

The Road to Minsk for Western “Trophy” Books: Twice Plundered but Not Yet “Home from the War”

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

In the fall of 1945 an echelon of fifty-four freight cars arrived from Silesia in the war-torn Belarusian capital of Minsk bringing over 1 million library books. Half of them had been plundered from Belarusian libraries by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) during World War II, but the other half had been plundered by the ERR in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands and ended the war in the ERR Silesia center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz). Many of those “twice-plundered” books are still in Minsk, some were forwarded to Moscow (only a handful of those returned to the West), some were destroyed by order of the censor, while many have been otherwise dispersed. Only half a century later can we begin to reconstruct their migration and identify the private libraries (mostly Jewish) from whence they came.

Books from private libraries . . . , often by means of the author’s autograph dedications, [evoke] the remembrance of people and their relationship. . . . And they have a special moral significance: these books did miraculously escape the Holocaust. Sometimes they were more lucky than their owners, Georges Mandel or Jean Zay perished—while books from their collections survived, and some of them came to Minsk.

Vladimir Makarov, “Involuntary Journey of Books
from Paris to Minsk”

One would hardly expect to find books in Minsk from the libraries of Léon Blum, Georges Mandel, Jean Zay, and other Jewish political leaders, especially those with personal dedications from writers such as André Gide, André Malraux, and Paul Valéry, or books with dedications from the libraries of James and Maurice Rothschild, or dedications to members of the French cultural elite by Marcel Proust, Salvador Dali, or by the Polish émigré harpsichordist Wanda Landowska. . . . A series of

intriguing essays by Minsk linguistics professor Vladimir Makarov evokes the sad fate connected with many French-language books that made an “involuntary journey . . . from Paris to Minsk” as a result of World War II. Among other ownership markings of French provenance he mentions are those of the French Theosophical Society (*Société théosophique de France*), the Society of Lithuanian Jews in France (*Société des Juifs lithuaniens en France*), and the Turgenev Russian Library (*Bibliothèque russe Tourguénev*).¹ While Makarov’s brief 1999 report was published in English in a widely circulated journal devoted to the spoils of war, his first 1993 essays are hardly known outside of Belarus.² In another piece, using inscriptions in these books, Makarov re-creates the relationship of Russian émigré ballerina Ida Rubinstein with Russian poet Marina Tsvetaeva and Nobel laureate Ivan Bunin and of American writers Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald in 1920s Paris.³ Makarov’s essays give no idea of how many books from Paris libraries were still in Minsk or how and whence they came. He avoids the word “trophy” in describing them. Makarov had not known the whole story himself.

One of the first published reports (1989) on the existence of trophy books brought to the Soviet Union after World War II mentioned the destruction of many books with Turgenev Library markings “in an outlying Soviet library” during one of the proverbial Soviet-period “cleansing” campaigns. A librarian reportedly risked censure by trying to save some of the title pages with dedicatory autographs by important Russian émigré writers. Only later in private did the Moscow author identify the library as being in the Belarusian capital.⁴ Subsequent research revealed more details confirming the post-war odyssey of the Turgenev Library as tangentially involving Minsk.⁵ Books from another Paris Slavic library (which Makarov does not mention) also surfaced in Minsk, and at the international conference “The Spoils of War” in New York City in 1995 the Belarus representative, Adam Mal’dis, noted “our goodwill in returning to Ukraine part of the library of Petliura.”⁶ But he did not explain that the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library was established in Paris to honor the memory of Petliura by Ukrainian émigrés following Petliura’s assassination there in 1927 (allegedly with Soviet involvement). During the Soviet period no one would have dared suggest returning those to Paris. Even in 2000 Russia refused the claim of the French Foreign Ministry for the fragmentary files from the Petliura Library’s own archives still held in Moscow after transfer there from Minsk in the 1950s.⁷

The subject of trophy books brought to the USSR after World War II first came to wide public attention in October 1990, when a Moscow journalist revealed the scandal that over 2 million German

books (including many rare early imprints) were rotting under pigeon droppings in a former church of Uzkoie on the outskirts of Moscow. Evgenii Kuz'min's article in *Literaturnaia gazeta* also mentioned a document he had found confirming receipt by the Lenin Library in Moscow of books from the Turgenev Library in May 1947 amidst a shipment of some "200,000 books in English, French, and other languages."⁸ The extent of trophy books in the Soviet Union and the fact that millions of valuable ones were being left to ruin shocked the library world, but the subject was still hushed up. Even more sensational, half a year later, were the revelations of trophy art, with pictures of the golden treasures of Troy on the front page of newspapers around the world soon after *ARTNews* broke the story in April 1991.⁹ Those exposés were only the beginning of more open discussion of the issue of trophy cultural treasures in the context of World War II reparations, but Russia has been refusing restitution, except in a few cases where there was serious barter in exchange.¹⁰

The 1995 New York international conference was the venue for more revelations about displaced cultural treasures in the Soviet Union, but it also brought confrontation between Russia and Germany over the issue of trophy cultural treasures. Russian politicians were saying that the Germans had looted occupied Soviet lands but that there had been no restitution from the West. Such statements were refuted by the U.S. inventories of over half a million cultural treasures transferred by the Americans to Soviet officials in Germany, including 200,000 books.¹¹ Many Russians were starting to claim that the cultural trophies had been brought to the Soviet Union legally. But the grounds for that legality remain dubious—a still secret order by Stalin, signed at the end of February 1945, two weeks after the Yalta Conference. First published (without archival authorization) in Moscow in 1994, the original document and many related files are still classified.¹² For Stalin and still for a wide segment of the Russian public, reparations, including cultural reparations (or "restitution in kind"), were considered "compensation" for the devastation the Germans had wreaked and the tremendous Soviet cultural losses in World War II. However, previous international agreements, such as the Hague Convention of 1906, outlawed the seizure of cultural treasures in wartime, and there were no international agreements or precedents for "compensatory cultural restitution" among the Allies after World War II.¹³ The trophy issue has recently been bitterly disputed in Russia, where many, and especially new right-wing nationalists, justify retention and nationalization of the trophies. Similarly, in Belarus restitution has been discussed only in the context of Belarusian war losses and remains extremely sensitive.

Mal'dis's remark about the "goodwill" in the "return" of the Petliura Library books to Kyiv came at the end of his dramatic survey of Belarusian losses during the war and strong complaint that "in the postwar years some Belarusian cultural property was returned from Germany to Russia . . . but not to Belarus." As for libraries, he quoted, "an associate of the National Library, T[at'iana] Roshchina, calculated that 83 percent of the library's collection was plundered and destroyed. After the war some 600,000 volumes from this library were found in Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and were subsequently returned. About one million books, however, including rare and old printed volumes, have still not been located."¹⁴ But he did not mention the extent of Western books, first plundered by Nazi agencies, that had been brought to Minsk after the war or any other trophy book receipts.

An early highlight of the "recleansing" process was an historic round table of Russian and German librarians in December 1992 devoted to the German trophy books and restitution issues. Among the active Moscow host libraries was the All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL), which still bears the honorific name of its founder and longtime director, Margarita Rudomino, who had directed the Soviet trophy book operation in Germany after the war. Evgenii I. Kuz'min, the journalist who first revealed the trophy books in Uzkoe, had since joined the Library Department of the Ministry of Culture and had new revelations for the round table. After mentioning other documents he had found, including the still secret transfer of the forty-eight-folio Gutenberg Bible to the former Lenin Library in Moscow, he concluded with a document prepared by Rudomino in 1948, giving the figure of 10 million trophy books brought back to the USSR between 1945 and 1946.¹⁵ Although the same document claimed 2 million trophy books went to Belarus, no confirmation has been found of major shipments other than the one in November 1945 (half of which was retrieved books from Belarus libraries). Previously, reports such as the one by Mal'dis in New York claimed that the main shipments of library books to Minsk after the war from abroad contained books from Belarus libraries plundered by the Nazis and retrieved by Soviet authorities. No librarian from Belarus took part in the 1992 Moscow round table, and meanwhile in Minsk, no one was yet talking publicly about trophy books, let alone Western ones.

In his New York presentation Mal'dis mentioned a second Belarus goodwill act of restitution, "giving back to Russia the Dutch trophy book collection, which was later returned to the Netherlands."¹⁶ Again, that was only part of the story. Other clues regarding Western trophy

books in Minsk were revealed in the fall of 1992 after VGBIL returned 608 Dutch books (663 volumes) to the Netherlands. The 1992 Amsterdam exhibition catalog identified the books as having been acquired by the Moscow library “from the exchange fond of the Minsk Republican Library” in the 1980s.¹⁷ Frits Hoogewoud of the Amsterdam University Library revealed that those Dutch books “twice subjected to exile” were, according to a letter he received from Galina Oleinik, the director of the National Library in Minsk, among 1,303 Dutch books that were transferred from Minsk to Moscow in the early 1980s. Oleinik further explained, “In 1945 on Polish territory, in the Katowice district, a big repository of books was discovered [Ratibor–F. J. Hoogewoud], including a large quantity taken from our library. As requested by the Council of Ministers of the Belarusian Socialist Soviet Republic, all these books were placed at the republic’s disposal. They reached Minsk by train in the autumn of 1945—totalling 54 wagons carrying about one million books.”¹⁸

When Hoogewoud published his report on the 1992 restitution to the Netherlands with the proceedings of a 1996 conference on restitution issues in Amsterdam, he interjected the name of the Silesian city of Ratibor as the location in the Katowice region where the books had been collected. Ratibor, as my report to the same conference pointed out, was the major center organized in Silesia in mid-1943 by the ERR, one of the most important Nazi agencies of cultural plunder. It was to Ratibor and vicinity that the ERR had evacuated many of its research and library operations from Berlin, including many of the hundreds of thousands of books it had plundered from Western European libraries.¹⁹ Indeed, the Western trophy books that came to Minsk had been in Ratibor, together with well over 600,000 books the ERR had plundered from Belarusian libraries. Actually, Oleinik was also right about Katowice, as the pieces of the puzzle fit together. The books were actually collected at the end of the war in warehouses in the Katowice suburb of Mystowice (German Myslowitz) and transported in a military echelon to Minsk from there.

Dutch librarians celebrated “Russia’s Only Restitution of Books to the West” with an exhibition entitled Dutch Books as Victims of War, but Hoogewoud remarked that the “600 books were merely a sample of the ones lost.” An earlier report suggested that as many as 20,000 Dutch books were still in Minsk in the 1970s, and director Oleinik estimated that 11,000 Dutch books went to VGBIL and the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN) in Leningrad before 1978: “Surely the return of these holdings would amount to more than a symbolic act.”²⁰ Given the dispersal of the Dutch books, however, it



Figure 1. *The road to Minsk for Western trophy books.*

may not be so easy to track them down. Still another Moscow library was involved in an unpublicized act of restitution to the Netherlands when over a hundred books from the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG) in Amsterdam were quietly returned in 1992 from the library of the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML), now the State Sociopolitical Library (GOPB). We do not know for sure that those books had come via Minsk, because some archival materials and publications from Western left-wing sources had been transferred to IML from Warsaw during the Soviet period.²¹

In 1994 an IISH researcher found books bearing the Dutch stamp of IISH/IISG (the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam) in the National Library in Minsk, most of them various German and English editions of the writings of Marx and Engels, including *Das Kapital* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. There were some early Dutch editions of Lenin's *State and Revolution* with stamps of predecessor collections from the Economic-Historical Library (Economisch-Historische Bibliotheek) in Amsterdam. Since only about fifteen books had been identified at that time (there are many more) and IISH does not have an exchange partner in Minsk, it never put forward a claim. The National Library in Minsk never offered to return the books, but IISH did notify other Dutch institutions whose books had been identified in Minsk, including the Theosophical Society (Theosofische Boekerij) and the French Institute of Amsterdam (Institut français d'Amsterdam–Maison Descartes).²²



Figure 2. Book stamps from the IISH/IISG, now in NBB.

At a conference in 2001 Makarov noted that there were some books of Belgian provenance in Minsk with dedications to eminent political leaders such as Paul Van Zeeland and Emile Vandervelde as well as books that had belonged to Olympé Gilbart, a professor at the University of Liège; and editor of the newspaper *La Meuse*; leaders of the Second International with inscriptions by Boris Nikolaevskii to Frederick Adler (who had been based in Belgium since 1935); and to the heir to the French throne, Jean, comte de Paris, and his son Henri, also duc de Guise, who found refuge in the Manoir d'Anjou (near Brussels) between the wars.²³ A few books from some of those Belgian collections had been among the “Dutch” books returned to Amsterdam from Moscow in 1992. Noting their ownership markings, Dutch librarians had returned them to Belgium. The larger picture of the extent of trophy books of Western provenance in Minsk was gradually emerging.

Makarov lamented that he has not found anyone concerned with seeing any of those books in Minsk go home or anyone interested in

their migratory fate. Today he regrets that, when he served in Paris as the representative to UNESCO from the Belarusian SSR, he could not present to the widow of Léon Blum some of the books warmly dedicated by the authors to her husband that were confiscated by the Nazis after Blum was sent to Buchenwald. Part of Blum's library did come home from Austria after the war. French scouts who searched for more in Poland came home empty-handed, although some ERR-confiscated books were returned to France in 1946 by the University of Poznań.²⁴ Makarov wished he could have conveyed to the prominent French journalist and writer (and later deputy to the European Parliament) Louise Weiss some of the books dedicated to her. Some of her archives, like those of Léon Blum, had gone to Moscow after the war and were returned to Paris in 1994. They are now held in a museum and research center honoring her memory.²⁵ We do not know how many of her books remain in Minsk, but Makarov found twenty-three, and at least sixteen with dedications are listed in one special catalog of autographs.

The road to Minsk for the scattered French, Belgian, and Dutch books we had been hearing about finally became clear, as my presentation at a September 2003 library conference in Minsk suggested.²⁶ Documentation has still not surfaced that might explain Rudomino's figure of 2 million trophy books that were shipped to Minsk. There are some indications that Belarus libraries received sizeable numbers of German trophy books after the war, especially from the State Fund for Literature (Gosfond), which was distributing trophy books from Moscow to libraries that had been depleted, but distribution statistics are not now available. Nevertheless, as befits our focus here, we can now document the contents and fate of that November 1945 military echelon that brought fifty-four freight cars with over a million books to Minsk.

Approximately half a million of these books were plundered books of foreign provenance, as revealed in a previously unpublished report (ca. 1948) by Iosif Simonovskii, then director of the Lenin State Library in Minsk, now the National Library of Belarus (NBB). The other half of the consignment contained close to half a million Russian and Belarusian books plundered by the Nazis from libraries in the Belarusian SSR—over 400,000 from the Lenin Library and over 90,000 from other libraries—that were being returned to Minsk.²⁷ Neither the Lenin Library nor the Academy of Sciences Library had a building fit to house the books when the echelon arrived. Before the return of these books the Lenin Library alone estimated its war-time losses at 1.7 million volumes. Another official 1946 Belarus report, confirming the total received of “about 1 million volumes,” gave

the figure of “sixty freight cars of books returned to Minsk, including fifty-four freight cars from Myslowitz,” that had been “transferred there from Ratibor, among other places.”²⁸ Again quoting Simonovskii, “A 1946 directive of the Council of Ministers of the BSSR officially transferred the foreign arrivals to the disposition of the Lenin Library” as “compensation” for wartime losses.²⁹ But can French, Belgian, and Dutch books plundered from war victims in Paris and Amsterdam compensate for the Belarusian books destroyed in the war or those that did not come home to Minsk?

