

## The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic\*

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The 1996 commemoration in Kyiv of the 70th anniversary of Symon Petliura's death marked a dramatic break with the Soviet characterization of him as a dangerous bourgeois nationalist, antisemite, and anti-popular dictator. Petliura, as the head of the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic, had fought the Bolsheviks in Ukraine. Then, as head of the Ukrainian government in exile, he continued to be perceived as a major threat to the Soviet regime until his assassination in Paris in 1926. The French trial (and acquittal) of his assassin raised the question of Petliura's complicity in the 1919 pogroms in Ukraine—and polarized Western attitudes toward him. In Soviet Ukraine, Petliura officially remained anathema, and "Petliurite" became synonymous with "enemy of the people." Against this backdrop, the 1996 commemoration was remarkable: Petliura had finally been rehabilitated, and his aspirations for an independent Ukraine, for which he had sacrificed his life, were now recognized in his homeland. To perpetuate Petliura's memory, a documentary collection of Petliura's political and family letters was issued in Kyiv, in collaboration with the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris.

In the preface to the publication, Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk, a former director of the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, relates the sad wartime fate of the archival materials deposited before World War II in that library: "Together with the library holdings and all the archives, they were confiscated by the Gestapo in 1940 and taken to Germany. Their fate is unknown."<sup>2</sup> Thus, even in 1996, it was not public knowledge that many of those materials were in the metropolises of Ukraine and Russia. Coincidentally, most of the archival materials from the Petliura Library that are now in Kyiv are actually located in the same archive that houses the records of the UNR Foreign Ministry, on which the first part of that same 1996 publication was based.

Among the documents published for the first time are political and diplomatic letters of Petliura drawn from the records of the UNR Foreign Ministry now held in Kyiv. They were probably among those which the Nazis had discovered in Tarnów and processed in Cracow during the war and which

Soviet SMERSH counterintelligence agents had seized from Cracow in March 1945. This information was not known to the compilers of the publication, but serves to illustrate the extent of the odyssey of documents relating to the national statesman who was forced into exile. It also testifies to the lack of public disclosure about such documents held in Kyivan archives.

The letters of Petliura's wife, Ol'ha, and his daughter, Lesia, came from family correspondence in Paris and Prague, but the precise archival designations are also not provided. In fact, these documents came from the papers of Oleksander Siropolko, a relative and close friend of the Petliura family in Prague, and Stepan Siropolko from Paris, which were recently transferred to Ukraine and presented to TsDAVO, the same Kyiv archive that houses the major collections from the Petliura Library and UNR records in Kyiv. Another published letter from Ol'ha Petliura to the librarian of the Petliura Library in Paris, Ivan Rudychiv (1881–1958), dated 7 June 1941 (corresponding to the period he was in Berlin) is now also located in that same archive in Kyiv.<sup>3</sup>

In 1997, barely a year later, another collection of articles and conference presentations was published in Kyiv also to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of Petliura's assassination, in the introduction of which the editors allude to the history of the Petliura Library in Paris:

The prewar holdings of that library were completely lost, taken away to Germany by the Fascist occupiers, although some suppose that now they might be found in KGB cellars in Moscow, or perhaps were earlier transferred to the Secret Section (*spetskhran*) of the Russian State Library.<sup>4</sup>

Such speculations, however, can now be put to rest. At last we know more about the odyssey and the fate of that library. It can be confirmed, for example, that many of its archival holdings have survived and are accessible to researchers in Moscow and Kyiv, if they know where and how to request them. However, they are also so widely dispersed that researchers would be at a loss to identify their provenance or original arrangement as collections from the Paris library. In the late 1980s some remains of the library books that were identified in Minsk were transferred to Ukraine, but the rest, unfortunately, remain diffused, some to be sure in the former Secret Section mentioned.

In the companion piece to this article, I described the fate of the Petliura Library during the war, after the Nazis had confiscated the holdings from the sealed library building in January 1941.<sup>5</sup> Rudychiv, the librarian of the Petliura Library from the start, was sent by the Nazis to Berlin under the pretext of assisting with the reopening of its holdings transferred there, but he never saw the library again. While in Berlin, he left behind his diary from the period of the Nazi seizure and transport of the library, together with an account of the library, some of its treasured documents, certain of his own papers, and momentos of Petliura and his family. These materials have now surfaced in Kyiv. Under the auspices of the Special Command of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg—the infamous ERR (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg)—the

Petliura Library was incorporated into the so-called *Ostbücherei*, the special “Eastern Library” relating to Bolshevik and other Eastern European matters, developed under the Rosenberg command for its anti-Bolshevik research center in Berlin. The same fate befell the much richer Turgenev Library, which had been confiscated in Paris at the same time as the Petliura Library.

Starting in the summer of 1943, major ERR research and library operations, including the *Ostbücherei*, were transferred from Berlin to the relatively isolated city of Ratibor (*Pol.* Racibórz), 80 kilometers southwest of Katowice on the Oder (*Pol.* Odra) River in Silesia. The extensive ERR Ratibor operations were scattered among many buildings within the city and its surroundings, which together housed over a million books and a vast array of archival materials looted from occupied countries of Western Europe and the Soviet Union. The elegant castle of the Prince of Pless in the town of the same name (*Pol.* Pszczyna), 60 kilometers to the east of Ratibor, housed the newspaper division and the special unit working on the captured Communist Party archive from Smolensk. Operations continued there until the end of 1944.

In the face of the fast approaching Red Army during January of 1945, some of the materials evacuated from Ratibor were abandoned en route back to Germany, while major library holdings and most of the Communist Party archives from Smolensk were abandoned in the railroad station near Pless. According to the last ERR report from Ratibor, many of the most important office records from Ratibor itself had already been evacuated by the end of January 1945. The remaining Ratibor office files were being prepared for destruction, but the ERR decided not to destroy the *Ostbücherei*, because they still had plans to return to resume its use, if the war situation changed, or at least to take the materials with them. Otherwise, they assumed (quite correctly, as it turned out) that the abandoned materials would be “captured by the Bolsheviks.”<sup>6</sup>

### *Soviet Postwar Archival and Library Retrieval*

#### **The Paris Slavic Libraries to Minsk and Moscow**

Documentation on the postwar Soviet archival retrieval and “trophy” cultural seizure operations is still fragmentary and dispersed throughout a number of different groups of records. Those materials that might be anticipated among the records of military units and military intelligence (or counterintelligence such as SMERSH) are still not publicly available. Recently, however, it has been possible to examine some important files among other record groups that have been declassified, including some containing reports of the Trophy Brigade for Libraries, the Main Archival Administration under the NKVD (later, the MVD), and some collections of reports that were forwarded to Communist Party authorities. New facts are emerging about where, when, and why various

Nazi-looted archival collections were seized by the Soviet authorities (and often with them the surviving records of Nazi wartime operations).

It was Soviet archival practice to separate the foreign “trophy” archives that the Nazis had captured from the Nazi agency records themselves. They also divided up collections by establishing separate “fonds” for each subgroup of files they could identify with a specific creating agency, thereby obscuring integral collections and the working order of documents in Nazi hands. When examined together, the documentation that survives in various Soviet archives—including both Soviet reports and Nazi records—as well as the “trophy” archives, provide new clues about their provenance and migration. In some cases, these amount to hard evidence of the Ukrainian collections the Nazis had taken from Paris and other West European centers; the materials Nazi authorities had succeeded in evacuating from Berlin to Silesia, and from Silesia to the West; and of the more extensive materials that were recovered and seized by Soviet authorities after the war.

Major portions of the archival materials confiscated by the Nazis from the Petliura Library in Paris fell into Soviet hands after the war together with the looted books. As noted earlier, it has not been possible to establish how many of these were actually held by the ERR in Ratibor or in other nearby Nazi centers in Silesia. It has also not been possible to determine where all of them were recovered by Soviet forces. Apparently, they were not all recovered at the same time, nor from the same place, which helps explain why the materials are now dispersed in several different archives and libraries. Many of them were found together with vast library collections from occupied Soviet lands that the Nazis had plundered, a large portion of which had been taken to the Ratibor area in Silesia.

In March 1945, at the railroad station of Pless (*Pol.* Pszczyna), the Red Army found “approximately 100,000 books in 580 crates . . . predominantly from Riga, Reval [Tallinn], Pskov, and Vilnius” and “about 80,000 volumes of journals packed in 660 crates . . . from the libraries of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences and the Lenin Library of the BSSR . . . , the transport of all of which would require some ten to twelve railroad freight cars.” These were portions of the materials that the ERR had collected for the *Ostbücherei*, but which the Nazis had abandoned. This shipment retrieved by the Red Army also included four railroad wagons of records from the Communist Party Archive of Smolensk Oblast—the ERR had succeeded in evacuating to the West only a small portion (about 500 files) of it.<sup>7</sup> The Red Army shipped everything they found back to the USSR, but we do not know if there were any books of West European origin among this transport of materials.

Another large cache of ERR library collections, constituting over one million volumes (54 freight-car loads), was collected further north in the Katowice area and transferred to Minsk in the fall of 1945, but precise documentation about their recovery or contents is not yet available. This batch included many

of the books from Belarusian libraries seized by the Nazis that had been shipped to Ratibor for the *Ostbücherei*, but also consisted of books from West European collections—the Turgenev and Petliura libraries, for example. Many of these were later transferred to various libraries in the Belarusian SSR, and many of the books were subsequently transferred to Moscow.<sup>8</sup>

According to a 1946 Soviet report, most of the holdings of the Turgenev Library was identified in Masłowice (170 kilometers north of Ratibor), together with thousands of books that had been looted from Belarusian libraries. Hence the shipment back to Minsk from there. Many books from the Turgenev Library, however, were transferred to a Red Army officers' club in Legnica, although some of the most valuable materials were taken directly to Moscow. The Petliura Library was not mentioned in available Soviet reports, hence we can only speculate as to how many of its books and Ukrainian archival materials were together with the Turgenev Library during its travels from Berlin to Ratibor, and from Masłowice (via Legnica) to Minsk and Moscow. We know that the books were in Ratibor, and that some of the books and many of the archival materials surfaced again in Moscow and Kyiv, as will be explained below.

Tragically, many books with Turgenev Library markings were destroyed in Minsk during Soviet-period “cleansing” campaigns, as confirmed by one librarian in the Belarusian capital who risked censure by trying to save some of the title pages with dedicatory autographs.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps some books from the Petliura Library met a similar fate there. More volumes originating in the Turgenev Library—along with a few from collections at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, and others from West European collections—have recently been identified in Minsk.<sup>11</sup>

Approximately 240 books from the Petliura Library were found in Minsk in the late 1980s, and in 1989 were “returned” to Kyiv.<sup>12</sup> Found in what is now the National Library of Belarus in Minsk (earlier the Lenin Library), 180 books of predominantly Ukrainian provenance and another 60 books with foreign imprints (mostly French and a few German) are now held in the Parliamentary Library of Ukraine, partly among the former special (secret) collections and partly in the “foreign” division.<sup>13</sup> The Parliamentary Library reported the purchase of another 10 books bearing stamps of the Petliura Library at an auction in Kyiv in the early 1980s, and an additional volume came with a collection they received from Prague.<sup>14</sup> More books bearing stamps of the Petliura Library have recently been found in the National Library in Minsk, but further details await verification.<sup>15</sup>

### **Scattered UNR Records found in Poland**

Several cartons of fragmentary UNR files were recovered by Polish specialists in October 1945 in Silesia west of Wrocław, along with other manuscripts and

rare books from the University and Ossolineum Libraries in Lviv, the Polish Library in Paris, and other Polish collections that were evacuated by the Nazis.<sup>16</sup> The Ukrainian segment of that shipment, most of which was presumably evacuated earlier under Nazi auspices from Lviv to Cracow, has recently been described in a survey by Lviv archivist Halyna Svarnyk.<sup>17</sup> The shipment had in part been gathered by the Nazis in Cracow, and there were no materials known to have been in Ratibor. It is now difficult to tell whether the assorted UNR military files were the same that had been earlier identified by Nazi reports in Lviv. Since that shipment also included books from several different Polish libraries, it is possible that some of the Ukrainian archival materials included could have come from other sources. The existence of a major segment from the Polish Library in Paris in that shipment suggests that those portions of that library came from Cracow rather than Ratibor.<sup>18</sup> As far as can be determined, there were no materials from the Petliura Library in Paris with that shipment. The UNR materials that were found there are now held in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw. It is possible that some of the scattered military records had been brought to Lviv in 1925–1926 and housed with the Sheptyts'kyi archive. As evident from a wartime report, the Nazis knew about the files of the UNR General Staff and there were efforts to take them westward in their final evacuations from Lviv.<sup>19</sup>

*Moscow: The Former "Special Archive"—TsGOA/TsKhIDK (now part of RGVA)*

### **Development of TsGOA**

The former top-secret "Special Archive"—TsGOA (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv) in Moscow was founded in March 1946 specifically for processing, "utilizing," and preserving the large quantity of captured or "trophy" records of foreign provenance that had been seized by Soviet authorities during or after the war and brought back to Moscow. Its existence was first publicly revealed in a series of newspaper articles in February 1991 entitled, "Five Days in the Special Archive."<sup>20</sup> Those stories mentioned only the Nazi records held there, but finally, in October 1991, the extent of holdings from other foreign countries (most of which had previously been captured by the Nazis) was revealed.<sup>21</sup> Officially renamed and opened to public research in June 1992, the archive, until March 1999, bore the name of the Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections—TsKhIDK (Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollekt sii). In March 1999 it was abolished as a separate federal archive, and all of the former TsGOA/TsKhIDK "trophy" holdings became part of the Russian State Military Archive—RGVA (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv).<sup>22</sup> During the Soviet period, TsGOA functioned for the purpose of processing the materials brought back from the war for postwar "operational" purposes of Soviet security services and other high-level government agencies.

Most of the Ukrainian émigré archival materials brought to the Soviet Union after the war went directly to Kyiv, and stayed there. But many that arrived in Moscow intermixed with other collections—as they had been in Nazi hands—remained in Moscow. The most extensive collection of materials from the Petliura Library of any archive in the former USSR is now among the holdings of the former Special Archive. Most of these materials arrived in Moscow via Minsk. Presumably, they were retrieved from the Ratibor area by Soviet forces as part of the library shipments from Silesia mentioned above. One batch of 55 file units of Petliura Library documentation—in Soviet parlance, “records of Ukrainian nationalists”—were transferred to the Special Archive in Moscow from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Belarusian SSR (TsGAOR BSSR) in December 1954, but documentation is not available about the accession of the rest.<sup>23</sup> The introductions to some of the inventories (*opisi*) prepared for those fonds in TsGOA also affirm that they were acquired from Minsk, and in many cases that same origin is also indicated in one of TsGOA’s working lists of fonds.<sup>24</sup>

A few of the Ukrainian émigré holdings may have been received with the RSHA foreign archival materials from Wölfelsdorf (*Pol.* Wilkanów) near Habelswerdt (*Pol.* Bystrzyca-Kłodzko). The Ukrainian officer serving as an archival scout in one of the Red Army trophy brigades who first reported the cache there had announced the existence of some Ukrainian émigré holdings. Some of those Ukrainian files and émigré publications apparently first went to Moscow, and others were later transferred to Moscow from Kyiv.

The collections of archival documentation from the Petliura Library now in Moscow are barely recognizable in terms of their original arrangement. Following Soviet archival arrangement regulations, these materials have been separated into a series of splinter fonds, based on Soviet conceptions of the creating agencies from which the documents originated. Many of these appear quite artificial, in some cases overlapping, and apparently some files have been intermixed from other sources. Typical of Soviet postwar archival processing, individual file units within fonds have not been grouped in rational categories, nor chronologically in terms of their creation dates. In Paris, by contrast, archival materials in the Petliura Library had never been broken down into separate fonds according to the creating agencies, nor had they been fully processed. Some were held as ongoing office records of the library or the journal *Tryzub* (Trident), the editorial offices of which were situated in the same building; others were kept as subject-oriented collections of documents. Because many of these materials had not been fully cataloged in Paris, and because not all of them bore library stamps or other markings, it is exceedingly difficult to identify their provenance.

It is now even more difficult to determine how many printed volumes from the Petliura Library are held among the former TsGOA holdings. According to Soviet archival rules, printed books would normally have been differentiated from other archival materials. However, in processing these and similar émigré



materials, Soviet archivists often treated many of the press bulletins or newsletters of émigré organizations as archival, rather than printed library materials. Many of them were issued in a duplicated or mimeographed format, and often were not officially registered as publications. Today, most libraries abroad, as well as those in Eastern Europe, would treat them as individually unique library materials for cataloging purposes. Soviet archivists, however, frequently arranged them as file units within archival fonds and did not assign separate cataloging data under their title or issuing agency. Even more problematically, in assigning unit numbers to such serials within fonds, archivists did not respect serial grouping by keeping issues in chronological order or assigning contingent file unit numbers to issues of the same or successor serial. Sometimes in these record groups, a single issue of a serial constitutes a separate file unit, but often several issues have been grouped together as one. Accurate titles, issuing agencies, issue numbers, and dates frequently do not appear in the archival inventories (*opisi*), further complicating research access.

Many of the printed books and some serial issues from the Petliura Library that were received by TsGOA were separated from the “archival” materials. To the extent that they were not transferred to other libraries, they remain housed separately among the printed library collections in the TsGOA building. However, these were only partially cataloged for those in Cyrillic (Russian and Ukrainian) and for those in Latin alphabets. Today, because thousands of volumes remain virtually inaccessible in cardboard boxes, and others from many different sources mixed together on unmarked shelves, a thorough examination of the holdings has not been feasible. Because preliminary catalog slips provide no indications of provenance, source of accession, or book markings, we really have no idea of how many books with Petliura Library stamps might exist in library collections from the former TsGOA.

As was the case with other library materials received by the Special Archive, some other books or journals may have been transferred to various libraries. However, the specifics of such transfers are almost impossible to trace at this point, because Soviet archivists rarely recorded details about specific collections of books with distinguishing stamps or other markings they transferred elsewhere. A prefatory note in the inventory (*opis'*) for the main fond with records of the Petliura Library ominously informs the reader that in 1982 an unspecified number of “duplicate printed editions were destroyed,” following evaluation by the “Expert Appraisal Commission.” Similar notices appear in the *opisi* of two other related fonds.<sup>25</sup> Although the Nazis have always been blamed for the destruction of the Petliura Library, it accordingly appears that Soviet archival authorities may also have played a role in that process. Not surprisingly, many books from the Petliura Library remained in Minsk, as was the case of many books from the Turgenev Library, especially those that had been turned over to libraries—as opposed to state archives—there.<sup>26</sup>



With these generalities understood, we can now distinguish several discreet fonds as presently organized in the archive that comprise materials known to have come from the Petliura Library in Paris. These include parts of the records of the Petliura Library itself, amalgamated in the same fond with scattered materials from its serial holdings and a few materials from its archival collections. Another fond has been assigned for the editorial records of the UNR journal *Tryzub* (Trident), which had its office in the library in Paris, and another for materials relating to the trial of Petliura's assassin, Samuel (or Sholem) Schwarzbard (the pro-anarchist Jewish émigré from the Russian Empire, who first came to France in 1910 and died in South Africa in 1938), which were collected by those associated with the foundation of the library. There are three other adjacent fonds of Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris and two for personal papers, all of which probably came from the Petliura Library, although some materials may be of other origins. The name assigned to the fond with miscellaneous materials from "Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in Czechoslovakia" probably represents incoming materials to the library. Finally, there is one fond identified as being of Parisian Ukrainian provenance, but which was among the French security records seized from a RSHA hide-away in Czechoslovakia.

None of the Ukrainian émigré fonds described below (except the artificial fond for Tymofii Kotenko) are unique to RGVA. In most cases the institutional origin of the documents and publications encompassed is not clear and in many cases the materials are intermixed. When publications are included with actual archival materials, they do not necessarily represent those issued by the agency named by the fond, and in most cases they appear to be those that had been received by the Petliura Library as part of its serial holdings. Noticeably, in every case the other archives in Moscow and Kyiv that received materials from the Petliura Library have established parallel fonds, containing other fragments of the same body of documentation and scattered issues of the same serial bulletins or other journals from the same émigré groups. Interestingly enough, the names of the fonds established are similar, but the breakdown of materials is equally jumbled. Obviously, these materials were all processed in haste with little regard for the creating agency or order in their originating office or collection.

