

# Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg\*

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**Scholarship has not adequately studied the history of Nazi cultural plunder during the Second World War, or the further international displacement and restitution efforts thereafter. The present study discusses one of the primary agencies of plunder, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR). It focuses on the plunder of libraries and archives, tracing their migration, revealing new sources, and identifying collections that did not return home after the war. Emphasis falls on materials that ended the war in the little-known ERR research and library center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz), to which the Germans transported more than two million books.**

Sixty years after the end of the war we are still finding cultural treasures the Nazis plundered, many of which were displaced or plundered a second time at the end of the war. Displaced treasures continue to surface in countries from Finland to Argentina to Japan. Scholars have spoken of “Art as Politics,” the “Rape of Europa,” or the “Grand Pillage.”<sup>1</sup> The “spoils of war” seized by the victorious Soviets on the Eastern Front included cultural property previously looted by the Nazis. Today we know more about the “Beautiful Loot” that ended up in the Soviet Union as “hidden treasures.”<sup>2</sup>

A 2004 article traced the road to Minsk for half a million books Nazi Germany had first confiscated from its “enemies” in Western Europe and that the Soviets later

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\*Editorial Note: This article parallels the author’s piece “Twice Plundered or ‘Twice Saved’? Identifying Russia’s ‘Trophy’ Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt” in the Fall 2001 number of *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. The postwar fate of cultural treasures plundered by the ERR will receive further treatment in a future article in this journal.

A list of abbreviations follows the text. Citations to Soviet-area archives give *fond* (record group)/ *opis*’ (inventory within *fond*)/and *delo* (or file) numbers. In Soviet and Russian practice a “fond” designates an integral group of records or a collection from a single office or source, or papers of an individual or family. Transliteration from the Cyrillic herein generally follows Library of Congress practice. Ukrainian place names are rendered according to current Ukrainian usage.

captured in Silesia and took to the capital of Soviet Belorussia. Those “twice plundered” books had been gathered by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), the special command force overseen by Alfred Rosenberg, and were transported to Minsk from warehouses in the Myslowitz (*now Polish* Mysłowice) suburb of Kattowitz (*now Polish* Katowice) about seventy km. north of the ERR Silesian research center at Ratibor.<sup>3</sup> That center was the recipient of archives and books the Nazis plundered as part of a vast ideological, political, and cultural policy. Unlike art, archival and library seizures were not for display, prestige, or profit. If they bolstered Hitler’s imperial pretensions or exposed the evils of “Bolshevism,” then by all means they should be sought. When “enemies of the regime” such as Jews or Freemasons fled, were arrested, or were deported, especially those of political or social prominence, their personal and institutional libraries and archives were seized and shipped to devoted research agencies. Specialists catalogued, analyzed, and preserved the materials, treating them not only as the heritage of “enemies of the Reich” but as raw material for propaganda and for “operational” use. A lively competition for their possession depended on the specific intelligence, propaganda, and research needs of a number of Nazi agencies; their projects became intertwined with power struggles among the elite.

Some books were burned in spectacular bonfires. Many went to pulping facilities. The most valuable were saved, but many of the confiscated books and archives still have not been located. Tracing their wartime migration in the hands of Nazi agencies provides clues to their postwar fate. Most of the books that ended the war in the Western zones of occupation were restituted to their countries of origin soon after, although there were exceptions and irregularities, more of which are now coming to light. Even more tragically, many of the books from Western libraries that ended up in the Soviet Union were intermingled with others the Nazis had looted in the occupied Soviet lands. This intermingling determined their postwar fate.

One of my earlier articles focused on archives, collected by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA, Reichssicherheitshauptamt), that ended up in the RSHA Amt VII (primarily responsible for ideological matters) archival evacuation center in Silesia, where they were found by the Red Army and transported to the USSR.<sup>4</sup> Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union many of the Western European archives gathered there have been returned to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and even to the Rothschild Family Archive established in London in 1978.<sup>5</sup> But the books that went to the USSR with them have not gone home. Well over two million plundered books also ended the war in Ratibor. When those from the Soviet Union were retrieved by the Red Army, those from Western Europe went with them. The fact that books plundered in Western Europe were mixed in with the millions plundered from Soviet libraries served the Soviets as justification for keeping everything. Only since the collapse of the Soviet empire has more become known about the Ratibor center and the postwar fate of its holdings.<sup>6</sup>

Before turning to Ratibor, we need an overview of the ERR. Alfred Rosenberg's "anti-Bolshevik" and antisemitic research agenda set the priorities and justifications. In the following we refer to little-known original ERR lists of libraries plundered in various countries and then survey the main destinations for books looted in the West; we then look at how those were complemented by books plundered on the Eastern Front. Ratibor, as the major ERR research and book sorting center (starting in mid-1943) draws our attention as the crucial junction where they were found by the Soviets and sent on their next journeys.

An initial investigation of the ERR by United States' Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and by British and American Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (MFA&A) officers led to the "First Consolidated Intelligence Report" on the ERR, but the authors could produce "no account of the seizure and exploitation by the Einsatzstab of libraries and archives."<sup>7</sup> To be sure, the ERR was hardly the only player involved in library and archival plunder. A few studies subsequently traced the ERR role, and others analyzed activities in specific countries or by specific Rosenberg operations. Yet many of these were written without access to ERR archival remains in the Soviet Union, and ERR activities in the East had never drawn adequate attention. Ratibor has certainly never come into clear focus.<sup>8</sup>

The patterns do not always emerge with clarity, for many details remain unknown. The ERR's library operations proceeded in the midst of a devastating war. Despite its tremendous staff and organizational efforts, the ERR had to compete with troops, tanks, and rival agencies for every railroad wagon; they had to compete against the RSHA for the most interesting booty, the Heeresarchiv demanded transport for the military materials it was acquiring, and the Reichsarchiv also demanded rolling stock. It is surprising that the ERR got as many freight cars as it did, but it is no surprise that its wagons were often sidetracked, plundered, or delayed.

Neither the Red Army library brigades nor the Western MFA&A could match the ERR for organization and record-keeping. ERR files were crucially important to Western postwar restitution efforts, but only a few ERR lists of confiscated libraries were utilized adequately. Today ERR sources long available in the West, now supplemented by long-hidden files retrieved by Soviet authorities, are crucial for reconstructing the migration of plundered cultural property.

## **Alfred Rosenberg and his Einsatzstab**

Rosenberg, Leibbrandt, and "Anti-Bolshevik" Research

The trial of ERR chief and namesake Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), hanged at Nuremberg, revealed many of the cultural as well as human outrages of his wartime career. Born in Reval (now Tallinn, Estonia) after the Russian Revolution and German collapse, he fled with the German Army at the end of November 1918, just when Estonian independence was being proclaimed (he assimilated elements of

Baltic and Ukrainian anticommunism). In 1920 he joined the group that became the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and quickly assumed leadership roles in ideology. Hitler appointed him founding chief editor of the party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* in 1923. Rosenberg also edited the antisemitic monthly *Der Weltkampf: Monatsschrift für die Judenfrage in allen Länder*, founded in 1924. He helped shape the idea of a world Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy in such writings as his ponderous *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*.<sup>9</sup>

After the Nazis achieved power in 1933, Rosenberg headed the Foreign Policy Department (Aussenpolitisches Amt) of the Party. In January 1934 Hitler appointed him the “Führer’s Deputy for Supervising the Entire Spiritual and Ideological Training of the NSDAP” (abbreviated as DBFU). In this post Rosenberg built a bureaucracy and ideological network that by 1937 had specialized units for art, music, and other cultural fields, and that later provided staff for the ERR.<sup>10</sup> During the first year of operation in the West, the ERR used DBFU letterhead, simply adding its own stamp below.<sup>11</sup> The DBFU functioned until the end of the war, but by that time it was only one of Rosenberg’s many offices, overshadowed by the ERR and its own subsidiary the Hohe Schule (a Nazi political school and research institution discussed below), to say nothing of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO, Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete) that Rosenberg also headed.