After weeding out a “significant quantity of ideologically unfit” books as well as duplicates and those badly damaged in transit, the director reported that the Lenin Library in Minsk retained “approximately 60 percent of the foreign books received.” He further explained, “Part of those designated to the ‘reserve’ fond (books on theosophy or religious publications, for example, and other outdated imprints or odd volumes of multivolume sets) would be designated for waste paper [*makulatura*].” Of the “56,000 duplicates” or “nonprofile” imprints that “went to the exchange-duplicate collection, some 30,000 were of significant interest to other libraries in the Soviet Union” and were accordingly dispersed, among them “600 volumes in Armenian” (presumably from the Armenian Library in Paris) to public libraries in Erevan.³⁰ Simonovskii noted that “a large collection of books in Dutch, a language nowhere represented in Soviet libraries, was of interest to the Fundamental Library of the Academy of Sciences [now INION] and the All-Union Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL)” in Moscow. However, there are conflicting reports as to where and when those books were shipped, with the suggestion that 20,000 Dutch books were still in Minsk in the 1970s.³¹

Within the Lenin Library in Minsk, Simonovskii further reported, approximately 300,000 books were cataloged in the basic holdings (to be sure, with no indication of provenance). Among transfers to various library divisions, approximately 11,000 volumes went to the Department of Art, 3,500 to the Rare Book Department, and over 16,000 to the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books. Another 4,000 titles (91,000 volumes) went to the periodical fond.³² Many of those foreign books went to the “classified” collection (*spetsfond*) and were not heard about until the late 1980s. Later director Oleinik reported in the 1990s that “under the USSR . . . [and] Party control . . . any questions about ‘trophy’ collections (fonds) were silenced.”³³ The subject has still remained exceedingly sensitive in Belarus since independence, which explains why, even since the collapse of the Soviet Union, no one has written about the extent of the trophy holdings or where they came from.

According to a regulation of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (*Prikaz*, no. 505, 19 May 1946), all libraries and other institutions throughout the Soviet Union receiving trophy literature (as it was called in government circles) were required to report such receipts to Department II (Foreign Literature) of the Soviet censorship agency, Glavlit, because an appropriate censor had to inspect all trophy books and journals before they could be made available to readers. Literature rejected by the censor was to be destroyed or otherwise taken out of circulation; those items deemed suitable for exceedingly limited specialists were to be assigned to special closed collections (*spetskhran* or sometimes *spetsfond*), accessible only to approved readers; and those of questionable content or in languages the censors could not read were to be held aside for further investigation.

A May 1949 censor's report found among Glavlit records in Moscow estimates that the V. I. Lenin Minsk Public Library "received approximately 400,000 trophy publications, of which ca. 150,000 were post-1917 imprints." The Glavlit censor thus confirms Simonovskii's figures for the accession of foreign trophy books and reveals more about their fate in Minsk. The awesome task of inspecting almost half a million books was easier in Minsk, the censor reported, because "the library administration had made a provisional examination, so in my inspection I did not find any literature with anti-Soviet propaganda, although to be sure, the entire holding will require further 'cleansing' [*ochistki*], since it is littered with scattered bourgeois apologetic philosophical and sociological publications." Besides, he explained, as a further safeguard "the library director personally was checking all call slips for foreign literature, which serves as an effective control," and "there have been very few of them." Confirming other indications of the dispersal of the invaluable Western European trophy books that arrived in Minsk, the censor further noted, "Several thousand volumes of the most highly valuable imprints were being chosen for transfer to the Academy of Science Library and the Lenin Library in Moscow." However, he explained that there were problems with the shipment. Because those books had not been passed by the censor, they had to be accompanied to Moscow by an authorized individual, which was proving difficult.³⁴

During the Soviet regime, to be sure, few people saw and no one wrote about those French and Belgian books in prison behind the Iron Curtain. Meanwhile, in their home countries the owners or their heirs never realized that their books had survived and were in Minsk.³⁵ By contrast, during the past decade the Rare Book Department (which now also includes manuscripts and early imprints) of the National Library of Belarus has compiled card catalogs of

authors' dedications, *ex libris*, library stamps, and other ownership markings. Four drawers of catalog cards cover between 2,000 and 2,500 autographs (allowing for duplicates in addressees), and eight more drawers contain data on provenance (5,000–6,000 volumes). In 1993 the library started transferring the autograph files to an electronic database, and new entries are only being processed online. As of 2003 the National Library counts some 6,500 books (imprints before 1825) in its Rare Book Department, and efforts have been made to transfer there those books found in the main stacks bearing autograph dedications, *ex libris*, or other significant markings.

The NBB specialized rare book catalogs contain many listings from Belarus, including many prerevolutionary imprints that were earlier held in various local libraries, interspersed with listings of displaced books of Western provenance. There are also many entries from other former Soviet areas, among them ownership markings from Pskov and Smolensk and even a few from the former Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad. Presumably, many of these were also received in the fall 1945 echelon from Silesia, having been confiscated from occupied Soviet lands and shipped West by the ERR; they too ended the war in the Ratibor center. During the postwar years there was little effort to identify provenance and “return” books to their homes, even within the Soviet Union. Obviously, with all the problems of bombed-out buildings and the first priority to get libraries up and running again, it is not surprising that more efforts were not made to send each and every book from other Soviet libraries home.³⁶ As Mal'dis reveals, “With such huge losses of our national cultural property, it would have been logical to allocate considerable scholarly resources and state funds for their identification and return. But this has not been the case. . . . The question of restitution was, in fact, not put forward either then or later during the Cold War, and no efforts were made to provide a scholarly basis for restitution.”³⁷ Although Mal'dis was explaining the fact that many Belarus cultural treasures were not returned to Belarus, his words also confirm the lack of attention generally to the return of books to their libraries of origin, even within the Soviet Union.

Indeed, the special NBB catalogs of ownership markings and autograph dedications were not compiled until after the collapse of the Soviet regime. They cover only the rare books in one division that survived the censors—at most 1 percent of the trophy books received after the war and hence only the tip of the iceberg. Many more that have not yet been designated “rare books” remain dispersed, cataloged among the main holdings or in various other divisions. How many volumes with foreign book stamps may remain in the general



Figure 3. Uncataloged Judaica in the stacks of NBB.

stacks or the periodical division of a library now totaling 8 million volumes is virtually impossible to determine.

As of 2003 NBB librarians admit that not all of the trophy books have been processed, especially those in Hebrew and Yiddish. Many more books still await identification in a NBB reserve depository across the city from the main library, among them a still unknown quantity of Judaica from many sources that survived the Holocaust, reportedly including some from Jewish communities in Yugoslavia. Some of the still-uncataloged Judaica reserves were deposited for several decades in an abandoned church in a village outside of Minsk, but when the building was restored to the Church after Belarus independence, the books were moved into a reserve section of the main library; many have still not been identified as to provenance.³⁸

Several other libraries in Minsk received parts of the trophy “compensation.” The Academy Library in Minsk retains many Western treasures, but as of 2003 even the Rare Book Department had made no effort to identify their provenance.³⁹ The 1949 Glavlit censor reported that the Academy of Sciences Library in Minsk had “received 12,000 publications of trophy literature already in 1945, of which by

1949 7,000 issues of German technical periodicals had not yet been verified.” This would suggest that some German trophy literature was transferred to Minsk from Gosfond in Moscow. But that receipt figure was probably underestimated or was only an example. The censor also mentioned that “ten crates of literature from the Baltic countries had been ordered to be diverted and delayed in Minsk” pending appropriate language inspections, which apparently could not be readily performed by available personnel in Minsk.⁴⁰

Censorship problems and lack of postwar attention to restitution may explain why imprints with ownership markings from various Baltic collections remain in Minsk. But that hardly justifies the retention in Minsk of the most notable trophy receipt by the Academy Library, namely, a major surviving part of the eminent collection of Julius Genss from Tallinn with Genss’s own handwritten catalog.⁴¹ That collection (originally over 10,000 volumes), rich in Western art books and rare bibliophile treasures, had been the subject of a major battle for spoils between Nazi agencies after the German occupation of Estonia. Part of the library presumably arrived in Minsk with the fall 1945 echelon from Ratibor. Soviet courts were immune to legal proceedings initiated by the family in the 1950s to return that collection to Estonia. The Academy Library now admits to holding approximately 1,000 volumes, but apparently not all of the collection was kept intact; earlier in the 1950s, according to Genss’s daughter, an estimated close to 5,000 volumes remained, together with a card file in her father’s handwriting. At one point, reportedly 780 volumes with stamps of the Tallinn Art Museum were transferred from Minsk to Estonia.⁴² A few volumes with the Genss ex libris that also bear stamps from the Tallinn Art Museum are held in the Rare Book Department in the National Library. Yet it has not been possible to ascertain exactly how many books from the Genss library came to Minsk or remain there.⁴³

The Genss collection is only one example of the dispersal of trophy books. During the past two decades he has been researching French books in Minsk, Makarov has compiled his own handwritten card files with separate boxes for authors’ dedications, the names of well-known individuals to whom the books were dedicated, and related biographical data about the authors and individuals named.⁴⁴ He found a few more trophy Western books in the library of the Minsk University of Linguistics, where he still teaches, and a few in the Municipal Library in Minsk. The Rare Book Department of the Presidential Library (earlier the A. M. Gorkii Government Library [Pravitel’s tvennaia biblioteka/Urada vaia bibliiateka imia A. M. Horkaha]) in Minsk has a card file covering close to 500 volumes

from the Turgenev Library among its other trophy literature and more from the Petliura Library.⁴⁵ While today it is impossible to determine how many trophy books from Western Europe remain in various libraries in Minsk, the explication of their “involuntary journey” provides one of the most essential but hitherto missing links in the broader context of displaced cultural treasures resulting from World War II that has been unraveling over the past decade.

ERR Confiscation Lists

Of prime significance in identifying provenance and in establishing the road to Minsk for Western trophy books are the wartime library confiscation lists compiled by the ERR in different countries. Alfred Rosenberg, one of Hitler’s foremost ideologues, headed the ERR and related operations and was simultaneously Reich minister for occupied Eastern (Soviet) lands. The ERR started its plunder operations with the abandoned art collections of Jews who had fled from France after the Nazi invasion. ERR library plunder involved different patterns of confiscation and dispersal in occupied countries. The books plundered by the ERR that have ended up in Minsk are only a small part of the total.⁴⁶

While NBB special rare book catalogs record the dedicatory autographs and marks of ownership, remaining original ERR lists confirm confiscation of the libraries. In many cases they provide the addresses, dates of seizure, and number of crates shipped with indications of their German crate markings. Many of the names of owners of the “twice-plundered” books and archives that ended up in the Soviet Union after the war are included on extant ERR lists from Nazi-occupied countries. Those books already identified in the NBB Rare Book Department in Minsk provide many poignant examples.

Most of the prominent names Makarov cited in his essays based on the dedicatory inscriptions he found in Minsk match up with those appearing on the ERR lists of library confiscations in Paris. The several ERR lists from Paris available today cover over 200 confiscated libraries of prominent individuals and organizations. The most extensive set of ERR Paris confiscation lists, with a covering memorandum dated January 1942, is found among the ERR records in Kyiv.⁴⁷ Presumably, those Kyiv lists were with the ERR working files from Ratibor. Copies of an earlier Paris list (23 March 1941) covering eighty-one confiscated libraries (through mid-March 1941) are found in the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, and in Paris.⁴⁸ Copies of that same list, together with a supplement with an additional thirty libraries seized through the end of April, are preserved among ERR files in Koblenz.⁴⁹ A covering

memorandum (2 May 1941) signed by Dr. Gerhard Wunder, who then headed ERR library operations in Paris, was addressed to the German Military Command in France, which explains the presence of a copy in the Bundesarchiv military branch in Freiburg.⁵⁰ The original ERR Paris files have not been located.⁵¹ Another ERR Paris library confiscation list found in British records starts with seizures in March 1941 and continues through June 1941, with sixty-four libraries not previously listed.⁵² Many of the lists speak of “Jewish libraries,” but in fact they also include libraries confiscated from Masonic lodges and émigré individuals from Eastern Europe and other organizations in Paris. Some of the lists provide a brief characterization of the individual or materials seized and notes about destinations. Separate, more detailed confiscation reports have been found for many individual libraries seized. Notable examples among many surviving ERR documents in Paris are reports on confiscation from Léon Blum, Louise Weiss, Ida Rubinstein, and many members of the Rothschild clan, whose invaluable art collections and jewels were also confiscated.⁵³

Meanwhile, the NBB catalogs of autographs and provenance for rare books in Minsk reveal more than sixty names of individuals that coincide precisely with those appearing on the original 1940–41 lists of personal libraries seized in Paris by the ERR. The special NBB rare book catalogs now make it possible to extend the range, but analysis has yet to be completed beyond that initial figure. In addition to those mentioned earlier by Makarov, private institutional collections represented in Minsk coinciding with the ERR files include, for example, the Lodge of True Friends of Progress and Union (*Loge des vrais amis de l’union et progrès réunis*), the Library of Jewish Societies of France (*Bibliothèque “Efim Pernikof”*), and the Institute of History of Contemporary Political Emigration (*Institut d’histoire de l’émigration politique contemporaine*). The Lavroff-Gotz Russian Library (book stamps identified in Minsk) does not appear separately on the ERR lists because part of that library had been given to the Turgenev Library after the death of Peter Lavrov, but most of it was and still is held by the IISH.

There are many more books from prominent French Jewish families. In the case of the French Rothschilds, separate ERR seizures are listed for the libraries of Barons Edmond, Edward, James, Maurice, and Robert, among others, all of whose books are represented in NBB Rare Book Department catalogs. One example in Minsk is an elegant leather-bound seventy-volume special edition of the works of Voltaire with engravings by J. M. Moreau (Paris, 1785–1801) bearing an *ex libris* from the library of James, baron de Rothschild. Also in Minsk is one volume of a manuscript catalog (ca. 1860) of that eminent nineteenth-century collection, a large part of



Figure 4. A volume of Voltaire from the library of James, baron de Rothschild, in NBB.

which was retained by his bibliophile son James; it was plundered with the family library from Château de Ferrières-en-Brie.⁵⁴ The Germans had occupied that Rothschild estate during the war. It was of special significance to them because it was where the peace treaty was signed ending the Franco-Prussian War (1871). Also in Minsk, as Makarov has noted, is “the third volume of the catalogue of the ‘Collection’ of his son Alphonse, with a description and watercolor reproduction of enamel miniatures created by early French and Venetian masters.”⁵⁵

The Minsk NBB collections are also rich in books from the libraries of Russian émigrés in Paris, so much so that a cooperative project has been started recently with the Division for Literature of Russia Abroad in the Russian State Library (RGB, formerly the Lenin Library [GBL]) in Moscow. All of these were severely repressed during the Soviet period, and many were destroyed in censorship “cleansings.” Some of the books involved may have come from the Turgenev Library or from the Paris branch of the IISH, which had become a haven for refugee Jewish socialists such as Fedor Dan and Karl Kautsky who had fled to Paris from Berlin in the 1930s. Also well represented are bookplates from the libraries of Mark Aldanov,

Vladimir Burtsev, Il'ia Fundaminskii (often Fundaminskii-Bunakov), Aleksandr Kerenskii, Mikhail Osorgin (pseudonym of Il'in), Konstantin Parchevskii, and Ida Rubinstein, to name only a few of the prominent Russian émigrés whose names appear on ERR lists of seizures in Paris and whose books with their personal ex libris and/or dedication copies are found today in Minsk.

