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Provenienzbericht zu Jean-François Millet, *La Fin de la Journée (L'homme a la veste); (The end of the workday, [man with a vest])*, 1858¹

Yehudit Shendar und Yochanan Amichai (Yad Vashem)



Black Conté crayon and pastel on paper², 275 x 381 mm (with matting 390 x 68mm)
on recto, lower right, signed: “J. F. Millet”
on matting, bottom center, printed: “J. F. Millet”

on verso, upper right, inscribed in pencil: “4”; lower left: “075_14”, “37bis”
on frame backing , center, inscribed in pen: “36 37bis 37bis”; inside matting, “37 bis”³

¹ Version 1858, Moreau-Nélaton p. 192, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96865944> (August 2017)

² The amended medium in concurrence with J. F. Millet Dessinateur, Exposition de Quelques Oeuvres. Exh. cat. Hector Brame, Paris, January 31- February 19, 1938. Catalog no. 69

³ Gramlich, J.: Quellendokumente zu Paper I: Hildebrand Gurlitts Netzwerk in Frankreich, München 2015; Dok. 2-2/7

Provenance:

Possibly with the estate of the artist

(...)

By latest February 1938: Léonie Gillet, Paris⁴

By latest 28 April 1944 Raphaël Gerard, Paris (per Gurlitt Papers)⁵

After September 1953: Hildebrand Gurlitt, Duesseldorf (per Gurlitt Papers)⁶

By descent to Cornelius Gurlitt, Munich/Salzburg

From 6 May 2014: Estate of Cornelius Gurlitt

Introductory notes:

The challenge posed pertaining to the exact identification of this particular rendering of the subject “La Fin de la Journée” originates with the reality of multiple versions the artist has created on this theme, which is also known as *L'Homme à la veste*. Millet’s first renderings are represented in drawings – two in the collection of the Musée d’Orsay⁷ and one in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts⁸, created between the years 1852-1854. Two of the earlier drawings also depict the wife of the farmer getting ready for departure. Several years later Millet returned to the figure of the male donning his jacket, enlarging him and eliminating the woman as the consequence of focusing on the sole laborer.

The peasant donning his jacket at the end of a workday is the essence of the scene represented in Lostart 532992. However, several particular additions need to be addressed. Center middle at the foot of the farmer lies a basket filled with the harvested potatoes and a three-tined digging fork resting on it. The farmer rises above the horizon where the artist placed on the right a mounted horseman leading his cow back to his hamlet and on the left an idle plow. An added drawing in the Boston Museum titled “After the day’s work”⁹ is a full scale representation of the horseback riding farmer with his cow. This particular rendering of “*Fin del a Journee*” with same attributes appears in a wood engraving by French artist Jacques Adrien Lavieille (1818-1862) and printed by Jules Caly, 1860, titled *Le soir* (The Evening)¹⁰. The work is depicted in Moreau-Nélaton no. 113 without further provenance information.¹¹

According to the expert [Name bekannt], this work was not sold at the Millet estate sale in 1875. She further confirms that the work might have remained in Millet’s estate and was sold later. She does not have further information on the work and informs that the Nélaton papers, preserved at the Louvre, do not contain information on the work either, just the fact that Adolphe Braun photographed the pastel.¹²

Later versions of the theme with same wording in title, executed in various media, lead to the monumental painting of 1860, sold by Christies in 2011¹³. In all later depictions Millet abandoned the potatoes-filled basket and the three-tined digging fork replacing it with a solid hoe standing erect at

⁴ Gillet was the lender to the exhibition: J. F. Millet. Dessinateur. Exposition de Quelques Oeuvres Exh. cat. Hector Brame, Paris, 31 January – 19 February 1938. Her address is given as rue Barbet de Jouy. Anlage 9.

⁵ Gramlich, J.: Quellendokumente zu Paper I: Hildebrand Gurlitts Netzwerk in Frankreich, München 2015; Dok. 1_1/2, 1_2/2. Anlage 4

⁶ ibidem Dok. 2_2/7. Anlage 4

⁷ Images d’Art: <http://art.rmngp.fr/fr> (August 2017)

⁸ <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/end-of-the-day-197939>

⁹ <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/after-the-days-work-31623>

¹⁰ Art Institute Chicago, <http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/49840> (August 2017)

¹¹ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96865944> (August 2017). Anlage 6.

