

In accordance with Section 3 of the Federal Act on the Restitution of Art Objects and Other Movable Cultural Property from Austrian Federal Museums and Collections and from Other Federal Property (Art Restitution Act - KRG) as amended by Federal Law Gazette (BGBl.) I No. 158/2023, at its meeting on 8 July 2025, the Art Restitution Advisory Board adopted the following

DECISION

The Federal Minister of Housing, Arts, Culture, Media and Sport is recommended to transfer the 21 hand drawings and theater graphics listed in the appendix to this decision from the dossier "Alfred Grünwald" of the Commission for Provenance Research 10/2025 from the Theatermuseum (KHM-Museumsverband) to the legal successors *causa mortis* of Alfred Granville Grunwald.

GROUNDINGS

The Advisory Board has received the above-mentioned dossier from the Commission for Provenance Research. This provides the following facts relevant to the decision:

Alfred Grünwald was born in Vienna on 16 February 1884, the youngest child of Moriz Grünwald and Emma, née Donath. His father ran a hat and hat lining factory at Mariahilferstraße 45 in Vienna's 7th district; after her husband's death in 1886, Emma Grünwald continued the business as a milliner, initially at various locations in the 4th, 6th, and 7th districts of Vienna. When Alfred Grünwald's older brother Oskar took over the business in 1911, he merged it with the Strohh- und Filzhutfabrik Weinberger's A. Nachf. to form the company "Weinberger & Grünwald, Damen-Stroh- u. Filzhüte" (Weinberger & Grünwald, ladies' straw and felt hats), based at Mariahilferstraße 89.

After finishing school, Alfred Grünwald began working as a trainee for the renowned Viennese furrier "Julius Freund" on Rotenturmstraße in the city center but soon moved to a theatre agency to pursue his passion for theatre and writing. The first mention of his work can be dated to 1906, when the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* announced that the "management of the Raimund Theater [...] had accepted the four-act musical farce 'Das Sperrsechserl' by Alfred Grünwald and Robert Blum for performance." In the spring of 1908, Grünwald met the aspiring actress Minna Löwenstein, born in Mödling on 6 January 1887, at a performance of the comedy *Der Raub der Sabinerinnen* by Franz and Paul von Schönthan. Minna, also known as Mila, was the daughter of silk manufacturer Joachim Löwenstein and his wife Theresia, née Kreilesheimer. Six months later, on 15 November 1908, they were married in the Temple of the Jewish Community in Müllnergasse in Alsergrund (Vienna's 9th district).

Alfred Grünwald, who had previously been registered in Schottenfeldgasse in Vienna's 7th district, moved with his wife to a rented apartment which belonged to Minna's father and was located at Seegasse 21 in Alsergrund, Vienna's 9th district. Their first child, Meta Mary, was born in 1911, followed by their son Heinz Anatol in 1922.

In the years that followed, Grünwald wrote numerous farces, cabarets, and small operettas such as *Die grüne Redoute*, *Die lustigen Weiber von Wien*, *Die kleine Manicure*, *Elektra*, *Georgette*, and *Vindobona, du herrliche Stadt!* for the Intime Theater, the Kabarett Fledermaus, Danzers Orpheum, and the Wiener Colosseum. He wrote libretti together with Julius Brammer, whom he knew from their joint work for the Pelzhaus Julius Freund. The decisive breakthrough came with the texts for *Die Kaiserin* (1915) and *Die Rose von Stambul* (1916), which Brammer and Grünwald wrote for the composer Leo Fall.

These activities were interrupted by the First World War; between 1916 and 1918, Grünwald served in the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment No. 29 on the Eastern and Isonzo fronts, among other places. He rose to the rank of Imperial and Royal Reserve First Lieutenant and was awarded the Karl Troop Cross and the Signum Laudis honorary decoration. In the meantime, *Die Rose von Stambul*, which premiered at the Theater an der Wien on 12 December 1916, was a resounding success. This enabled Alfred Grünwald to purchase real estate in Bad Ischl and Berlin after the war. From 1921 onwards, the family spent numerous summers in Bad Ischl; in 1934, his daughter Meta Mary met her future husband, the chemist Walter Benno Maass, there.

The global economic crisis at the end of the 1920s not only contributed to the closure of numerous theatres but also led to a noticeable deterioration in the production conditions for operettas. This resulted in a break with Julius Brammer, and Grünwald went on to work alone or with other librettists.