One of Rosenberg’s chief aides in the party Foreign Office was Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, himself born near Odessa and a specialist on genealogy of Germans in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. Leibbrandt headed the Eastern Section of the Foreign Policy Department of the Nazi Party throughout the 1930s.<sup>12</sup> He was closely involved in planning aryanization policy in the East—and the cultural despoliation that accompanied it. Leibbrandt brought together a collection of materials on German settlers in the Russian Empire, the “Sammlung Leibbrandt,” much of it the fruit of his orders for archival plunder in Ukraine by the brutal trophy-hunting Künsberg Sonderkommando of the German Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt).<sup>13</sup>

A prolific writer, Leibbrandt edited Rosenberg’s early tract, *Plague in Russia (Pest in Russland)* in 1937.<sup>14</sup> He also authored several tracts dealing with the “Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy,” arguing for a German drive to the East—*Drang nach Osten*.<sup>15</sup> That same year a compendium on *Europe’s Fate in the East* featured articles by Rosenberg (“Germany as the Bulwark of Eastern Europe”) and Leibbrandt (“The Bolshevik Grab from the East for Europe and the World”).<sup>16</sup> With the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939, Leibbrandt’s anti-Soviet publications were put on hold.<sup>17</sup>

Behind the scenes, however, Rosenberg’s Amt Osten continued preparations for war. After Rosenberg was appointed the Führer’s Deputy for the Central Processing of Questions of the Eastern Realm (Beauftragter des Führers für die zentrale Bearbeitung der Fragen des osteuropäischen Raumes), Leibbrandt headed its Central Office for Dealing with Eastern Questions (Zentralabteilung für die Behandlung von Ostfragen). A month after the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, Rosenberg was appointed to

head the RMbO, although the public announcement came only in December. The RMbO reflected considerable personnel overlap with the earlier Amt Osten of the Nazi Party Foreign Policy Department, and Leibbrandt became Chief of the Main Political Department. Although the RMbO remained administratively distinct from the ERR, there was also considerable overlap of personnel and operations with the DBFU, which, as mentioned, had supplied a ready-made bureaucracy for the latter. The ERR confiscated specific library and archival materials on orders of Amt Osten.

The Nazi regime treated people in the East more harshly than it did those in Western Europe. Himself born in the Russian Empire, Rosenberg ranked the “Bolsheviks” as the major threat, as was apparent during his questioning at Nuremberg:

Q. Why were the occupied countries of the West treated differently from the occupied countries of the East?

A. Because those whom we considered as our adversaries or opponents from the point of view of our conception of the world are different in the West from what they are in the East. In the West there were certain Jewish organizations and Masonic lodges, and in the East there was nothing more than the Communist Party.<sup>18</sup>

This reasoning was a justification for “anti-Bolshevik” research and the priority assigned plunder of state cultural institutions in the East. It also justified the seizure of Slavic libraries in Paris and the stocks of Slavic booksellers in Belgium before the invasion of the USSR, when such resources were not readily available to Germany.<sup>19</sup>

In Western Europe and the Balkans the ERR concentrated on private and religious organizations rather than state collections. Primary targets included Jewish institutions, Masonic lodges, socialist organizations, East European émigré groups, and a variety of other agencies, as well as private individuals in all those categories. By contrast, within the (pre-1939) boundaries of the Soviet Union cultural plunder was principally from state repositories, most major private and religious collections having been nationalized long before. The Masons, religious sects, and other “pernicious” elements had long been outlawed by the communist regime, and significant Judaica and Hebraica had been integrated into state repositories. But the ERR was also interested in communist literature, as Rosenberg explained under interrogation: “In the first place, it was not thought that private libraries or objects of art would be found in there. The question in the East was to get a good sample of the Bolshevik literature that had been published in order to study world Bolshevism.”<sup>20</sup> In the Baltic countries (recently annexed to the USSR), important collections still remained in private hands, which is why there the ERR first targeted Jewish collections.

#### Bureaucratic Organization and the ERR Commandos

The ERR Special Command Force for Occupied Western Territories started its operations in occupied France at the end of June and in early July 1940, when the

Führer authorized seizure of major art collections of Jews who had fled the invasion. Immediately after the fall of Paris on 14 June, Rosenberg dispatched there one of his key DBFU staff directors, Reichshauptstellenleiter Professor Georg Ebert, who already by 18 June 1940 occupied the building of the Masonic Grand Orient of France (15 rue Cadet) and held it for two days by himself. In late June, under orders from Rosenberg and the Secret Military Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) even before orders came from the Führer, Ebert began searching Masonic lodges, Jewish institutions, and private homes. Ebert's reports of the greater than expected abundance of "abandoned" cultural property led Rosenberg to request on 1 July Hitler's authorization for "the organization, with the help from an Einsatzstab (composed of political leaders and experts) and from the Wehrmacht, of a thorough examination of items left behind by Jews and Freemasons that would provide a basis for future intellectual study, as considered necessary for the political, ideological, and academic operations of both the NSDAP and the Hohe Schule."<sup>21</sup>

On 5 July came the order that "in addition to art treasures owned by the French state, valuable art and antiques in private possession (and primarily Jewish) must be secured for shipment or temporary concealment in the custody of the occupation forces." But art was only one ERR target, and library resources for the projected Hohe Schule were sought from the start.<sup>22</sup> Göring had written to Hitler in May 1941 that "the war against Jews, Freemasons, their allies, and other obviously pernicious spiritual agencies is an urgent task for National Socialism to accomplish during the War. That is why I supported Reichsleiter Rosenberg's creation of his Special Command Force in Occupied Territories [ERR. Its] mission... is to seek out and seize all manner of research materials and cultural goods belonging to the above-mentioned groups and to transport them to Germany."<sup>23</sup> Alfred Rosenberg often emphasized the importance of saving the books of the "enemies of the regime" for study.

The ERR embraced a large bureaucracy for ideology, propaganda, and plunder, working hand in hand with other party and state agencies, including the Wehrmacht. Rosenberg's personal Chancellery (Dienststelle, later Kanzlei, Rosenberg) coordinated his many functions.<sup>24</sup> Gerhard Utikal, operational director of the DBFU, also served as chief of operations for the ERR.<sup>25</sup> The ERR headquarters was in Berlin (Margarethenstr. 17, Berlin W35), with additional offices in the former Haus am Knie (Bismarckstr. 1, Berlin-Charlottenburg), which later became the headquarters' address. Other ERR units and research operations were located in and around Berlin during the early years of the war.

ERR operations in Western Europe, based in Paris, were directed by Baron Kurt von Behr (d. 1945), who starting in March 1942 also headed the Western Office (Dienststelle or Amt Westen) of the RMbO. At that point Karl Brethauer took over the Paris ERR office. Separate "Main Work Groups" (Hauptarbeitsgruppen, HAG) were organized as successive territories were occupied; they underwent several reorganizations. HAG France,<sup>26</sup> HAG Belgium and Northern France,<sup>27</sup> and HAG

Netherlands<sup>28</sup> operated in the occupied Western lands, at times with subsidiary units. Simultaneously, special commands (Sonderstäbe) ran various types of cultural “operations” dealing with the visual arts, music, prehistory, and libraries, and later also for theater, folklore, and genealogy; some were assigned other special missions.<sup>29</sup>

As the deportation of Jews from Western occupied lands intensified in 1942, the ERR was closely linked with the Möbel-Aktion (Furniture Action, or simply M-Aktion), an organization for stripping the contents of Jewish homes. Conceived in fall 1941 and technically under Rosenberg’s Dienststelle West (or Amt Westen), M-Aktion was technically part of the RMbO. Its initial purpose was to provide household furnishings for bombed-out homes in the Reich and for RMbO (and ERR) staff in the East. It drew heavily on ERR staff and facilities. In France M-Aktion was run by Baron Kurt von Behr (who had earlier headed ERR Paris operations) as head of Dienststelle West (25 March 1942). Collection points received massive stores of household effects, from pianos to pots and pans to children’s dolls. Significant art treasures went to the Jeu de Paume and thence to ERR depositories, mainly in Bavaria. Other M-Aktion branches operated with ERR personnel in Belgium and the Netherlands, in the latter case actually run by the ERR.<sup>30</sup>

Although the ERR had already plundered libraries in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands before the M-Aktion got underway, many more books were then collected from private homes. In Paris the building of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) was used as the main M-Aktion book depository. In 1940 the ERR had emptied the shelves of the AIU library of 40,000 volumes for the Frankfurt Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (IEJ). By June 1942, those same shelves had received approximately 100,000 volumes seized elsewhere in Paris. Some of these, including art books, had come from the ERR Special Art Commando (Sonderstab Bildende Kunst), but most had reportedly been confiscated by M-Aktion.<sup>31</sup> Many more were collected from Jewish homes in the Netherlands, with one of the sorting centers established in January 1943 in Amsterdam (116 Rokin). Some were destined for the IEJ and the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (ZBHS, Zentralbibliothek der Hohe Schule [des NSDAP]), or for the ZBHS Book Control Center (Buchleitstelle) run by the ERR first in Berlin but later in Ratibor. Others were pulped.<sup>32</sup>