1. *S. Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris (Ukrainskaia biblioteka im. S. Petliury. Parizh/Ukraińs'ka biblioteka im. S. Petliury. Paryzh)* (RGVA, fond 271K; 196 units; 1892–1942). Of special significance among the former TsGOA holdings is this separate record group which is actually a somewhat miscellaneous collection. It includes a group of folders from the administrative records of the library with documents about its foundation and organization in the late 1920s, correspondence with Ukrainian émigrés and émigré organizations in various countries, and some account registers and receipts of donations from the 1930s (nos. 1–42).

The fond also contains numerous printed materials and unpublished documents that were collected by the Petliura Library (scattered among nos. 43–195); namely, a few printed UNR legal materials and copies of limited-edition Ukrainian émigré printed publications, including press surveys, bulletins, journals, and newspapers (undoubtedly part of the library's periodical holdings).

Among the miscellaneous memoir materials are manuscript or typescript documents, which may well have been part of some of the library's prewar collections, such as a folder pertaining to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in 1938–1939 (no. 73) and a folder of correspondence and materials relating to Transcarpathia (1926–1939), which includes protests about the Hungarian occupation (no. 74). The collection also contains the original manuscript and proofs of Petro Zlenko's bibliography of publications about Petliura that was published by the library in 1939 (no. 183). Newspaper and periodical clippings constitute a large group of file units within the fond (nos. 75–134), interspersed with issues of a number of different émigré publications mentioned above.

2. *Editorial Records of the Ukrainian Weekly Tryzub, Paris (Redaktsiia zhenedel'nika Trizub [sic]. Parizh/Redaktsiia tyzhnevnyka Tryzub. Paryzh) (RGVA, fond 270K; 106 units; 1925–1940)*. There is no doubt about the provenance of remaining files from the UNR journal, the editorial offices of which were in the Petliura Library. According to the preface to the inventory (*opis'*), the fond was transferred in 1955 from TsGAOR BSSR. In addition to duplicated printed matter, some additional materials, such as “resolutions and protocols,” had been singled out for destruction by the Appraisal Commission in 1982.

The fond contains editorial copies, draft articles, and proofs from the journal (nos. 25–56, 59). It should be noted that additional similar materials have been assigned to the main library fond (fond 271K, nos. 47, 63–72). There is correspondence with émigré organizations and individuals (nos. 69–78, 80–90). There are also—as a further example—some conference materials (1928–1934) (nos. 65–67). Scattered copies of printed press bulletins and serials from Ukrainian organizations (nos. 79, 93–94, 96–100) now included as part of this fond (similar to the preceding one), originally came from the main library holdings, as many of them even bear its stamps.

3. *Legal Commission of Ukrainian Emigrants, Paris (Sudebnaia komissiiia ukrainskykh èmigrantov. Parizh/Sudova komisiia Ukraïns'kykh emihrantiv) (RGVA, fond 268K; 83 units; 1917–1927)*. As explained in the Russian-language *opis'*, the Commission had been founded in connection with the trial of Schwarzbard. Documentation about the trial is known to have been among the collections held by the Petliura Library before 1940.

Files include the following: some biographical materials on Schwarzbard; copies of reports of the investigations for the trial; hearings, and press clippings

relating to the trial (in French and Ukrainian); copies of testimony at the trial and commentaries; minutes of the meetings of the Commission; materials collected by the procommunist attorney Henri Torrès, who defended Schwarzbard; and materials relating to pogroms in Ukraine. There are also scattered copies of UNR limited-edition bulletins (1917–1919), again probably from the Petliura Library holdings.

Quite by coincidence, among the materials probably received from the RSHA archival center in Wölfelsdorf were some personal papers of Torrès from Paris. Appropriately, these had been arranged in a separate small fond in TsGOA (fond 143; 2 *opisi*; 12 units; 1925–1953). The Torrès papers were returned to Paris in March 2000. Given the fact that none of the files relate to the Schwarzbard trial, it is inconceivable that these scattered papers would have been held by the Petliura Library.

4. *Society of Former Combatants of the UNR Army in France, Paris (Obshchestvo byvshikh voennosluzhashchikh armii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki (UNR) vo Frantsii. Parizh/Tovarystvo buvshykh voiakiv armii UNR u Frantsii. Paryzh) (RGVA, fond 269K; 48 units; 1921–1940).* According to the introductory notes in the *opis'*, the Society was founded in Paris in 1927 with sixteen local branches in France. According to Society documents, it was founded in Paris in 1923 by General Oleksander Udovychenko, one of the founders of the Petliura Library. Documentation of the Society was among the collections reported as held by the library before the war. Similar to the first two fonds listed, the current *opis'* for this fond notes that “duplicate materials” therein were destroyed on instructions from the Expert Appraisal Commission in 1982.<sup>27</sup>

Files include regulations, questionnaires, and cards of members. There is some correspondence with veterans' associations in Czechoslovakia and Belgium among others. There are accounts of the Society (nos. 44 and 45) and materials from meetings. There are several autograph letters of Petliura, 1921–1923 (no. 36) and biographical data about General Udovychenko. There are also copies of émigré bulletins, which probably came from the Petliura Library.

5. *The Ukrainian Society for the League of Nations in Paris (Ukrainskaia assotsiatsiia pri Lige Natsii. Parizh/Ukrain's'ke tovarystvo dlia Lihy Natsii. Paryzh) (RGVA, fond 273K; 86 units; 1918–1940).* This Ukrainian émigré organization in Paris was active during the interwar period, associated as it was with other branches of the Society in Prague, Belgium, and other countries.<sup>28</sup> While the materials here were all plundered by the Nazis from Paris, it is not possible to ascertain if all of the materials that now comprise the fond came from the Petliura Library itself. Files include protocols (officially approved minutes) of meetings of the Society, letters and correspondence, reports, and a manuscript article.

6. *Tymofii Kotenko*—“*Ukrainian Nationalist Writer*” (RGVA, fond 267K; 3 units; 1922[?]-1939). Background data on Kotenko are lacking. This fragmentary fond contains only three manuscript poems, which probably were either submitted to the UNR journal *Tryzub* or deposited with other collections in the Petliura Library.

7. *Pavlo Ivanovych Chyzhevs'kyi* (RGVA, fond 272K; 8 units; 1919-1926). Pavlo Ivanovych Chyzhevs'kyi (1860-1925) served as Minister of Finance in the Central Rada and was later an official representative of the Ukrainian Trade Mission in France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland. His papers were deposited in the Petliura Library before 1940.<sup>29</sup>

This fond contains only a few fragmentary papers of Chyzhevs'kyi, mostly dating to the years before his arrival in Paris (1919-1923). These consist of correspondence, papers relating to a legal project, and minutes (protocols) of meetings.

8. *Ukrainian Nationalist Organizations in Czechoslovakia* (*Ukrainskie natsionalisticheskie organizatsii v Chekhoslovakii/Ukrains'ki natsionalistychni orhanizatsii v Chekhoslovachchyni*) (RGVA, fond 274K; 16 units, 1922-1938). TsGOA archivists designated this a “consolidated archival fond,” meaning it contains documents of miscellaneous provenance. They also established Prague as its source. But it cannot be discounted that these documents represent incoming receipts by the Petliura Library in Paris, which obviously were received or collected from other Czech sources. The 16 files contain fragmentary materials from six different Ukrainian organizations in Prague and PodĀbrady, including some reports of a committee to construct a monument to Petliura (nos. 10-13), the Ukrainian Academic Committee, and the Ukrainian Economic Academy in PodĀbrady. At least some of the documents included here may have been received in Kyiv from Prague and then were later forwarded from Kyiv to Moscow, but conclusive identification of their origin and acquisition is not possible at present.

9. *Ukrainian National Union in France* (*Collection*), Paris (*Ukrainskii narodnyi soiuz vo Frantsii. Parizh/Ukrains'kyi narodnyi soiuz v Frantsii. Paryzh*) (RGVA, fond 65K; 26 units; 1933-1939). Prefatory notes in the RGVA *opis'* do not indicate the provenance of this fond that actually groups together miscellaneous files from several Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris. It was initially suspected that at least some of the files might also have come from the Petliura Library. However, a November 1945 communication from the chief of the Glavarkhiv Division of Utilization to his counterpart in Kyiv explained that materials from this organization were found among the files of the French security services. At that time he forwarded a survey of these documents to Kyiv which, in his judgment, would be useful for “operational

work” in the Ukrainian capital and “to establish a report on the Prosvita Society.”<sup>30</sup> Given this communication, it is now apparent that these files in fact came to TsGOA with the French security service records (Sûreté Nationale and Police) that were captured by Soviet authorities in Czechoslovakia. They represent documents that had been seized by French security authorities from Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris and incorporated into their own records, which were later seized by the Nazis.<sup>31</sup> An introduction (added to the *opis* in 1987), explains that the “Narodnyi Soiuz” was founded in 1932 as an organization of Ukrainian fascists, based on the ideology of Dontsov, who earlier in Prague had published its *Vestnyk*; its aim, according to the introduction, was “to attract the working class and hide from the French.” Unlike the previous materials received from Minsk, these materials were obtained in 1945.<sup>32</sup> Despite this prefatory note, the relationship of the files included in the “collection” to “Narodnyi Soiuz” is not clear.

Most of the files included are from two Ukrainian émigré groups in Paris: “Prosvita” and the Taras Shevchenko Society (*Hromada im. Tarasa Shevchenka*). The “Prosvita” files comprise protocols of meetings, 1938–1939 (no. 10), correspondence registers, 1937–1939 (nos. 24, 25), financial records (nos. 12, 13), and files on members (nos. 7–9). The material pertaining to the Shevchenko Society includes financial records (no. 11) in addition to files on individual members, some with their personal correspondence (nos. 1–5). In both cases, there are membership lists. There are also some miscellaneous pamphlet publications (15, 16, 19–21) and files of poetry (nos. 17, 18).

### **Boris Lazarevskii Papers**

A few letters from the Russian and Ukrainian writer Boris Aleksandrovich Lazarevskii [Borys Oleksanderovych Lazarevs'kyi] and those of his brother, Hlib (*Rus.* Gleb), ended up in Kyiv after the war and were requisitioned from there by TsGOA in 1956, together with other UNR documents and Ukrainian émigré publications from Paris and Warsaw. Then held in TsDAZhR URSR, they were among the documents transferred to Moscow in 1957.<sup>33</sup> Their fate in Moscow has not been determined, but as yet they have not been located among Ukrainian holdings in the former TsGOA.

Trophy archival materials of a literary orientation, according to Soviet regulations in postwar decades, were transferred to the Central State Archive of Literature and Art—TsGALI, which in 1992 was renamed the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art—RGALI. RGALI maintains a fond for the personal papers of Boris Lazarevskii (1871–1937), who is there identified as a Russian writer. However, the Lazarevskii files held in RGALI date only through 1925, that is, before Lazarevskii’s emigration, and hence cannot be considered of foreign “trophy” origin.<sup>34</sup> There is no indication that the materials forwarded to TsGOA from Kyiv, which were of West European provenance, were added to the Lazarevskii fond in RGALI.

The son of the prominent Ukrainian historian Oleksander Lazarevs'kyi, Lazarevskii had written for *Vestnik Evropy*, *Russkoe bogatstvo*, and other journals before 1917, but then emigrated and died in Paris. His brother Hlib (1877–19??) was active in the Ukrainian émigré movement as a journalist in Poland and France. He returned to Ukraine in 1940 and presumably remained in the USSR until his death, though his fate has not been determined.

According to émigré sources, Boris also occasionally wrote in the journal *Ukraïna*, which appeared in the immediate postrevolutionary period under the Ukrainian form of his name (Borys Oleksandrovykh Lazarevys'kyi). Once abroad, and especially in the years immediately before his death in Paris, he was associated with the UNR journal *Tryzub*, the editorial offices of which were housed in the Petliura Library. Some of his correspondence and a few other papers were reportedly housed with the Petliura Library in Paris before the war and were seized by the Nazis with the *Tryzub* editorial records. These may indeed be the materials that Soviet authorities brought to Kyiv after the war, but were then sent to Moscow in 1957.

*Moscow: The State Archive of the Russian Federation—GA RF*

### **Ukrainian Holdings from Prague and the RZIA Division of GA RF**

A second large concentration of materials from the Petliura Library in Paris is now held on the other side of Moscow in a similar series of separate splintered fonds in the State Archive of the Russian Federation—GA RF (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii). These fonds were all formerly held by the pre-1992 Central State Archive of the October Revolution—TsGAOR SSSR, as part of the formerly secret section designated for émigré materials from the Russian Foreign Historical Archive (Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv) in Prague—RZIA.<sup>35</sup> Although that division was established soon after the receipt of the nine freight-car loads of RZIA materials that arrived in Moscow just after New Year's Day in 1946, its holdings actually are from a myriad of émigré sources in many different countries, as well as those from Prague. As far as can be determined, no materials from the Petliura Library were transferred to RZIA in Prague before 1940. Further confusion arises, however, because many of the RZIA materials arriving from Prague had never been thoroughly processed there. What is more, archivists working with the émigré materials in Moscow and Kyiv in the postwar period were principally oriented towards “operational” goals, and had no time to spare for determining provenance or migration data. Little did they understand the sources of the materials and little did they care.

After the foundation of the parallel Ukrainian Historical Cabinet (Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi kabinet—UIK) in Prague in 1929, Ukrainian or Ukrainian-related archival materials were principally deposited there. In October

1945 the entire contents of the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet in Prague were shipped to Kyiv “as a gift to the Ukrainian people.” With it came some scattered UNR documentation that had been deposited in UIK. Almost all of the UIK and related holdings shipped from Prague in October 1945 have remained in Kyiv. One of the most notable exceptions were the files of the Party of Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries from Prague, which were requisitioned by Moscow in 1956.<sup>36</sup> To further add to the confusion, many UNR materials came to Kyiv from other sources, including a large body of UNR records from Cracow that the Nazis had brought there from Tarnów. And, as will be explained further below, some materials from the Petliura Library that Soviet authorities retrieved elsewhere in Prague went to Kyiv, and there became intermixed with the UIK materials.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the general Soviet policy that Ukrainian émigré materials were to be concentrated in Kyiv, some UNR documentation came to Moscow from RZIA and has remained there. Prior to 1929, a number of important groups of Ukrainian materials, including fragmentary UNR diplomatic files, had been deposited in RZIA and were never transferred to UIK. Similarly, during the subsequent decade, a number of UNR files came to RZIA rather than UIK as part of larger collections received from Russian or Russian-Ukrainian émigré sources. The Ukrainian materials were never separated from RZIA in Prague and accordingly were shipped to Moscow. In the 1960s a number of splinter RZIA fonds with UNR military documentation were sent to Kyiv from Moscow. However, there is no explanation why the UNR diplomatic and other government files, most of which also came from RZIA, have remained in Moscow (See the fonds which I have numbered 7–11, listed on pp. 413–16).

Because the TsGAOR division for émigré fonds long bore the RZIA designation, many archivists there were not aware until very recently of the multifaceted provenance of those holdings. This fact and the fact that the fonds of materials from the Petliura Library all bore RZIA designations for the fonds to which they were assigned in TsGAOR SSSR, have been the cause for considerable confusion and misconception about their true origin. Most of these Ukrainian émigré fonds are listed in the sixth volume of the GA RF guide, but not all of them with correct attributions of provenance.<sup>38</sup>

The process of preparing the 1999 inter-repository guide to the RZIA collections has led to a better understanding of this problem. Particularly since some of the GA RF archivists engaged in that research were consulting this author about the fonds to be covered for the present article, further clarification has been possible.<sup>39</sup> Initially, most of the Ukrainian fonds described here were slated to be included in the RZIA guide, which embraces all of the materials that came to Moscow from RZIA in 1946, among them those that were later dispersed in over thirty other repositories throughout the former USSR. This author’s own research in cooperation with archivists in GA RF uncovered the fact that most of these Ukrainian materials had not come from Prague, but



rather had been received from other sources. Spot checks of files in these current Paris fonds revealed stamps of the Petliura Library and other dedicatory inscriptions. At the same time, the inspection of UNR materials together with RZIA records yielded RZIA stamps, and hence that attribution of provenance must be respected. However, not all the questions about the provenance of these materials have been resolved.<sup>40</sup>

### **Transfer of Ukrainian Émigré Materials to TsGAOR SSSR from the Lenin Library**

Those materials that can convincingly be identified as having come from the Petliura Library and related Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris (which I have numbered nos. 1–6 below, pp. 410–13) were in fact received by the GA RF's predecessor, TsGAOR SSSR, in November 1948 among the 170 crates of archival materials transferred from the Lenin Library in Moscow. The official transfer document from the Lenin Library does not mention the Petliura Library, but it does specify files of the Ukrainian National Committee and the Orthodox Church in Paris, records of the Turgenev Library, and materials of "Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris, among others." The act of transfer notes that the materials were directed to the RZIA division in TsGAOR, having been received by the Lenin Library from Berlin in 1946–1947.<sup>41</sup> It is safe to assume, for the most part, that the "materials of Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris" transferred from the Lenin Library would have included those of the Petliura Library, since there were and still are no others of Parisian Ukrainian provenance in TsGAOR/GA RF.

There was also a transfer of two large fonds of Ukrainian émigré organizations received from the Lenin Library (GBL) in 1949, which are likewise held in GA RF and might initially have been thought to have originated in the Petliura Library. This was especially true of the records of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Lausanne, since other Ukrainian press bureau records were in fact received by the Petliura Library on the eve of World War II. Earlier listed in TsGAOR with an attribution of provenance to RZIA, both of them (see the fonds numbered 12–13 listed on p. 416) had been received by the Lenin Library from Geneva, together with the papers of the bibliographer, writer, and bookman Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rybakin (1862–1946).<sup>42</sup>

As is apparent in the 1948 act of transfer, the Ukrainian materials involved were undoubtedly intermingled with those from the Turgenev Library that were found in Silesia in 1945–1946, quite possibly constituting part of the materials that the ERR was trying to evacuate from Ratibor. As mentioned above, the Turgenev Library materials were sorted by the Soviet Library Brigade in Silesia before dispatch to Moscow and Minsk. The Lenin Library transfer document noted that the administrative records of the Turgenev Library came to TsGAOR from the Lenin Library as part of that same 1948 transfer. The fragmentary Turgenev Library records received were assigned to a separate

fond in the RZIA Division of TsGAOR, and for a long time archivists also assumed those materials were from Prague, although clearly they were taken by the Nazis in Paris at the same time they seized the Petliura Library.<sup>43</sup> GA RF also has a separate fond with a “Collection of Letters from Russian Soldiers on the French Front Gathered by the Turgenev Library in Paris,” which undoubtedly was received at the same time. In this case the fond designation is misleading, since the files involved are letters from soldiers regarding the loan of books from the Turgenev Library and are clearly part of the administrative records of the library.<sup>44</sup> The fact of the seizure of its administrative records was confirmed in Paris, along with paintings and portraits that decorated the library. Fortunately, the Nazis apparently did not seize all of the “Russian Literary Archive,” which had been established as an autonomous entity within the Turgenev Library at the beginning of 1938.<sup>45</sup> But in the case of the smaller Petliura Library, nothing was left behind.

The fact of the transfer of archival materials from the Lenin Library—now the Russian State Library (RGB)—raises the strong possibility that some books from the Petliura Library may now be held there. We know from other sources that the Lenin Library kept many books that had come its way from the Turgenev Library in its classified Secret Section, although some were distributed to other divisions, and others were used for exchange with foreign libraries.<sup>46</sup> Recently, some books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library have been identified in Moscow in the library of the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML pri TsK KPSS), which has been redesignated the State Socio-Political Library—GOPB (Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka). Other Turgenev Library books have been identified in the library of Voronezh State University.<sup>47</sup> At the time of writing, however, no books bearing stamps from the Petliura Library have been discovered in any of those libraries, although a thorough search has not been undertaken.<sup>48</sup> Vasyl’ Mykhal’chuk, in his 1999 historical memoir account of the Petliura Library, mentioned a fragmentary second-hand report of a box of books marked “Ukrainian Library—Paris” found in the basement of the former Lenin Library (now the Russian State Library) in the early 1990s.<sup>49</sup> Colleagues in that library deny this possibility, since, according to their records, all trophy books it received were processed in the immediate postwar decade.

Given what we already know about the prewar archival holdings of the Petliura Library and the fragments of those archival materials held elsewhere in Moscow and Kyiv, we can now identify a number of separate fonds in GA RF that retain its materials. There are a number of related Ukrainian émigré fonds now organized in GA RF that were of Parisian provenance, but that had been merged with the materials from the Petliura Library while they were in Nazi hands. We also can designate several Ukrainian émigré fonds in GA RF with scattered files from UNR records, most of which undoubtedly came from RZIA in Prague, although questions remain about parts of some of the fonds.

