for the rapid advance of the Allied forces freed them more quickly. In his "Report of Deposits of Art Treasures in Tuscany" made on December 3, 1944, Lieutenant Col. DeWald indicated that:

... Prior to June 1944, the Subcommittee's knowledge of the deposits of art-treasures to the north of the battle line was rather scanty. With the capture of Rome and as a result of the immediate contacts made by Lieutenant Cott, USNR, with the office of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the more complete and accurate lists of such deposits were made available to the Subcommittee. Copies of these were sent out at once (June 17) to MFAA officers with AMG, 5 and 8 Armies in the field for future reference.

As Tuscany was freed from the Germans in July, Captain Keller, MFA&A officer with the Fifth Army, inspected repositories at Monte Oliveto near Asciano, the Palazzo Ves-covile at Mensanello, where the great Duccio altarpiece from Siena was found to be safe, and the Villa Gamba-Castelli at Arceno. At this place the resistance of the partisans and later of British troops prevented the Germans from their attempt to take some of the pictures north as a "protection."

On July 20, when the Germans were beginning their work of removal, Cesare Fasola,

librarian of the Uffizi Gallery, set out on foot to visit some of the depots to the southwest of Florence, as he describes in his book *The Florentine Galleries and the War*. He found the Villa Bossi-Pucci at Montagnana emptied of many things and deserted, the only paintings remaining being those that it had been impossible to remove because of their size. He went on to the Castle of Montegufoni (Fig. 21), then held by small detachments of Germans. There was much disorder, and some paintings had been damaged from being moved around carelessly. Several days later at the Villa and Castle of Poppiano he found that there was little damage aside from the partial destruction of the "Visitation" by Pontormo. The next days he spent going back and forth among the four repositories until, by the 28th, the immediate area was cleared of Germans.

With the arrival of Allied troops he was able to come to a quick understanding on guarding the treasures at his headquarters in Montegufoni, and in billeting soldiers only in the free rooms. A couple of days later press correspondents appeared and were surprised at the publicity windfall that had come their way. They were eager to be helpful, assisted in rearranging the paintings in more orderly fashion, and passed word of the find to higher commands. Guards were placed at the four depots under his attention, and on August 1, Signor Fasola met Lieutenant Hartt who was just beginning his duties as Regional Officer for Tuscany of the MFA&A Subcommission. Additional gratification came to this patriotic and art-loving Tuscan through the visit on August 3 of the Commander in Chief, General Sir Harold Alexander who:

... stopped a long time gazing at these beautiful images of peace; at Botticelli's "Spring," at Paolo Uccello's "Battle of San Romano," at the great "Rucellai Madonna."

The importance of Signor Fasola's presence at these depots was recognized in Lieutenant Hartt's report of August 22, 1944:

... the safety of these collections is in very large measure due to the presence of Professor FASOLA, who interceded for them at all times with the German troops in the building [Montegufoni]. But for him the damage would have been very heavy.

Lieutenant Hartt visited the repositories listed above and also those at Castel Oliveto from which Langsdorff had removed the two paintings by Cranach, the Torre del Castellano at Incisa containing ancient sculpture from the Uffizi, the Villa of Torre a Cona which held some of the greatest sculpture of Michelangelo, Andrea Pisano, and Donatello, and the golf clubhouse at Campo dell' Ugolino which housed the entire collection of the Museo Civico of Pisa and many fine pictures from Pisan churches.

Later all the repositories in Tuscany were examined in detail, their contents checked with the inventories and with the assistance of responsible Italian officials, and full reports were made on the missing works, most of which were to be recovered in the Alto Adige less than a year later, and on the condition of damaged works of art. In many cases, where they were well housed and cared for the sculptures and paintings were left in the castles and villas for eventual return to their rightful locations by the Italian state. In some cases, such as when repairs were necessary to prevent further deterioration of the object, they were taken to technical shops in the larger cities.

Many problems were presented to the MFA&A officers in addition to those of the repositories of movable works of art from Florence, Pisa, Siena, and elsewhere, from the rapid advance through Umbria, Tuscany, and the Marches during the summer of 1944. Some were matters calling for immediate attention so that further damage should not result, like the operations in the Campo Santo at Pisa or the salvage of undamaged material from the Florentine bridges or the shoring up of that city's mediaeval towers weakened by German mining. Other matters included the attempt to save the remnants of the Forest at Camaldoli where the responsible Italians had been irresponsible, and the recovery of icons stolen from the church of the Santissima Annunziata dei Greci at Leghorn and the assistance offered in the apprehension of the thieves. Still others were the return of things to their habitual locations from the hiding places where they had been placed to escape the ravages of war, such as the equestrian statue of Cosimo I de' Medici. The part played by the MFA&A Subcommission in these typical activities will be described below.

Pisa was one of the most damaged of Italian cities. From the point of view of military necessity the splendid monuments of its past were thrown into shadow by the fact that it was the most important railway and highway junction in western Tuscany and was situated astride the Arno, serving as an anchor in the German line before the Apennines. The city was heavily bombed and was the center of a bitter contest during July and August. Although severely scarred in the loss of many characteristic houses and palaces, the greatest loss was in the injury of the Campo Santo, one component of that unique

group of religious buildings in the northern part of the city (Figs. 17, 18, 19).

On July 27 the roof was struck by a shell and fire broke out at about 7 o'clock in the evening. As the city's water supply was impaired, a few volunteers mounted to the lead roof where they tried to localize the fire by tearing up the metal to remove the wooden trusses. But a light wind blowing from the sea fanned the flames and the work could not be accomplished by so few men. By midnight the roof was completely burned, the lead had melted, falling in liquid drops on most of the sarcophagi and tombs below. The great loss was in the damage to some of the wall paintings, especially those on the north wall, where the 23 scenes from the Old Testament painted in tempera by Benozzo Gozzoli were in varying stages of collapse and disintegration.

The Germans took no preservative measures for the remaining frescoes or for the precious litter on the floors. But upon the entry of the Fifth Army on September 2, the MFA&A officer in charge obtained assistance from the Engineers of this Army, who undertook to do the first work of clearing. Through the efforts of the Senior Civil Affairs officer materials were secured to put up a protective roofing. Full cooperation and aid was given by the Italian Superintendencies of Monuments in Pisa, Florence, and Rome, through which groups of laborers were hired. Experts from the Istituti del Restauro at Rome and Florence were called in to take the necessary measures for the salvage and preservation of all the frescoed walls. In little more than a month after the Allied entry all these protective measures were completed and many photographs had been taken as a record of several phases in the state of these works of

art. The future of this, like that of all other damaged buildings in Italy, rests with the Italian Government and people; the Allies have mitigated the losses as much as possible while waging a victorious war.

Florence was much more fortunate; the city was not fought for, the Germans having withdrawn from it as untenable in the face of the obvious superiority of the Allied forces. However, to hinder as much as possible the Allied advance, they mined and destroyed three of the principal bridges over the Arno and attempted to create massive roadblocks at the ends of the Ponte Vecchio by demolishing the old houses and palaces on the Lungarno Acciaiuoli, the Borgo San Jacopo, and the Lungarno Torrigiani. This mediaeval core of Florence is gone (Fig. 20), perhaps forever, but the incomparable jewels of the city, for which it has been famous for centuries, are intact.

The Deputy Director reported on September 16:

... To picturesque FLORENCE ... damage is very heavy. The heart of the old city round *Ponte Vecchio*, with all its associations, is gone ... the greater part of the series of old houses on the south bank is totally destroyed. The destruction is of a thoroughness out of all proportion to the military results achieved. Work is now proceeding on the clearance of mountains of rubble to open the streets. An MFA&A officer is advising and observing. All that can be is being preserved and consolidated, to serve as a nucleus for rebuilding after the war. At the north end four mediaeval towers have emerged from the tangle of houses that had grown around them; and the façade of S. Stefano is substantially intact.

The Ponte Santa Trinità, the only monument listed in the official list of monuments to be protected that was wholly destroyed, will probably rise again with substantial portions

of its old decoration used, as is indicated in Lieutenant Hartt's report of September 6:

... Volunteer assistants under the direction of the young sculptor Giannetto Mannucci, have spent almost every day in the Arno in swimming trunks, bringing up the pieces of the destroyed bridge. A crane has been used, and up to the present time all four statues have been recovered, save for the head of the Summer. Three of the beautiful cartelli have been recovered, and many other ornamental pieces.

At about the same time a request was sent back to the United States for reproductions of measured drawings of the bridge. The Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies was able to find such drawings and to transmit photostats of them to the Theater through the American Commission. By February 1945, Lieutenant Hartt was able to report that an:

... Enormous mass of detailed studies of all fragments and of all photographs and drawings, by Architect Gisdulich, gives hope for eventual reconstruction of the bridge. Statues and carouches recovered from the river [are] now in process of restoration. Head of Summer still missing.

And in his final report made after the withdrawal of MFA&A officers from Tuscany in June 1945, he added:

... It will be possible to make an extremely accurate reproduction of the original bridge.

By February the other monuments in the devastated area had been given the varying kinds of first-aid attention they needed, the Baldovinetti and Carducci towers were completely re-roofed, half of the roof of the Torre dei Manelli had been erected, excavations were continuing around the Torre dei Amidei, where the southern portions were being shored in preparation for the reconstruc-

tion of parts of two destroyed walls of the tower. In addition the reconstruction of the façade of the church of Santo Stefano was almost completed, although tiles were still lacking to cover the building, and repairs were continuing on the frescoes by Poccetti, many of which were being detached, in the Palazzo Acciaiuoli, the whole Lungarno façade of which had been destroyed by the German demolitions.

Another loss that threatened to be severe was in the destruction of the Library of the Society "La Columbaria." This society was founded about 1730 for the study of science and the arts and owned a quite interesting library containing over 500 manuscripts, 36 incunabula, and many books. These were all buried in the ruins of the building and some were further injured and perhaps lost by being pushed into the Arno by Allied engineers' bulldozers that were excavating for water pipes to repair the water system in this part of the city. However, Capt. R. H. Ellis (Br), MFA&A officer with the Eighth Army reported on August 24 that:

... arrangements have been made with the Royal Engineers (Major Fennelov) for the rubble to be carefully cleared under the supervision of Professor Procacci and of Professor Bonaventura, of the Biblioteca Nazionale.

As a result 34 of the incunabula, 177 of the manuscripts, 4,097 pamphlets, 655 modern volumes and numerous works of art were recovered.

In a report of March 14, 1945, made to Lieutenant Colonel DeWald, the Regional MFA&A officer for Tuscany, Lieutenant Hartt wrote:

... The spectacle of the ruined forest [of Camaldoli] was one of the saddest thus far seen in Tus-

cany, more so than that of many a ruined church. The part along the road ... is almost completely destroyed. This section contained the oldest and finest trees, and was the portion protected by Italian law. More than two thirds of the way up to the Hermitage, the picture is one of appalling devastation, which in all likelihood it will take a century to repair.

This was a forest of centuries-old trees, largely silver firs, comprising, from its natural beauty and its rich historical associations with Saint Romualdus and with the Platonic Academy of Lorenzo de' Medici, the most important stretch of forest land in all Italy, and had been protected by Italian law as a National Monument since 1900. Both it and the monastery founded by Saint Romualdus were included in the Lists of Protected Monuments of the Allied Control Commission, and deserved the utmost consideration.

Signor Poggi, Superintendent of Galleries in Florence, who was in charge of this National Monument, visited it in October 1944, after several vain attempts in September, and found all in order. In the following March information came to Lieutenant Hartt that the forest was being rapidly destroyed. The felling had been begun in November to provide for the urgent requirements for wood for bridges in forthcoming operations; that is, from military necessity. The officer in charge of the Forestry Group that was carrying out the operation, a forest officer in civilian life, was distressed at the need to cut out entire tracts without regard for appearance or for the future of the land, and held it only justifiable by military necessity. All officers concerned visited the then untouched section of the forest around the Eremo of Saint Romualdus which Lieutenant Hartt urged it was

absolutely essential to save. The forestry officers:

. . . assured him that portion was in no danger for the next two months, that they would do all they could to keep from cutting it, but could promise no more than that.

It was late to attempt to influence Allied Headquarters, as Lieutenant Hartt was recommending to Lieutenant Colonel DeWald, but this was due to the negligence of the Italians directly responsible:

. . . [After Superintendent Poggi's visit in October when all had been found to be in order] no further visit was deemed necessary. Don Antonio, the Father Superior of Camaldoli, saw undersigned [Hartt] in Siena in mid-December, invited him to Camaldoli, but said nothing about the felling of the trees, which apparently had by that time been going on for a month and a half. At no time did either the monks or the Milizia Forestale notify the Superintendency about the felling, which it was their legal duty to do.

In his recommendation, the existence of alternative forests nearby but without similar historical associations was pointed out. At that time these were inaccessible owing to the mined roads which led to them, and Lieutenant Hartt advised that the opening of these roads was the only sure means of saving the forest of Camaldoli.

Among the more felicitous undertakings by the responsible officers of the MFA&A Subcommission were ones at Ancona, Florence, and Leghorn. The first was reported on March 27, 1945, by Capt. Basil Marriott (Br), deputy to Capt. F. H. J. Maxse (Br), in the region including Ancona (Fig. 24), in describing the operation that salvaged from their storage rooms below the demolished campanile of the church of San Francesco archaeological treasures from the

Museo Nazionale and ecclesiastical ones from the cathedral:

. . . the Paliotto and Church vestments from the Cathedral have reappeared virtually unharmed, and the condition of the recovered sculptured fragments exceeds expectations. To crown these efforts the Museum's gold objects of very considerable value have been recovered in an almost miraculously undamaged or restorable condition and, to the intense relief of all concerned, are safely housed in special accommodation prepared for them . . . roughly speaking an 80 percent recovery of the objects buried in the depository under the Campanile ruins has been effected, while of the remaining 20 percent a considerable proportion is restorable. This most satisfactory result . . . is most heartening and reflects great credit on the planning and recovery work of Professor GALLI and his staff. The timing of the recovery to coincide not only with the completion of the preparation of accommodation at Area HQ but also with a visit from the Deputy Director MFA&A Subcommission, was fortuitous but could not have been better; since Lieutenant Colonel Ward Perkins was armed with a camera, photographic subjects and excellent visibility completed the picture.

In Florence the afternoon of February 16, 1945, witnessed a memorable occasion, the return of the bronze equestrian statue of 'Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand-duke of Tuscany, from its place of refuge at the Villa Medicea in Poggio a Cajano to its normal habitat. After standing for more than 350 years as an adornment and symbol in the Piazza della Signoria the statue had been dismounted and laboriously transported out of the city in August 1943. The first of many similar acts of return, the procession was a triumphal one for the 477th Ordnance Evacuation Company, for Captains Keller (US) and Enthoven (Br), MFA&A officers attached to the Fifth Army and to the Allied Military Government for the city of Flor-

ence, as it was also for the officials of the Superintendency of Monuments and for the citizens of Florence, whose attitude may be typified by an extract from Captain Keller's report of February 17, 1945:

. . . Tremendous interest was evinced by the Florentines . . . [and] to cap the climax the undersigned observed a driver of a carrozza pulled by a horse at a trot, raise his hat and beaming from ear to ear say: "Cosimo, ben tornato!" [Welcome home, Cosimo].

The report continues:

. . . The implications of such a transport as manifested in the faces of the Italians along the route and in Florence City proper make it . . . a large and important undertaking in terms of giving pleasure to a people who have suffered and in establishing happy relations between these people and their present military governors.

On July 19, 1944, Allied troops entered the greatly damaged city of Leghorn. Since the destruction was so severe and there were comparatively few important artistic and historic monuments in this Medicean port, officers of the MFA&A Subcommission placed this city rather low in their list of priorities. But attention was drawn back to it in June 1945, for works of art, although again not of major importance, were apparently being looted from the ruins.

The Director of the Subcommission, Lieutenant Colonel De Wald, was offered several small Byzantine icons by a Florentine antiquary at ridiculously low prices. He called this matter to the attention of Lieutenant Hartt who soon found that some Livornese boys salvaging wood from demolished buildings had come upon the damaged church of the Santissima Annunziata dei Greci. There

they removed 17 painted panels, dating from the fifteenth century and later, from the iconostasis, and 2 altarpieces from the sanctuary, which, after passing through the hands of several dealers for trifling sums, were in the process of entering the commercial market. Lieutenant Hartt had a photographic record taken in January showing that several of these panels were then in their proper place and all this evidence was lodged with the police officials for disposition according to Italian law.

In April and June 1945, the regions of Latium, Umbria, the Marches, and Tuscany were handed over by the Allied Commission to the Italian Government. In consequence, the officers of the MFA&A Subcommission gave up their activities there to move northward. For a period of less than a year a very small group of men had been completely occupied in carrying out the manifold functions set forth as the objectives of the Subcommission. In performing these they had been, in great measure, successful. Knowledge of their activity was inspiring to Italians, devoted to their spiritual heritage, and inhibiting to the Germans, aware of the depredations of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in Poland and France and of some officials of the Kunstschutz in removing Tuscan property into a German administrative area. They had been the instruments through which many things of incalculable value had been recovered, or repaired, or spared further injury. They had not been able to save all the monuments and objects of artistic and historic interest and value from damage or destruction; but, during a war, no one could have done so.

## NORTHERN ITALY

Upon crossing the Rubicon and pressing on into Emilia in September 1944, the Eighth Army found endlessly repeated scenes of savage demolition such as had also occurred in the northern part of the Marches. In the final reports on these two provinces the MFA&A officers relate:

... The enemy ... had already completely demolished whole belts of villages. ... In Pesaro ... the fanatical German parachutists ... lived up to their reputation by systematically wrecking the town. ... A feature of the total damage, which no list can convey, is the ruin of so many of the small villages and townships of southern Romagna. Not many had monuments of great intrinsic importance, but together they formed a picturesque and vital part of the essential Italy. Their records too, now sadly depleted, were an essential and little-studied page in the story of the development of the free commune ... The destruction of these villages is one of the sad losses of the Italian campaign.

Fortunately, the opening of the spring offensive was quickly followed by the German surrender on May 2, 1945, so that most of northern Italy was spared such widespread devastation. The MFA&A officers who had been briefed to take over the northern areas followed quickly on the heels of their fellow officers assigned to the Fifth and Eighth Armies, and they were soon at work on such typical operations as those already described.

In Emilia the most serious damage to buildings, which was of immediate concern, was at the Tempio Malestestiano in Rimini, the Archiginnasio at Bologna, the Teatro Farnese of Parma, and the destruction of the frescoes by Melozzo da Forlì in the church of San Biagio at Forlì and the loss of the major part of the collections and records of the

Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche at Faenza:

... One of the two main deposits [of the contents from the latter], at the Villa Isola, was deliberately destroyed by its German occupants.

Such usual activities were undertaken as posting the culturally important buildings as "out of bounds", of getting in touch with the responsible local personnel for information on damage and losses, of advising and coordinating programs for repair and for the return of movable objects from their wartime repositories, and of recording the situation by means of photographs and written reports. Owing to the quick collapse of the enemy and the ending of the war the Allied control of Italy terminated before many months had elapsed and with it the duties of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee. By December 1945, all of Italy except Venezia Giulia was again administered by the Italian Government. During this period of from 3 to 7 months the Fine Arts officers performed a number of noteworthy acts, one of the most spectacular of which, the return of the Tuscan treasures, has already been described.

Less dramatic but of no less importance was the recovery of all the Ministerial Archives that had been removed from Rome by the Republican Fascist Government by June 1944. The archives officer of the Rome Region, Capt. T. H. Brooke (Br), was in direct contact with the Director General of Archives, and through him with the various Italian Ministries. While other MFA&A officers attached to the advancing armies were including the inspection of Umbrian and Tuscan archival depots among their customary duties, he was principally concerned

with the many and varied problems arising from the use of modern administrative archives for intelligence purposes, their protection from destruction by careless handling, and the recording of the location of deposits in the north so that as the armies advanced they might be sought out, be used, and be preserved.

In September, another archivist, Capt. W. D. McCain (US), was assigned for special archive work with the Intelligence Section at headquarters, and among other duties he assisted in compiling lists of the Fascist federations and institutions that had transferred parts or all of their archives to the north, where they were to be found the following summer. In his report of June 13, 1945, the Deputy Director, Lt. Col. J. B. Ward Perkins, was able to write of the activities dealing with archives:

... The most important work of the month has been the location and safe custody of the Ministerial Archives in the north. These have been found in surprisingly good condition in a large number of widely scattered repositories. The major items for immediate concern have been the occupation of some of these repositories by troops, specially on LAKE GARDA, and (as usual) the activities of G-2. The head of the Italian archives service has made a wide inspection in company with MFA&A Archives Officers and has submitted recommendation on the subject of removal to the South. All are agreed that a policy of piecemeal removal would lead to chaos. The material for a coordinated plan is in preparation.

The Archives officer mentioned had found these archival records in Brescia, Mompiano, Salò, Gardone, Lonato, Treponte, Maderno, Cremona, Venice, and Valdagno. There was an enormous mass of material, amounting to about 4,000 packing

cases in the files of the General Directorate of Public Safety in Venice and Valdagno alone. Such other departments and agencies as the Ministries of Justice, Finance, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Industrial Production, Italian Africa, Popular Culture, the State Council, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the National Institute of Fascist Culture, as well as documents of Fascist officials including much of Mussolini's material were stored at these places.

In addition, the local archives of all the northern cities and towns were inspected either at their customary places or in the hundreds of repositories to which they had been sent for safety. The return of many was often hampered by the destruction of or the severe damage suffered by their normal shelters, as in Milan and Brescia.

Several meetings and consultations took place with the MFA&A archives officer and the representatives of the northern and ministerial archives officials to plan the safekeeping of these records, and to establish policies on their return to Rome. The detailed organization of the administration and transfer was carried out by the responsible Italian officials and by September the transfer was well under way, large shipments, amounting in fact to 11 trains of 35 trucks each during the months of September, October, and November, moving southward at regularly established intervals, a model of foresight and cooperation between the interested Allied officers and the no less concerned civilian officials.

There were many other instances of concern for the fate of these historical records as is evident from the questionnaire sent out with an accompanying letter of August 10,

1945, by Cardinal Mercati, Librarian and Archivist of the Vatican, to all dioceses asking about the fate of episcopal, chapter, parish, and other archives. Similarly the interest of the Government is to be seen from a statement of the MFA&A Director on February 16, 1945:

... The project of the Italian Ministry of Interior to make a complete survey of Italian Archives has brought in full returns so far from SARDINIA, SICILY, and SOUTHERN ITALY. For the first time an exhaustive census of Italian archives seems to be in the process of achievement. This census to date shows the very small proportion of loss or disturbance by Allied troop-occupation.

At the beginning of May the situation insofar as the MFA&A Subcommission was concerned is contained in the Director's statement:

... The surrender of the Germans automatically removes that portion of its work which concerned the protection of Italian monuments during battle operations. Its chief work now are those of requisition of buildings, first-aid to war-damaged monuments, and the recuperation of the displaced objects of art. The latter has assumed tremendous importance and is well in hand.

The recuperation of displaced works of art and the eventual return of all to their original places will be the work of many months, to be handled by the Italian Government. But the checking of works missing from southern and central Italy which might have been removed from the country was a concern of the MFA&A officers. The story of the Tuscan treasures, found in the Alto Adige, has already been told. However, within Italy, in isolated castles, in subterranean rooms of monasteries and palaces from Piedmont to the Veneto great numbers of repositories established by the Fascist governments shel-

tered works of art, libraries, and scientific collections. In Lombardy there were about 25 such depositories, the largest, containing nearly 5,000 cases of objects from the Civic Museums of Milan, being in the Sanatorium of Sondalo. One great depot was in the Baroque palace on Isola Bella in Lago Maggiore. The responsible Italian officials of the Ministry of Fine Arts had brought many things here for storage and had tried, in vain, to have the paintings and sculptures taken by the Germans from Tuscany brought there. Through the efforts of the National Committee of Liberation all these deposits were kept intact, and shortly after his arrival Lieutenant Cott, the Regional MFA&A officer, examined the more important ones. Complete detailed inventories of all objects were kept by the Superintendency of Galleries and the Office of Fine Arts of the Comune of Milan, and no losses have been reported.

Like the return of archives the greater part of the transfer of the works of art will be due to the activities of the responsible Italian civilians. One exception, in addition to those already described, was the sorting, checking, and return of numerous Allied-owned properties which had formerly been shown in the great Leonardo Exhibition. These were stored in the Castello Sforzesco, where they were processed by the Property Control Section and the MFA&A officers.

Venice was one enormous repository; works of art that had originally been dispersed from it were returned, and objects of all kinds were gathered in from churches, libraries, and museums of the Venetian mainland, and from cities such as Bologna, Ravenna, and Forlì.

The city suffered no damage beyond a small amount of broken glass. In consequence not only were all its priceless monuments (Fig. 26) and treasures saved along with all those stored there, but it afforded an opportunity to provide the Allied troops with a real view of the works of art, which, because of the war, had been impossible at Florence. Protective coverings were rapidly removed from churches and free-standing sculptures, many sculptures and paintings were brought back from repositories, and by early June two exhibitions were open, one of paintings of the Venetian primitives in part of the Academy, another one temporary, that of the great bronze horses, the lion of Saint Mark, and the equestrian Colleoni placed in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace (Fig. 27), and plans were being made for a larger exhibition of "Five Centuries of Venetian Painting," which was shown in the Museo Civico Correr after July 21.

In northern Italy and particularly in Lombardy a situation arose which had not been frequent before. This was the "epuration" of former allegedly active Fascist officials. A number of experienced officials were deprived of their offices, and the introduction of persons who were not career officials, and the difficulty of procuring trained personnel resulted in:

... a certain confusion and lack of efficiency in the Superintendency at a time when a firm and competent set of men was needed to meet the many emergencies.

The Subcommission urgently recommended to the Ministry that it appoint a career man before the closing down of the Allied Commission, although the Regional officer had in fact contributed to the difficulty by recom-

mending the suspension of five officials in the Superintendency of Monuments.

Milan, the large industrial and communications center in this section of the country, was severely bombed and burned, especially in August 1943, when a great many historic palaces were gutted (Fig. 25). The most urgent repairs had already been completed or were in progress before the arrival of the MFA&A officers. The arrangements were described in the final report for the region:

... These works were under the direction of the Superintendency of Monuments, but were executed and financed by the Genio Civile, an arrangement which led to delays and friction. At a meeting held on 12 July 45, it was agreed that repairs to national monuments should be carried out by the Superintendency and financed by the Ministry of Public Instruction, with funds advanced by AMG. This scheme worked out well up to a point, but not as well as it might have, owing to personnel difficulties.

Some repair works continued automatically after the arrival of AMG, and only required occasional assistance, others required fuller organization. Continuation of works was promoted and in some cases finance applied for.

A major problem that has apparently not yet been solved and which was not within the province of MFA&A functions was that of the large number of partially destroyed palaces. The final report indicates its nature:

... If a palazzo is destroyed, or so damaged as only to be fit for demolition, the "Vincolo" or government control in National Monuments is lifted, and the owner is free to sell the site for the erection of modern buildings, getting more for the site than the original palazzo was worth. But if the facade or any of the artistic parts of the building are still standing, the "Vincolo" still holds even if the rest be destroyed, and the owner is faced with the alternatives of either rebuilding it more or less as it was if he can afford to, or letting

it stand and rot if he cannot, in both cases at a dead loss unless the Municipality or the Government steps in. The result is that owners of partially damaged palazzi are doing all they can to get them condemned as unsafe and therefore demolished, to the danger of the Italian "Patrimonio Artistico." The Commissario for Monuments, Arch. Rocco, has put a strong case before the Comune of Milan for dealing with this anomaly with equity, proposing to use part of the profits of the winners to compensate the losers, and to save from demolition as many palazzi as he can. Up to the moment nothing serious has happened; the danger is ahead.

In both Lombardy and the Veneto a number of the German military and civilian personnel of the Kunstschutz organization were captured in early May. They were carefully questioned by members of various branches of the Allied armies to elicit information about the character of this organization, its scope and personnel, and its activities. Much clarity resulted; the current locations of almost all cultural and artistic works were determined. Detailed reports of the results of these interrogations were circulated to all armies, control groups, and commissions interested in this activity and concerned with the fate of moved or missing works of art or cultural treasures. These eventually assisted in recovering all but an infinitesimally small number of the works which had been moved under the orders of this and other German organizations.

One such was the Abteilung Denkmalschutz of the Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht of the Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland which operated in Venezia Giulia, Slovenia, and parts of Dalmatia. The officials of this section were, on the whole, honorable and competent in the protection of

monuments, but they were unable to prevent the looting of libraries like that at Castel Duino and that of the Military Casino at Pola by SS and Wehrmacht troops, or to halt expropriation of all types of Jewish property. Also in view of enriching the Institute for Carinthian Research, founded at Klagenfurt in 1942, orders were sent out throughout the Operationszone for a listing of archival material of all kinds, but with particular emphasis on records important for their Germanic character and connections. From Lt. Col. J. B. Ward Perkins' report of August 2, 1945, based on the interrogation of enemy personnel and the examination of the files of this organization, it has been possible to draw up another of the many documentations revealing the planned looting of many types of cultural material of artistic and historic value. The systematic activity of various agencies of the German Government will one day be fully recorded and made available for the world to learn of its complete indifference to the wishes and rights of any except those controlling its policies and practices. After the first set of trials at Nuremberg later judgments of the minor criminals may reveal the manifold ramifications of the German contempt for all but the Herrenvolk. In the assembling of this information the officers of the MFA&A Subcommittee have played an important and essential part, if a small one when the breadth of scope of German looting and depredation is considered.

In the meantime when it was active, from June 1943 until January 1946, little more than 2½ years, the Subcommittee, which never had a personnel of more than 40 officers and enlisted men, accomplished very much. Specimens of the kinds of activities

have been related, but it may be fitting to list them in resumé.

After the initial determination of policies and the issuance from the commanding general of directives of the broadest scope, more detailed policies dealing with all possible phases of activity had to be determined. With these as bases operating procedures for operational and quiescent phases of the campaign were worked out in great detail. Then all operating units had to be informed of these policies, so that, despite the insignificant size of the MFA&A Subcommittee with the Allied Armies, knowledge of the respect due to artistic and historic monuments would be understood by the combatant forces.

Within the Subcommittee the officers in the advanced areas were obliged to know the important monuments, to post them "out of bounds," and to impress the commanders of the need to obey such orders, and to get in touch with the local civilian personnel responsible for such monuments. They had to try to reactivate these officials, make arrangements that they be paid, examine the monuments for damage or loss, and make recommendations for any immediate repairs deemed necessary. At the same time they must make reports of their findings to headquarters, where records would be kept for subsequent action and for the information and action of higher authorities.

When the operational phase for an area was terminated, the MFA&A officer assigned to that region would take charge, having previously assisted in drawing up the lists of protected monuments and made his plans for the administration of the section. The

initial steps of his predecessor would be augmented, work on recommended projects would be considered and requisite action be taken or referred back to headquarters for decision. He, too, would make reports at regular intervals on the progress of the various projects under his authority, on estimates of work to be financed, on the state of rehabilitation of the local administrative machinery, on the status of all pertinent factors within the area for which he was responsible.

These reports would either be referred immediately to the Chief Commissioner or would be included in the Monthly Report from headquarters, which contained all relevant material. These reports from the various regions and armies, together with newspaper and periodical articles or clippings, enemy propaganda relating to artistic monuments and cultural treasures, as well as a summary of all activities of the Subcommittee written at headquarters comprised the Monthly Reports which were then circulated to all responsible authorities, including the American Commission, where they exist, unique in this country, as the essential source of information about the condition of monuments, works of art, archives, libraries, and similar matters in Italy, and about the actions taken by these officers to protect and preserve, insofar as was in their power, Italy's share of the cultural heritage of mankind.

The final work before the termination of the Subcommittee was to prepare a set of 16 final reports with a detailed summary of its activity and of the status of cultural objects in the fourteen regions along with a general summary for the whole operation and one on archives in Italy.

## B. EUROPEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS (ETO)

### 1. FRANCE, BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBOURG

#### INITIAL PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

When the operations of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommittee of the Civil Affairs Division were well under way in the Mediterranean Theater, the War Office, on November 1, 1943, appointed the noted Mesopotamian archaeologist, Sir Leonard Woolley, as Archaeological Adviser to the War Office with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Upon his recommendation Prof. Geoffrey Webb, early in 1944, was made a lieutenant colonel and adviser to Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) on all matters relative to Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives.

The initial scheme drawn up in January envisaged a table of organization with roughly equal proportions of British and American officers to the number of seventeen, with an additional pool of ten to be used in the later stages of operations. The Civil Affairs staff was organized in Functional Sections and Country Sections, the Functional Section dealing with preparation of policies, general planning, general orders and instructions common to all countries, with recommendations of personnel qualified to serve as specialist officers, and with the coordination of all ideas relating to MFA&A operations. The Country Sections specialized in the particular problems of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Norway, those countries where the Allied Armies would presumably be active in combating the enemy.

In March, the Civil Affairs staff went to the west of England to devote themselves to planning, the concrete task being the production of a handbook for each of the countries concerned. These were not only informational but contained the orders and instructions under which Civil Affairs officers were to work. The first need for the officers of the Arts and Monuments Branch of the Interior Division, Country Sections/Units was to draw up a list of monuments to be exempt from military use and which should be the basis of any list of buildings to be given special consideration in planning operations.

These lists designated as the Official Lists of Protected Monuments were made up by collaboration between the individual Country Sections and the Functional Section, drawing principally upon the material available in the ACLS Committee's annotated maps and city plans, and in the mimeographed lists prepared by the American Defense—Harvard Group, although other sources of information were utilized. These official lists were to be basic in the operational phases, having the authority of a military order without weakening its effectiveness by discriminating between the relative importance of the individual buildings. They were minimal consistent with reasonable military requirements. Decisions involving discrimination were to be left to the staff officers acting on the advice of the MFA&A specialists who would be equipped with the more complete and detailed lists supplied from America. Where possible the cooperation and criticism of the Allied Governments were invited before final versions of the lists were determined.

In addition to these lists for the seven countries involved, a Standing Operation Pro-

cedure for MFA&A officers in the field was compiled, to show these officers how they would fit into the military machine and to provide elementary technical instruction in those aspects of the work with which they were not already familiar by training. This was based on the fuller treatment of technical instructions which had also been produced in America and on current procedures of first aid to bombed and burnt-out buildings supplied by the British Office of Works. The production of this manual by all the officers concerned was highly useful, aside from its operational value, as a device for training and clarifying the minds of these officers as to the details and techniques of their work. Special lists on archives, the contents of church treasures, and on the personnel connected with art collections, libraries, and other cultural institutions were also produced at various times. (See Bibliography.)

In April, contact was established with the staff of Air Marshal Tedder, which resulted, as soon as SHAEF took over the control of all air operations in May, in the demand for information from Lieutenant Colonel Webb in a form suited to the Air Command's needs. The information desired was of two kinds. The first supplied was information to enable due consideration to be given to cultural monuments in framing a strategic bombing program, which involved supplying a special list made of towns graded according to their importance. The second was as to the sites of particular buildings for use in tactical bombing operations, for which 135 copies of the atlas for France (Civil Affairs Handbook, M 352-17A Supplement) were immediately supplied, and further information was passed on as it became available.

By May most of the MFA&A staff had returned to London where they were attached to Supreme Headquarters, to Armies and Army Groups, to the Headquarters European Theater of Operations, U. S. Army, to various missions to represent the Supreme Commander at the Ministerial level for the countries of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway, and to regimental assignments in the European Civil Affairs Division. A number were held in a pool, unattached to specific military organizations. Planning and preparations for future operations proceeded, part of the earlier work resulting in a series of Orders, Directives, and Instructions being issued by General Eisenhower for the Commander in Chief, Sir Bernard L. Montgomery.

With the coming of D-day and the subsequent rapid advance through France during the summer, the plans of these officers became actualities. From this time until the utter collapse of Germany which was signalized by the capitulation on May 7, 1945, the operational or SHAEF phase was dominant.