In the occupied Soviet lands the ERR was organized along geographic lines. Although the structure changed with military developments, the civilian ERR was organized into three “Main Task Forces”—HAG-Ostland for the Baltic, HAG-Mitte for Belorussia and western Russia, and HAG-Ukraine, along with, frequently, subsidiary task forces (AG). Special commands were designated for libraries, archives, prehistory, research and analysis, and other specific goals. ERR authority to identify and seize cultural property in the occupied Eastern lands was proclaimed already in August 1941.<sup>33</sup> Analyses of ERR library operations in Ukraine and especially Kyiv have been published by specialists at the Ukrainian National Library, together with a detailed inventory of relevant documents in the extensive ERR and related wartime

files remaining in Kyiv.<sup>34</sup> Less detailed coverage of the ERR has appeared for other parts of the Soviet Union.<sup>35</sup>

As reemphasized in a decree by Hitler on 1 March 1942, the ERR was “to register all cultural goods in libraries, archives, and lodges in connection with the fight against the Jews and Freemasons.” Early instructions called for registration of all major cultural monuments, including museums, libraries, and archives, which explains the creation of the extensive ERR card file known in Russian as “Kartoteka Z,” large parts of which have been preserved in Moscow.<sup>36</sup> Some remaining registration cards have also been found for the Baltic countries.<sup>37</sup> As they settled in, the Germans intended for Soviet lands to become part of the Reich, and hence initially they were anxious to preserve much in situ. They were appalled to find that the Soviets had destroyed so many of their own cultural monuments and treasures during the revolution and the purges, and had laid so much dynamite—especially in Kyiv—before abandoning territory to the Germans.<sup>38</sup>

According to the same Führer decree, the ERR had authority, in cooperation with the Wehrmacht and civilian institutions, “to search libraries, archives, lodges, and other ideological and cultural establishments of all kinds for the identification of appropriate materials, and to confiscate them for the fulfillment of the tasks of the NSDP in the ideological sphere and their use in the scholarly research work of the Hohe Schule.” In the “Eastern Territories” the “necessary measures” were “to be taken by Reichsleiter Rosenberg in his capacity as Reichsminister for Occupied Eastern Territories.”<sup>39</sup> As the Nazi armies moved eastward, ERR and associated military and police units were on the lookout. As Rosenberg explained before his trial, “both in the West and in the East . . . [the ERR] were to be considered as *Wehrmachtsgefolge*, which means being a part of the Wehrmacht. It means that they are attached to the Army and that the Army takes care of them.”<sup>40</sup>

Given its exalted status, and with Rosenberg Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories, the ERR position in the East was ostensibly strong. Nevertheless, the Rosenberg operations and Rosenberg himself came into conflict with other Nazi agencies. Hermann Göring as head of the Four-Year Plan, and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler as head of the police and security services, often stymied the ERR. Even strong underlings could sometimes thwart Rosenberg. Eric Koch, Reich Commissar for Ukraine, used professional Prussian archivist Georg Winter, who had earlier worked with the Reichsarchiv in Paris and had come to Ukraine in the fall of 1941 under ERR auspices. By the fall of 1942, Winter was working directly within the Commissariat—without leaving the ERR—as head of the newly organized Regional Administration for Archives, Libraries, and Museums (LV ABM).<sup>41</sup> In fact, the LV ABM took over some ERR functions as early as the first week of October 1941.<sup>42</sup>

### Confiscation Agents

The ERR often worked through the security police or the Security Services (Sicherheitsdienst, SD), but those agencies also carried out confiscations on behalf

of other agencies. Control of both of the latter agencies fell to the RSHA under the guidance of Heinrich Himmler, who often was at odds with Rosenberg over the distribution of cultural plunder, a point analyzed elsewhere.<sup>43</sup> As a result of competition for “spoils,” and turf wars between the ERR and the RSHA, and even among various offices within those agencies, many major collections were divided and then divided again among sub-offices. Some SD confiscations were performed on ERR requests. But often—and especially in the case of archives—SD plunder was turned over to the RSHA, even if requested by the ERR, although frequently the ERR managed to keep a few files.

At other times, the SD pursued its own plans, as evident from the elaborate card files they developed for Austria and for France prior to occupation. It was the SD that first took over the Smolensk Communist Party archive. SD initiative in library and archival confiscation appears in a group of confiscation reports about Russian émigré libraries and archival materials in Paris. After the SD seized the library and papers of Russian historian and statesman Pavel Miliukov in March 1941, all remained with the RSHA. Most of Miliukov’s papers and at least 5,000 volumes of his library ended the war in the RSHA center in Wölfelsdorf, travelling thence to Moscow.<sup>44</sup>

The ERR often operated through other agencies, such as the GFP. Usually such agencies were not seizing materials for themselves but for other agencies. The Ukrainian nationalist Petliura Library, another example, was originally seized in Paris by the GFP on behalf of Leibbrandt in the NSDAP Foreign Office. It was only after analysis in Berlin that it was handed over to the ERR.<sup>45</sup> By contrast, the ERR had planned the seizure of the Polish Library in Paris in 1940, but it retained only residual rights after the 130,000 volumes were turned over to the Reich Interior Ministry research and publication arm known as the Publikationstelle. Surviving contracts show that the ERR, at least on paper, kept long-term “ownership” and eventual “disposition” rights.<sup>46</sup> We know of many examples of relevant GFP activities in Belgium on behalf of the ERR or the RSHA.

In the occupied Soviet territories, as earlier in the West, the ERR often worked with specialists from the Reichsarchiv, headquartered in Potsdam and Berlin-Dahlem. This was the case, for example, with the Communist Party archives from Dnipropetrovsk and Smolensk, both of which ended up with the ERR in Silesia. Their seizure was engineered by professional archivists connected with the Reichsarchiv but simultaneously working for the ERR—Wolfgang Mommsen (based in Riga) in the case of Smolensk, and Georg Winter (based in Kyiv) in the case of Dnipropetrovsk.<sup>47</sup>

#### ERR Lists of Confiscated Libraries

Of prime importance for identifying library and archival plunder and migration are surviving ERR lists of confiscations in many countries, including the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. France was hardest hit. We do not find the same kind of lists

for the occupied Soviet lands because plunder there, mostly from state institutions, was covered by more detailed reports.

ERR lists of plundered French Jewish art collections circulated among OSS Art Looting and MFA&A restitution officers immediately after the war. Given their key importance for provenance research, they were recently re-published and are presently available on the Internet.<sup>48</sup> The ERR initially focused on art in Paris, the process so refined as to require registration cards and photographs of individual works, many of which survive. The major collection in the U.S. National Archives has recently been made available in a microfilm publication, and efforts are underway to establish an Internet database.<sup>49</sup> Many shipping inventories indicating the ERR depositories to which items were sent (most in Bavaria) have been preserved. Details of confiscation, registration, and disposition procedures have been admirably explained in the American Association of Museums' *Guide to Provenance Research*.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast, few know about the ERR lists of libraries confiscated in Paris. They have never been published, and their archival whereabouts are unfamiliar even to specialists. Yet they should be the starting point for any consideration of library and archival plunder in the West. Covering over 200 libraries of prominent individuals and organizations in Paris alone, they simultaneously serve to memorialize those spoliated. They establish the losses, linking them to the specific agency of plunder. With other sources, they can help determine migration routes and, in some cases, the ultimate fate of looted collections. As already shown, they include many of the "twice-plundered" books and archives that ended up in the Soviet Union.<sup>51</sup>

Several different Paris confiscation lists remain dispersed in major archives in Washington (College Park, MD), Koblenz, Freiburg, Berlin, London, and Kyiv. Indicative of their dispersal, one copy found in Paris (23 March 1941) lists eighty-one libraries, with a supplement dated 24 April, but lacks the covering memorandum.<sup>52</sup> That list and supplement were prepared under the direction of Dr. Gerd Wunder,<sup>53</sup> then in charge of confiscations in Paris, who forwarded them with a covering memorandum as "Jewish libraries" to the German Military Command in France—which explains why the copy (actually a photocopy) ended up in the German Military Archive in Freiburg.<sup>54</sup> Photocopies (with the memorandum) reside in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz in the restitution files from the U.S. Central Collection Point in Munich, but the original has never been located.<sup>55</sup>

The British found a variant ERR list of Paris library confiscations among Wunder's files in Tanzenberg (ZBHS) in 1945. They forwarded a copy to the French, which explains why a copy remains among French restitution files in Paris. Again, the original has not surfaced.<sup>56</sup> That list starts with confiscations between March and June 1941, indicating an additional sixty-four libraries not previously included (through 9 June 1941), making a total of 175. According to notations on that list, Wunder was in charge of most of the confiscations.