After the annexation of Austria to the National Socialist German Reich, the Grünwald family was directly affected by Nazi persecution. Alfred Grünwald was taken away by the Gestapo and brought to the headquarters at Morzinplatz for interrogation. From there, he was transferred to the elementary school on Karajangasse in Brigittenau, Vienna's 20th district, which had been converted into a prison, where he was taken into protective custody and shared a classroom converted into a cell with Bruno Kreisky and other fellow prisoners; Fritz Grünbaum was also in prison on Karajangasse at the time. In order to secure her husband's release from custody, Minna Grünwald hired the lawyer and NSDAP member Rudolf Maria Braun-Stammfest, who appealed to the Reich Chamber of Culture in Berlin on her behalf. Around mid-July 1938, Alfred Grünwald was released from protective custody, but was required to leave the German Reich as quickly as possible. In the meantime, their son Heinz had to leave the secondary school in the Stubenbastei and transfer to the "Jewish school" at Kleine Sperlgasse 2A in Vienna's 2nd district, and on 16 July 1938, in preparation for his escape, Alfred Grünwald applied to the then Central Office for the Protection of Monuments for an export permit for "29 oil paintings, 10 graphic works and prints, 4 small col. engravings, 19 carpets"; the transport company Richard Mittler & Cie subsequently submitted a further export application on Grünwald's behalf in February 1939. Of the total number of objects requested, "22 engravings, watercolours, and drawings (caricatures by Gaul) of theatre scenes and Viennese actors and

artists" were blocked from export. On 16 February 1939, the General Directorate of the National Library, which had previously been contacted by the monument authority, announced that only some of the objects submitted for appraisal would be eligible for export:

"This part (6 items) was immediately returned to the representative of the shipping company. Another part consisting of 22 items has been temporarily retained in the theatre collection, as there are concerns about the export of this part. These are primarily 7 copperplate engravings, which are rare and not available in the theatre collection. The remaining objects are hand drawings, some of which are costume sketches of outstanding performers (Volter, Patti, Lewinsky, etc.), and some of which are caricatures of great value (Richard Wagner, Siegfried Wagner, etc.). The majority of this collection dates back to Franz Gaul (died 3 July 1906), and one hand drawing is signed by him. The undersigned General Directorate requests that the Central Office for the Protection of Cultural Property prevent the export of these objects, as they are valuable and cannot be replaced. The objects can be removed from the theatre collection of the National Library at any time. It is also possible that the National Library itself will act as the buyer if an appropriate offer is made. [...]"

There is no known offer to sell the objects subsequently blocked for export; rather, it can be assumed that the National Library did not approach either Alfred Grünwald or his foreign exchange advisor and authorised representative Wolfgang Börner with an offer to purchase. The remaining objects were approved for export by the monument authority as duty-free removal goods and, according to the form, left the former Austrian customs territory via the Passau border crossing on 24 February 1939.

Also on 16 July 1938, Alfred and Minna Grünwald submitted their mandatory Declarations of Assets. In addition to real estate, securities, insurance policies, and theatre shares, they also declared the expected annual value of copyrights to operetta works. Grünwald explained to the Property Transfer Office that he had valued these at only RM 10,000 due to the impossibility of performing them in the German Reich and the collapse of the Viennese operetta theatre. Under item IV g) "Articles made of precious metals, jewellery, luxury items, works of art, and collections", 18 paintings and various engravings and small pictures were listed, among other things. Minna Grünwald listed her jewellery under this item. Alfred Grünwald's assets were offset by debts amounting to more than RM 65,000, of which RM 45,720 alone was estimated for the Reich Flight Tax, which was paid in five installments from his "emigrant blocked account" at the Austrian Creditanstalt-Wiener Bankverein. The "Jewish Property Tax," which was not included in the amount of the debts, was set at RM 7,816. Minna was responsible for a quarter of this, which was deducted from her husband's blocked account together with his installments.

Grünwald's daughter Meta Mary Maass and her husband Walter Benno fled to Prague in June 1938, then on to the Netherlands, where they survived the German occupation with forged papers. They were supposed to emigrate to the US in early 1947. On 27 July 1938, Alfred and Minna Grünwald and their son Heinz Anatol, who was still a minor, were deregistered from their former address at Kolingasse 4, in Vienna's 9th district as having "moved abroad". Via Brno, they also made their way to Prague for the time being. From there, they finally flew to Switzerland and travelled by train from Zurich to Paris. There, Grünwald was reunited with many friends and former colleagues who had also fled, including the composers Paul Abraham, Oscar Straus, Emmerich Kálmán and Julius Brammer.