#### CAMPAIGN

The invasion of Northwestern Continental Europe was launched by British, Canadian, and American forces on D-day, June 6, 1944, along fifty miles of the coastline of Normandy between Cherbourg and Caen. After a bitter struggle, Cherbourg fell on June 27, and the Allied forces had, by July 1, deepened the beachhead up to twenty miles in the area between Caen and St. Lô, against increasingly stubborn resistance in the aggressively defended hedgerows of the Cotentin Peninsula. By July 25, the offensive under General Bradley (commanding the Twelfth U. S.

Army Group) had broken out of the beach-head at St. Lô and Avranches and had advanced swiftly toward the Meuse River. Previously, tons of bombs had been dropped on enemy positions on a narrow front. This break-through led to a campaign well-known for its speed and boldness. Following the First U. S. Army's break-through, the Third U. S. Army thrust forward from the Avranches breach on August 2, and cut off the Brittany Peninsula by August 6, isolating large numbers of German divisions. Then on August 13 it swept north from Le Mans around the southern flank of the German Normandy position toward Argentan. Simultaneously, Canadian forces of the British Second Army drove south from Caen toward Falaise, and this pincers movement created the now famous "Falaise Pocket" in which 100,000 enemy troops were caught or thrown into disorder as they escaped toward the Seine through the "Falaise-Argentan Corridor."

The Germans, having lost Normandy, began withdrawing beyond the Seine, where their escape route was cut off above Elbeuf by the Third Army's capture of Mantes on August 18, after an unprecedented race eastward from Le Mans and Argentan. Meanwhile, the Twenty-first Army Group under Field Marshal Montgomery advanced in the northern part of France.

On August 15, the Seventh U. S. Army and the First French Army, aided by the French underground, landed on the southern coast of France southwest of Cannes. Advancing up the Rhône Valley toward Lyon and toward Gap and Grenoble, the forces met to seal off the retreating German columns. On August 25, French divisions of the First U. S. Army entered Paris.

Meanwhile, the reduction of the French ports still held by isolated German divisions was going on, and by September 19, Dieppe, Le Havre, and Brest had fallen.

The defeated German armies were now streaming, under constant air attack, across France toward the Siegfried Line. The First and Third Armies, driving northwest from Melun and Troyes, reached the Aisne and the Marne, while British forces crossed the lower Seine and pushed on to the Somme. On crossing the Aisne, part of the First Army turned northward and raced on to Mons, while the Third Army, overrunning Reims and Chalons, pushed eastward, and by September 7, had reached the line of the Moselle from Nancy to the vicinity of Metz. On September 11, elements of the Third Army contacted Seventh Army columns northwest of Dijon. On September 16, approximately 20,000 occupational troops of the German Army from the Biscay Bay area surrendered southwest of Orléans.

To the north, the First U. S. Army had crossed the Belgian frontier on September 2, captured Liège on the 8th, crossed Luxembourg and entered Germany on the 11th. The British Twenty-first Army Group liberated Brussels on September 3, and Antwerp the next day. They crossed the Dutch frontier on September 12, and by the 15th the Channel coast was cleared as far north as Zeebrugge except for isolated enemy forces holding out in key positions. By November 27, the port of Antwerp was in operation, but under heavy fire from German V-weapons. On September 17 and 18, the First Allied Airborne Army landed in Holland in the Eindhoven-Arnhem operation which,

meeting desperate German counterattacks, was only partially successful.

Meanwhile, to the south, the First U. S. Army pushed into Germany and took Aachen on October 21, after bitter fighting. On October 3, the Ninth U. S. Army had been brought up from the western coast of France and entered the line between the First and Third U. S. Armies, and then moved to the northern flank of the First Army above Aachen. By the end of November, the Third Army, driving toward the Saar, had reduced the formidable Metz area and the defenses along the Moselle and Seille Rivers. The Southern Army Group drove into Alsace-Lorraine and by November had occupied Strasbourg and the area along the Rhine from Mulhouse to the Swiss border. Between the two forces remained a large portion of Alsace known as the "Colmar Pocket."

In mid-November General Eisenhower launched a charging offensive to penetrate the fanatically defended Siegfried Line and take position to cross the Rhine. On December 16, between Mondschau and Trier, Field Marshal von Rundstedt made his last desperate counter-attack. The fiercest fighting of the Battle of the Bulge was concentrated at Bastogne and St. Vith. The tide of battle began to turn when the Third U. S. Army brought its full weight to bear on the southern flank of the salient, in southern Luxembourg. The crisis had passed by December 26, but the enemy had driven, at points of extreme penetration, more than 50 miles into the American lines. The reduction of the Ardennes salient involved our First and Third Armies in heavy fighting under severe winter conditions, but by the end of January the bulge was eliminated at a cost which later proved fatal to the enemy.

On January 20, the First French Army launched an attack in southern Alsace to reduce the "Colmar Pocket," and by February 9, the Allies held a line from Strasbourg to the Swiss border on the west bank of the Rhine. By March 11, they controlled this west bank from Nijmegen in Holland to the Rhine's junction with the Moselle at Koblenz. In 6 weeks the combined efforts of the Allied armies had achieved a major objective and the German soil west of the Rhine had been cleared of all hostile forces. The progress of the drive into Germany is summarized in Part IV B 2, page 125.

On May 5, the German commander surrendered all forces in northwest Germany, Holland, and Denmark. On May 7, 1945, the German Government surrendered unconditionally to the Allies at Reims all forces of the Reich.

#### DAMAGE TO HISTORIC MONUMENTS

Closely related to the course of the campaign was the damage to artistic and historic monuments, damage to property being, in general, inversely proportional to the speed of military operations. The rapidity of operations is all the more apparent when it is realized that by the third week in September, less than 4 months after D-day, the whole of northern France and substantial parts of Belgium and Luxembourg were in Allied control.

The area of most concentrated fighting, where German resistance was strongest, was the Normandy-Brittany region. Consequently, damage in France there reached its peak of intensity, and yet, the situation as regards monuments is far better than the scale of military operations would have led one to

expect, and few buildings of outstanding quality were destroyed or damaged beyond repair. Caen was the first large center of protracted and bitter fighting. Yet here, the two great mediaeval abbeys, founded by William the Conqueror and his wife Mathilda, are intact except for a few small shell holes; the churches of St. Pierre and St. Jean were badly but not irreparably damaged; Notre-Dame-de-la-Gloriette is intact. St. Gilles, the Château, and many old houses were, on the other hand, flattened, and the University Library with all its contents was destroyed. Avranches and Argentan, focal points in the campaign, were both largely destroyed. At Bayeux, the Cathedral and much of the city are intact. At Coutances, though the market place is gone, the Cathedral stands (Fig. 29). In the many small cities and towns of Normandy, such as Vire, St. Lô (Fig. 28), Lisieux, Falaise, the major monuments still stand, though battered, and the real loss has been to the hundreds of individual buildings, many in themselves insignificant, which comprised the picturesque complex of these mediaeval and Renaissance centers.

Rouen, target of repeated attack over 4 years, suffered perhaps more than any other city of France. Bombed by the Germans in 1940 and by the Allies in the spring and summer of 1944, the three great mediaeval churches were all hit and most of the old town destroyed. The south aisle of the Cathedral is partially destroyed (Fig. 31) and the Tour St. Romain gutted by fire which also destroyed the adjacent Chapter Library. The sculpture is undamaged, however, and the building can be restored. Part of the ambulatory of St. Ouen, and part of the apse of St. Maclou were hit, but the structures are

sound. The Palais de Justice was partially destroyed by a bomb, and gutted completely by a fire which swept to it from a palace across the street burned by the Germans before their evacuation in August 1944. The external walls are standing, but the interior decoration is a total loss. The entire area south and southeast of the Cathedral has been completely destroyed by fire. Of the old buildings in the area, there still remain the Monument de St. Romain, the Porte Guillaume-Lion, part of the walls of the Anciennes Halles, the shell of the Ancienne Eglise des Augustins, and the Tour St. André. The church of St. Vincent and the wooden Maison de Diane de Poitiers are gone. On the other hand, the Rue de la Grosse Horloge, with its clock, is intact in its façades although fire reached the backs of the houses. The rest of the city has lost individual buildings, but many of the old wooden houses remain. The French authorities took all necessary precautions for protection, first-aid repairs and salvage to the damaged buildings, and though Rouen will never be the same, much of it can be rebuilt and repaired.

In Brittany, St. Malo is an important loss. The walls are virtually intact, but the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses within are nine-tenths destroyed, and the Castle and Cathedral are seriously damaged. Mont-Saint-Michel was untouched except for certain reconstructions and fortifications which the Germans built on its ramparts. At Vannes and Rennes, the important monuments are intact or only slightly damaged.

At least 95 percent of the damage inflicted to major monuments was caused by air bombardment. It is difficult to estimate how far

the comparative immunity of the greater cathedrals of France from damage was due to efforts of the Allied Air Forces based on information supplied by SHAEF, but certainly such information was sought by the air staff and supplied, and except for Rouen, the great Gothic monuments of France have escaped comparatively lightly.

Owing to the speed of advance after the Normandy break-through, little damage was done in the areas between the Seine and Belgium during the Allied operation, and the serious damage dates for the most part from 1940. Chartres was continuously bombed, but the Cathedral, only a short distance from one of the principal airfields of France, escaped entirely except for minor shell-pocks in its towers from German antiaircraft projectiles. The Hôtel-de-Ville, Mairie, Library with all its contents, and the Porte Guillaume, were, on the other hand, largely destroyed. Alençon was bombed by both sides, but the ancient houses and buildings of public or historic interest are undamaged. Mantes Cathedral stands virtually untouched despite the path of devastation which swept past its very portals to the nearby bridge.

Paris and the great châteaux of the Ile-de-France and the Loire Valley are virtually intact (Fig. 33). At Chantilly, only a small gatehouse was burned by fire started by a German grenade. A small portion of the stable was burned during the German occupation. At Blois, the Louis XII wing was damaged in 1940, but was restored; the Chapel was hit by a shell in 1944, but the rest of the Château is intact. Angers, though shaken by blast, is essentially undamaged. Saumur was struck by both Germans and the Allies, but its important churches and the château are intact. Tours

was considerably damaged in 1940, when the Ancienne Eglise des Jacobins was demolished and the church of St. Julien, the Cathedral, and the Priory of St. Côme were partially destroyed. But the Château and the Archbishop's Palace, and the houses of the old town are for the most part intact or restorable with the exception of the Hôtels Gouin and de Jehan Gallant. In 1944, Orléans was also struck by bombs and artillery which partially destroyed the north tower of the Cathedral and the church of St. Paul. The grievous destruction in this city, which virtually annihilated the center, dates back to 1940 and subsequent years, and was chiefly by incendiary raids.

In the Oise area, Reims Cathedral and the city are largely intact. There was no damage to any of the listed monuments of Soissons except to St. Jean des Vignes, ruined during the First World War, its spires and façade hit again and pitted by shell and rifle fire. The Cathedral of Beauvais still stands in the center of the city, which was destroyed by fire in 1940 (Fig. 30). Troyes has only one irreparable loss, that of the small fifteenth-century church of St. Gilles (Fig. 34). The Cathedral and churches of Châlons-sur-Marne have received only minor blast and shrapnel damage, largely due to German demolitions of the bridges. At Verdun, the Palais de Justice was virtually demolished by a German raid in 1944, but the Cathedral was only slightly damaged and most of the monuments are intact.

Further to the east, Nancy and Metz are largely undamaged. Strasbourg Cathedral received two bomb hits but the damage is insignificant and did not affect the sculptures or the stability of the structure. The nave of St. Etienne, earliest church of the city, was de-

stroyed; the Château de Rohan was seriously damaged by bombs, but the old houses are largely intact.

In the British area, the Cathedral at Laon suffered slight damage while the church of St. Martin and the adjacent Hôtel-Dieu and Prefecture were badly gutted by bombs and fire. Amiens Cathedral is intact, although the center of the city was destroyed by fire in 1940. At Lille, Douai, Cambrai, and Valenciennes, the historic monuments survived with only minor injuries.

Little damage occurred in southern and southeastern France, where the campaign was rapid. There were bombings, and skirmishes between the Germans and the French Forces of the Interior who held the greater part of southwestern France, but so far as can be determined, major monuments escaped practically unharmed.

The liberation of Belgium was accomplished with remarkably little damage to monuments, although some destruction was caused by air bombardment and much general devastation by the German V-weapons. Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent remain almost intact as regards their monuments, with the exception of the Palais de Justice in Brussels, deliberately destroyed by the retreating enemy. Bombs and flying bombs account for much of the damage: at Antwerp, to the seventeenth-century façade of the Musée Plantin-Moretus; at Liège, to the Hôtel de Ville, some old houses, many of the churches, including the Cathedral, St. Croix, and St. Jacques, where the stained glass windows were destroyed. At Courtrai, Louvain, and Tournai, the centers of the cities were badly bombed; in Courtrai, the church of St. Michel was destroyed and

Nôtre-Dame was damaged. At Louvain, the Library, destroyed in the First World War and rebuilt, was again completely gutted, and the Benedictine church of St. Gertrude largely destroyed. Practically the entire center of Tournai was destroyed in 1940 by bombing, shelling, and fire. The roofs of the Cathedral nave and aisles, and the Parish Chapel were burned, and all adjacent buildings gutted, including the Halle aux Draps containing the Museum of Antiquities and Decorative Arts. At Malines, damage was largely confined to the outskirts. Namur (Fig. 36) and Mons received some damage. The Germans also deliberately blew up some church towers in their retreat, notably that of the sixteenth-century church at Hoogstraeten, which British artillery had refrained from bombarding although it was known to be an enemy observation post.

The Battle of the Bulge in the Ardennes occurred in a region relatively unimportant from the point of view of monuments, so that no major damage was incurred by the double action in Belgium.

In Holland, damage to important monuments, contrary to all expectation, was very slight. Amsterdam, Delft, Haarlem, The Hague, Maastricht, except for its old stone bridge, Leyden, and Utrecht are virtually intact insofar as their monuments are concerned. This is true of all the major cities of Holland with the exception of: Breda, where the important mediaeval Groote Kerk was damaged, though the funerary monuments were saved; Arnhem and Nijmegen (Fig. 37), centers of the airborne attack, where the churches of the former were ruined, the Weigh House and Museums of Nijmegen damaged, and its Groote Kerk and Town

Hall largely destroyed; Rotterdam, devastated by German raids in 1940, the Groote Kerk and marketplace gutted; and Middelburg, which lost many of its fine old houses, and where the Nieuwe Kerk and Town Hall were badly damaged.

As a result of the rapid movement of the armies across the country, the monuments of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg generally escaped serious exterior damage. During the German occupation, many châteaux were ruthlessly looted, altered, and vandalized, such as the Château of Ansembourg, used as a school for Hitler Jugend, which was stripped of all its valuable furniture and its library by the Germans. The Abbey of St. Maurice near Clervaux, also used as a Hitler Jugend training school, was remodeled by the Gauleiter to adapt it for its new purpose, with concrete floors and partitions introduced to divide up the church, library, and other large rooms. War damage to the monuments of the city of Luxembourg was very slight.

In nearly every instance, in these countries, the most important collections of works of art, and in most cases, libraries and archives, had been evacuated from their buildings to places of safety and are largely intact. Important archives, however, at Tournai, Mons, and Louvain were destroyed in 1940. None of the great national treasures of France, Belgium, or Holland were lost in the war.

#### PLANNING AND POLICY FOR MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES—FRANCE, BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS

As finally organized, SHAEF, G-5 Section, Operations Branch, directed the operation and planning of Monuments, Fine Arts, and

Archives matters for France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The principal control headquarters, the Functional Group, directed all work of the MFA&A units and prepared policies, plans, orders, drafts, and instructions for the execution of the work. One MFA&A unit, distinct from the German Country Unit, was activated early in March 1944, as part of the Interior Subsection, Special Staff, Civil Affairs, SHAEF. These officers prepared and revised two sections of the Field Handbook for Civil Affairs, France, prepared operational charts of the subsection in its relation to the Country Unit as a whole, and, from April 27 on, established liaison with the French delegation for the purpose of obtaining information regarding French depositories of works of art, personnel of French museums and libraries, etc.

The need for specific instructions concerning historic monuments and works of art, which would be issued by command of SHAEF to all echelons, similar to those issued in Italy, was felt long before operational commitment. It was realized that in northern Europe, as in Italy, the feeling of the nations for their monuments made it imperative, for the sake of good relations with the peoples of Allied countries, that the Allies show the utmost respect for their national treasures, and that our behavior in this matter would affect postwar feeling. We should be fighting in the territory of our friends, and it was essential that the policy in respect to historic monuments should be binding for all Allied personnel, and not merely an instruction to Civil Affairs officers.

On May 26, 1944, General Eisenhower issued the following letter concerning the preservation of historical monuments, which

was an enlargement over the policy of his directive for Italy:

Shortly we will be fighting our way across the Continent of Europe in battles designed to preserve our civilization. Inevitably, in the path of our advance will be found historical monuments and cultural centers which symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve.

It is the responsibility of every commander to protect and respect these symbols whenever possible.

In some circumstances the success of the military operation may be prejudiced in our reluctance to destroy these revered objects. Then, as at Cassino, where the enemy relied on our emotional attachments to shield his defense, the lives of our men are paramount. So, where military necessity dictates, commanders may order the required action even though it involves destruction to some honored site.

But there are many circumstances in which damage and destruction are not necessary and cannot be justified. In such cases, through the exercise of restraint and discipline, commanders will preserve centers and objects of historical and cultural significance. Civil Affairs Staffs at higher echelons will advise commanders of the locations of historical monuments of this type, both in advance of the front lines and in occupied areas. This information, together with the necessary instruction, will be passed down through command channels to all echelons.

The SHAEF Civil Affairs Directive for France, May 25, 1944, stated that it was the basic policy of the Supreme Commander to take all measures consistent with military necessity to avoid damage to all structures, objects, or documents of cultural, artistic, archaeological, or historical value, and to assist wherever practicable in securing them from deterioration consequent upon the process of war. Commanding Generals were directed to:

(1) Take such steps as might be consistent with military necessity to insure that no unnecessary or wanton damage was done to such structures, and to make such regulations as they thought fit to insure that full respect was paid by the troops to the historical and cultural monuments, and all other artistic achievements, of the French people;

(2) Take steps to insure that no building listed in the Official Civil Affairs Lists of Monuments would be used for military purposes without their explicit permission or that of the commander to whom they might delegate the power to give such permission;

(3) Authorize Commanders, at their discretion, to close any of these buildings and put them out-of-bounds to troops;

(4) Insure that the prevention of looting, wanton damage and sacrilege of buildings by troops, was the responsibility of all commanders and insure that the seriousness of the offenses of this kind would be explained to all Allied personnel.

The Civil Affairs Directives for Belgium and Luxembourg were the same as those for France, while in those for the Netherlands, the Commander in Chief, Twenty-first Army Group, was directed simply to explain all appropriate protection to public and private records, archives, art and other cultural treasures, historic buildings and monuments, and the property of institutions dedicated to religion, charity, education, the arts and sciences.

In Civil Affairs Instruction No. 15, the duties of MFA&A officers were clearly defined as follows:

A. *In the field:*

- (1) Visit as many places as possible within the area covered by the group of detachments in order to inspect and report on the condition of monuments, repositories and works of art.
- (2) See that all monuments on the Official List of Protected Monuments are exempted from mili-

tary use unless specific permission had been given by the appropriate authority.

- (3) Consider whether any monuments or portions of monuments on the Official List of Protected Monuments might suitably be used for billeting or other military purposes.
- (4) Consider whether other historic monuments should be placed out-of-bounds/off limits.
- (5) See that notices are posted when required.
- (6) Advise CA detachment commanders of buildings in need of urgent repairs.
- (7) Arrange for salvaging whenever possible of fragments of important monuments and works of art.
- (8) See that proper steps both physical and legal are taken for the care of movable works of art.

B. *Until such time as the indigenous governments assumed full responsibility for the protection and custody of their monuments, it would be the responsibility of the Civil Affairs detachment commanders:*

(1) In the case of Buildings to:

- (a) Determine the location of all monuments on the "Official List" for his area.
- (b) Prohibit billeting and/or military use of all buildings in the CA "Official List", unless specifically authorized by Army Group Commanders or subordinate commanders to whom authority to give such permission was delegated.
- (c) Prohibit the occupation of buildings which contained art collections, scientific material or objects of religious veneration unless no alternative accommodations were available. If such buildings were occupied, he would:

1. Call for a report from the responsible officer, stating the condition of the building and its contents.
2. See that contents not of military use were stored in a place inaccessible to troops.
3. See that contents in use were properly inventoried.
4. Make periodic checks of the condition of the building and its contents.

- (d) Take such steps as might be immediately necessary to secure monuments on the "Official List" whether damaged or not, from further deterioration, looting or wanton defacement.
- (e) Report immediately any cases of looting, wanton damage, or culpable negligence on the part of Allied troops or of the indigenous population.
- (f) Prevent the demolition of any portion of a monument on the "Official List", without the advice of an MFA&A Specialist Officer, unless urgent requirements left no alternative. If it were necessary to move debris belonging to a monument on the "Official List", this should be collected together if possible within the walls of the building.

(2) In the case of movable works of art to see that:

- (a) Works of art were not removed unless absolutely necessary to prevent further damage, and, if removed, that an inventory was prepared giving location of the new storage place.
  - (b) Existing labels were not removed from any objects.
  - (c) Works of art would not be left or stored below drainage levels, or near water pipes, steam pipes, stoves or furnaces, but that the storage areas were structurally sound and adequately protected.
  - (d) All fragments of works of art were gathered together and preserved.
  - (e) Movable objects of art found outside a place belonging to the person or institution having title over them were to be impounded and if necessary handed over to the Comptroller of Property. Obvious museum repositories would be left intact with proper guard placed over them.
- (3) The Civil Affairs Officers report was to contain the following information:
- (a) Location of monuments on the "Official List".
  - (b) Extent of damage to monuments.

- (c) Protective measures taken to prevent looting and defacement.
- (d) Temporary repairs suggested.
- (e) Necessity for MFA&A Specialist Officer assistance.
- (f) Extent of instructions issued for handling of debris of damaged monuments.

Planning in regard to archives as a more specialized field distinct from the usual duties of the MFA&A officer was considerably retarded during the initial planning phases. This was due to several reasons: lack of trained archivists in the armed forces; the highly technical nature of archival procedure; and the broad construction given to the term "Archives," which was used to embrace ". . . all accumulations of documents, both active and historical, and whether public or private." The Civil Affairs Instruction Guide, "Field Protection of Objects of Art and Archives," May 12, 1944, contained a section on depositories of books, manuscripts, archives, and records, and directions for their protection and salvage in case of damage. On August 20, 1944, the Supreme Commander issued a letter on the preservation of archives which marked the first concrete definition of policy on archives as distinct from monuments and works of art. This letter pointed out the importance of archives not only as individual documents but as related series which might be ruined by the displacement of a few documents. In order to insure that archives were not destroyed or damaged, all buildings in which they were housed were to be, whenever practicable, placed "off limits," to all troops. Instructions for Germany were, as time went on, made more and more specific as regards archives.

On the basis of the Harvard Lists, the

Cultural Atlases and Handbooks, lists of archives drawn up by the National Archives and British agencies, and other compendiums of monuments, the various MFA&A Country Units of SHAEF prepared a series of Official Lists of Monuments and Collections to accompany Civil Affairs Handbooks and Directives for France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The assistance of various Allied national authorities in London was also solicited. These Lists were the only lists of monuments the use of which was to be prohibited to military personnel. The numbers of monuments thus listed for the various countries were: France, 1,643; Belgium, 463; the Netherlands, 224; and Luxembourg, 30. In some cases, entire towns, such as Les Baux and Mont-Dauphin in France, were given as official monuments, and in other cases, singularly effective complexes of buildings, while not forbidden to military use as an entirety, were cited as worthy of special attention.

#### MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES OPERATIONS

As in the Mediterranean Theater, the first task of the MFA&A officers in the European Theater was the inspection of sites and monuments, both to report any damage, and to take measures to prevent the further deterioration of historic buildings or objects by initiating first-aid measures. In the liberated countries, there were excellent civilian organizations concerned with the Fine Arts, which had not been, as in Sicily and Italy, disrupted to any extent by the war. It was therefore their responsibility to carry out any actual repairs to damaged monuments, and to procure labor and finances for such re-

pairs. The MFA&A Specialist officers acted only in an advisory capacity to these officials, and assisted actively in repair work only insofar as they were able to provide occasional transportation and to requisition or procure necessary materials from the Supply Services for the use of and under the direction of native civilian officials.

It was the general practice in each department (province) of France, for example, through which the armies passed, for the specialist officers to visit first the department architects or other responsible officials to determine which sites and collections were known by them to be intact or damaged. Reports from these officials on the condition of monuments under their jurisdiction were requested and submitted at regular intervals. Any site found to be even slightly damaged was noted, for the most part visited, and photographed whenever possible. Châteaux, particularly those on the official lists, were investigated thoroughly to determine the status of possible past or present occupancy, and if damaged, when, how, and by whom. This involved collaboration with native authorities and owners to establish the facts of the removal or wanton destruction of works of art by the Germans to insure against false claims by the owners against the Allied authorities and the possibility of accusations against Allied troops, and to prevent damage which might be used for propaganda.

The MFA&A officers kept one, two, or all of three specific types of records and reports. The first, a diary, was to maintain a brief consecutive record or log of the activities of the officer. The second, a fortnightly report, informed officers at higher headquarters of

the principal activities of the reporting officer during the 2 weeks preceding the date of the report, and contained descriptions of places visited, monuments inspected, action taken for protection or emergency repair, instructions on procedures at various localities, personnel consulted and under the charge of the officer, status of equipment, supplies and transportation, and a brief consideration of all pertinent matters. Thirdly, a Field Record was compiled giving specific data on the condition of buildings and objects inspected, local personnel consulted, and instances of actual or reputed damage or deterioration. These reports were all collated and consolidated at both Army Group and SHAEF headquarters. The latter two types of records were the ones most frequently submitted, and the form of the Field Reports was eventually standardized.

The enormity of the task of inspection can be seen from the following brief statistics. The areas to be covered by the MFA&A officers grew, within a very short time, to such an extent that it was practically impossible to inspect and report on all the officially protected monuments, much less those not mentioned on the official lists. Up to December 1, 1944, during the first 4 months of operations within Headquarters Communications Zone (Com Z) alone, a total of 1,240 sites and 597 towns were visited by an average of 2½ MFA&A officers in the field. This amounted to 125 sites and 60 towns per man per month. A recapitulation of the official lists for France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Germany reveals a total of 3,415 items. For the major part of operations, the MFA&A officers in the field averaged 10 in number, three at Headquarters

Com Z, and 1 each with the First, Third, Seventh, Ninth, and Fifteenth U.S. Armies, Second British Army, and First Canadian Army. This meant 341½ officially listed monuments per officer, and did not include several thousand other structures eventually to come within their purview, or the approximately 350 known repositories of works of art which were to come within the area of U.S. forces in Germany by May 7, 1945. Where damage was concentrated in important small areas or in cities, the one officer usually attached to an Army had to choose between brushing over the surface of only some of the entire Army area, or confining his activities to one place, or, especially in France and Belgium, taking care of emergency situations involving the billeting of troops.

The problem of covering extensive operational areas was greatly complicated from the beginning by the lack of assigned or adequate transportation. In spite of constant and repeated requests, this problem was never fully solved in any U. S. command. The problem, serious in France and the Low Countries, became even worse with the rapid advance into Germany. For example, the MFA&A officer of the First U. S. Army, with approximately 15,000 square miles to cover in one of the richest cultural areas in Germany, was without assigned transportation or enlisted assistance. It was frequently necessary for MFA&A officers to hitchhike from place to place, or to beg rides with other officers traveling on entirely different missions, thus restricting their time and itineraries to those of other persons. This was seldom a satisfactory arrangement, particularly since MFA&A officers often had to

go to small and remote places which no other Army personnel had any occasion to visit. Occasionally, cars could be requisitioned from a general motor pool, but this was an exception rather than a rule. A few MFA&A officers managed eventually to get jeeps assigned for their permanent use, but they were distinctly in the minority.

Closely connected with the specialist officers' personal inspection of sites and buildings were the reports received periodically by them, at their request, from civilian authorities with whom they immediately made contact upon entering any given area. These reports were far more detailed and comprehensive than any which the individual officers could hope to make, and in addition, gave information on the progress of first-aid repairs and projected permanent repairs long after the officers had left the region. The efficiency of the civilian organizations was curtailed by the fact that disruption and lack of transportation facilities made it impossible for them to visit all sites as frequently as would have been desirable. Their reports, however, coupled with those of the MFA&A officers, give a reasonably complete picture of the war damage throughout the liberated territories, and of the possibility and progress of repair.

In cooperation with these authorities, MFA&A officers were often able to aid in the immediate and urgent salvage of works of art and other objects from damaged buildings. The more quickly a site could be reached after it had been damaged, the greater were the chances of successful salvage of parts or all of the buildings and their contents.

An example of salvage early in the cam-

paign is that of the Calvary at Plougastel-Daoulas in Brittany, one of the most famous roadside shrines for which the region is noted. Struck by artillery fire, certain of the figures were broken and chipped, and the fragments left scattered on the ground. The fortunate arrival of Cpl. (later Lt.) John D. Skilton, Jr. (US), who brought with him the French official responsible for the monuments in the area, resulted in the gathering of all fragments for safekeeping and eventual restoration, and an early assessment of the damage. The presence of MFA&A officers with combat troops also made possible such preventive measures as the systematic dismantling, rather than the disorderly demolition, in some instances, of ancient city gates which proved too narrow for modern military equipment to pass through. Engineer units were persuaded to enlarge or take down such gateways by removing the stones and numbering the blocks as they were removed. These stones were then stored in safe places until such time as they could be properly reconstructed.

In Belgium, the salvage of an object of local veneration demonstrated one of the many ways in which MFA&A activities fostered good will among the people of the liberated countries. La Gleize, a small village near Liège, was first visited by an MFA&A officer, Capt. Walker K. Hancock (US), on November 30, 1944. It was then untouched by war. At the time, the officer noted, in the church, an exceptionally fine late Gothic wooden statue of the Virgin. Returning to the town exactly 2 months later, this same officer found the town approximately two-thirds destroyed by shell-fire. It had apparently been the objective of an armored spearhead during the Battle of

the Bulge. The church was badly damaged, its roof partially gone, and the nave filled with rubble and snow, but the statue was intact, even though it was constantly exposed to damage from falling plaster, debris, and the inclement weather. This condition was reported to the Bishop of Liège, who requested that the statue be brought to the Seminary at Liège for safekeeping. The few remaining inhabitants of the village, however, protested strongly against the removal of their statue, and would even have preferred to leave it in the church until they realized its danger. It would also have been impractical to attempt to move the statue far, since it was permanently attached to a heavy stone base. Proper transport was not available and the roads to Liège were icy and treacherous. Consequently, a sound vaulted cellar was located in the house of one of the villagers, and, with the aid of everyone in the town, the officer carried the statue there. The few inhabitants of La Gleize then insisted on pooling their scanty rations to prepare a dinner for the officer and his aide, in order to express their gratitude to them.

MFA&A officers also spent some time trying to track down statues and church bells taken under German occupation for melting down into metal for munitions. These objects, usually of little artistic merit, were nevertheless important to the inhabitants of the towns from which they had been stolen. At a foundry in Blanc-Mesnil, for example, Lt. (later Capt.) James J. Rorimer (US), found several statues of French heroes, local and national, of various eras, taken from various cities in the region, stacked helter-skelter with metal scrap of every imaginable sort.

Occasionally, as in Italy, war action resulted in the discovery of some hitherto unknown work of art. For example, a series of mid-sixteenth century wall paintings were found by Pfc. Lincoln E. Kirstein, assistant to Capt. (later Maj.) Robert K. Posey (US), specialist officer attached to the Third U. S. Army, in the damaged church of Mont-Saint-Martin (Meurthe-et-Moselle). Captain Posey arranged with the U.S. Signal Corps to photograph the frescoes, and, through the Louvre authorities, requested that an expert be sent to take over the care and further uncovering of the paintings.

MFA&A officers also investigated many claims of alleged damage by U.S. forces. For example, the reported complete destruction of the Château of Chenonceaux proved, on inspection, to consist of blasted windows in the chapel and a broken battlement caused when two bombs fell in the moat. Otherwise the Château was intact. It could not be ascertained if the bomber was enemy or Allied.

Monuments placed "off limits" to troops or military use ranged everywhere from entire towns to gardens and parks. These signs were not always as effective as it was hoped they would be. Mont-Saint-Michel is a case in point. The MFA&A officer inspecting it, at the request of local authorities, found three "off limits" signs there to be meaningless. Army vehicles were being driven all over the town, where no cars of any sort had been permitted before the war. The towers of the Abbey had on occasion been used without proper authority as observation posts. The officer explained to the guardian the policy about use of the Abbey for military purposes, and recommended that the site be used as a

place to visit but not for overnight occupancy and that no vehicles be permitted there. Disciplinary measures proved successful, and the "off limits" signs acquired more meaning.

This same officer, Lt. James J. Rorimer, worked for weeks in conjunction with military and local authorities to exempt the Tuileries Gardens in Paris from use as a motor transport parking place, and was successful in his efforts.

In spite of the elaborate estimates of stockpiles of protective and restorative materials drawn up during the planning phase in London, in the field practically no restoration, protection, or repair of monuments as originally envisaged was undertaken. The reasons for this were: lack of any agreed priority or requisitioning procedure between the MFA&A organizations and the administrative sections for supply; the practical impossibility of demanding materials for purposes of repair, protection or restoration in the face of over-all logistic problems; the natural unwillingness of national or local authorities to furnish, or even accept such materials for protection or repair of monuments when other and more urgent humanitarian demands were being made upon them for housing and the repair of utilities; and lack of any clearly defined responsibility placed on any military organization for the supply of such materials. As operations progressed, the damage from aerial and artillery bombardment became so great that no quantity of such materials consonant with the possibilities of shipping, labor, or local procurement would have been sufficient to effect substantial repairs or protection. The most pressing first-aid measure, and the only

practical one, was the supply of suitable materials, when possible, for temporarily covering damaged roofs. In isolated cases, it was sometimes possible for MFA&A officers to procure materials through the individual cooperation of sympathetic staff sections of the units to which they were attached, but in general, operational priorities and military needs were such as to make this procedure, even when feasible, a rare and lengthy one. This is shown in a report of the MFA&A officer, Third U. S. Army, who wrote on January 15, 1945: "Materials required for first aid to the University of Pont-a-Mousson, recommended in field report . . . dated November 23, have been released from requisition by Engineer Section, this Headquarters." Repairs were started on this building in January, and U. S. Army transport was loaned to civilian authorities for delivery of the materials.

Depositories of art collections removed from their normal locations and dispersed for protection presented no very great problems in France and Belgium (Fig. 32). The air and ground forces were informed of the locations of these national repositories, and also, since most of them were in isolated places not directly in the line of operations, they were not often threatened. In France, one of the most important of the approximately 30 depositories of art, established before the war began, was at the Château of Sourches, Department of Sarthe, where the principal collections of the Louvre were stored, and where competent French authorities had remained on the scene throughout the occupation. After D-day, with the consequent disruption of transportation and communications, some difficulty was encountered in the supply of coal for the heating

and dehumidifying apparatus in the depository, fortunately without serious results. Lieutenant Rorimer, on a visit to Sourches on August 24, 1944, found, on examination of the humidity charts for some of the cellar storage places where 550 extremely valuable paintings had been placed after D-day, that there was a relative humidity of approximately 79-85 percent. This was an extremely hazardous condition which might have resulted in deleterious mold growths on the pictures. It was recommended that M. Bazin, Curator of the Department of Paintings, be given a permit to go to Paris in a French vehicle to see the Director of the Louvre, and return with 4 or 5 men who could help remove the paintings from the cellar to the first floor and do any necessary restoration work. No restorer had been able to get to Sourches after D-day.