Given the extent and variety of the Paris confiscation lists, a database is badly needed that would combine the known information about French seizures and victims. Such a database with images of ex libris and other ownership markings could help further identify the provenance and verify the seizure of most of the trophy books that came to Minsk in November 1945, together with the present locations of books lost or still displaced from the plundered libraries. The brief initial comparison undertaken (yielding over sixty matches) of names on one group of ERR Paris lists with ownership markings listed in the NBB rare book catalogs and the Makarov files has yielded such spectacular results that further efforts are in order.⁵⁶

Belgian specialists found (among ERR files in Kyiv) a similar list of over 150 private libraries and archives confiscated from Belgium that also indicates shipping dates and destinations. They have already published a large part of the data.⁵⁷ All of the books with Belgian ownership markings identified so far in Minsk correspond to names on that list. More detailed ERR confiscation reports have been found for many victimized individuals such as Olympé Gilbert, Emile Vandervelde, and Paul Van Zeeland (mentioned above) and for major institutional collections, including Masonic lodges, the Ecole des hautes études (Ghent), and several socialist organizations and individuals, including Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Second International who had emigrated to Brussels from Austria. Just to name one prominent example, a forty-eight-page inventory describes books and other materials the ERR confiscated from the heir to the French throne, the duc de Guise (Henri, comte de Paris), who found refuge at the Manoir d'Anjou outside of Brussels between the wars and whose books are now well-represented in Minsk.⁵⁸ So far Belgium is the only country to have created reports that reveal the pattern of ERR library and archival confiscation with citations of available documentation on individual cases.⁵⁹ The Belgian database (created on the basis of the ERR list and related documents) proved essential in archival restitution negotiations with Russia for keeping track of documentation needed for official claims and could now serve to identify the owners of many of the Belgian books in Minsk.⁶⁰

A less detailed report on ERR confiscations by August Schrimmer, leader of the Dutch Task Force, was exhibited at the Nuremberg War



Figure 5. A book by Henri, comte de Paris, dedicated to the Belgian Socialist prime minister, Paul Van Zeeland.

Crimes Tribunal.⁶¹ Other ERR lists have been preserved for seizures in the Netherlands. A database would also be helpful in keeping track of library and archival confiscations and returns in the Netherlands. As mentioned above, a number of books in Minsk bear the Dutch stamp of the IISG, a number of them in a language other than Dutch (such as German or English), and some bear the stamps of its predecessors, including the Dutch Economic-History Archive (Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief) in The Hague. The ERR had taken over the IISH building in Amsterdam as its headquarters and was particularly interested in the collections because of the many important German Jewish socialists who had taken refuge there with their libraries and archives.⁶²

Also represented in Minsk are collections from exiled Mensheviks and Social Revolutionary sources in Paris and Germany, given to the IISH/IISG for safekeeping in the 1930s. Some 144 crates of these collections were seized from the IISH Paris branch, headed by Boris Nikolaevskii; fifteen more were from the office of the Second International, and several more crates were attributed to Feodor Dan in Paris. Boris Souvarine (pseudonym of Lipschitz), another ERR

target in Paris, was serving as secretary of the IISH Paris branch; three crates of his library appear on one of the Paris confiscation lists, but the thirty-six crates of his library and archives that arrived in Ratibor in 1944 were obviously seized later.⁶³ The Souvarine papers, which made their way to the Special Archive (formerly TsGOA) in Moscow, were finally returned to France in 2000, but many books from his library remain in Minsk. Several other Dutch institutions are represented in Minsk, but with the reported transfer of up to 20,000 Dutch books to Moscow in the interim (see above), books from many important Dutch collections were dispersed. Among those in foreign languages remaining in Minsk, however, are some from the French Institute in Amsterdam (Maison Descartes) and others reported by the IISH staff member who visited Minsk in 1994.

Owners of most of the books in Minsk from Yugoslavia and Greece can likewise be found mentioned in ERR reports and shipping lists from those countries, which (like the Belgian case) should establish legal proof of their confiscation. Lists of libraries and private collections confiscated by the ERR in Yugoslavia in 1943 and 1944 have also surfaced and in a few cases indicate shipping designation as Ratibor.⁶⁴ Some of those Yugoslav books have also ended up in Minsk, although further verification is needed, especially since some Judaica from Yugoslav collections has been reported among the unprocessed reserves in Minsk. Less detailed lists preserved from ERR activity in Greece are nonetheless indicative of seizures there.⁶⁵ A few books from the Jewish Sephardic Community in Salonica, the prime ERR target in Greece, are listed in the NBB rare book card files; it is not clear how many more may remain in Minsk. More of them went to other ERR destinations in the West. While some of the archives of that community (found in Berlin after the war) are now held by YIVO in New York City, others still remain in Moscow.

The RSHA–Amt VII (Seventh Office)

As was the case with the Belgian archives and Salonica Jewish files, many of the archival materials belonging to individuals and organizations on all of the ERR “library” confiscation lists were turned over to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), which comprised the Gestapo and SD Security Services (Sicherheitsdienst) among its operational sectors. The RSHA–Amt VII and its SD predecessors had been actively collecting books and archives from “enemies of the regime” during the 1930s for their research and analysis operations. With more extended territories under German occupation, they continued to commandeer many of the archival materials

that came with the “libraries” confiscated by the ERR, notably, some of the most significant private and institutional Jewish, Masonic, and socialist archives. The fate of these archival materials that came under the control of the RSHA–Amt VII, first in Berlin and then in the Silesian evacuation, has been analyzed in considerable detail elsewhere.⁶⁶ Some of the confiscated books went along with the archives, and individual libraries were accordingly dispersed with the archival materials, some of which joined other RSHA library collections in Berlin.⁶⁷

The vast majority of the RSHA archival cache was evacuated to Silesia from Berlin in the summer of 1943. Most of those archives ended the war in the RSHA–Amt VII archival center in the castle of Wölfelsdorf (now Polish Wilkanów) about 120 kilometers south of Breslau (now Polish Wrocław). That cache was captured by a Soviet trophy brigade in the summer of 1945. By November, twenty-eight freight-train wagonloads of archival materials from Wölfelsdorf, mostly plundered from Nazi-occupied European countries, were transported to Moscow on orders of Lavrentii Beria. Some library materials went to Moscow with them, for example, over 5,000 volumes from the Paris library of Pavel Miliukov. In that latter case the ERR kept at least some of the library for its own research center, as evidenced by a few of Miliukov’s books in Minsk. While a large part of the RSHA Masonic library was evacuated to Silesia, other RSHA-collected books went to Theresienstadt (now Czech Terezín) and a series of four castles in the Sudetenland, most of the holdings from which fell to the Czechs after the war. As far as is known, none of those library collections had been seized by the ERR.⁶⁸

In numerous cases the ERR managed to keep some of the archival materials that came with captured libraries, and often even some sample files from those that they turned over to the RSHA. This explains the presence of archival materials among the books from Ratibor that came to Minsk and the fragmentary foreign archival files that came to Kyiv with the ERR records (at least part from Ratibor) found by a Ukrainian trophy brigade and sent to Kyiv in the fall of 1945.⁶⁹

According to postwar Soviet MVD archival regulations, foreign trophy archival materials (other than local Nazi records) from Minsk and Kyiv were transferred to Moscow in 1956, if not earlier. The ERR records brought to Kyiv from Germany in the fall of 1945 have remained in Kyiv, but the fragmentary Western archival materials that came with them to Kyiv all went to Moscow, including fragmentary files of Léon Blum and the Rothschild family. However, the scattered files of the ERR itself that came to Minsk were transferred to

Moscow, along with other fragmentary captured Western archival materials. Eventually, almost all the archival materials of French, Belgian, and Dutch provenance, long held in secret in Moscow, were returned to their countries of origin by the Russian Federation between 1994 and 2003.⁷⁰ Included in those returns were the papers of Léon Blum, Louise Weiss, Boris Souvarine, and the Rothschilds, among many others whose library books still remain in Minsk yet were confiscated from the same collections by the ERR.

ERR-Plundered Books for the Hohe Schule

Given so many ERR seizure listings that coincide with the NBB holdings, we can now document much more precisely whence, how, and why so many of those plundered books with foreign library stamps and elaborate bindings came to Minsk after World War II. In contrast to the ERR-confiscated archival materials that were transferred to the RSHA, most of the library books plundered by the ERR in Paris and the Benelux countries stayed under the control of the ERR or other Rosenberg agencies throughout the war.⁷¹

Many of the seized Jewish books (and some archives and Masonic materials) went to other specially designated Rosenberg agencies that were part of the Hohe Schule (the projected university for Nazi elites) Rosenberg was organizing for “after the war.” The first Hohe Schule institute to be formally established and even officially opened by Rosenberg in March 1941 was the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (IEJ) in Frankfurt-am-Main. Its library was the first to receive confiscated Judaica from France and the Benelux countries. By April 1943 the IEJ library was boasting a projected 550,000 volumes, making it the most significant Jewish collection on the Continent, while shipments kept coming in, including those from Belarus and other occupied Soviet lands.⁷² Starting in 1943 with the start of Allied bombing, the IEJ started moving many of its operations and most valued books to a remote evacuation center in Hungen (near Geissen, 70 kilometers northeast of Frankfurt), headquartered in the castle of the Solms-Braunfels family. Meanwhile, many of the Masonic materials went to an even more remote hunting lodge in nearby Hirzenhain. U.S. authorities found close to 2 million books in Hungen, Hirzenhain, and basement bomb shelters in Frankfurt during the final months of the war.⁷³ Most of them that could be identified went home from the war to the countries of their prewar ownership from the American restitution center in Offenbach (near Frankfurt).⁷⁴

Many of the choicest ERR-plundered books from occupied lands, especially from France and the Netherlands, including numerous key

Jewish-owned collections, went to the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (ZBHS–NSDAP), also under Rosenberg administration. Founded in Berlin in 1939, that library was moved to Austrian Carinthia (Kärnten) in 1942, first centered in the Grand Hotel Annenheim and then starting in 1944 in the Monastery of Tanzenberg, near Klagenfurt, which after the war fell within the British Zone of Occupation. British authorities found well over half a million books there, which they sorted and restituted to their countries of origin, including the USSR. Among the 569 crates (ca. 55,000 volumes) returned to Soviet authorities in May 1946 and August 1947 were 397 crates from the Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad.⁷⁵ However, a few imperial palace books stayed with the ERR in Berlin and were evacuated with the ERR library reserves to Ratibor, which explains why scattered volumes with imperial library stamps or bookplates are today found in Minsk. Other parts of many of the libraries represented in Minsk were found in Tanzenberg and returned to their homes. For example, among the 2,517 crates returned to France from Austria were books from the libraries of Léon Blum, Jean Zay, the Rothschilds, and many other private Jewish libraries from Paris, parts of which still remain in Minsk. Many more books seized in Amsterdam from the IISH went to Tanzenberg than came to Minsk from Ratibor. Belgium was also represented in Tanzenberg, and other parts of major private library collections represented in Minsk were returned to their homeland from Austria by the British in 1947.

ERR-Plundered Books in Berlin and Ratibor

Although some already had preassigned destinations, many books plundered by the ERR first went through the ERR book-processing center (Buchleitstelle), located in Berlin during its first two years of operation. Berlin was also then the location for the so-called Ostbücherei, the special ERR library for research on Bolshevism and other subjects related to Eastern Europe, which also serviced the Rosenberg Eastern Office (Amt Osten). Confiscated books on socialist and especially Bolshevik subjects from or relating to Eastern Europe, including the Turgenev Library and the Petliura Library, became part of that collection. Among Russian émigré collections from Paris, many were from individuals associated with the Turgenev Library, such as Mark Aldanov, Vladimir Burtsev, Mikhail Osorgin, Il'ia Fundaminskii, and Konstantin Parchevskii, all of whom appeared on the ERR confiscation lists and whose books went to Ratibor with the Turgenev Library. Many of the émigré socialist archival

materials, such as those of Vladimir Burtsev, Feodor Dan, Boris Souvarine, Boris Nikolaevskii, and others associated with the IISH Paris branch, were requisitioned by the RSHA and hence went to the Amt VII archival center in Wölfelsdorf and thence directly to Moscow. But in all of those cases, the ERR was able to retain some of the books for the Ostbücherei. While still in Berlin, the Ostbücherei also received a major shipment from Riga that ERR scouts had selected from Baltic collections.

Starting in the summer of 1943 the ERR evacuated most of the Ostbücherei and other library holdings in Berlin to Silesia, where it established an extensive research center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz, about 80 kilometers south of Kattowitz, now Polish Katowice). Headquarters (Dienststelle des ERR) were set up in the Franciscan monastery (Sudetenstrasse 27), and separate buildings within the city and surrounding area housed different ERR units. Many of the captured library holdings from the East and a large part of the Ostbücherei were placed in the former Lagerplatz Synagogue (burned out on Kristallnacht), an adjoining building (Niedertorstrasse 3), and another building around the corner (Schulbankstrasse), along with 1,500–2,000 crates brought from Berlin.⁷⁶

Research activities in Ratibor, especially those of an anti-Bolshevik vein, were directed by none other than Gerhard Wunder, who had earlier been in charge of library confiscations in Paris.⁷⁷ Wunder was especially researching and writing about the “Bolshevik conspiracy.”⁷⁸ The Rothschild family was another of Wunder’s major interests, which explains why so many Rothschild books ended up in Minsk from the Ratibor holdings. He had been personally involved with the seizure of some of the Rothschild libraries from Paris, including the library of Edouard, baron de Rothschild, parts of which went to Frankfurt and Tanzenberg. Among Wunder’s surviving office files he evacuated from Ratibor to Germany is one with many of his genealogical notes and clippings regarding the Rothschilds.⁷⁹

The main ERR library collecting and sorting center (Buchleitstelle) was also moved from Berlin to Ratibor, along with many of the books earlier plundered from Western Europe that had not yet been processed. For example, amidst surviving papers from Ratibor are ERR summary descriptions of twenty-eight other private Jewish libraries from Paris processed in Ratibor between April and November 1944, providing examples of some of the Western library plunder the ERR had transferred there. The same names appear among others in ERR working reports from Ratibor. Most are Jewish professors and intellectuals, such as the philosophy professor Léon Brunschwig; Georges Cahen-Salvador, secretary-general of the French Council of the National Economy;

writer and literary critic Benjamin Cremieux, secretary of the French PEN club; Horace Finaly, economist and financial advisor of the Popular Front; Rudolf Breitschneid, a Marxist leader from Germany; Henry Levy-Ulmann, a law professor at the University of Paris; journalist Georges (Géo) London; and Paul Winkler, director of the Jewish Opera Mundi.⁸⁰ All of those names match up with private libraries on the ERR Paris confiscation lists, and books from those libraries have all been identified in Minsk.