It was difficult for Alfred Grünwald to build on his earlier successes as a playwright. In addition, although

the French copyright society "Sacem" recognised musicians and paid them royalties, librettists were excluded. The family continued to live off the financial reserves that Grünwald had been able to transfer to Switzerland from foreign copyright payments. While he was still preparing his escape in Vienna, he had instructed Börner to sell the property in Bad Ischl and the house in Seegasse. However, due to Börner's conscription order, he commissioned the real estate agent Josef Vest to look for potential buyers, who immediately sent him a draft purchase agreement with August Dornheim, a manufacturer of optical devices in Neubau, Vienna's 7th district, as the buyer. The sale of the house in Vienna was approved by the Property Transfer Office on 29 September 1939. The property in Bad Ischl was sold below market value to the physician Franz Hörnisch via Vest in 1939. Both payments were retained by the tax offices in Berlin Moabit and Alsergrund (Vienna's 9th district), and only a fraction was credited to Alfred Grünwald's "blocked account for foreigners".

In the summer of 1939, the household goods from Vienna, which had been declared duty-free in February, arrived in Paris. This led to the Grünwald family moving from the furnished studio apartment they had been living in to a larger apartment on Rue Galilée in the 16th arrondissement. After the war began in 1939, however, Alfred Grünwald was arrested as a "national of an enemy state" and interned in the Meslay-du-Maine camp in the Mayenne department. The camp was closed in April 1940 and finally evacuated in June, during which time Grünwald was released. Before the German Wehrmacht marched into Paris in mid-June 1940, the Grünwalds were able to flee Paris by car together with Walter Straus, the son of Oscar Straus. They had to leave all their household belongings behind. Thanks to Straus' press pass, they were able to pass all the checkpoints on their way to Biarritz unmolested. After a series of detours, Alfred, Minna and Heinz Anatol Grünwald travelled with a cargo ship from Bayonne to Casablanca. There, the Canadian consulate provided them with entry visas to Canada, which were also supposed to allow them to travel through the US. From Lisbon, they finally set sail for America on the SS Exeter on 11 September 1940, , arriving in New York Harbour on the 20th of the same month. Thanks to a guarantee from theater director and producer Gilbert Miller, they were able to settle in the US. As before in Paris, Alfred Grünwald met many of his colleagues from Vienna and Berlin in New York, including Oscar Straus and Emmerich Kálmán. Here, too, he was unable to really gain a foothold professionally.

While the Grünwald family was already in exile in the US, the Nazi authorities seized their assets in Vienna and Berlin. In July 1938, he had declared to the Property Transfer Office in Vienna that he had taken out a mortgage on his rented apartment at Bamberger Straße 57 in Berlin Schöneberg in order to pay the Reich Flight Tax and had undertaken to sell the property at a later date. This sale took place in his absence by contract dated 21 September 1941 to two Berlin couples, Hans and Johanna Haltenhoff and Gerhard and Frieda Koppe. One week later, the remaining assets of Alfred and Minna Grünwald were seized by order of the Gestapo State Police Headquarters in Vienna as a result of the expatriation proceedings. After the expatriations were announced in the *Reichsanzeiger* (Reich Gazette), all remaining assets, including Grünwald's unsold shares in the (meanwhile dilapidated) Carltheater in Vienna, and its backdrop depot, fell to the German Reich as a result of the 11th Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Act of 25 November 1941.

After the end of the war, Alfred Grünwald authorised Wolfgang Börner to file restitution claims against the Republic of Austria through attorney Vladimir Allmayer-Beck. This enabled the villa in Bad Ischl to be transferred back to him, though without the furniture, which had been seized and sold in 1941; the property on Seegasse in Vienna was also returned to Minna Grünwald by partial decision of the Restitution Commission at the Regional Court for Civil Matters on 9 September 1948. Following a settlement in 1954, the house in Berlin-Schöneberg remained with the former buyers.

Alfred Grünwald, who changed his name to Alfred Granville Grunwald in 1948, died in New York on 24 February 1951, and Minna died on 23 December 1953. His shares in the Carltheater, among other things, were returned to his heirs on a pro rata basis in 1954. In the 1960s, Meta Mary Maass and Henry Grunwald, now editor-in-chief of *Time* magazine and later US ambassador to Vienna, applied for compensation for the loss of assets, such as seized bank deposits, Reich Flight Tax, and Jewish Property Tax. In the decision of the Fund for the Compensation of Politically Persecuted Persons, some amounts were not included in the compensation or only partially included, but the amounts of the Reich Flight Tax and the Jewish Property Tax were recognized in full.