On another occasion, the Bibliothèque Nationale requested sufficient motor fuel for an inspection to be made of the Library depository at Rigny-Ussé (Indre-et-Loire), and also sufficient coal to maintain a drying and ventilating system at the depository. This request was referred by the MFA&A officer to the proper office and the supplies were made available.

In Belgium, repositories were equally well cared for by local authorities, with the added advantage that, except for the major works of art (the Ghent altarpiece, removed from the Château of Pau in southern France, where it had been sent by the Belgian Government for safekeeping, the Michelangelo Madonna and Child from Bruges, and certain paintings from Bruges and Louvain stolen by the Germans and transported to Germany) the return of works of art to



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museums was comparatively easy for the national authorities without aid from U. S. forces because the country occupies a relatively small area. Insofar as possible, MFA&A officers inspected repositories along with local authorities to ascertain and report on their condition, and to see that adequate guards and protection were given those in the path of our armies. The contents of German repositories found on Belgian soil, such as that at Amblève with objects from Aachen, were turned over, after checking, to the Belgian Government.

An important problem involving a depository came with the discovery by the First U. S. Army of the hiding place of the greatest Dutch public and private collections in the quarry caves at St. Pietersburg near Maastricht, Holland. On September 17, 1944, a secret message was received at headquarters to the effect that the principal Netherlands art treasures were stored there and that the Netherlands Government desired immediate protection for them. The MFA&A Specialist officers with the Army immediately proceeded from Verviers to St. Pietersburg. The collection consisted largely of paintings, drawings, and prints by Flemish and Dutch masters, as well as many works by Italian, English, French, German, and Spanish artists. There were approximately 800 paintings and, in addition, archives, textiles, ceramics, scientific specimens, and a few musical instruments, all gathered from very important collections: the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the 4 Royal Palaces, the Franz Hals Museum in Haarlem, the Lakenhal in Leyden, and the Friesch Museum, Leeuwarden. The officers reported that the guard at the depository consisted of 2

armed policemen on 24-hour duty, and 2 unarmed civilian custodians who controlled the steel door leading to the gallery. This had proved to be adequate protection during 2½ years. At the time of the MFA&A officers' inspection, the telephone connections from the repository had been broken, and it was possible that a deliberately planned act of vandalism or sabotage might cause incalculable damage or loss. The officers recommended that "to increase protection against the unlikely but conceivable perpetration of such an act, means should be undertaken urgently to repair telephone connections, and that 8 more men might be added to the present guard of 2. This further protection could be taken away as soon as normal conditions were reestablished in the area and civil authorities were satisfied that subversive acts could not reasonably be expected." The precautions taken proved adequate—no vandalism was ever attempted at the repository. The contents, after some months, were returned to their respective museums by Netherlands museum officials.

The problem of protecting archives was not as great in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands as it was in Germany. The main task of MFA&A officers in this connection was to make secure buildings with archival contents. These buildings were, when possible, posted "off limits," and, if especially valuable, the contents were put under military guard when such was available. Often buildings in which the archives were originally housed were completely or fairly intact, but their contents had been so widely dispersed for safekeeping that, with transportation disrupted and native personnel unavailable, immediate restoration of the

contents to their original locations was not feasible. In most cases, maintaining security was the chief MFA&A function. An example of this is the case of the archives of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. On October 23, 1944, Dr. Tony May, Archivist of Luxembourg, reported to MFA&A officers of the First U. S. Army that the archives of the former rulers of the Grand Duchy had been removed in 1942 by the Germans to Ehrenbreitstein. Information later given by officials in Bonn indicated that an archival repository of major importance existed at the ancient Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. This fortress was taken by the First U. S. Army. Data regarding the repository had been forwarded to combat units, and the areas of the fortress containing archives and works of art were at once posted "off limits." An inspection was made by the MFA&A officer on April 1, 1945, and the archives were found to be generally intact. The 28th Infantry Division took further precautions by requiring each enlisted man to sign a statement acknowledging his own responsibility for protecting the contents of the fortress, and a show-down inspection was made as the troops departed. Changes of area of command and especially of the security guards posted at the fortress did not affect the archives to any great degree, since cases of documents offer little temptation to souvenir hunters. Among the principal archival collections in the fortress, in addition to those of the principal cities of the Rheinprovinz, were the Royal Archives of the House of Orange-Nassau, and the Luxembourg collections. A partial inventory of the collections had been compiled, but with the approach of U. S. forces in March, this inventory had been removed to an unknown

location, so that any attempt to recatalog the contents and return them to their original housing was impossible. The necessary personnel for such an inventory could conservatively be estimated at 20 curatorial or archival specialists, approximately the skeleton staff who had formerly cared for the archives. This personnel could not be supplied by the Allied Forces, whose MFA&A officers for the entire ETO at that time numbered 12. The task would probably take 3 or 4 years. It was decided, therefore, that no further action would be taken regarding the archives other than to continue the security guard. The archives of the House of Orange-Nassau were later removed and returned to Holland by competent archivists sent through the SHAEF Missions to Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

In Belgium there were instances of damage to archives and works of art arising from the confusion of battle, which illustrate a type of problem fortunately not frequently encountered. For example, at Stavelot the archives had not been moved to a repository. The following extracts from the report of the MFA&A officer, First U. S. Army, for February 1, 1945, show the unforeseen emergencies encountered as a result of the Battle of the Bulge:

Concerning Stavelot, in the Province of Liège:

The damage to protected monuments by American troops described below can be ascribed to the following unavoidable combination of circumstances. The town was occupied by opposing troops, within a range of yards from each other, for nearly a month. Fighting was unremitting and ferocious. Civilian authorities present in the town at the time were either too frightened or too harassed by other problems to make representations to military authorities regarding the use of the Hôtel de Ville and

Museum. The military authorities, on the other hand, were not inclined to abandon, even temporarily, their urgent duties. Weather was such as to make any kind of cover and insulation the optimum. An assessment of the damage made under more stable conditions is likely to be misleading. It can be stated categorically that looting and wanton damage took place. But it was not possible to ascertain by what troops, at what time. The Burgomaster complained (about the middle of January) to Military Police authorities, who cannot now be identified, in regard to the state of the Hôtel de Ville. He reports that he was told the damage had been done before the arrival of these authorities. The War Diary of Det 15D2 . . . on duty in Stavelot during the period under consideration discloses no notation of any protest by civilian authorities to the CA authorities. Had such protest been made, it would not, in all probability, have been possible to effect remedial action at that time. The vandalism reported to the undersigned and the conditions which partially continue in the Hôtel de Ville, are undoubtedly a reflection on the discipline and conduct of American troops. But this lack of discipline and inexcusable conduct cannot be fixed upon one unit, and may have been due, in part, to the circumstances attending their presence in the town.

Report of Damage: The Hôtel de Ville, Stavelot:

Found in an intolerable state of disorder and filth. Apparently records and papers of every description had been indiscriminately pulled from cabinets, thrown about, and destroyed . . . Other units . . . had "policed" rooms allotted to them by shovelling their contents (Town archives and records, furniture, portraits) out of the windows into the rear courtyard . . . Two rooms have been set aside for civilians engaged in sorting out what remains of the archives.

The same officer, reporting a month later on the Hôtel de Ville at Stavelot, indicated the building as considerably battered because of the proximity of the battle and the occupation by combat troops, but not injured beyond repair. Loss to the contents was described to

him by the burgomaster as "much less grave" than he had originally supposed. Duplicates of the Etat Civil were in Verviers, and two of three missing paintings had been recovered. Work of putting the building in order was well advanced.

The situation described above illustrates not only the danger to unprotected archives and works of art, but the greatest single problem encountered by MFA&A officers in the field in the liberated countries—that of the billeting of troops in historical buildings, both those on the official lists and those omitted from it, and the protection of those buildings from spoliation and damage. In spite of the universal distribution given General Eisenhower's letter of May 26, 1944, and the publication of the Official Lists of Protected Monuments, this remained a constant and pressing concern. There were numerous and complex reasons for this, by no means all of them to the discredit of the U. S. forces.

Primary among these reasons were: incomplete knowledge of the existence of a definite policy for the protection of historic and artistic monuments, or the official lists, among tactical commanders who were sometimes not apprized of Civil Affairs plans and who were not included in the distribution of such directives; over-riding emergencies in which the need for troop accommodation outweighed any other considerations; lack of instruction and discipline of some units, who, in the urgency of combat, were understandably disinclined to respect historic edifices; overenthusiasm on the part of the liberated authorities, who, in the first excess of gratitude to the U.S. forces, offered them the use of buildings which later suffered because of this generosity; political pressure on the part

of influential liberated nationals for the protection of their private property; and the logical but sometimes unfortunate assumption by U.S. forces that buildings which had been occupied for 4 years by German units were in effect captured, and consequently open to immediate use.

Difficulties of this nature began almost as soon as operations on the Continent. Perhaps fortunately, the areas chosen for the initial landings were not architecturally the richest, insofar as French domestic architecture is concerned. With the liberation of Paris and the immediate surrounding area at the end of August 1944, and the consequent establishment of several large headquarters with numerous supporting units within the city, an acute situation developed. Many of the buildings requisitioned were on the Official List of Protected Monuments. Some, omitted from the list, were nevertheless worthy of as much consideration as others which had been included. MFA&A officers were constantly being called upon to justify the military necessity of occupying a monument on the official list, or to protect a monument not so covered. In each case, a command decision was necessary before the occupancy or evacuation could take place.

One element of confusion arose from the fact that the Palace of Versailles, parts of which were occupied by SHAEF, was included on the official list. On September 6, 1944, an MFA&A officer was called upon to arrange for the use of limited areas in the Petit Parc and the Parc du Petit Trianon for open-air storage of equipment and light vehicles. The Chief Architect of the Palace and the Prefect of the Department had agreed to the use of these areas on the absolute

understanding that the Gardens of Versailles were not to be used for troop occupation. Lack of storage facilities in the neighborhood was, on the other hand, causing considerable difficulty for SHAEF. It was recommended by the specialist officer that the prevailing conditions and the purpose for which the areas were required warranted this infringement on the official list and permission for use of the gardens was granted.

A typical case in which a monument of exceedingly great historic and intrinsic value was improperly occupied without authorization was that of the Château of Dampierre, also on the official list, occupied in September 1944. The specialist officer's report on this occupation is, in part, as follows:

Practically the entire building, except for the chapel and one room, are now occupied by two trucking companies . . . consisting of about 300 officers and men.

The fine panelled rooms are hung with personal equipment and belongings. There is no appreciation whatsoever for the quality of the surroundings. The kitchen is placed in one wing under one of the most important libraries (with archives) in France and a fire would cause inestimable damage to both the library and the chateau with its belongings.

These troops were evacuated shortly after by order of the commanding general.

It was not long, after repeated such occupations, before the first generous impulses of the liberated population gave way to complaints, many of them altogether justified. These became so numerous that official action, other than that of the MFA&A Specialist officers attached to the various headquarters, was necessary. A letter, Preservation of Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives, issued on October 1, 1944, called attention of all subordi-

anate units to the Supreme Commander's policy and directed special attention to the problem of billeting. The letter, in part, read:

3. *Billeting of Troops.* Many complaints are being received that our forces are not respecting historical monuments and art objects, particularly private chateaux. Many of these chateaux are on the Official List of Protected Monuments, and should be placed out-of-bounds. Many others contain works of art of great value and furnishings which are impossible to replace and upon which exaggerated claims can and will be made.

- a. Military personnel should not be quartered in places listed on the Official List of Protected Monuments.
- b. Troop commanders should be advised as to the above prohibitions.

4. Monument Specialist Officers have been allocated to assist your headquarters in the work outlined below:

- a. To make contacts with Regional, Departmental, and Communal authorities and private owners of historical chateaux and art collections, and advise them of their responsibility.
- b. To check listed monuments and art objects where subjected to war damage, looting, or use by military personnel.

On October 28, 1944, Headquarters Oise Section, Com Z, issued further instructions stating that "any disrespectful or damaging act, no matter how slight, is forbidden . . . and will be considered sacrilege in the case of sacred buildings," and further directing all commanders to take necessary action to prevent troops of their command from damaging any art treasures, including public monuments and historical sites, and to report to headquarters the location and nature of any such damage. Still further action from higher headquarters became necessary. On November 14, 1944, a letter, Use of Buildings,

Their Contents, and Other Property by Military Personnel, was issued by HQ ETOUSA. This directive ordered disciplinary action in all cases involving looting, pillage, theft, unnecessary damage to property or any unauthorized taking, use or occupation of or entry upon property by military personnel, and further stated that disciplinary action would be taken against all officers permitting or tolerating any such conduct by personnel under their command, or failing to take disciplinary action as directed.

Renewed publication of directives and additions to the disciplinary and supervisory methods taken did bear results by placing responsibility directly on the commanding officer of an occupying unit although it did not necessarily solve the problem, as may be seen from the report of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5, HQ Com Z, to the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5, SHAEF, of December 1944:

Lawless occupancy of chateaux by US military personnel presents the greatest single problem at the moment. This condition is prevalent in the Paris region and west of Paris where Service Troops are now necessarily quartered; i. e., Seine and Oise Sections. The following are examples of this condition which have presented themselves for solution during the past week.

Chateau de la Chaumaine near Compiègne . . . ; owner was being entirely dispossessed and valuable furniture being improperly moved out . . . (Telephone call was placed and two days later . . . an amicable understanding had been reached. Valued furnishings were being properly stored and guarded.)

Chateau Boulay near Le Havre was reported to have been partially destroyed by fire.

These cases are being investigated.

The story of billeting was not always one of destruction or damage. Often the reports of the MFA&A officers were encouraging

and revealed the manner in which damage due to carelessness or lack of knowledge on the part of occupying troops was prevented.

The report of Lieutenant Rorimer, MFA&A officer, Seine Section, November 24, 1944, on the use of the Château at Le Marais, on the official list, shows the precautions taken for protection on the advice of the specialist officers when they were apprised of the use of monuments for military purposes:

On 6 Nov. the Surgeon, Seine Section, requested information concerning the status of Le Marais. The undersigned went to Le Marais where directives and the use of the building were discussed with the Commanding Officer of the Sixteenth Station Hospital. Representatives of the owner were in favor of using the building as a hospital. The Regisseur had removed various items from the chateau including many rugs damaged by the Germans. Owing to military necessity permission was granted by the Commanding General for the use of the chateau as a hospital. On 9 Nov. the undersigned, accompanied by Jacques Dupont, Inspecteur General des Monuments Historiques, went to Le Marais to place all the important objects of art "Off Limits" in the Great Salon. Advice was given and recorded in letter . . . sent to Seine Section Surgeon.

This was the usual procedure when permission was granted to put an important historical monument to military use. All movable works of art and valuable furniture were placed in certain designated rooms, which were then securely locked, placed "off limits" to military personnel, and the key delivered to the owner or his representative. A certified inventory of the objects placed in the room or rooms, signed by the owner or his representative was then forwarded to the Army headquarters concerned. Any immovable objects, such as terra cotta stoves, fountains, etc., were protected by appropriate

boardings. Rooms with fine panelling, marquetry floors, tapestried walls, etc., were likewise locked and placed "off limits." In this way, all contents of value which could not be removed by the owners were protected from damage. The consequent saving in claims presented to the Allied authorities is inestimable.

By no means least among the MFA&A officer's duties and accomplishments was "trouble-shooting" and the investigation of false claims made by irate owners against American troops. The following story of the Château-Tilleloy is a case in point. The Château was inspected by the responsible MFA&A officer, Oise Section, on December 1, 1944, in answer to complaints made by the owner. The officer concluded that the buildings were not receiving unduly severe treatment, and that the fifty officers in occupancy appeared to be exercising due regard for the property. Mechanical installations, such as extra heating facilities, had been put in against the owner's wishes, but it was evident that no irreparable or serious damage had been incurred thereby. The owner had been given the use of a number of living chambers, and the only fine furniture in the Château had been placed in those rooms; nothing of artistic value was being used by the occupying unit. The owner was particularly distressed about wear and tear to the parquet flooring, and the blackening of the marble fireplaces, in constant use by the occupying personnel; she also made claims against them regarding cracks in the hearthstones. It could not be conclusively demonstrated, however, that this damage was incurred after the arrival of American forces. In general, the exaggerated deterioration resulting from average mil-

itary use to the point of making it appear wanton destruction. The owner had been told that her château was on the Official List of Protected Monuments and thus "off limits" to all Allied forces, but in view of the facts later ascertained, this was misleading. The existing château had been rebuilt in 1931, over the ruins of the old château. The SHAEF official list included only the ruins of the château, located in the basement rooms and the adjoining chapel, which were not being used by the occupying unit.

In this same connection, the pressure exerted upon Army authorities by influential Allied civilians for the protection of their personal property, even if the use of that property by the U. S. forces was entirely in order, is exemplified by a report of the MFA&A officer, Seine Section, dated February 5, 1945, relative to billeting in the Folie St. James, Villa Madrid, Paris:

... an Ordnance Battalion ... has been using the Folie St. James ... since about December 1, 1944, as a headquarters for the billeting of troops.

This building, a classified National Monument, was originally offered for use by the Allied Military Forces by the Mayor of Neuilly and was properly requisitioned.

This building has been cleaned and 85 large window panes restored. All works of art have been carefully segregated in a room placed "Off Limits." The use and care of the building is exemplary.

Requests that the building be vacated and returned to the owner have been persistent. Jacques Dupont, Inspector of Historical Monuments and Major Christophle, French Service of Protection of Monuments and Fine Arts ... are in agreement with the undersigned that the unit should be permitted to continue occupying the Folie St. James. A letter of commendation to the Commanding Officer and unit for their unusually careful use of a historic building would be in order.

In many cases, on the other hand, claims were entirely justified. Under those circumstances, the cases were turned over to claims sections, who further investigated the matter, consulted local authorities, and frequently requested further advice from the MFA&A officers on the assessment of damage and the fair evaluation of art objects.

In order to ensure that false claims were not made against the Allied authorities for damage and vandalism perpetrated by the Germans during their occupation (Fig. 35), MFA&A officers also had to make constant inspections, checks and investigations, and to review and verify reports from owners and local authorities on examples of vandalism by the enemy. Their efforts to this effect revealed such conditions as follow:

The Germans had lived in the sumptuous Château of Vaux-les-Mesnils for four years, ruining the floors, damaging clocks and furniture. Many fine pieces had been altogether removed. Two sacks of red powder about to be ignited were found in two of the bedrooms. The Town Major at Fontainebleau and the Civil Affairs Detachment at Melun were notified by the MFA&A officer, Seine Section, of valuable wall panels, panelling, furniture, etc., remaining in the château.

At the Château of Pomponne, nothing remained except a few pieces of furniture in the stables. The Germans had not damaged the gardens or bronze garden statuary, but had destroyed all the boiseries and furniture—one of the saddest cases of undisciplined German occupation.

The Château of Thury-Harcourt in Normandy was burned to the ground by the Germans. Fortunately the Fragonard paintings had been removed by the family, but a

large and important collection of family archives from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries was destroyed.

In general, the behavior of the German forces with respect to monuments and collections in the occupied countries seems to have been moderately well disciplined particularly in the early months of their occupation. Important buildings were prohibited for military use in many instances throughout their occupation. But in many other instances, rage, greed, or the pinch of circumstances caused a relaxation of discipline. Pillage was evidently irregularly controlled. In the early part of the occupation, the German service for the protection of monuments was able to assist greatly in repair work, but later this aid was withdrawn and the repair of public and religious buildings had to be carried on clandestinely even to the extent of concealing workmen.

With the addition of Belgium to the liberated territory the problems of billeting became genuinely severe. This country, while not possessing the wealth of private châteaux of France, nonetheless concentrated within a much smaller area, and one in which intensive military operations took place, a great many excellent smaller buildings, many of which were not included on the Official List of Protected Monuments for Belgium.

The von Rundstedt offensive, beginning on December 16, 1944, produced an unprecedented and exaggerated billeting problem and an unparalleled situation in the matter of seemingly irresponsible occupation. In consequence of operations, the number of troops in the area of the First U. S. Army was enlarged far beyond normal expectations. This increased automatically the occu-

pational and military risks to historical monuments in direct proportion. Troops included high percentages of Armored Force, Ordnance, Engineer, Infantry and Medical units which had a necessarily high priority, urgent need for large, strong structures suitable for quick conversion into hospitals, repair shops, and depots, and heavy equipment which was likely to damage buildings and their surrounding areas. During December 1944, and January 1945, the climate was such as to make the requisitioning and utilization of all available cover a matter of extreme importance. Buildings which would not ordinarily have been used for military purposes were necessarily so used as long as these conditions existed. Once installed, it was impossible, from a humanitarian point of view, to evict troops in mid-winter. MFA&A officers found that because of the rapid changes in unit boundaries, many commanders were not informed of the existence and instructions regarding the use and care of monuments on the official lists; officially protected buildings were occupied in good faith and because of military necessity, without official permission. Emergencies existed in which billets and cover had to be found immediately, and under those circumstances the official clearance called for by directives (the permission of Army, Corps, and Division Commanders) could not be received through normal channels.

This situation also brought out clearly the deficiencies of the Official List of Protected Monuments for Belgium. Although the list for monuments in France omitted some important buildings and collections, it was satisfactory for most purposes and did not have to be substantially augmented. The offi-

cial list for Belgium was compiled from the few accessible authoritative references available at the time. Lists submitted by Belgian authorities, at the request of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section were too comprehensive to be considered for military purposes: these had to be edited within a very short space of time and without sufficient comparative data at hand to make careful choices between monuments. The existing list made no provision for the partial exemption of buildings from military use; consequently, though only a small part of a structure might be of historic or artistic importance, the use of the entire structure was forbidden. Many buildings, which by all artistic and historic standards should have been included, such as the Château of Modave, containing fixed murals by Hubert Robert, carved woodwork, textiles, and period decoration which were impossible to protect by ordinary unit discipline or available materials; the Château de Pailhe, which burned to the ground during occupation by Allied troops; and the Château de Barvaux near Cimay, gutted by fire through the alleged carelessness of Allied troops in January 1945. Commanders, once informed of the official lists, were extremely reluctant to evacuate buildings not on the list, regardless of the fact that they should have been included.

Some sort of immediate and urgent action was required. This was all the more necessary because, although the MFA&A officers might succeed in doing some good, a few days later with the jurisdictional shifts inevitable then, the new commander would not be inclined to follow orders issued to a previous unit. The situation was explosive and liable to create serious repercussions, with the Belgian Fine

Arts and Monuments authorities making strong protests to the head of the SHAEF Mission to Belgium, and the Minister of Public Instruction, seconded by the Director General of the Fine Arts Administration, protesting officially in writing to the Commanding General.

Attempts to counteract this critical situation were made by the tactical units (First, Third, and Ninth U. S. Armies) operating in Belgium during January and February 1945. On January 16, 1945, the MFA&A officers with the First U. S. Army recommended that a revised edition of the Belgian list be issued at the earliest possible moment. The MFA&A Specialist officer, Ninth U. S. Army, discovered that no U. S. Army organization had been given the responsibility for making and retaining inventories of personal property in buildings requisitioned. The responsibility for taking inventory of objects remaining in buildings rested with a branch of the local municipal government. Some objects were invariably damaged, destroyed, or stolen, thereby causing conditions under which unwarranted and exorbitant claims could effectively be made by owners against the U. S. Forces. This officer recommended that MFA&A officers would be substantially aided in their efforts at exercising preservative control of historic buildings and their contents should the officers receive periodic listings of buildings assigned to troop units, or which were on the list to be assigned. Each town major kept a record of buildings assigned by his office and a list of those earmarked for assignment; it was therefore arranged with full agreement of the town majors that MFA&A officers use these files for checking against a consolidated monuments list. This,

done periodically, provided information early enough to allow inspection of certain buildings and their contents before or immediately after occupation, and safeguard action could then be immediately effected through Corps by Civil Affairs Detachments.

Two more official publications from the Communications Zone were published during January 1945. The first, a letter, Preservation of Historic Buildings and Monuments, enclosed extracts from the official lists and an additional list of châteaux and churches which, because of their authenticated antiquity and cultural interest were to be considered in the same category as the monuments listed in the official list. Commanding officers were instructed to withdraw any personnel who might be quartered in any of the buildings listed; return any property taken from the premises; refrain from using the buildings for any purpose whatsoever without prior authority from headquarters; and to take disciplinary action in all cases involving looting, pillage or theft by military personnel, or the unauthorized use of or entry into any such buildings. It further stated that in addition to the listed monuments there were many other buildings containing works of art of great value and irreplaceable furnishings upon which exaggerated claims might be made. In general, buildings over a hundred years old were subject to classification as historic monuments, and any use of such buildings for military purposes was to be resorted to only in case of extreme necessity, and with every precaution to safeguard the buildings and their contents.

The second directive, Occupation of Châteaux by Allied Armies, in part read as follows:

1. The Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites of Belgium is much concerned at the damage which is being done to châteaux of historic and artistic importance in Belgium, and to their contents, through their occupation by troops of the Allied Armies.

2. The Commission naturally realized that damage from bombardment and other acts of war is inevitable: it is concerned with the avoidable damage which is unfortunately being done.

The points which seem to require attention are:

- a. That requisition should only be made through recognized channels.
- b. That rooms of cultural importance should be closed and sealed.
- c. That furniture and effects of cultural value should be inventoried, stored under lock and key, and sealed.
- d. That the strictest precautions should be taken against fire.

As long as U. S. troops continued to be operational, the billeting situation remained a source of difficulty for all concerned. As of March 14, 1945, the MFA&A Specialist officer of headquarters, Oise Section, in France, was also still primarily occupied with duties involving the billeting of troops. In his report, he summarizes the situation, the problems involved and the way in which they were handled, in a manner which will here serve to point up the entire billeting question and its partial, if not complete, solution, as well as the general and continuing other activities of MFA&A officers:

The increasing flow of troops into Oise Section from rear areas has caused the requisitioning of a number of privately owned châteaux, many of them of cultural or historical value. This condition has necessitated the strictest kind of rapport between MFA&A officers and local area engineers, as well as with Oise Section Provost Marshal, to see that directives are complied with and monuments protected. For the sake of adequate protection it has been

found advisable to place additional monuments off limits by order of the Commanding General, Oise Section. In one case, military necessity required that a chateau on the official list be released for occupancy by the military; all arrangements were handled through MFA&A officer. Cases of reported damage to culturally important portions of requisitioned chateaux by occupying units have been investigated by MFA&A officer; one incident involving damage by fire of undetermined origin was turned over to Claims, Oise Section, for further inquiry. Neither in this case nor in any other involving historical monuments, however, has there been any evidence of wanton damage by troops. Recent field trips have not revealed any lack of proper respect on the part of military personnel for such monuments or movable art works as remain available to public view, nor any need for further measures to safeguard such art works at the present time. War damage to monuments has further been investigated on recent field trips, and progress of repair work, if any, recorded by MFA&A camera. French regional authorities continue to send to this office their own surveys of war damage to historical monuments, as per request. Reports concerning real or threatened damage to occupied chateaux, received by Com Z and forwarded to this officer, have been investigated at higher headquarters after corrective action has been taken.

Fortunately the same major difficulties with regard to billeting which have been described in France and Belgium did not arise in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. In the former country, the number of protected monuments was small and damage to monuments was slight. The Netherlands, except for small sectors in the Arnhem-Eindhoven region and the Province of North Brabant, was not occupied by Allied troops, so the problem of billeting never arose to any great degree. In Holland, MFA&A officers were mainly concerned with completing preliminary reports on the removal of works of

art by the Germans, and gathering more information concerning Dutch repositories, as well as with inspection of monuments and supervision of billeting in historic castles. Plans were worked out in collaboration with the Dutch officials for the concentration of works of art from damaged Dutch churches or destroyed buildings in new repositories for safekeeping. Custodians of objects known to exist in hazardous conditions were visited to discuss plans, legal receipts for custody were drawn up, and collections made. First aid and general repairs in Holland were essentially a matter for the Netherlands authorities, with assistance from the Allies for requisitioning of emergency materials and transportation. The National Office of Reconstruction for the Liberated Areas of the Netherlands, responsible for the repairing and rebuilding of war-damaged towns, cities, villages, and private as well as public buildings, maintained a special office devoted to the preservation of historic monuments. The inspection of Dutch repositories, such as the one at St. Pietersburg near Maastricht, reported above, also occupied the time and attention of MFA&A officers in Holland. The second large repository, a specially constructed concrete bunker at Paasloo, was visited by the MFA&A officer of the First Canadian Army in April 1945. It contained archives and approximately 3,000 paintings from museums and private collections of Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague, Rotterdam, Leyden, Dordrecht, and Gouda. Many were examined by the officer and found to be in excellent condition. The future security of the repository was assured.

It has been clearly indicated that the major activities of the MFA&A officers in the liber-

ated territories were the inspection of monuments and the investigation of billeting problems. There were, however, many interesting minor activities which occupied their attention and made for an infinite variety and constant change in their work. An important development during February was the large increase in the volume of intelligence reports reaching SHAEF on all aspects of the location and administration of movable works of art in Germany. This was due to the efficiency of the French Commission, which supplied information in considerable quantity and in part to information uncovered by the officers in the field, who found important documents pertaining to German art and archival collections notably at Metz, Luxembourg, and Aachen. Upon the request of local authorities MFA&A officers prepared articles on their work for release in newspapers and other publications, and radio broadcasts were occasionally prepared. All these activities produced the salutary effect of informing the people of the existence of the MFA&A officers and the nature of their work, and was a valuable counterpropaganda measure.

A recapitulation of the difficulties encountered by MFA&A officers in the European Theater of Operations is in order as a basis for planning future operations of this kind. It must be remembered that this was the first example in the history of war when an organization of officers was especially assigned in the U. S. Army for such a project. One of the chief difficulties was the lack of sufficient personnel for the job, as has been pointed out above in a brief summary of the number of sites visited and the amount of territory covered by what at the height of specialist MFA&A personnel capacity proved to be 35

men. The average number was 12 throughout most of the operations before the campaign in Germany. These officers are listed on page 162 which also includes tactical officers, enlisted men, and civilians who contributed in great or less degree to the success of the mission. Some of the MFA&A Specialist officers were of international reputation in their specialist fields, and many had occupied positions of authority in civilian life. Nearly all had an extensive professional acquaintance among both Allied and enemy personnel with whom they dealt, persons highly influential in the governments and societies of their respective countries. The discrepancy between the military rank of the MFA&A officers and the positions of those with whom they were constantly in contact, in both military and civilian establishments, was marked. Few of the U. S. officers were above the rank of captain, most were below. There were also several enlisted men in the armed forces with wide professional experience in the field of fine arts, but only in the case of 3 was it possible to get them promoted to officer status, and even that at a very late date.

Within the headquarters to which they were assigned, the staff status of MFA&A Specialist officers was, with very few exceptions, ambiguous. The Adviser, MFA&A, SHAEF, had wanted to avoid the vexations of the MFA&A experience in Italy, during which specialist officers had been assigned to definite units and, in consequence, were restricted to the operational areas of those units. This had led in turn to lack of supervision in areas without such officers, with a proportional increase of avoidable damage which might have been forestalled had the officers been permitted free circulation.

Therefore, in the European Theater, they were placed on detached service or temporary duty with various headquarters. But without specific Tables of Organization into which these officers could fit, it was often impossible for the headquarters to promote officers of proven competence.

As far as MFA&A operations were concerned, the indefinite status of the MFA&A Specialist officers was notably trying. Their difficulties in obtaining transportation and enlisted assistance have already been described. Aside from any questions of promotion, transportation, supply, and equipment, or rank, their position meant that, in spite of policies and directives, few commanders under whom they served felt personally responsible for these officers as members of their own staffs. The duties of the MFA&A officer involved active coordination, liaison, and at times operations with G-1 (for personnel), G-2 (for MFA&A Intelligence), G-3 (tactical operations in which monuments might be threatened), G-4 (supply of materials), the Judge Advocate (legal questions arising out of restitution), the Provost Marshal (safeguarding and posting of monuments), the Engineer units (billeting and supply of materials, and demolitions), as well as with all branches of G-5 (Civil Affairs). Without a fixed and recognized position within one of these sections, no other section was inclined to regard an MFA&A Specialist officer's recommendations as proceeding from a staff function to which it owed cooperation. It was not until April 30, 1945, within the Fifteenth U. S. Army only, that MFA&A responsibilities were assigned to other General and Staff Sections (i. e., protection of monuments to Engineers, pro-

visions of military safeguard to G-3, etc.), and these pertinent sections were therefore given specific responsibilities for the fulfillment of policies which had hitherto lacked any clearly stated means of being carried out. That so much was accomplished is solely due to the persistence, ingenuity and initiative of the individual MFA&A officers.

Their achievements in the liberated territories, and the encouragement they gave to civilian Fine Arts organizations is perhaps best expressed in this excerpt from one of the MFA&A reports for January, 1945: (although here written concerning France, these statements are equally applicable to Belgium and the Netherlands):

. . . In areas of active operations; e. g., Normandy during June, July, and August, and now in Alsace-Lorraine, the Monuments officers with the advanced formations are in a position to help the French authorities, especially the officials of the Service des Monuments Historiques and the Archivistes Departementales, to resume their functions, to smooth the way for these officials with the military authorities in circumstances where the scale of purely military activity might otherwise have made it impossible for their services to function at all. The numerous inspections of monuments carried out by the MFA&A officers, which included nearly all the monuments scheduled by the French authorities as of importance, enabled them to call the attention of the appropriate authorities to urgent tasks which, without the MFA&A officer's visit, would not have come to their notice owing to displaced communications, etc. Unlike the MFA&A Service in Italy, very little direct action as to first-aid repairs has been taken and the policy has been always to help the French to help themselves. On occasion, however, the MFA&A officers have been able to obtain for the French badly needed supplies of roofing materials from captured enemy stocks for urgent first-aid repairs . . .

Requests for the evacuation or regulation of military use of particular buildings, put forward by the French, are constantly being dealt with at all levels by the MFA&A organization. On occasion it has been possible for MFA&A to take action in cases where the French, out of politeness or a desire not to seem grudging to the US/Br forces, had allowed the use of National Monuments against their own better judgment . . .

The most important general aspect of MFA&A work in France is the most intangible, the exhibition of good will on the part of the military authorities towards an aspect of French national life and sentiment of which the French themselves are especially conscious. The French have been given a feeling that their national possessions and sentiments are not a matter of indifference to us and that we are prepared to do all that is in our power to help them to preserve their inheritance which has been endangered twice in five years.

## 2. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

### INITIAL PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

The earliest phase of planning for the MFA&A operations in central Europe began during the first months of 1944 when the German Country Unit (subsequently German Section) of the Interior Subsection of the German Section of the Special Staff, Civil Affairs Division, Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) was activated. Maj. Theodore Sizer (US) was its first designated chief, but because of illness in May of that year he was replaced by Capt. (later Lt. Col.) Mason Hammond (US).

At the beginning, this Unit was one of the numerous Country Units whose organization and activities within the framework of the Civil Affairs Division has already been noted on page 94. When the other Units or Sections went into operation after D-day (after con-

siderable revision of their place within the military machinery and after the attachment of personnel to SHAEF HQ, Army Groups, and lower echelons had occurred), the planning for Germany and Austria continued to be pursued in England. In June 1944, the work of the Unit in its initial stage of general planning and the definition of objectives had been satisfactorily accomplished. However, there was much more work needed, such as the detailed planning for operation and the assembly of masses of current information.

A further change became necessary by August of that year when the principle of Zones of Occupation was established. In consequence, the United States and Great Britain both established Group Control Councils for the administration and control of the respective portions of Germany which they contemplated occupying, and there were separate staffs of MFA&A officers for each group. They worked on the problems of planning and research pertaining to their individual zones, but always in close collaboration with the MFA&A Adviser at SHAEF, for the SHAEF plan would continue to be operative until after the surrender of Germany. Eventually, Germany and Austria were each to be partitioned into four zones of occupation, Berlin and Vienna being also so divided, administered by the Americans, British, French, and Russians, with their military organizations restricted to their respective zones.