Another group of more extensive ERR Paris confiscation lists is found among the ERR records in Kyiv. These lists were apparently compiled later (with a covering memorandum from early 1942), and cover many additional institutional and private seizures by the ERR. One of the lists helpfully includes not only the codes, but also the numbers used to mark the crates; one list was apparently prepared on the basis of a card file under the direction of Professor Dr. [Gerhard] Schilde, an ERR library specialist working in Paris. But again the ERR Paris card file has not been found.<sup>57</sup> A spring 1944 retrospective compilation of 161 predominantly Jewish library and archival seizures in Paris remains among materials prepared for an exhibition in Ratibor, but is largely repetitive of earlier ones.<sup>58</sup> Lists collected to date, however, while extensive, can hardly provide complete coverage of ERR confiscations. The extant Paris lists also do not cover seizures in other parts of France and do not cover the M-Aktion. Many of them speak of “Jewish libraries,” but in fact include the collections of Masonic lodges and émigré individuals and organizations from Eastern Europe, such as the Turgenev Russian Library, the Polish Library, and the Petliura Ukrainian Library.<sup>59</sup> In addition to names, addresses, the number of crates, and dates of confiscation, some of the lists provide the name of the ERR agent involved, a brief characterization, or occasional notes about disposition. More detailed reports have been found for many seizures, with copies scattered in different countries. In France, for example, where the ERR often required signatures of attestation, separate reports were compiled for individual seizures. The records preserved at the CDJC in Paris include protests victims lodged with the French authorities.<sup>60</sup>

Given the mass of reliable data provided by the Paris library lists, a database relating them to other ERR sources is planned, especially individual confiscation reports and data on subsequent migration and restitution. To be sure, it would be helpful to add ex libris, book stamps, and other known ownership markings that could assist in coordinating the original plundered libraries with present known locations, particularly those remaining dispersed in Eastern Europe. Such data would help identify the provenance of rare books and manuscripts that librarians come across, and that frequently turn up in bookseller catalogues and auction houses.

After the war the French government published an extensive volume on the subject of looted cultural property.<sup>61</sup> There is no evidence that its entries were ever verified against extant ERR confiscation lists. French, British, and American restitution authorities did not have copies of all the ERR lists, and we do not know exactly what use they made of the lists they had. Further research in France is needed, including work with the files of the postwar Subcommittee on Libraries, open to researchers at the Archives Nationales only since 1998.<sup>62</sup> Specialists in the “Patrimoine” office at the Quai d’Orsay reportedly have their own database, but their files are not open to the public. Admittedly, they have not concerned themselves recently with libraries, nor has any other office in France; the AIU is planning to do so in the near future.<sup>63</sup> It should be noted that many of the claims submitted by the French to

the American authorities in occupied western Germany are openly available in the U.S. National Archives (now on microfilm), and that a recently published index will help researchers locate original claims for many collections.<sup>64</sup>

Belgian colleagues have created files based on a similar list (found in Kyiv) of private libraries and archives confiscated by the ERR in Belgium. These include institutions such as the Grand Orient de Belgique and the Supreme Conseil de Belgique, along with the AIU and the Fédération des Zionistes Belges.<sup>65</sup> A later ERR wartime list from Belgium enumerates confiscated holdings from seventy-nine sources, including five Jewish organizations and various libraries and private individuals in several cities, specifically identifying twenty-three prominent Jews among them. The ERR noted that they had identified five of the Jews as Freemasons.<sup>66</sup> More detailed reports remain for many major collections taken in Belgium, including those for several Masonic lodges, the École des Hautes Études (Ghent), important socialist organizations, and individual politicians of the left, including Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Second International, who had emigrated from Austria. A group of detailed reports with packing lists of some of the most important collections are preserved in Kyiv. One file covers several of the largest Masonic lodges in Brussels, and a forty-eight page inventory describes books and other materials confiscated from the pretender (heir) to the French throne, Jean d'Orleans, comte de Paris and duc de Guise, who had been living outside Brussels.<sup>67</sup> The Belgian data have already proved essential for archival restitution negotiations in Russia. A detailed account of library and archival confiscations with many important examples is now being published.<sup>68</sup>

A less detailed retrospective list from the Netherlands was brought into evidence at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, the only one used there.<sup>69</sup> The ERR concentrated on libraries in the Netherlands, because on the Dutch art scene it usually lost out to the Dienststelle Mühlmann under Hitler's art looting specialist Dr. Kajetan Mühlmann, previously active in Poland.<sup>70</sup> Among more extensive surviving ERR Dutch confiscation lists is an undated one with the names of 176 individuals and institutions from which cultural property (predominantly books and archives) was taken. Another identifies shipments between mid-December 1940 and January 1944, with crate marking codes, numbers of crates, and destinations. Other fragmentary lists provide additional data, but Dutch specialists suspect they still do not have the complete picture for libraries.<sup>71</sup>

The ERR set up its Amsterdam headquarters in the building of the International Institute of Social History—IISH/IISG (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis), which a report described as having been founded as a “center of intellectual resistance against National Socialism,” with most of the associates “Jewish refugees from Germany.”<sup>72</sup> The ERR had already prepared a detailed report in April 1941 for Rosenberg about the “chaotic state of the IISH library, periodicals, and archival materials.” Given their high priority, staff soon sorted and organized the

collections, “especially [those] on the struggles of Marxist socialism in Germany,” for shipment to various ERR-supported recipients,<sup>73</sup> for example some 900 crates for the ZBHS in Tanzenberg. The rich collections the ERR looted from the IISH Paris branch, however, went to the RSHA.

Fewer ERR files from other countries have survived. Reports for Yugoslavia are preserved in the YIVO Archive in New York, with lists of libraries and private collections confiscated by HAG-Südosten and AG-Belgrade. A retrospective list of libraries and archival materials (and some other cultural property) seized during 1943 and 1944, as well as some subject catalogues of the books seized, have been preserved, especially those from Jewish and Masonic sources, mostly Serbian. In a few cases shipping destination is indicated as Ratibor.<sup>74</sup> Several ERR files in Moscow record confiscations in Croatia from February 1941 through November 1942.<sup>75</sup> Files available in Berlin attest to several shipments from Belgrade to Ratibor in 1944, for example one with twenty crates from the so-called ERR Südost-Bücherei on 3 May 1944.<sup>76</sup>

Lists and reports from Greece have also been preserved in several countries. Copies of a comprehensive report with lists of confiscations from Greek Jewish communities, Masonic lodges, and various individuals survive in Berlin, Moscow, and Paris (CDJC). An ERR Sonderkommando was active in Greece from 3 March through 15 November 1941, with separate task forces based in Salonica and Athens. The Jewish Sephardic Community in Salonica (Thessalonica) was the priority target, but they also scoured synagogues and Masonic lodges throughout the country. Some of their inspections (and listings of Masonic leaders) were carried out in conjunction with the SD, which may explain why many of the Greek materials ended up with RSHA Amt VII.<sup>77</sup> Although no figures are given, only a fraction of the confiscated materials from Greece have been found.