Once the ERR was organized in Ratibor, with the Buchleitstelle operating, many books plundered from occupied Soviet lands were sent there. Rather than private or community collections, as was the case in Western Europe, the ERR seized books, newspapers, and periodicals from major state libraries in the Baltic countries, Belarus, western Russia, and Ukraine. Of particular importance for the fate of all the books that came to Minsk in the fall of 1945 was the extent to which books from Belarus libraries were represented in Ratibor, a fact that turned out to be crucial in determining the subsequent fate of the plundered books from Western Europe.

Indeed, many of the richest libraries in Belarus were virtually cleaned out by the ERR Chief Task Force HAG-Mitte, which was responsible for Belarus and western parts of Russia, including the Smolensk region. Shipments from Belarus libraries were carefully recorded in many now-scattered extant ERR files.⁸¹ For example, soon after the ERR was settled in Ratibor, in October 1943 HAG-Mitte sent half a railway freight car loaded with card catalogs from Belarusian libraries and one freight car with collections from the Radziwiłł library, which Soviet authorities had moved from the family estate of Nesvizh to Minsk in the fall of 1939. Early in 1944 another freight car of books from the Radziwiłł Library joined them.⁸² In December 1943 four freight cars of books and archival materials were shipped to Ratibor from Mohilev via Białystok.⁸³

Between January and March of 1944 fifteen freight carloads of books were shipped from the Lenin Library in Minsk to Ratibor.⁸⁴ Other detailed wagon lists from the same period confirm nine freight cars from the Lenin Library, four from the Academy Library, and at least seven from several other Minsk libraries, including the synagogue, the opera house, a “library on the Market Place,” and what the ERR called the “Nemiga [Niamiha] Library.” All were directed to Ratibor except one wagon from the academy to Riga and one with Judaica to Hungen.⁸⁵ Three freight cars of books also went to Ratibor in March. Some of the German-language books from Minsk in another wagon were destined for the Hohe Schule, although the rest were for Ratibor.⁸⁶ An April 1944 report confirmed that seventeen freight cars of books

from the Lenin Library in Minsk were being deposited in a cigar factory in Paulsgrund, one of the ERR satellite centers 5 kilometers northwest of Ratibor. ERR reports suggest up to 200,000 volumes were there. Four freight cars from Mohilev, including books from the Horki Agricultural Institute (Mohilev Oblast), were destined for the nearby castle of Schönhain (Gratenfeld). At the same time the Lagerplatz Synagogue housed 394 crates with books and archival materials from Mohilev.⁸⁷ Additional crates, including films and periodicals, were prepared for what the ERR was then calling the Belarusian Library (Weissruthenischer Bücherei), joining others held in the Lagerplatz Synagogue, the same building that held the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries from Paris.⁸⁸ A large percentage of the books evacuated from Ukraine late in the war were also destined for the Ratibor area, including a major group of files from the Party Archive in Dnipropetrovsk (10,453 units were returned from Minsk to Ukraine in 1946), also listed in the Lagerplatz Synagogue.⁸⁹

Among satellite depositories, the major newspaper and contemporary periodicals division of the Ostbücherei (Presse-Amt), together with the study project on the Smolensk Party Archive, was housed in part of the elegant Castle of Pless (now Polish Pszczyna), some 70 kilometers farther east. Holdings from Belarus were also exceedingly well represented there.⁹⁰ More general newspapers and periodicals from Minsk went first to Białystok, where they joined others selected from Baltic libraries. In the process of ERR retreat from the Baltic in July, approximately ten freight cars of newspapers and periodicals were shipped to Pless, while the rest were destined for Ratibor itself.⁹¹ Baltic shipments significantly increased during the summer and fall of 1944, as the ERR retreated from Baltic lands, all of which explains why stamps “Sichergestellt durch Einsatzstab RR Reval” and “. . . –Riga” appear on many of the books from Baltic repositories remaining in Minsk. Books from the Genss library from Tallinn were listed as being held in Pless by the fall of 1944, and those in NBB all bear the ERR Reval stamp. A few books in Minsk bear similar ERR stamps from Belgrade.

When the Ratibor center was at its zenith in the summer of 1944, the ERR had a staff of 350 or more specialists in at least eighteen locations in the city and surrounding area. There were well over a million processed books in Ratibor alone and more in satellite units, although many more crates had not been opened and still more were on the way. Retrospective book figures suggest between 1.5 and 2 million; others suggest several millions.⁹² Most important for their future fate was the extent to which library materials from Belarus and those from Western Europe ended the war together in Ratibor and Pless.



Figure 6. An art book from the library of Julius Gens, Tallinn, with the stamp of the ERR and the art museum in Tallinn.

As the Red Army approached, the ERR started evacuating Ratibor in December 1944, although it was still cataloging books there until mid-January. Some of the most important materials from Ratibor itself had already been evacuated to the Banz/Staffelstein area of Bavaria by late January 1945. But the ERR did not have sufficient rolling stock to evacuate all of its Ratibor holdings to the West. If evacuation was not possible, a remaining ERR agent “was prepared to destroy the materials with gasoline and canisters readied for the task.” The ERR was under orders, however, to preserve the Ostbücherei “in hope that use of substantial portions could resume, once the critical situation in Upper Silesia subsides.” Still “hoping for a successful counter-offensive,” the ERR was loath to assume that the abandoned materials would be “captured by the Bolsheviks.”⁹³ Given all the books found by the Red Army and sent to Minsk, we know the Nazis did not destroy most of the plundered archives and library books they had collected from occupied countries in the Ratibor area.

Documentation found by the British with the ZBHS holdings in Tanzenberg and British interrogation of the captured German library staff suggested that more of the confiscated library loot amassed by the ERR would be found in Ratibor. Accordingly, starting in August

1945 the British informed Soviet authorities and requested more information, since by March 1945 Ratibor was already under Soviet control. But little did the British suspect that by the fall of 1945, in sharp contrast to the ERR-confiscated books being prepared for return to their homelands by the British in Tanzenberg and by the Americans in Offenbach, the European books from Ratibor were already on their way to Minsk.⁹⁴

Soviet Reconnaissance and Retrieval

The first Soviet reports of spotting books from Minsk in Silesia suggest they were found together with books from the Turgenev Library, indicating that they came from Ratibor. Several sightings are associated with the name of Boris Shiperovich, who in the spring and summer of 1945 was serving in a Red Army trophy library brigade in Silesia under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovskii and Lt. Gen. Andrei Okorokov, who headed the GlavPU in that area.⁹⁵

Shiperovich and his fellow officers had discovered two huge warehouses in the Kattowitz suburb of Myslowitz (now Polish Myslowice, 70 kilometers north of Ratibor and 30 kilometers north of Pless) with “hundreds and thousands of crates of books with German alphanumeric labels.” He had “never seen so many books.” He identified many crates with books looted from Belarus, as he specifically found “stamps of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, and some from the Lenin Library in Minsk.” He spoke of many French and Polish editions, “incunabulae, imprints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” and others in “Hebrew, Slavonic, and Latin.” In a personal letter to his Moscow friend, literary critic Anatolii Tarasenkov, he explained that “many materials had already been looted, including poetry and manuscripts.” He was able to rescue and load “two cars with foreign books, including books from the library of the Rothschilds.” He and his colleagues found “the library of the Duke of Orleans [the duc de Guise] and other important people who knew how to love books.”⁹⁶

Confirmation that a Red Army unit had found the 4,000–5,000 crates of books that, “already in early 1945, were collected in Myslowitz” comes from a draft of a July 1946 report by VGBIL director Margarita Rudomino, who then headed the library group in a trophy brigade sent to Germany by the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions under the SNK of the RSFSR (May 1945–October 1946).⁹⁷ Earlier, a soldier from Mohilev had identified books from Belarusian libraries in the Myslowitz (Kattowitz) warehouse in a handwritten note dated 17 June 1945 with “Communist greetings” addressed to the Lenin Library in

Minsk.⁹⁸ By July 1945 GlavPU troops were able to project “an estimated 1,200,000 volumes in Russian and foreign languages” from six named Soviet libraries in Mogilev, Pskov, and Riga, with “4,735 crates and 2,305 cardboard containers all packed in a warehouse in Myslowitz (Poland). Forty railroad freight cars would be required for transport.” A seventh library listed as one of the “owners of the Russian books” was “the Russian Turgenev Library in Paris.” Published fragments of that military report (requests for a full copy were denied) say nothing about other sources involved in the half million Nazi-confiscated books of Western provenance that turned out also to be in Myslowitz.⁹⁹ However, their existence in Myslowitz was confirmed by Boris Shiperovich. Presumably, the Germans, in retreat from Ratibor as the Red Army was approaching, had moved many of the books to Myslowitz.

Since the quiet suburb of Myslowitz was conveniently on the main east-west rail line and so many books were already there, GlavPU, under Lieutenant General Okorokov, used the warehouses as a collection and sorting point for the large echelon to be sent to Minsk in October–November 1945. According to the GlavPU July report, other books were collected in Myslowitz as well. These would have included a German echelon of books from Soviet libraries that a military trophy library brigade found in March 1945 abandoned at the railroad station in Pless: “about 80,000 volumes of journals packed in 660 crates . . . from the libraries of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences and the Lenin Library of the Belorussian SSR . . . , the transport of all of which would require some ten to twelve railroad freight cars.”¹⁰⁰ Although the four or five freight cars of the Smolensk Communist Party Archive found with them in Pless were returned to Smolensk by the end of April 1945, apparently the books and periodicals found with them were moved to Myslowitz.¹⁰¹ The 20,000 books from Belarusian libraries in Minsk found in Schönhain (now Polish Chrosty, 20 kilometers northwest of Ratibor) were also moved to Myslowitz.¹⁰² Also in March 1945, another Red Army unit found “tens of thousands of books from Minsk libraries” in Paulsgrund (8 kilometers northwest of Ratibor).¹⁰³ All of those sites are mentioned as having been used by the ERR as satellite depositories.

“Since the largest amount of literature found in Poland belonged to the Belarusian library,” according to the Rudomino report, “the shipment was addressed to the Public Library of the Belarusian SSR.”¹⁰⁴ Shiperovich in a personal letter mentioned that “fifty-seven freight cars were steaming away to Minsk.”¹⁰⁵ Former NBB director Galina N. Oleinik confirmed that a shipment “reached Minsk by train in the autumn of 1945, totalling fifty-four freight cars carrying about 1 million books.” Shipping documentation for that echelon or other

receipts have not surfaced. Another official 1946 report gives a total of sixty freight cars received in 1945, including fifty-four from Myslowitz (and from Ratibor).¹⁰⁶

When the echelon arrived in Minsk in November 1945, a special siding was constructed leading to the central Belarus government building (Dom Pravitel'stva), one of the few still intact in the city center not destroyed by German mines.¹⁰⁷ Recently, an interview appeared in Minsk with a Belarusian journalist who related how she had been sent on a special mission to Legnica to plead with General Rokossovskii (with gifts of chocolates from Minsk!) to obtain freight cars for the echelon. She was considered a heroine to have brought “the books home from prison.”¹⁰⁸ But she probably did not realize and certainly would not have acknowledged (given the Soviet taboo on the subject) that half of the books arriving were not originally from Minsk but rather from libraries confiscated in German-occupied countries in Western Europe and the Balkans raided by the ERR. While the books from Belarusian libraries were indeed coming “home from prison,” those half million Western books were coming to a new prison, where they have remained prisoners of war for over half a century.

The Turgenev Library from Paris in Minsk

Revelations about books from the Turgenev Library in Minsk provided decisive clues in piecing together the story of the half million plundered Western books that arrived in Minsk from Ratibor.¹⁰⁹ Well-known Russian writer Ilya Ehrenburg had earlier proclaimed “the end of the Turgenev Library” after Red Army officers reported to him that the warehouse where it was held outside of Berlin had been blown up by German mines when they were trying to save it at the end of the war.¹¹⁰ His published words were often repeated in Soviet accounts and served well as the party line about the fate of that library for half a century. We now know that many more Turgenev Library books survived and came to Moscow and Minsk.

The memoirs of Russian émigré writer and literary critic Roman Gul' provide yet another point of view on the survival of the Turgenev Library in Minsk. In the original edition of his memoirs published in New York, Gul' had recounted one of the Soviet variants to the effect that “the Germans had taken away the entire library to Germany and that it was destroyed there in bombing raids.” Gul' subsequently received a letter from a “third wave” emigrant who questioned the destruction of the Turgenev Library in Germany because he had seen many books with stamps of the Turgenev Library in the Minsk Public Library. The posthumous edition of Gul's



Figure 7. Title page of the autobiography of Marc Chagall, dedicated to the Turgenev Library in Paris.

memoirs (published in Moscow in 2001) quotes his informant as recounting that when “that priceless library” came into Soviet hands, “instead of returning it to their French ‘Allies’ they stole it. And of course, they brought the books not to Moscow or Leningrad but to Minsk, where access to it by foreigners would have been essentially closed.”¹¹¹ As it turns out, Gul’s informant was only partially correct, because he was not aware of the fate and dispersal of the rest of the library.

In a letter from Minsk at the end of 1999 the then director of the NBB, Galina Oleinik, suggested that there may be “several dozen imprints from the Turgenev Library in Paris . . . [but that] further efforts to uncover more were not possible, because the foreign ‘trophy’ books had been dispersed among the multi-million fonds of the library . . . with no data about provenance on catalogue cards.”¹¹² As it turns out, however, by 2003 not all the Turgenev Library materials had even been processed—the Rare Book Department showed me a big folder that eventually should form at least four files from the Turgenev Library administrative archive and a fragment of one of the library’s prewar catalogs. Another librarian showed me images of Marc Chagall’s autobiography with a dedication to the Turgenev Library.

Confirmation that books from the Turgenev Library were among the 4,000–5,000 crates of books in Mysłowitz being shipped to Minsk came from VGBIL director Rudomino's 1946 report.¹¹³ It also came from the July 1945 Red Army report cited above.¹¹⁴ However, as Rudomino explains, the odyssey of many more of those books continued west. Approximately 60,000 Russian-language books from the Turgenev Library were transferred from Mysłowitz to the Officers Club in Legnica (earlier German Leignitz, 100 kilometers west of Wrocław), the Red Army headquarters in what was then already Polish Silesia.¹¹⁵

We do not know how many of the 100,000 plundered books from the Turgenev Library the ERR had in Ratibor, but from available reports the library remained relatively intact in German hands until its removal to Mysłowitz. In Soviet hands, however, that library met its tragic dispersal. Books from the Turgenev Library, that prized symbol of "Russia Abroad," were of even more interest to Stalin's security forces than any other foreign trophy books from Western Europe. On the one hand, there would undoubtedly be some Lenin autographs, since that was a library where Lenin studied and that had housed the library of the Russian Social Democrat Workers Party in Paris. On the other hand, it was a "hotbed" of émigré literature, and there might be papers to identify more "enemies of the people." Besides, in ideological terms there was little sympathy for a library where readers could find both *Pravda* and *Iskra* (including Menshevik issues) in the same reading room with *Poslednie Novosti*, edited by Pavel Miliukov.