Subsequent changes placed the MFA&A as a Branch of the Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division of the U. S. Group Control Council (Germany/Austria), and after October 15, 1945, as a Section of the Restitution Branch of the Economics Division of the

Office of Military Government for Germany (US), (OMGUS). In brief, the planning and operations in Germany were in three principal phases until March 1, 1946.

(1) SHAEF, until June 28, 1945, an operational phase of MFA&A Subsection under conditions of war, until shortly after the German surrender.

(2) USFET (United States Forces, European Theater), MFA&A Subsection, and U. S. Group, Control Council, MFA&A Branch, until October 15, 1945, the initial occupational phase with the Branch staff at Berlin studying long-range planning and the formulation of policy, while the Subsection at Frankfurt and Höchst continued to supervise and control field operations. It also undertook, through local military government detachments, the search for repositories and the transportation of much of the contents of these to the newly set up Central Collecting Points and engaged in token restitution of great works of art to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Italy, and Austria.

(3) OMGUS continued the activities of the second phase while pointing toward an amalgamation of the Berlin and Frankfurt offices and a reduction in the operations of the Branch, at the same time that planning was undertaken for the reconstitution of German civil administration of museums, libraries, and archives to follow the period of Military Government.

From its beginning in February 1944, until the spring of 1945, the MFA&A Branch continued its work in England. Then a forward echelon went to HQ U. S. Group, Control Council at Versailles, to be followed

shortly by the main body which moved with the Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division to Barbizon. In June this main body moved to Höchst and in August to Berlin where it had been preceded by the forward echelon.

At this time, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, Adviser on Cultural Matters to the U. S. Group, Control Council, was in Berlin to advise the Deputy Military Governor on policy with respect to cultural matters. He also took several trips, one with Maj. (later Lt. Col.) Mason Hammond, Chief of the MFA&A Branch, inspecting and consulting with MFA&A officers in the areas of the Third and Seventh U. S. Armies. Later, Mr. John H. Scarff, earlier a Special Assistant of the Commission in London, was attached to the Branch, where one of his principal tasks during the winter was to draw up plans for the turn-over of museums in the American Zone from the MFA&A Subsection to German civilian administrations.

In the last words of his report of October 8, 1945, Lieutenant Colonel Hammond summed up the proportionate character and activities of the Branch and the Subsection as follows:

... a large measure of the credit for the success of MFA&A in accomplishing its mission in the US Zone must go to the officers and enlisted personnel who at US Forces, European Theater, directed operations and at Military District Headquarters interpreted SHAEF and US Forces, European Theater directives to the field and particularly to those officers who as members of Military Government detachments either as MFA&A Specialists or with MFA&A duties in addition to others have done the actual work of protecting and preserving cultural buildings and materials and recreating the German

civilian administration. The success is due also to the officers who have been charged with the examination and evacuation of repositories and the establishment of collecting points for the safekeeping of German-owned cultural materials and for the identification and restitution of cultural loot. All these officers and enlisted men should be credited with the concrete realization of the MFA&A program; that which the MFA&A Branch has contributed to their work has been the intangibles of policy, backing and discussion. The personnel of the Branch have given unstintingly of their effort without the satisfaction, in most cases, of seeing what they planned put into effect. Theirs has nevertheless been no less important than actual operation.

#### CAMPAIGN

Although the campaign in Germany was obviously a continuation of the offensive begun against Germany with the D-day landings in Normandy, it may be well to relate somewhat more extensively than earlier the course of events from the entry onto German soil in the fall of 1944, until the surrender at Berlin on May 8, 1945, terminated European hostilities.

The armies of General Patton were threatening the Saar and those of General Hodges were about to enter the Cologne plain from Aachen in late November, but the drive which had carried the liberating troops across all of France in 5 months had spent its force, and the obstacles of the Siegfried Line were too formidable. At this point, Field Marshal von Rundstedt began his last great counteroffensive in the Ardennes Forest of southern Belgium, the well-known Battle of the Bulge, which was successfully crushed by early attacks upon manufacturing and transportation centers throughout western and central Germany. The effects of

these coupled with the overpowering armored attacks on land which began in mid-February brought collapse in less than 3 months.

The first month of spring fighting took place west of the Rhine, where the capture of Cologne was signalized by the most intense forms of opposition and destruction. Later in March, the fortunate seizure of the bridge at Remagen and the retention and expansion of this bridgehead by troops of the First Army was matched by the British capture of bridgeheads around Wesel, north of the Ruhr. Then, often after the most bitter opposition, the progress of the victorious Allied armies was inexorable and speedy.

During the second half of March the Russians captured Brandenburg in East Prussia, Kolberg in Pomerania, Neustadt in Silesia, and Danzig, while American troops took Worms (Fig. 42), Mainz, Kaiserslautern, Bingen, Speyer, Darmstadt, Giessen, Frankfurt-am-Main, Heidelberg and, in the north, took and moved beyond Paderborn.

The advance continued at an even more rapid pace in April; most of Holland was freed by the middle of that month, on the 16th, Nuremberg was entered, and on the 18th, Germany was bisected when American Third Army troops crossed the Czechoslovakian border. On the 25th, the first contact of United States and Russian troops occurred on the Elbe, at Torgau, and in less than 2 weeks Germany's military defeat was complete and recognized by its heads of state. Only then would the great bulk of the work of the MFA&A Subsection and Branch become possible.

MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES  
OPERATIONS

(a) *West of the Rhine.* The actual field operations which were carried on during the first months within Germany were extremely limited in scope. One reason was the narrow expanse of territory held, with Aachen the only city of major cultural importance. Here the responsible officer made the customary tour of inspection of the monuments on the Official List of Protected Monuments that had been prepared many months before in England. He posted the usual "off limits" signs to protect the buildings from the damage incident to troop occupation, and informed the town major of the cultural significance of such buildings, in order to make certain that these instructions would be carried out; he made the usual reports on conditions and gave recommendations in order to limit the extent of further destruction as much as possible. He photographed a number of these monuments, like the Münster, the Rathaus, and the charming Couven Museum as well as the city archives, to record visually the extent of damage at the time of his report.

And in the neighborhood, in the vicinity of Geilenkirchen to the north, he came upon several examples of what was to be by all odds the major operation of the MFA&A Subsection in Germany, that of the repositories of portable works of art and cultural value. At Schloss Rimberg, Schloss Trips, and in private residences there were found paintings and sculptures brought there for storage and safekeeping from what had been felt were places more exposed to the hazards of war. Within a few months hundreds of castles, bank vaults,

salt and copper mines, monastery cellars and subterranean air-raid shelters would be found, containing well arranged or very confused assemblies of millions of books and records, paintings, sculptures, goldsmith work set with gems and enamels, tapestries, furniture, collections of musical instruments of many different centuries—a total of millions of objects in more than a thousand such depots in the U. S. Zone alone. No such transfer of portable goods had ever taken place on such a scale before, and less than 50 officers were to be expected to do their utmost to protect them, discover their normal whereabouts and owners, and keep them safe until final disposition could be made. The remarkable success of their measures will occupy the greater part of the following pages in this section.

From the known examples of French, Italian, and Dutch protective measures in dealing with movable objects it had been inferred that one could expect that the Germans would have taken similar precautions. In consequence, during the planning phases, and during the campaign in France and Belgium, all possible sources were drawn upon in order to prepare lists of repositories of works of art or archives in Germany. These ran to four editions, with addenda being frequently issued as more precise information became available.

In the report for the month of February 1945, this is referred to as follows:

... An important development in the period covered by the Field Reports annexed, is the large increase in the volume of Intelligence reaching Supreme Headquarters on all aspects of the location and administration of movable works of art in Germany. This is due . . . in part to information uncovered by the officers in the field, notably at Metz,

Luxembourg and Aachen. Undoubtedly with the uncovering of the Rhineland, this kind of information will increase both in quantity and importance . . .

The covering letter on these editions contained the admonition:

2. The information is unevaluated and has been drawn from many sources. Some of it may be obsolete and some may prove to be inaccurate.

This proved to be correct, for much was based on inaccurate rumor, parts were out of date, and the number of repositories ultimately found was several times greater than had been known. But much of the data, such as information that the stained glass windows of Strasbourg Cathedral were in the saltmines at Heilbronn, proved correct, as did the report on the use of the Bavarian castles of Neuschwanstein and Herrenchiemsee, as well as four others, by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg to store large quantities of its loot from confiscated collections in France and elsewhere. If not without imperfections, these lists were invaluable as pre-saging one of the most important parts of the MFA&A officers' activities and in assisting them in the execution of their duties.

The change in character of the work of the Monuments officers from what it had been in the earlier phases of the ETO became constantly more marked. It had been anticipated that the emphasis would shift, in Germany, from the care of buildings to the discovery and safeguarding of movable art objects. This was certainly to be the dominant task, but occasionally, as at Schloss Brühl south of Cologne, it was possible to take some steps about weatherproofing the damaged building. The Germans had, in most cases, shifted the rich cultural treasures of the

Rhineland eastwards, so that it was only after the expansion over the bridgeheads at Remagen, Wesel, and north of Mannheim that the full complexity of the German storage plans became evident.

(b) *Period to May 30, 1945.* As has been noted earlier, there was a rising tempo in the victorious advances of the Allied Armies during the spring, culminating in the overwhelming tidal waves which crushed German resistance in early May. In part because of this rapid advance, in part because of their very limited numbers, the MFA&A officers attached to the several American, British, and Canadian Armies were burdened with a multitude of problems needing urgent attention, and since not all could receive an equal amount, a system of priorities had to be evolved and maintained.

The normal inspection of monuments, and the recording of damage and loss were carried on, the officers with the First Canadian and the Second British Armies reporting on Cleve (Fig. 38) and Xanten (Fig. 39), as well as on the Dutch cities and repositories within their areas. In the report for the month of May it was possible for the latter officer to give an extensive summary of the damage in Hamburg as well as an accounting of the repositories within and in the neighborhood of the city. There were also detailed reports of the destruction in such important Westphalian cities as Minden, Herford, Osnabrück, Münster, and Paderborn, and about Himmler's castle and SS training school at Wewelsburg. The officer with the Ninth U. S. Army reported on, among other cities, Koblenz, Kreuznach, Mainz, and Worms, those attached to the First, Third, and Seventh U. S. Armies on the conditions of the listed monu-

ments of Darmstadt, Fulda, Heidelberg, Heilbronn, Mannheim, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and other towns and cities, but they were principally concerned with the repositories found in great numbers through central and southern Germany, and with attempts to get in touch with the responsible German administrative personnel in order to bring knowledge and order out of the chaotic state of affairs. Such inspections and reports would continue through the summer and autumn, but by that time the establishment of the four Zones of Occupation had taken place and there was little or no interzonal communication, so that complete information on the condition of monumental buildings in all areas of Germany is lacking at the present time.

In the report of The General Board, USFET, entitled "Civil Affairs and Military Government Activities in Connection with Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives", which reviewed the organization, procurement and operations of MFA&A in the ETO, some of the difficulties encountered by these officers are indicated in the following passage:

... By 25 April, the area of 12 Army Group in Germany alone contained approximately 47,000 square miles. In this area there were only two full time MFA&A Officers, with the First and Third US Armies, and one substitute MFA&A Officer with the Ninth US Army, the regular officer [Capt. Walter J. Huchthausen] having been killed in action. The MFA&A Officer of the First US Army, with approximately 15,000 square miles to cover in one of the richest cultural areas in Germany, was without assigned transportation or enlisted assistance.

The death, from enemy shellfire, of Maj. Ronald E. Balfour (Br), MFA&A officer with the British Second Army in Cleve on March 10 had been another severe loss and

an additional burden to the already understaffed complement of Monuments officers.

For numerous reasons, the large-scale work of first-aid repair which had been in the forefront of the Italian campaign was not to be repeated in Germany, except for a few signal cases that will be described later. The scale of damage and destruction in the German cities was unparalleled elsewhere and the relative lack of materials, the frequent absence of the civil population and the lack of organized labor made it most desirable to use what few supplies there were in an attempt to better living conditions for the populace. In a priority listing issued by the Seventh Army in Kurhessen in August, several months after the end of hostilities, for the guidance of the newly reinstated Provinzialkonservator, it was established that work would be done on:

- (1) Emergency measures necessary to prevent deterioration from weather, poor storage conditions or loss by pilferage of movable objects.
- (2) Minor repairs (roofs, windows, doors, etc.) of buildings when such repairs would effect proper housing of art objects.
- (3) Minor repairs and alterations desirable in order to restore public buildings to their proper use. This included the removal of bomb defence barricades from objects of art and repairs necessary in order to open churches, museums, libraries and other cultural buildings.
- (4) Plans were to be made for the reconstruction of destroyed monumental buildings, but only put into effect in so far as emergency measures were necessary to prevent further deterioration.

From this it can be seen that even the measures of repair permitted had as their principal end the reestablishment of buildings in which movable objects could be safely

stored. This was to be the all-consuming obligation of the efforts of the specialist officers.

The first of the great repositories of art collections removed from their usual locations, aside from those in France and Holland already described, was in the iron mine in the Hüttenweg at Siegen (Fig. 43). The existence of this repository, to quote the report of the General Board:

... had been known for some time. A marked catalogue, found in the Suermondt Museum at Aachen by the MFA&A Officer of the First US Army in October 1944, listed several important objects which had been moved prior to the Russian advances in September 1944, from Meissen to Siegen. On 2 April 1945 the MFA&A Specialist Officer, First US Army, arrived at the depository, an iron mine, while the city was still under artillery fire . . .

To continue in the words of Capt. Walker K. Hancock (US), the officer concerned, in his semimonthly report, dated April 16, 1945:

- (2) Persons interviewed: Herr Etzkorn, employee of the Suermondt Museum, Aachen. Vicar Stephany of the Cathedral of Aachen (who accompanied MFA&A Officers).
- (3) Condition of repository: The works of art were stored in a brick-lined tunnel divided into 14 bays by racks for paintings. This was approached through another tunnel, unlined, having two entrances, one about ¼ mile from the repository, the other somewhat nearer. In this hundreds of civilians had taken refuge from bombing and the fierce battle for the city. The place had been constantly crowded in this manner for a month, and for the last two weeks it was reported that no one had left the tunnel. The heating system had been operated from an adjacent factory which had been destroyed by bombing. With nothing to counteract the humidity the atmosphere was heavy with moisture. Water dripped in places.
- (4) Contents: The repository contained over 400 paintings, including many of the best from muse-

ums of Aachen, Siegen, Essen, Cologne (Wallraff-Richartz Museum), Wuppertal and Münster. In addition to some 60 pieces of sculpture (unpacked) there are some 35 or more cases from Cologne museums and 40 cases from the Landes Museum of Bonn. Cathedral treasure from Metz, Aachen, and Essen were identified; as well as miscellaneous boxes marked with the names of other Rhineland churches. The first objects to be seen upon entering were the XII Century sculptured wooden doors from St. Maria im Kapitol, Cologne. There were about 40 boxes from the Beethoven Museum in Bonn (including the manuscript of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony).

(5) Condition of contents: Great damage has been done by the dampness in the mine. Many of the pictures and polychromed sculptures are covered with mould. Some flaking of paint from wooden panels was noted.

(6) War protection: Tactical units were apprised of the existence of the repository before the city was taken, and the mine was put directly under guard.

Despite the damage suffered by exposure to humidity, the urgencies of operations were such that the evacuation of the objects did not begin until May 25. Before this was done, considerable investigation and preparatory measures were taken. Capt. Everett P. Lesley (US) of the Fifteenth U. S. Army reported on May 15 that the first plan, of removing the endangered contents of the mine-repository to the fortress at Ehrenbreitstein, was abandoned because it would have been very difficult to arrange for the movement and billeting of civilian experts qualified to look after the objects from one administrative area to another. In consequence, a well designed and equipped ferro-concrete bunker at Bonn was selected. One of the chief technical experts, of the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge in civilian life, Lt. (later Lt. Comdr.) George L. Stout, USNR, visited the mine on temporary

duty between May 16 and 19, and in his report of May 27, indicated the plan for removal:

... a plan was drawn up for evacuation procedure and an estimate made of requirements: transport, personnel, additional installations such as electric wiring and loading platforms. A time schedule was prepared. Details of the plan were discussed. . . . Tentative arrangements were made . . . to provide a suitable housing for the works near Bonn . . .

But the plan to use the Bonn repository was abandoned in turn by May 25, because of conditions found there when it had been inspected. Furthermore, the roads from Siegen to Bonn had been inspected by Lt. Lamont Moore, Ninth U. S. Army MFA&A officer, in charge of the evacuation. He had found the roads in such bad condition that it seemed unwise to subject the treasures to the excessive vibration unavoidable on either route. Instead Marburg was chosen as the center for evacuation of the contents of this and many other neighboring repositories. The buildings of the Staatsarchiv and of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in this relatively unharmed Hessian city were chosen to be one of the several Central Collecting Points which will be described in detail later.

The Staatsarchiv had been somewhat damaged by bombing and the interior was described as being left in a deplorable state of wreck and disorder as a result of military occupation. Captain Hancock, the officer in charge of the Collecting Point, continued:

... Considerable progress has been made . . . despite the difficulties in procuring skilled labor and materials. Openings in the walls have been rebuilt, inflammable camouflage screens removed, and the roof is now being patched. The floor at present devoted to the storage of paintings could be completely glazed with six dozen additional panes 42 cm. x 31

cm. None is available in the area. Water-tight rooms are ready for all works of art now in the building. . . . Racks have been completed in one room, nearly sufficient to accommodate the paintings from Siegen. A laboratory has been set up for the treatment of paintings suffering from mould growth or other damage requiring prompt attention. . . .

By July 27, 80 sculptures, 405 paintings, and 34 objects of applied art had there been inventoried as coming from the repository at Siegen, in addition to 646 other items from 6 other repositories in central Germany.

By October 3, it was estimated that this collecting point contained 3,511 art objects from 15 repositories, over 12,000 books and over 17,000 meters of archives. About 50 per cent of the works of art had been inventoried, and over 1,500 photographs had been made to record the condition of these works as they had been received. One officer and one enlisted man were designated for duty there, assisted by 4 German technical assistants and 14 helpers, a situation of personnel shortage to be found at most of the collecting points. An additional problem which was often to be encountered is indicated in a paragraph of that report:

... No personnel is at present available for the urgently needed treatment of works suffering from the effects of storage in damp mines. The dismissal of both the restorer and his assistant was necessary because of their political records. It is hoped, however, that experts will be found to replace them.

Toward the end of April, American soldiers of the First U. S. Army came upon a chance find in a salt mine at Bernterode in the Harz Mountains west of Kassel, used by the Germans since 1936 as a munitions plant and storage depot for about 400,000 tons of ammunition as well as quantities of other military stores. French employees of the

mine related that German officers had cleared away all civilians from the area in mid-March, that they had worked in great secrecy, with military personnel alone, bringing objects of presumably great value into the mine, and that the entrance to the cache had been sealed on April 2. The circumstances of the find were described by Captain Hancock, who inspected the mine on April 29, 2 days after its discovery:

... The men observed a masonry wall built into the side of the main corridor about 500 meters from the elevator shaft. Noticing that the mortar was still fresh, they made an opening and after tunnelling through masonry and rubble to a depth of more than five feet, uncovered, at 1630 hours, a frame latticed door padlocked on the opposite side. Breaking through this they entered a room divided by partitions into a series of compartments, filled with paintings, boxes and tapestries, and hung with brilliant banners. The contents were grouped around four caskets, one of which had been decorated with a wreath and red silk ribbons bearing the Nazi symbols and the name ADOLPH HITLER. . . . Among the objects which came to light were a richly jewelled scepter and orb, two crowns and two swords with finely wrought gold and silver scabbards. . . .

The caskets had inscribed labels attached to their covers which indicated that they contained the mortal remains of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, of Frau von Hindenburg, of Frederick William I of Prussia, and of his son, Frederick the Great. Grouped in intervals between the coffins and in a bay with specially built racks were 225 painted and embroidered banners dating from the early Prussian wars to the First World War. The royal insignia were treasures of the Hohenzollern family normally housed in the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin. These consisted of the crowns for the King and Queen of Prussia,

the royal orb and the scepter, the Great Seal of Prussia, the imperial and electoral swords, and the helmet of the Great Elector. The nature and arrangement of the depository was such that the logical conclusion seemed to be that it was planned to perpetuate the tradition of German military glory as a sort of shrine to the vaunted virtues of Prussianism.

Conditions at the repository were precarious with a large store of dynamite nearby, with a camp of over 500 displaced persons on the premises, who were constantly rifling the stores of ammunition, paints, clothing, paper stocks, and other inflammable materials. It was decided to evacuate the contents, which also included 271 paintings, mostly from Potsdam, boxes of prints, tapestries, altarcloths, cases of china and of books, and several eighteenth-century decorative marble busts. Lieutenant Stout, who had made the technical arrangements for the evacuation from Siegen, was called in again from Twelfth Army Group. On May 1, Captain Hancock took the Hohenzollern crown jewels to the Chief of Staff, First U. S. Army, where the cases were opened, the contents inspected, and were again repacked for shipment to Frankfurt where they arrived in the afternoon of the same day and where they were deposited in the Reichsbank.

On May 3, the evacuation of the remainder of the repository was begun, with two shifts of men working from 8 o'clock in the morning until 10 at night under the direction of Lieutenant Stout and Lieutenant Stephen Kovalyak (US). Packing materials were improvised from German military supplies at hand and transported by elevator to ground level from the storage shaft 553

meters underground. Captain Hancock's report of May 12 continued:

... The enlisted men quickly learned the methods of packing and worked in three teams at the entrance of the depository. Each object was checked as it left the depository, at the top of the shaft (note being made of the time hoisted), when loaded into the trucks and when delivered at the destination. The last to be hoisted (on May 8th) was the casket of Frederick the Great which weighed at least 1,200 pounds and filled the elevator, with not a half inch to spare.

What Captain Hancock did not include in his official account is an unbelievably ironic occurrence. May 8, 1945, was the day when the surrender documents were signed in Berlin. As the crews waited at the shaft-head for loads to arrive from the underground tunnel, they kept in touch with these stirring outside events which marked the culmination of their efforts for several years, by a portable radio. Tuning in on a London station, they heard the official commentaries, and then, as the last casket—that of Frederick the Great—came to the ground level a military band could be heard playing "God Save the King."

The next morning (May 9) a convoy of eight trucks left the mine for Marburg where they were deposited. The caskets were placed in a room on the ground floor of the castle, the other objects being taken to the Kunsthistorisches Institut, which was to become one part of the Central Collecting Point in that city.

The third great repository found in central Germany during April was in the area captured by the Third U. S. Army, at Merkers (Fig. 44), a short distance south of Eisenach. There, in the potash mines of the Kaiseroda works, the main storage tunnels and rooms

were from 400 to 800 meters below ground. Capt. Robert K. Posey (US), MFA&A officer attached to this Army, made inspection trips on April 8 and 11. Spot checking with the responsible German official, since there was no exact inventory of the holdings, disclosed that the artistic contents were drawn from 14 of the most important of the Prussian State Museums in Berlin, including the Print Cabinet, the Egyptian Museum, the Islamic Section, the German Museum, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, the National Gallery, the Military Museum, the Castle Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Museum of Prehistory, as well as valuable items from the Goethe-Schiller Archives at Weimar.

The German custodian, Dr. Paul Otto Rave, stated that almost all the collections of the Prussian State Collections were to have been removed to Merkers from their places of storage in Berlin—the vaults of the Reichsbank, the New Mint, and the subterranean storage rooms of several museums, excepting only those in the anti-aircraft towers in the Zoo and at Friedrichshain. But the shipments were begun too late, having arrived on April 3, only 4 days before entry of the American troops; the fate of what remained in Berlin is still not known with certainty.

Once again the technical expert, Lieutenant Stout, was called upon, and after a spot-check was made on April 16, it was estimated that the value of the holdings was so great and that they had been stored in such haste that their immediate evacuation was imperative. In consequence, thirty 10-ton trucks were loaded with the most valuable objects and transported in a convoy which reached Frankfurt on April 17. There they were stored in space designated in the Reichsbank, but as the

conditions were not perfectly satisfactory, and with the establishment of a Central Collecting Point in the Landesmuseum at Wiesbaden (Fig. 54), these works of art, along with others assembled from various additional repositories were transferred during August, and by the time of his report on November 3, Capt. Walter Farmer, MFA&A Specialist officer in charge of the collecting point could estimate that 95 percent of the objects on hand had been inventoried. It was estimated that 1,890 items were there, an item ranging from a single painting to 2,300 folios of prints from the Print Collection in Berlin. At that time, the collecting point was administered by an officer, a sergeant, and a staff of 25 German technical and laboring persons.

Details on the discoveries of repositories during April and early May could be multiplied by the scores, 232 having been reported in the area under the command of headquarters of Twelfth Army Group by April 30. They ranged from small collections of local archives and peasant crafts to ones such as those already described, which were similar to the mine-repository of Heimboldshausen where over a million books, maps, and manuscripts of the Prussian State and other libraries, and about 200,000 pieces of costumes and other stage properties of the German State Theater in Berlin were stored, or the huge repository at Hungen in Upper Hesse of nearly 1,500,000 books belonging to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Problem), many of which had been looted from private collections throughout Europe, and which would eventually be transferred to the Collecting Point for books at Offenbach.

Perhaps greatest of all was the enormous archival repository in the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein which contained the archives of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, the Royal Archives of the House of Orange-Nassau, and the City Archives of Bonn, Düsseldorf, Koblenz, Mainz, Osnabrück, Speyer, Trier, and Wiesbaden, as well as vital statistics from a score of cities—reaching a total of several million items.

The hazardous situation of many of these depositories may be illustrated by the fate of a part of the huge stores of culturally important objects at Heimboldshausen. Displaced persons (DPs) in the area who had been slave-laborers for about a year, filling the mine with the material stored there, began looting, and considerable damage was done to crates of books and manuscripts of the Oriental Collection of the Prussian State Library, and to costumes that furnished wearable articles of clothing for them. Then on April 25, a fire, reported to have been started by DPs was discovered in a shaft containing books of the University of Marburg, the State Library in Düsseldorf and a portion of the State Library in Berlin. It was necessary to seal the area to exclude air. Capt. Patrick J. Kelleher (US), MFA&A officer for Land Hessen, reported on August 7, that when the seals were broken on June 9:

... a portion of the material of the State Library in Berlin which had been sealed up, formerly, in the fire area [was removed] ... it was composed of maps and portions of the Oriental Collections, along with music from the State Opera in Berlin. All the material had suffered badly from smoke and dampness ... Approximately one-quarter of the total contents of the repository still remains within the fire area.

Later, in mid-September, Lt. Sheldon W. Keck (US) inspected the repository with a mining officer from HQ of AMG in Land Hessen-Nassau. He reported that:

... an area about 60 by 12 feet where some of the books of the Marburg University Library were stored had suffered extensive destruction ... and a trace of fire was discovered ... so that the bulkheads were again replaced. It is estimated that the bulkheads cannot safely be removed for two months.

(c) *Control Period.* The activities of this period, the last period of which there are reasonably full details of the operations, were not basically different from those of the preceding ones. However, with the end of the war there was also an end to further destruction except that wrought by the elements, or by the necessity to demolish weakened structures that threatened to collapse, or by wanton looting or thoughtless pilfering in the early days of establishing control. There was also an increasing emphasis upon and preoccupation with all the problems connected with repositories and their contents. In addition the operating organization became more definitely established and operations which would be continuous were more fully exploited after June 1. The bulk of this section will be concerned with the description of some of the many ramifications of these problems.

The MFA&A staff at headquarters in the Subsection, at Frankfurt, consisting of Maj. L. Bancel LaFarge (US) and his deputy, Lt. Comdr. Charles L. Kuhn, USNR, later replaced by Lt. Comdr. Thomas C. Howe, USNR, was constantly occupied as the central administrative and intelligence unit for all matters relating to the operations of the specialist officers in the field. It coordinated reports received from these officers for the

information of higher echelons and transmitted downwards policies and procedures settled at the higher levels. It initiated action on requests for cooperation between armies and provided facilities from other branches of the service so that operations could be carried out. It also acted upon requests made by the Allied Powers for facilities to examine suspected loot at the various collecting points and assisted in providing the means for the transfer of looted works of art to their legal owners.

In Berlin the MFA&A Branch was established under Lt. Col. Mason Hammond (US), later replaced by Maj. L. Bancel LaFarge (US). Their deputies were Capt. Calvin S. Hathaway and Capt. Harry Grier. This Branch was primarily concerned with the formulation of general principles and policies governing the operations of Monuments personnel, the drafting of plans for the transfer of the administration of museums, libraries, and archives to German civilian personnel, and with the elucidation of common plans by the other members of the Quadripartite Powers governing Germany.

There were two essential types of work in the field: the activities of the headquarters units of the different administrative units (Stadtkreis or Landkreis) under the Civil Affairs Divisions of the Eastern and Western Military Districts, and those of the Art and Archival Repositories and Central Collecting Points, in turn administered by the headquarters of the different units. A third element consisted of the USFET (later OMGUS) Missions to France and Belgium, but as the principal work of these missions was related to the recovery of looted cultural objects brought together initially at the Col-

lecting Points they will be treated as subordinate to that activity.

The duties of the Stadtkreis and Landkreis units were to administer and advise on all matters pertaining to Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives, to prepare programs for their areas of control conforming to the general pattern throughout the U. S. Zone, to obtain information which could be passed to higher echelons for information or decision, to compile information from all available sources in a form such that it could be made readily available to all smaller detachments, and to record either from field trips or from the receipt of data the results of all operations, of examinations of monuments and of repositories, and of the current status of the Collecting Points. In addition, the prevention of unnecessary billeting, of pilfering, the arrangement for first-aid repair to damaged buildings or works of art threatened by weathering, the reactivation of local technical personnel, in short, most of the normal activities of MFA&A officers were among the tasks of these units. Details of some of these will be described after the principal task in Germany and Austria, that of the repositories and the Collecting Points, has been more thoroughly examined.

Although operations in April had uncovered hundreds of repositories, discovery and examination of additional ones continued throughout the summer and autumn. The necessity for a relatively uniform plan to deal with the complex problems they posed was already known and in partial operation by the time of the Potsdam Conference in July, when a paper on cultural restitution entitled "Art Objects in US Zone" prepared in the Office of the Deputy Military Governor and

approved by President Truman was issued. This stated in part:

1. *Scope of Problem.*

More than 500 different emergency repositories of art and archives have been located in castles, parish houses, church steeples, air raid bunkers and mines. The two large collecting points and three secondary ones have been selected in each of the two military districts within the US Zone to assemble these works of art for proper care and study. The process of moving works of art to these collecting points is tedious and requires especially trained personnel.

The collections held in the US Zone include over ten thousand items or cases held in two large mines which contain famous works of art taken from France, Belgium and Holland. Private collections such as the Rothschild holdings from Paris and Vienna, and the Goudstikker and Mannheimer collections from Holland have been found intact and whole. The holdings also include German art taken from famous museums in Berlin and Munich and from Vienna. As an example, there are over 3,000 separate cases of unpacked items from the Islamische Museum in Berlin.

The total value of these art objects cannot be estimated. It is certain to run into hundreds of millions of dollars, and perhaps in excess of one billion dollars. However, beyond the monetary value, the collection contains some of the most famous works of art in the world, with a value from a cultural viewpoint which cannot be measured ...

The number of repositories would soon be more than a thousand, while the chief Central Collecting Points would be set up at Munich and Wiesbaden, with subordinate ones at Bad Wildungen, Heilbronn and Kochendorf, Marburg, Nuremberg, Oberammergau, and Offenbach. In the operations relating to these, there were three principal phases: (1) that of the repository from the time of its discovery and examination, the recommendations made as to the disposition of its contents, until its

evacuation or stabilization; (2) that of the collecting point, with its organization and its operations with the materials transported to it; and (3) that of the continued retention of such material by the collecting point, or the restitution of looted objects either directly from the repository or through the collecting point.

In the first phase, there were many factors which would have been of importance had they not been usually impossible to consider owing to the large number of very urgent duties that had to be performed by a very few men provided with inadequate transportation, equipment, clerical assistance, and yet controlling vast areas. Such elements were: (1) the physical structure of the depository, whether subterranean or above ground; (2) the current condition of the structure, and if the fabric had suffered war damage, to estimate the extent. Furthermore, considerations about the condition of the lighting, heating, pumping, and dehumidifying apparatus in order to keep the structure operating normally. All these factors, as well as the ease or difficulty of maintaining security control, were of great importance. In addition, (3) the current condition of the contents based upon the nature of the materials of which it was composed and the relationship between this and the maintenance of normal operations in the repository had to be considered. And (4) the nature of the contents was important: whether solely of cultural objects, or containing cultural objects from diverse places interspersed with explosives, inflammable materials, machinery, or other non-artistic materials which might provide destructive hazards. Also whether or not the objects were easily portable and comprised a

large monetary value within small compass merited attention. Such temporary, but not inconsiderable, factors as the presence in the area of groups of displaced persons, or remnants of the German army, or of nearby Allied army camps or bivouacs could not be disregarded. Under ideal conditions, these factors would have been carefully weighed and logical action would have resulted.

But the conditions were never ideal, and the action taken at any one place was usually under the stress of the necessity of making a quick decision which would be effective, even in minimum terms, in order to consider the other equally compelling decisions which had to be made. As an example may be cited the castle at Neuschwanstein (Fig. 51), nearly filled with portable objects of high value; it was impossible at first to do more than establish an adequate security guard. And when the suggestion was offered that the castle be placed on a list of monuments for tourist trips, the responsible MFA&A officer countered that this was not in accordance with directives—a recommendation that was heeded and the danger of the loss of easily portable valuables was avoided. On the other hand, in the mine at Siegen, although the conditions demanded the most prompt withdrawal of the paintings if they were to be spared, further deterioration, lack of personnel, transportation, and an available collecting point prevented immediate evacuation of the contents. The damage at Heimbolshausen has already been described. In Thuringia and Saxony numerous important cities had to be inspected and reported upon, and the contents of four large repositories had to be evacuated between June 15 and 30. The totally inadequate amount of MFA&A per-

sonnel for such a task, working with a nearly complete absence of equipment, here as elsewhere, did a nearly miraculous and thoroughly creditable job.

The story of a few of the most notable of these repositories will serve as examples illustrative of the variety of conditions encountered, and several different solutions that were made.

From the early years of the war, the buying and looting operations of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die Besetzen Gebiete (ERR) had aroused the attention and concern of the Allied Powers. It was a special unit of the Foreign Political Office of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, under Division III for Special Projects. Its primary and theoretical function had originally been for collection of political material for exploitation in the so-called struggle against Jewry and Freemasonry. The western office began to operate in July 1940, and in September an order from Marshal Goering extended its authority to include the confiscation of "ownerless" Jewish art collections, and so altered the emphasis of its mission that this activity became its primary function.

There was some rivalry here between Hitler and Goering, for the former had ordered all confiscated works of art to be brought to Germany and placed at his personal disposition, while the director of the Dresden and projected Linz Galleries, Dr. Hans Posse, was to be responsible for them. Goering, however, was able to dominate the organization through his control of the Air Force, which could furnish much-needed supplies, and he did take out many works of art for his own collections, some confiscated, others covered with the cloak of apparently

legal purchase. The full activity of the organization in France has been reported in a detailed account assembled from a wealth of first-hand evidence by the Office of Strategic Services referred to elsewhere.

From interrogations of prisoners of war and other indications it was conjectured early in 1945 that much of the material shipped out of France by the ERR would be found in Bavaria, specifically in such castles as Hohenschwangau, Neuschwanstein, and Herrenchiemsee. An enemy document was found in the office of the Bavarian Building Administration in Munich containing a list of places to which pictures, sculptures, archives and the like had been evacuated. It was not known if these collections contained looted material, and in fact they did not. But by May 27, Lt. (later Capt.) James Rorimer, MFA&A officer with the Seventh U. S. Army, was able to confirm the correctness of considerable parts of the earlier conjectures. In his report of that date he gives a brief summary of 56 of the 175 depositories then known to be in the area of that Army. A week later he reported:

... With few exceptions ... efforts of this section have been concentrated on safeguarding the larger repositories of cultural resources and particularly those in which "looted" items from foreign countries predominated.