¹² Ergänzung der Projektleitung, 23. Mai 2018.

¹³ <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/jean-francois-millet-gruchy-1814-1875-barbizon-la-5403395-details.aspx>

the foot of the laborer to his left. On the horizon in the very far distance one can still detect the plow on the left and the dissipating figures to the right, the plain of Chailly gaining a larger presence.¹⁴

Primary sources:

Hildebrand Gurlitt business ledger.¹⁵

Book 1: Acquisitions June 1942

Millet	2 Tuschzeichnungen	139	
Millet	3 Tuschzeichnungen	139	41,727.50
Millet	3 Tuschzeichnungen	139	

Lines 825-827 refer to eight ink drawings and do not relate to Lostart 532992

Book 1: Acquisitions March 1943

Millet	Bauern Rad.	177	600,-
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Line 1119 registers one Millet engraving Bauern (farmers) bought from a private source for 600 RM

Book 1: Sales January 1943

Paul Römer [Roemer]	Millet	8 Zeichnungen 1607-14	174	1.500,-
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Line 1032 registers the sale of 8 drawings by Millet for 1500 RM to Paul Roemer

Book 1: Sales March 1943

H. Reemtsma	Millet	Bauern	179	600,-
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Line 1124 registers a sale of Millet Bauern (farmers) to H. Reemtsma for 600 RM

Book 2: Acquisition 1942

1607	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1608	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1609	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1610	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1611	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1612	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1613	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1614	20.6.	Millet	Tuschzeichng	Z.	Jean Lenthal
1607	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1608	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1609	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1610	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1611	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1612	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1613	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal
1614	1942	Millet	Tuschzchg	Z.	J. Lenthal

¹⁴ <http://magart.rochester.edu/Obj8116?sid=28430&x=779795> (August 2017)

¹⁵ The sales ledger has proven in many cases to be problematic, inconsistent and inaccurate by provenance research conducted pertaining to the C. Gurlitt estate.

Lines 1147-1154 and 1351-1358 register 8 ink drawings as purchased from Jean Lenthal

Book 2: Sales 1943

Millet	Bauern	Rad.	Privat H.G.	600,-	12.3.	600,-	Hermann Reemtsma
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Line 1456 from March 12 registers an engraving by Millet “Bauern” (peasants) as having been sold to H. Reemtsma for 600 RM.¹⁶

Book 3: Acquisitions and sales 1943

Millet	8 Tuschzeichnungen	Z.	Jean Lenthal, Paris		9.1.	Paul Römer [Roemer]
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Line 258 registers on June 20, 1942 acquisitions of 8 ink drawings by Millet from Jean Lenthal and sold to Paul Roemer on September 1 for 1500 RM

Book 4: 1943

Hermann Reemtsma, Hamburg							
1943	März	12.	An Millet	W. 48	600,-		

Line 3214 registers a March 1943 sale of Millet to Herman Reemtsma from Hamburg for 600 RM as per payments by the buyer.

None of the listings corresponds by medium or title to Lostart 532992

The team took initiative to contact the Hermann F. Reemtsma Foundation, Hamburg to confirm the sales listing in the ledger. The correspondence revealed the following¹⁷:

Herman Reemtsma acquired from H. Gurlitt a pastel drawing “Two farmers returning from the field”. The item was bought by H. Gurlitt for Reemtsma at the George Viau sale at Hotel Drouot, lot 26, on December 11, 1942 for the sum of 5,532.50 RM.¹⁸ Furthermore, it was restituted to France in 1947.¹⁹ The MNR list of restituted works of art to France confirms the return of a pastel “La Retour” in 1948, claim 2426, and adds the information that it had been acquired by André Schoeller for H. Gurlitt.

In H. Gurlitt’s signed statement to the allies of October 3, 1946²⁰ he confirms that he has sold French art to private collectors and lists a Millet drawing *Zwei Bauern* (two peasants) as having been sold to H. Reemtsma.