Two months after arrival in Legnica in March 1946, again according to Rudomino, the "cream" of the Turgenev Library was "personally delivered to the Lenin Library by Major Boris Shipirovich," whom we now know then headed the library in Legnica.¹¹⁶ Colleagues in RGB in Moscow have still not found any documents regarding that still-secret transfer, although Rudomino had apparently been in Legnica in March before writing her report.¹¹⁷ The Lenin Library received several other batches of Turgenev Library books in 1947 and 1948 from at least three different military locations, including one from Pechi in Minsk Oblast, but more details about their earlier migration have not surfaced. Still another consignment of approximately 100 books was received from Legnica in January 1949, although it was not acknowledged until November of that year.¹¹⁸

Army reports regarding the Legnica library have yet to surface, but sadly, at least two private reports from the early 1950s attest to the destruction of a large portion of the Turgenev Library books remaining in a "classified collection" in the Officers Club. Vladimir Sashonko, an officer stationed in Legnica with the Northern Group of the Soviet

Army, dated the destruction as 1951. His library chief explained: “The chosen books, such as those related to the name of Lenin or with Bunin autographs, had been shipped to Moscow.” As for the rest, the chief had “received orders from Moscow to burn them in the fireplace” of the building. Sashonko regretted that he was able to save only one of them to bring home as a souvenir. The fact that “books from rue Valde-Grace perished in the hands of their liberators,” he concluded, was but one of the “strange paradoxes of the twentieth century.”¹¹⁹

A few more of the Turgenev Library books were saved by an officer from Belarus serving in Legnica who was able to arrange the “rescue” of more books from the Officers Club and bring them home to Minsk. The officer’s daughter, Tat’iana Ivanovna Roshchina, stepped down in 2003 from her post as head of the NBB Rare Book Department, where during the past decade she had been supervising the collection of data on the provenance of Western trophy books collected there.¹²⁰ Today in Minsk Roshchina and her colleagues cannot determine how many books from the Turgenev Library are held in different NBB divisions.¹²¹ Before September 2003 Roshchina had not realized that there were another nearly 500 books from the Turgenev Library in the Presidential Library in Minsk.¹²²

Meanwhile in Moscow, after decades of silence, the RGB finally broke its “seventh seal” of secrecy. By 2002 the RGB librarians’ estimate had risen to approximately 10,000 trophy books with stamps of the Turgenev Library.¹²³ That figure is still provisional, but it leaves an important question unanswered: What became of the rest? That is only an estimated one-sixth of the 60,000 volumes that were reported in Legnica and only one-tenth of the 100,000 Turgenev Library books plundered by the Nazis from Paris. Some twenty-six books with Turgenev Library stamps have been identified in Voronezh. Others are now in Orel, in Kazan, and more came from the Lenin Library in Moscow after the war to a library on the island of Sakhalin (north of Japan). Two are held in the Stanford University Library in Palo Alto, California.¹²⁴

Curiously, one Dutch New Testament bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library was among the 608 Dutch books restituted to Amsterdam from VGBIL in Moscow in 1992. It has now been traced as having been acquired by VGBIL from Minsk in 1984 and presumably arrived in Minsk from Ratibor (via Myslowitz) in 1945. When University of Amsterdam librarians returned that Bible to Paris, it was the first of the 100,000 books confiscated in 1940 to have come home from the war.¹²⁵

The former IML library, now GOPB, in Moscow transferred about 200 books to the IISH in Amsterdam in 1992; most of those presumably

had also journeyed through Minsk. But most of those were books of a socialist orientation and not in Dutch. Early in 2002 Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Aleksandr Avdeev presided at a ceremony in Moscow when the GOPB returned 118 books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library to representatives from the Paris library. Ironically, those books were found in Legnica in the early 1980s and transferred as a gift from the Communist Party of Poland to ILM, which made it possible for the GOPB legally to return them to France under the latest Russian restitution law. That was the first act of restitution directly to the Turgenev Library from a library in the former Soviet Union. Those 118 books had never been in Minsk, but the GOPB still holds some issues of the Leninist newspaper *Iskra* with stamps of the Turgenev Library that had been sent from Minsk to ILM in Moscow after they were discovered in the shipment from Ratibor.¹²⁶ The Turgenev Library today is still hoping to reconstitute more of its original prewar collections, but so far it has only the Dutch Bible and the 118 books from Moscow (via Warsaw and Legnica) to show, together with a few catalogs of those prewar collections with registration numbers that coincide with the markings on the books with Turgenev Library stamps in Moscow and Minsk.

Conclusion

As earlier research has shown, the post-1940 odyssey of the books from the Turgenev Library emerges as a microcosmic case study of books as victims and trophies of the Second World War.¹²⁷ Only a part of that library came to Minsk, while more books went to Moscow and were further dispersed. Books from that library followed the same odyssey—and shared freight cars—with many of the other foreign trophy books that arrived in Minsk in 1945. In its Ratibor center the ERR had brought together one of the largest wartime concentrations of library plunder from Western Europe (outside of Germany and the greater Reich), ranking with those of the IEJ in Frankfurt and Hungen and the ZBHS in Tanzenberg. How many other private Western libraries represented in Minsk today have been similarly dispersed as a result of World War II? When we grasp the extent, variety, and identity of books in Minsk from Nazi-occupied lands, we can clarify the hitherto unresolved postwar fate of that major concentration. And we can better explain the tragic dispersal of those twice-plundered books that never went home from the war.

After a decade of effort the National Library of Belarus now has upward of only 2,000 entries in its database of autographs, but a large part of them represent samples of the half million Nazi-plundered books from Western Europe that came to Minsk in 1945.

But that database is only the first step in identifying the many twice-plundered foreign imprints in the Belarusian capital. Thanks to the NBB card files and database, nevertheless, we can now trace the fate of many of the libraries on the ERR confiscation lists that ended the war in Ratibor. And in turn, we know more about the nature, extent, and composition of the ERR Ratibor loot.

The Netherlands is still the only country to have received back any of the Nazi-looted Western books that arrived in Minsk in 1945. The Russian librarians involved in the 1992 restitution from the VGBIL reflected on that event in their exhibition catalog: "Now and again, the fate of art and cultural creations becomes no less tragic than the fate of people. Books have also been witnesses, participants, and victims of horrific historical events. Books not only have burned in the bonfires of inquisition in all ages. Even as people, books have been taken prisoner. [And these] Dutch books were twice subjected to exile." The Russian librarians had hoped that the transfer "home" to the Netherlands "in accordance with international law" would have been "the last trip these books had to make."¹²⁸ To the contrary, it turned out that a few of those "Dutch" books had been confiscated from several Belgian collections and two were from France, so they had another leg of their journey home from Amsterdam. The 650 volumes returned, however, would have been only a small fraction of the thousands of Dutch books reportedly transferred from Minsk to Moscow during the Soviet period, and, to be sure, as a Dutch librarian concludes, they were "merely a sample of the ones lost."¹²⁹

The half million plundered Western books and half million plundered books from Belarus and other Soviet-area libraries that arrived in Minsk in the echelon of fifty-four freight cars in November 1945 were not all the books from Ratibor nor even all the Western books. We know that 60,000 books from the Turgenev Library went from Mysłowice to Legnica. We know that the Poles found other books and archives, presumably in the Ratibor area, including 192 crates of socialist materials that were returned from Poland to Belgium and the Netherlands in 1956. Some of those from Ratibor that fell into Polish hands were transferred to Moscow, including some important socialist archival materials from the IISH in Amsterdam. Belgian colleagues have recently found more books in several collections in Warsaw, presumably also from Ratibor.¹³⁰ While the context comes into better focus, many details still need to be filled in. For example, we still do not know the fate of the approximately 1 million books from Ukraine that were destined for Ratibor by the time the ERR retreated from Ukraine in the summer of 1943.

Meanwhile, clarifying our microcosmic focus, we find many more than expected books in Minsk from the Turgenev Library and from the Russian émigré community in Paris associated with it. At least now we know they are in Minsk, where their fate is tragically entwined with hundreds of thousands of other twice-plundered trophy books from Amsterdam, Belgrade, Brussels, Tallinn, and most of all Paris. Professor Makarov is the only one I met in Minsk who thinks “the books should return to their homeland,” which he believes would encourage repatriation of still lost or displaced Belarusian cultural treasures.¹³¹ Before anyone can seriously think of restitution, however, massive efforts lie ahead to identify provenance and document the fate of more of the hundreds of thousands of Western books that came to Minsk at the end of the war. We need to know not only more about the libraries from whence they came but more about the dedications to those who did not live to see their books come home from the war. Librarians at the National Library of Belarus may currently have no inclination for restitution (their library having been so devastated by the war), but they have suggested they would be prepared to cooperate in identifying the provenance of the books still held in Minsk from Western European collections—and to learn more about them and their wartime fate and the roads that brought them to Minsk.

Notes

An earlier version of this article was presented as a lecture at the IISH/IISG, Amsterdam, on 5 November 2003. It is revised from a presentation at the Third International Bibliophile Readings, “Kniha Belarusi: Poviaz’ chasou,” at the NBB, Minsk, 16–17 September 2003, and is being prepared for publication in Russian in the conference proceedings. I am very grateful to NBB colleagues for facilitating my research about Western trophy books in Minsk and especially Tat’iana Roshchina, who until early 2003 headed the Department of Rare Books and is now senior bibliographer in that department.

Note that in citations to former Soviet archives, references to fond, *opis*, and *delo* appear with appropriate numbers separated by slashes. The term *fond* has been Anglicized.

Throughout the text, current official geographical names are used for the historical time under consideration. Thus, during World War II and until the fall of 1945 German place-names were still used for those parts of Silesia that were subsequently incorporated into Poland. Alternate names are cited on first reference. In quotations, names are cited as they appear in the original.

All translations from foreign-language sources are mine.

1. Most accessible has been the English translation: Vladimir Makarov, “Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk,” *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999): 25–27 (also published in Russian). Makarov was earlier rector of the Institute of Foreign Languages in Minsk (now a university).

2. Vladimir Makarov, "Avtografy sud'by," *Evropeiskoe vremia* (Minsk), 1993, no. 10:12–13, also published as a separate pamphlet, *Avtografy sud'by* (Minsk: Institut inostrannykh iazykov, 1993). I am grateful to Karina Dmitrieva at VGBIL in Moscow for giving me a copy of the first essay. Makarov provided me with a copy of the pamphlet during my visit to Minsk in 2003. See more about his card files below.

3. Vladimir Makarov, "Avtografy sud'by," *Vsemirnaia literatura* (Minsk), 1998, no. 6:134–43, and "Velikoi artistke, pochtitel'no . . .," *Vestnik Minskogo gosudarstvennogo lingvisticheskogo universiteta*, series 1: *Filologiya*, 1998, no. 4:157–64. Several of the autographs described are held by the library of that university.

4. See a lengthy footnote on the fate of the Turgenev Library by Nikolai V. Kotrelev, "Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki," in *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: Izuchenie i opisaniye (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh otdelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek vuzov. Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), 107–9; or the English version: "Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library," *Kul'turologiia: The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 3 (1993): 147–50. Kotrelev later in private identified that library to me as being in Minsk, and he assured me he has further evidence that many offensive books were subsequently destroyed. His report has been confirmed from other sources.

5. See Patricia K. Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2003: Books as Victims and Trophies of War*, CD-ROM edition (Amsterdam: IISH, 2003; IISG Research Paper no. 42), with a PDF file on the IISH website: <http://www.iisg.nl/publications/respap42.pdf>. See also Patricia K. Grimsted, "Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris," *Solanus* 16 (2002): 39–76.

6. Adam Mal'dis, "The Tragic Fate of Belarusan Museum and Library Collections during the Second World War," in Elizabeth Simpson, ed., *The Spoils of War: World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 80.

7. In fact, 240 of the books were transferred to Ukraine in the late 1980s, but archives from the library had been sent to Moscow in the early 1950s. See Patricia K. Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998 [2000]): 189–91 (special issue, *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. Zvi Gitelman et al.); and Patricia K. Grimsted, "The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21, nos. 3–4 (1997 [2001]): 392–461.

8. Evgenii Kuz'min, "Taina tserkvi v Uzkom," *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 38 (18 September 1990): 10; English version: "The Mystery of the Church in Uzkoie," *Literary Gazette International*, 1990, no. 16:20. Kuz'min now heads the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture. See also the later article by two Leningrad University librarians, Aleksandr Gorfunkel' and Nikolai Nikolaev, "Kak vozvrashchat' 'trofeinye knigi': Eshche raz o zakhvachennykh vo vremia voyny kul'turnykh tsennostiakh," *Novskoe vremia* 8 (163), 14 January 1992.

9. Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov, "Spoils of War: The Soviet Union's Hidden Art Treasures," *ARTNews* (April 1991): 130–41; "The Soviets' War Treasures: A Growing Controversy," *ARTNews* (September 1991): 112–19. Those findings were later incorporated into the book by Akinsha and Kozlov, with the assistance of Sylvia Hochfield, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995). Both of the authors who broke the story are now living abroad.

10. Considerable background of the wartime and postwar context are found in Patricia K. Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001), especially chap. 7, 248–77.

11. Facsimiles of the U.S. inventories, including receipts signed by Soviet officers, are reproduced in *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, CD-ROM (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2001; prepared in collaboration with the National Archives). Several related publications explain about the American restitution transfers to the USSR, but only gradually are Russian specialists acknowledging their extent.

12. Stalin's top-secret order (no. 7590, 25 February 1945), establishing the Special Committee under the GKO, was followed by a series of other orders, as explained by Pavel Knyshevskii, *Dobycha: Tainy germanskikh reparatsii* (Moscow: "Soratnik," 1994), 10–11; the author lists statistics for some of the trophy shipments in 1945 (20). My subsequent requests to see or obtain a copy of the original documents in RGASPI have all been refused.

13. As explained in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, esp. chap. 3.

14. Mal'dis, "The Tragic Fate," 79.

15. Evgenii I. Kuz'min, "Neizvestnye stranitsy istorii nemetskikh biblioteknykh kolleksii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny," in E. A. Azarova, comp., *Restitutsiia biblioteknykh sobranii i sotrudnichestvo v Evrope. Rossiisko-germanskii "kruglyi stol", 11–12 dekabria 1992 g., Moskva: sbornik dokladov* (Moscow: Rudomino, 1994), 17–24. The proceedings were first published in a much more extensive German version: Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa, eds., *Restitution von Bibliotheksgut. Runder Tisch deutscher und russischer Bibliothekare in Moskau am 11. 12. Dezember 1992, Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 56 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1993), which (unlike the Russian edition) listed all the participants. The document in question was found in the VGBIL Archive: "Spravka o trofeinykh fondakh, privezennykh v SSSR v 1945–1946 gg." (December 1948 [date pencilled in later]), Arkhiv VGBIL, 1/29–37/20, fols. 29–31 (unsigned carbon copy), where I later obtained a copy. It was quickly published by German library director Ingo Kolasa, "Sag mir wo die Bücher sind . . . : Ein Beitrag zu 'Beutekulturartefakten' und 'Trophäenkommissionen,'" *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 42, no. 4 (July–August 1995): 350–52.

16. Mal'dis, "The Tragic Fate," 79.

17. From the preface to the exhibition catalog for the books returned: M. F. Pronina, L. A. Terchova, N. I. Tubeeva, and E. E. Eikhman, comps., and M. F. Pronina, ed., *Nederlandse boeken–slachtoffers van de oorlog: Tentoonstellingcatalogus van de boeken uit het fonds van de VGBIL aanhorig bij de Nederlandse bezitters Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, September 1992* (Moscow: "Rudomino," 1992). An annotated copy of the catalog is held in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam University Library. A few copies were also produced of the original Russian version: *Niderlandskie knigi–zhertvy voiny: Katalog vystavki knig iz fondov VGBIL, prinaldzhashchikh vladel'tsam iz Niderlandov, 15–28 iunია 1992 g.* (Moscow: "Rudomino," 1992).