Files in some of the Ukrainian émigré archival fonds from Paris described below possibly were added to those fonds from other sources. A number of files in some of the fonds may have been misarranged. Certain of those fonds have stray file units and stray documents of alternate provenance, including some that may well have been received with the Prague RZIA shipment. That shipment itself included materials from other émigré institutions in Czechoslovakia in addition to RZIA. Further research and verification are still necessary for a number of reasons: the effects of the multiple archival transfers in the postwar decades; the fact that all of the incoming miscellaneous collections were broken down into unduly specific fonds without regard to the archive where they were last held or the collection with which they were received; and because of the lack of precise provenance attributions. Nevertheless, the general outline of the situation is clear for a start. In the list below, the Russian name of the fond that follows the English translation is the form currently used in GA RF. The Ukrainian names have been added.

### GA RF Fonds from the Petliura Library

1. *S. Petliura Ukrainian Library, Paris (Ukrainskaia biblioteka im. S. Petliury. Parizh/Ukrains'ka biblioteka im. S. Petliury. Paryzh) (GA RF, fond R-7008; 1 opis'; 141 units; 1909, 1914–1917, 1919–1920, 1922, 1924–1939)*. There is no doubt about the Parisian provenance of the fond designated for the Petliura Library itself, which originally contained only 64 file units, but was later augmented by 77 more “from unsorted bundles of miscellaneous fragments.” TsGAOR/GA RF archivists had earlier been attributing provenance to RZIA, but clearly that is not the case for most of the files.<sup>50</sup> The vast majority of the files were in fact looted by the Nazis from the library in Paris, and most of the documentation had never been in Prague. Some of the documents even bear stamps of the Petliura Library, dedicatory inscriptions, or other indications of their Parisian source.

The Petliura Library fond in GA RF is not arranged in an orderly manner, and its contents are similar to the parallel fond in RGVA. Scattered throughout the fond are the following: folders with administrative records of the library, such as the library statutes in French and Ukrainian (no. 111); incoming correspondence from all over the world (many of the letters had enclosed monetary contributions) relating to the opening of the library in 1929 (no. 32); an account register from 1927–1931 (no. 93); and an acquisition register of book receipts in 1929 (no. 87).

Of particular importance to the Petliura Library, and something not found in the parallel fond from TsGOA, are various volumes of the library's own book catalogs, some typewritten but many in manuscript notebooks, covering different subjects: “Ukraine—History, Geography, Ethnography” (1908–1940), with an inserted loose notebook labeled “Duplicates” (no. 65); “Scientific Subjects” (1939–1940) (no. 66); “Religion and Philosophy” (no. 67); “Ukrainian Litera-

ture" (October 1940) (no. 68); "Music" (1911–1931) (no. 76); "Military Affairs" (no. 82); "Ukrainian journals" (1921–1938) (nos. 90–92); and so forth. There are also catalogs of the branch libraries in Vésines-Chalette (no. 85) and Audun-le-Tiche (no. 39), the one for the latter having an inserted list of books for the branch in Grenoble.

In addition to the library records, many files contain archival materials donated to the library collections. There are scattered manuscript materials, some of them with the original letters or inscriptions of donation to the Petliura Library, such as a large collection of articles, speeches, and notes about Petliura presented to the library during the 1930s (no. 11), and another with memoirs on the Civil War inscribed as a donation to the Petliura Museum in Paris (no. 12). A large part of the fond consists of printed (or hectographed) laws and regulations of the UNR or other Ukrainian organizations; hectographed or typewritten lectures on various subjects; and press clippings regarding Ukrainian politics, the Schwarzbard trial, and memorial events at the library.

Among printed materials from the library are scattered issues of Ukrainian press bulletins, student journals, and newsletters of Ukrainian émigré organizations in different countries. Many of them bear the stamp of the Petliura Library and would have been classified among its book and serial collections rather than as archival materials. Hence they should be considered among the "missing" publications held by the library.

2. *Editorial Records of the Ukrainian Journal Tryzub, Paris (Redaktsiia zhurnala Trizub [sic]. Parizh/Redaktsiia zhurnalu Tryzub, Paryzh) (GA RF, fond 7498 [earlier 3882s]; 93 units; 1918–1944).* The *opis'* of this fond also bears the designation "RZIA," although the provenance is now correctly identified as Paris.<sup>51</sup> As we now know, the *Tryzub* records had never been acquired by RZIA and remained in the Petliura Library in Paris until they were seized by the Nazis. Complementing the other *Tryzub* records in RGVA, this fond contains fragmentary correspondence files (e.g., nos. 85, 91, and 92) and proofs of articles for the journal (e.g., nos. 88, 90), including a manuscript article by Volodymyr Leontovych (no. 93), which was added to the fond in 1973.

The bulk of the files, however, contain scattered issues of Ukrainian press bulletins and periodicals, undoubtedly from the main library's periodical holdings. There are also press clippings from different newspapers, including, for example, several files of clippings and press surveys relating to Schwarzbard (nos. 5–8, 78). Many of these belong among the holdings of the Petliura Library itself, rather than to the editorial records of *Tryzub*.

3. *Committee to Honor the Memory of Petliura, Paris (Komitet po chestvovaniiu pamiati S. V. Petliury, Parizh/Komitet dlia vshanuvannia pam' iati S. V. Petliury, Paryzh) (GA RF, fond R-7437; 5 units; 1926–1929).*<sup>52</sup> Some of these files that now form a separate fond most probably came

from the records of the library itself, since the Committee in question was in fact organizing the library as a monument to Petliura during that period. GA RF archivists indicate that the materials were acquired by RZIA in 1926 and 1928, but further verification is needed because these acquisitions may comprise only the few posters in one file with RZIA stamps.<sup>53</sup> None of the remaining documents bear RZIA stamps, and there is no indication that all of the other documents were acquired by RZIA, especially those addressed to Paris. There was a parallel committee operating in Czechoslovakia, and an extensive campaign was waged there to raise money for the library. Rudychiv, who was then still in Prague, was active in the Czechoslovak capital until he moved to Paris. The fact that this fond has intermixed documents from Paris and Prague makes it impossible to assign definitive provenance at this point.

In the collection are protocols of meetings in Paris involving the library founders, including General Oleksander Udovychenko and Oleksander Shul'hyn (no. 1). The correspondence (1926–1928) comprises incoming letters from Prague (no. 2), some of them containing money sent to Paris for the library (with receipts for donations from *Tryzub*). That file, however, also contains a few receipts and letters sent to the Czechoslovak committee in Prague and PodĀbrady, including a few addressed to Rudychiv in Prague. Only a few of the documents (most of them, small posters or billboard notices) in that large file bear RZIA stamps, as noted above. Contingent files contain more receipts from the Commission (nos. 3 and 5), along with communications from the Commission (no. 4) and a duplicated “Komunikat” of the S. Petliura Society.

### **Other GA RF Fonds from Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France**

4. *Union of the Ukrainian Community in France, Paris (Ob'edinennaia ukrainskaia obshchyna vo Frantsii. Parizh/Ob'iednana ukrains'ka hromada u Frantsii. Paryzh)* (GA RF, fond R-9107; 1 opis'; 14 units; 1924–1936). These files, which have been established as a separate fond, may have come from the materials of the library itself, although quite possibly the Nazis acquired them from other Ukrainian émigré sources in Paris. This is a good example of an artificial fond created from intermixed documents, and further analysis is required to verify their provenance.

The fond contains protocols of meetings, resolutions, and account registers. There are also some printed brochures and serial publications.

5. *Society of Former Combatants of the UNR Army in France, Paris (Obshchestvo byvshikh voennosluzhashchikh armii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki vo Frantsii. Parizh/Tovarystvo buvshykh voiakiv armii Ukraïns'koï Narodnoi Respubliki u Frantsii. Paryzh)* (GA RF, fond R-6406; 667 units; 1918–1940).<sup>54</sup> This Society was established in Paris in 1923 and headed by General Udovychenko, one of the founders of the Petliura Library. We cannot

be sure that all of the materials in this collection were held by the Petliura Library itself, but documentation from the Society was reported among the prewar library holdings. Similar to the counterpart fond in RGVA (no. 4), it would appear that the materials came from Paris and not Prague. Nor is there any indication that they would have been transferred to Prague, since the Society itself remained active in France until the Nazi invasion. Although GA RF archivists still attribute provenance to RZIA in Prague (on the grounds that the materials were received with RZIA no. 4412 in 1946), further analysis of the fond's provenance is necessary. Further confusion arises owing to some labels suggesting that the fond was originally devoted to "Constituent Members of Russia in Paris." The *opis'* lists 630 file units that were first verified in 1952 and another 37 that were added later.

The files contain, among other documentation, correspondence, correspondence journals, and protocols of meetings. There are also printed brochures and scattered serial publications.

6. *Supreme Church Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in France, Paris (Vysshii tserkovnyi sovet Ukrainskikh pravoslavnikh prikhodov vo Frantsii. Parizh/Vyshcha rada Ukraïns'koï pravoslavnykh tserkov u Frantsii. Paryzh)* (GA RF, fond R-9106; 1 *opis'*; 14 units; 1925–1936). These few files that now form a separate fond may have come from the Petliura Library itself, although the Nazis may have picked them up from other sources in Paris. The TsGAOR 1948 act of transfer mentions materials from the Orthodox Church in Paris, and it is quite possible that while the materials were in Nazi hands, Ukrainian Orthodox Church files were combined with Russian ones. No stamps have been found on the files examined that would indicate their provenance.

The files contain protocols of meetings (no. 1), correspondence, books of members (1930–1935) (no. 2), document registers (1926–1927—no. 8; and 1931–1938—nos. 9–11), and accounting records (1931–1932—nos. 12 and 13).

### **UNR Government and Diplomatic Documentation from Paris and Prague (RZIA)**

7. *Chancellery of the UNR Rada [Poland] (Kantseliariia Soveta Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki/Kantseliariia Rady Ukraïns'koï Narodnoi Respubliki)* (GA RF, fond R-7526; 1 *opis'*; 16 units; 1920–1930). This fragmentary fond appears to be of heterogeneous provenance. Documents in the first part of the *opis'* (nos. 1–11, first prepared in 1954) bear no stamps, but some documents in one of the files among the later additions (nos. 12–16, added in September 1960) bear RZIA stamps. Hence, these files may have been acquired by RZIA with other UNR documents, but no confirmation has been found.<sup>55</sup>

The first file contains a fragmentary UNR law. Subsequent files contain drafts or copies of protocols of meetings of the UNR Rada in Poland (June–August 1921) (nos. 2–8), a report on the Rada’s legal work (February–June 1921) (no. 9), a report on financial work in Poland (January–April 1921) (no. 10), and a list of deputies to different commissions (1921) (no. 11). Among the files added later, no. 12 contains printed UNR handbills and declarations bearing RZIA stamps.<sup>56</sup> Remaining files contain a copy of the treaty of peace between the UNR and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey (n.d.); a regulation issued by the Rada (3 March 1921); a secret letter from the Volhynian and Podilian Committee (7 April 1921) to the UNR (no. 15); and a letter from the Head of the Rada to V. P. Lystovnych in Tarnów (31 December 1922).

8. *UNR Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Tarnów, Poland] (Ministerstvo inostrannykh del Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki/Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukraïns’koi Narodnoi Respubliki), 1918–[1921] (GA RF, fond R-6087; 1 opis’; 17 units; 1918–1923).*<sup>57</sup> A separate fond was established in TsGAOR SSSR for scattered files from the UNR Foreign Ministry, which in fact came to GA RF with the RZIA collections. The earlier erroneous TsGAOR/GA RF attribution of its provenance to Tärnov, Bulgaria, has recently been corrected.<sup>58</sup> The first batch of documents came to RZIA in 1924, a second installment arrived in 1926 from Sergei P. Postnikov, and others were received from S. Elachich in 1935. According to the TsGAOR *opis’* (first copy) and administrative record of the fond (*delo fonda*), eleven units and three kilograms of fragmentary papers (*rospysi*) were destroyed in 1956 as being of “no scientific value.” Six items were added to the fond in May 1960.

The initial file contains regulations issued by the UNR Directorate (1919–1921) and a later one bears excerpts of regulations (no. 6). Intervening files have annual journals of meetings of the UNR Council of Ministers (nos. 2–5—1918–1921). Several others appear to be consular files, mostly concerning relations with Poland and efforts of the International Red Cross to help Ukrainians in Poland (no. 9) and Germany (no. 11).

9. *UNR Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (Delegatsiia Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki na mirnoi konferentsii v Parizhe/Delehatsiia Ukraïns’koi Narodnoi Respubliki na myrnii konferentsii v Paryzhi), 1919–1920 (GA RF, fond R-7027; 1 opis’; 40 units; 1918–1921).*<sup>59</sup> A separate fond was established in TsGAOR for the UNR delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920), which did not have official diplomatic recognition. It was headed by Count Mykhailo T. Tyshkevych. Files of the UNR Delegation in Paris would probably have originally been merged with files from the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Paris (no. 10), under which name the same delegation functioned. RZIA accession numbers suggest the overlap and confirm that these files also



came from Prague.<sup>60</sup> RZIA reports from the late 1920s and/or 1931 affirm the acquisition of 500 pages of documents of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris (1919–1922), but the fate of the remainder of the documents is not known. The two GA RF fonds hardly total that number.<sup>61</sup> Two folders of these files were noted in a 1960 list of Ukrainian émigré fonds held in TsDIAK in Kyiv, but have not been located there.<sup>62</sup>

10. *UNR Diplomatic Mission in Paris (Chrezvychainaia diplomaticheskaiia missiia Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki [UNR] v Parizhe/Nadzvychaina diplomatychna misiia UNR v Paryzhi), 1920–1921(GA RF, fond R-6275; 1 opis'; 27 units; 1917–1921, 1926, 1928).*<sup>63</sup> A separate fond was formed in TsGAOR for the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Paris, which, like the UNR delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, lacked official diplomatic recognition. In point of fact, however, these files were undoubtedly originally consolidated with files from the UNR delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (no. 9), because their dates overlapped and the same individuals were involved. The delegation was first headed by Count Tyshkevych; in 1921 Oleksander Shul'hyn was named ambassador.

GA RF now correctly attributes this fond as having been received from RZIA, as all of the files with publications examined bear RZIA stamps with RZIA acquisition numbers added. Judging by the numbers involved, the documents came to RZIA intermixed with those assigned to the separate fond 7027 (no. 9).<sup>64</sup> Initially, 22 items were assigned to the fond in 1951 and 6 more were added later.

Some confusion has arisen because other records of the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Paris were acquired by the Petliura Library in 1939. Most of them (6,809 documents) remain in the Petliura Library in Paris having escaped confiscation by the Nazis.<sup>65</sup>

The collection comprises several official documents about the establishment of the Mission, other communications sent from the UNR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Mission in Paris (nos. 5 and 24), and memoranda on the question of accepting Ukraine into the League of Nations. A 1920 printed brochure requests Ukrainian admission to the League of Nations (no. 11). There is also a copy of a letter from Petliura to Tyshkevych about preparations for a new Ukrainian offensive against the Bolsheviks (December 1920), and documentation concerning assistance to Ukrainian émigrés in France. There are several printed bulletins and brochures.

11. *Embassy of the Ukrainian National Republic in Germany, Berlin (Posol'stvo Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki v Germanii/Posol'stvo Ukraïns'koï Narodnoi Respubliky v Nimechchyni) (GA RF, fond R-5889; 1 opis'; 36 units; 1918–1926).*<sup>66</sup> Some of the fragmentary files that were grouped together in TsGAOR SSSR as what is now a fond designated for the UNR

Embassy in Berlin bear a RZIA Prague inventory number.<sup>67</sup> The files were acquired by RZIA in the late 1920s or early 1931, and an additional part was obtained in 1934.<sup>68</sup> The first 28 units that initially comprised the TsGAOR fond were acquired by RZIA as part of a collection that included documentation from the UNR delegation in France, UNR missions in England, Turkey, Italy, Vienna, and other countries; and a large packet from the UNR Ministry of Finance (1919–1920).<sup>69</sup> These other materials may have been among the UNR papers that were transferred from the TsGAOR SSSR to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1947.<sup>70</sup>

Many of the files in the present fond in GA RF are of relatively minor interest, being reports of the mission's press bureau, rather than actual diplomatic correspondence. This corroborates the German assessment during World War II that the UNR documentation in Prague was fragmentary and not essential for removal. The same decision apparently was made by Soviet authorities. Although the UNR Berlin Embassy files were on the list of RZIA documentation to have been transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR at the end of 1946, they do not appear on the official acts of transfer. All the initial 28 files that then comprised the fond remained in TsGAOR in 1948.<sup>71</sup>

Of more interest in the present GA RF fond 5889 are some folders that were added later (as per an endorsement on the *opis'*), including a letter by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and another from 1919 regarding UNR funds in the Berlin Reichsbank. Most notable among these later additions is the personal correspondence of Petliura and the UNR ambassador in Berlin, Viktor Porsh. That latter folder (no. 34) includes a letter of presentation to RZIA (1934) and a note about the Petliura letter that was sold to RZIA.<sup>72</sup>

### Ukrainian Émigré Fonds from Lausanne

12. *Ukrainian Press Bureau, Lausanne (Ukrainskoe press-biuro v Lozanne/ Ukraïns'ke press-biuro v Lozanni) (GA RF, fond R-7050; 2 opisi; 2,011 units; 1902–1944)*. Earlier listed in TsGAOR with an attribution of provenance to RZIA, this group of materials was in fact received from the Lenin Library in 1949 from Geneva, together with the papers of the bibliographer, writer, and bookman Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rybakin. Other records of the Ukrainian Press Bureau had been acquired by the Petliura Library before the war, but it is not clear if any of these might be interspersed in the present fond.

13. *Editorial records of the journal Ukraïna, Lausanne (Redaktsiia zhurnala Ukraïna/Redaktsiia zhurnalu Ukraïna) (GA RF, fond R-7063; 257 units; 1911–1924)*. Acquired from the Lenin Library in 1949 with the preceding fond from Geneva.

*Materials from the Petliura Library and Other UNR Records in Kyiv***Ukrainian Émigré Holdings from Prague to TsDIAK and TsDAZhR**

Even before the nine wagon loads of RZIA materials had arrived in Moscow in early January 1946, a railroad freight car of collections from the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet was transferred directly from Prague to Kyiv in October 1945. Coming “as a gift of the Czechoslovak government to the Ukrainian people,” along with the Czechoslovak *opisi* and copies of the relevant administrative archive of UIK in Prague, it also included extensive archival materials from other Ukrainian émigré institutions in Prague, only part of which had been formally accessioned to UIK.<sup>73</sup> According to the official top-secret Archival Administration report to Nikita Khrushchev in Kyiv and Lavrentii Beria in Moscow, “the so-called Ukrainian Archive, formed on the basis of the Ukrainian University in Poděbrady (Czechoslovakia),” comprised documentary materials of the ministries of the Ukrainian “bourgeois-nationalist ‘governments’ of Skoropads’kyi, the Central Rada, Petliura, and others. The archive also holds a large quantity of personal fonds of known individuals in the Ukrainian national movement.”<sup>74</sup> That description was inaccurate, since UIK was in fact formed under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry in Prague, not the University in Poděbrady, although some collections from Ukrainian institutions in Poděbrady had been accessioned.<sup>75</sup>

Immediately after the war, all of the many émigré materials brought to Kyiv from various points abroad, and most notably from Prague, were initially placed in the Special Division of Secret Fonds—OOSF (*Osobyi otdel sekretnykh fondov*) of the Central State Historical Archive in Kyiv—TsDIA URSS (later TsDIAK). According to Moscow instructions, that section was organized as one of the main centers for “operational” analysis in the search of wartime collaborators and “anti-Soviet” émigrés. The émigré materials were broken down into over 300 often fragmentary fonds according to the archivists’ determination of their alleged creating agencies, which, in fact, frequently obscures their true provenance.<sup>76</sup> By 1948, the section had prepared reports on 19,298 predominantly “Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist émigrés,” and sent the MGB detailed reports on several organizations of Ukrainian nationalists abroad.<sup>77</sup>

Some UNR files, together with related records from the period of struggle for Ukrainian independence during 1917–1921, went to the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Ukrainian SSR (TsDAZhR URSS), which was still located in Kharkiv. Before World War II, that archive had brought together all possible records from the UNR period remaining in the USSR, as well as a few émigré and military records. In the 1960s parts of the TsDIAK émigré holdings were transferred to TsDAZhR. After construction of the new building for the Ukrainian Central State Archives in Kyiv in 1972, all

of the émigré holdings were consolidated in what became the Special Division of Secret Fonds of TsDAZhR. These postwar developments and transfers, together with the pressure for immediate “operational” analysis, explain the further fragmentation of the materials today and complicate assigning provenance to many files and determining the history of individual fonds.