No claims for restitution by Alfred Grünwald or his legal successors can be proven with regard to the stage figurines and prints in question here.

As mentioned above, these objects had been blocked for export by the Monument Protection Authority after the "" and had been in the custody of the Theatre Collection of the National Library in Vienna since 1939: On 8 May 1940, the Monument Authority intended to secure them and requested the National Library to transfer them to the secure storage facility in the Orangery in the Lower Belvedere. Although the transfer was to take place promptly, the prepared transfer confirmation had been signed neither by the Monument Authority nor the National Library. One week after the request, the NB General Directorate announced that the objects had been packed together with the entire theatre collection, which was in the process of being relocated, and would therefore be accessible again only after the move had been completed. A *pro domo* entry in February 1943 closes the file of the Central Office for Monument Protection:

"The theatre history objects owned by Grünwald should not fall under the Führervorbehalt (Führer's reservation), but under the 11th Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Act. It would therefore be advisable to assign them properly by Führerentscheid (Führer decision)."

There is no record of any further involvement by the Monument Protection Authority; in the same year, the library again mentioned that it was "keenly" interested in acquiring the items.

It was not until a (re)inventory was carried out on 14 September 1951 that 22 entries were made in the theatre collection's accession register, where the 21 objects in question are listed under the designation "Older hold. (Grün)" or "Older holdings (Grün)" (no accession number was assigned to any object). Both in terms of their number and their creator (Gaul) as well as subject matter (theatre themes), the objects correspond to the discussions between the Monument Authority and the National Library regarding their export ban and securing. The word "older" refers to a subsequent inventory, and the abbreviation "Grün" refers to the provenance from the collection of Alfred Grünwald, which means that it can be assumed that

this information was still available at that time, even if the objects were not registered by the Austrian National Library as expropriated assets in accordance with the Asset Expropriation Registration Regulation.

The Advisory Board considered the following:

In accordance with Section 1.(1).2 of the Art Restitution Act, objects owned by the State that were the subject of a legal transaction or legal act under Section 1 of the Nullity Act 1946 may be transferred to the original owners or their legal successors *causa mortis*.

According to Section 1 of the Nullity Act 1946, "legal transactions and other legal acts against payment or free of charge during the German occupation of Austria are null and void if they were undertaken in the course of its political or economic penetration by the German Reich in order to deprive natural or legal persons of property or property rights to which they were entitled on 13 March 1938."

The Grünwald/Grunwald family was persecuted as Jews after Austria's annexation to Nazi Germany. Alfred Grünwald was taken into "protective custody" in the spring of 1938, and upon his release, he was ordered to leave German territory within a very short time.

On 16 July 1938, in preparation for his escape, Alfred Grünwald submitted an application to the Central Office for the Protection of Monuments requesting permission to export his art collection. A second application was submitted by the transport company he had commissioned in February 1939, when Grünwald was already in Paris. After assessment and appraisal by the theatre collection of the National Library, "22 engravings, watercolours, and drawings (caricatures by Gaul) of theatre scenes and Viennese actors and artists" were blocked from export. Based on the library's letter to the Monument Authority, in which the blocked works are specified in more detail – "7 copperplate engravings [...] hand drawings, some of which are costume sketches of outstanding performers (Wolter, Patti, Lewinsky, etc.), some of which are caricatures of great value (Richard Wagner, Siegfried Wagner, etc.)" – it is possible to clearly identify the objects. Even without "proper allocation," the objects were forfeited to the German Reich at the latest with the 11th Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Act of 25 November 1941. No restitution claims were made for the objects in question, either by Alfred Grünwald or, after his death, by his legal successors.

The objects remained in the theatre collection of the (Austrian) National Library, now the Theatermuseum, KHM-Museumsverband (KHM-Museum Group). Since the underlying legal acts that led to their acquisition and eventual inventorying by the theatre collection are undoubtedly null and void under the Nullity Act 1946 and thus the requirements of Section 1. (1). 2 of the Art Restitution Act are fulfilled, the Advisory Board recommends that the 19 objects currently in the Theatermuseum be transferred to the legal successors of Alfred Grunwald. This would also apply to the two objects listed in the appendix that are (currently) untraceable if they are identified in the Theatermuseum's holdings in the course of further research.