Of the 56 repositories reported upon, 3 contained material gathered together by the ERR: the Castle at Neuschwanstein near Füssen, the Carthusian Monastery at Buxheim near Memmingen, the Castle of Herrenchiemsee. Three others, of less importance, at Kogl, Seiseneegg, and Nickolsburg Castles, were found shortly afterward. Owing to the increasing danger from air raids, the

Reichschancellery, through Hitler's instruction to Bormann, had ordered the major deposits to be evacuated and their contents to be brought to the salt mine at Alt-Aussee in Austria. Thirteen such convoys were transferred by March, and the contents of these was likewise discovered in time. These castles were closely guarded for several months, inspected periodically, and finally their contents were separated according to the country of origin of the different parts. By November 6, Lt. Craig H. Smyth, USNR, of the Collecting Point at Munich, reported that 434 items had arrived from Neuschwanstein and Herrenchiemsee, and about October 25, Capt. Edward Adams (US), director of the MFA&A evacuation team at the Schloss Neuschwanstein Repository, could report that:

... The first trainload of looted works of art from the Neuschwanstein Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives repository left Fuessen for Paris on 25 October 1945. . . . The 21 car train consisted of 2 personnel cars, a utility emergency car, 18 fully-loaded closed wagons and one underslung flat car. The latter car was required to carry one extremely large picture which was packed in a weatherproof crate attached to a special scaffold nailed to the floor of the car. 52 truckloads consisting of 634 crates of art objects were moved from the castle to the railroad siding without accident or breakage. . . . French origin of all items was established by verifying crate markings with records at the Munich Central Collecting Point. Additional control was established through spot checking a representative number of crates by actual examination of their contents and reference to their catalogue record. . . . A second shipment is now being prepared to evacuate the entire remainder if possible before winter weather begins. . . .

The records at the Munich Collecting Point mentioned were the very meticulously kept

files of the ERR captured at Neuschwanstein. This consisted of a library as well as documents including the basic card catalog, negatives, folios with photographs, and manuscript catalogs of looted private collections. These disclosed that 21,903 objects had been seized from 203 collections, although there are suggestions that the number was in reality somewhat higher.

As indicated before, the MFA&A officers attached to the Seventh U. S. Army found, inspected, and cared for the contents of hundreds of other repositories within its area in Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. The First and Ninth Armies had made discoveries in Westphalia, Thuringia, and Prussia, as had the British and Canadian forces further north, but among the most dramatic discoveries of concealed works of art were those of the Third U. S. Army. Capt. Robert K. Posey, its MFA&A Specialist officer, had the satisfaction of finding, and many of the problems of dealing with, the contents of the salt mine at Merkers, and, in the last days of the war, with the Goering Collection at Berchtesgaden, and the two great salt mines of Alt-Aussee and Lauffen in the heart of the Salzkammergut, that romantically picturesque Alpine area so beloved by the elite of nineteenth-century European society as a summer resort.

On May 4, Berchtesgaden (Fig. 52) was captured by troops of the American One Hundred and First Airborne Division and a French Armored Division. They found that a number of works of art were stored in the town office of Goering's staff. The director of the Reichsmarshal's collection, Walter Andreas Hofer, soon appeared at the office of the chief AMG officer, Capt. (later Maj.) Harry Anderson, and within the next few

days the fate of a large part of Goering's art property was learned.

Three shipments containing most of the best works of painting, sculpture, tapestries, and the like had been shipped from the Marshal's princely establishments at Kurfürst and Carinhall between February and April 1945. The projected air-raid shelter for them had not yet been completed, so they were, in part, detoured to another property, the Castle of Veldenstein, only to be repacked in mid-April and sent on to Berchtesgaden. A considerable amount of confusion seems to have reigned, for some works of art were taken into the town, others were left in their crates in box cars at the station, while other freight cars were sent a few miles south to Unterstein.

Goering arrived from Berlin at this time, only to be arrested on April 30 by SS troops and taken away. He was soon re-arrested, this time by Americans of the Seventh Army, and then questioned about many things, among them about his art collections and the methods of acquiring them. Very talkative, he represented himself as a kind of Maecenas, buying and trading extensively as well as being the recipient of many gifts from party members, foreign officials, and members of the German Air Force who knew of his passion for artistic works. Before his arrest, he had given orders for safeguarding the objects sent to Berchtesgaden, but had since been informed that some of his own troops had begun to plunder the freight cars as well as his villa at Obersalzberg, above the town.

Apparently not only Gestapo troops had looted the trains, for numbers of objects from the collection were later found in houses in Berchtesgaden and its surround-

ings. And a certain amount of damage was done during the battle for the town, many paintings having been pierced by bullets and numbers of statues chipped and broken. While in SS custody at Mauterndorf, Goering had requested and received nearly a score of tapestries and several fine paintings by Vermeer, Memling, and Roger van der Weyden. These were soon recovered by Captain Anderson, but several paintings disappeared from the caché at Unterstein.

Lt. (later Lt. Comdr.) Charles L. Kuhn, USNR, Deputy Advisor of MFA&A at SHAEF during this period, visited Berchtesgaden on May 14 and found that Captain Anderson had requisitioned a dry, fireproof house at Unterstein where the objects from the damp cellars beneath the Goering staff office were being transferred. Hofer had begun an inventory and his wife was giving first aid to the objects that had been damaged by dampness. His report continued, in part:

... According to Hofer, the repository contains the bulk of the GOERING collection. He estimated that it consisted of 600 to 1,000 paintings, 60 to 80 pieces of sculpture, and 40 to 60 tapestries. Among the objects, the inspecting officers saw the two pieces that Goering had acquired from the Louvre, paintings from the Koenigs and Renders Collections, works purchased from German Museums and from Dutch and French dealers. According to Hofer, only a very few of the objects came from the Einsatzstab Rosenberg.

In preparation for documenting the history of Goering's international art dealings, careful investigations were made of the various trains in and near Berchtesgaden, and a large baggage car was found on a siding strewn with books and papers. Hofer, who was accompanying Lieutenant Rorimer, MFA&A officer with the Seventh U. S. Army at this

time, stated that there were 200 cases belonging to Goering and him when the car left Weldenstein. Germans, displaced persons, and Allied soldiers had apparently ransacked and looted it, some papers being burned. The remainder was collected, taken to Munich, and a large part of it was loaned temporarily to the Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services.

This Unit assembled a large collection of documents dating back to 1940, interrogated dozens of persons connected with the wide ramifications of the artistic activity of the Marshal and, as a result of these studies, prepared a detailed report on the expansion of a collection that contained, by the time of his downfall, about 1,375 paintings, 250 sculptures, 108 tapestries, 200 pieces of period furniture, 60 Persian and French rugs, 75 stained glass windows, and 175 objets d'art. The ultimate restitution of these works will take much time and care, and is still a matter for the future.

The other great repository was in fact two, the Salzbergbau at Alt-Aussee, and the Salzbergbau Bad Ischl near Lauffen, salt mines on opposite sides of Steinberg Mountain. Capt. Robert Posey had first come on the trail of these enormous depots at Trier during the early part of the campaign in Germany. Additional information was accumulated as the Allied armies advanced, and in early May he was able to confirm the reports that these were storehouses of incalculable artistic richness.

Lt. George Stout, USNR, was once again requested hurriedly for his technical advice and in his report of May 27, he gave a summary estimate of the contents of the deposit at Alt-Aussee:

... Records in the hands of German officials indicate that there are in part 6,577 paintings, 230 drawings and water colours, 954 prints, 137 pieces of sculpture, 128 pieces of arms and armor, 79 baskets of objects, 484 cases of unknown objects presumed to be archives in part, 78 pieces of furniture, 122 tapestries, 181 cases of books, 1,200 to 1,700 cases apparently containing books or similar matter . . . among these holdings are important and famous looted works such as the Van Eyck altar-piece from the church of St. Bavon in Ghent . . . the Bouts altar-piece from Louvain, the Michelangelo Madonna and Child from Bruges, and many others.

Subsequent examination increased the magnitude of the find.

The story of the use of these salt mines as repositories goes back to 1942 when Austrian museum officials began to search for shelters for their collections that would be safe from air raids which were increasing in intensity. Examination indicated that the Lauffen mine, because the hygroscopic action of the salt deposits would reduce humidity to a low level, was one of the best shelters for paintings, which might be ruined or seriously damaged by mold. Accordingly, in 1944, the best objects from the State Collections in Vienna were stored there. These were paintings, tapestries, and mediaeval art objects from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, large collections of drawings and prints from the Albertina, illuminated and other manuscripts from the National Library, objects of various kinds from the Museum of Natural History and Ethnology, the Kunstgewerbe Museum, various galleries of paintings, records from the Institute for the Protection of Monuments, and the Archaeological Office, and great paintings from a number of private collections.

By 1945, the safest chamber at Lauffen were filled so that the somewhat less satisfactory tunnels and chambers of the mine at Alt-Aussee were taken over for use. This did not last long, for the Germans then decided to use these as depots of greater safety than they possessed in Germany. Accordingly, during March and April, a portion of the best ERR loot was shipped from the Bavarian castles and monasteries already mentioned, as well as the large number of works that had been collected for the proposed Hitler Museum at Linz. Most of this collection had been stored earlier in various buildings in Munich.

The action in April and early May of 1945 around these mine-repositories was filled with melodrama (Fig. 55). Lieutenant Stout's report continued:

... According to the fragmentary testimony so far taken, there was a deliberate plan to destroy all holdings at Alt-Aussee. In early April 1945, the provincial Gauleiter, Eigruher, ordered the Kulturreferent, Stuppäck, to see that measures were taken to insure total destruction of the mine, and its contents. It is probable that this order was transmitted from higher authority. On 10 April, heavy cases marked "Marmor, nicht Stürzen" [Marble, don't drop] were placed in the chambers with the holdings. It was later discovered that these contained 700 Kilo HE bombs and that detonators for them were on the way. Subsequent happenings are not definitely explained. They involve surreptitious actions, threats of flooding, counter-threats, and a quarrel between Eigruher and a man named Kaltenbrunner, an assistant to Himmler, who was in refuge at Alt-Aussee. In the course of all this, the bombs were taken out and put under a brush pile a short way below the mine, objects were moved about in a curious fashion but did not receive serious damage, some parts of passages were blown, and the electrical wiring knocked out. It is reported that destructive action was contemplated for the Lauffen repository but was never carried into effect. Passages in the

Lauffen mine were blown on grounds of necessity as a preventive measure.

By May 18, openings had been made through the demolition blocks sufficient to permit crawling, and all the chambers had been visited. Captain Posey could further report that a provisional working inventory of all deposits had been completed by May 31. The Vermeer from the Czernin Collection, bought by Hitler for the Linz Museum, was safe and in good condition, as were most other works; however, one of the panels of the Ghent Altarpiece, the one on which St. John is represented, had been broken along its left joint during some part of its moving around.

One other dramatic happening occurred at the Lauffen mine in early May. Captain Posey told of it that:

... Dr. Victor LUTHELEN, custodian, states on 25 April the former General Kulturreferent STUPPÄCK came with an order from the Gauleiter of Austria, Baldur von SCHIRACH to remove all the Rembrandts, and bring them to him at GUMUNDEN . . . where they would be turned over to the Kampfgruppe (Task Force) Fabian. LUTHELEN delayed and temporized, but a Rembrandt self-portrait, a Bregel, a Rubens, and a Venetian picture were packed the same day and removed by STUPPÄCK . . . On 4 May at 0430 hours, a Kapitän RHEINHARDT, a Leutnant KAHLEN, a sergeant, and other soldiers arrived with two lorries and took away the cream of the pictures from the mine depot, presumably to Schloss Weierhof bei BRAMBERG, near MITTERSILL. The two lorries contained 184 paintings [including five Rembrandts, two Dürers, eight Breughels, nine Titians, and seven by Velasquez, 49 bags of tapestries and two boxes of sculptures and minor arts] and were not packed. At this time all roads were patrolled by American fighter planes . . .

The lorries had not progressed as far west as Mittersill, however, but were left in the

damp cellar of a house near the Goldene Löwe Inn at Sankt Johann im Tirol. Here they were examined in late May by Capt. Calvin S. Hathaway (US), MFA&A officer on temporary duty with the Seventh U. S. Army, and the next day they were transferred and turned over to the Property Control Section in Salzburg. Eventually they were returned to Vienna where they formed part of an exhibition displayed in the Hofburg.

During June the orderly transfer of the huge deposit at Alt-Aussee began, taking at first the finest objects. An evacuating team, under the Third U. S. Army direction, comprised at different times of Lieutenants Stout, KOvalyak, Moore, Thomas C. Howe, Jr., USNR (later Lieutenant Commander) and Frederick C. Shradly (US), during the next 4 months moved all the non-Austrian material assembled there to the Collecting Point at Munich. This amounted to more than 15,000 paintings and thousands of pieces of sculpture, furniture, frames, and objets d'art of every description. It was German state property, acquisitions of Hitler, ERR loot from France and Holland, loot from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Italy—a mighty hoard.

Alt-Aussee was a busy town during the summer of 1945, not only with the convoys of trucks taking out load upon load of works of art, but also as the center of the Art Looting Investigation Unit of the Office of Strategic Services already mentioned. A small team of officers assembled documentary evidence and interrogated a large number of people connected with German art purchases beginning in 1940. From this they made nearly a score of reports on the principal individuals concerned, and three large reports, that on Hit-

ler's proposed Library and Museum at Linz, with copious details on the methods of acquisition for them being added to those of Goering's Collection, and on the activities of the ERR in France that have already been cited. Copies of these were distributed to various Allied agencies dealing with war crimes.

The circumstances surrounding the discovery of each repository always had individual qualities and the detection of the whereabouts of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire was undoubtedly among the most satisfying and exciting. The regalia, along with the crown treasure, had been transferred from Vienna to Nuremberg, "the Party City," by the Nazis after their annexation of Austria in 1938. They are political symbols of great emotional power and the Nazi exploitation of propaganda could not have been expected to ignore such values. When the Seventh U. S. Army captured the city (Fig. 48), the regalia were found to have disappeared, and initial inquiries were fruitless. In mid-July, Lt. Walter W. Horn (US), MFA&A officer from headquarters of U. S. Group, Control Council, was attached on temporary duty to the OMG at Nuremberg to investigate the circumstances of their disappearance, and, if possible, to effect their recovery. In his report of August 14, he could announce the complete success of his mission. The details are interesting and deserve rather extensive quotation:

3. According to the story presented in the letter of Stadtrat FRIES, the removal of the missing parts of the crown treasure took place on 2 or 3 April, 1945, in presence of Stadtrat FRIES and Oberbuergermeister LIEBEL. Separated from the crown treasure were, at that occasion, what is commonly referred to as the Imperial Insignia, proper: the crown, the orb, the sceptre, and the two imperial swords. These five objects, according to Stadtrat

FRIES were handed by him and the Oberbuergermeister to an SS-Major or Lt. Colonel, who drove away with the insignia to an unknown destination.

#### *Investigation Carried on at Third Army Intelligence Center*

4. On 22 July 1945, Lt. HORN proceeded from HOECHST to MUNICH . . . where he obtained the following information . . .

According to rumors circulating in certain SS-units, the imperial insignia had been sunk to the bottom of Lake ZELL in AUSTRIA. The source of this rumor was said to be SS Oberfuehrer SPACIL, head of Amt II of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt and its chief treasurer. SPACIL, it could be ascertained was a prisoner of the Seventh Army Interrogation Center, and was about to be transferred to the Theater Interrogation Center. It was decided to follow up this lead as soon as the local investigation in NUREMBERG was completed.

#### *Investigation Carried on in Nuremberg*

5. On 25 July 1945, Lt. HORN proceeded . . . to NUREMBERG . . . there . . . a total of 21 people were interrogated 25-27 July 1945. The results of these interrogations are summarized as follows:

6. The plan to segregate the imperial insignia from the remainder of the crown treasure was first mentioned after one of the heavy October air raids on NUREMBERG, probably the one of 3 Oct. 1944. It was on that occasion that Oberbuergermeister LIEBEL asked Stadtrat SCHMEISZNER to see to it that suitable copper containers were manufactured and held ready for the future removal. SCHMEISZNER asked Oberbaurat LINCKE to take care of the matter and it was upon the latter's order that four copper containers were made by the plumber and copper-smith BAUM during the last week of October 1944.

7. Where the idea to remove the crown insignia originated could not be established unequivocally. SCHMEISZNER and FRIES, both believe, acted on orders of HIMMLER. Oberbuergermeister LIEBEL . . . had committed suicide on 19 or 20 April 1945. His secretary, DREYKORN, however, recalls that LIEBEL had established contact with BERLIN . . . requesting instructions as to what should be done about the insignia.

8. Several days before the actual removal, the insignia were taken out of their regular containers, wrapped in glasswool, and packed into the copper containers, held ready for that purpose. . . .

9. In their description of the removal proper, FRIES and SCHMEISZNER stuck closely to the story presented by FRIES's letter of 30 June 1945. Both asserted that only LIEBEL and FRIES were present when the insignia were handed over to the SS-officer, and FRIES stated he had never seen this officer before, nor to have learned his name, nor to have been told to what place of hiding the insignia had been taken.

#### *Investigation Carried on at Theater Interrogation Center*

10. The investigation in NUREMBERG having come to a deadlock, Lt. HORN decided to confront Stadtrat FRIES with Oberfuehrer SPACIL, then suspected of being the SS-officer to whom the insignia had presumptively been handed by LIEBEL and FRIES. Arrangements for FRIES's arrest and transfer to Theater Interrogation Center were made on 28 July 1945. The transfer took place on 3 August 1945. Under the effect of a night of solitary confinement and the pressure of a short interrogation which preceded the scheduled confrontation, FRIES broke down. He confessed:

(a) that many of his previous statements concerning the removal of the crown insignia had been misleading or false;

(b) that the insignia had never [been] handed out to any SS-men, but had been encased in the masonry of the underground corridor system of the PANIERS PLATZ BUNKER in NUREMBERG, by FRIES himself, Oberbuergermeister LIEBEL, Oberbaurat LINCKE and Stadtrat SCHMEISZNER;

(c) that this event took place on 31 March 1945;

(d) that in order to cover the tracks of this removal a fictitious removal had been staged on 2 or 3 April 1945 with the assistance of some local SS-men;

(e) that he was willing to reveal the location of the insignia and to assist in their recovery.

In the light of this confession, the confrontation of FRIES and SPACIL never took place.

#### *Recovery of the Insignia*

11. On 6 August 1945, FRIES was taken back to NUREMBERG. . . . In the morning of 7 August 1945, Capt. THOMPSON and Lt. HORN met with FRIES and SCHMEISZNER at the entrance of the PANIERS PLATZ BUNKER. . . . [they] directed the party to the hiding place, a small room of the subterranean corridor . . . approximately 80 feet below the surface of the PANIERS PLATZ. After a hole had been chiseled through the brick wall, one of the small ends of this room, the four copper containers with the insignia were recovered. In the presence of all the persons who witnessed the recovery, the copper containers were transferred to their original place, the art cache underneath the NUREMBERG castle, where they are kept behind steel doors.

12. In the afternoon of the same day, 7 Aug. 1945, the copper containers were opened. They were found to contain the missing insignia, e. g., the crown, the sceptre, the two imperial swords and the globe. All objects were found in good condition. They were freed from their spun glass wrapping and put back into their original containers. . . .

#### *The Political Aspect of the Removal of the Imperial Insignia*

14. The information so far obtained suggests that the order to bring the imperial insignia to a place for safekeeping came from HIMMLER. Apart from HIMMLER and the NUREMBERG city officials who were charged with the removal, only KALTENBRUNNER, the chief of the German Security Service, and MUELLER, the head of the GESTAPO, may have been informed of the true location of the crown insignia. At a meeting of the department heads of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt, which took place in BERLIN on 1 April, e. g. one day after the actual removal of the insignia, MUELLER reported to KALTENBRUNNER, "The imperial insignia have been sunk in a lake by reliable agents of mine." KALTENBRUNNER's only reply was "good." The source of this information is Oberfuehrer SPACIL, who . . . attended the meeting. . . . SPACIL inferred from this exchange that KALTENBRUNNER must have known the details of this

operation since otherwise he would have asked questions about it. From the remark of MUELLER, however, it may also be inferred that the idea of covering up the tracks of the removal by the fictitious story . . . must also have originated in the highest circles of the German Security Service, and that the orders to stage a false removal . . . in NUREMBERG . . . came from Berlin. The fact that not even all the heads of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt were considered worthy of being initiated into the secret illustrates the political importance attached to it.

15. On the grounds of these facts and conversations between captured SS-officials . . . it would appear that the imperial insignia were slated by the chiefs of the German Security Service to become the symbols of the future German resistance movement. . . .

After consideration of the legal questions of ownership of the crown treasure, arrangements were made so that on January 4, 1946, these objects of such great artistic, monetary, historical, and symbolic value, were taken by airplane in the custody of Mr. Andrew C. Ritchie, Representative of the Commanding General, United States Forces in Austria, to Vienna, where a formal transfer was later made by General Mark Clark to officials of the Austrian State (Fig. 59).

Of the great Central Collecting Points, that in Munich (Fig. 49) was the largest in size and staff, the most complex in its operations and therefore probably the most worthy of study, as may be done through the monthly reports prepared by its officer in charge, Lt. Craig H. Smyth, USNR. After arriving on June 4, he was joined by Lt. J. Hamilton Coulter, USNR, who took charge:

of the architectural aspects of preparing the repository, arranging for the repair of the repository buildings, and obtaining labor and materials.

The buildings chosen for the repository were two known as the Verwaltungsbau and

the Führerbau on the Arcisstrasse at the Königsplatz, the two principal structures in a complex of buildings that had formerly been the headquarters of the Nazi Party.

. . . Lt. Smyth's instructions were to work for the designation of the two buildings as a central art repository and then to prepare them as a storage point for immediate use and also as a long-term repository and cataloguing center.

For a few days there were some administrative difficulties in transferring control of the buildings from the Seventh to the Third Army for assignment to the Civil Affairs Division of the latter as a central collecting point. But after it had been emphasized that they were the only buildings in Munich that could provide sufficient storage space and also meet the essential needs of a fireproof structure in such good repair that it could immediately serve for emergency storage, and equipped with an adequate heating plant, library and work space, and freight elevators, concurrence was granted on June 14.

When control of the buildings, which were renamed "The Gallery," was effected, various security measures were at once taken, the first being to secure a temporary guard of about 30 men to guard 23 posts:

. . . In addition to posting the guard, steps were taken to have the underground passageways blocked with barbed wire barriers and to have high barbed wire fences erected around the Powerhouse, Verwaltungsbau and Führerbau. All personnel come and go through two entrances . . . other security measures [were that] the names of all persons entering and leaving were entered in a control book. All packages and handbags are searched. All personnel entering buildings must carry building passes, issued by this office. An engineering detail was obtained to examine the buildings and passageways for explosives and booby-traps. . . . Lights

were placed on each side of the buildings to illuminate the surrounding area at night. A fire drill was begun and new carbon dioxide extinguishers ordered. Care has been taken to hire only non-Nazi personnel. . . .

As a result of these measures a close security was maintained, marred only by a single accidental explosion of a box of hand grenades in one of the lower basements. These had apparently been overlooked by the bomb disposal detail, which again made a search. The second and last untoward occurrence was the theft of four small paintings about August 15, which was apparently done by a repair laborer and when a change in the guard detail had been made at an important control post without the knowledge of the authorities of the collecting point. Subsequently, locks were reinstalled on all storeroom doors and all keys to them were placed in a special room under the control of the military guard, with none but authorized personnel permitted to obtain a key. The keeping of a constant inventory also diminished the chance of a recurrence of theft.

The next steps were to secure adequate civilian personnel and to put the buildings in readiness for their task. To this end two categories of personnel were hired, the permanent staff, and contractors and laborers for the initial preparatory period. The permanent staff of curators, librarian, administrators, maintenance technicians, etc., were selected from the SHAEF "White List" of art personnel and upon the advice of the Oberbürgermeister of Munich, in all a total at first of 16 persons being selected.

Immediate steps were taken by:

Cleaning personnel and inventorists to catalogue the contents of the buildings. . . . movers arranged

a series of rooms as storage place; phones were ordered; moving equipment including dollies and matting were procured from the firm Wetsch. . . . the staff has used spare time to clear future storage rooms of furniture, and to gather, sort and store all objects of art which were found in the buildings at the time they were taken over.

The first loads of art objects arrived on June 17, and Lieutenant Smyth's first report gives in detail the method of handling:

For the present no cases are being opened. No picture racks have yet been constructed. Pictures arriving without cases are leaned in small groups against the walls of the storage rooms.

A daily inspection of the storage rooms is made by the curatorial staff, and the temperature and relative humidity are recorded in several representative rooms.

### XIII. The indexing system

A numbered designation is given to each object or crate when it enters the depot.

A sample designation would be 399/Aussee/41. This designation is derived from the fact that the object was the 399th item to enter the depot and the 41st item from Alt-Aussee. . . .

It is planned to have the following separate files:

1. *The arrival-file* already described above, for cataloguing items on their arrival and before any detailed information is assembled.

2. *A file for each individual object* on which description, photograph, condition and all information concerning ownership and history can be entered. Copies of this file will be forwarded to the US Group CC. It is planned to arrange this file by repository. This will be the principal file.

3. *A file by artist, country, and period*, consisting of small cards containing only the briefest information, to be used solely for reference to the principal file.

4. *A similar file by presumed owner*, using the same form of card as file No. 3, again only for reference to the principal file.

5. *A file by storage-room number*, using the same type of card as file 3 and 4.

A daily record is kept by the registrar's office indicating the number of objects received each day, the arrival numbers assigned, the source and the authority under which the objects were brought to Munich.

In Lieutenant Smyth's report of early August, he could say that:

As of 31 July, 6,022 items, comprising unpacked art objects as well as large cases containing many objects, had been received at the Collecting Point. . . . The majority of the art brought . . . during July consists of looted objects from the repositories at Alt-Aussee and Hohenfurth and items from the Goering collection found in Berchtesgaden. There were also a few truck loads from Guffhamm, consisting of paintings and books in the collection of Heinrich Hoffmann, and several loads from Bad Ischl, including crates of manuscripts stolen from Kremsmuenster in Austria, and the famous Altar by Altdorfer from the monastery of St. Florian. Among works of outstanding importance brought to the repository during this period are the Ghent Altar by the Van Eyck brothers, the Bruges Madonna by Michelangelo, "An Artist in his Studio," by Vermeer, and the collection of objects stolen from Monte Cassino in Italy. . . . The condition of objects arriving . . . has been in general excellent, except for some condensation of moisture on paintings due to a sudden change in temperature on leaving the salt mines. Many items from the Goering Collection, however, were in poor condition owing to their erratic history prior to falling into Allied hands. Almost none of the Goering pictures were framed; a considerable number had abrasions and scratches, and many showed bullet holes.

During the summer a team of Monuments officers, under the direction of Lt. Thomas C. Howe, Jr., USNR, removed over a thousand items of artistic importance from the monastery at Hohenfurth, Czechoslovakia. These included, among other things, paintings, tapestries, furniture, and objets d'art looted by the ERR from the Rothschild and Mannheim collections in France and Holland.

For the purposes of additional study and documentation, a photographer and eight other administrative or technical assistants were hired in order to make a visual record of the condition of art objects, to complete the identification of objects in addition to the description on the individual file cards, and to document the work of the Central Collecting Point. In addition, the nucleus of a research library was begun by the transferral of pertinent sections of the library of the Pinakothek, the Bavarian National Museum, with other libraries to be drawn upon in case of necessity.

At the end of August, the collecting point also took custody of an Art Document Center. According to Lt. Walter Horn's report of September 3:

. . . all Documents, correspondence records and card files pertaining to works of art will be united and made available for study and research. . . . All the documents now in the custody of the Enemy Document Section of the Third Army Intelligence Center [or to be removed later] will be handed over . . .

These consisted of files relating to purchases of works of art for Hitler's Museum at Linz, records of their transfer to Bad Aussee and Kremsmünster which had been used by the OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit. There were also photostatic copies of files on the art operations of the ERR, of Goering, and a great many other reports and inventories.

At this time the first steps toward restitution were begun by making a survey of uncrated art objects to determine their ownership.

During the following months additional repairs and installations were made in "The

Gallery," amounting to nearly 10,000 man-hours by skilled and unskilled laborers. Numbers of lists and inventories were brought from Alt-Aussee referring to objects assembled from very varied places; e. g., reports and records concerning the Ghent Altarpiece and that by Bouts, records about Montecassino, information on pictures from the Goudstikker, Gutmann, Mannheim, Rothschild, and other looted collections. By the end of October, after little more than 4 months of operation, this one major collecting point had received a total of 13,619 cases and uncrated works of art from 38 different repositories, over three-quarters coming from Alt-Aussee, Berchtesgaden, and Hohenfurth.

During August one of the chief activities was the preparation for the return of the Ghent Altarpiece by the Van Eyck brothers to Belgium (Figs. 56 and 57). The panels were packed in 10 cases and, in the custody of Capt. Robert K. Posey, MFA&A officer of the Third U. S. Army, were placed in a plane at the Munich airfield. Flown safely to Brussels, it was there met by Mr. Patterson, Counselor of the U. S. Ambassador to Belgium, M. O. Buisseret, Belgian Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, Advisor on Cultural Matters, U. S. Group, Control Council, Commander George Boas, Naval Attaché to the U. S. Embassy in Belgium, and Maj. L. B. LaFarge, Chief of the MFA&A Subsection of USFET. Major LaFarge's report of August 25 and September 4 relate further details:

The ten cases . . . were unloaded and stored in the USFET Mission building for the night . . . At 1100 hours the next morning, they were delivered to the Royal Palace, unpacked by Belgian art experts, laid out on the large table in the State Dining

Room for examination. At 1400 hours, the Minister's Chef de Cabinet, Monsieur Gruslin, signed the receipt prepared by the Embassy, after the art experts had thoroughly scrutinized the panels and found them in virtually as good a condition as when they had left Belgium. . . . The formal ceremony of delivery of the "Adoration of the Lamb" . . . took place in the "Red Room" of the Royal Palace at 1100 hours, 3 September, with H. R. H. Prince Charles, the Regent of Belgium, officiating in the presence of Mr. Sawyer, U. S. Ambassador, Monsieur Van Acker, the Prime Minister, Monsieur Buisseret, . . . the Bishop of Ghent and about 100 guests. . . . General Eisenhower is to be received by the Prince Regent on 6 September.

In September the marble statue of the Madonna and Child by Michelangelo (Fig. 58) was returned to Belgium, and in October:

. . . the principal activity at the Central Collecting Point was . . . toward spot checking and inventorying the 21 train carloads of works of art shipped during the month to France from the repository at Neuschwanstein.

Decisions on such restitution had been pronounced in the already cited paper on cultural restitution entitled "Art Objects in US Zone" (p. 135), prepared in the Office of the Deputy Military Governor and approved by President Truman at the time of the Potsdam Conference in July, which continued:

#### 2. Classification.

For the purpose of handling these works of art, they may be divided into three classes, to wit:

Class "A," consisting of works of art taken from the countries overrun by Germany readily identifiable as publicly owned, and works of art taken from private owners in the overrun countries by seizure and without compensation.

Class "B," consisting of works of art taken from private collectors in the overrun countries for which some compensation is alleged to have been made to the owners.

Class "C," consisting of works of art placed in the US Zone by Germany for safekeeping which are bona fide property of the German nation.

#### 3. Storage Conditions.

Neither expert personnel nor satisfactory facilities are available in the US Zone to properly safeguard and handle these priceless works of art. The Goering seizures, for instance, are in a wooden building, which presents an undesirable fire hazard for the storage of these valuable works of art.

Many of the cases have not yet been crated, and months will be required if the uncrating is to be done with the facilities now available.

#### 4. Disposition.

These works of art should be removed promptly to locations where facilities and personnel are available for their inventory, identification, and adequate care.

It is believed that the US will desire to return immediately all works of art known to be in Class "A."

While there may be some doubt as to the return of all works of art in Class "B" to their original owners, it is believed that the US will desire these works of art to be returned to the country from which they were taken. Receipts may be taken so that the return of compensation made by the Germans may be settled at a later date, perhaps as a charge against reparations allowances.

It is not believed that the US would desire the works of art in Class "C" to be made available for reparations and to be divided among a number of nations. Even if this is to be done, these works of art might well be returned to the US to be inventoried, identified, and cared for by our leading museums. . . .

#### 5. Recommendations.

It is recommended:

a. That all works of art in Class "A" be returned to the country of origin as rapidly as arrangements can be effected, without conditions.

b. It is recommended that works of art in Class "B" be returned to the countries of origin and that receipts be taken for the amount of compensation alleged to have been paid by the Germans, with these

values possibly to be considered as reparations payment to the several countries to which these works of art are returned.

c. It is recommended that the works of art in Class "C" be removed to the US as rapidly as arrangements can be effected and distributed among the museums in the US properly equipped to handle these works of art . . .

This paper, despite incidental and minor changes, laid the policy with respect to Classes "A" and "B," for the unilateral action of the U. S. Government through its army, in returning the Ghent Altarpiece, the Bruges Madonna, and many other works of artistic and historic importance seized by the Germans. Lieutenant Smyth's report dated October 4, reveals also the beginning of another phase of restitution:

Works of art taken from Monte Cassino and the 188 objects belonging to the National Collections of Belgium were brought together and inventories on the official Property Cards were being completed. Easily identifiable French objects were being collected and final inventories of them made preparatory to the first shipment to France.

The shipment of 21 train carloads from Neuschwanstein in October has already been mentioned; second and third shipments, totaling 587 crates, were sent in clearing the castle by December 1.

The Deputy Chief of the MFA&A Subsection, Lt. (later Lt. Comdr.) Charles L. Kuhn, USNR, during a visit to Bavaria and Austria in September, made:

arrangements . . . with Lt. Smyth to provide office space and a secretary for three foreign experts [French, Belgian, Dutch] at the collecting point . . . to assist in assembling shipments, examine records, supervise spot checking, the drawing up of receipts, etc. . . . As to the question of the disposition of objects whose country of origin was in doubt (e. g., A. de Rothschild, Paris or Vienna?),

Lt. Smyth was advised to confine restitution for the present to items concerning which there was no doubt. It was suggested to Lt. Smyth that photographic copies of the Rosenberg card catalogue be made by a V-mail team and that copies be furnished to French, Belgians, and Dutch to assist them in the identification of owners.

In addition to these representatives of some of the Allied Powers, Mr. Andrew C. Ritchie, Specialist in the MFA&A Branch, U. S. Allied Commission, Austria, came on from Vienna as Representative of the Commanding General, United States Forces in Austria, and supervised the return of Austrian property taken to the Munich Collecting Point by American teams that had evacuated it from Alt-Aussee. He was also General Clark's representative to acknowledge receipt of looted western European material that had been stored in Austria and to arrange the transfer of identifiable loot to representatives of France, Belgium, and Holland.

From this and other collecting points, as well as directly from some of the repositories, token restitution was made to several of the Allied Powers, and eventually to some co-belligerents. Numbers of these have already been referred to in other connections; e. g., train loads of material looted by the ERR from France returned from Neuschwanstein, and the return to Belgium of the Ghent Altarpiece, the Madonna and Child by Michelangelo from Bruges, and the wings of Dirk Bouts' altarpiece of the Last Supper from Louvain in the summer and autumn of 1945.