Unfortunately, no comprehensive list of fonds covering the former Secret Division is currently available to researchers. It is accordingly very difficult, if not impossible, for researchers to identify all of the UNR records and related fonds now held in the successor to the TsDAZhR—now known as the Central State Archive of Highest Organs of State Power and Administration of Ukraine, TsDAVO Ukraïny (Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchychk orhaniv derzhavnoi vldy i upravlinnia Ukraïny). A brief survey of records in TsDAVO from the UNR period appeared in 1996, but the archivist who wrote that first overview of the holdings does not mention the Parisian collection.<sup>78</sup> While noting that there are now some 400 fonds from the period of the UNR, she only mentions a few of those specifically relating to Petliura and the UNR itself.

### **Petliura Library Materials from Paris**

It has not yet been possible to establish where Soviet authorities found the fragmentary archival materials from the Petliura Library in Paris that are now in Kyiv, and details about their source of acquisition by the archive have not surfaced. Recently, lists of postwar holdings of the Special Division of TsDIAK have been found confirming acquisition in January 1946 of several groups of émigré papers from Paris that are now held in TsDAVO in Kyiv.<sup>79</sup> But details of where they came from or of the Soviet agency that held them before transfer to the archive are lacking.<sup>80</sup> A letter to the chief of the Ukrainian Archival Administration, Panteleimon P. Gudzenko, dated 4 June 1947, mentions “half a carload of documents . . . which arrived from Germany in a wagon amidst library books and among which are some documents from Paris in French.”<sup>81</sup> But those are most likely later additions, and not necessarily Ukrainian émigré ones, because later lists of fonds in the Special Secret Division of TsDIAK show no new Ukrainian émigré fonds from Paris that did not appear on earlier lists.

The existence of the Parisian materials in Kyiv has hitherto not been widely known because there is no publicly available list of holdings in the formerly Secret Division of TsDAZhR URSR. Some preliminary descriptive words about these materials therefore are in order here, although a more professional survey and comprehensive list of fonds is still among the high priority archival reference needs in Kyiv. Given the extent and complexity of the UNR holdings from Prague that are now in Kyiv, as well as the UNR holdings that were already held in Kyiv and Kharkiv before World War II, no attempt will be made here to survey them.

It could have been suspected that the materials from Paris in Kyiv would have come with the records of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), which were received in Kyiv in TsDIA from Dresden in December of 1945. We already know that the Petliura Library was in Ratibor, and that the ERR succeeded in evacuating some of their records as the Red Army was approaching (January 1945). However, there is no mention of the fonds from Paris in any of the appraisals of the ERR materials after their receipt in Kyiv.<sup>82</sup> Possibly, they were among those not evacuated, but that were retrieved by Soviet authorities in Silesia in the spring of 1946 and first shipped to Minsk. Some of the Parisian materials in Kyiv mesh exactly with the additional files from the same Paris sources that are now held in Moscow, and which we now know were received in 1955 from Minsk. However, no transfer documents from Minsk to Kyiv involving these materials have been found.<sup>83</sup> Some of the Ukrainian émigré materials from Paris conceivably came via these two channels, but, given the chaotic situation in the Kyiv archive in 1945 and 1946, the details of such transfers apparently were never recorded.

Another more likely explanation for the acquisition of at least some of the materials from the Petliura Library in TsDAVO has recently emerged with the availability of a report by Rudychiv, the aforementioned long-time librarian of the Petliura Library, who was present when the Nazis confiscated the library and its archival holdings in Paris in January 1941. Rudychiv, it will be recalled, was subsequently summoned to Berlin in May 1941, purportedly to work with the library. Although he stayed in Berlin until the fall of 1942, he never did see the library before he was permitted to return to Paris. Following his return, Rudychiv prepared a report for the Petliura Library Council in France in December 1942.<sup>84</sup>

According to that report, Rudychiv gave the memoir account he had written in Berlin about the Nazi seizure of the library, “Iak tse bulo,” to his old friend Ievhen Vyrovyyi (or Jevhen Vyrovyyj) from Prague, whom he met in Berlin. Indeed, that autographed memoir account (“Iak tse bulo”) is now among the Petliura Library documents in Kyiv. Rudychiv also mentions having given Vyrovyyi some other documentation relating to the library for the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine in Prague before he left Berlin.<sup>85</sup> If Vyrovyyi succeeded in taking Rudychiv’s papers and the other documentation that Rudychiv had saved from the Petliura Library to Prague, then these materials probably came to Kyiv with the holdings that Soviet authorities seized from Prague after the war.<sup>86</sup> Significant amounts of documents held by the interwar Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine (sometimes translated as the Museum of Ukraine’s Struggle for Independence) in Prague were seized by Soviet authorities and transferred to Kyiv. However, those transfers took place only in 1958 and 1962.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, although some of the materials went to TsDIAK at that time, many of those later Soviet seizures from Prague went directly to the KGB or MVD in Kyiv rather than to the state archives.

It is unlikely that Vyrovyi would have transferred that documentation to the Museum in Prague during the war. Vyrovyi, just as NKVD agents were coming to arrest him, committed suicide in Prague in May 1945. If Rudychiv's papers and other documents remained with Vyrovyi himself, then perhaps they were confiscated at that time or soon afterwards, which would explain their accession in the Kyiv archive in January 1946.<sup>88</sup>

In addition to the Rudychiv papers now in TsDAVO, there are several other fragmentary fonds comprising additional materials that presumably came from the Petliura Library in Paris. Paralleling materials from the same sources in Moscow, it is not immediately apparent from their dates and contents that these materials would have been with Rudychiv in Berlin. However, all of them, as noted in the immediate postwar lists of fonds in the Special Division of TsDIAK where they were originally housed, were apparently received at the same time as the Rudychiv papers.

There quite possibly are other similarly fragmentary fonds in TsDAVO today that have been assigned for materials originating from the Petliura Library or related Ukrainian organizations in Paris, including fonds of personal papers. And perhaps, too, files from the Petliura Library were dispersed among other fonds. Because no comprehensive list of fonds covering the former Secret Division is currently available to researchers, it is impossible to identify other materials from Paris assigned to separate fonds that might now in fact be held in TsDAVO. However, all those that were identified in the 1947–1949 lists of holdings in the Special Secret Division of TsDIAK are now accounted for in TsDAVO, and are described in the list below.

Still other fragmentary materials from the Petliura Library and other files from the UNR are today held across the city of Kyiv by the former Communist Party Archive, now the Central State Archive of Public Organizations—TsDAHO. In 1988, a considerable group of archival materials that had been held by the KGB and/or MVD in Kyiv was transferred by the MVD to the former Communist Party Archive. This group comprises most of the materials from the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine that were seized in 1958 and 1962 in Prague, and then separated from the other materials that went to TsDIA or TsDAZhR. They also include other Ukrainian émigré materials collected by secret service agents from disparate sources in Prague and other cities, along with some fragmentary materials brought to Kyiv earlier that had been turned over to the MVD/KGB at various times for specific investigations. They came to the former Party Archive in unsorted packages; by the spring of 2000 they had not been fully processed.<sup>89</sup> A folder of letters that Rudychiv received in Berlin and other documentation about the Petliura Library can be found among these materials.

The Ukrainian émigré archival holdings from Paris now in Kyiv are exceedingly fragmentary, and in almost all cases they represent files contingent to those already described among the former TsGOA/TsKhIDK holdings in RGVA and those in GA RF in Moscow. Their distribution into multiple frag-

mentary fonds is also similar to the arrangement of the contingent records in Moscow, although with a few notable exceptions. Their division between two different archives in Kyiv is unfortunate, but given the problems in Kyivan archives today, it is unlikely that the separation can be corrected.

### **UNR Records from Cracow/Tarnów in Kyiv**

Much more politically significant than the fragmentary files from the Petliura Library and Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris were the records of the UNR government itself that the Soviet authorities also transferred to Kyiv after the war. As was described earlier, during the war Nazi archival authorities from the Reichsarchiv had overseen the processing of a major body of records of the UNR Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance. Discovered in Tarnów, these materials had been brought to Cracow where German inventories were prepared between 1942 and 1944.<sup>90</sup>

Soviet SMERSH agents removed these records from the State Archive in Cracow in March 1945.<sup>91</sup> Confirmation of the Soviet removal of these UNR materials has been found in Soviet sources in the recently declassified files of the Soviet archival administrations in both Moscow and Kyiv. On 12 March 1945 the head of the Lviv Oblast Archival Administration informed NKVD archival authorities in Kyiv that a SMERSH unit of the Fourth Ukrainian Front in Cracow “was in the possession of Petliura documents in the Ukrainian language from the years 1918–1922.”<sup>92</sup> So important was this “find” to Soviet authorities that the news was forwarded to Moscow ten days later with the request for orders to transfer the materials to Kyiv.<sup>93</sup>

According to a later report, “a freight-train wagon load of documentary materials of the former Petliura Directorate and its ministries, under the jurisdiction of counterintelligence ‘SMERSH’ of the Fourth Ukrainian Front transported from Vienna,” arrived in Lviv at the end of May 1945. However, the fact that the shipment also included “six freight-train wagons of documentary materials removed by the German-Fascist occupiers from the Lviv Archive of Early Acts,” which had been recovered near Cracow, and other such references, confirms that the shipment included the Cracow Petliura materials and makes it unlikely that the shipment came from Vienna (although the Cracow wagons could have been added to a train originating in Vienna). Valentyn Riasnyi, the Ukrainian Commissar of Internal Affairs, ordered the transfer of the Petliura materials to the Archive of the October Revolution (TsDAZhR) in Kyiv.<sup>94</sup> Gudzenko, the Ukrainian Archival Administration Chief, subsequently confirmed that the six wagons had returned from Cracow to Lviv, and that “documentary materials of the Ukrainian counterrevolutionary government from the 1917–1927 period consisting of eighteen fonds (6,234 units) . . . found by SMERSH in Cracow” were transferred to TsDAZhR in Kyiv.<sup>95</sup>

No further reports have been detected on what specific materials (if any) may have been transported from Vienna in that same shipment. Some files



relating to the Petliura government were brought to Kyiv from Vienna at the end of the war, along with some other émigré Ukrainian fonds of Viennese provenance. A few are listed among the postwar holdings in TsDIAK, although details about their recovery, transfer, and date of acquisition are not available.<sup>96</sup>

From Polish and Nazi sources we already know that among the materials SMERSH removed from Cracow were the most important extant records of the UNR Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance, for which German summary inventories are available. In TsDAVO today, there is a fond for the UNR Foreign Ministry and several other splinter fonds into which the materials may have been divided. However, details of their migration from Cracow have been suppressed, and a history or administrative record of the main Foreign Ministry fond is not available. It is impossible to reconstruct the “eighteen fonds (6,234 units)” initially projected, nor is it possible to confirm that all the materials in question remain in TsDAVO.

Approximately 30 letters and telegrams from the UNR Foreign Ministry records in Kyiv (fond 3696, *opys* 2) were published in the aforementioned 1996 volume of documents honoring the 70th anniversary of Petliura’s assassination.<sup>97</sup> The compiler did not, however, present any more details he might have gleaned about the files themselves or their provenance. Most probably these documents all came to Kyiv with the Tarnów materials, but further analysis is needed to arrive at a more definitive conclusion.

### **Printed Books from the Petliura Library in Kyiv**

As yet, the most significant collection of printed materials from the Petliura Library identified in Kyiv are the 240 books “returned” to Kyiv from Minsk in the late 1980s that are now held in the Parliamentary Library. It has recently been confirmed that some books from the Petliura Library were among one of the shipments of “trophy” books to Kyiv which arrived from Leningrad in 1946–1947. They were deposited in the State Historical Library in Kyiv, together with others with stamps of the Turgenev Library. A librarian working there in the early 1980s recently related that she encountered some books (in English and French) with those stamps in the foreign-language department, where she worked in 1983, when the library was ordered to remove books that were so identified. She lost her job when she wrote a letter to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in an effort to preserve the books from destruction. The few books that the library may have managed to preserve from the “cleansing operations” were shorn of their library stamps, which today would make their identification impossible. Other books may have been destroyed in earlier “cleansing” operations, much like those from the Turgenev Library which met a similar fate in Minsk.<sup>98</sup>

Some books from the Petliura Library are quite possibly held in the Central Library under the State Committee on Archives (DKAU) in Kyiv, which would

have been transferred there in the process of arranging the various fonds containing materials from the Petliura Library now stored in TsDAVO.<sup>99</sup> Inadequate data in acquisition registers, along with the lack of provenance data on library cards, would make it a labor-intensive task to check for Petliura Library books in that library, and we cannot rule out the possibility that Petliura Library stamps or book markings would have been expunged.

In June 1947, the head of the Ukrainian Archival Administration received an unspecified number of “published brochures of the League of Ukrainians in France” (1939) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Moscow. According to the accompanying memorandum, these “could be good reference tools for identifying fellow-countrymen by operational organs and your Division of Utilization.”<sup>100</sup> We do not know the disposition of these materials after their arrival in Kyiv.

Similar to the fonds from the Petliura Library deposited in Moscow, many scattered issues of émigré journals and press information bulletins have been incorporated as file units in several of the Ukrainian émigré fonds in TsDAVO, which otherwise would have been part of the original library holdings. Appropriate cataloging data or records of serial holdings are not currently available. According to archival regulations, books that might have come to the archives with archival materials in Kyiv should have been either deposited in the archival library (as was the case of many of the receipts from Prague) or transferred to other libraries. Transfers to other libraries were less likely in many cases, because restricted émigré materials were involved. Because of minimal library transfer and acquisition records—and because current catalogs do not indicate previous library markings on books—it would be a difficult task to try to find them.

Ominously, “brochures and information bulletins of Ukrainian émigré organizations in France” are specifically mentioned in connection with a shipment of 6,661 printed books requisitioned from Kyiv (TsDIAK) to Moscow (TsGOA) in 1956. The TsDIAK copy of the 1956 act of transfer is preserved, but a copy of the list that was to have been attached has not been found in the Kyiv file.<sup>101</sup> No incoming copy has surfaced in Moscow. Given the current lack of cataloging in the former TsGOA library in Moscow, it has not been possible to determine what books were involved, and no record of the incoming shipment has been found. Hence it is not possible to determine how many Petliura Library books might have been part of that shipment.<sup>102</sup>

In the former Communist Party Archive (now TsDAHO), where cataloging efforts are underway for the Ukrainian émigré documents from Prague transferred to that archive from MVD sources, a collection of Ukrainian émigré publications has been identified. But again, these are being designated as part of an archival fond. Item-level cataloging has not been undertaken, and there has as yet been no possibility of examining the volumes for book stamps, ex libris, or other markings.

*Kyiv: Petliura Library and Seized UNR Records in TsDAVO***Distinguishing Documentation from the Petliura Library and other UNR Records**

Given what we already know about the prewar archival holdings of the Petliura Library and the fragments of those archival materials held in Moscow, we can now identify a number of separate fonds in TsDAVO that retain materials from the Petliura Library (nos. 1–4). And there are a number of related Ukrainian émigré fonds of provenance in Paris (nos. 5–8). In some cases, they may have been intermixed with the materials from the Petliura Library while they were in Nazi hands, or after their arrival in Kyiv. Certain files in some of those fonds appear to be misarranged. Several fonds have stray file units, or even stray documents of alternate provenance, including some that may well have been received with the Prague UIK shipment.

Unlike the situation in GA RF, but like RGVA in Moscow, there are no current lists of fonds in the archive available to researchers in TsDAVO. Hence we can only rely on recently declassified typescript lists from the immediate postwar period, which in most cases do not even reflect current TsDAVO fond numbers. Because of the multiple archival transfers in the postwar decades—and because of the lack of precise provenance attributions and the fact that all of the incoming miscellaneous collections were broken down into fragmentary fonds without regard to the archive where they were last held or the collection with which they were received—further research and verification are still needed. Nevertheless, a preliminary outline of the fonds in question can be presented.

It is virtually impossible at this point to identify even the principal fonds that contain documentation from the UNR Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance that were shipped to Kyiv from Cracow in 1945. Given the potential importance of these materials and the lack of previous attribution of their provenance, some conjectures are appropriate. A separate analysis is needed to identify other UNR documentation in TsDAVO.

**Fonds from the Petliura Library**

1. *Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris (Ukrainśka biblioteka im. Symona Petliury v Paryzhi)* (TsDAVO, fond R-4362; 31 units; 1929–1941). The fragmentary 31 files in TsDAVO that have been assigned to this fond are not the same type of administrative records of the Petliura Library as those found in either of the two Moscow archives described above (RGVA, no. 1 and GA RF, no. 1). Undoubtedly, these documents are what remained of the personal papers that Rudychiv had with him in Berlin in 1941 and 1942. According to Rudychiv's report of 1942, materials relating to the library were handed

over to “his friend from Prague for the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine.”<sup>103</sup> Although some of these documents may have come from the library in Paris, Rudychiv undoubtedly had brought them with him to Berlin. Others he received or prepared there. Thus, it is most likely that the 31 files forming fond R-4363 all went from Berlin to Prague (via Vyrovyi) and thence went to Kyiv from Prague. A few other Rudychiv papers have recently surfaced in TsDAHO amidst the documentation received from MVD sources, but none were cited in earlier descriptions of the archival materials that had been held by the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine. That would be understandable if they only reached Prague in 1942, and it is unlikely that Vyrovyi would have immediately turned them over to the Museum. Closer examination of the files in this fond supports this hypothesis.

Of particular interest among these files are the following: two different versions of a handwritten history and description of the library Rudychiv prepared in Berlin (nos. 4 and 5), presumably by order of his Nazi “hosts”; a typewritten version (in several copies) of “Iak tse bulo”—Rudychiv’s account of the Nazi arrival and confiscation of the library in Paris (1940–1941) and his subsequent transfer to Berlin in June 1941, which he prepared at Nazi request in July 1941 (no. 3); and his brief handwritten diary entries, spanning the period of fall 1940–1941 (no. 29). There are fragments of Rudychiv’s personal correspondence with Ukrainian émigrés and émigré organizations, mostly from the period he was in Berlin. There are also some clippings and notes from the Ukrainian press, which Rudychiv prepared in Berlin (1941–1942), possibly at Nazi request.

A packet of letters, clippings, photographs, and notes of sympathy pertaining to the death in 1941 of Petliura’s daughter, Lesia (no. 24), were undoubtedly collected by Rudychiv after the Nazis closed the library. One file (no. 31) contains many of Rudychiv’s personal identification documents—a student lecture card from his period at Kamianets-Podilskyi State University in 1918 and registration cards in various cities following his emigration—Berlin, Vienna, and Prague.

The only substantial records of the library are 9 files containing annual reports and clippings about the library, mostly from *Tryzub* (nos. 6–14; 1929–1940). There is also a file with draft budgets for the library (no. 17; 1930–1940), a list of books and periodical publications presented to the library in 1940 (no. 18), a register of negative and positive photographs held by the library (no. 26), and statistics on subscribers (no. 27; 1929–1940). One file contains various announcements and clippings about Petliura’s funeral (no. 19), another concerns memorial celebrations honoring Petliura in subsequent years, and still one more holds illustrated printed booklets describing the library and museum (no. 2; 1936–1940), which were probably prepared by Rudychiv.

2. *Editorial Records of the Ukrainian Journal Tryzub, Paris, (Redaktsiia zhurnalnalu Tryzub v Paryzhi) (TsDAVO, fond R-3537; 6 units; 1933–1934).* There are only 6 files in Kyiv from the editorial correspondence for the journal published at the Petliura Library, and then only some fragments from a few years. The more extensive files remain in Moscow. The 6 files comprise correspondence (1933–1934), lists of subscribers (1933–1934), and a copy of an article. There is also a printed bulletin of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris (no. 4).

Of particular interest is a file added later that contains correspondence of Boris Lazarevskii (1930–1936; 50 fols.), which dates from the period he was working with the journal, but which does not necessarily belong to *Tryzub* records. Earlier, there had been more correspondence of Lazarevskii held in TsDIAK and TsDAZhR, but transfer documents were found, whereby correspondence between Lazarevskii and his brother Hlib and others in Poland was requisitioned from TsGAOR UkrSSR and sent to the former Special (*Osobyi*) Archive (TsGOA SSSR) in Moscow in March 1957.<sup>104</sup>

3. *Commission for the Conduct of the Trial on the Case of the Assassination of S. Petliura, Head of the Directorate and the Head Otaman of the Army of the UNR (Komisiia dlia vedennia sudovoho protsesu v spravi vbyvstva Holovy Dyrektorii i Holovnoho otamana viis'k UNR S. Petliury) (1926–1928).* These files come from the commission established in connection with the trial of Schwarzbard after his assassination of Petliura in Paris and, according to available accounts, were most probably held by the Petliura Library before the Nazi invasion. The Commission included the same people involved in establishing the library, and its documentation remained in the library.