The ERR was active in Italy starting only in late 1943, but a Sonderkommando Italien (later AG Italien) was operating in Verona by early 1944 under the direction of Dr. Hans Maier, who had earlier headed a task force under HAG Ostland. A few scattered documents survive in Kyiv and Berlin, mostly press summaries and propaganda tracts being prepared in Italy, but no comprehensive list or retrospective summary of seizures has been found.<sup>78</sup> Fragmentary documentation confirms visits to Italy by Dr. Herbert Gerigk and Dr. Max Unger of the Sonderstab Musik (treated below). Unger purchased music books from antiquarians for the Sonderstab Musik research institute in Leipzig (one crate) and arranged to have music manuscripts microfilmed in Florence. A note to Maier from Gerigk in the Renaissance castle of Langenau in November 1944 acknowledges the arrival of twenty crates of music from Trieste, but there is no other documentation.<sup>79</sup> One surviving monthly report (December 1943) confirms library confiscations in Rome, mentioning a wagonload of books with “the remaining part of the library of the synagogue sent to IEJ in Frankfurt” and close to 3,000 books from several private Jewish libraries intended for

ZBHS.<sup>80</sup> Earlier testimony relates the ERR plunder of enough material to fill two freight cars from the library of the Jewish Community in October 1943, along with other books from the Rome ghetto, but no original documentation has surfaced and many of the plundered books are still missing.<sup>81</sup> We know that some books from Rome's Rabbinical College (Biblioteca del Collegio Rabinico) reached the IEJ evacuation site in Hungen; many of them were returned from Offenbach. Remarkably, inspired by the fall 2004 exhibition about the IEJ in Hungen, a local citizen came forward with a seventeenth-century Bible printed in Amsterdam bearing the stamp of the Rabbinical College in Rome. F.J. Hoogewoud presented the Jewish Bible to the Italian government representative Dario Tedeschi in Hannover on 10 May 2005.<sup>82</sup>

## **Western Destinations for ERR Plunder**

### The NSDAP Hohe Schule

From the late 1930s, Rosenberg activated wide-ranging ideological and educational plans, many through the DBFU. One of his associates was University of Berlin philosophy professor Alfred Bäumler (1887–1968), who starting in 1937 headed the DBFU Amt Wissenschaft (Science and Knowledge).<sup>83</sup> After the war an immense research and training center was supposed to be organized under Rosenberg's tutelage as the so-called Hohe Schule der NSDAP, an alternative to universities for the Nazi elite. Six months before the ERR was organized in Paris, the commitment to gather resources for the Hohe Schule was well established.<sup>84</sup> During the war itself, the Hohe Schule remained administratively under the DBFU and the Rosenberg Dienststelle in Berlin. Bäumler continued to oversee preliminary plans for think tanks across the continent. Specific research goals and propaganda functions were purportedly to assist the war effort. Except for the IEJ, however, all other associated institutes remained "in preparation" (*in Vorbereitung*). As branches of the ZBHS, institute libraries were technically under the Nazi Party rather than the ERR, thus falling under the jurisdiction of the Dienststelle Rosenberg (and the DBFU), as did other Hohe Schule functions.

One of the ERR's priorities during the war was to build library reserves and research capacity for the Hohe Schule, especially the ZBHS and other institutes, as authorized in a Hitler decree of 29 January 1940. Some of the plundered books went directly to specific libraries and institutes. Others were filtered through the main ERR Book Control Center (Buchleitstelle) in Berlin up to mid-1943. The Buchleitstelle moved from Berlin to Ratibor in the summer of 1943, which explains the revised patterns of dispersal thereafter. Thenceforward many of the ERR shipments, and almost all of those from the occupied Soviet territories, first went to Ratibor. The Germans abandoned most of this loot in the vicinity during the winter of 1944–1945.

The Central Library of the Hohe Schule (ZBHS)

Many shipments from Western Europe as well as Soviet lands were destined for the Zentralbibliothek of the Hohe Schule, or ZBHS, first established in Berlin (Berlin WS, Behrenstr. 49) early in 1939. Directed by Dr. Walther Grothe, the ZBHS was to become the central research facility for the Hohe Schule. Moved to the Austrian Tyrol in October 1942, the ZBHS was first housed in the Grand Hotel Annenheim (near St. Andrä bei Villach), an elegant resort on the Osiachsee in Carinthia (*Ger. Kärnten*). The Rosenberg command also acquired the remote Monastery of Tanzenberg (twelve km. from Klagenfurt) in early 1942. Although it needed considerable renovations before use, books were already being stored there by fall;<sup>85</sup> when the Hotel Annenheim was taken over for a hospital in 1944, Tanzenberg became the central facility, although packed crates remained in Annenheim.<sup>86</sup>

Immediately after the invasion of France, ZBHS director Walther Grothe and IEJ director Wilhelm Grau were dispatched to Paris heading a Special ERR-ZBHS Library Commando—Sonderstab Bibliothek der Hohen Schule. They arranged shipment to Frankfurt or Berlin for books from Jewish institutional and private libraries. They visited Brussels and Amsterdam in October and November 1940. Their troves included parts of the libraries of the AIU, the Rabbinical School (*École Rabbinique*), and several Rothschild family libraries (James, Edouard, and Baron van Zuylen de Nyewelt de Haar, whose wife was Hélène née de Rothschild). Private collections from Paris included the libraries of Léon Blum and former Minister of Education Jean Zay. Parts of some collections ending up in ZBHS had been earlier accessioned or considered by the IEJ, for example some Rothschild collections; other fragments shipped later in the war went first to Ratibor, though only a few remained there. Most of the Edouard Rothschild library from Paris first went to Frankfurt, but then sixty-one crates were shipped to Tanzenberg, where they remained until the end of the war.<sup>87</sup> The principles of division were not always clear, although choice Judaica was designated for Frankfurt (or later Hungen, seventy km. northeast, where IEJ was evacuated). Some important collections and individual volumes were purchased by ERR scouts or library dealers throughout Europe.<sup>88</sup> Rosenberg contributed part of his own library.<sup>89</sup>

Appraisals recently found in Kyiv for five of the libraries destined for the ZBHS and IEJ (one to five pages each, all dated Berlin between February and July 1942) were signed by Dr. Ulrich Cruse, who first headed the Buchleitstelle in Berlin but later was transferred to Carinthia as deputy ZBHS director. These include books belonging to the Algerian-born Jewish economics professors Israel William Oualid (including archives) and Henri Hauser, Madame Fernand Halphen, Belgian-born poet and editor Léon Kochnitzky, and Viennese-born banker Robert Lambert (Lichtschein). The reports show that most of the best material in general went to the ZBHS, but that most Judaica went to the IEJ; some segments were sent to other recipients, but much was pulped. A sixth appraisal (preserved in YIVO in New York)

describes the library of H el ene van Zuylen, all seventy crates of which went to ZBHS.<sup>90</sup>

Careful instructions and lists of desiderata for various institutes were prepared for the ERR commandos scouting out materials.<sup>91</sup> Dr. Gottlieb Ney was sent to the occupied Soviet lands in November 1941 for over a year heading a new “Sonderstab Bibliothek der Hohen Schule” to survey libraries. He worked first in the Baltic countries attached to HAG-Ostland and the Latvian Task Force, and then moved to Kyiv, where he was attached to HAG-Ukraine. From Kyiv he undertook several missions to Dnipropetrovsk and Kursk, the latter stop netting at least 7,000 early rare books the Germans had evacuated from Voronezh to save them from the fighting.<sup>92</sup> In addition to consignments for the ZBHS, Ney was also choosing books for other ERR concerns, including the Ostb ucherei, the ERR library on East European affairs.<sup>93</sup> Another 200,000–300,000 books and periodical volumes were plundered from Smolensk in 1942, and a large number from the Historical Museum in Novgorod.<sup>94</sup>

The K unsberg Commandos of the Foreign Office also swept through the occupied Soviet territories on the heels of the German Army.<sup>95</sup> Eventually the ERR inherited most of their loot: 40,000 volumes in 1942 and more in early 1943. Records found in Tanzenberg after the war indicate that 469 crates of Soviet provenance had arrived in Tanzenberg from the Foreign Office in Berlin in 1942 and 1943. The British found and returned 397 crates (over 35,000 volumes) from the imperial palaces of Tsarskoe Selo, Pavlovsk, and Gatchina outside Leningrad. Although some books from other sources were mixed in, those crates were marked “ZAB” for “Zarenbibliothek, Qatchina,” and only a few had been opened.<sup>96</sup> From Kyiv there were 5,000 volumes of the Bibikov Collection of the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences (TsNB) of Ukraine. An additional 125 crates (marked “HS”) had arrived in Tanzenberg from the ERR in Kyiv on 17 March 1943, including 7,000 rare books from Voronezh. Among the books from Kyiv already shelved, MFA&A inspectors found some with markings from Russia’s oldest monastery, the Kievo-Pecherskaia Lavra—Kyiv’s famous Monastery of the Caves—and some from the house of the Kyiv Metropolitan, probably held as part of the TsNB before the Nazi invasion.<sup>97</sup>

Shipments from important collections in Western Europe also went to Tanzenberg. Following its labor-oriented interests, the Central Library took over a significant part of the holdings of the IISH in Amsterdam. Although interagency rivalries dispersed that collection, 892 crates, 776 of them periodicals, were shipped to the Central Library on 16 July 1943.<sup>98</sup>

Following evacuation from Soviet territory, HAG-Mitte and HAG-Ukraine joined forces in Bialystok in early 1944. Forced to close its office there in July, HAG-Mitte moved to the ERR Dienststelle in Frauenberg in the Austrian province of Steinmark, not far from ZBHS. By September HAG-Ukraine was also located in