During September 1945, the stained glass windows of Strasbourg Cathedral and the ecclesiastical treasure of Metz Cathedral were returned to these two cities. The glass from

Strasbourg had been carefully removed and packed at the outbreak of war and entrusted for safety to the care of the Prefect of the Department of the Dordogne at Perigueux. After the invasion of France, it remained in storage until May 1944, when, over the protests of the Archbishop, the cases were returned to Strasbourg. German preparations for the systematic safeguarding of Alsatian works of art by their removal to depots in Germany date back to 1943, although it was not until November 1944, that the stained glass windows were in fact sent to the repository where troops of the Seventh U. S. Army found them early in April 1945, in the mines of the Salzbergwerke at Heilbronn (Fig. 46) on the Neckar. Lt. Dale B. Ford, MFA&A Specialist officer at the Heilbronn and Kochendorf Collecting Point, reported on September 30:

... The movement to the surface and return of the Stained Glass of the Cathedral of Strasbourg attracted wide attention from the French press. The entire operation of returning the Strasbourg Stained Glass was done as a token of the first restitution of works of art to the French Government and therefore the highest priority was set for its earliest possible return. Photographers from the 7th Army worked with this office several days while making documentary film of the discovery, movement to the surface, and return of the Stained Glass. The five-truck convoy from Strasbourg arrived at Heilbronn at 1400 hours on 17th September 1945. The convoy was under the command of Lieut. Vivier, du Cabinet Militaire, Strasbourg. A security guard of 19 gendarmes accompanied the convoy. Two cars of French photographers and press reporters arrived in advance of the main convoy. Documentary film for the 7th Army continued during the loading operations. A MFA&A specialist officer from the 7th Army was present during the entire loading operation.

The 73 cases containing the glass were safely transported and on November 4, fes-

tive ceremonies were held, including a solemn mass of celebration performed in the cathedral, where several of the windows were set up in frames above the high altar.

Many such restitutions of works of art have already been cited or described. Paintings illegally acquired by the ERR from Dutch collectors were returned through the Munich Collecting Point to Holland; also, the Hohenfurth Altarpiece was sent back to Czechoslovakia, while the reliquary containing the hand of Saint Stephen was returned to Budapest. Eventually, other objects of great artistic and historic interest were to be returned, among which are the Hungarian crown and other royal regalia, discovered by Seventh Army troops at Heidelberg and then transferred to the Wiesbaden Collecting Point, where it is stored along with the Polish Ecclesiastical Treasures evacuated from a mine at Graslleben near Magdeburg (Fig. 45). The famous polychromed wood altarpiece by Veit Stoss from the church of St. Mary in Cracow, exhibited in Nuremberg, the sculptures, paintings, and antique gold objects from Naples which the Hermann Goering Division stole from the repository at Montecassino, now housed in Munich, and hundreds of other objects wait their turn in the complicated processes of international restitution.

The recommendation for dealing with works of art as defined in Class "C" of the already cited paper from the Office of the Deputy Military Governor was implemented in a token shipment mentioned by Capt. Walter Farmer, MFA&A Specialist officer in charge of the Collecting Point at Wiesbaden in his report of December 3:

Upon receipt of TWX DUAU V DVAAR NR T 1086 PP from Seventh US Army, 202 German-

owned paintings were prepared for shipment to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., for safekeeping. Paintings were photographed, inventoried, and packed (45 cases). Custody was signed over to Lamont Moore, 2nd Lt., who was to accompany paintings to the States.

They arrived safely and in good condition by December 9, and according to a press release of December 14, the Trustees of the National Gallery announced, in part, that:

... at the request of the Secretary of State [they] had agreed to accept custody of the paintings from German museums ... brought to this country for safe-keeping until conditions in Germany insuring their proper care have been reestablished ... and that arrangements are now being made to store these paintings in the Gallery's air-conditioned storage rooms.

As has been indicated earlier, the recovery, care for and return of portable objects of cultural value had priority of interest and activity in Germany and Austria. All other operations were curtailed owing to this over-riding demand for attention, but occasionally, as will be detailed below, other aspects of more usual MFA&A activities were possible.

Reports on the damage to monuments were much less complete for Germany and Austria than for any other country where Monuments officers were attached to the Allied armies. Again this is in part due to the all-consuming demands of care for movable objects. But the fact that it may be years before full information is generally available results principally from the partitioning of these two countries into different Zones of Operations. From June on there is little material available to the Commission on areas outside the American Zone, although an occasional report on damage in the British and

French Zones has been given to officers in the American Zone. Knowledge of the condition of such cities as Aachen, Cologne (Fig. 40), Bonn, Trier, Mainz, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Münster, Paderborn, and Hamburg, has been obtained from the reports of the British Second Army and the First, Third, and Seventh U. S. Armies made up to June. These mention the virtual destruction of all the Romanesque churches in Cologne (Fig. 41), or describe in detail such destruction as that of Münster, of which a preliminary report gives an epitome:

The great part of the old city ... is little better than rubble, with the towers of its medieval churches—the one part of these buildings relatively undamaged—alone standing to mark what the city once was. The particular quality of this old town, its remarkable unity as an assembly of fine buildings from the 14th to the 18th centuries, has gone for good ...

For some of these buildings, Capt. Cecil Gould (Br), Specialist officer at headquarters of Twenty-first Army Group, reported on June 22:

... I am endeavouring to get temporary roofs erected at the Landesmuseum and Paradise ... The Bishop of Münster (the celebrated Clemens August von Galen) is intent on using the Paradise of the Cathedral as a church ... In general, repairs are likely to cause much difficulty since the most normal damage to churches—loss of outer roof, leaving the vaults usually intact—imperatively call for elaborate repairs to prevent further deterioration. Thus in the case of the larger churches in this category—the cathedral at Paderborn, or Lambertikirche at Münster, the construction of a wooden outer roof is a colossal task. Yet it is difficult to see any alternative course.

The principal monuments of artistic and historic merit in Mainz were seriously damaged, outer roofs were gone, many buildings

were completely gutted, others had also severe strains on the stability of walls and piers, in many there had been direct and close hits by bombs, utterly destroying portions of the buildings. The list of such damage and loss in the British and American Zones is very great, too large to catalogue here, even if the data were now complete. But the preliminary report of Capt. Robert Posey of the Third U. S. Army on his inspection of Frankfurt-am-Main (Fig. 47) on April 15 may serve as an illustration:

Entire central portion of town devastated by air raid 22 March 1944. B-1: Dom, tower not seriously damaged. All windows and most of tracery blown out. Right transept roof and vault destroyed. Excellent kunstschutz protection for finest permanent side-altars prevented damage except where wooden pinnacles stood above boxing. Wall paintings by Steinle, modern, damaged. Hatchments and escutcheons of famous Frankfurt families damaged. Crucifixion group by Hans Backhofen of Mainz (1509), given elaborate kunstschutz protection. Good late Gothic free-standing Crucifixion, exterior apse-end, undamaged except for the head of Thief on right, broken, now placed on coping. Sacristy and Chapel, undamaged. All portable works seem to have been removed early in war. B-2: Schöpferbrunnen, 18th century stone, gilded fountain, undamaged. B-3: Stadtarchiv, building destroyed. B-4: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, formerly Historisches Museum, destroyed. B-5: Rothschild House, destroyed. B-6: Baroque fountain (1759), near Dom apse, undamaged. B-7: Stadtbibliothek: destroyed, except for facade, some walls and pediment. Stucco neo-classic relief, destroyed. B-8: Nikolaikirche: roof burned, vault intact. Elaborate kunstschutz protection for organ, and room which at one time seems to have been used as depot, entered by low metal door. Old wooden pulpit, removed. Kunstschutz protection for monument on interior and carving on exterior. B-9: Römerburg, some parts of outer walls still stand. Buildings on three sides of platz (Haus zum Römer Haus Limpburg, Haus Löw-

enstein), gutted. B-10: Justiciabrunnen (1543, figure modern), undamaged. B-11: Paulskirche (1787-1855), walls only standing. B-12: Alte and Neue Rathaus (from 1400), some walls only, stand. B-13: Zoological Gardens, badly damaged, some deer still in enclosure. B-14: Katherinnenkirche, 18th Century baroque, gutted. B-15: Hauptwache (1730), handsome town-guard-house, pediment and facade walls only, stand. B-15: Städel Hochschule für Bildene Kunst und Mode, gutted. B-16: Museum für Kunstwerke, gutted. B-17: Opernhaus (1877), gutted, roof collapsed, walls standing, cellars intact. B-18: Polytechnische Institut, gutted. B-19: Bibliothek für Neuere Sprache, Richard Strauss Sammlung, Museum für Theatre-und Musikgeschichte (in former Rothschild Haus). Building (early neo-classic 19th century) damaged, upper parts burned, some books and other materials now in cellar. Finer books and musical instruments had been removed. House in use as rationing cellar. Book shelves usable. B-20: St. Leonhardskirche, restored, from 13th Century, roof burned. Good kunstschutz protection, particularly to side-chapel used for depot, and bricking up of Romanesque portal on interior. Some wood-planking first-aid to leaking roof. Water enters from cracks and holes in vaulting. Holbein The Elder's (?) Last Supper, cased and in straw, in chapel. Two fine late gothic altars, stained glass, church furniture removed to chapel which now has temporary wooden plank roof. Chapel is dry and safe. Organloft and organ burned. Stations of Cross, paintings (modern), damaged. Three bells fell and melted. Church in custody of Sisters of Charity. Recommended to MG Det. F2D2 first-aid be urged upon Civil Government. B-21: Goethehaus, destroyed, cellar exists inhabited by Dr. Franz Gorting, curator. Best holdings exist, safe outside Frankfurt, 18th Century garden-figures and standing nude by Georg Kolbe, in garden, undamaged. B-22: Liebfrauenkirche (14th-15th centuries), gutted, south portal seriously damaged, scattered sculptural fragments still attached to walls, which are badly cracked. B-23: Fountain (Schneidermünd, 1771), good kunstschutz protection of handsome red stone plinth, surmounted by gilt-bronze sunburst. B-24: Eschenheimer Turm (early 15th century), no war

damage. Action recommended: Contacted Capt. Lafleur, Mil. Gov. Det. F2D2, and requested that he interview Dr. Ernst BEUTLER, Director of Goethe Museum, Dr. Franz GORTING, Conservator, Goethe Museum and Dr. MANOVSKY, Kunstgewerbe and Decorative Art, with view to setting up directorate for Cultural Institutions in Civil Government.

More fortunate but far fewer were the towns and cities of which it was possible to report negligible damage. Limburg an der Lahn was one of these, the Annakirche alone being rather seriously damaged. Fritzlar and Fulda were still less injured, while at nearby Kassel destruction was severe, the church of St. Martin and the monumental buildings around the Friedrichsplatz and along the Schöne Aussicht being described as "considerably" or "excessively" bombed.

Of few German regions were there reports such as that of late August on Swabia:

In contrast to the enormous damage visited upon western Germany and especially the Rhineland as exemplified in the 40-50-60-percent and even, in many instances, the 100 percent destruction of world-famous monuments in such cities as Koeln, Duesseldorf, Koblenz, and Trier, the damage to historic monuments in RB Schwaben has been negligible. Combat operations were responsible for relatively minor damage in some of the towns and small cities in the northern section of the regierungsbezirk, but the central and southern sections escaped generally unharmed. Bombing accounted for damage to an appreciable degree only in the Hauptstadt Augsburg; yet even here, in comparison to such a city as Koeln, the damage is small. The Augsburg Cathedral and the beautiful St. Ulrich Kirche, for example, are practically unscathed despite the fact that they are among the largest buildings in the city and situated in areas where bomb damage, in some cases, was severe.

Owing largely to this widespread destruction of monuments on the SHAEF Official List of Protected Monuments in Germany,

there was general agreement, already noted in a directive to the Provinzialkonservator of Kurhessen, that first aid and reporting of damage were secondary considerations at the end of hostilities. Nevertheless, as has also been noted, for example, at Schloss Brühl and in Münster, in areas where other activities were not of immediate urgency, steps were taken to weatherproof buildings and otherwise prevent further deterioration. Such work was done on the cathedral of Ulm, the Altes Schloss and a number of churches at Stuttgart, and on numerous other buildings; but it was the barest beginning on the expensive and years-long task that will be necessary.

Perhaps the most impressive operation of this kind has taken place at Würzburg, which was bombed and burned out during an attack on March 16, 1945. This beautiful Franconian city, so splendidly embellished by its prince-bishops in the eighteenth century, suffered very grave damage to these monuments as well as to its mediaeval heritage. One of the finest of these buildings was the Residenz (Fig. 53) which:

... keeps much of its former beauty [although] all of the State rooms, royal suites, and episcopal apartments are burnt and completely destroyed, five of the most important rooms fortunately remain almost intact.

The reports of the responsible MFA&A Specialist officers through the summer and autumn of 1945 relate their numerous difficulties in obtaining supplies, and their success in providing first aid for a number of the precarious buildings. In the report of August 30, Lt. John D. Skilton, Jr. (US), writes:

The greatest problem has been the difficulty of procuring wood necessary to cover the Kaisersaal,

Weisser Saal and the Hofkirche [in the Residenz]. Speed was a primary necessity as the continuous rain has been extremely detrimental to the paintings and stucco works. As of this date the Kaisersaal and Weisser Saal have been completely covered with wood, and fortunately wood is on hand to commence the roofing of the Hofkirche on Monday, August 27. To accomplish this complicated and difficult undertaking logs had to be brought down the Main River to a saw-mill in Heidingsfeld. This mill has been solely requisitioned to work for this office. A scaffolding has been erected in the Weisser Saal and work has commenced in an effort to save the magnificent stucco work of Antonio Bossi. The elements have caused much destruction, but this office is hopeful that, now that the roof is complete, no further deterioration will occur.

A month later the same officer reported on progress as follows:

The roof of the Treppenhaus, Kaisersaal, Weisser Saal and the Hofkirche are now completely covered with wood. To celebrate this event this office sponsored a Richtfest for the workmen on September 24, 1945 . . .

And a month later the wooden roofs were covered in part with tar paper, in part with slates. The splendid Tiepolo ceilings of the Kaisersaal and the stair hall, although they show a few very minor holes, cracks, some discoloration from the action of leaking rain, and some flaking, have nevertheless been saved for posterity by the unremitting expenditure of energetic action.

A survey of the city was made, all pieces of important masonry and statuary were marked to prevent their use as casual fill, and gradually supplies of planks, of cement, of tar paper, and of slates were acquired to do the most urgent first-aid repairs before the outset of winter.

The officers and men of this small MFA&A detachment were assisted by German civil-

ians, administrative, technical, and laboring personnel, just as they were also used at the collecting points and repositories. With due regard for the screening of Nazi personnel, this use of competent German civilians was always a matter of concern, here as in other branches of Military Government, for the Allies wished to turn over to the Germans themselves the bulk of the work of rehabilitating the internal economy and administration. In consequence, as has also been mentioned in passing earlier, civilian proposals that might be advanced were examined with attention, and, if approved, assistance was given in carrying them forward. A characteristic instance of this kind was at Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Fig. 50).

Here in May and again in July and later, a group of civilians examined the war damage that was severe in the central and eastern sections of the city. They reported their findings and tentative recommendations to the local branch of AMG, which referred them in turn to headquarters of the area of Upper and Central Franconia where the comment, as given in its monthly report dated August 30, was:

. . . that this meeting was a good indication that work is being accomplished by the reactivation of German Art organizations.

The civilian group had reported by letters of July 4 and August 4 that, aside from those sections of the town referred to above, the remainder:

. . . was comparatively little damaged, so that the town—as viewed from the Tauber valley—has preserved the beauty of its old and unique skyline . . . the repair and clearing work within the town has made excellent progress. The reconstruction of the ruined quarters is to begin in the nearest future.

But it was realized that “reconstruction” of an old town was a:

. . . very delicate and responsible task [for] . . . the real charm of the city is not to be found in single monuments [as] . . . Rothenburg expresses the unity and the safety of life in medieval Europe . . .

It was not approached in an antiquarian sense with an exact restoration of what had been severely damaged or destroyed, but with a reasonable use of machine produced local materials in designs not contrasting too sharply with the character of the buildings in the various streets and sections of the town. The encroaching during recent centuries of buildings that detracted from some aspects of the town's beauty was stressed, and strong recommendations were made that, in case of serious damage to these buildings, they should be demolished or be rebuilt in closer conformity to the general character of their surroundings.

In other cities and in provinces civilian officials were again resuming their responsibilities within the limitations set by AMG. Thus in Nuremberg a survey of monuments was outlined and work begun, care was taken that valuable works of art found in clearing up the debris of the city be brought to central storage points, and an urgency list was prepared of those monuments that needed protection against further damage before the coming of winter, along with requests for the release of building materials. In addition, a new activity had been created by the bombing havoc that had not been possible earlier in the built-up areas; this was more systematic excavation and research of the prehistoric remains beneath the ruined mediaeval and Renaissance buildings. Work

was started on a minor scale, and its future is as yet unknown.

In Italy, MFA&A officers had been connected directly and indirectly with plans for sustaining the morale of Allied troops and of providing exhibitions of works of art and assisting in tours of culturally significant sites. Such activities were much more limited in Germany, although two exhibitions were arranged. The first was one of 30 paintings of very high quality selected from German museum pieces stored at the Marburg Collecting Point. The MFA&A report from Kassel for the month of November mentions that:

Through joint efforts of the staff of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, the Rector of the University and the Monuments Officers, an exhibition of Masterpieces of European Painting had its formal opening on 14 November in the Jubiläumsbau in Marburg. . . . it attracted very wide and favorable attention . . . [it] has received wide publicity in the German press, which sees in it not only an event of profound cultural significance, but also an expression of trust that these paintings will eventually hang once again on the walls of the German museums from which they came, for the delight of all people . . .

It continued for a fortnight, at which time nearly 3,000 persons visited the galleries.

More magnificent was the exhibition arranged by Lt. Comdr. Perry Cott, USNR, MFA&A officer, U. S. Allied Commission in Austria, and Dr. Alfred Stix, Director of the State Art Collections in Vienna. This was a showing of 100 of the finest paintings of the Art Historical Museum gathered in several of the state apartments of the Hofburg. They had been in storage during the war in the salt mine at Lauffen, from which some objects had been absconded by order of Baldur von

Schirach only to be abandoned at Sankt Johann im Tirol, as already described.

A Viennese newspaper of December 20, 1945, describes the transfer of custody to the Austrian State as:

General Clark's wish to give Vienna and Austria the exhibition at this particular time as a special Christmas surprise.

No doubt the Viennese were pleased to see once again the series of representations of the seasons by Breughel, portraits by Jan van Eyck, Dürer, Holbein, Rembrandt, Tintoretto, Van Dyck, and Velazquez, religious scenes by Dürer, Raphael, Rubens, and Titian, and as well the magnificent representation of the "Artist in his Studio," by Vermeer, long in the collections of the Czernin family. Certainly military personnel in Vienna were given what would be for many of them an unusual opportunity to see some of the finest paintings in existence.

Military personnel took very considerable interest in the artistically and historically important objects and sites available, as may be seen from the MFA&A report for October 1945, from Kassel:

An increasingly large number of military personnel has taken advantage of the supervised tours through Schloss Wilhelmsthal. Great interest is also shown . . . in the Hercules Monument at Kassel and the cathedral at Fritzlar. Many copies of the mimeographed guide to Wilhelmshohe castle and park and to Schloss Wilhelmsthal prepared by this Section have been distributed.

Similar guides or letters of historical notes had been written by MFA&A officers and been circulated among the troops for Nancy, Metz, Trier, and other cities of cultural importance along the route of the advancing armies. They were eagerly awaited and de-

mand increased for each successive issue. With the coming of victory and the last months immediately preceding it, more pressing duties did not permit a well-rounded development of this plan, but occasional guides like that for the vicinity of Kassel were produced.

The most recent information received by the Commission from Europe indicated that, for the future, MFA&A operations there would be limited to Germany. In Italy and Austria all outstanding problems had been taken over by the national civilian administrations. In Germany the MFA&A administrative organization is now established with a staff at OMGUS in Berlin, two officers in charge in the Eastern and Western Military Districts at Munich and Wiesbaden, and one officer in charge of the single remaining Central Collecting Point, that at Munich.

In addition to these staffs, from July 1, 1946, the administration of the collecting points, plans for rebuilding and restoring monuments, the reactivation of art institutions and libraries will be under the direction of German civilian staffs supervised by AMG MFA&A officers. All collections that should not be under German administration will be moved to the Munich Collecting Point which will probably be in operation for an extended period.

During 1946 the principal operation of the MFA&A staffs was the restitution of all identifiable loot to their countries of origin. The survey of works of art from Germany and occupied countries, which were purchased by German museums at auction sales of private collections, has been completed and steps are being taken to have all of these returned to their rightful owners.

### C. THE FAR EAST

Planning for measures to protect artistic and historic monuments and collections in the Far East started later than such activity for Europe. This is made evident, among other things, by the change in the title of the American Commission from "in Europe" to "in War Areas," which was made on April 21, 1944, as has been noted on page 3. A further contrast to the MFA&A operation in Europe, which was a joint British-American one, was that in Asia the operations were individual, personnel of each of these countries being confined to its respective zone of occupation.

During 1944, as part of its general listing of the most important cultural monuments and objects in war areas, the American Defense—Harvard Group, as mentioned in Part III A (p. 33), prepared lists for China, Indochina, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands East Indies, and Thailand. These were delivered to the War Department, and copies were also transmitted to the ACLS Committee.

The Committee in turn then used these lists as a basis for preparing a set of typical annotated maps such as are described in Part III A (p. 34). First were ones for the three culturally most important cities of Japan, Kyoto, Nara, and Tokyo, and two additional ones of larger areas of Japan. They were sent in photostatic copies to the Army Air Corps and to the Office of the Provost Marshal General, where a handbook was prepared and issued in July 1944. A second, revised edition was published in May 1945. Between September 1944 and May 1945, the preparation of similar maps for French Indochina, the Netherlands East Indies, and China was carried on by the staff of the Committee with the

assistance of specialist advisers. Between November 1944 and June 1945, the National Archives produced a group of lists of archival repositories in these countries.

While these preliminary assemblies of information were being prepared by official and civilian agencies, the implementation of possible operations in the Far East was not neglected. In March 1945, a roster of military personnel professionally competent to deal with the problems of Far Eastern art was assembled by the Subcommittee on Personnel and submitted to the American Commission. At the request for advice by the War Department names from this roster were recommended, and during the second half of 1945, four specialist officers were assigned to MFA&A operations in Japan and Korea. In addition, an Archives specialist examined and reported on archival conditions in the Philippine Islands, and a special representative of the Commission, acting at the same time as Technical Specialist in Oriental Fine Arts to the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State, visited China.

In addition to supplying maps to the War Department and to acting in an advisory capacity on the choice of personnel, the Commission conferred with the Department of State on principles of restitution, and offered its facilities and advice to Miss Ardelia Hall, consultant of that Department, whose activities have been enumerated in Part II B, p. 16.

Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, the Technical Specialist mentioned above, visited Chungking, Hsian, Peiping, Shanghai, and several other towns. He conferred with members of the Chinese Government and with members of the Chinese Commission, transmitted a set of the specially prepared maps of China,

and became conversant with the current condition of many important buildings, sites, and collections of artistic and historic importance. From his two reports to the Department of State came the first reliable evidence, even though not complete, on the condition of China's cultural treasures.

At a special meeting of the Chinese Commission on September 12, 1945, he presented a summary of the purpose, activities, and procedures of the American Commission in respect to European monuments and collections, and suggested the advisability of similar decisions and actions in China.

During the first part of his visit, he was able to examine some of the most choice objects from the National Palace Museum of Peiping, which had been successfully transferred and safely stored throughout the war at I P'in Ch'ang. He also traveled to Li Chuang, the wartime headquarters of the National Central Museum, the Institutes of History and Philology, of Social Sciences, and of Physical Anthropology of the Academia Sinica, the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, and several departments of T'ung Chi University of Woosung.

He found that all these institutions had carried on research activities of a high standard under extremely adverse conditions, with scores of works produced on the most primitive of lithographic presses. Of particular interest to Mr. Jayne and the Commission were the results of excavations from several local archaeological sites, the revision of a Ming treatise on Chinese architecture, and a detailed and well-illustrated history of Chinese architecture.

In his second report, dated November 8,

1945, Mr. Jayne related many details of conferences with local museum and library officials at Chengtu, Hsian, Shanghai, and Peiping. In all of these cities he found that the principal monuments were in an adequate, if not better, state of preservation, that works of art were on display in the public collections, and that private collectors had not lost possession of their treasures during the Japanese occupation. There were current reports of some such losses and of some damage to the early sculptures of the Lung Men cave temples, but these could not be verified. The conclusions to be drawn from his reports must be accounted as singularly gratifying, even if inconclusive. For although there had been much dislocation of scholarly activity and years-long dispersal of the greatest cultural collections, the total of losses and damage seemed to be far less than had been feared, while the assiduity and patience of displaced scholars had carried original research forward in a number of fields.

The only activity in the Far East really comparable to that of the MFA&A organizations in Europe was that in Japan. There the specialist officers were in the Civil Information and Education (CI&E) Section of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and were directly accountable to the Chief of Staff. The principal objectives of these officers were:

1. To record damage done by combat operations and military occupation,
2. the prevention of further damage, and
3. the location and security of any looted objects.

In consequence, the initial work of Lt. Comdr. George L. Stout, USNR, who had served earlier for a year and a half in Europe, and his assistants was the definition of policy,

the outlining of procedures, the drafting of directives to commanders of occupational areas which called attention to policies already adopted, and to be prepared to act as a coordinating body between several offices and headquarters.

In order to prepare for future eventualities, memoranda were prepared for the chief of the CI&E Section on plans of operations, for the Political Adviser and the Imperial Government on representations for claims that might be made by the Allied governments, and for the Ministries of the Imperial Gov-

ernment that were held responsible for informing MFA&A headquarters on the sites, buildings, and collections that required protection.

After these basic preliminaries had been determined it was possible for the specialist officers to make trips of inspection in Japan and Korea. Although detailed reports of these inspections have not yet been received by the American Commission, partial reports from various sources indicate little damage to such cities as Nara and Kyoto, famous for their groups of important buildings and collections.

## CONCLUSION

THE complete accounting of damage, destruction, and loss of artistic and historic monuments and treasures during the war will have to be made at some later date. A partial, although for some areas rather full, account of their status is contained in the reports received by the Commission—the monthly reports and the set of final reports from the Mediterranean Theater of Operations, and the interim reports and office files transmitted from the completed phases of operations in the European Theater.

The picture these present, as has been related to a considerable degree, is on the whole quite encouraging. And the successful activities of these few men is out of all

proportion to their number and their position within the military machine. Attached as they were to the Civil Affairs Division after almost all other preparations for the campaigns had been completed, generally without authority to act independently or in any but an advisory capacity, with rarely assigned or adequate means of transportation, often lacking elementary office and photographic equipment, and always striving against the demands of military necessity, this group of officers and enlisted men was able to accomplish a task of great magnitude. The task was nothing less than to preserve as much as they could of man's creative past.

## List of Personnel and Consultants

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JAPAN  
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KOREA  
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NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES  
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SIAM (THAILAND)  
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and Conservation in the  
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PART I—W. G. Constable and  
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PART II—W. G. Constable, edi-  
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## LIST OF OFFICERS, ENLISTED MEN AND CIVILIANS IN MFA&A ACTIVITIES

The following lists, grouped according to Theaters of Operation, indicate individuals who assisted to greater or less degree in the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program as carried out under the Civil Affairs and Military Government Sections of Allied Armies. These lists were compiled from Field Reports received from the Theaters. Therefore, original omissions of names may be repeated.

### Mediterranean Theater of Operations:

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Bell, Maj. H. E. (us).

Bleecker, Pfc. Paul O. (us).  
Bradford, Capt. J. S. P. (BR).  
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DeWald, Lt. Col. Ernest T. (us).  
Ellis, Capt. R. H. (BR).  
Enthoven, Capt. R. E. (BR).  
Gardner, Lt. Col. Paul (us).  
Hammond, Maj. Mason (us).  
Hartt, Lt. Frederick (us).  
Jennings, Pfc. R. J. (us).  
Keller, Capt. Deane (us).  
LaFarge, Capt. L. Bancel (us).  
Lucia, Sgt. A. P. (us).

McCain, Capt. William D. (us).  
Marriott, Capt. Basil (BR).  
Maxse, Capt. F. H. J. (BR).  
Newton, Col. Henry C. (us).  
Newton, Lt. Col. Norman T. (us).  
Pascale, Cpl. D. (us).  
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Pennoyer, Capt. A. Sheldon (us).  
Perkins, Lt. Col. J. B. Ward (BR).  
Pinsent, Capt. C. R. (BR).  
Sizer, Maj. Theodore (us).  
Wagstaff, Capt. G. F. T. (BR).  
Waugh, Capt. S. (us).

### Mediterranean Theater of Operations [CONTINUED]

Willard, Cpl. Edward N. (us).  
Woolley, Lt. Col. Sir Leonard (BR).

### CIVILIANS

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Sanchez, Manuel.  
Shipman, Fred W.

### European Theater of Operations:

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Appel, S/Sgt. William B. (us).  
Armstrong, S/Sgt. Robert G. (us).  
Baillie-Reynolds, Maj. P. K. (BR).  
Balfour, Maj. Ronald E. (BR).  
Barancik, Pfc. Richard M. (us).  
Bilodeau, Pfc. Francis W. (us).  
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Boruch, T/4 Edward J. (us).  
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Buchman, Capt. Julius H. (us).  
Buckingham, Pfc. Russell H. (us).  
Bumbar, Lt. Julianna (us).  
Burks, Capt. Bernard D. (us).  
Busey, Capt. C. (us).  
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Conrad, Lt. Doda (us).  
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Cooper, Squadron Leader Douglas (BR).  
Corrigan, Sgt. Gordon F. (us).  
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Coulter, Lt. Comdr. J. Hamilton, USNR.

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Dawson, Capt. Eric A. (BR).  
DeWald, Lt. Col. Ernest T. (us).  
Dewitt, Maj. Roscoe P. (us).  
Diraimondo, T/4 Charles J. (us).  
Dixon-Spain, Squadron Leader J. E. (BR).  
Dlugosz, T/4 Louis F. (us).  
Doane, Capt. Gilbert R. (us).  
Downey, Lt. Glanville (us).  
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Ford, Lt. Dale V. (us).  
France, Capt. Leys A. (us).  
Fuller, Capt. A. (us).  
Gabriel, Pfc. Richard F. (us).  
Giuli, Capt. Thomas (us).  
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Grier, Capt. Harry D. (us).  
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Hartt, Lt. Frederick (us).  
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Hauschildt, Lt. Kurt F. (us).  
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Hugoboom, Lt. (us).  
Jefferson, Col. (us).  
Johnson, Sgt. Lorin K. (us).  
Kavli, Capt. Guthorm (NORW).  
Keck, Lt. Sheldon W. (us).  
Kelleher, Capt. Patrick J. (us).  
Kern, Lt. Daniel J. (us).  
Kinzie, Capt. Joseph R. (us).  
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*European Theater of Operations*  
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Propst, Capt. Kenneth H. (us).  
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Reeds, T/5 John N. (us).  
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Rivoir, First Sgt. James J. (us).  
Robertson, Maj. G. H. (BR).  
Rogin, Lt. Martin (us).  
Rorimer, Capt. James J. (us).  
Ross, Maj. Malcolm (BR).

Ross, Capt. Marvin C., USMCR.  
Sage, Lt. R. W. (us).  
Sampson, T/5 Selena, WAC.  
Satfgast, Capt. Charles R. (us).  
Sawyer, Pfc. Charles H. (us).  
Schmidt, S/Sgt. Gerlot W. (us).  
Shrady, Lt. Frederick C. (us).  
Selke, Maj. George (us).  
Sizer, Maj. Theodore (us).  
Skilton, Lt. John D., Jr. (us).  
Smyth, Lt. Craig H., USNR.  
Sponenburgh, Capt. Mark R. (us).  
Standen, Capt. Edith A., WAC.  
Steiner, Lt. Walter (us).  
Stopek, T/5 Harry (us).  
Stout, Lt. Comdr. George L., USNR.  
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Thornton, Capt. Asa M. (us).  
Tregor, Capt. Nison A. (us).  
Van Nortwick, Capt. William B. (us).  
Walker, Cpl. William (us).  
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Webb, Col. Geoffrey F. (BR).  
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Willless, T/5 Lester M. (us).  
Williams, Maj. Lewis S. (us).  
Willmot, Maj. G. F. (BR).  
Wittman, Maj. Otto (us).  
Woolley, Lt. Col. Sir Leonard (BR).  
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Yuill, Maj. Ralph W. (us).  
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CIVILIANS

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Boell, Jesse E.  
Bowie, Mrs. Barbara H.  
Breitenbach, Edgar.  
Brown, John Nicholas.  
Child, Sargent B.  
Clem, Harold J.  
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Fleischner, Charles M.  
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Leonard, Herbert S.  
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Sickman, Maj. Laurence.  
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CIVILIANS

Keyes, James H.  
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*Crusader:* a series of 10 articles from November 12, 1944, to February 4, 1945, entitled "Land of Treasures."

*Stars and Stripes:* numerous articles such as Cassino, the Moses of Michelangelo, the Vatican Galleries, the Exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia, Repairing Pisa, Ravenna.

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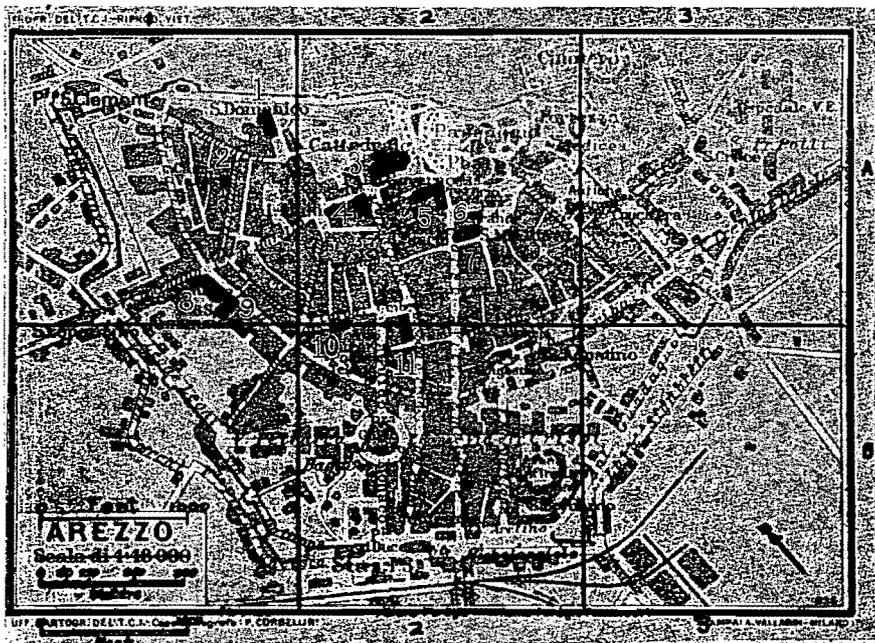
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NEW YORK. ACLS STAFF PREPARING MAPS.

OWI PHOTO

Figure 2



TYPICAL ACLS MAP.