This fond includes appraisals of Petliura's conduct during the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine 1917–1919 with a number of press clippings (including a series of articles from the journal *Ukraina* in 1919 and *Tryzub* articles about the trial—no. 23). It also contains descriptions of the preparation of witnesses and inquiries for the trial in Paris (nos. 1, 2), published acts and articles about the judicial inquiry, copies of letters to and about Petliura that were presented at the trial (nos. 3–8, 13), and additional materials about the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine (nos. 9–11, 14).

4. *Pavlo Ivanovych Chyzhevs'kyi (TsDAVO, fond R-3534; 23 units; 1919–1926).* This fond has fragmentary personal papers of Pavlo Ivanovych Chyzhevs'kyi (1860–1926), the Minister of Finance in the Central Rada, who subsequently served as an official representative of the Ukrainian Trade Mission in France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland. Chyzhevs'kyi's papers were held by the Petliura Library before the war as affirmed in several sources.<sup>105</sup> Another few files of his papers are held in Moscow (RGVA, no. 7).

The files comprise the following: biographical documents (no. 1); business papers (nos. 7–13), including those relating to the League of Nations, 1919–

1925 (no. 8); correspondence (1919–1927) (nos. 14–22); published articles (nos. 2, 3); a manuscript for a geographic journal (no. 5); and proofs of an article on Ukraine and France (in French) (no. 23). One file contains printed (or duplicated) Ukrainian Press Bureau reports (no. 4).

### **Other Fonds from the Ukrainian Émigré Community in France**

5. *Society of Former Combatants of the UNR Army in France, Paris (Uprava tov-va buvshykh voiakiv armii UNR u Frantsii. Paryzh) (TsDAVO, fond 4176; 1 unit; 1933–1936)*. The fond parallels similarly entitled fonds in RGVA and GA RF. Only a single folder is now held in this separate fond, although a 1949 TsDIAK list indicated that at the time it had comprised 18 units (1930–1939). The fate of the additional units has not been determined.

The 10-page folder has documents relating to assistance for Ukrainian émigrés in France (1933–1936).

6. *Directorate of the [Ukrainian] Emigration Council in Paris (Holovna emihratsiina rada v Paryzhi) (TsDAVO, fond 3534 [earlier 247]; Opys 1—10 units; 1924–1935; Opys 2—6 units; 1926–1936)*. The first *opys* was prepared in 1949 with 8 units; 2 more were added in 1951. A second *opys* was prepared in TsDIAK in 1961 with 6 additional units. None of the predominantly printed or duplicated publications bear stamps or markings.

The first file contains mimeographic and proof copies of the protocols of the Council's First Conferences in Prague (published in Paris, 1929) (duplicate copies are in no. 9 and *opys* 2, no. 6) and the statute of the Council. It also has mimeographed copies of the Protocols of the Third Conference (1934) (nos. 3 and 10; and *opys* 2, no. 3). Other files contain letters (no. 4), newspaper clippings (no. 7), a printed brochure and a bulletin of the Ukrainian telegraph agency (1930–1935) (no. 6), and two articles in French on Ukraine (nos. 7 and 8). The second *opys* contains more duplicated communications of the Council from Paris (1934–1935) (no. 1), protocols of meetings (1926) (no. 2) and (1936) (no. 4), and other émigré bulletins.

7. *Ukrainian Community in France (Paris) (Ukraïns'ka hromada u Frantsii) (TsDAVO, fond 3901; 12 units; 1928–1938)*. This fond contains fragmentary files and publications of the Paris *Hromada* with indications of several different addresses in the French capital. One issue of the Society's *Vistnyk* (1931) (file no. 4) bears the stamp of the Association (with the address: 22, rue Barrault, Paris 13<sup>e</sup>). There are no other stamps or markings to suggest the materials had been acquired by the Petliura Library. A few related materials regarding this organization were sent from TsDIAK to the Special Archive in Moscow (TsGOA SSSR) in 1957: namely, a brochure about its first conference and an information bulletin of Ukrainian émigré organizations in France.<sup>106</sup>

Fragmentary files of this Ukrainian émigré organization include information for the membership (no. 1), protocols of meetings of the directors (1930—no. 2; and 1934–1935—nos. 7, 8), and correspondence (no. 3). There are copies of the organization's publication, *Vistnyk* (1931–1937) (nos. 4–6, 9, 10), and *Biuletyn* (1937, nos. 1–3) (file no. 12).

8. *Ukrainian Society for the League of Nations in Paris (Ukrains'ke tovarystvo prykhyl'nykiv Lihy Natsii v Paryzhi)* (TsDAVO, fond R-3535; 5 units; 1923–1940). This fond was originally arranged in TsDAZhR in March 1951 with 4 units; a fifth was added later. The Society was founded in 1921 in Prague, under the presidency of Professor Andrii Yakovliv. Also active in Prague was Professor Oleksander Shul'hyn (Alexandre Choulguine), who was simultaneously the president of the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Émigrés. The social seat of the Society was in Paris, its secretary being M. B. Boiko (2, rue Denfort-Rochereau, Paris 5<sup>e</sup>). There were branches in Poland, Belgium, and Romania.

The contents of the fond are highly miscellaneous with a number of different printed or duplicated bulletins and other documents from various émigré organizations. One of the duplicated bulletins of the Society (in no. 2) bears a red stamp of the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet in Prague, but no other markings have been found.

File units of the fond contain copies of correspondence (1929–1930) (no. 1), with some letters addressed to the President of the Society in Prague. There are two copies of the Society's bulletin and a separate appeal of the League of Nations (no. 2). The third file consists of bulletins of the Press Bureau of the UNR Diplomatic Mission to Romania (1923)—one issued by the Society itself in Paris, a resolution of the Commission on Minorities, and a report on the financial situation of the Society, among other miscellaneous documents. A fourth folder contains a typescript essay on the international situation (1940), an annual report of the Society (1931), and copies of the Society's bulletin (1923–1936).

### **Petliura Papers from Other Sources**

9. *Petliura, Symon Vasyl'ovych* (TsDAVO, fond 3809; 2 opysy; 17 units; 1907–1923: opys 1, 6 units [1907–1919]; opys 2, 11 units [1920–1923]). TsDAVO also has a small separate fond with personal papers of Petliura himself, all of them dating to the period before Petliura's arrival in Paris. These files were apparently acquired before World War II from sources other than Paris, and there is no indication that any of these files came from Paris with the other Petliura materials described above. Most of the files in the first *opys*, which predate Petliura's exile, apparently came to Kyiv from TsDAZhR in Kharkiv, having been acquired early on from sources within Ukraine.

The provenance of the files now grouped in a second *opys* (established in 1954) has not been determined, and they pertain to the years that Petliura was



based in Poland. The documents in the second *opys* may have come to Kyiv with the UNR Tarnów materials (see below), or with the materials from the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet (UIK), or with other collections in Prague that had been earlier held by security services. Recently, some additional files have apparently been added to the second *opys*, with a few extending into 1924. It is conceivable that these came from the materials turned over to the archive from private sources in Prague, but provenance data is not presently available.

A few Petliura letters from this fond were published in a 1997 collection commemorating the seventieth anniversary of Petliura's assassination. The editor could not furnish exact archival citations, because, as he explained, the materials were still being processed. He was unable to glean provenance data, but suggested the materials may have come from the MVD and may have been among those seized from the collections of the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine in Prague.<sup>107</sup>

### **Records of the UNR Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance**

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic (Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav UNR) (TsDAVO, fond no. 3696; 3 opysy; 189, 703, and 51 units).* Archivists in TsDAVO have been unable to furnish details of the provenance and history of this fond. It is impossible at present to determine the provenance of its various parts because of the inadequate nature of inventories of the UNR records in TsDAVO, the unsystematic arrangement of files, and the lack of data about the history of the fond. Furthermore, it is virtually impossible to coordinate the *opysy* of this fond with the German-language inventory of the UNR Foreign Ministry records that the Nazis prepared in Cracow, or to determine if all the materials seized from the Cracow inventory are now held in Kyiv.<sup>108</sup> In contrast to the careful arrangement imposed in Cracow, which appeared to follow the office of origin for the records involved, the Kyiv arrangement is much more random.

The Foreign Ministry files in the first *opys* obviously came to the archive earlier from other sources. The first *opys* (189 units) itself had initially been prepared in January and August 1943, apparently when those parts of TsDAZhR had been evacuated to the east by Soviet authorities.

From cursory examination, it would appear that the second *opys* (703 [earlier 694] units) and the third *opys* (51 [earlier 46] units; 1918–1924), both arranged in the early 1950s with later additions, do contain some files of probable Tarnów provenance, but not the quantity nor the content indicated in the German Cracow inventory.<sup>109</sup> Nor has it been possible to identify the “eighteen fonds (6,234 units) from the 1917–1927 period” in the full “freight-train wagon,” that was specified in the Soviet shipping reports for the Cracow shipment. Given the dates of the documents involved, many of the files described in the German inventory from Cracow could not be identified in that group of records in Kyiv. Those may well have been among the other splinter

fonds into which the Cracow files were divided in Kyiv, but a study to confirm this remains to be done.

As determined by postwar archival reports, apparently the materials received from Cracow were first accessioned by the Historical Archive TsDIA URSS (later TsDIAK), which was then housed in Kyiv rather than TsDAZhR (which was then operating in Kharkiv). TsDIA reported in 1948 that the Special Division of Secret Fonds had finished processing the UNR Foreign Ministry fond that year. Their top-secret list of fonds in 1949 indicates a UNR Foreign Ministry fond covering the years 1918–1923 with 858 file units. The fond number (346s) corresponds to the old fond number indicated on the present *opysy*, but the number of file units and dates on the present *opysy* does not correspond to that information. Today there are two other fonds containing documentation from the UNR Foreign Ministry, but both of those predate the UNR regime in exile.<sup>110</sup>

Part of the problem comes from the fact that after their arrival in Kyiv, the Cracow UNR records were broken down into many different fragmentary fonds. This may explain the earlier reference to materials from Cracow “comprising eighteen fonds.” Postwar TsDIA URSS lists of fonds from 1947 and 1948 also contain contingent fonds for UNR diplomatic missions in several different countries, which suggests that those fonds were broken out separately. According to the German inventory, the records involved were incoming or copies of outgoing records from Tarnów relating to UNR missions in the different countries.<sup>111</sup> For example, a separate fond was established in Kyiv for the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Berlin (probably material extracted from the UNR Foreign Ministry records transferred from Cracow), while in the German inventory an entire separate section is devoted to the Press Division of the UNR Foreign Ministry.<sup>112</sup> Other examples of the additional splinter fonds created from the Cracow shipment need further investigation. The fact that the archival arrangement of the records was completely revised in TsDIA explains the lack of concordance with the German inventory.

At some point during the 1950s, fond numbers were changed, and some of the fonds themselves were reorganized. At least some of the fonds, including UNR Foreign Ministry records, were transferred to TsDAZhR URSS in October 1954.<sup>113</sup> A 1962 list of émigré fonds in TsDIAK, however, still mentions one fond of the UNR Foreign Ministry (fond no. 3696; 17 units). Some of the additional fonds for UNR diplomatic missions in other countries were still housed in TsDIAK.<sup>114</sup> The materials were all consolidated in TsDAZhR URSS when it was moved from Kharkiv to Kyiv in 1972.

Only since approximately 1990 have researchers had open access to the UNR Foreign Ministry records in Kyiv (fond 3696), but there still is no analysis or published survey of the fond and its varied provenance. As noted above, approximately 30 letters and telegrams from the second *opysy* of the fond, including some original Petliura letters, were published in part of the 1996 volume of documents honoring the seventieth anniversary of Petliura’s

assassination, but with no details of their provenance.<sup>115</sup> Most probably these documents all came to Kyiv with the Tarnów materials, but it cannot be said for certain.<sup>116</sup>

It has already been noted that another 17 file units of the UNR Foreign Ministry (1918–1923) are today held in GA RF in Moscow, which also probably came from Tarnów via RZIA in Prague.<sup>117</sup> No information has as yet been found about the possible transfer of sensitive UNR Foreign Ministry files from Kyiv to Moscow. Had they been transferred, they most probably would have gone to the Archive of the Foreign Ministry, rather than to TsGAOR SSSR. Also noted above, some fragmentary files in GA RF were assigned to a separate fond of the UNR Mission in Berlin, but those files all clearly came from RZIA.

*Ministry of Finance of the Ukrainian National Republic (Ministerstvo finansiv UNR) (TsDAVO, fond no. 1509; 6 opysy; 357, 39, 83, 16, 1,004, and 16 units; 1918–1925).* Some records of the UNR Ministry of Finance were reportedly also received in Kyiv with the UNR Foreign Ministry records from Cracow. A brief German handwritten summary of an inventory for those records, presumably from Cracow, was found in Moscow among the scattered records of the Reichsarchiv (Potsdam).<sup>118</sup> However, it has also not yet been possible to verify the fate of the 58 packets from the Ministry of Finance that were included in that Nazi inventory, or to even determine how many of them are now held in TsDAVO. Similar types of problems and questions apply to the Foreign Ministry records. For example, in the 1961 list of fonds of Ukrainian émigré organizations in TsDIAK, only 8 files are listed in a fond for the UNR Ministry of Finance in Tarnów (fond 1509), 4 files for agents of the Ministry of Finance in Berlin, and 1 file in a separate fond for the State Bank of Ukraine in Tarnów.<sup>119</sup> A corresponding list of fonds in TsDAZhR in that period has not been located, so it is not possible to determine if other related files had been assigned to that archive. Further study of the history and provenance of this fond is obviously needed.

*Kyiv: Petliura Library and Related Ukrainian Émigré Materials in TsDAHO*

Considerable progress has been made in the last few years to process the Ukrainian émigré documentation that was acquired by the former Party Archive in Kyiv from MVD (and KGB) sources in 1988. As of the fall of 1999, when a relatively final draft of the new guide for TsDAHO was completed, a 30-page section was devoted to the 1,644 file units now grouped in fond no. 269, under the fond name of the Ukrainian Museum in Prague (Ukrains'kyi muzei v Prazi, to which the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine was renamed after November 1945). It is a misnomer to group all of the documentation in this collection under the name of the Ukrainian Museum, because clearly the materials come from a number of different Ukrainian

émigré sources in Prague, Berlin, Paris, and other places. The collection had been haphazardly gathered at different times by the MVD (and undoubtedly also the KGB) in Kyiv. Certainly, many of the materials had never been formally acquired by the Ukrainian Museum in Prague.

It would be a safer and more professional archival designation to call it a “Consolidated (or Amalgamated) Collection of Ukrainian Émigré Documentation from Different Sources,” as is even clearly stated in the draft introduction that provides an administrative history for the fond:

To the fond 269 “Ukrainian Museum in Prague,” in addition to materials from MVBU, came also various documents from other archival collections of the Ukrainian emigration (the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, the Society of Former Combatants in the UNR Army in France, and others). Although it has not been determined in which year they came to the archive, they were identified in the process of scientific-technical processing of the fond in 1997–1999. Most of the documents and materials in fond 269 are of a fragmentary character and other small parts of their fonds or collections remain in other archival repositories in Ukraine, or even abroad in the Czech Republic.<sup>120</sup>

Unfortunately, because these materials were officially transferred to the Party Archive, it has not been possible to consolidate the collection with the contingent documentation in TsDAVO or other archives in Ukraine to which receipts from Prague (including the Museum in question) were dispersed. Some of the documents probably were taken by the NKVD/MVD (and/or KGB) from files that were received by TsDIAK or TsDAZhR earlier, including those that came from UIK as well as other émigré sources. But on the other hand, at this point an attempt to unite these files in TsDAVO might serve further to obscure and complicate attributions of provenance to documentation now in TsDAVO. At least researchers should bear in mind that many of the documents now dispersed between the two archives originally came from the same agencies, organizations, or individuals, as is apparent even in the names of the subdivisions established for the collection in TsDAHO.

A third *opys* of the fond comprises printed émigré editions, many of which are rare among holdings in Kyiv and deserve to be cataloged on an item-level, according to accepted library practice. These publications have not yet been examined for library stamps, *ex libris*, and other dedicatory markings, which may be helpful in assigning their provenance. Thus, it is not possible to determine if any of them might have come from the Petliura Library in Paris.

Because the documentation in question is still being processed in TsDAHO, it has not been possible to examine or even sample most of the relevant files *de visu*. The following list of relevant subdivisions is therefore extracted from the forthcoming guide. Annotations have been added by the author. The files mentioned and the different headings correspond to fonds in other archives described earlier in this report:

**Opys 1: Documentation and Materials of Ukrainian Organizations, Associations, and Societies in the Emigration**

Governmental, Diplomatic, Military,  
and Legal Agencies of the UNR and ZUNR

*Foreign Files of the Credit Chancellery of the UNR Ministry of Finance (Zakordonna ekspozitura kredytovoi kantseliarii Ministerstva finansiv UNR) (1919–1923).* Although no immediate indication is apparent, this group may contain some of the missing materials from the UNR Ministry of Finance received from Cracow.

Some of the other groups of materials from UNR diplomatic missions listed in this section may also hold missing materials from the UNR Ministry of Foreign Affairs received from Cracow. They obviously complement those that came from RZIA to Moscow, some of which were forwarded to the Foreign Ministry Archive.

Political Parties and Organizations

*Foreign (Prague) Group of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (USDRP) (Zakordonna [Praz'ka] hrupa Ukraïns'koï sotsial-demokratychnoi robotnychoï partii [USDRP]) (1911–1936).* These materials supplement those that were requisitioned by Moscow from Kyiv and are now held in GA RF (see n. 36), having regrettably been transferred there in 1956 from the UIK collections in Kyiv. (Not from the Petliura Library or other UNR sources.)

Community Organizations

*Ukrainian Society for the League of Nations (Ukraïns'ke tovarystvo [prykhylnykyv] Lihy Natsii) (1917–1924).* From the available description, it would appear that these files all came from Prague, complementing those in TsDAVO and RGVA.

*Committee for the Foundation of a Monument Honoring S. Petliura, Head of the Directorate and the Head Otaman of the Army of the UNR, Poděbrady (Komitet dlia vshanuvannia pam'iaty Holovy Dyrektorii i Holovnoho otamana viis'k UNR S. Petliury v Podebrodakh) (ChSR) (1926–1929).* The files involved appear to complement those in TsDAVO relating to the fund-raising drive for the foundation of a monument to Petliura and the library in Paris.

*Commission for the Conduct of the Trial on the Case of the Assassination of S. Petliura, Head of the Directorate and the Head Otaman of the Army of the UNR (Komisiia dlia vedennia sudovoho protsesu v spravi vbyvstva Holovy Dyrektorii i Holovnoho otamana viis'k UNR S. Petliury) (1926–1928).* Includes

letters and telegrams to the Commissions in Paris and Warsaw and other Ukrainian émigré groups relating to the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine in 1919, all in connection with the trial in Paris. The materials are related to files in TsDAVO and RGVA.

#### Military Societies and Organizations

*Society of Former Combatants of the UNR Army in France (Tovarystvo buvshykh voiakiv Armii UNR u Frantsii) (1921–1938)*. Files include statutes of the Society, proclamations, correspondence with members and commanders of the UNR; Polish record books of the Third Sharpshooters' Division of the UNR Army for 1920 under Oleksander Udovychenko; copies of Army reports (October 1921), among others. They appear to contain contingent files to other files from this organization in GA RF and TsDAVO.

#### Cultural-Enlightenment Organs

*Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris (Ukraïns'ka biblioteka im. S. Petliury v Paryzhi) (1927–1941)*. Files include copies of the Library Council reports (1933–1941), the accession register of books and other printed matter pertaining to the library (1927–1929), and a catalog of the library collection in religion, philosophy, history, archaeology, ethnography, geography, language and literature, and belles-lettres (1939), complementing those in GA RF. Also included are copies of printed publicity-information bulletins about the Petliura Library's activities (1927–1929).

#### Religious Organizations

*Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalous) Committee in Paris (Ukraïns'kyi pravoslavnyi [avtokefal'nyi] komitet v Paryzhi) (1925–1930)*. Files comprise lists of members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Committee in Paris, and appeals for financial aid and registration books for the Ukrainian Orthodox Parish in Paris, thereby complementing files in GA RF.