The above outline reiterates the challenge of accepting the ledger as reliable, although it reaffirms that the listings in it do contain partially important facts, as well as the reality of a variety of titles accorded to the same work of art.²¹

¹⁶ An etching of this work was created by J. Millet in 1863, a fact known to H. Gurlitt, allowing him to fabricate a sale of lesser value (NGA Washington 1943.3.6262, “The departure for work”)

¹⁷ [Contact], Research Assistant at the Reemtsma Stiftung

¹⁸ http://digi_ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/drouot1942_12_11 , p. 12 no 26 “Deux paysans revenant des champs” (Two peasants returning from the field)

¹⁹ http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/mnrbis_fr (August 2017)

²⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/270065528> (August 2017)

²¹ Additional confirmation of sale to Reemtsma: <https://www.fold3.com/image/231981265>

Gerard list²² Dok. 1_1/2 and 1_2/2 (per Dr. Johannes Gramlich's report).²³

List of artifacts, typed and signed by Raphaël Gerard (28.4.1944). Date and signature at end of document are crossed out. The assumption is that these works of art were the stock of the Parisian art

dealer R. Gerard and transferred by sale (?) to Hildebrand Gurlitt. (The annotated handwritten numbers next to the entries correspond roughly to Dok. 2 and were added in handwriting at a later date.)

This list includes the present drawing:

37 Millet: Le semeur (pastel) and in the same line added in ink handwriting without number: fin de la journée.²⁴

Gerard list Dok. 2_2/7 (per Dr. Johannes Gramlich's report).

Handwritten document by Helene Gurlitt, probably in connection with the transfer of a large part of the works from Paris to Germany, reveals the final numbering for the Millet work as follows:

37 b Feierabend (End of the workday) drawing - to be de-framed

The artworks that were categorized "to be de-framed" (34 items, according to the summary) were transferred to Renevey, (invoice from 22 Sept. 1953).²⁵ The "End of the workday" was then moved to the transporter in Paris. Of the artifacts to which "remains" is assigned, "The sower" remained in Paris until September 1953.

- **Photograph with authentication by André Schoeller²⁶**

The photograph of *Feierabend* with authenticity verification by expert Andre Schoeller, reaffirms the fact that the work was in Paris on June 8, 1944, when he signed the certificate. It also reiterated the identification and direct correspondence to Moreau-Nélaton catalogue fig 113. More revealing are the lines in Cornelius Gurlitt's handwriting in pencil, added at a later date, that the work was exhibited in Villa Huegel in Essen, in 1954.²⁷ The catalogue registers the fact that the work originated with a German private owner, and thus C. Gurlitt confirms the fact that his father was the anonymous lender.

Archival sources:

- **ERR database of Art at the Jeu de Paume**

In light of the Liste Gerard, confirming that Millet's "*La fin de la journée*" originated with Galerie Raphaël Gerard in Paris and was later transferred to Germany, the attempt by the team was to identify the former collection it was part of, possibly a Jewish collection raided by ERR.

The following ERR files were consulted with negative findings:

Owner: Georges Bernheim. Inventory no.: Gal. Bernst. 3; Millet, Saemann

List of ERR confiscated items no. 41 Galerie Bernstein²⁸

Owner: Cassel van Doorn. Inventory no.: B-2159; Millet: Eines sackanfuellenden Bauernpaares (sic)

Owner: Salomon Flavian. Inventory no.: Fla 6; Millet: Der Holzhacker²⁹

Owner: Victor Lyon. No inventory no.; Millet: Baigneuses au repos.

²² Anlage 4. Found in the estate of Cornelius Gurlitt in Salzburg, crate no. 10

²³ Gramlich, J.: Quellendokumente, loc. cit.

²⁴ Werke der franzoesischen Malerei und Grafik... no 67, exh. cat Villa Huegel, Essen 1954

²⁵ Gramlich, J.: Quellendokumente, loc. cit., Dok. 7_1/1

²⁶ Anlage 7. Scans Materialien Nachlass, 7.1_F741_Millet_Feierabend_R f.