Vienna, 8 July 2025

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Clemens JABLONER (Chair)

Members:

Associate University
Professor Dr. Birgit
KIRCHMAYR

A.o. Univ.Prof.

Dr. Sabine PLAKOLM-FORSTHUBER

Court Councillor of the
Administrative Court

Dr. Franz Philipp SUTTER

Substitute members:

Commissioner

Katharina PUCHINGER, BA MA

Ministerial

Councillor (retired)

Dr. Ilsebill BARTA

Senior Public Prosecutor (retired) Hon. Prof.
Dr. Sonja BYDLINSKI, MBA

Beilage

Lfd. Nr.	Akzessionsnummer	Objektart, Technik	Urheber	Titel, Datierung, Maße
1	HZ_HG38920 ¹	Handzeichnung (Karikatur), Bleistift und Federtusche auf Papier	Jaques Offenbach	Ganze Figur, stehend, nach rechts, in Abendanzug und mit Brille, o. Dat. (um 1870), 23,2 x 13,7 cm
2	HZ_HG28267	Handzeichnung (Karikatur), Bleistift auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Richard Wagner, o. Dat. (um 1875), 25,8 x 14 cm
3	HZ_HG28268	Handzeichnung (Karikatur), Bleistift auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Siegfried Wagner, 23.3.1899, 30 x 16,5 cm
4	HZ_HG70341	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Liebe für Liebe, o. Dat. (um 1875), 23,05 x 15,5 cm
5	HZ_HG70342	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Antonius und Cleopatra, o. Dat. (Datum der Aufführung: 30.10.1878), 30,5 x 20,8 cm
6	HZ_HG16240	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Semiramis, 1877, 30,3 x 19,5 cm
7	HZ_HG70343	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Antonius und Cleopatra, o. Dat. (Datum der Aufführung: 30.10.1878), 30,5 x 20,8 cm
8	HZ_HG70345	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift, Wasserfarben und Federtusche auf Papier		Der eingebildete Kranke, o. Dat. (Datum der möglichen Aufführung: 03.03.1878), 30,5 x 20,5 cm
9	HZ_HG70346	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier		Faust, o. Dat. (um 1880), 30,6 x 21,2 cm
10	HZ_HG37759	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Aquarell und Bleistift auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Arria und Messalina, 1874, 28,9 x 21,2 cm
11	HZ_HG70344	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift, Wasserfarben und Federtinte auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	Indianer Nordamerikanischer Häuptling, o. Dat. (um 1880), 28 x 18,6 cm
12	HZ_HG29421	Handzeichnung (Figurine), Bleistift und Wasserfarben auf Papier	Franz Xaver Gaul	König Ottokars Glück und Ende, o. Dat. (Datum der möglichen Aufführung: 11.01.1891), 31,5 x 25 cm
13	HZ_HG70347	Handzeichnung (Rollenporträt), Bleistift und Buntstifte auf Papier, auf Karton	Max Sandor	Alexander Girdardi, 1915, 32 x 25,2 cm
14	GS GFG5951	Druckgrafik (Figurine), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	anonym	Modebilder zur Theaterzeitung No. 553, 1841, 23,2 x 15,1 cm
15	GS GSG5946	Druckgrafik (Szenische Darstellung), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	Johann Christian Schoeller	Der Harem in Elisium, 1841, 24,5 x 20,8 cm
16	GS GSG5947	Druckgrafik (Szenenbild), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	Johann Christian Schoeller	Salerl, die schöne Wienerin, 1837, 26,2 x 17,7 cm
17	GS GSG5948	Druckgrafik (Szenische Darstellung), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	Johann Christian Schoeller	Weiß Deine Frau, dass du hier bist?, 1839, 22,9 x 28,7 cm
18	GS GSG5949	Druckgrafik (Szenische Darstellung), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	anonym	Was für ein Medaillon befehlen Euer Gnaden heute? Das mit Ihrem Großvater, oder das mit Ihrem Bologneser?, 1852, 21,6 x 27,8 cm
19	GS GSG5950	Druckgrafik (Szenenbild), Papier / Kupferstich, koloriert	Johann Christian Schoeller	Der Vater der Debütantin, 1837, 29,3 x 22,9 cm
20	273.198	Handzeichnung (Figurine)	k.A	Napoleon Anm. nicht auffindbar
21	273.212	Druckgrafik (Farbstich)	k.A	Wie sich die alten...Herren Anm. nicht auffindbar