#### Publishing and Editorial Agencies

*Editorial Records of the Ukrainian Socio-Political and Literary-Artistic Periodical Tryzub (Paris) (Redaktsiia hromads'ko-politychnoho i literaturno-mystets'koho tyzhnevnyka Tryzub [Paryzh]) (1925–1926, 1933–1934, 1938)*. Files include letters to the editorial office relating to the *Ukraïns'ka zahal'na entsyklopediia* (Lviv) and the monthly *Ridna mova*, among them those penned by V'iacheslav Prokopovych, Stepan Siropolko, Oleksander Shul'hyn, and Mykola Levyts'kyi regarding organizational and business matters; typewritten and manuscript editorial materials; political and economic reviews of the So-

viet press (for issues of 1929–1930); and proof copies of *Tryzub* from 1927. The files complement those in RGVA, GA RF, and TsDAVO.

***Opys 2: Documentation and Materials of Ukrainian State, Military, Socio-Political Figures, and those Representing Science, Culture, and Enlightenment, and Other Persons***

*Ievhen Vyrovnyi (1920–1941).* Personal papers of Vyrovnyi include correspondence with Rudychiv.

*Ivan Rudychiv (1936–1942).* Among Rudychiv’s personal papers is correspondence with various Ukrainian émigré friends and colleagues, including Dmytro Doroshenko, Andrii Levyts’kyi, Ol’ha Petliura, V’iacheslav Prokopovych, Stepan Siropolko, Stepan Skrypnyk, Oleksander Skoropys-Ioltukhovs’kyi, Oleksander Udovychenko, and Panas Fedenko. Incoming letters to Rudychiv primarily date from 1941 and early 1942, when he was in Berlin. Presumably, these letters came from the same source as those in the Petliura Library fond in TsDAVO, having been separated from the main group of the Rudychiv papers in Kyiv at some point, or simply removed by the secret police for their own direct examination.

*Petliura Letters.* Although there is no special separate group designated for Symon Petliura himself, there are a few letters by Petliura among the holdings in this fond in TsDAHO, most of which came to Kyiv from Prague. One important group of Petliura letters is found in the group for the Kost’ Matsiievych papers, representing Petliura’s correspondence with him from Prague (1920, 1924–1925).

*Conclusions: Return to Paris?*

Almost all of the agreed upon archival restitution from Russia to France was completed with the 26 October 2000 transfer in Moscow of the latest group of records of French provenance held in RGVA. However, none of the archival materials from the Petliura Library or others of French Ukrainian émigré provenance described here were returned. All of the Petliura Library holdings and other Ukrainian émigré materials from Paris in the former “Special Archive” (now part of RGVA) were included in the official list of French holdings designated for restitution to Paris appended to a French-Russian diplomatic agreement in 1992.<sup>121</sup> The official French-Russian restitution list covers only materials from the former “Special Archive” (now part of RGVA, before March 1999, TsKhIDK). But archivists there were not aware that most of the Ukrainian archival materials listed came from the Petliura Library in Paris, or that the library still existed. They had no idea about their provenance or the facts of their migration from Paris.



Unfortunately, the official 1992 list does not include any of those materials held across the city in GA RF. Before the research for this article was underway, archivists in GA RF were convinced that the Petliura Library holdings, like the UNR ones described here, came from RZIA in Prague. They believed that, accordingly, there should be no pretensions for restitution, because the materials were part of the 1945 Czechoslovak “gift” of RZIA to the Soviet Union. Besides, Russian archivists were not inclined to include “émigré” records, such as those in GA RF, as candidates for prospective restitution along with the acknowledged “trophy” records held in the former “Special Archive.”

The French-Russian diplomatic agreement of 1992 called for restitution by the end of 1994. In Moscow, archival restitution to France was in motion during the winter of 1994, with the blessing of Russian archivists, who had prepared the French materials in TsKhIDK for return. But in the spring of 1994, restitution to France was dramatically halted by the Russian Duma, pending passage of the Russian law nationalizing the cultural treasures displaced by the war that ended up in the Soviet Union.<sup>122</sup> After the law was finally signed by President Yeltsin in April of 1998, a new act of the Russian Parliament provided for the completion of the archival restitution to France, although officially it was called an “exchange” for Russian-related archival materials in France, and the term “restitution” was not used.<sup>123</sup>

As late as the fall of 1997, however, officials handling restitution negotiations at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d’Orsay did not know that the Petliura Library still existed in Paris. At the same time, the administration of the Petliura Library in Paris was still not aware of the official archival restitution list, nor had they filed an official claim. When this author visited with the older directors of the Petliura Library at that time, they had a vague notion that some of their library materials might be in Moscow, but they had not investigated the matter.<sup>124</sup> After those November 1997 meetings, representatives of the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris were in contact with the Quai d’Orsay to verify the situation.

Then in 1999, just as articles by this author were going to press in Cambridge, MA, the new director of the Petliura Library, Jaroslava Josypyszyn, on the basis of preliminary drafts of these articles, prepared a brief summary of the findings—showing where the archival materials from the library were distributed in Moscow and Kyiv—which would assist in establishing a claim. Noting that only the seven fonds from TsKhIDK (now part of RGVA) had been on the official list for restitution, she concluded with some optimism: “We place our hopes in the negotiations between France and Russia so that what belongs to us may be returned.”<sup>125</sup> Since that summary was prepared, more details about the provenance of these materials have come to light. Ukrainian specialists in Paris may place hope in negotiations, but no one connected with the Petliura Library has tried to verify the holdings in Moscow, or to search any of the pertinent libraries for possible Petliura Library book stamps. Why has it taken half a century, or even a decade since most of the holdings in the former RZIA

Division of GA RF were declassified? Why, almost a decade since holdings in the former “Special Archive” were revealed, were researchers in Paris still unaware of these Ukrainian émigré materials in Moscow?

Part of the problem lies with the lack of openly available information in Moscow and Kyiv about captured or “trophy” (as they are called in Russian) archives and their provenance. In the case of these Ukrainian émigré materials from Paris, Prague, and Tarnów, before this article was first prepared, there has been no published list that specifies the origins, content, or location of the Ukrainian “trophy” materials from the Petliura Library and other UNR records. As this article was in preparation, a monograph appeared in 1998 on Russia abroad and archives, which listed in an appendix the fonds of Ukrainian émigré archival materials from Paris in GA RF. Although constituting the first mention of any of them in print, the author did not distinguish them as Ukrainian, nor did he list any of the Ukrainian émigré fonds among the former TsGOA holdings now part of RGVA.<sup>126</sup> A preliminary English-language list of fonds in TsKhIDK was posted on the Internet during 1998, having been prepared by a Russian commercial group working on a guide and anxious to sell copies of documents from that archive. The Ukrainian fonds were mentioned, but the records of the Petliura Library and other Parisian Ukrainian émigré organizations were erroneously stated to have their provenance in Ukraine. It was thus little wonder that, during the French-Russian archival restitution negotiations in October 1999 and still after, Russian archivists were not willing to consider restitution of the émigré Ukrainian materials from Paris to French authorities.<sup>127</sup>

Now for the first time we know more precisely which materials from the Petliura Library in Paris are currently held in Kyiv and Moscow, even if we do not know all of the details about their wartime and postwar odyssey. Among the problems that remain are lingering questions about the provenance of some of their files from Paris, or contingent émigré files from Prague. We still do not know the fate of all of the library books that the Nazis seized from the Petliura Library, nor can it be determined how many of them survived the purges in Minsk, Moscow, and Kyiv. The Petliura Library in Paris today has replaced only a few of the 20,000 looted books, but the dedicatory inscriptions are gone.

In terms of archives, special collections in the Petliura Library in Paris today are devoted to such subjects as: “Symon Petliura: His Collaborators and His Times,” “The Ukrainian War of Independence, 1917–1940,” “The Ukrainian Periodical *Tryzub*, 1925–1940,” and “Documents of the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Paris and to the Peace Conference, 1918–1936,” along with the postwar records of the library. But researchers who are interested in these subjects today would be well advised to journey to Kyiv and especially to Moscow—at least until restitution and/or until full microform copying arrangements can be negotiated with Russian and Ukrainian archival authorities on behalf of the Petliura Library in Paris.

There is no question that the Petliura Library's own records, its related collections, and those of the journal *Tryzub* it fostered, should be reunited in their Parisian home and remain there as long as the library continues to operate. The foundation act for the library clearly affirms its Paris location and no other. Other archival materials associated with the library before the war and those of the Ukrainian community that patronized it also deserve preservation in Paris, where they were created, as long as there is an active Ukrainian émigré community and research center to support them. Some may prefer today to see their personal archival legacy in exile reunited in archives in the home country, now that Ukraine has achieved independence. Such should be the choice of those advocating this preference. Yet as long as there is an émigré community, its strength can be important to the newly independent Ukrainian nation in many ways. Petliura himself believed that a strong library and cultural center is essential to an émigré community, as he pronounced not long before his assassination in Paris. Poland understood that, too, when it returned all that was found of the Polish Library from Paris—part of it immediately after the war and the rest in 1992.<sup>128</sup>

By way of comparison, only one of the 100,000 books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library has thus far come home from the war to Paris (as of fall 2000), and that one by sheer accident. A Dutch-language volume bearing the Turgenev Library stamp was returned in 1992 to Amsterdam with a shipment of Dutch books from the Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow, and Dutch librarians duly returned it to Paris.<sup>129</sup> Other books from that library have recently been located in Voronezh, Minsk, Kyiv, as well as in Moscow.

Even more politically important than the archival materials from the Petliura Library are the UNR Foreign Ministry records that the Nazis brought from Tarnów to Cracow and that the Soviets brought from Cracow to Kyiv. The stray contingent UNR files in Moscow deserve to be consolidated with those now divided between two archives in Kyiv. As they are reunited in Kyiv with any other files that remain of the Ukrainian regimes that failed in their bid for Ukrainian independence, their provenance should be revealed and known facts of their migration openly explained. Their future in Kyiv, where they undoubtedly belong, however, is contingent on the new Ukrainian government's commitment to support a strong national archival system with professional finding aids—the likes of which do not exist in Kyiv today.

The archives in Kyiv do not now have money for light bulbs and paper clips, let alone for the professional staff they need. That may explain why they have been unable to produce even a list of fonds as presently arranged for the UNR and other materials brought to “the home country” from Prague and Cracow a half century ago. The predecessor Soviet regime had interest in the records only for “operational” or counterintelligence purposes against the Ukrainian emigration abroad. Today they need to be professionally arranged and described, so that they can be open for public research. We still cannot tell if the

UNR Foreign Ministry files from Tarnów are all in Kyiv or how they were reprocessed there. We have found 17 others in one fond and some additional fragments in another in Moscow, but it is now clear that these arrived via RZIA in Prague.

The terrible fragmentation and dispersal of archival and library collections wrought by postrevolutionary emigration, the Nazi regime during the war, and the Soviet regime thereafter remains a serious detriment to national culture, émigré communities, and scholarship in both East and West. Our story here of the Petliura Library is a microcosm of that larger tragedy. The dispersal of documentation from the Ukrainian struggle for independence, and especially the Petliura regime, throughout the world resulted from the larger political expediencies that dispersal served. If today there is a real spirit of political renewal, as one would expect, we should also hope that restitution could reunite the archival collections of the Petliura Library and the UNR regime. Even if some of them can only be brought together in library microform, we still need a thorough publicly available inventory of their contents, their present whereabouts, and the known facts of their migration.

It is doubtful that the remnants of the Petliura Library or other UNR archival materials that have now surfaced in Moscow and Kyiv will resolve the controversies that still surround the life and death of Symon Petliura or the brief regime he led in the struggle for an independent Ukraine. But the survival of that documentation, and our knowledge about it, may help promote more open research on those issues than has been possible in the past. Many of the French intelligence and security service records (*Deuxième Bureau* and *Sûreté Nationale*) are now returned to Paris from Moscow, following their parallel odyssey at the hands of the Nazi and Soviet regimes.<sup>130</sup> We do not know how many of their files have been dispersed along the way or if they may also hold further clues, because not all of them are as yet arranged and open to the public. Other much more important clues about Petliura and his assassin undoubtedly remain hidden in the inner sanctum of diplomatic and intelligence archives in Paris, Warsaw, and Kyiv, and, especially, Moscow. When they will come to light, or to what extent, remains an even more perplexing question.

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT AND NOTES

AVPRI	Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire), Moscow
BAB	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), Berlin-Lichterfelde
DKAU	Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny (State Committee on Archives of Ukraine). Before December 1999, HAU

ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Special Command of Reichsleiter Rosenberg)
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow. Formerly, TsGAOR SSSR and TsGA RSFSR
Glavarkhiv	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie (Main Archival Administration). Alternatively, and earlier usually, GAU ( <i>Ukr.</i> , HAU)
GPIB	Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia istoricheskaia biblioteka Rossii (State Public Historical Library of Russia), Moscow
HAU	Holovne arkhivne upravlinnia (Main Archival Administration). <i>Rus.</i> , GAU, Glavarkhiv
IISH/ IISG	International Institute of Social History (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis), Amsterdam ( <i>Dutch</i> , IISG)
MID	Ministerstvo inostrannykh del (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del (Ministry of Internal Affairs). Before 1946, NKVD
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs). After 1946, MVD
RGALI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow. Formerly, TsGALI SSSR
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History), Moscow. Formerly, Central Party Archive (TsPA) and RTsKhIDNI
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow. Formerly, TsGASA

- SSSR, and now includes holdings from TsKhIDK (formerly, TsGOA)
- Rosarkhiv Federal'naia arkhivnaia sluzhba Rossii (Federal Archival Service of Russia). Before August 1996, Gosudarstvennaia arkhivnaia sluzhba Rossii (State Archival Service of Russia)
- RTsKhIDNI Rossiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Modern History), Moscow (1991–1999). Formerly, Central Party Archive (TsPA), and now RGASPI
- RZIA Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv (Russian Foreign Historical Archive), Prague
- SMERSH “Smert' shpionam” (literally, “death to spies”)—military counter-espionage units under GRU [Glavnoe razvedyvatel'noe upravlenie] (Chief Intelligence Directorate)
- TsDAHO Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine), Kyiv. Formerly, Arkhiv KPU (Archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine).
- TsDAVO Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv derzhavnoi vlady i upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Highest Organs of State Power and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv. Formerly, TsDAZhR URSR
- TsDAZhR URSR Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoi Revoliutsii URSR (Central State Archive of the October Revolution—official full name varied), Kyiv (*Rus.*, TsGAOR), now TsDAVO
- TsDIAK (TsDIA-K) Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukraïny, Kyiv (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine; earlier, of the Ukrainian SSR) after 1958: TsDIA URSR u m. Kyievi (often, TsDIA-K) (*Rus.*, TsGIA UkrSSR, or TsGIAK)

- TsGAOR            Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii [i vysshikh organov sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva]—official full name varied (Central State Archive of the October Revolution [and Socialist Construction])  
—SSSR (of the USSR), Moscow (now part of GA RF)  
—UkrSSR (of the UkrSSR), Kyiv (now TsDAVO) (*Ukr.* TsDAZhR)
- TsGIAK            Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv UkrSSR, Kyiv (Central State Historical Archive [of the UkrSSR] in Kyiv). After 1958, often TsGIA-K (*Ukr.*, TsDIA)
- TsGOA SSSR        Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR (Central State Special Archive of the USSR), Moscow (1992–1999, TsKhIDK). Now part of RGVA
- TsKhIDK            Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollekt sii (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), Moscow. Formerly, TsGOA SSSR, and now part of RGVA
- UIK                Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi kabinet (Ukrainian Historical Cabinet), Prague
- UNR                Ukraïns'ka Narodna Respublika (Ukrainian National Republic)

**Technical Note:** The archival term “fond” has been anglicized, since there is no exact translation. The term came to the Soviet Union from the French *fonds*, but not without some change of usage. In Russian a “fond” is an integral group of records from a single office or source. American archivists might prefer the more technical term “record group,” which in British usage would normally be “archive group,” but the Russian usage of the term is much more extensive, as a “fond” can designate personal papers and/or collections as well as groups of institutional records.

In citations from former Soviet-area archives, numbers are given sequentially for *fond* (record group, etc.)/*opis'* ([Ukr. *opys*], a series or separate numbered file list or inventory within a fond)/ and *delo* ([Ukr. *sprava*], file or unit) numbers.

Some commonly used geographic terms, such as “oblast'” and “krai” have also been anglicized, and hence do not appear in italics—and in the former



case, without the final soft sign. A few personal and geographic names such as Yeltsin, and Cracow (*Pol.* Kraków) have been retained in the form most generally known in the West, but most others have been rendered in a more strict LC transliterated form. Family names have usually been rendered here as they appear in the sources, unless another preferred spelling is known.

For historical references to localities then officially part of the Reich during the war, such as Silesia, official (and usually more familiar) German forms are used with the present Polish versions in parentheses on first reference—Ratibor (*Pol.* Racibórz), Danzig (*Pol.* Gdańsk), etc., unless there is a common accepted English variant, such as Silesia. Variant forms are repeated as necessary to add clarity to references in the text.

## NOTES

- \* The first part of this study was published as “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22(1–4) 1998: 181–208.
1. Vasył Mykhal’chuk, ed., *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna: Do 70-richchia ioho trahichnoi zahybeli: Dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv, 1996).
  2. Mykhal’chuk, “Peredmovna,” in *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna*, p. 11.
  3. Only vague remarks about the source of the documents appear in the preface by Vasył Mykhal’chuk. See *ibid.*, p. 11. I have since been able to identify them, thanks to Serhii Kot and archivists in TsDAVO. The recently acquired Siropolko family papers in TsDAVO have been processed as a second *opys* (276 units) of fond 4433. That fond for Siropolko (undoubtedly from Prague) already existed with 10 units in *Opys* 1.
  4. Vasył Mykhal’chuk and Dmytro Stepovyk, eds., *U 70-richchia paryz’koï trahedii, 1926–1996: Zbirnyk pam’iati Symona Petliury* (Kyiv, 1997), p. 132. Reference is to the former Lenin Library in Moscow.
  5. See Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library,” pp. 181–208.
  6. ERR Stabsführer Gerhard Utikal to Rosenberg, “Aktenvermerk für den Reichsleiter—“Dienstgut in Oberschlesien” (25 January 1945), BAB, NS 8/261 (cc in NS 30/7); the text is published in Ulrike Hartung, *Verschleppt und verschollen: Eine Dokumentation deutscher, sowjetischer und amerikanischer Akten zum NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion (1941–1948)* (Bremen, 2000), pp. 204–205 (Doc. I/87). Regarding U.S. Army recovery of ERR materials there after the suicide of Kurt von Berg and his wife, see Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive”: Communist Records in the Service of Anti-Communism* (Pittsburg, 1995), pp. 52–53.
  7. A report by the Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Red Army intelligence service (RKKa), I. V. Shikin (1 March 1945) to G. M. Malenkov, TsK VKP(b) (1 March 1945), RGASPI, 17/125/308, fols. 11–12; G. F. Aleksandrov and I. V. Shikin to G. M. Malenkov, TsK VKP(b) (1 March 1945), RGASPI, 17/125/308, fols. 14–17. The reports were published by Valerii Shepelev, “Sud’ba ‘Smolenskogo arkhiva,’” *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1991 (5): 135–36. See also V. N. Shepelev, “Novye fakty o sud’be dokumentov ‘Smolenskogo arkhiva’ (po materialam RTsKhIDNI),” in *Problemy zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi rossiki: Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 124–33.
  8. A report on the Minsk developments was kindly furnished me by Frits Hoogewoud on the basis of a letter (dated 25 June 1993) he received from H. N. Oleinik, Director of the National Library of Belarus

(*Natsyianal'naiia Bibliiatieka Belarusi*). In that letter, Oleinik dated the transfers to Moscow to the late 1970s and early 1980s, but we have indications that other shipments occurred earlier.