²⁷ Anlage 8. Werke der Franzoesischen Malerei und Graphik des 19. Jahrhunderts, Museum Folkwang, Essen, Juli-September 1954.

²⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/303253897> f

²⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/306292350>

Owner: Adolphe-Felix Oppenheimer. Inventory no.: OPP 14; Millet: Zwei sich umarmende Kinder³⁰

Owner: Maurice Rheims. Inventory no.: RHE 5; Millet: Sitzende Frau mit Kind vor Tisch

Owner: Edouard de Rothschild. Inventory no.: R 1116; Millet: Die ersten Schritte³¹

Owner: Alexandrine Rothschild. Inventory no.: Al. R. 146; Millet: Frau mit Strickstrumpf³²

Owner Andre Seligman. Inventory no.: Sel. 20; Millet: Roemische Landschaft³³

Owner: David David-Weill.

Inventory no.: D.-W. 269; Millet: Die Ebene³⁴

Inventory no.: D.-W. 66; Millet: Parkwinkel in Vichy

Inventory no.: DW 910; Millet: Auvergnatische Spinnerin

Conclusion: Of documented ERR raids in Paris no Millet art works correspond to “La fin de la Journee” were recorded. However one should bear in mind that these lists are not complete in regards to the art seized from the many Jewish collectors in the city, targeted by the ERR operations under Rosenberg.

- **Database Central Collecting Point Munich**
- The database lists 14 Millet works of art originating with the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, Hungary, under the restitution card index. It seems unlikely that the Gerard Galerie stock originated with this collection.³⁵

- **MNR Site Rose-Valland - Musée Nationaux Récupération**

Five entries record works of art by J.F. Millet as restituted to France from Germany in the late forties. Most of these restitution were handled at the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point. None of the works mentioned in this context can be matched to the present drawing.

- **Fold3**

Fold3 records of ERR *Moebel-Aktion – Bilder* reveal several Millet artworks³⁶. Beginning in the spring of 1942, art objects were brought to the Jeu de Paume as part of the loot collected by the ERR offshoot, the “*Moebel-Aktion*” (furniture operation), stripping furnishings from the homes of Jews who had fled or were deported. The *M-Aktion* art loot was separated into a number of special type-specific “M-A” collections, and were inventoried without revealing the name and address of the home from which they were seized. The items recorded could not be matched with the present drawing.

Fold3 documents reveal a number of Millet artworks in various media which the *Staedtische Galerie* (Municipal Gallery) Frankfurt had acquired in France,³⁷ none of which are related to Lostart 532992.

Fold3 documents reveal the name of another German art dealer, Ludwig Gutbier (partner of Ernst Arnold), active in Paris during the occupation, and dealing, among others, with Millet artworks.³⁸

No direct connection to Lostart 532992 was revealed, although Gurlitt and Gutbier roamed the same Parisian circles and most probably knew each other.³⁹

³⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/306297140>

³¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/306294759>

³² <https://www.fold3.com/image/306298484>

³³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/308580018>

³⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/306283075>

³⁵ http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/ccp/dhm_ccp.php?seite=

³⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/283748345> , 306282909

³⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/293110494> (August 2017)

³⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image269987488> ,269987481 (August 2017)

³⁹ Hoffmann, M., loc. cit. p. 209

- **The Getty Provenance Index Database (Sales catalogue)**

47 records of J.F. Millet are recorded in the database. All of the 47 entries were checked and none corresponds directly with Lostart 532992, or any of the additional Millet in the C. Gurlitt estate.⁴⁰ When subject matter and medium did bear similarities, the measurements did not.

- **Auction and Exhibition Catalogues with reference to Lostart no. 532992:**

J. F. Millet Dessinateur, Exposition de Quelques Oeuvres, Hector Brame, Paris, January 31- February 19, 1938. Catalog no. 9⁴¹

Werke der Franzoesischen Malerei und Graphik des 19. Jahrhunderts, Museum Folkwang, Essen, Juli-September 1954. No. 67 Feierabend (*Kartoffelernte*), Pastel, 26.5 x 37.5. German private ownership.⁴²

- **Auction catalogues consulted with negative results:**

Tableaux Pastels Dessins Aquarelles, Collection Roger Marx, Galerie Manzi- Joyant, Paris, May 11-12, 1914

Graphik und Handzeichnungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Auktion 72). Auct. cat., Paul Graupe, Berlin, 5-7 May 1927.