Frauenberg. We have no indication that those groups brought any library reserves with them.<sup>99</sup>

Institute for Study of the Jewish Question—IEJ (Frankfurt and Hungen)

Apart from the ZBHS, only one of the planned Hohe Schule affiliates was formally established during the war. The Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage was founded in April 1939 in Frankfurt am Main (Bockenheimer Landstr. 68, a Rothschild palace) and officially opened by Rosenberg during a three-day conference in March 1941.<sup>100</sup> Given the primacy of Nazi antisemitic policy, “research” on Jewish issues could not be postponed. Directed first by Dr. Wilhelm Grau (as Leiter der Aussenstelle), the institute was to demonstrate all the trappings of traditional scholarship. The IEJ benefitted from considerable patronage: even NSDAP treasurer Franz Xaver Schwarz became involved. By summer 1943 the institute had started evacuating to Hungen.<sup>101</sup> Repositories were soon established in eight different facilities. With the lease of part of the elegant Hungen Castle in January 1944, IEJ research units were centered in the Solms-Braunfels home, the family staying on for cover.<sup>102</sup>

The growing IEJ library, initially based in the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt, drew on new Rothschild acquisitions along with other Frankfurt Judaica holdings. The IEJ library was directed by Johannes Pohl, who had been sent to Jerusalem to study Hebrew in the 1930s.<sup>103</sup> Pohl’s frequently quoted IEJ report of April 1943, exhibited at the Nuremberg Tribunal, suggests holdings of 550,000 volumes for the IEJ library, although that figure included many not yet received. Among the most prestigious acquisitions in France were holdings of the AIU (40,000 books and manuscripts), the École Rabbinique (20,000 volumes), major parts of seventeen libraries of the Rothschild family, and “the archives of the Banque Rothschild de Paris for the last hundred years (760 cases).”<sup>104</sup> Jewish books from Amsterdam included Rosenthaliana (20,000 volumes) and the library of the Portuguese Jewish Seminary Ets Haim and the Sephardic Jewish Community (25,000 volumes), the oldest existing Jewish library in the world. ERR missions in Greece netted 10,000 volumes, most from the Sephardic Community in Salonica, targeted early, but also private Jewish and Masonic collections throughout the country.

Pohl had traveled to Salonica as part of an ERR task force within weeks of the German invasion of 6 April 1941, and the ERR set up headquarters in the building of the former U.S. Consulate.<sup>105</sup> Pohl returned to Frankfurt with community records and photographs, many of which are now divided between YIVO in New York and RGVA in Moscow (the largest part of the archives that were hidden in Greece and survived the Holocaust were transferred to the Central Archives of the Jewish People in Jerusalem).<sup>106</sup> These were only a few of the highlights. With lavish funding and ERR assistance, the IEJ was becoming the finest Jewish library on the continent.

Significant IEJ holdings from the occupied western areas of the Soviet Union had first been seized by the Künsberg Commandos. Hohe Schule destinations had

received most of this, including at least 100,000 volumes of Judaica from Kyiv. In May 1943 more shipments were dispatched to Hungen, including “one wagon from Podol and 6,000 volumes from the Jewish conservatory [*sic*] in Kyiv.”<sup>107</sup> Minsk was also a source of considerable Jewish-related holdings, most also going to Hungen.

ERR documents reveal much about the plunder of Jewish libraries in Vilnius, but several first-hand accounts also are informative.<sup>108</sup> Surviving ERR registration cards pinpoint Jewish collections in the Baltic, especially private ones.<sup>109</sup> ERR files preserved in Vilnius supply more details, including inventories of YIVO materials, the Strashun library, and other collections.<sup>110</sup> As the Jewish population was herded into ghettos in Lithuania, the ERR staff grabbed most—though not all—of its libraries and archives, including many from Kaunas, for the Hohe Schule. “Unneeded” Jewish literature was destroyed. One estimate suggests that sixty percent of the YIVO Library was pulped, but that figure has not been substantiated, and we know that large portions ended the war in several locations other than Frankfurt.<sup>111</sup> Latvia was well represented, with 17,000 Jewish books before the end of 1941, even before the main deportation of Jews. Even so, at one point a batch of 20,000 volumes was pulped.<sup>112</sup> The fact that files brought to Frankfurt from Salonica shared shelves with others from YIVO explains why materials from both those sources (as well as ERR administrative files) arrived together at YIVO in New York.<sup>113</sup>

As the bombing of Frankfurt intensified, more Jewish loot was directed to Hungen—for example, two freight wagons dispatched from Minsk on 8 February 1944.<sup>114</sup> HAG-Mitte reported in June that they had found the records of the Jewish Kahal in Minsk for the years 1812–1917 in the Historical Archive, as well as other Jewish registers in the Archive of Vital Statistics (ZAGS), all being shipped to the Hohe Schule. One of the Belorussian shipments arrived short one freight wagon.<sup>115</sup> The Frankfurt IEJ building itself was bombed in March 1944, although many collections survived in the basement.<sup>116</sup> IEJ activities in Hungen continued through March 1945, remaining staff pleading with the incoming Americans to protect the treasures. In April an American intelligence officer,<sup>117</sup> and then more MFA&A officers, estimated IEJ Hungen holdings at between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000 volumes from Jewish collections all over the continent. They also found ritual silver, archival materials, and extensive newspaper runs in eight different buildings.<sup>118</sup>

Much Masonic material also initially went to Frankfurt, although it is not clear how much was deposited in the IEJ library. Rosenberg was originally planning a separate institute for Masonic research under the Hohe Schule, but then Heinrich Himmler’s RSHA Amt VII took over most of the Masonic collections and research.<sup>119</sup> Although the Germans subsequently made various agreements with the French authorities, and in particular the Bibliothèque Nationale, that Masonic materials were to remain in France, much was nonetheless shipped to Germany.<sup>120</sup> Some of the Masonic material was intended for the IEJ, but not all remained there; much of what was sent to Frankfurt from Paris and the Low Countries was evacuated in

1943 to a hunting lodge in Hirzenhain.<sup>121</sup> That which was transferred to the RSHA (along with some materials seized in Paris by the Künsberg Commandos in May and June 1940) ended up in Moscow after the war and was recently restituted.

#### Other Hohe Schule Institutes

Smaller quantities of plundered books went to institutes devoted to specialized subjects. These included the Institute for Biology and Racial Doctrine (Institut für Biologie und Rassenlehre) in Stuttgart, later evacuated to Schloss Schelklingen (Württemberg); the Institute for Religious Studies (Institut für Religionswissenschaft) in Halle/Saale; the German Institute for Overseas and Colonial Studies (Institut für Übersee und Kolonialforschung, sometimes Übersee Institut), in Hamburg; the Institute for German Folk Art (Institut für Deutsche Volkskunde) in Munich, subsequently evacuated to the Abbey of Rein bei Graz (five km. northwest of Gratwein, Styria); and the Institute for Indogermanic History of Ideas (Institut für Deutsche Indogermanische Geistesgeschichte) in Munich. All of these institutes received looted books and archival materials during the war.<sup>122</sup>

#### The Linz Library and Other ERR Recipients

Many books were turned over to a reserve being gathered for Hitler's planned super cultural center in Linz, Austria. As early as April 1941 Dr. Friedrich Wolffhardt, an associate of Bormann, was heading the operation and disposed of extensive funds for the purchase of entire collections. Starting in 1943, most of the collections assembled across Europe were transferred to the elegant Villa Castiglione in Grundlsee (Upper Danube). In line with then-standard policy, some of the Linz collections were housed in other castles. Most came from Western Europe, including noted collections from Jewish sources.<sup>123</sup> Two shipments from Smolensk found their way there (one found in Villa Castiglione at the end of the war, the other near Salzburg), both evidently delivered to Wolffhardt by the ERR.