9. The report on the Turgenev Library is no. 31 "Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignitse (Pol'sha)," in "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul'tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda," GA RF (earlier, TsGA RSFSR), A-534/2/1, fol. 182–182v (original ribbon copy; cc in A-534/2/10, fol. 137–137v); published in a German translation by Ingo Kolasa and Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, eds., *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1996), p. 141. The date of the shipment to Belarus is not specified, but apparently there was a shipment in the fall of 1945 (noted above) which contained some books from the Turgenev Library. For confirmation of the Legnica location, see also the telegram from Morozov addressed to Aleksei D. Manevskii and Margarita Rudomino (22 January 1946), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 187. There is a handwritten resolution on the telegram addressed to Rudomino (24 January 1946) to check if the materials could be removed from Poland. Subsequently, in March 1946, the "cream" of the Turgenev Library in terms of "manuscripts, first editions, autographed books by well-known authors" was personally delivered to the Lenin Library by Soviet Major Shaporovich.
10. Regarding the fate of the Turgenev Library in the Soviet Union, see a lengthy footnote by Nikolai V. Kotrelev, "Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki," in *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: Izuchenie i opisanie (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh odelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek vuzov. Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), pp. 107–109; or the English version: "Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library," *Kul'turologiia: The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies* 1(3) 1993: 147–50. In a footnote on the fate of "trophy books" (that deserves expansion as a separate study), Kotrelev documents the rescue of several title pages with dedicatory autographs by important Russian writers from several volumes with stamps of the Turgenev Library that were designated for destruction "in an outlying Soviet library." Kotrelev (in conversation with this author) has since identified that library as being in Minsk, and has further evidence that subsequently most of it was destroyed during an "ideological purification" campaign.
11. See my forthcoming article on the fate of the Turgenev Library in Paris. It was reported to H el ene Kaplan that Minsk librarians have recently identified more books with Turgenev Library markings. A list of books with IISH prepared by Belarusian librarians is available at IISH in

Amsterdam, but none of them is of a value meriting restitution efforts. Regarding other West European books in Minsk, see the report by Vladimir Makarov, “Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk,” *Spoils of War: International Newsletter* 6 (February 1999): 25–27.

12. Adam Mal’dzis, who heads the National Commission on Restitution in Belarus, cites the “return to Kyiv” (with no details) in his 1995 New York conference presentation, “The Tragic Fate of Belarusian Museum and Library Collections during the Second World War,” in Elizabeth Simpson, ed., *The Spoils of War: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property* (New York, 1997), p. 80. It is also mentioned appreciatively by Olena Aleksandrova in her report at the 1997 conference in Minsk. See her “Potery bibliotek Ukrainy: Problemy vyvialeniia i poiska,” in *Restytutsyia kul’turnykh kashtoŭnastsei: Poblemy viartannia i sumesnaha vykarystannia* (Minsk, 1997), p. 95 [=Viartanne, 4].
13. This author initially received confirmation of the transfer in a letter from Adam Mal’dzis, who dated the transfer as having taken place in 1993–1994. The receipt was kindly verified for me by Olena Aleksandrova, Deputy Director of the Parliamentary Library in Kyiv, who established, however, that the books were received earlier, in 1989, although the exact date was not immediately known.
14. That purchase was also reported by Olena Aleksandrova, Deputy Director of the Parliamentary Library in Kyiv.
15. The identification of more books from the Petliura Library in Minsk is mentioned in a personal letter to this author by Adam Mal’dzis.
16. The shipment of about five freight cars, found in a shed on an estate in Kswary °wierkowski, near Zlotoryja (*Ger.* Goldberg) and Adelina (*Ger.* Adelsdorf), 80 kilometers west of Wrocław—was described in a 25 October 1945 report by Dr. Bohdan Horodyski of the Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw). The head of the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Narodowa kindly showed me a copy of the report and inventory. The shipment, which had been abandoned by Nazi authorities in February 1945, also included books from the Polish Library in Paris, which was taken by the Nazis at the same time as the Petliura Library. It moreover comprised manuscripts and rare books from several libraries in Lviv, including the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh). It is now difficult to tell whether the scattered and badly mixed up Petliura military files found there came from Lviv, or whether they were part of the UNR military files that had earlier been taken by the Nazis to Vienna or Danzig-Oliva. Possibly, some of the other fragmentary UNR records may have come from Polish sources, or may have been separated from those the Nazis had removed from Tarnów during the war.

17. Halyna Svarnyk, "Arkhiv Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka v Natsional'nii bibliotetsi u Varshavi," in *Z istorii Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* (Lviv, 1998), pp. 232–41.
18. No mention has been found in Nazi reports that any books from the Polish Library were in Ratibor. Indeed, as explained in documents cited by Michael Burleigh, the ERR was forced to turn the library over to another Nazi agency for use of the Institut für Ostarbeiten in Cracow, which may explain why it was found in Silesia with other books evacuated from Cracow at the end of the war. See Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastward: Ostforschungen under the Third Reich* (Cambridge and New York, 1988), pp. 228–30. Another 747 crates of books from the Polish Library were found by Soviet authorities after the war in a brick factory in the German town of Neugersdorf (Saxony) near the Czech border. There are no clues as to where this portion of the books had been earlier. See the report "Pol'sko-frantsuzskaia biblioteka," in "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 133v, and 10, fol. 178v; published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, p. 133. According to another Soviet report, 742 crates were shipped to Moscow for the Historical Library in Moscow (GPIB) (16 May 1946), GA RF, A-534/2/8; or, as published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, p. 171. According to the present director of GPIB, Mikhail D. Afanas'ev, who has been researching these matters, all of the Polish books were removed from GPIB under instructions from the security services in the 1960s for shipment to Poland. He and his staff have not encountered any books with stamps and dedications from the Petliura Library in GPIB.
19. ERR report (March 1942–March 1943), TsDAVO, 3206/5/26, fols. 4–5.
20. Ella Maksimova, "Piat' dnei v Osobom arkhive," *Izvestiia* 7–21 February 1991.
21. The first published mention of the massive fonds of French intelligence archives, for example, came in the interview with P. K. Grimsted by Evgenii Kuz'min, "Vyvezti. . . unichtozhit'. . . spriatat' . . . , Sud'by trofeinykh arkhivov," *Literaturnaia gazeta* 2 October 1991: 13; publication of that interview was delayed for almost a year and it was permitted in print only after August 1991. In a follow-up interview with Ella Maksimova a week later, the former director of the Special Archive, A. S. Prokopenko, confirmed and expanded on the holdings in the Special Archive—"Arkhivy Frantsuzskoi razvedki skryvali na Leningradskom shosse," *Izvestiia* 9 October 1991. The story broke in Paris later in November—for example, Thierry Wolton, "L'histoire de France dort à Moscou" (interview with Anatolii Prokopenko), *L'Express* 21 November 1991.

22. Since the merger, former TsGOA/TsKhIDK fond numbers continue to be the same, but with the addition of a “K” following the number, as apparent in the citations that follow.
23. Deputy Director of RGVA Vladimir I. Korotaev kindly verified for me “the receipt of a total of fifty-five units of records of Ukrainian nationalists in fonds nos. 267–73 from TsGAOR BSSR, according to ‘Rasporiazhenie GAU,’ no. 21/3/09053 (29 December 1954).” There are now a total of 530 units in those 7 fonds, which leaves open the question about the acquisition of the remaining file units. Unfortunately, the administrative files for those fonds (*dela fondy*) are not available to researchers, so it is not possible to try to clarify the history of their formation. According to Soviet archival practice, the obligatory files kept for every fond would necessarily record details of any transfers in or out of the fond and more details about any destruction of materials from the fond as authorized by the “Expert Appraisal Commission.” So far, access has also been denied to the TsGOA accession registers and to incoming correspondence files that might well contain more detailed inventories of materials transferred from other archives.
24. Details about the receipt of the fonds from Minsk are found in marginal notes in the typescript list of fonds for what was earlier known as the “French” Division of former TsGOA (typescript with manuscript notes and annotations), which this author was first permitted to see in 1996. When I first found a description of these TsKhIDK fonds in the list of fonds for the “French Division” of TsGOA, the words “Ukrainian nationalist” were part of their official titles, as recorded in the *opisi* as well. These descriptions, however, have recently been dropped.
25. For example, RGVA, fond 271K, *opis*’, preface, fol. 2; destruction notes also appear in the prefatory remarks for fond 269K and fond 270K. No numbers are given in any case, and as yet it has not been possible to locate other corroborating data or reports of the Appraisal Commission. Since permission has not been granted to see the *delo fonda*, any confirming data recorded there cannot be reported.
26. See notes 11 and 15.
27. Again, the *delo fonda* (administrative file) for this fond has not been available for examination. As noted in the *opis*’, this fond earlier comprised 45 units; 3 more units were brought from TsGAOR SSSR in November 1989. However, as explained below, GA RF (the successor archive to TsGAOR SSSR) still holds a much larger fond from this organization (GA RF, R-6406).
28. In Ukrainian, this organization was alternately known as Ukraïns’ke tovarystvo dlia Lihy Natsii and Ukraïns’ke tovarystvo prykhyl’nykiv Lihy Natsii. See the subsequent discussion elsewhere in this study on related materials in GA RF and in TsDAVO in Kyiv.

29. These papers were mentioned by Rudychiv in his account of the Petliura Library (signed 1 October 1941), TsDAVO, 4362/1/5, fol. 14v. They are also mentioned in the recently published prewar account by Symon Narizhnyi, "Ukrains'ka biblioteka im. S. Petliury v Paryzhi," *Ukrains'ka emigratsiia: Kul'turna pratsia ukrains'koï emigratsiï mizh dvoma svitovymi viinamy*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1999), p. 39. See also the Chyzhevs'kyi papers in RGVA (no. 7).
30. Captain GAU NKVD SSSR Gur'ianov to Lieutenant Andrii Iaroshenko, Chief of the Division of Utilization AU NKVD UkrSSR (17 November 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1423, fol. 93.
31. The Soviet archival practice with trophy records of removing "incorporated documents" from the agency records with which they were found, explains why these were established as a fragmentary separate record group. The fact that this fond has a lower number than, and is not in sequence with, the other Ukrainian émigré fonds from TsGOA described above, confirms this analysis (the French security records were among the first to be processed in TsGOA).
32. The *opis'* in this case was signed as having been completed in August 1946. The preface to the *opis'* says there is a survey available—"obzor fonda," no. 75/1, but I have not been able to examine it.
33. See the letter from Lt. Col. V. I. Sheludchenko to the director of TsGIA UkrSSR (14 March 1956) requesting the transfer of archives relating to "Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist organizations in Poland (1920–1927)" and specifying "letters to B. A. Lazarevskii in Paris from his brother Gleb [Hlib] and others in Poland." TsDAVO, 4703/2/35, fols. 3–4. In response to the Moscow request, eight letters of that description were found in TsDAZhR URSSR, and were noted in a transfer document specifying "sixteen files in Polish and other languages relating to 'Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalists'" from TsDIA URSSR to TsDAZhR URSSR (29 February 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fol. 31. Specific mention of publications transferred is found in a letter from TsDIAK to TsGOA SSSR (29 March 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fol. 43. Note that often the brothers are identified differently: Boris as a Russian, because he published extensively in Russian before emigration, and Hlib as a Ukrainian. This explains the divergent primary forms of their names.
34. Lazarevskii's papers now constitute fond 278 in RGALI (82 units, 1900–1925). They are briefly described in the first volume of the guide to RGALI's predecessor TsGALI: *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i isskustva: Putevoditel'*, ed. N. F. Bel'chikov and A. A. Volkov et al. (Moscow, 1963), pp. 257–58. Post-1991 guides or other finding aids to RGALI give no indication that any later papers were added to the fond, and archivists have not been able to identify any émigré components.



35. See Tat'iana F. Pavlova, "Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage," *Voprosy istorii* 1990 (11): 19–30, the first scholarly account about RZIA to appear in the USSR in the period of glasnost. The most detailed study of RZIA is Pavlova's unpublished dissertation—I am grateful to her for making the typescript available to me. See also the 1990 interview by Natal'ia Davydova with MGIAI specialist Valerii Sedel'nikov, "Arkhiv, o kotorom dolgo molchali," *Moskovskie novosti* 15 April 1990: 16.
36. These materials now constitute fond R-7744, Kolektsiia materialov zagranichnykh organizatsii Ukrainskoi partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov, Prague, 1919–1938. As currently listed in GA RF, the fond is supposed to have 10 *opisi*, although elsewhere it is listed with only one. Within the first *opis'* (unit no. 3) is one of the original Kyiv *opisi* from TsDIAK—(*opys* 3, prepared on 10 July 1946), indicating 122 units (1928–1938) under the Ukrainian title "Holovnyi politychnyi komitet Ukr.P.SR (za kordonom) v Prazi." Documents regarding the transfers to Moscow are found in the TsDIAK correspondence file for 1954 (TsDAVO, 4703/2/31), where there are references to transfers on 20 February 1954 (fol. 5) and on 10 March 1954 (fol. 6) to TsGAOR SSSR, which encompassed 444 folders of Ukrainian SR fonds (and some files of Jewish committees) from Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland, and another on 18 October 1954, referencing 381 folders of Ukrainian SR files.
37. Regarding the transfers of RZIA and UIK from Prague and the Ukrainian materials affected, see chap. 9 of Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine; World War II; and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).
38. *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: Putevoditel'*, vol. 6: *Perechen' fondov Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii i nauchno-spravochnyi apparat k dokumentam arkhiva*, ed. S. V. Mironenko et al. (Moscow, 1998). More detailed fond-level descriptions will be included in a subsequent volume of the GA RF guide series covering "Fonds for the History of the White Movement and Emigration (1917–1946)."
39. *Fondy Russkogo Zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva v Prage: Mezhharkhivnyi putevoditel'*, comp. O. N. Kopyleva et al., ed. T. F. Pavlova et al. (Moscow, 1999). Publication subsidy was provided by a consortium of European research institutions—IISH (Amsterdam), BDIC (Paris-Nanterre), and the Feltrinelli Foundation (Milan). The guide appeared just as this study was going to press, but archivists in GA RF had discussed the production with me from the outset and kindly showed me proof copies of appropriate sections.

40. Limited staff assistance and the restriction on the number of files that can be shown to a researcher in one day (usually no more than ten) made it impossible to complete the checking process within a reasonable time.
41. The official receipt in the records of TsGAOR SSSR was signed by Mikhail Il'ich Rubinskii, chief of the RZIA Division of TsGAOR SSSR (9 November 1948), GA RF, 5142/1/423, fols. 140–41. GA RF archivist Ol'ga Kopylova found this document among TsGAOR SSSR records and kindly showed it to me after I had questioned the accuracy of the attribution of the provenance of the Petliura Library files to RZIA or other Prague sources.
42. See the official act of transfer to TsGAOR SSSR (16 July 1949), GA RF, 5142/1/449, fol. 72. Other Rybakin papers are held in the archive of the All-Russian Book Chamber (VKP).
43. Scattered administrative records of the Turgenev Library now held in GA RF (fond 6846, 141 files) are described briefly in the 1994 guide, *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: Putevoditel'*, vol. 1: *Fondy GA RF po istorii Rossii XIX–nachala XX vv.*, ed. S. V. Mironenko and Gregory Freeze (Moscow, 1994), p. 214. This author was permitted to examine those records in the spring of 1991, at which time TsGAOR archivists were still under the impression that the materials had come from RZIA. I showed them the Paris stamp of the Turgenev Library and other markings on many of the files, although at that time I had not discovered the other documentation presented in this article.
44. This collection bears a separate designation (fond R-6162, 1 *opis'*; 13 units, 1919). Many of the files were personally examined in the spring of 2000.
45. A separate article on the fate of the Turgenev Library is forthcoming in Paris. Regarding the Nazi seizure and the sense of loss suffered among the Russian emigration in Paris, see the symposium memorial volume, *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva. Sotrudniki–Druz'ia–Pochitateli: Sbornik statei* (Paris, 1987). Regarding the Russian Literary Archive, see the 1938 announcement (p. 107). On the 1940 seizure by the Nazis, see the article by Mikhail Osorgin, "Gore v Parizhe: Unichtozhena Turgenevskaia Biblioteka" (pp. 111–13) and N. N. Knorring, "Gibel' 'Turgenevskoi biblioteki' v Parizhe" (pp. 115–19).
46. This author has personally seen books with Turgenev Library stamps, and in some cases dedicatory inscriptions, in the former "Special Collection" (*spetskhran*) of the former Lenin Library, now the Russian State Library (RGB). Russian colleagues have reported many more sightings and some have shown me books in their personal libraries that bear Turgenev Library stamps, which they purchased from second-hand book dealers in Moscow (with appropriate stamps to that effect).

47. A report on the findings in Voronezh was presented at an international conference at the All-Russian State Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow in April 2000. Among the leaflets issued by the Zonal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka of the Voronezh State University in 2000 that describe trophy books recently discovered in the region, is one listing twenty-six books from the Turgenev Library and another listing fifteen books from the Polish Library in Paris (see the series of leaflets *Universitetskaia biblioteka v litsakh, sobytiakh, knigakh*, no. 3: "Knigi iz Russkoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe, khраниashchiesia v NB VGU," and no. 5: "Iz kataloga knig 'Pol'skaia biblioteka v Parizhe'").
48. Book stamps are normally not indicated on library catalog cards, and because of the volume of trophy book receipts after the war, precise records of their provenance were not prepared.
49. Vasyľ Mykhal'chuk, *Ukraїns'ka biblioteka im. Symona Petliury v Paryzhi: Zasnuvannia, rozvytok, diial'nist' (1926–1998)* (Kyiv, 1999), p. 103.
50. A draft annotation prepared for the GA RF catalog of archival materials received from RZIA, which was shown for review to this author in 1997, notes that "Information about the acquisition of these files in RZIA has not been established. Presumably, the basic part of the fond was received in exchange for printed editions."
51. Archivists had initially intended to include this fond in the RZIA guide, although they had not found proof of its acquisition. Like the preceding fond, it was dropped when the Parisian source became apparent.
52. See a more detailed description in *Fondy RZIA*, p. 153.
53. A few documents in file no. 2 (mostly posters) bear RZIA stamps: fols. 6–7 bear the RZIA no. 6407; fol. 9 from the parallel committee in Prague bears RZIA no. 6430; fol. 10—no. 7390; and fol. 11—no. 6464. The fond was apparently first established in 1965.
54. See a more detailed description in *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 148–50.
55. The fond is not listed as of RZIA provenance and hence is not described in *Fondy RZIA*.
56. A number of the handbills and printed declarations bear RZIA stamps: fol. 1—no. 1863; fols. 15, 16, and 23—no. 7233; fol. 21—no. 6850; and fol. 25—no. 7554. A few bear the stamps of Lukasevych.
57. See a more detailed description in *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 99–100.
58. A typescript list of fonds of émigré institutions and organizations prepared by GA RF in preparation for the forthcoming fourth volume of its guide, listed this fond under Diplomatic Missions in Tärnovo, Bulgaria, and it is also so listed in the 1998 GA RF *Perechen' fondov*.

59. See a more detailed description in *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 125–26.
60. All five files examined in fond 7027 bear the RZIA no. 7486 (the same number as for three files in fond 6275 above).
61. The RZIA annual report for 1928 lists 500 pages of documents of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris (1919–1922) among receipts. GA RF, 7030/1/114, p. 7. Clearly, only a fraction of these remain in the present fond. UNR diplomatic documentation from Paris is specifically mentioned in an undated letter among RZIA acquisition correspondence in a descriptive list of a UNR collection received by RZIA, GA RF, 7030/1/91, fols. 7–8.
62. TsDAVO, 4703/2/39, fol. 41. The problem of determining the present location of these files in Kyiv has not been resolved.
63. See the more detailed description in *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 126–27.
64. RZIA no. 7486 (the same one as for all 5 files examined in fond 7027 below) was found on 3 files. Two other files bore nos. 8262 and 8598. The fond bears an acquisition no. of 4412. See more details about acquisition notes below.
65. The brief historical report on the history of the Petliura Library in Paris published in 1977 notes that these materials had been moved out of the main library building before the Nazis sealed it. Pavlo Shumovs'kyi, "Korotkyi narys istorii i rozvytok Biblioteky im. S. Petliury," *Bibliothèque Ukrainienne Symon Petlura à Paris/Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny S. Petliury v Paryzhi, Informatsiinyi Biuleten' 38 (1977): 2*. A typescript inventory is available in Paris.
66. See the more detailed description of contents in *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 54–55.
67. RZIA no. 8306 (Petliura Embassy in Berlin) covers the first 28 items in the fond.
68. The RZIA report printed in 1931 mentions that some files of the UNR Embassy in Berlin were received that year. GA RF, 7030/114, 1931 report, p. 7. The RZIA accession register also lists receipts in 1934.
69. Several other RZIA annual reports in the same folder (1928–1931) also mention the receipt of UNR diplomatic documentation. Several other RZIA annual reports (1928–1931) mention the receipt of UNR documentation (GA RF, 7030/114). Note that other parts of the records of the UNR Ministry of Finance were found in Tarnów during the war and transferred to Cracow and then, after the war, to Kyiv.
70. The 1946–1947 transfer to the Foreign Ministry, however, did include diplomatic documents of the Petliura government and Ukrainian representatives in West Europe, which are apparently now held as part of a Collection of Documents from the League of Nations. These are listed as

- AVPRI, fond 415, *opis'* 1 (1914–1937), including Prague inventory nos. 1840–1859.
71. An official request for transfer addressed to I. I. Nikitinskii from V. Khvostov of MID (24 December 1946) is accompanied by a seven-page list of the files involved—GA RF, 5325/2/1705a. The original typescript list with a covering letter from Madik to Kruglov (dated 24 June 1947) remains in another file, GA RF, 5325/2/2286a. The UNR Berlin Embassy was included in the initial list. However, the Prague inventory number 8306 (Petliura Embassy in Berlin) does not appear in the official acts of transfer dated in September 1947. GA RF, 5142/1/407, fol. 22. I appreciate the assistance of GA RF archivist Ol'ga Kopulova in acquainting me with the transfer documents and the administrative record (*delo fonda*) for fond 5889.
  72. GA RF, 5889/1/34. The Vynnychenko letter is in file unit no. 26, and the letter of 1919 about UNR funds, in unit 29a. The Petliura letter (autograph), sold to RZIA by V. L. Forna with a receipt for 600 korunas, is referred to along with the RZIA inventory no. 8827.
  73. Copies of the official act of transfer (30 August 1945) in Ukrainian, Czech, and Russian, are found in the recently opened secret *opys* of the administrative archive (AA) of TsDIAK, which is now officially cited as TsDAVO, 4703/2/2, fols. 13 and 14. An English translation appears as Appendix VIII in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*.
  74. This text follows the official announcements with description of the “gift” by Valentyn Riasnyi to Nikita S. Khrushchev (25 September 1945), TsDAVO, 4703/2/2, fols. 28–30, and to Beria, fols. 31–33, and also appears in Moscow copies. For example, Nikitinskii to S. N. Kruglov, “Spetsial'noe soobshchenie o sostave ‘Ukrainskogo arkhiva’” (September 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1353, fol. 88–88v.
  75. Regarding the transfer of UIK to Kyiv and the related Ukrainian materials from RZIA from Prague in Moscow, see more details in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, chap. 9.
  76. When the often artificial fonds were established in Kyiv, no reference nor correlation was made to the earlier archival disposition, numeration, or existing finding aids for the materials in Prague or other sources.
  77. “Otchet o rabote Osobogo otdela sekretnykh fondov za 1948 god,” TsDAVO, 4703/2/13, fol. 35.
  78. Nataliia Rubl'ova, “Dokumenty TsDAVOV Ukraïny periodu UNR,” in *U 70-richchia paryz'koï trahedii*, pp. 147–50. Although providing no descriptive details about the contents of individual fonds, this is nonetheless the first such information published in Kyiv. Rubl'ova no longer works in TsDAVO.