Antiquitäten, Gemälde, modernes Mobiliar (Katalog 2094), auct. cat. Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, 1-2 November 1935

Moderne Graphik der Sammlung Heinrich Stinnes, Gutekunst & Klipstein, Bern, Schweiz, 20. -22. Juni 1938.

Tableaux, pastels, aquarelles, dessins. Drouot, Paris, vente du 17 juin 1942.

Tableaux et dessins modernes. Drouot, Paris, vente du 20 novembre 1942.

Succession Georges Viau. Drouot, Paris, vente du 11 décembre 1942.

Tableaux, pastels, aquarelles, dessins. Drouot, Paris, vente du 21 décembre 1942.

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 28 janvier 1943.

Tableaux modernes, aquarelles, pastels, dessins. Drouot, Paris, vente du 4 mars 1943.

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 2 juin 1943.

Tableaux modernes, aquarelles, dessins, gouaches, sculptures. Drouot, Paris, vente du 10 novembre 1943.

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 21 janvier 1944.

Catalogue des dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 20 mars 1944.

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 23 mars 1944.

Objets de bel ameublement, tableaux et dessins. Drouot, Paris, vente du 31 mars 1944.

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 24 mai 1944.

Catalogue des dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 4 juin 1944.

Estampes anciennes et modernes, tableaux, dessins anciens et modernes. Drouot, Paris, vente du 20 décembre 1944.

Dessins, tableaux modernes, sièges et meubles. Drouot, Paris, vente du 25 mai 1945.

Estampes, tableaux, pastels, aquarelles, dessins modernes. Drouot, Paris, vente du 29 juin 1945.

⁴⁰ <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web> (August 2017)

⁴¹ Anlage 9.

⁴² Anlage 8

Tableaux modernes, dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, pastels. Drouot, Paris, vente du 8 novembre 1945.

Estampes, tableaux, aquarelles, dessins, miniatures. Drouot, Paris, vente du 13 décembre 1945.

Dessins de Jean-François Millet. Exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1960.

J.-F. Millet. Exh. cat., Wildenstein & Co., London 1969.

Jean François Millet. Exh. cat., Hayward Gallery, London 1976.

Achim Moeller, 5th Anniversary 1972-77, London

Christie's, 19th Century European Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors, 15 February 1995, New York.

Millet, Van Gogh: Paris, Musée d'Orsay: 14 septembre 1998 - 3 janvier 1999.

Christie's, Old masters and 19th Century Drawings, 24 January 2008, New York

Christi's, Old Master and Early British Drawings & Watercolors, January 2013, New York

Stephan Ongpin Fine Art, online catalogue, London (August 2017)

89 various auction catalogues, France, 1942 – 1945: http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection?search=Millet+dessins&sort=_score&perpage=20&fulltext=1&date-start=1942&date-end=1945&page=1 (August 2017)

- **Books with reference to Lostart no. 532992:**

Moreau-Nelaton, E.: Millet raconté par lui-même, Paris: Henri Laurens, 1921. [vol. 2, fig. 113]⁴³ – La fin de la journée (vers 1858). Dessin – Cliché Braun.

Staley, E.: Jean François Millet. London: Bell & Sons, 1905. [Related to p. 66]

Books consulted with negative results:

Bacou, R.: Millet. One hundred drawings. London 1975.

Cain, J. and P. Leprieur: Millet. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1913.

Collection Henry Rouart: Première vente. Galerie Manzi-Joyant, Paris, 1912.

Diez, E.: Jean François Millet. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1912.

Fermigier, F.: Jean-François Millet. Genève 1979.

Gensel, W. : Millet und Rousseau, Bielefeld/Leipzig, 1902.