The antisemitic *Weltdienst* publishing house, another Rosenberg operation, ranked as one of the larger intended recipients.<sup>124</sup> A number of reports mention transfers to the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Another recipient was the Institute for German Work in the East (IDO, Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit) in Cracow, established under the patronage of Hans Frank with the blessing of Himmler.<sup>125</sup> Records have been preserved for its section called "Race and Ethnicity Research" (Sektion Rassen und Volkstumsforschung), with departments for Anthropology, Ethnology, and "Jewish Research." A major goal of this institute was to document all Germanic settlements in the region and to promote its "Germanization." It also dealt with the settlement of Jews in the Generalgouvernement (the Tarnów Ghetto for example). In this connection, the institute apparently served as the intellectual arm of the *Ostarbeiter* program for transferring slave labor from Eastern Europe.<sup>126</sup>

The ERR was one of a number of agencies seizing scientific and technical literature. U.S. Army scouts found in Gera, Thüringen (Thuringia) 250 crates of Soviet scientific and technical literature going back to the nineteenth century, many of which were undoubtedly plundered by the ERR; the vast majority of these were restituted to their home countries through the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), as were most of the 150 crates of Ukrainian meteorological materials found in Staffelstein, Bavaria. However, not all of the ERR-plundered scientific materials that ended the war in the West went home. For example, specialists removed a vast quantity of materials on cave exploration from one of Rosenberg's own final retreats in Schloss Banz (near Bamberg, Bavaria); most of these were processed through U.S. Army document centers and shipped to the United States. A cache of plundered geological materials found in a potash mine in Heringen/Werra in Hessen—23,000 items—is still being held by the U.S. Geological Survey. This collection consists of German-, Polish-, and Russian-language books, maps, and reports, although apparently some of them were seized by a Wehrmacht geological unit rather than the ERR.<sup>127</sup>

#### The RSHA and Competition for ERR Spoils

In 1950 Joshua Starr correctly observed, "The much-vaunted Frankfurt Institut was outstripped by the unpublicized library of the Chief Security Office (RSHA), founded some years before the war." Whereas Pohl's Frankfurt report from the spring of 1943 prematurely boasts of the acquisition of half a million volumes, the RSHA Amt VII "collected two million or more in the fields of religion, Freemasonry, Marxism, and Jewish studies."<sup>128</sup> A suppressed Masonic lodge in Berlin (Emserstr. 12), taken over as a Gestapo headquarters in 1936, first housed the vast confiscated Masonic and Jewish materials that the SD Hauptamt had collected in its cellars. Centralization of Jewish collections in Berlin accelerated after Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938, and especially after Kristallnacht, that November. The SD Hauptamt needed more space, and henceforward part of their library was housed in a second confiscated Masonic lodge, at Eisenacherstr. 12.<sup>129</sup> While some categories of books were burned and others were disposed of as waste paper, by spring 1939 the SD Jewish Library boasted 300,000 volumes.<sup>130</sup> Himmler's patronage proved stronger than Rosenberg's, and none of this Judaica was transferred to the IEJ.

The RSHA never developed a functioning library. The publication of the postwar reports of one of the surviving Jewish slave laborer librarians, Dr. Ernst Grumach, shed light on Amt VII's library, at least those holdings with which he worked.<sup>131</sup> Recent surveys by Werner Schroeder bring together still more data.<sup>132</sup> However, the full story of the library, its 1943 evacuation to Theresienstadt (*Czech Terezín*) and four castles in the Sudetenland, and the library's postwar dispersal, still need further research.

While the Hohe Schule and other ERR destinations retained priority for the books seized by the ERR, the Rosenberg commandos faced serious pressure to hand

over archival loot to Amt VII, especially materials on the French, Dutch, and Belgian “Jewish library” confiscation lists mentioned above. The competition emerges from reports on wartime plunder in many countries. The RSHA ended up with the lion’s share of the Masonic archives, most evacuated to various locations in Silesia, where they were found by the Soviets. Nearly all was taken to Moscow under orders from Lavrentii Beria (twenty-eight freight cars for the top-secret Special Archive, TsGOA, now part of RGVA). Some Masonic books from the other Amt VII Silesian center in Schleiersee ended up in a special collection at the University of Poznań.<sup>133</sup>

As noted, the IEJ received most of the Hebraica from eastern Ukraine and Belorussia. While the ERR also netted major collections of Judaica from the Baltic, especially Lithuania, turf wars erupted by early 1942, with the RSHA insisting that they needed stronger reference collections. By that time, many of the most important Jewish collections in the West had already been confiscated. While the ERR thought it had clear authority from the Führer for seizure of Jewish collections in the occupied Soviet lands, they often had to rely on the SD and Security Police for the actual confiscations. The case of the seizure of the private library of the Jewish medical doctor and art bibliophile Julius Genss (1887–1957) in Reval/Tallinn in January and February 1942 illustrated this. Dr. Paul Dittel, who then headed Amt VII in Berlin, agreed to give the ERR the “duplicates” only.<sup>134</sup> Wolfgang Ebeling of the ERR high command thereupon protested to Amt VII chief Franz Alfred Six in late January that the Genss library (over 6,000 volumes with a catalogue) had been taken by the SD specifically on behalf of the ERR. Following a flurry of curt telegrams back and forth, the ERR eventually won out.<sup>135</sup> We know that the library was shipped to Ratibor because in November 1944 the ERR reported “crates of the Genss library and books from Riga” in the barracks in Pless.<sup>136</sup> Two weeks later, these sixty-one crates were named as one of the priority collections for evacuation.<sup>137</sup>

Controversy between Rosenberg and Himmler had been evident since early 1939. In July 1940 Rosenberg complained that Himmler was abusing his authority and did not appreciate Rosenberg’s mission.<sup>138</sup> At Nuremberg, Rosenberg explained that the agreement was “that the police should keep such books and materials as were of immediate interest to the police, while my organization was to keep the rest.”<sup>139</sup> In other cases, however, the RSHA did get at least some of the loot, as in September 1942 when an Amt VII agent traveled to Riga “to arrange the shipment of other confiscated books from Dorpat [*Estonian* Tartu] and Reval,” already in SD hands.<sup>140</sup>

#### Plunder from the Eastern Front

The search for evidence of a long-term German presence in the East was another factor in choices for plunder. Like the symbolic Neptune Fountain from Peterhof and the Amber Chamber from Tsarskoe Selo—both of German eighteenth-century manufacture—archives were acutely important. In Ukraine Georg Winter’s most

valued targets were the early municipal charters granting Magdeburg Law to municipalities in Ukrainian lands under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, found in local court and municipal registers going back to the sixteenth century. Nazi scholars had set up in Magdeburg an Institute for the Study of Magdeburg Law to justify German claims.<sup>141</sup> Another priority was the records of German communities, a project of Georg Leibbrandt and the Sonderkommando headed by Karl Stumpp under the RMbO; they were also connected with the program to identify Volksdeutsche and to arrange slave labor for the Reich under the Ostarbeiter program.<sup>142</sup> But such archival finds were intended for the Reichsarchiv.

The Communist Party archives were the prime targets for ERR “anti-Bolshevik” research, including those plundered from Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad, and especially Smolensk. Soviet propaganda posters, anti-religious museum exhibits, socialist realist paintings, and films were also taken. The ERR developed a vast collection of photographs, some plundered, others of their own production. The ERR was but one in a network of pseudo-scholarly and propaganda agencies—often competing. ERR activities were more oriented towards popular ideology, as evidenced by the relative lack of serious scholars they employed. Special units had been established in Berlin even before the foundation of the ERR for the analysis of the communist movement and to prepare propaganda against Soviet ideology. The Wannsee Institute pursued



ERR staff sort books, probably in Riga, Latvia, possibly in Tallinn (Reval), Estonia, ca. 1941–1943. USHMM, courtesy of Yad Vashem. Reproduced with permission from Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, via the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.

serious intelligence research on Eastern Europe. Among more weighty institutes we should also mention the Institut Osteuropa in Breslau (*now Polish Wrocław*); there is evidence that the ERR exchanged library books with that institute, particularly after the move of the Ostbücherei to Ratibor.<sup>143</sup> The ERR's HAGs operating in Soviet lands also received specific assignments for content-centered propaganda work.<sup>144</sup>

After Stalingrad, Rosenberg came under pressure to curtail many Hohe Schule activities in the West as part of Goebbels's preparations for "total war." Rosenberg was also the victim of other efforts to trim ERR operations. Although the ERR did lose control over captured art to various Nazi connoisseurs, Rosenberg's IEJ and ZBHS (in Austria) continued to function. Even after retreat to Frauenberg (Post Ardning/Steimark) in Austria, the Sonderkommando Osten, together with HAG-Ukraine and HAG-Mitte, was compiling lists of writings, translations, and research undertaken on Ukrainian subjects.<sup>145</sup> As explained in a circular to the Rosenberg command in June 1943, "the Germans need to know more about Bolshevism to fight against it."<sup>146</sup> The ERR hastened evacuation of its treasures in order to stock its anti-Bolshevik research libraries and to "save" them from destruction in battle.