18. As quoted from Oleinik's letter to the University of Amsterdam Library (June 1983) and explained by Frits Hoogewoud, "Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)," in F. J. Hoogewoud et

al., eds., *The Return of Looted Collections (1946–1996). An Unfinished Chapter: Proceedings of an International Symposium to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Return of Dutch Collections from Germany* (Amsterdam, 1997), 72–74. See more details about the Dutch transfers to Moscow below.

19. Patricia K. Grimsted, “New Clues Regarding Nazi Archival and Library Plunder: The ERR Ratibor Center and the RSHA VII Amt Operations in Silesia,” in *ibid.*, 52–67.

20. See Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 72–74. Hoogewoud kindly showed me the letter he received from Galina Oleinik (June 1993). The 20,000 figure as having been in Minsk in the 1970s came from Evgenii Eikhmann, one of the librarians involved in cataloging the 1992 restitution transfer from VGBIL to Amsterdam in December 1992; it would be important to check further for library documentation regarding Dutch books being transferred to Moscow. Because of the secrecy attached to trophy books, even senior NBB librarians have had difficulty accessing related documentation.

21. In response to threats to close down the IML library in 1991, IISH director Jaap Kloosterman instituted a major aid package for the library, which may partially explain the GOPB goodwill gesture, which also involved some books from other Western socialist sources. It was carried out on the grounds of library exchange, however, and so publicity was avoided. It is not certain if those books might not have come from Ratibor via Warsaw rather than Minsk, as information about transfers from the Communist Party in Poland during the Soviet period have been documented. See note 129 below.

22. Jaap Kloosterman kindly gave me a copy of an unsigned report by former IISH staff member Bernedine Bos (29 December 1994). When I later met Bos after my own 2003 lecture, she told me more about her brief visit to Minsk on a completely different research project. I found additional IISH books and those from other Dutch collections in Minsk.

23. Vladimir Makarov, “O frankoiazychnoi bel’giiskoi literature: Po sokrovishcham Natsiiional’noi biblioteki Belarusi,” in A. Mal’dzis, ed., *Belarus–Belgique/Belarus–België/Belarus’–Bel’hiia/Belarus’–Bel’giia: Hramadska-kul’turnae uzaemadzeianne: Materyialy mizhnarodnaha “kruhlaha stala,” Minsk, 18–19 Maia 2001 h.* (Minsk: “Belaruski kniazbor,” 2002), 118–25.

24. Regarding the postwar search for the Blum library in Silesia, see Nicholas Reymes, “Le pillage des bibliothèques appartenant à des Juifs pendant l’occupation,” *Revue d’Histoire de la Shoah le monde juif*, no. 163 (January–April 2000): 51. The author quotes from reports of the French reconnaissance delegation in the Archives nationales (F17 17978), but he was apparently unaware that many of the Léon Blum papers and a large part of Blum’s library were found by Soviet authorities. Nor did he mention that in August 1947 the University of Poznań transferred ca. 20,000 books from France to the French Embassy. Andrzej Karpowicz of the University Library in Poznań kindly furnished me a copy of a report to that effect from the University Archive in Poznań.

25. See the website with notes about the museum dedicated to the memory of Louise Weiss, with mention of the papers returned from Russia: http://www.louise-weiss.org/le_musee_archives.html.

26. My presentation at the Third International Bibliophile Readings: “Kniha Belarusi: Poviaz’ chasou,” at the National Library of Belarus, Minsk, 16–17 September 2003, is being published in Russian in the conference proceedings. In a press account, one of the organizers called my talk at the opening presidium “a truly great sensation.” Tatiana Roshchyna, “Kudy u vainu vyvezeny belaruskiia

kashtoinasti?” *Golas Radzimy*, no. 42 (16 October 2003). Another journalist started his report by describing “the most intense attention of librarian participants was riveted on the talk of Patricia Kennedy Grimsted.” His front-page story was accompanied by an image of the stacks of the Rare Book Department with an inset image of the title page of an English-language *History of Rome* with a stamp of the Turgenev Russian Library. Viktor Korbut, “S miru po knige,” *Sovetskaia Belorussia*, no. 175 (19 September 2003), 1.

27. Iosif Simonovskii, “Spravka ob ispol’zovanii i uchete postupleniia knig v Gosudarstvennuiu biblioteku BSSR imeni V. I. Lenina v 1945 g. iz raiona Katovits,” addressed to Kontrol’no-revizionnoe upravlenie Ministerstva finansov Soiuza SSR (n.d. [after 1948]), fols. 1–2. Librarians in the National Library of Belarus kindly furnished me an unsigned copy of the report found among Simonovskii’s papers. An original archival copy has not surfaced, but the RGAE in Moscow, where such incoming reports would be held with the records of the Ministry of Finance, said that without a date it would be too time-consuming to search.

28. “Spravka predsedatelia Komiteta po delam kul’turno-prosvetitel’nykh uchrezhdenii pri SNK BSSR P. V. Liutorovich [chairman of the Committee on Cultural Enlightenment under the SNK BSSR] o sostoianii bibliotechnogo dela v respublike” (after 9 April 1946), in L. I. Stankevich et al., comps., and K. S. San’ko et al., eds., *Bibliotechnoe delo v BSSR: Dokumenty i materialy, 1921–1958* (Minsk: “Vysshhaia shkola,” 1984), 39 (doc. 20). That Soviet-published report gives no figure or further explanation about the “large quantity of valuable foreign literature.”

29. Simonovskii, “Spravka ob ispol’zovanii i uchete postupleniia knig,” fols. 1–2.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid. See Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 72–73. As noted above, Hoogewoud got the 20,000 figure from Evgenii Eikhmann. It would be important to check library files regarding Dutch books transferred to Moscow, but because of the secrecy attached to trophy books, even senior NBB librarians have had difficulty accessing related documentation. That Academy Library in Moscow is now known as the Institut nanchnoi informatsii po obshchestennym naukam (INION, Institute for Scientific Information for the Social Sciences).

32. Simonovskii, “Spravka ob ispol’zovanii i uchete postupleniia knig,” fols. 2–4.

33. Galina Oleinik to Patricia K. Grimsted (17 November 1999). I was shown a copy of the e-mail message in the administrative files of the NBB Rare Book Department. I do not recall receiving that message, although I had been informed about remaining books from the Petliura and Turgenev Libraries by Adam Mal’dis, who long headed the Belarusian restitution office.

34. B. Kanevskii (II Department censor) to Upolnomochennomu Soveta Ministrov SSSR po okhrane voennykh i gosudarstvennykh tain v pečati tov. K. K. Omel’chenko (5 May 1949), GA RF, 9425 (Glavlit)/1/625, fols. 62–64. Although the censor does not specifically reference Dutch books, this may explain the discrepancies in earlier transfer figures.

35. See, for example, the extensive listings of confiscated libraries compiled by the French government after the war in connection with official claims procedures, in *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, vol. 7: *Archives, manuscrites et livres rares* (Berlin: Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, 1948). Books from many of those libraries are represented in Minsk.

36. It will now be important for Russian librarians compiling data on “lost book treasures” to check their listings against the Minsk rare-book catalogs. For example, the latest published volume, *Svodnyi katalog kul’turnykh tselestei, pokhishchennykh i*

utrachennykh v period Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, vol. 11: *Utrachennye knizhnye tsennosti* (English edition: *Summary Catalogue of the Cultural Valuables Stolen and Lost during the Second World War*, vol. 11: *Lost Book Treasures*), book 1 (Moscow, 2002), includes lists for Pskov and Smolensk that need to be checked in the NBB holdings.

37. Mal'dis, "The Tragic Fate," 79.

38. A Belarus colleague told me that Minsk Yiddish writer Hirsh Reles was involved in processing a shipment of Judaica books shortly after the war and that later other Soviet Jewish specialists were involved in sorting the books. I have also heard reports that some were "left in the snow," that some were transferred to the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow or Leningrad, and that some were sent to an incineration facility outside of Minsk. There have also been rumors that a Jewish librarian managed to remove some of the books in the 1970s or 1980s before he immigrated to Israel, along with other rumors that some of the trophy Jewish books from Minsk ended up in Israel. I was not able to see the unprocessed Judaica and Hebraica still held by the NBB or obtain a reliable estimate of how many volumes there are.

39. Several representatives of the Rare Book Department of the Academy Library made reports at the September 2003 NBB conference in Minsk, including two about early French and German imprints. When I questioned them about provenance, they admitted they had not even considered that matter. Time did not permit my meeting with them later to examine the books in their division.

40. Kanevskii to Omel'chenko (5 May 1949), GA RF, 9425/1/625, fol. 61.

41. An initial volume of the catalog (with ca. 1,400 entries) appeared before the war in an illustrated deluxe edition of 130 numbered copies: *Katalog biblioteki i sobraniia Iuliia Gensa*, vol. 1: *Bibliografiia. Knigovedenie. Spravochniki* (added title page in English: *The Julius Genss Library of Art*, pt. 1: *Book about Books*, and part-title page: *Biblioteka po iskusstvu Iuliia Gensa*, vol. 1) (Tallinn, 1939). According to Genss's daughter, a second volume (covering illustrated editions) was already in final proof, but the proofs have not been located since the war. In his published bibliography Genss lists a seventy-seven-page typescript covering 1,983 titles (Tartu, 1924, in three copies) and a catalog printed in a few presentation copies in four parts covering 4,014 titles (Tartu, 1928–31). None of those copies have been located. Part of the collection was reported to the family as being found in Vilnius after the war, but that has not been verified.

42. Inna Gens, "Istoriia odnoi biblioteki," *Lekhaim, Ezhemesiachnyi literaturno-publitsisticheskii zhurnal*, 4 (132) (April 2003): 48–53. "Ukradennaia biblioteka," *Iksha. Al'manakh. Proza. Stili. Memuary. Dokumental'nye rasskazy*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1997), 130–46; Inna Gens, "Ukradennaia biblioteka," *Korolevskii zhurnal*, no. 13 (1998): 38–42. Inna Gens kindly met with me in Moscow and has been in correspondence with me about her father's library and his postwar efforts to recover his collection. The family would still like to see the library returned to Estonia in her father's memory.

43. I was given an estimate by librarians of 1,000 books in the Academy of Sciences Library, but Inna Gens rejects that as much too low, based on figures she was given earlier.

44. Vladimir Makarov kindly shared with me his extensive files of dedicatory autographs and biographical data.

45. I am very grateful to Valeryi Herasimau, head of the Fond of Early Printed and Rare Books at the Presidential Library of Belarus, for arranging my visit and showing me a large selection of books from the Turgenev Library and a few from the Peliura Library as well.

46. See my forthcoming study, “The Road to Ratibor and the Eastern Front: Patterns of Archival and Library Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR),” in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*.

47. Among the ERR records in Kyiv is a group of retrospective typed confiscation lists of private libraries confiscated in Paris with names, addresses, quantity of crates plundered, and ERR code numbers used. “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek” (Prof. Dr. [Gerhard] Schilde worked for the ERR in Paris and Belgium); “Sonderakte Paris” and “Positive Einsatzstellen Paris” (undated but with covering memos in the same file and other reports from 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–76, 273, 283, 277–82. What was most presumably the covering memo, signed by Dr. Brethauer and listing those reports, is filed later in the same dossier (21 January 1942), fol. 324. The ERR records in Kyiv were brought to Ukraine from Dresden in the fall of 1945. Probably they were among the ERR records evacuated from Ratibor in January 1945, although possibly some of them may have remained with the Berlin ERR office records. The point of capture has not yet been determined, and no reference to it has been found in available documentation in Kyiv. The fate of Schilde’s Paris card file is not known.

48. There is one copy of the ERR lists among U.S. restitution files: ERR-HAG Frankreich, “Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien” (Paris, 23 March 1941), photostatic copy, US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection, box 468. It lists eighty-one “Jewish libraries” confiscated in Paris. Another photocopy of the 23 March list is held in the Archives nationales (F17 17996) and is cited by Reymes, “Le pillage des bibliothèques,” 38. In 2000 I gave a copy of the 23 March list that I had first found in the US NACP to colleagues at the Direction des archives at the Quai d’Orsay; they claimed not to have seen it before.

49. Two more copies of the 23 March list, with a supplemental list of thirty more libraries confiscated to the end of April, are preserved in the BAK, B 323/261, fols. 48–60. A covering letter from Dr. Gerhard Wunder to the Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Command in France) (2 May 1941) describes them all as “Jewish libraries.”

50. A complete copy (with the ERR covering memo) remains among U.S.-captured German military records returned to Germany in the 1960s. The document (also a photocopy) is found on the U.S.–Alexandria microfilms in the series “Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich,” roll 362, item 85621 (294K–306K), the originals of which are now in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, MGRA 85621. I have not yet located the original of that document.

51. Official records of French restitution operations in both Germany and Austria are reportedly not open to the public. One British report notes that they gave the French some files regarding Paris ERR confiscations they found in Tanzenberg (Austria), but it has not been possible to determine if these files have been preserved among French restitution files.

52. Among British restitution files in the PRO in London a list of ninety-one “Paris Libraries of Jewish Ownership Confiscated by the ERR, March–June 1941” includes another sixty-four libraries not listed earlier (16 August 1945), PRO, FO 1020/2793. This copy has been retyped in chart format in Tanzenberg with English-language headings; the original is not available, but a handwritten note in the file explains that it came from some of Dr. Wunder’s original Paris files and was handed over to French authorities.

53. Many such reports remain among the Rosenberg Collection from Nuremberg in the CDJC in Paris.

54. “Extrait du Catalogue général des livres de M. le baron James de Rothschild” (MS ca. 1860). See the published catalog covering 3,382 volumes: James, baron de Rothschild, *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, ed. Emile Picot, 5 vols. (Paris: D. Morgand, 1884–1920; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, [1967]). The Voltaire edition (*Oeuvres complètes*) does not appear in the published catalog. The manuscript catalog mentioned by Makarov (*Avtografy sud’by*, 18) was not available for examination in the Rare Book Department when I was there, but Makarov confirmed to me that he had seen it. The British found another part of the manuscript catalog; they also found and returned to France seventy-four crates of books belonging to James, baron de Rothschild, found in Tanzenberg.

55. Makarov, *Avtografy sud’by*, 18. Likewise, I was unable to examine that catalog during my visit.

56. I appreciate the assistance of the Rare Book Department staff in September 2003. They made this research possible and enabled me to photograph title pages of some of the books, selections from which are presented here.

57. ERR-Belgien, “Übersicht über die Artbeitsverhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien in zeitlicher Reihenfolge” (n.d. [March 1943]), TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 53–66. Published excerpts listing the Jewish collection involved are published as “ERR–Liste des collections juives spoliées et transportées en Allemagne (1940–1943),” in *Les biens des victimes des persécutions anti-juives en Belgique: Spoliation, Rétablissement des droits, Résultats de la Commission d’étude [ANNEXES], Rapport final de la Commission d’étude sur le sort des biens des membres de la Communauté juive de Belgique spoliés ou délaissés pendant la guerre 1940–1945* ([Brussels]: Services du Premier Ministre, July 2001), Annexe 5, 21–23. I am grateful to Belgian colleagues Michel Vermote (Amsab) and Jacques Lust (Office of the Prime Minister), with whom I have been working on these matters for a decade.