Gsell, P.: Millet. Paris: Éd. Rieder, 1928.

Herbert, R. L.: Jean-François Millet. Exh. cat., Paris, 1975.

Hiepe, R.: François Millet. Leipzig: Seemann, 1962.

Hoeber, A.: The Barbizon Painters, New York 1915.

Krügel, G.: Jean François Millet: eine Kunstgabe. Mainz: Scholz, 1909.

Laughton, B.: The Drawings of Daumier and Millet. New Haven / London 1991.

Manœuvre, L.: Millet – Les Saisons. Paris 1996.

Marcel, H.: J.-F. Millet. Bibliographie critique. Paris [1903]

Mégret, F.: Millet, l'apôtre des paysans. Connaissance des Arts no. 251, Paris 1973.

Meyer, A.: Zwischen Original und (Ver-)Fälschung; in: Wolff-Thomsen, Geschmacksgeschichte(n). Kiel 2011.

Millet: Sessanta Capolavori dal Museum of Fine Arts de Boston. Treviso 2005.

Millet Mappe. Muenchen: Kunstwart, 1900.

Murphy, A., R.: Drawn into the Light: Jean-François Millet. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Murphy, A. R.: Jean-François Millet. Boston 1984.

⁴³ Anlage 6. The theme of Le Fin de la Journée appears in a great number of books, as it is considered an iconic painting by Millet, however as detailed in the introductory remarks they are later versions in various medium of the same theme.

Muther, R.: J. F. Millet. Berlin: Bard, 1903.

Peacock, N.: Millet, London 1905.

Sensier, A.: Jean-François Millet. London: Macmillan, 1881.

Sensier, A.: La vie et l'oeuvre de J. F. Millet. Paris: Quantin, 1881.

Turner, P. M.: Millet. London: Jack, 1910.

Yriarte, C.: J. F. Millet. Paris 1885.

Databases consulted:

Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume

Database “Central Collecting Point München”

Database “Kunstsammlung Hermann Göring”

Getty Provenance Index, German Sales Catalogs

Lootedart.com

Lost Art

Répertoire des Biens Spoliés

Verzeichnis national wertvoller Kunstwerke (“Reichsliste von 1938”)

Witt Library

- **Conclusion:**

According to an enquiry with the Millet expert [Name bekannt], this work is an unknown original drawing by Millet, for which she has no further provenance indication.⁴⁴ Several close copies of this work in varying media were identified in the literature, none of which seem to correspond to the drawing found in the Gurlitt art trove.

In Moreau-Nélaton’s 1921 publication the present drawing is illustrated with the photo reference to Adolphe Braun.⁴⁵ Neither the Moreau-Nélaton files kept at the archive in the Louvre nor the Braun photo trace yielded further information on the item.⁴⁶

However, a photo of a 1938 Millet exhibition at Galerie Hector Brame in Paris shows that the artwork was included in that show.⁴⁷ An enquiry with the gallery revealed the name of Madame Gillet, rue Barbet de Jouy, as the lender to said exhibition.

A Madame Gillet appears on the ALIU list of collaborators and dealers during 1940–1945 but under a different address. She sold works to German buyers.⁴⁸

Alice Gillet appears in the Répertoire des Biens Spoliés as the victim of spoliation of furniture, however she does not claim a work by Millet.⁴⁹

Several other collectors with the last name Gillet during that time can be found in the *Annuaire de la curiosité et des Beaux Arts*, none appear in the context of expropriations or collaboration during the occupation of France. It is most likely that Léonie Gillet was the person who lent the item to the exhibition at the Brame gallery. An entry in the *Bottin mondain* proves that she lived under the address

⁴⁴ This information stems from the email correspondence between the researcher and the expert in 2016.

⁴⁵ Moreau-Nélaton, E.: Millet raconté par lui-même, Paris: Henri Laurens, 1921. [vol. 2, fig. 113]⁴⁵ – La fin de la journée (vers 1858). Dessin – Cliché Braun. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96865944>

⁴⁶ Braun’s overview of reproductions gives several entries for Millet *La fin de la Journée*, however, the former owner given in the book, Ernest May, was in possession of a different work by Millet. Ad. Braun & Cie., Catalogue General des Photographies, Paris: Photographs officiels du Louvre et des Musées nationaux, 1887. P. 470. No. des reference 61, La fin de la journée; a M. May.