79. These lists were found in the recently opened files from the administrative records of TsDIAK. Those of Parisian provenance appear as fond nos. 245–48, 250, 251, and 253—TsDAVO, 4703/2/6, fol. 35; it is noted there that they were received on 10 January 1946. Later, in the 1949 list, they appear as fonds nos. 243, 246–48, 250, and 256—“Spisok fondov Osobogo otdela sekretnykh fondov TsGIA UkrSSR, podlezhashchikh uporiadocheniiu v 1949 g.” (25 January 1949), TsDAVO, 4703/2/16, fols. 10–18. They were also listed among the 100 fonds that the TsDIA Special Division had processed in a report to Glavarkhiv in Moscow (30 December 1946), GA RF, 5325/2/2253, fols. 13–18. It was thanks to these lists and the names of fonds there provided, that it was possible to survey the fonds in TsDAVO today, because otherwise there are no public lists that include holdings from that former Special Secret Division. Further research is needed to confirm migratory details for these materials and to determine from which agency they were received by TsDIAK.
80. Reference is to the 1947 list—TsDAVO, 4703/2/6, fol. 35.
81. Iaropenko to Panteleimon Gudzenko (Lviv, 4 June 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/11, fol. 8. Specific mention was made of a Kerensky journal published in French.
82. “Kharakteristika dokumental’nykh materialov Shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga” (11 October 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/12, fols. 3–13. See also A. V. Bondarevskii to Gudzenko (11 July 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 19–20; with the separate list—“Spisok i kratkoe sodержanie fondov i grupp dokumentov na frantsuzskom iazyke, vyjavlennykh v fonde ‘Ainzatsshtaba Rozenberga’” (Kyiv, 26 November 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 33–40, 51–52 (cc. fols. 41–50). See more details about the ERR materials in Kyiv in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, chap. 9.
83. Notice of other transfers from Minsk to Kyiv has surfaced, including portions of the Dnipropetrovsk Party Archive that the Nazis had taken to Ratibor. TsDAVO still denies access to their acquisition registers and has not opened any files from the postwar secret section of the administrative records of their predecessor archive (TsDAZhR UkrSSR), if such files still exist. The administrative records of TsDAZhR UkrSSR now available to researchers in Kyiv do not contain any of the secret *opysy* from the postwar period (TsDAVO, fond 4665).
84. Ivan Rudychiv, “Prymushenyi vyizd bibliotekaria Ivana Rudycheva i ioho perebuvannia v Berlini (Dopovid’ na zasidaniiu Rady Biblioteky 3-ho hrudnia 1942 roku),” typescript, pp. 65–66. Professor Arkady Joukovsky kindly furnished me a copy of the report, which is retained in the Petliura Library in Paris. Although much less detailed and interesting

- than Rudychiv's diary and the reports he prepared while he was in Berlin, all of which are now located in Kyiv (TsDAVO, fond 4362), a few details presented there are of significance in explaining the migration of the archival materials from the Petliura Library now held in Kyiv.
85. "Prymushenyi vyizd bibliotekaria," pp. 65–66. For further elaboration on the Rudychiv story, see the first part of this article, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library," p. 182.
  86. Regarding the postwar seizures of Ukrainian émigré archives in Prague, including those from the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine, see Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, chap. 9.
  87. See Pil'kevich to TsDIAK Chief Mykhailo Teslenko (18 December 1958), TsDAVO, 4703/2/39, fol. 2 and fol. 8. A list of 25 fonds follows (fols. 3–7). The 1958 and 1962 Prague receipts (fols. 58–62, and fol. 79), together with the lists of other fonds received from Prague earlier (fols. 65–78 and 85–98), are bound together in a recently declassified folder. Regarding the Museum, see Mykola Mushynka, *Muzei vyzvol'noï borot'by Ukraïny ta dolia ioho fondiv* (Melbourne, 1996).
  88. If we believe the January 1946 acquisition date, the Rudychiv papers and other archival materials from the Petliura Library in TsDAVO came to Kyiv before other materials from that museum that arrived much later.
  89. The first announcement to this effect was circulated on electronic mail by TsDAHO in February 1994. TsDAHO director Ruslan Ia. Pyrih showed these materials to this author in 1994. Their transfer from Prague is mentioned in the article by Larysa Iakovlieva, "Praz'ki fondy v Kyievi," *Pam'iatky Ukraïny* 1994 (3–6 [26]): 121.
  90. See the account of the wartime transfer of these records from Tarnów to Cracow and the Nazi processing of them there in Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library," pp. 193–95.
  91. As documented in Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library," p. 194.
  92. Report of Hryhorii P. Neklesa (Lviv, 12 March 1945), TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fol. 2–2v.
  93. Communications from the deputy commissar of the NKVD UkrSSR to his Moscow counterpart and from Gudzenko to the Chief of Glavarkhiv SSSR, I. I. Nikitinskii, dating from 27 March 1945. Diatlov to Kruglov (Kyiv, 21 March 1945), TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 3–4. Gudzenko to Nikitinskii (Kyiv, 27 March 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1353, fol. 17; TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fol. 11. Although there are two days difference in the dates recorded in Cracow and Kyiv, this communication would appear to confirm the pencilled note on the report in the Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie in my earlier account (Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura



- Library,” p. 207n64). Gudzenko requested that “you resolve the question of the transfer of these documents to archival organs of the NKVD UkrSSR through the Main Administration of Counterintelligence (Glavnoe upravlenie kontrrazvedki) ‘SMERSH’ NKO SSSR.”
94. Gudzenko and Abram Grinberg to Nikitinskii (Kyiv, 30 May 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1353, fol. 39; and (31 May 1945), TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fol. 13. He concluded, “Once we have sorted these materials, we will report more precise details about the fonds involved.” A subsequent report has not surfaced.
  95. Gudzenko report (25 July 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1326, fol. 116; the same is reported at the end of the year (fol. 229). As the report was in Russian, it used the form “TsGAOR.”
  96. These are listed in several different postwar lists of fonds in TsDIAK, now held among the administrative records of TsDIAK in TsDAVO, 4703/2.
  97. *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna*.
  98. I am grateful to Serhii Kot, of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, for arranging my interview with Mariia Evgraf’evna Samoiloova, now a department head in the Parliamentary Library of Ukraine, who recounted her story of the fate of the “trophy” books from the Petliura and Turgenev Libraries that had been acquired by the State Historical Library in Kyiv after the war. Regarding the 240 books from the Petliura Library transferred from Minsk and now held by the Parliamentary Library, see above and nn. 12–13.
  99. In a special search, librarians in the current Archival Administration of the Central Library in Kyiv have recently identified 533 Ukrainian and 129 foreign-language books from the Ukrainian University in Prague. They did not recall seeing any from the Petliura Library from Paris nor had they seen the stamp of the library before I showed it to them. They only sighed at the difficulty of a thorough search.
  100. MID SSSR to Gudzenko (4 June 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/11, fol. 7.
  101. TsDIAK to TsGOA SSSR (29 March 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fol. 43.
  102. The act of transfer to the TsGOA (4 January 1956) notes an attached list, but a copy has not been retained in the TsDIAK records, TsDAVO, 4703/2/33, fol. 1. See also the act of transfer dated 8 December 1955, TsDAVO, 4703/1/192, fol. 77. So far, an incoming copy of the list has not been available in TsGOA records. Archivists at RGVA insist that the records of the archive have not been processed adequately to be submitted for declassification proceedings. A spot check of the catalog slips that are available for the library books in TsGVA today reveals only a handful

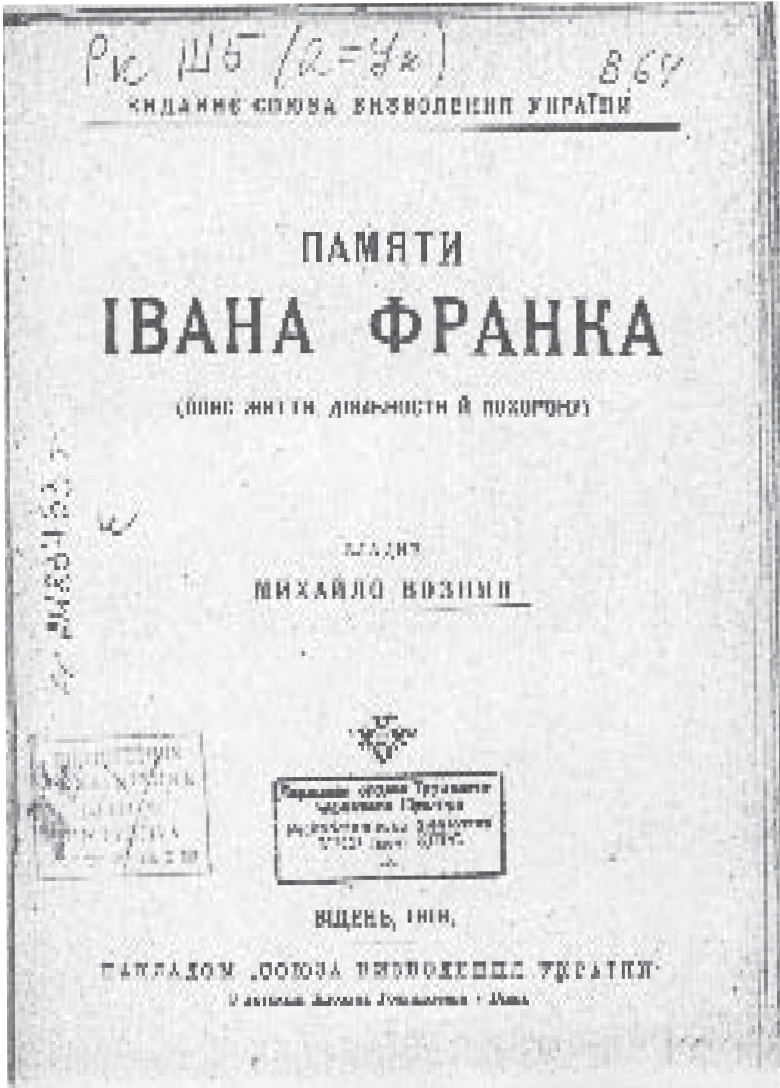
- that might conceivably have come from the Petliura Library; this author is still waiting for a response to her inquiry about these volumes.
103. This is explained in Rudychiv's report, "Prymushenyi vyizd bibliotekaria," pp. 65–66.
  104. In this case, Borys is cited in Ukrainian, although he has often been recognized in Russia as a Russian writer. See above, nn. 33 and 34. The letter from the TsGAO SSSR director to the TsDIA UkrSSR director, V. I. Sheludchenko (14 March 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/2/35, fol. 5, requests the transfer. A letter of transfer for 16 files regarding Ukrainian "bourgeois-nationalists" in Polish and other languages, which included "eight letters of B. A. Lazarevskii to his brother and others in Warsaw," was dated earlier (29 February 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fol. 31.
  105. See n. 29.
  106. TsDIAK to TsGAOR SSSR (29 March 1957), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fol. 43. Also included at the same time in the five crates with 77 file units were many French and German materials that had been acquired and held with the ERR records in Kyiv, and some scattered files of Ukrainian émigré organizations in Poland.
  107. Mykola Shudria, "Lysty Petliury z Pol'shchi," in *U 70-richchia paryz'koi trahediï*, pp. 200–201. See the prefatory remarks, p. 201. The article surveying UNR materials in TsDAVO cited above, prepared by an archivist there, however, does not mention this. She writes, as this author also found when she last examined the *opysy*, that there are only 17 files in the fond. Note below that most of the Prague Museum collections was deposited in the former Communist Party Archive in Kyiv, now TsDAHO.
  108. "Verzeichnis des Archivs des Aussen-Ministeriums der Ukrainischen Volks-Republik, 1918–1926" (dated 1943), BAB, R 146/ 73. When this author first found that inventory among the records of the Nazi State Archival Administration (*Reichsarchivverwaltung*), it was still located in Koblenz, but the entire record group has since been moved to the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde.
  109. The second *opys* contains 703 [earlier 694] file units (prepared in 1951). The third *opys* currently contains 51 [earlier 46] files; an earlier version of that *opys* (now no. 47) was apparently prepared in 1954. An additional 4 files received from the Lithuanian SSR were added to that *opys* in 1969. Many of the files included predate the UNR move to Tarnów, and again dates do not correspond with those in the German inventory.
  110. Fond 2592 (earlier 344s/259s) came from TsDIA as the fond of the Secretariat of National Questions of the Ukrainian Central Rada, but its *Opys* 1 (4 *opysy*; 121 units) has one group of files of the National

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR (*Narodne ministerstvo sprav zakordonnykh UNR*) (1917–1918). Fond 3766 (3 *opysy*) has predominantly earlier materials labeled from “Ukrains’ka derzhava (Hetmanstvo).” Different *opysy* were prepared at different times and the transfers among different fonds complicate their identification.

111. “Spisok fondov Osobogo otdela sekretnykh fondov TsGIA UkrSSR” (April 1949), TsDAVO, 4703/2/18, fol. 51. It has not been possible to verify these data with the TsDIA URSR accession registers.
112. The German inventory of the UNR Foreign Ministry records prepared in Cracow has a large section for the press division of the Ministry (C. Presse-Abteilung, 1919–1922, nos. 74–111). There are also contingent files of Press Bureau records, as noted above, in the UNR Berlin Embassy fond held in GA RF in Moscow, which had been acquired via RZIA in Prague.
113. The transfer protocol listed 18 émigré fonds, including UNR MID records (26 October 1954), TsDAVO, 4703/2/31, fol. 38.
114. “Spysok fondiv orhanizatsii, ustanov ta osobystykh fondiv ukrains’kykh emihrantiv viddilu fondiv respublikans’kykh ustanov TsDIA URSR” (6 January 1962), TsDAVO, 4703/2/39, fol. 96. Coincidentally, the number of units in this fond corresponds to the 17 units listed for a fond by that name in GA RF (no. 8), but those came from RZIA.
115. *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna*.
116. The administrative record of the fond (*dela fonda*) has not been available for examination, and there was no historical data presented in the very rough handwritten *opys*.
117. See nn. 54–55.
118. RGVA, 1255K/2/13. The first 5 fols. give an administrative history of the Ukrainian government; fols. 6–9 constitute a draft *opis’* of sections of the records of the Ministry of Finance (1918–1921).
119. See the 1961 list, “Spysok fondiv orhanizatsii, ustanov ta osobystykh fondiv ukrains’kykh emihrantiv viddilu fondiv respublikans’kykh ustanov TsDIA URSR” (6 January 1962), TsDAVO, 4703/2/39, *passim*.
120. Colleagues in DKAU kindly provided me with a typescript review copy of this section of the new TsDAHO guide in May 2000, from which the present appraisal is prepared. See also the survey article by the TsDAHO archivist who has been processing this collection—Anatolii V. Kentii, “Fond ‘Ukrains’kyi muzei u Prazi’ TsDAHO Ukraïny iak skladova ‘Praz’koho arkhivu’ (za rezul’tatamy vporiadkuvannia),” *Arkhivy Ukraïny* 2000 (1–3): 43–49. I am very grateful to Kentii for making available to me his preliminary card file and consulting with me about these materials (as authorized by Ruslan Pyrih).

121. I was shown these listings from the official French-Russian agreement at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris. As of my visit in November 1997, the Quai d'Orsay authorities did not even know the coordinates of the Petliura Library in Paris, although they explained to me that the Petliura Library would have to file a claim for their wartime losses and verify the fonds on the official list. The library subsequently did so.
122. See Grimsted, "'Trophy' Archives and Non-Restitution: Russia's Cultural 'Cold War' with the European Community," *Problems of Post-Communism* 45(3) May/June 1998: 3–16, and the earlier, more detailed coverage in Grimsted, "Displaced Archives and Restitution Problems on the Eastern Front in the Aftermath of World War II," *Contemporary European History* 6(1) 1997: 27–74.
123. "Ob obmene arkhivnykh dokumentov Frantsuzskoi Respubliki, peremeshchennykh na territoriiu Rossiiskoi Federatsii v rezul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, na arkhivnye dokumenty rossiiskogo proiskhozhdeniia, nakhodiashchiesia na territorii Frantsuzskoi Respubliki": Postanovlenie Gosudarstvennoi Dumy Federal'nogo sobraniia RF ot 22 maia 1998 g., no. 2504–II GD, *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF*, 1998, no. 24, st. 2662.
124. I am grateful to Professor Joukovsky for meeting with me at the Petliura Library at that time. I appreciate the assistance of my friend and colleague, H  l  ne Kaplan, President of the Turgenev Library Association, for arranging my visit to the Quai d'Orsay, where Madame de Nomazy kindly received us, briefed us about the French negotiations, and showed us the proposed restitution list.
125. Jaroslava Josypyszyn, "Les archives de la Biblioth  que ukrainienne de Paris retrouv  es," *Bulletin de l'Association fran  aise des   tudes ukrainiennes* 3(13) Novembre 1999: 3–6.
126. Andrei V. Popov, *Russkoe zarubezh'e i arkhivy: Dokumenty rossiiskoi emigratsii v arkhivakh Moskvy. Problemy vyivleniia, komplektovaniia, opisaniia, ispol'zovaniia* (Moscow, 1998), p. 301.
127. As reported to this author by colleagues in Rosarkhiv and RGVA.
128. Documentation regarding the odyssey of the Polish Library is being prepared for a separate essay.
129. This incident was reported to the author by Frits Hoogewoud, Deputy Curator, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam University Library. See Hoogewoud's published conference report about the migration and fate of the returned collections, "Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)," in *The Return of Looted Collections (1946–1996): An Unfinished Chapter: Proceedings of the International Symposium to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Return of Dutch Book Collections from Germany in 1946, Amsterdam, 15 and 16 April 1996* (Amsterdam, 1997), pp. 72–74.

130. Claire Sibille, “Les Archives du ministère de la Guerre recuperées de Russie,” *Gazette des Archives* 176 (1997): 64–77; Dominique Devaus, “Les Archives de la direction de la Sûreté rapatriées de Russie,” *ibid.*, pp. 78–86.



*Illustration:* Title page of *Pam'iaty Ivana Franka*, comp. Mykhailo Vozniak (Vienna, 1916), showing the Petliura Library stamp crossed out and the stamp of the CPSU Republic Library of Ukraine affixed.