58. For example, the confiscation report from the duc de Guise at the Manoir d’Anjou, Brussels, is found in TsDAVO, fond 3674/1/1, fols. 40–88, in the same file with those from several Masonic lodges and other individuals. A seizure report from Friedrich Adler remains in TsDAVO, 3676/1/52; from the Ecole des hautes études (Ghent), TsDAVO, 3676/1/24 and 109, among many others.

59. See Jacques Lust, *De Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg en de bibliotheekroof in België* (1940–43) (Brussels: Studiecommissie Joodse Goederen, 30 October 2000), and the appendix to the commission report cited above (note 34). Details of the ERR operations in Belgium (among other Nazi looting agencies) are presented in the commission report, *De Bezittingen van de slachtoffers van de Jodenvervolging in België: Spoliatie-Rechtsherstel-Bevindingen van de Studiecommissie* ([Brussels]: Diensten van de Eerste Minister, July 2001), esp. 132–42. Jacques Lust kindly furnished me copies; he and Michel Vermote have briefed me frequently on their research.

60. Colleagues kindly furnished me a copy of one of their preliminary printed versions, “Niet-exhaustieve lijst van archief-en bibliotheekmateriaal in beslag genomen in België tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog” (Ghent: Amsab, 2000). The documentation and database are mentioned by Michel Vermote in his report, “Vozvrashchenie notkuda, Restitutsiia pokhishchennykh bel’giiskikh kolleksi” (in Russian and German), in *Trudnaia sud’ba kul’turnykh tsennostei: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii “Chastnoe pravo i problemy restitutsii peremeshchennykh kul’turnykh tsennostei,” Moskva, 27 i 28 maia 2002 g./ Das schwierige Schicksal von Kulturgütern: Materialien der internationalen Konferenz ‘Privatrecht und Probleme der Restitution von kriegsbedingt verbrachten Kulturgütern,’ Moskau, 27. und 28. Mai 2003* (Moscow: “Rudomino”; Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts Verlag, 2002), 148 (Russian) and 156 (German).

61. [August Schirmer], “Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes der Dienststelle des Reichleiters Rosenberg in den westlichen besetzten Gebieten und den Niederlanden: Arbeitsgruppe Niederlande” (the signature is rendered erroneously as Schimmer [sic]), Oberleiter, leader of the Netherlands Working Group (n.d. [early 1944]), in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–49), *Documents and Other Materials in Evidence*, 25:247–55 (doc. 176-PS; Exhibit USA-707); English translation: “Report on the Activities of the Einsatzstab of the Bureau of the Reichsleiter Rosenberg in the Occupied Western Territories and the Netherlands, Working Group Netherlands,” in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression/Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 3:203–9. Other ERR confiscation lists have been preserved among the Rosenberg files (most of them on the US NARA microfilms), with printout copies in the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) in Amsterdam. One undated list includes 176 entries for seizures between mid-December 1940 and August 1943. The originals are held in BAB, NS 30/15.

62. As mentioned in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 3:206. Regarding the seizure and fate of the IISH collections from Amsterdam, see Karl Heinz Roth, *The International Institute of Social History as a Pawn of Nazi Social Research: New Documents on the History of the IISH during German Occupation Rule from 1940 to 1944*, *International Review of Social History* 34, supplement (1989), which references related publications and sources. The report of Eberhard Kautter to Rosenberg (Berlin, 28 April 1941) is published in German (S28–S38) and in English (S38–S47) from the original in the BAB, NS 8/252.

63. Seizure of three crates of Souvarine’s library (SOS 1–3) and those from the IISH and related collections in Paris is noted on the list “Pariser Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–76. Reference to the arrival of thirty crates of the Souvarine library appears in an ERR report (Ratibor, 7 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.

64. For seizures in Yugoslavia, see “Jahresbericht 1943/1944 der Arbeitsgruppe Südosten,” signed by Dr. [Günther] Kraft (Belgrad, 29 February 1944), YIVO, Berlin Collection (RG 215), box 37, folder OccE 5g-4. The same folder also includes weekly reports for March–December 1943. Reports of seizures in Croatia are preserved in Moscow, RGVA, 1401K/1, files 5, 8, 10–29, 43–47.

65. “Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland” (Athens, 15 November 1941), RGVA, 1401K/1/9; another copy of the thirty-one-page report with a map and appendices is held in CDJC, CCXXXII-17.

66. See Patricia K. Grimsted, “Twice Plundered or Twice Saved? Identifying Russia’s ‘Trophy’ Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 191–244, soon available in an updated version at the IISH website. A Russian version will appear in *Sotsial’naia istoriia: Ezhegodnik* (Moscow, 2004).

67. See the recent article by Jörg Rudolph: “‘Sämtliche Sendungen sind zu richten an . . .’. Das RSHA-Amt VII ‘Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung’ als Sammelstelle erbeuteter Archive und Bibliotheken,” in Michael Wildt, ed., *Nachrichtendienst, politische Elite und Mordeinheit. Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführer SS* (Hamburger Edition, 2003), 204–40, with extensive documentation from German sources.

68. See the most recent articles dealing with the RSHA library collections by Werner Schroeder, “Strukturen des Bücherraubs: Die Bibliotheken des RSHA:

Aufbau und Verblieb,” available electronically at http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/pdf/provenienz_schroeder.pdf, as expanded from an earlier presentation at an April 2003 conference in Vienna. I am grateful to Frits Hoogewoud and Efroyim Grossberger for copies of Schroeder’s writings on the subject.

69. See more details about the ERR archival holdings in Ratibor that later were processed in Kyiv in Grimsted, “The Road to Ratibor.”

70. For an overview of the French archives returned with reference to other available descriptions and finding aids, see Sophie Coeuré, “De l’ombre à la lumière: Les archives françaises de retour de Moscou (1940–2002),” in Sébastien Laurent, ed., *Archives “secretées,” secrets d’archives? Historiens et archivists face aux archives sensibles* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2003), 133–48; the bibliography at the end of that volume lists finding aids available for many of the fonds returned. Regarding archival restitution from Russia, see Patricia K. Grimsted, “Russia’s Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?” Budapest: Open Society Archive (Central European University, first published April 2002): <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/> (an updated version is expected soon).

71. See more details about the library destinations of books confiscated by the ERR in Grimsted, “The Road to Ratibor.”

72. The figure of 550,000 for books projected comes from a report by the librarian Dr. Johannes Pohl (29 April 1943), “Die Bibliothek zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, Hohe Schule, Aussenstelle Frankfurt/Main, Institute zu Erforschung der Judenfrage,” appended to a memorandum signed by Dr. Gerhard Wunder (Berlin, 12 July 1943), in *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 25:242–46 (doc. 171-PS; Exhibit USA–383); English translation: “Library for Exploration of the Jewish Question,” in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 3:200–203.

73. *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the United States and Staff Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2000). A session devoted to “Nazi-Looted Cultural Property/Jewish Books and Archives: Past, Present, Perspectives,” organized by Frits Hoogewoud at the Seventh Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies (Amsterdam, 21–25 July 2002), heard several reports on these issues, including ones by Lisa Yanai and Konstantine Akinsha, who had earlier worked for the U.S. Commission, and Frits Hoogewoud, who has been gathering documentation for a related exhibit in Hungen. Published versions are in preparation for a forthcoming volume in the series *Art, Antiquity and Law*.

74. See Leslie I. Poste, “Books Go Home from the Wars,” *Library Journal* 73, 1 December 1948: 1699–1704. In his dissertation, “The Development of U.S. Protection of Libraries and Archives in Europe during World War II” (Fort Gordon, Ga., U.S. Army Civil Affairs School, 1964; revised from a doctoral dissertation prepared at the University of Chicago, 1958), Poste devotes a chapter to OAD (258–301), with a chart of out-shipments by country (299–300). See F. J. Hoogewoud, “The Nazi Looting of Books and Its American ‘Antithesis’: Selected Pictures from the Offenbach Archival Depot’s Photographic History and Its Supplement,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 26, nos. 1–2 (1992): 158–92. See also the Web exhibit by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum at <http://www.ushmm.org/>.

75. Regarding the Tanzenberg facility, see Evelyn Adunka, *Der Raub der Bücher: Plünderung in der NS-Zeit und Restitution nach 1945* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2002), especially her first chapter, “Die Bibliothek von Tanzenberg in Kärnten” (15–70). Regarding British restitution to the USSR, see Patricia K. Grimsted, “From the

Amber Chamber to Russian Imperial Palace Books: Identification and Reconstruction of Displaced Cultural Treasures,” published in German and Russian with the proceedings of the conference “Kul’turnoe sotrudnichestvo v Evrope: Problemy sokhraneniia i okhrany kul’turnykh tsennostei.” An expanded English version is being prepared.

76. ERR report (30 August 1943), BAB, NS 30/39; additional reports about the transfer and different buildings in Ratibor are in TsDAVO, 3676/2/19 and 22.

77. See Wunder’s lists of confiscated libraries in Paris (nn. 18–22). Available postwar biographic data (and list of writings) for Gerhard Wunder (1908–88) completely omit his key role with the ERR during the Nazi period. Mention is made that during the war he served with the infantry in Belgium and France and then Russia, where he was subsequently involved with “a party office for research regarding Communism in the Soviet Union, in Riga, Berlin, and Ratibor.” See Dieter Wunder, “Gerd Wunder,” in *Festschrift für Gerd Wunder, Württembergisch Franken. Jahrbuch* 58 (Schwabisch Hall: Historischer Verein für Württembergisch Franken, 1974), 7–13; and Edith Ennen, “Sehr verehrter, lieber Herr Wunder! (Laudatio Gerd Wunder),” *Württembergisch Franken. Jahrbuch* 67 (1983): 3–9.

78. The typescript and proof copies of Wunder’s book *Die Mauer fällt: Das wahre Gesicht des Bolschewismus* (The Wall Falls Down: The True Face of Bolshevism), which was in preparation for publication in Munich by Zentralverlag der NSDAP Franz Eher Nachf, are among the ERR records in BAB, NS 30, files 108–14; the book was never published.

79. BAB, NS 30/48.

80. I recently identified this file in the YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G-223, a file from the records of the ERR Stabsführung IV5. All but five of the twenty-eight library descriptions (2–4 pp.) were dated in 1944 in Ratibor. Most of the names and more appear on an ERR quarterly report from Ratibor (1 April–30 June 1944), CDJC, XVC-225.

81. Extensive original files documenting ERR library plunder from Belarus are held in YIVO, RG 215, Occ 9, 10, E 42, E 3a 20–35. Copies of some of these documents and some variant ones are found in BAB, NS 30, especially folders 55 and 167, and some additional reports remain in TsDAVO in Kyiv.

82. See the summary monthly report for February and March 1944 (1 April 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fols. 333–35, BAB, NS 30/167.

83. ERR report (8 October 1943), BAB, NS 30/167, fols. 18ff.; December 1943–January 1944, TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fol. 349.

84. See the summary monthly report for February and March 1944 (1 April 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fols. 333–35. See also ERR quarterly report 1 January–31 March 1944 (17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55 and NS 30/167.

85. Three separate remaining freight car content lists cover the January through March shipments from Minsk: “Abtransporte in der Zeit vom 31.1 bis 5.2.1944” (Minsk, 8 February 1944), “Aktenvermerk. Abtransporte in der Zeit vom 8. bis 10. Februar 1944 aus der Lenin-Bibliothek,” and “Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 10. Februar bis 11. März 1944,” YIVO, RG 215. “Niamiha” is a street name in what was a heavily Jewish area of Minsk; reportedly, the ERR had used one building there to collect Jewish books.

86. ERR Stabsführung II (Ratibor) to HAG Mitte (Minsk) (25 March 1944), YIVO, RG 215, box 31, folder E-3A-26.

87. ERR quarterly report, 1 January–4 March 1944 (17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55. The report complained that the books received from the Lenin Library in Minsk were in bad condition because they were not in crates. A December

report of Lommatzsch mentions 380 crates with archival materials from Mohilev that should be shipped on to the archival center in Troppau (13 December 1944, NS 30/50).

88. See the series of reports from ERR HAG-Mitte, from Minsk regarding the evacuations, BAB, NS 30/167: 10 May 1944, fols. 7–8; 4 April 1944, fol. 9; 14 July 1944, fol. 11. See also the earlier plan signed by Lommatzsch, “Arbeitsplan für die Ergänzung der Ostbücherei,” 6 April 1943, fols. 35–39, and an evacuation report signed by Sporket, 9 March 1943, fols. 82–86. Report of Lommatzsch, 13 December 1944, BAB, NS 30/50.

89. Regarding the Communist Party archive from Dnipropetrovsk in Ratibor, see Patricia K. Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive”*: *Communist Records in the Service of Anti-Communism* (Pittsburgh, 1995), 20–23. Its return to Kyiv is noted in “Doklad o rabote arkhivnykh organov BSSR za 1 polugodie 1946 g.” (Minsk, 22 July 1946), GA RF, 5325/2/1558, fol. 137. The figure of files returned is much less than the “29 crates, 64 cardboard boxes, and 343 documentary packages” that were shipped to Ratibor in October 1943, arriving there in early November.

90. Regarding the “Smolensk Archive,” the Ratibor center, and Pless, see Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive,”* esp. 42–44.

91. ERR HAG Mitte (Białystok) to Stabsführer des ERR Utikal (Berlin) (9 July 1944), YIVO, RG 215, box 31, folder E-3A-27; and “Wochenbericht 44/25 vom 2.–8.7.1944,” signed Dr. Müller (Białystok, 8 July 1944), with an appended crate/wagon list for sixty crates with newspaper and periodical titles: YIVO, RG 215, box 33, folder E-3A-33.

92. The 1 million figure in one ERR report ([1944?], CDJC, CXLI-158) probably included only those already processed by the ERR in Ratibor; more details in Grimsted, “The Road to Ratibor.”

93. ERR Stabsführer Gerhard Utikal to Rosenberg, “Aktenvermerk für den Reichsleiter–Dienstgut in Oberschlesien” (25 January 1945), BAB, NS 8/261; another copy is in NS 30/7. ERR evacuation sites in the Bamberg/Staffelstein area were headquartered in the nearby town of Lichtenfels at Schloss Banz and the estate of Baron Kurt von Behr, who had directed ERR operations in Paris; they also included parts of the former Benedictine Abbey (or Convent–Kloster Banz), near Staffelstein, and another building within Staffelstein itself. Regarding U.S. army recovery of ERR materials there after the suicide of von Behr and his wife, see the report in US NACP, RG 260, Records of the Education and Cultural Relations Division, Cultural Affairs Branch, Records Relating to Monuments, Museums, Libraries, Archives, and Fine Arts, box 234; a copy is in BAK, B-323/328.

94. See the British MFA&A “Preliminary Report on Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (NSDAP)” (1 August 1945), a copy of which is found among the records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (Roberts Commission), US NACP, RG 239/11; several copies are available among British files, PRO, FO 1020. Several subsequent British reports note that they were passing on information about Ratibor to their Soviet counterparts in Austria.

95. Boris Shiperovich, “Spasenie knig,” *Al'manakh bibliofila* (1973): 57–59. See more details in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, chap. 5.