⁴⁷ J. F. Millet Dessinateur, Exposition de Quelques Oeuvres, Hector Brame, Paris, January 31- February 19, 1938. Catalog no. 9, see attachment: Brame 1938, No.9.

⁴⁸ www.fold3.com/image/270270434 and www.fold3.com/image/270138325 (February 2018).

⁴⁹ www.fold3.com/image/273702881 (February 2018).

indicated by Brame et Lorenceau.⁵⁰ A work in the collection of the British museum has the same provenance and shows that Edmond Gillet, Léonie's husband, inherited the work from his father.⁵¹ This is a possibility for the current work as well, however it could not be established. Léonie Gillet stems from a catholic family and research at the Archives in Paris do not indicate a WWII related loss in any way for items from her collection.⁵²

The following known provenance appears to be with art dealer Raphael Gerard, as two inventories found among Cornelius Gurlitt's papers suggest. André Schoeller issued a certificate for the item on June 8, 1944, when Gurlitt could have acquired it as he was in Paris during that time.⁵³ It is unclear what the nature of Gurlitt's and Gerard's transaction was, the work is likely to have been transferred to Germany by 1953 as it features in an exhibition on French works of the 19th century in 1954.⁵⁴

Die Provenienz des Werkes konnte trotz intensiver Forschung nicht lückenlos aufgeklärt werden, d.h. das Kunstwerk ist weder erwiesenermaßen noch mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit NS-Raubkunst noch frei von NS-Raubkunstverdacht. Es wurde nach aktueller Einschätzung allen Rechercheansätzen nachgegangen. Das Blatt muss demnach in die Kategorie „ungeklärt“ [=nach Ampelsystem: gelb] eingestuft werden.⁵⁵

Disclaimer

The research that goes into establishing the provenance of a work of art usually requires complex work that often lasts many years. Researchers have to reconstruct events that took place many decades ago. Often, the only sources of vital clues stem from third parties who do not always represent and assess the facts in a manner that is beyond all doubt. This report is the result of utmost care in research, combined with great professional expertise. The following provisions therefore apply:

- a) The investigation revolved exclusively around the question of the origin and chronology of ownership of the artwork described in the report. No liability will be accepted for:
 - the accuracy of the used sources' presentation of the facts and any analyses, conclusions, and assessments they may contain,
 - the exhaustiveness of our probing into and evaluation of the available source material,
 - the analysis and conclusions drawn from the sources in the course of our research,
 - the findings on the subject of the report and how they were derived,
 - the authenticity of the artwork, as well as the accuracy of its attribution to a particular artist.
- b) The report is based on the sources available at the time it was written. It is an interim report.

⁵⁰ Anlage 10.

⁵¹

www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=719868&partId=1&searchText=ingres+drawing&page=1 (23 May 2018) and www.patronsdefrance.fr/?q=sippaf-actor-record/7269 (23 May 2018).

⁵² Ergänzung durch Projektleitung, 23.5.2018.

⁵³ Hildebrand Gurlitt Travel Itinerary: 24 May–16 June 1944: Paris.

⁵⁴ Anhang 8. Werke der Franzoesischen Malerei und Graphik des 19. Jahrhunderts, Museum Folkwang, Essen, Juli-September 1954. No. 67 Feierabend (*Kartoffelernte*), Pastel, 26.5 x 37.5. German private ownership [=Gurlitt]. Attachment: 17.3_1703_Villa Hügel_Essen_Ausst. franz. Malerei u. Grafik d. 19. Jh._1954.

⁵⁵ Ergänzung der Projektleitung, 23.5.2018.

Further research might be required. It is important to note the possibility that new source material may be found, which may lead to a re-evaluation of the interim findings presented here.

The present report does not purport to make pronouncements on any legal claims and legal positions. No liability will be accepted for any conclusions drawn by the addressee(s) or by third parties based on this report