ACLS PHOTO-ARCHIVE

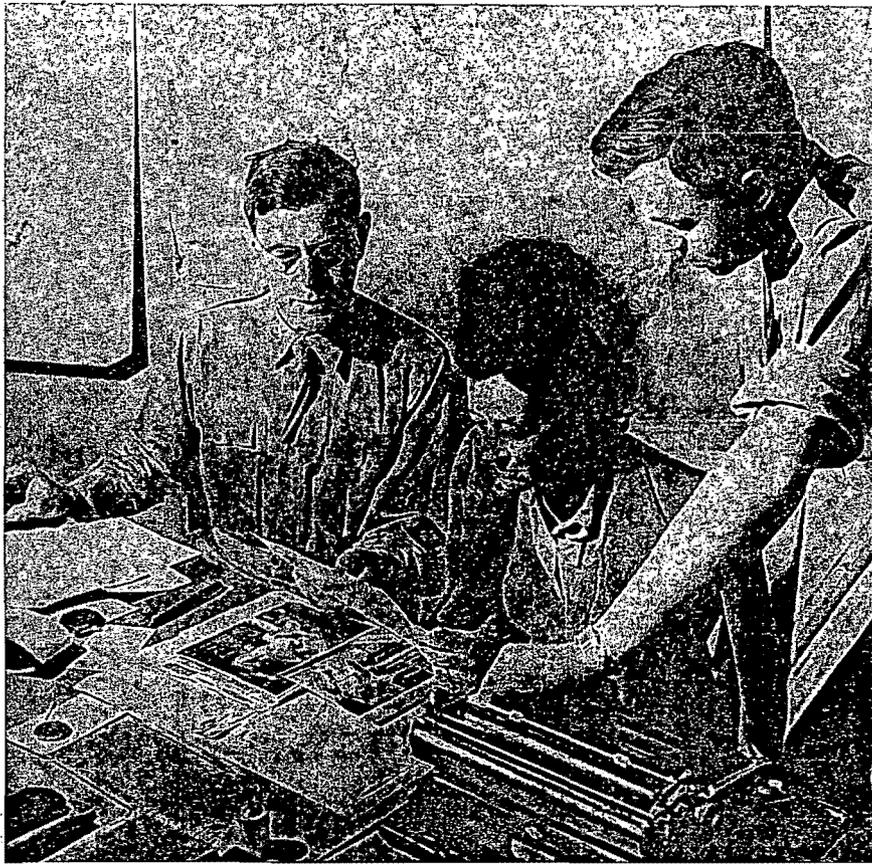
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MONUMENTS INDICATED ON AIR MAP OF AREZZO, ITALY.

AIR CORPS PHOTO

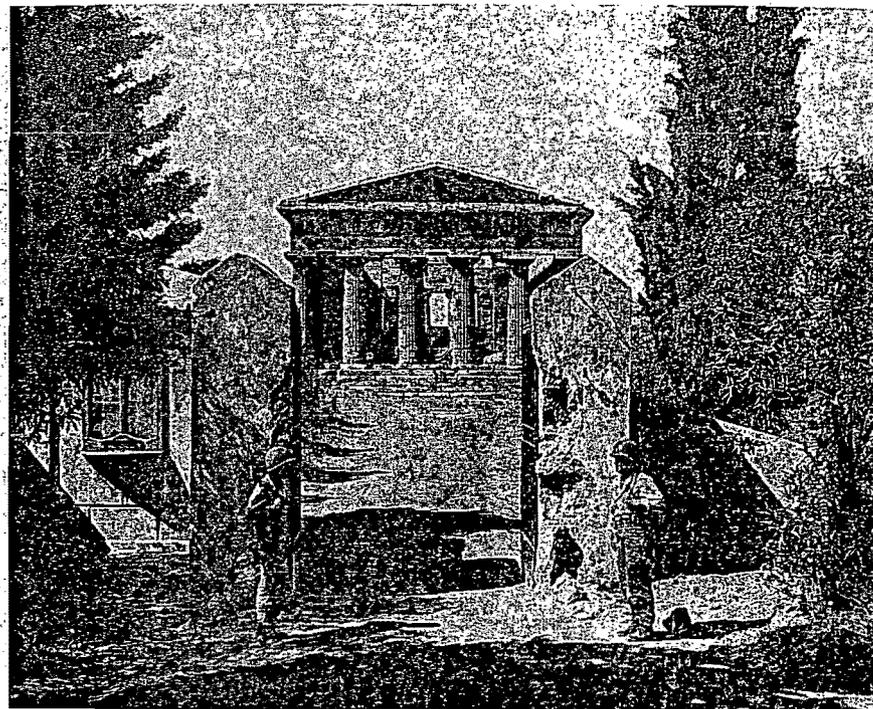
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BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTO

MFA&A STAFF IN ITALY STUDYING REPORTS ON DAMAGE.

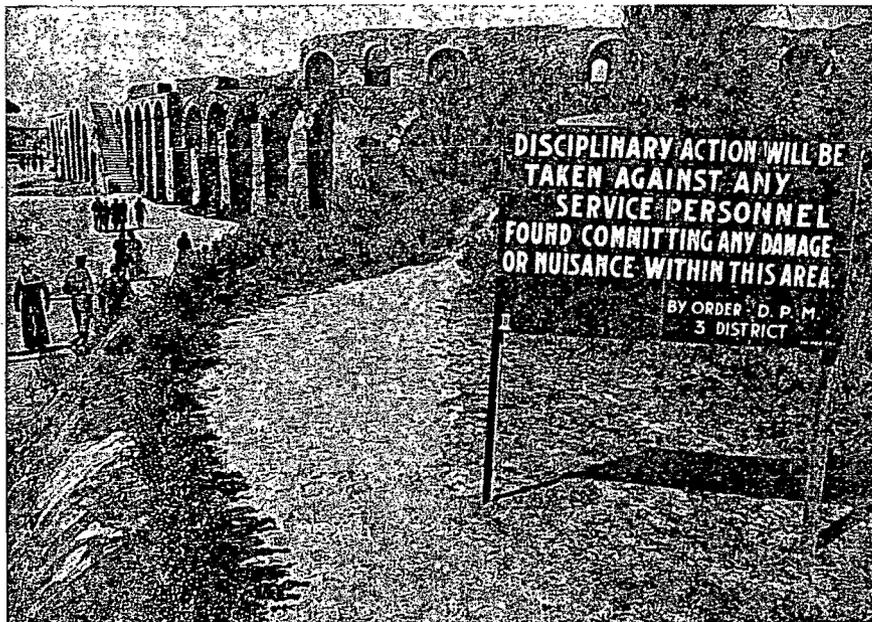
Figure 5



SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

PAESTUM, ITALY. SOLDIERS GUARDING TEMPLE OF NEPTUNE.

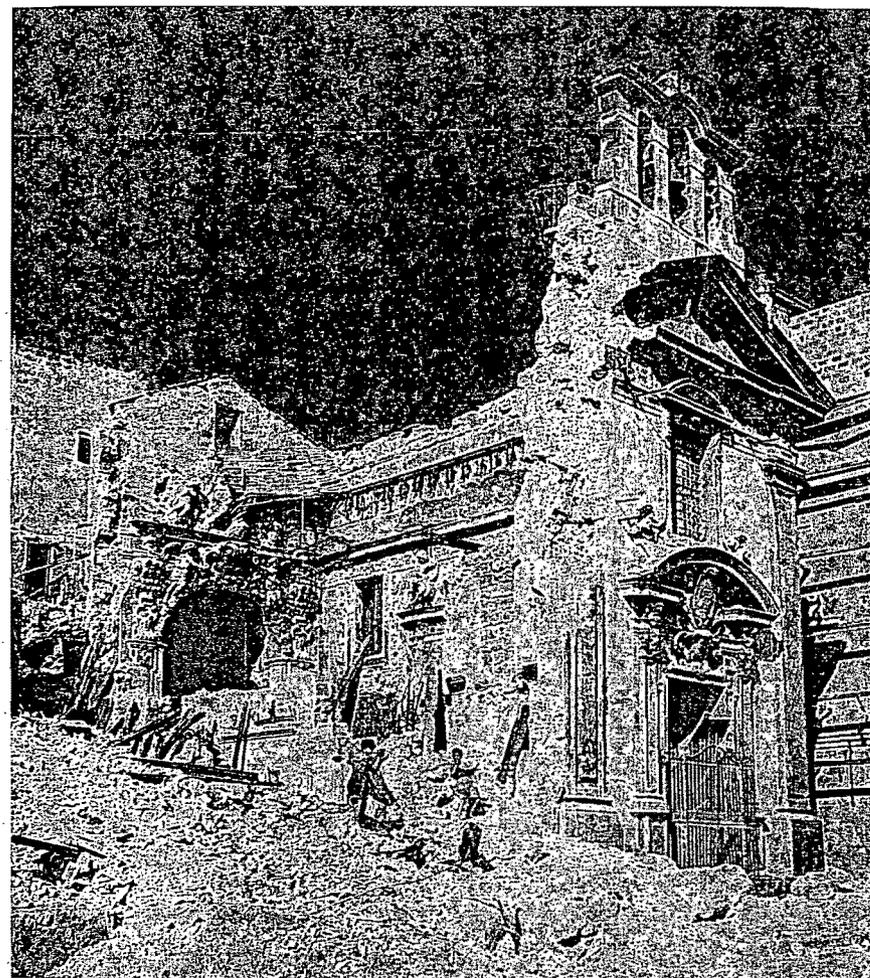
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POMPEII, ITALY. AMPHITHEATER PROTECTED BY POSTING.

BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTO

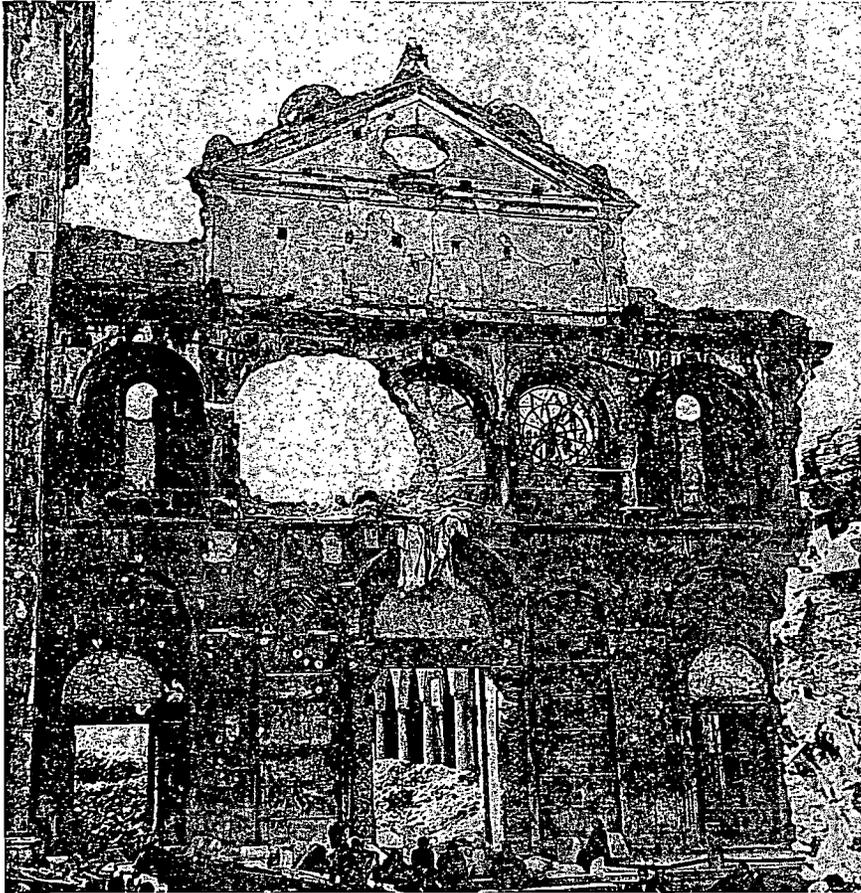
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PALERMO, SICILY. SEVERELY DAMAGED BAROQUE CHAPEL.

SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

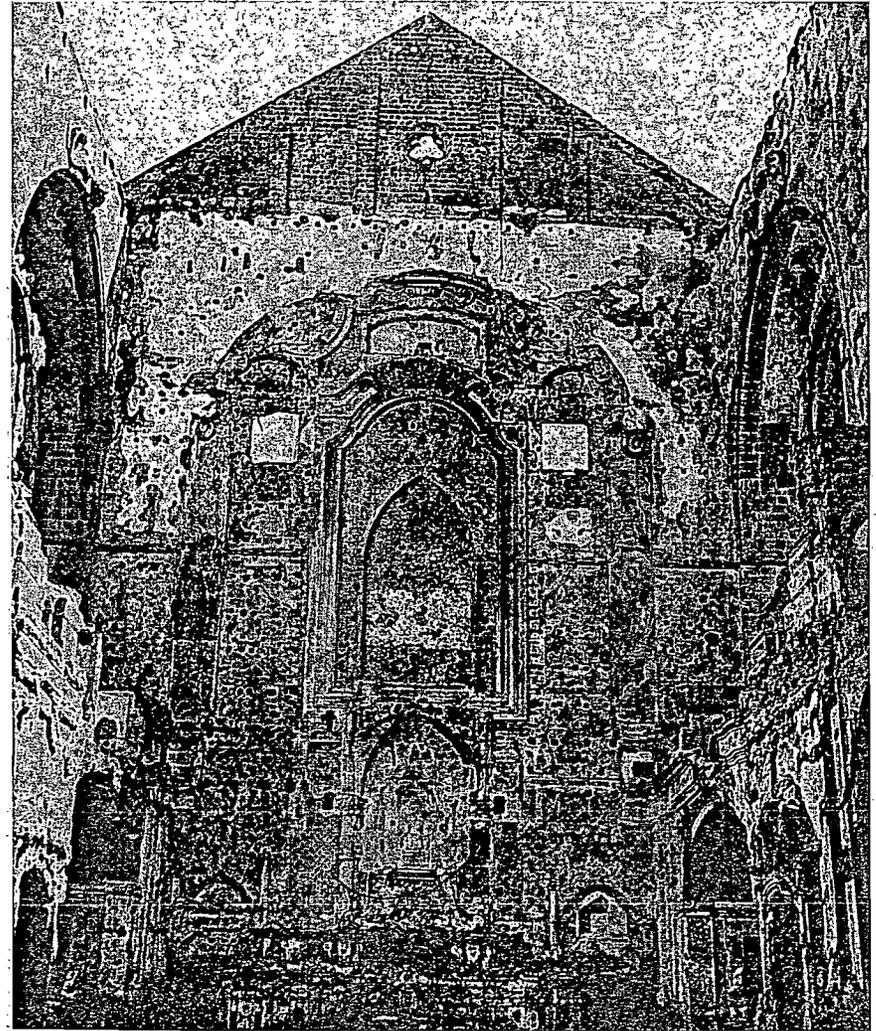
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BENEVENTO, ITALY. FACADE OF CATHEDRAL.

SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

Figure 9



NAPLES, ITALY. NAVE OF CHURCH OF SANTA-CHIARA.

LIFE MAGAZINE PHOTO

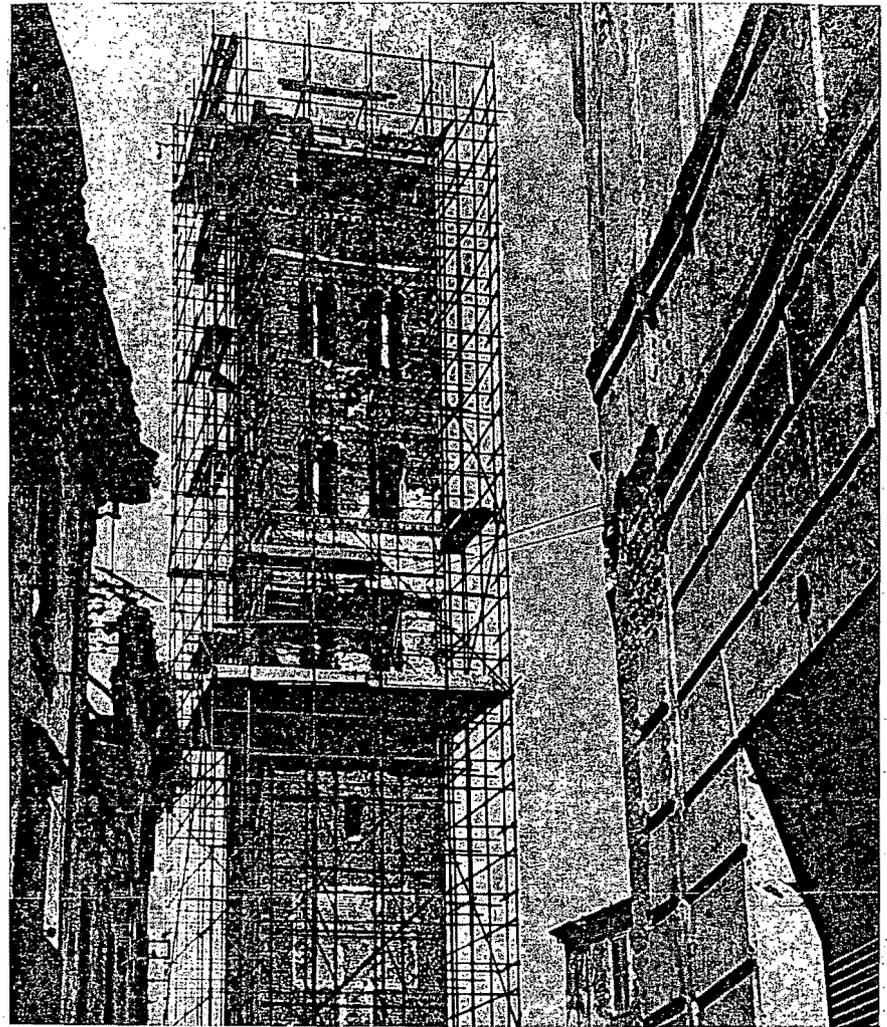
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ACLS PHOTO-ARCHIVE

NAPLES, ITALY. OFFICIALS EXAMINING TOMB IN SANTA CHIARA.

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VELLETRI, ITALY. REPAIRS PREVENT COLLAPSE OF TORRE DEL TRIVIO.

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MONTECASSINO, ITALY. MFA&A OFFICERS EXAMINING RUBBLE IN MONASTERY.

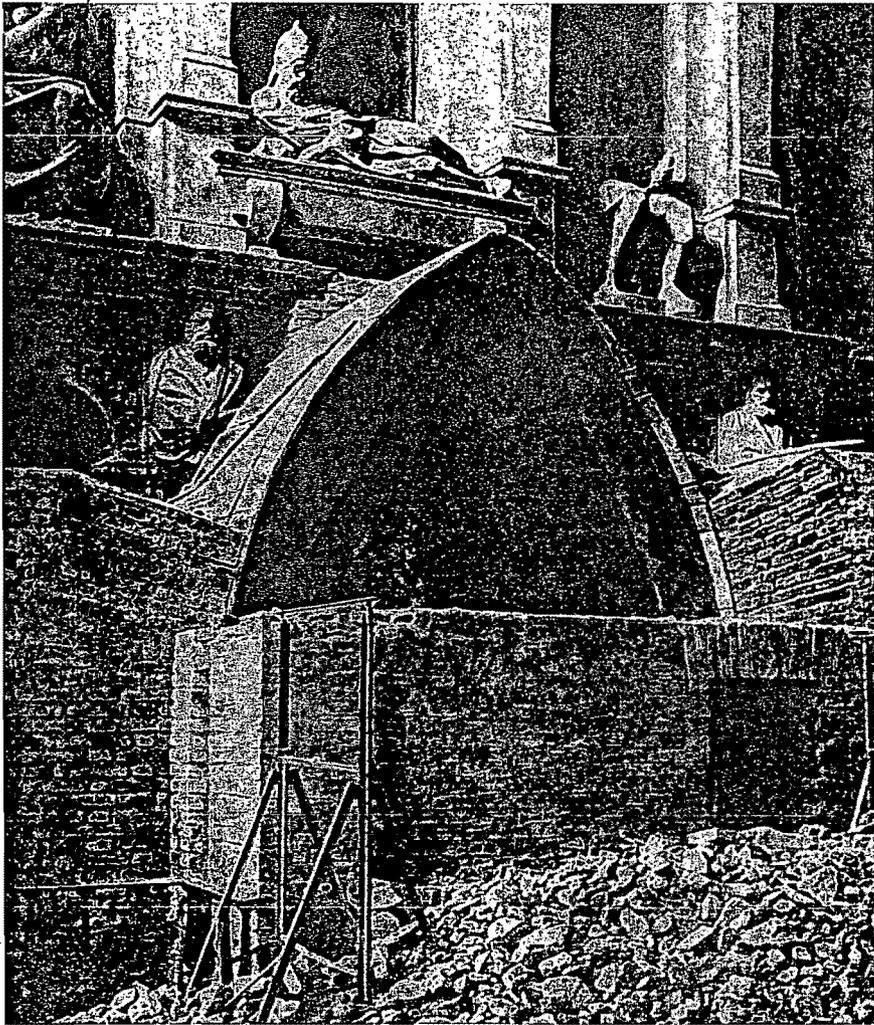
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SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

ROME, ITALY. INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO FUORI LE MURA.

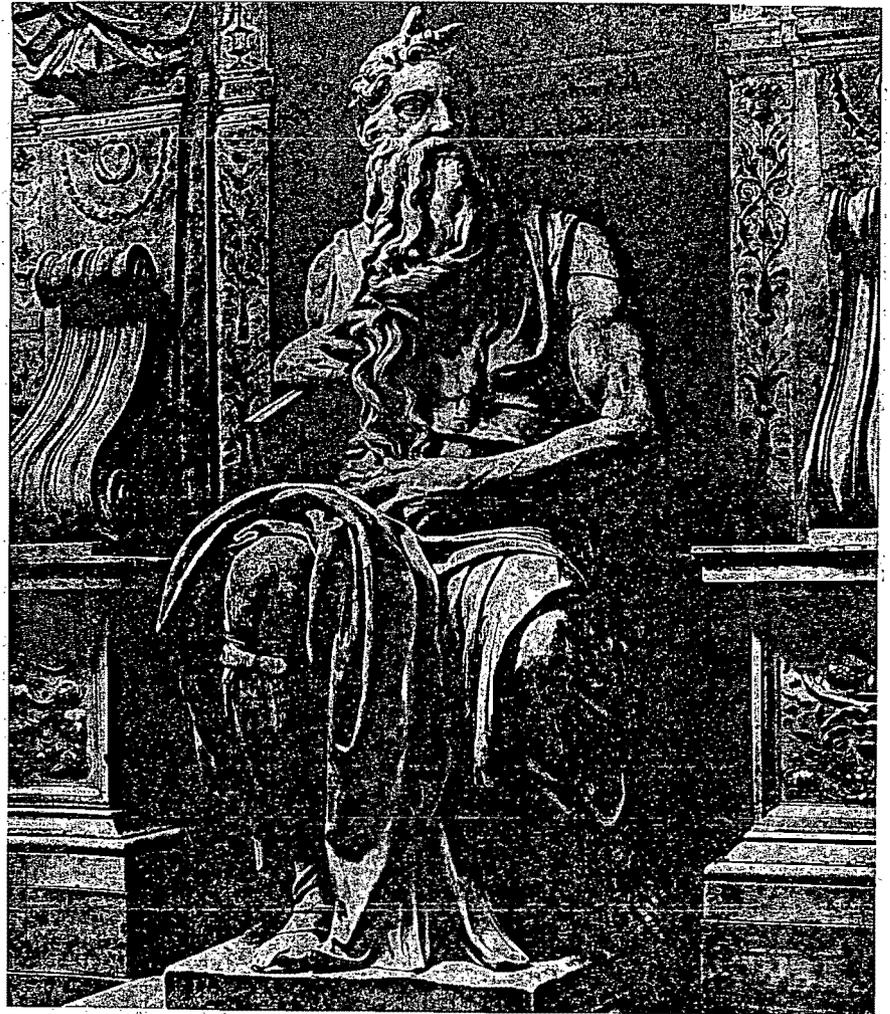
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ACLS PHOTO-ARCHIVE

ROME, ITALY. PROTECTIVE COVERINGS ON MICHELANGELO'S MOSES.

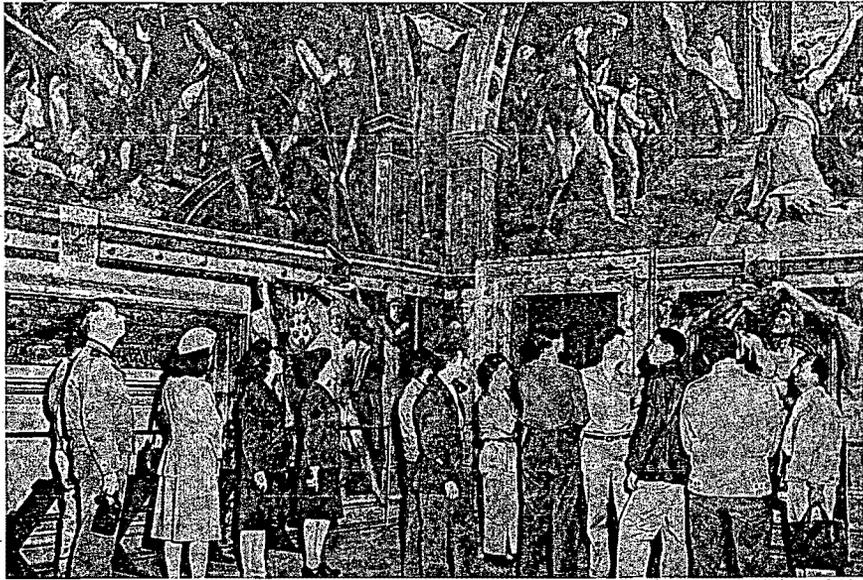
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ANDERSON PHOTO

ROME, ITALY. MICHELANGELO'S MOSES IN THE CHURCH OF SAN PIETRO IN VINCOLI.

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OWI PHOTO

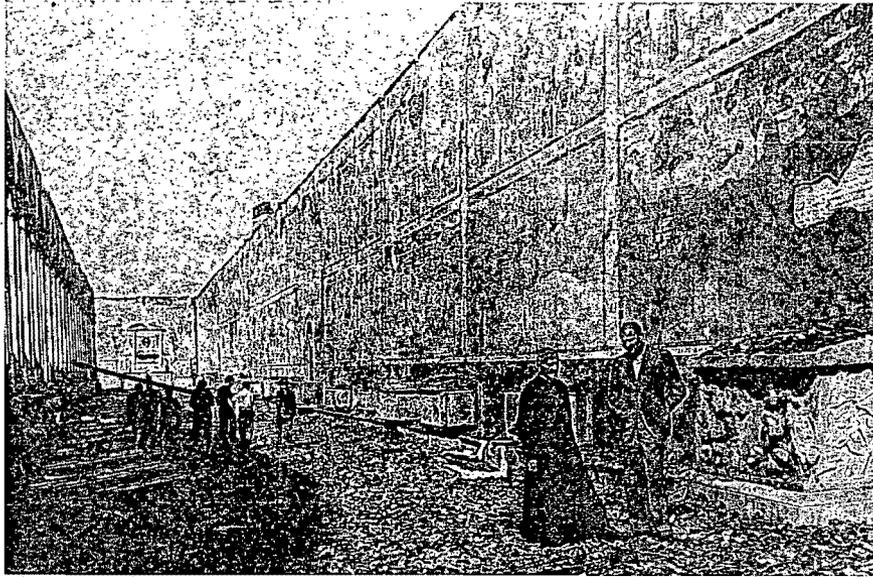
ROME, ITALY. RAPHAEL'S PAINTINGS IN THE VATICAN PALACE.



BROGI PHOTO

PISA, ITALY. DETAILS OF A GOZZOLI FRESCO IN THE CAMPO SANTO NOW DESTROYED.

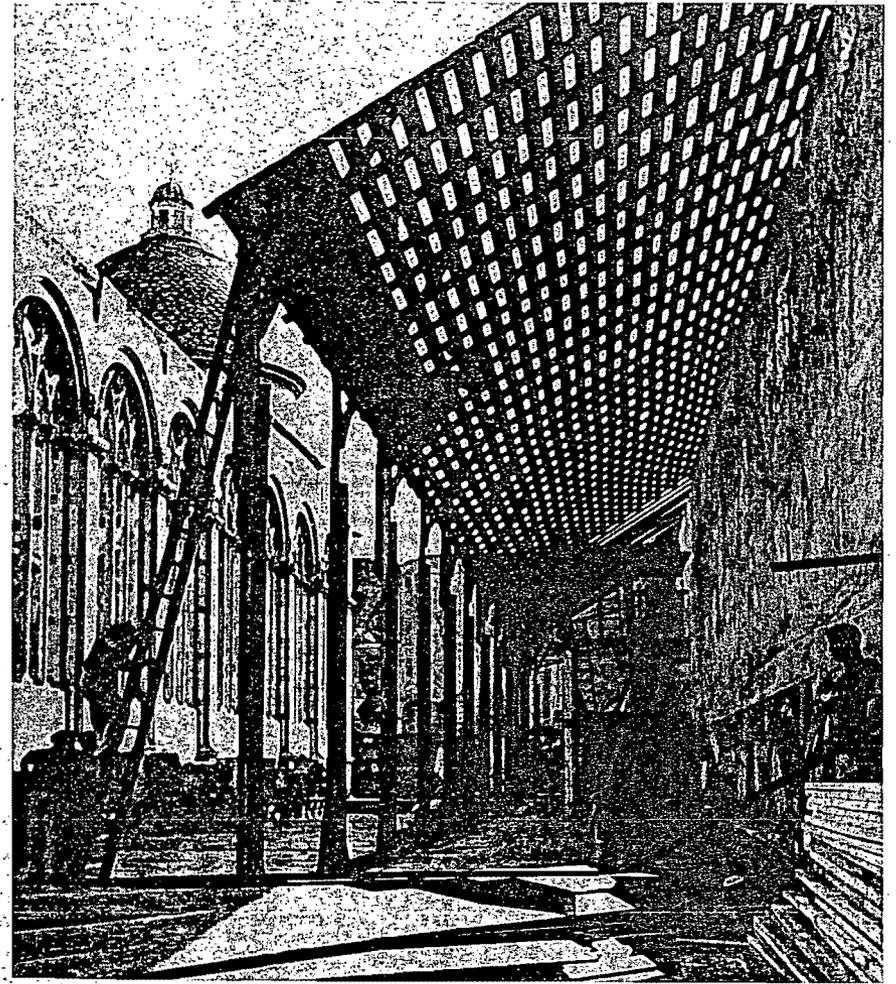
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SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

PISA, ITALY. NORTH SIDE OF THE CAMPO SANTO.

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PISA, ITALY. TEMPORARY PROTECTIVE MEASURES IN THE CAMPO SANTO.

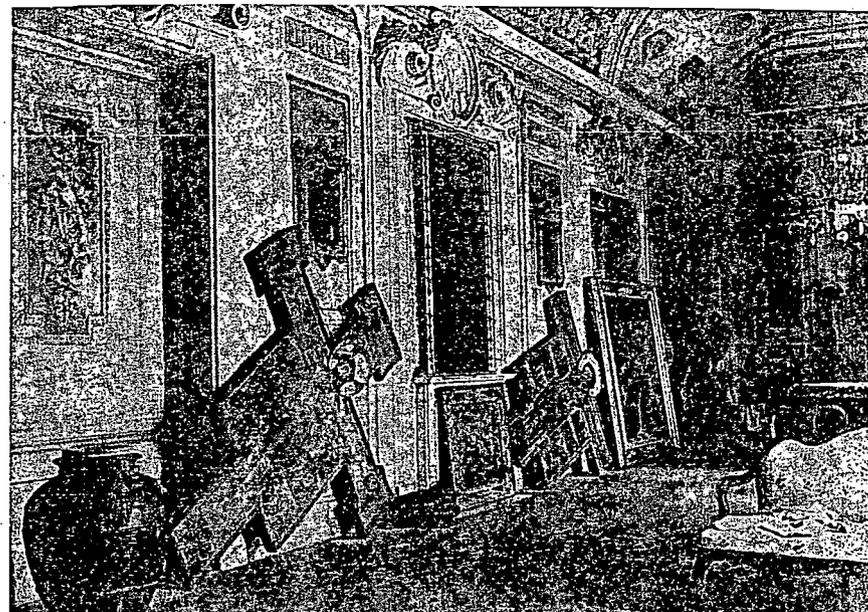
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FLORENCE, ITALY. DESTROYED BRIDGES AND HOUSES.

SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

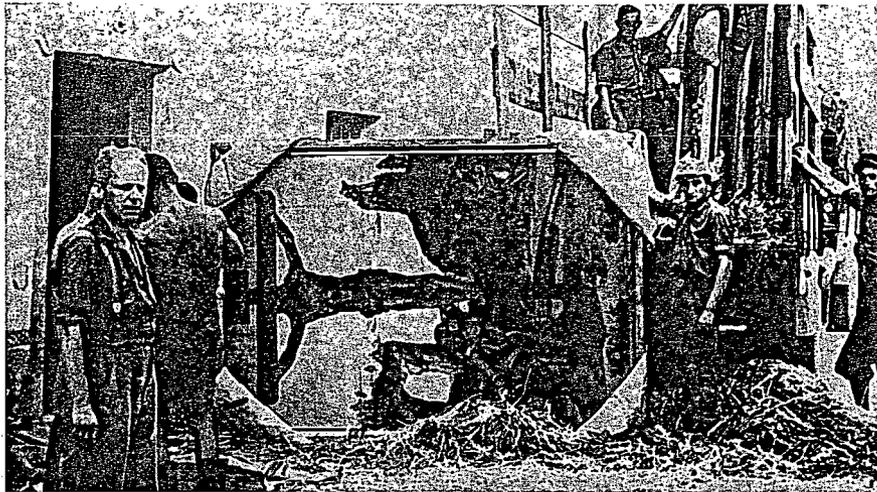
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ACLS PHOTO-ARCHIVE

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SAN LEONARDO, ITALY. GERMANS UNLOADING SIGNORELLI'S CRUCIFIXION REMOVED FROM FLORENCE.

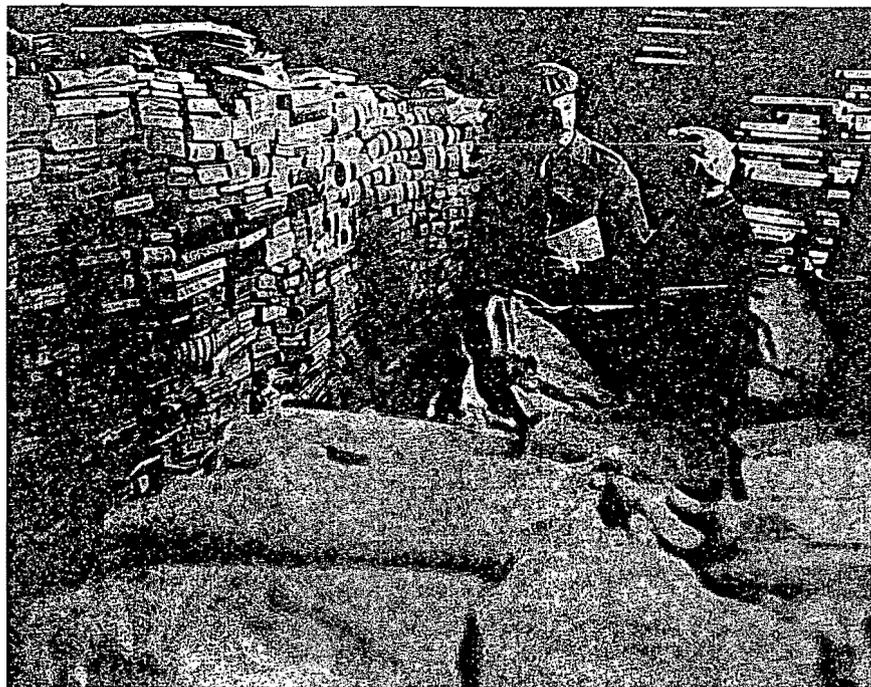
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FLORENCE, ITALY. RETURN OF FLORENTINE PAINTINGS.

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ANCONA, ITALY. OFFICIALS IN STOREHOUSE FOR BOOKS.

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MILAN, ITALY. CENTRAL PART OF CITY.