96. Several of Shiperovich’s letters to his friend, the poet and literary critic Anatolii Tarasenkov, in Moscow during 1945 confirm that he was there in the army and actively involved with the displaced books; see RGALI, fond 2587 (Anatolii Kuz'mich Tarasenkov Papers)/1/760. He describes the books in the warehouse (without mentioning Myslowitz). The quotes here are from an undated letter (1945), fols. 79–82.

Since Shiperovich's mail was going through the military censors, specific references to where he was and what he was doing were prohibited. More details about Shiperovich and the Myslowitz warehouse in relation to developments in Silesia at the time are provided in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, chap. 5.

97. [M. I. Rudomino], "Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol'sha), no. 31," in "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul'tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137–37v (cc in A-534/2/10, fol. 182–82v). A facsimile of the coverage of the Turgenev Library in the unsigned report with an English translation appears in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, app. 3; published in German translation by Ingo Kolasa and Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, eds., *Die Trophäenmissionen der Roten Armee: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), doc. no. 20, pp. 127–43 (Turgenev Library, p. 141). The original document is not signed, but all of the libraries through no. 29 are included in Rudomino's subsequent signed reports in the same folder. The trophy brigade was directed by Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, who headed the Institute of Museum Studies in Moscow.

98. The letter is found in the National Archive of Belarus, among the library records, fond 546/2/4, fols. 20–21. I am grateful to Liudmila I. Stankevich for pointing me to this file. Quite possibly the Belarusian soldier was there with Shiperovich.

99. Unfortunately, the full original text and contiguous army reports are not open for research. Evidently, sections covering trophy books other than the Turgenev Library were omitted from the version published by the RGB, but the compiler claims not to have seen the original. Fragments of the report by Maj. V. Pakhomov of the GlavPU, "O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii," are published as doc. no. 169 in A. L. Divnogortsev, comp., and V. A. Fokeev et al., eds., *Bibliotchnoe delo v Rossii v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (iun' 1941–mai 1945)* (Moscow: Izd-vo RGB "Pashkov dom," 2000), 274–75; the archival reference cited is TsAMO, fond 32 (GlavPU RKKA), *opis'* 11302/327, fols. 383–84v. Notably, the fragments published deal only with the retrieval of books confiscated by the Nazis from Soviet libraries. My own 2001 request for a full copy and a 2002 request by the RGB Military Department were both refused by TsAMO.

100. Report of the chief of GlavPU RKKA intelligence service, I. V. Shikin (1 March 1945) to G. M. Malenkov, TsK VKP(b), 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, no. 5:135–36.

101. Regarding the retrieval and return of the Smolensk archive, see Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the "Smolensk Archive,"* 44–48. One of the reports suggests that the books would be shipped home, but mention of a spring shipment to Minsk has been found. The July GlavPU report suggests they were moved to Myslowitz.

102. The castle of Schönhain was mentioned earlier in ERR reports. Regarding the retrieval there, see Pakhomov, "O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii," 275.

103. Letter from adjutant to Red Army guards inspector Apostolov (15 December 1945), in *Bibliotchnoe delo v BSSR*, doc. 18, p. 36.

104. [Rudomino], "Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137–37v.

105. Shiperovich to Tarasenkov (n.d. [1945]), RGALI, fond 2587/1/760, fol. 80. In another undated letter with "New Year's Greetings," Shiperovich mentions finding

two crates of contemporary English literature, although he “had not been able to get them, so they went to Minsk” (fol. 84).

106. From a letter by the National Library director Galina N. Oleinik to Frits J. Hoogewoud (June 1993), quoted by Hoogewoud in “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 72–73. Oleinik nowhere mentioned a figure for the Western “trophy” books received. That is the number of freight cars quoted as coming from Ratibor via Myslowitz in a published 1946 report by Liutorovich, “Spravka predsedatel’ia Komiteta po delam kul’turno-prosvetitel’nykh uchrezhdenii pri SNK BSSR,” in *Bibliotchnoe delo v BSSR*, doc. 20, p. 39. The report cites a total of sixty freight cars but gives no further details other than the fifty-four from Myslowitz.

107. I am grateful to librarians in the Presidential Library in Minsk for clarifying these arrangements based on documents they have found. Their fuller report is in preparation as of September 2003. According to their information, the Government House had been mined by the departing Germans, but the mines had failed to detonate.

108. Ol’ga Erkhina, “Ona vernula knigi iz plena” (interview with Mariia Vaganova), *Sovetskaia Belorussia*, 29 March 2003: 4–5. A retired Belarusian journalist recently related that when in the fall of 1945 the book echelon to Minsk was delayed, she was sent to Legnica to plead for freight cars with Marshal Rokossovskii. Vaganova recalls that the books arrived within a week of her trip to Legnica and suggests the books were in Legnica, where in fact Rokossovskii was based at the Northern Group headquarters; but without freight cars it is curious that the books would have been transported over 250 kilometers west from Myslowitz before being sent to Minsk.

109. This section summarizes findings described and documented in more detail in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, but also serves to update details about books from the Turgenev Library in Minsk discovered after that book went to press.

110. Ilya Ehrenburg (Il’ia Erenburg), *People and Life, 1891–1921*, translated from the Russian by Anna Boistock and Yvonne Kapp (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 76. The original Russian is available in several different editions; see, for example, Il’ia Erenburg, *Liudi, gody, zhizn’* (Moscow: “Sovetskii pisatel’,” 1961), 109–10. Ehrenburg had himself worked in the Turgenev Library in Paris before the revolution and donated materials.

111. Roman Gul’, *Ia unes Rossiiu. Apologiia emigratsii*, vol. 1: *Rossii v Germanii* (Moscow: B.S.G. Press, 2001), 108. The earlier version of Gul’'s memoirs appeared in *Novyi zhurnal*. I am grateful to Konstantin Akinsha for calling this reference to my attention. Gul’ noted that the letter reporting books from the Turgenev Library in Minsk remains with his papers, which are now deposited at Yale University.

112. Galina Oleinik to Patricia K. Grimsted, 17 November 1999. I had earlier received a reply about the Petliura Library from Adam Mal’dis, who had mentioned the “return” of books to Kyiv in his address to the “Spoils of War” conference in New York in January 1995.

113. [M. I. Rudomino], “Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits, no. 31,” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137–37v (cc in A-534/2/10, fol. 182–82v). By that time, Legnica was already on the Polish side of the Oder (Odra) River, but the Soviets still used the German form of Leignitz.

114. Fragments of the report by Pakhomov, “O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii,” 274–75. More recently, in connection with my research about the Turgenev Library, colleagues at the RGB asked the TsAMO for a copy of

that document after my request had been turned down, but the TsAMO answered that the files are still classified.

115. [Rudomino], “Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha),” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137–37v.

116. Rudomino’s report spelled the name as “Shapiroovich,” but his name has been confirmed from other sources. The TsAMO first reported in a letter to me in June 2002 that “the name of Boris Shiperovich (or Shapiroovich) cannot be located in their card files of officers.” Finally, in January 2003, in response from an inquiry from RGB, TsAMO confirmed that “Captain Boris Shiperovich” headed the library in the Officers Club in Legnica from December 1945 until March 1948, but it claims to have neither documentation relating to the retrieval of books and archives in Silesia nor other reports about the library in Legnica. The specific documents we requested have not been declassified.

117. Rudomino’s request for travel orders (*komandirovka*) to Lissa and Legnica (9 March 1946) remains among the papers of her trophy library group in GA RF, A-5342/8, fols. 200, 201.

118. These shipments are all documented in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*.

119. Vladimir Sashonko, “Knigi s ulitsy Val-de-Gras,” *Neva* (St. Petersburg), 1994, no. 10:301–5. Confirmation of the book burning came from another librarian who had worked in Legnica.

120. Tat’iana Roshchina gave an interview about her father’s role in arranging for Turgenev Library books to be brought to Minsk: Aleksandr Liushkevich, “Belorusskii sled ‘russkogo Parizha,’” *Belarускаia delovaia gazeta* (supplement), *Dlia sluzhebnogo pol’zovaniia*, 2003, no. 1(12):18–19. I am grateful to her for showing me some of the books and sharing her memories. As she explained in the published interview, she regrets that she had not dealt with the subject while her father and mother were still living.

121. See the note by Nikolai V. Kotrelev cited in note 4. The same tragic fate befell several volumes from the Turgenev Library that ended up in Ukraine, as recounted to me by a Kyiv librarian who had lost her job in the State Historical Library in 1983 after she wrote a letter of protest trying to prevent their destruction.

122. Roshchina expressed her surprise to me when I reported finding close to 500 books in the Presidential Library of Belarus, thanks to colleagues there. See note 46.

123. Regarding the disclosures in RGB, see Nadezhda Ryzhak, “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud’ba izdaniia parizhskoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB,” *Bibliotekovedenie*, 2002, no. 5:114–18; and Ryzhak’s report, “Kollektsiia parizhskoi Russkoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB,” in *Rumiantsevskie chteniia—2002: Natsional’naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul’turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow: RGB, 2002), 296–301, presented in more detail at the colloquium itself. See more details in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, esp. chap. 6. The term “seventh seal” with reference to the RGB was first used in an article by a specialist in the Ministry of Culture at the time of the library’s 125th anniversary: Nikolai Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Ekho planety*, 2000, no. 47:30–31; reprinted in Petrovskii, *Sokrytye stranitsy istorii* (Moscow: KRYK-Prestizh, 2002), 41–42.

124. Present known locations of books with stamps of the Turgenev Library and the library’s archives are listed in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, app. 1.

125. Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 74. The title page and other book stamps found in that Bible are reproduced in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, app. 1. See also Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 72–74.

126. See more details about the Turgenev Library transfers in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*.

127. In addition to the Grimsted monograph, see the related Grimsted publications cited above in note 2.

128. The passage quoted is in my translation “From the Compilers” as a preface to the exhibition catalog, *Niderlandskie knigi–zhertvy voiny: Katalog*, I.

129. Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution,” 72–74. Hoogewoud identifies the Belgian books, which include those from several of the libraries mentioned earlier with other books now in Minsk.

130. This Polish restitution is documented by Jacques Lust, Evert Maréchal, Wouter Steenhaut, and Michel Vermote, *Een zoektocht naar archieven: Van NISG naar AMSAB* (Ghent: AMSAB, 1997), 96–101. See especially the Polish account by Józef Stępień, “Losy akt Międzynarodowego Instytutu Historii Socjalnej w Amsterdamie w świetle informacji komisji powołanej do zbadania ‘archiwum holenderskiego’ z lutego 1955 r.,” *Teki archiwalne*, seria nowa 3(25) (1998): 317–24. These developments, with some samples found in Warsaw, were reported by Michel Vermote at the 2000 VGBIL conference in Moscow, “War Trophies in Perspective: The Fate of Looted Collections from Belgium,” in *Karta evropy. Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii “Kul’turnaia karta Evropy: sud’ba peremeshchennykh kul’turnykh tsennostei v tret’em tysiacheletii,” Moskva, VGBIL, 10–11 apreli 2000 goda/ MAPPING EUROPE: Materials of the International Conference “Mapping Europe: Fate of Looted Cultural Valuables in the Third Millennium,” Moscow, VGBIL, 10–11 April 2000* (Moscow: “Rudomino,” 2002), 328–37 (Russian version, 148–58), and at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/vermot.html>. More documentation about those returns and those remaining in Warsaw is available from Wouter Steenhaut and Michel Vermote in Amsab, to which I am grateful for sharing information with me.

131. Makarov, “O frankoiazychnoi bel’giiskoi literature,” 125.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

Amsab	Amsab Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis/ Amsab Institute d’Histoire Sociale (Amsab [Archives and Museum of the Socialist Labour Movement] Institute of Social History), Ghent
BAB	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), Berlin- Lichterfelde
BAK	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), Koblenz
BAN	Biblioteka Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk (Library of the Academy of Sciences), St. Petersburg
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die besetzten Gebiete (Rosenberg Special Command Force for Occupied Territories)

FO	Foreign Office
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow; formerly TsGAOR SSSR and TsGARSSFSR
GAUG	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie (Main Archival Administration); alternatively Glavarkhiv –pri NKVD (after 1946, MVD) SSSR (under the People’s Commissariat [after 1956, Ministry] of Internal Affairs of the USSR), 1941–60 –pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (under the Council of Ministers of the USSR), 1960–91; often Glavarkhiv
GBL	Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina (Lenin State Library), Moscow; since 1992 RGB
GKO	Gosudarstrennyi komitet oborony (State Committee on Defense)
Glavarkhiv	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie (Main Archival Administration); alternatively and earlier often GAU
Glavlit	Glavnoe upravlenie po okhrane gosudarstvennykh tain v pechati pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in Print under the Council of Ministers of the USSR)
Glav PURKKA	Glavnoe politicheskoe upravlenie Krasnoi Armii (Chief Political Administration of the Red Army)
GOPB	Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka (State Sociopolitical Library), Moscow; before 1992 Library of IML
HAG	Haupt Arbeit Gruppe (Main Task Force), under the ERR
IEJ	Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question), Frankfurt, under NSDAP
IISH/IISG	International Institute of Social History/ Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, 1934–40; IISH Branch in Paris
IML	Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS (Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the

	Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Moscow
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del (Ministry of Internal Affairs); before 1946 NKVD
NBB	Natsional'naia biblioteka Belarusi (National Library of Belarus), Minsk
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs); after 1946 MVD
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States
PRO	Public Record Office (National Archives), London (Kew Gardens)
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomika (Russian State Archive of the Economy)
RGALI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow; earlier TsGALI SSSR
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Political History), Moscow; before March 1999 RTsKhIDNI
RGB	Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (Russian State Library), Moscow; before 1992 GBL
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow; since March 1999 includes the holdings of the former Special Archive (TsKhIDK, before 1992, TsGOA SSSR)
RNB	Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka (Russian National Library), St. Petersburg; before 1992 GPB, Leningrad
Rosarkhiv	Federal'naia arkhivnaia sluzhba Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Federal Archival Service), Moscow; before 1992 Glavarkhiv; now Federal'noe arkhivnoe agentstvo (Federal Archival Agency RF)
RSFSR	Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RZIA	Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv

	(Russian Foreign Historical Archive), formerly Prague, transferred to Moscow in 1945–46
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Services)
SNK	Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov (Council of People's Commissars)
TsAMO	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv Ministerstva oborony RF (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podolsk
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv derzhavnoi vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïna (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine); formerly TsDAZhR URSR (Russian TsGAOR UkrSSR), Kyiv
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii SSSR (Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR)–SSSR, Moscow; now part of GA RF –TsGAOR UkrSSR, Kyiv; now TsDAVO
TsGOA SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR (Central State Special Archive of the USSR), Moscow; now part of RGVA, earlier (1992–99) TsKhIDK; often known in the West as the Special Archive or Osobyi Archive
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksii (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), Moscow; formerly TsGOA SSSR, now part of RGVA
TsPA	Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv Instituta Marksizma-Leninizma TsK KPSS (Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Moscow; now RGASPI, earlier (1992–99) RTsKhIDNI
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.
US NACP	National Archives of the United States, College Park, Md.
VGBIL	Vserossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka inostranoi literatury imeni M. I. Rudomino (All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature [founder, M. I. Rudomino]), Moscow
YIVO	Yidisher Visnschaftlekher Institut (Jewish

ZBHS Scientific Research Institute), YIVO Jewish
Research Institute, Vilnius, New York
Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule/NSDAP
(Central Library of the Hohe Schule under the
National Socialist German Workers Party)