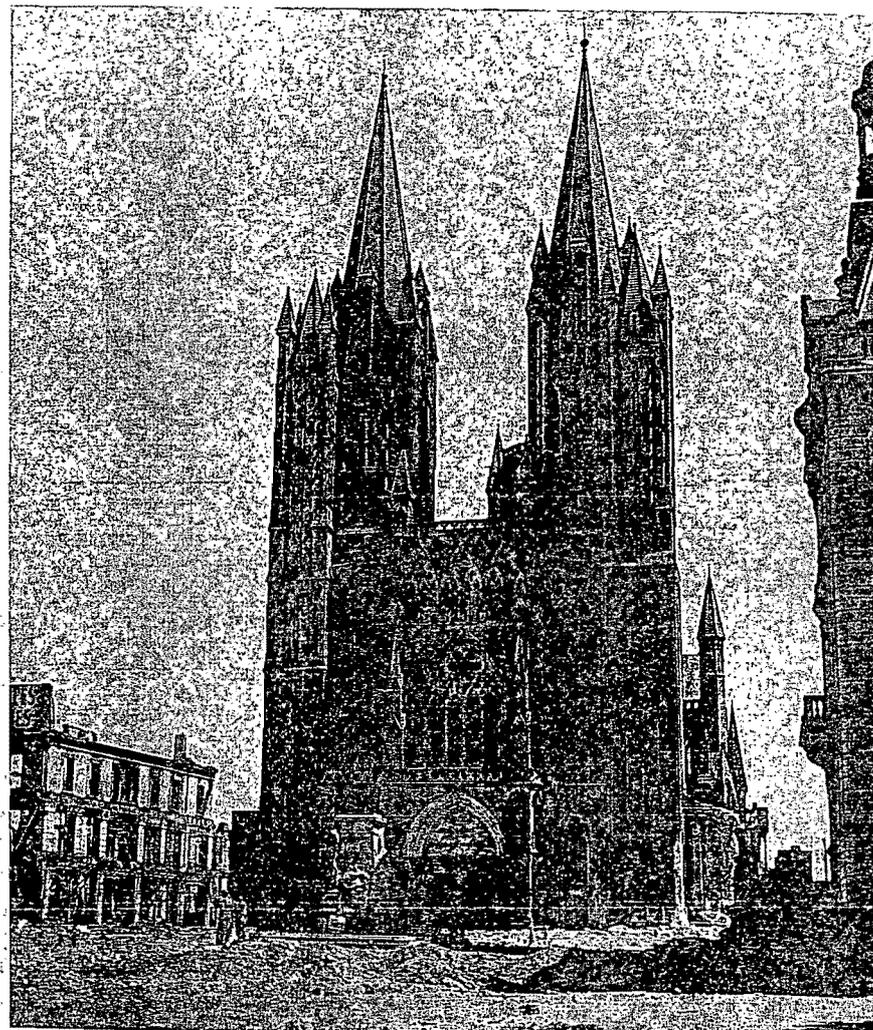
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SAINT LÔ, FRANCE. FACADE OF CATHEDRAL.

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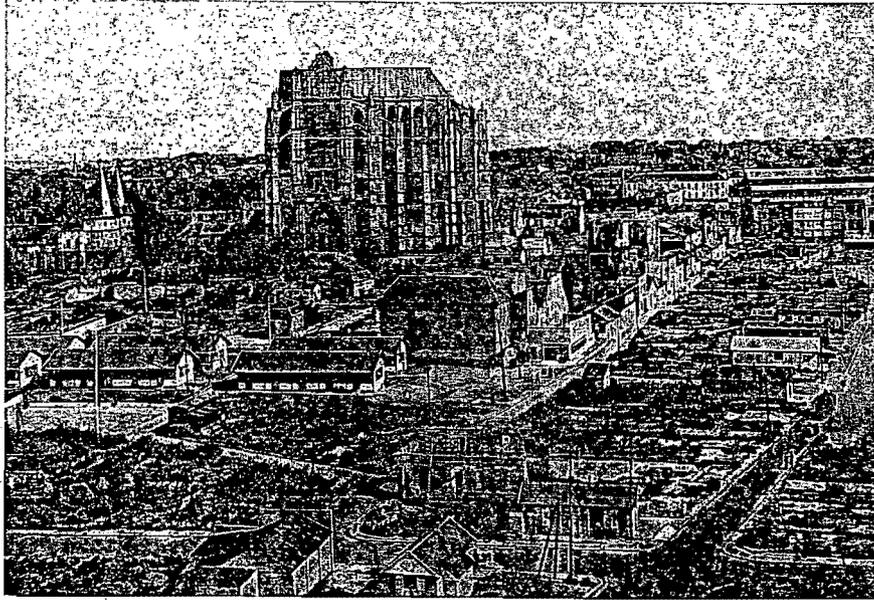
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COUTANCES, FRANCE. FACADE OF CATHEDRAL.

SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

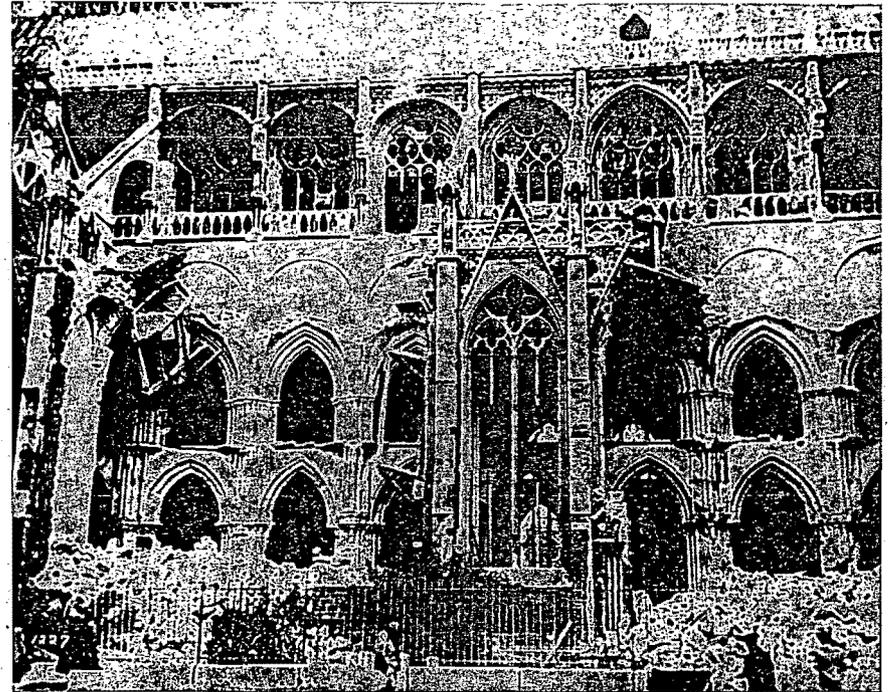
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BEAUVAIS, FRANCE. DESTROYED AREA AROUND CATHEDRAL.

SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

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ROUEN, FRANCE. SOUTH AISLE OF CATHEDRAL.

FRENCH PRESS PHOTO

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LE GRAND-LUCÉ, FRANCE. OFFICIALS EXAMINING PAINTING BY GOYA IN REPOSITORY.

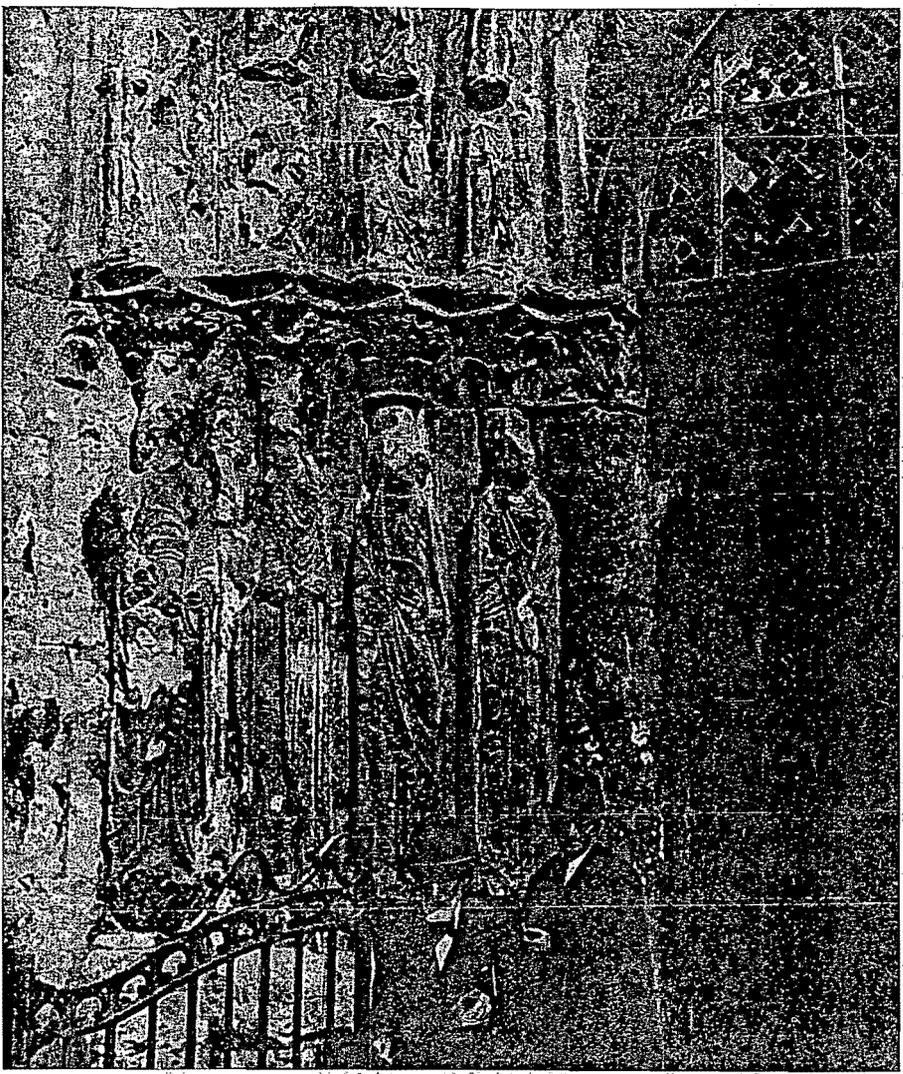
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CHAMEROLLES, FRANCE. VANDALISM IN THE CHATEAU.

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NAMUR, BELGIUM. OFFICIALS INSPECTING ABBEY OF FLOREFFE.

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NIJMEGEN, NETHERLANDS. DAMAGE NEAR BRIDGE OVER THE WAAL.

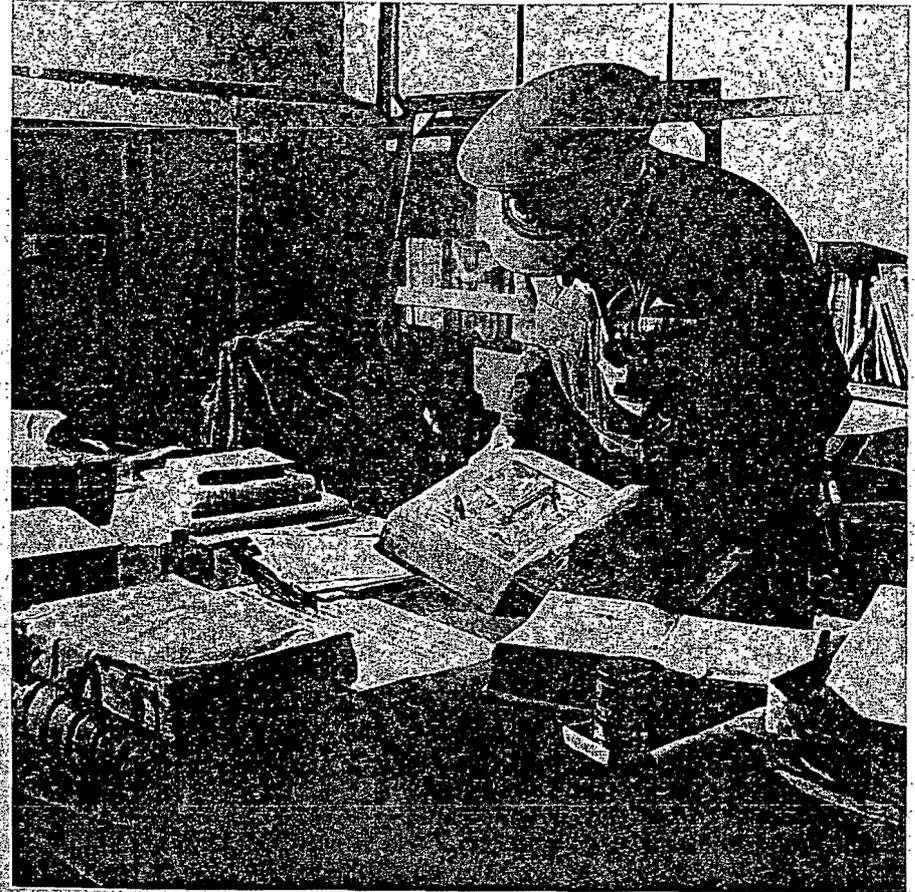
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CLEVE, GERMANY. MFA&A OFFICERS EXAMINING DAMAGED SCULPTURE.

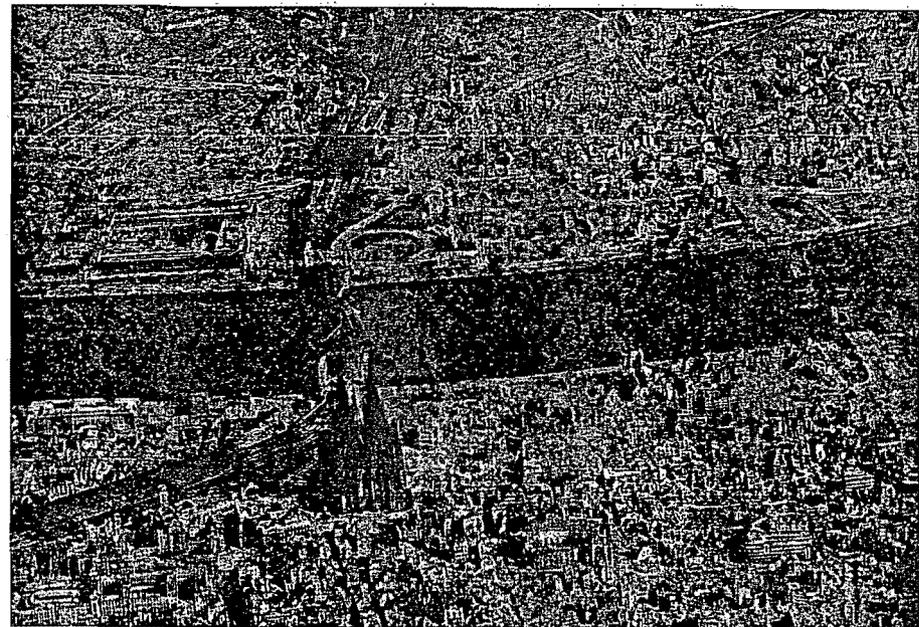
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XANTEN, GERMANY. MFA&A OFFICER INSPECTING INJURED BOOK.

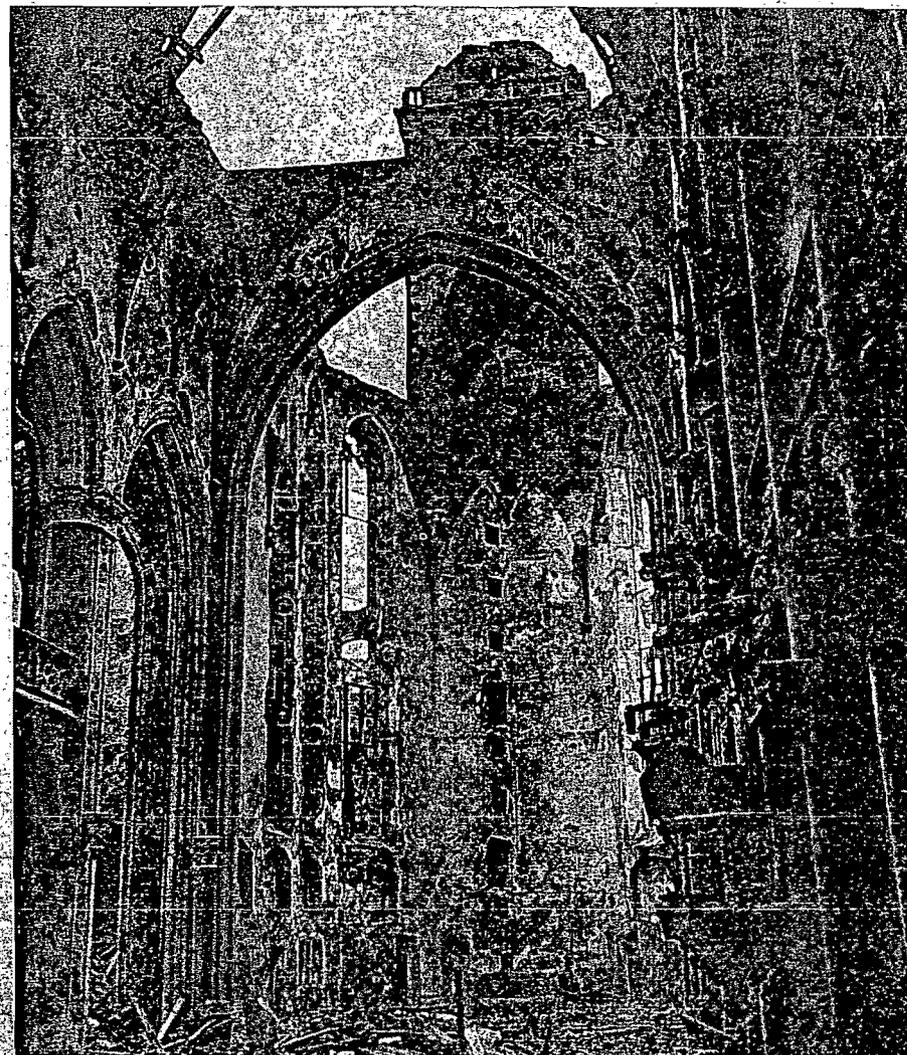
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COLOGNE, GERMANY. CENTRAL PART OF THE SEVERELY DAMAGED CITY.

AIR CORPS PHOTO

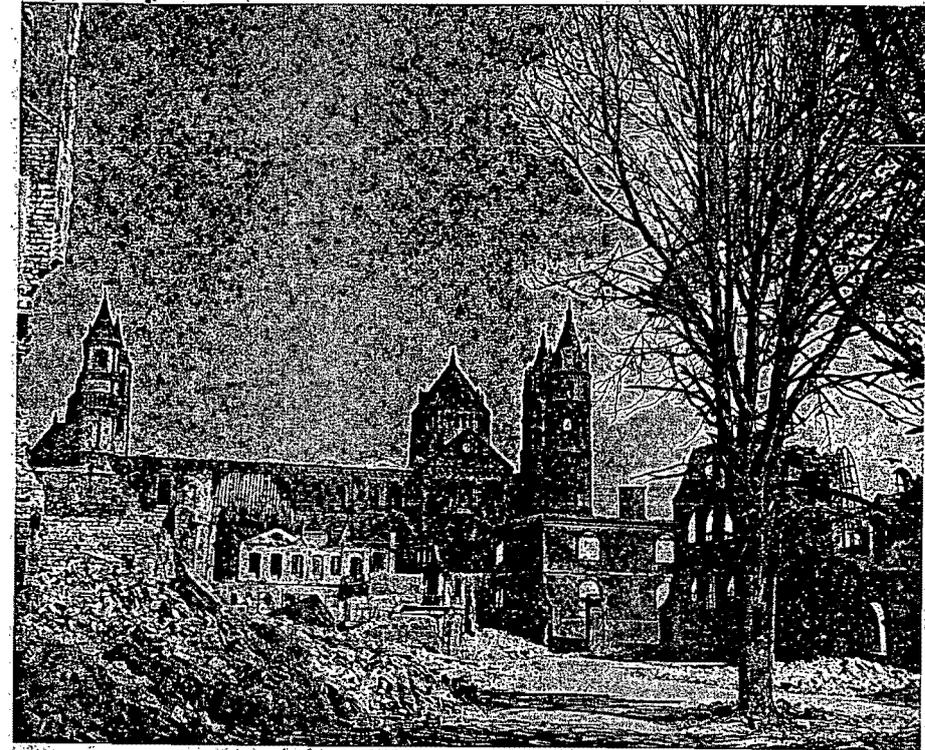
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WORMS, GERMANY. UNROOFED CATHEDRAL.

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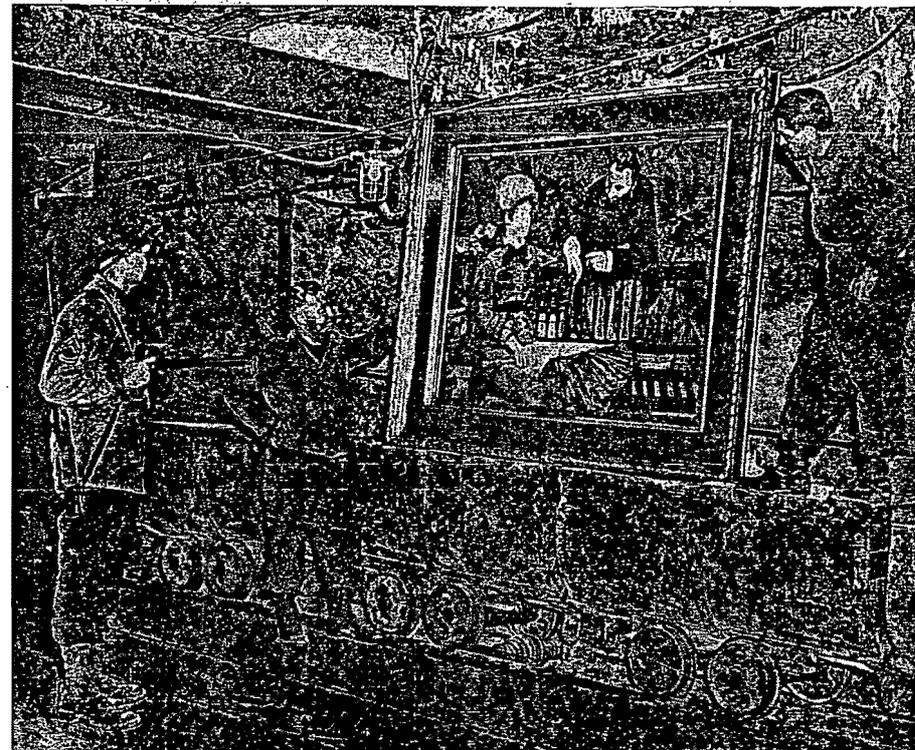
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SIEGEN, GERMANY. PAINTING BY RUBENS. FOUND IN REPOSITORY.

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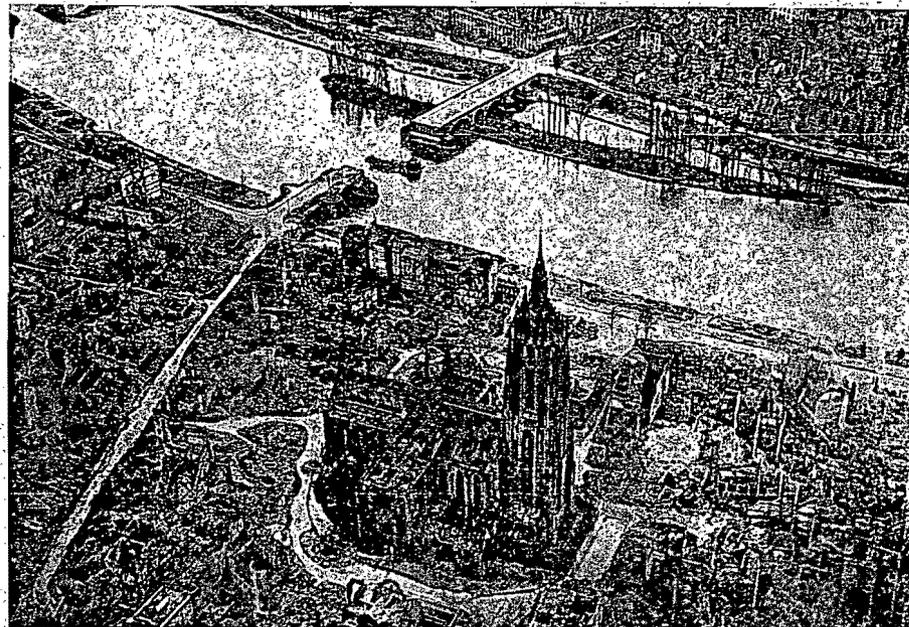
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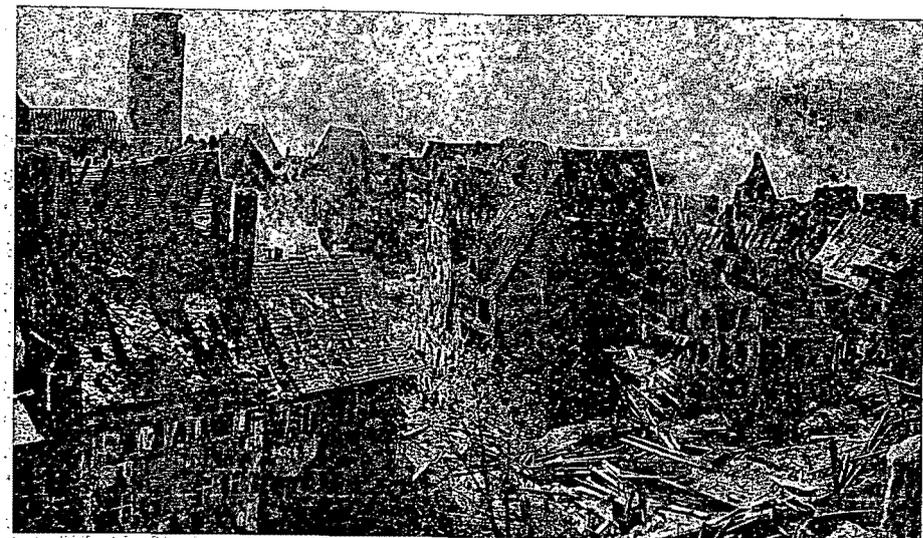
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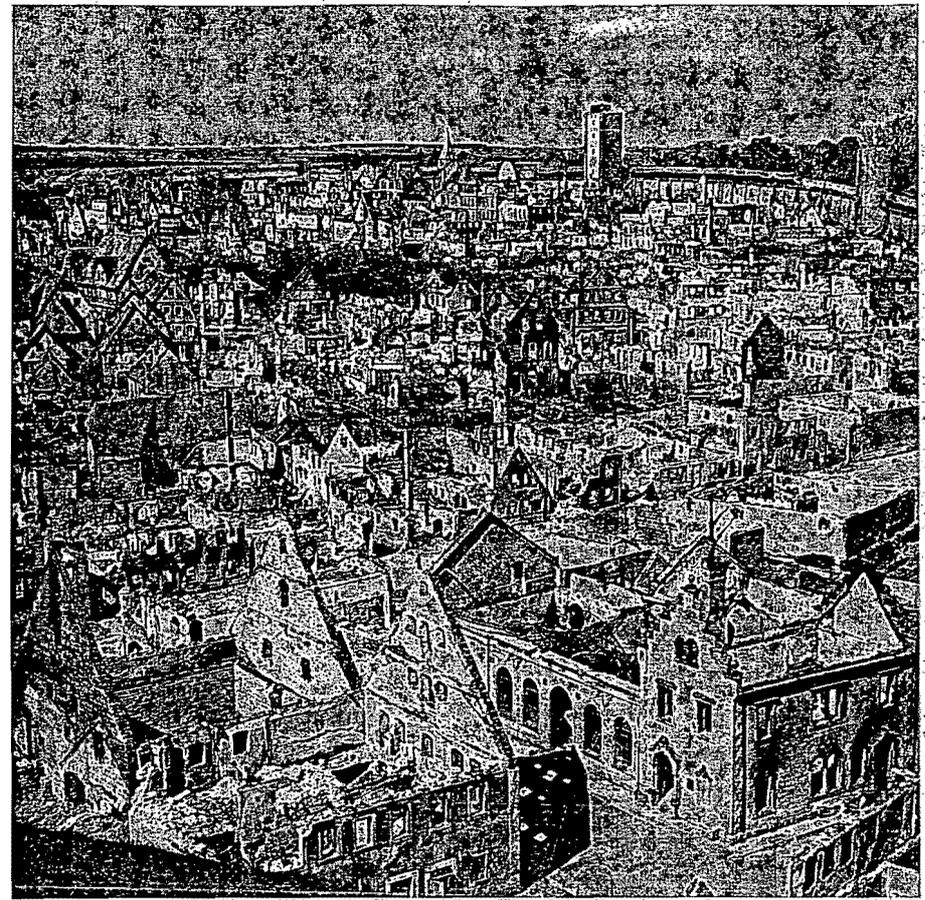
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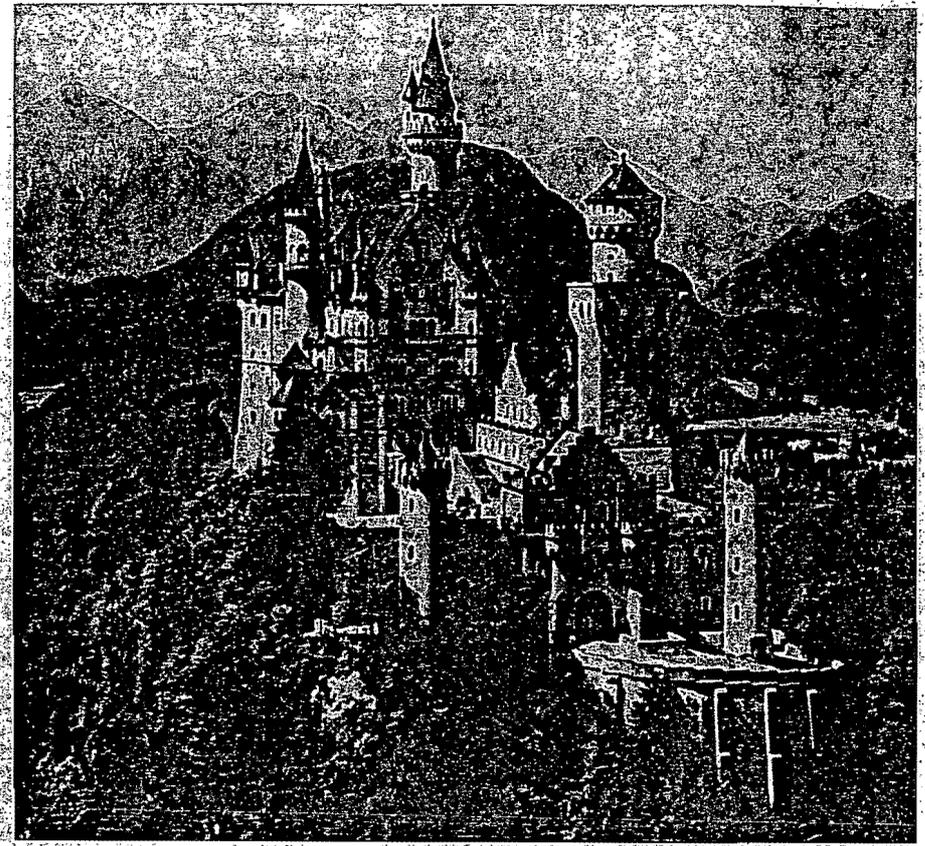
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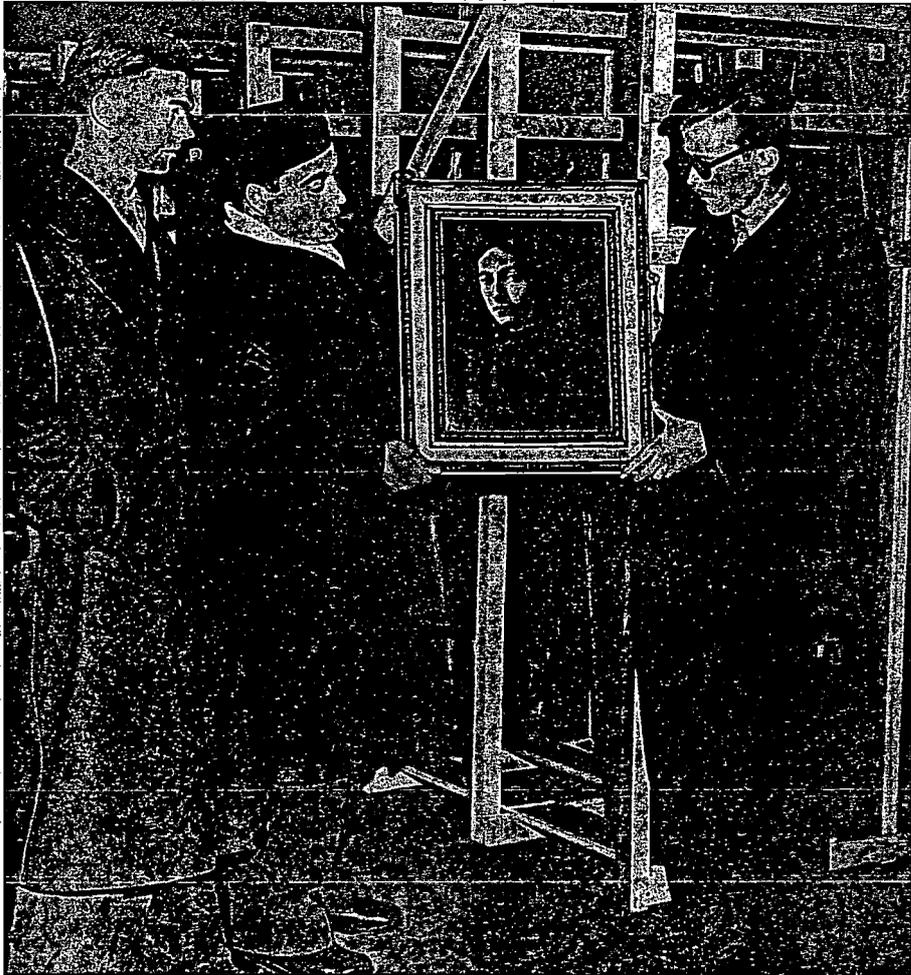
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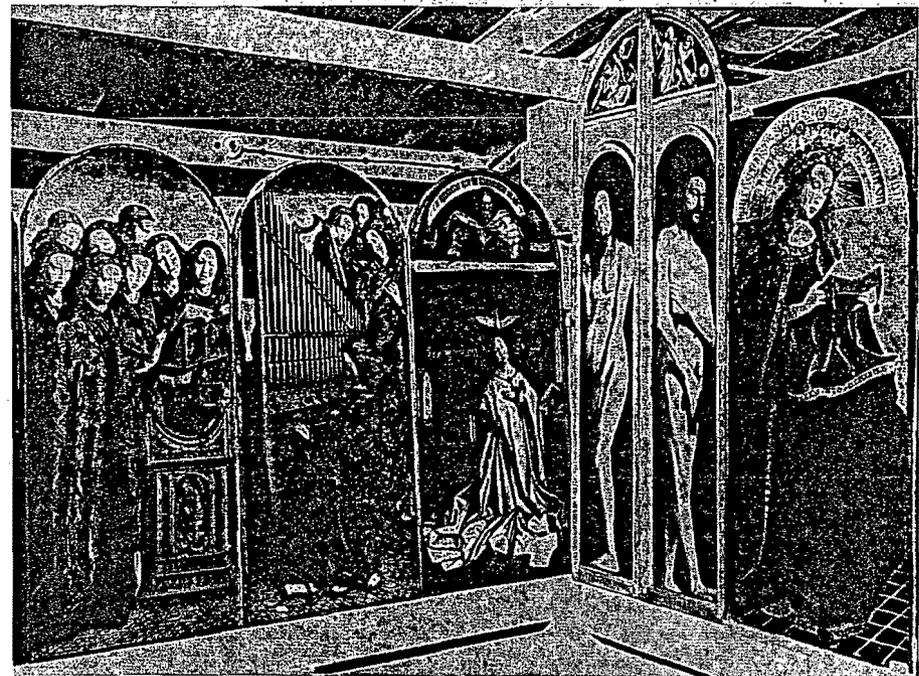
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