#### Ostbücherei

At the heart of ERR anti-communist research was the so-called Ostbücherei Rosenberg, a special library founded in Berlin (Gertraudenstr.) well before the beginning of the war in the East to gather materials for the study of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In preparation for the war, the Nazis gathered books and periodicals relating to Eastern Europe and Soviet communism in Western Europe. By fall 1940 more than 100,000 volumes from the Turgenev Library, the most important Russian émigré collection in Paris, had been seized by the Secret Field Police for the ERR.<sup>147</sup> At the same time the Nazis seized 15,000 books, maps, photographs, and museum pieces from the Petliura Library.<sup>148</sup> That particular operation was engineered by Leibbrandt to provide reference materials—his office even brought the Ukrainian émigré librarian to assist in the reestablishment of the library in Berlin. Unfortunately, when specialists determined that it was of little interest, they sent the librarian back and turned most of the holdings over to the Ostbücherei, and there it remained, together with the Turgenev Library, until the end of the war.<sup>149</sup> A Czech library in Paris was also confiscated, as were a number of other collections owned by prominent private Russian émigrés and Slavic booksellers in Paris and Brussels. The Ostbücherei continued to expand in Berlin throughout the summer of 1943, augmented by other Western literature relating to Eastern Europe.

Following the occupation of the Baltic region a large depository for the Ostbücherei was established in Riga, with over 200,000 volumes by early 1942, many of which were subsequently shipped to Berlin. During the early years of the war, Rosenberg forces took over half a million library books, and many more newspapers and periodicals, from occupied parts of the Soviet Union for the Ostbücherei. In May

and June 1943, just before the Ostbücherei was evacuated, Dr. Hans Müller, then head of the HAG-Mitte in Minsk, summarized book and periodical collections brought together for the Ostbücherei.<sup>150</sup> Among other holdings, shipments of 6,000 volumes of Trotskiana and 4,000 volumes of general literature were dispatched from Kyiv in September 1942; first 19,000 and then another 22,000 titles left from Riga, with alphabetic and subject cards; first 2,000 and then another 3,000 books were shipped from Kaunas; and 6,000 brochures left from Voroshilovhrad, to cite only a few examples. Fieldwork and preparations for shipments from other areas were underway.<sup>151</sup> A year later, in June 1943, 80,000 books were sent from Minsk, eventually becoming a special unit, the Belorussian Library (Weisruthenischer Bücherei). An additional 35,000–40,000 books together with 2,000 periodicals were shipped at the same time from Smolensk. During the spring of 1943 one of the principle ERR library organizers, Herbert Lommatzsch, was planning multiple regionally-oriented collections as subsections of the Ostbücherei.<sup>152</sup>

## **The ERR in Ratibor**

### Setting Up in Silesia

After the wave of bombings of Berlin in spring 1943, various ERR units were moved to Silesia, then part of the Reich. Several, including Abteilung II (Research and Analysis), were transferred to the relatively isolated city of Ratibor, eighty km. southwest of Kattowitz on the Oder River.<sup>153</sup> Ratibor was conveniently located on main railway lines Berlin-Breslau (Wrocław)-Oderberg-Vienna, and Berlin-Breslau-Cracow. An ERR office was already operating by the end of May 1943 in a building that housed a provincial bank (Oberwallstr. 25).<sup>154</sup> An advance command of four persons headed by Herbert Lommatzsch left Berlin in mid-August, and by the end of the month they had found rooms for twenty persons. The M-Aktion in Paris sent five wagons of furniture, and the most important materials from Berlin were shipped in ten wagons. Six thousand crates went in barges on the Oder to Cosel Hafen, whence seventy freight cars took them to Ratibor.<sup>155</sup> By early September some sections were already operating.<sup>156</sup>

Evacuation intensified after ERR headquarters (Bismarckstr. 1) was bombed in late November 1943, resulting in the loss of a large part of the ERR Stabsführung (administrative) archive and other material.<sup>157</sup> Clearly, nothing was safe in Berlin, but they were still shipping materials in March 1944. Some ERR operations (particularly in the fine arts) had retreated to the castle of Kogl, near Vöcklabruck in the Upper Danube region on the Czech-Austrian border. Thereafter only a core of the ERR headquarters and Rosenberg's own chancellery remained in Berlin.

Headquarters (Dienststelle des ERR) in Ratibor were set up in the Franciscan Monastery (Sudetenstr. 27), across the Oder and well out from the main center, which also housed a special Volksdeutsch Office (Volksdeutscher Mittelstelle).<sup>158</sup>

Some barracks nearby (Sudetenstr. 24) served as storage facilities and an office for the Ostbücherei. The Offices for Drama (Amt Dramaturgie) and Theater (Amt Theater) and the Main Office for Literature Studies (Hauptamt Schrifttumspflege) were housed in some of the sixteen rooms the ERR took over in the former Provincial Library (Turmstr. 3/5), which also had a room for the Special Eastern Staff (Sonderstabes Osten). A film theater was set up in a warehouse (Strasse der SA, 26), where they also housed another 1,000 to 1,500 crates. This scattering of offices disguised operations.

The main Lagerplatz Synagogue in Ratibor (Schuhbankstr.) had been badly damaged by fire during Kristallnacht in 1938, but was partly refurbished as one of the ERR's main library centers.<sup>159</sup> Soviet library holdings were initially held there and in an adjoining building around the corner (Niedertorstr. 3), along with 1,500–2,000 crates brought from Berlin.<sup>160</sup> A former bathhouse that had also housed a Jewish center (Judenhalle) served as headquarters for Ostbücherei operations under Dr. Harry Thomson (Flurstr. 12). The Cultural Political Archive (Kulturpolitisches Archiv), containing many of the typescripts and duplicated tracts prepared by the ERR (250 containers), went to the large building of the former Walter Ebel Firm, a Jewish-owned department store on the main market square (Ring).<sup>161</sup>

As more shipments arrived, buildings in neighboring towns and villages were commandeered. The ERR hoped these would be safer from military attack, camouflage their presence from the local population, and at the same time provide comfortable staff accommodations. The castle of Schönhain (*now Polish* Chrosty) near Gratenfeld was mentioned as a site for books from Belorussia. Other locations included a cigar factory in Paulsgrund (five km. west), a cigarette factory in Kranstädt (*before 1936, Kranowitz; now Polish, Krzanowice*) ten km. southwest; and Schloss Tunskirch (Kreis Ratibor; *now Polish* Tworków), twelve km. south of Ratibor. They also appropriated the castles of Schillersdorf near Oderberg (Kreis Ratibor) and Oberlangendorf (Kreis Sternberg).

The most important subsidiary ERR site in the Ratibor area was the elegant medieval castle of the Princes (Fürsten) von Pless seventy km. east in the eponymous town (*now Polish* Pszczyna). By September 1943 the ERR had floor plans of the castle and were working out its utilization.<sup>162</sup> As in other ERR hideaways, some members of the family were induced to stay on as cover (others had fled to England). Some activities were housed in the castle administrative building (now a hospital) in the center of town, and in a warehouse that the ERR referred to as "barracks." Apparently, the family never knew about the ERR operations, having been told only that some specialists from the RMbO under Rosenberg were staying.<sup>163</sup> In fact, the well-preserved castle (now a museum and concert hall) became a branch office of ERR Command IV (Stabsführung IV, Aussenstelle Pless). When room for the contemporary newspaper collection in Ratibor proved insufficient, Wunder moved it there.<sup>164</sup> Operations in fall 1943 included an Exhibition Office, the Main Office for

Science (Hauptamt Wissenschaft), the Folklore Office (Amt Volkskunde), Music Office (Amt Musik), and the Press Office (Presse-Amt), with Dr. Hans Müller in charge of contemporary periodicals.<sup>165</sup>

ERR research and propaganda units were likewise moved to Ratibor, headed by Wunder as research director (Leiter) of ERR Division IV (Hauptabteilungen IV).<sup>166</sup> He supervised various research groups and hired freelancers to prepare polemical pseudo-studies.<sup>167</sup> What survives of their research deserves separate analysis. They drew up a long list of “collaborating” anti-communist Soviet intellectuals, many of whom were persecuted under Soviet rule. When HAG-Ukraine was evacuating from Kyiv in September 1943, for instance, they brought ten professors and their families to Ratibor. In October the Germans evacuated Ukrainian specialists from other places, including three prehistorians later brought to Bavaria.<sup>168</sup> The ERR unit on Prehistory and Archeology (Sonderstab Vorgeschichte), headed by Dr. Rudolf Stampfuss, had established itself in Cracow, some two hundred kilometers east of Ratibor, in the summer of 1943. Stampfuss supervised the evacuation of archeological materials from museums in Kharkiv, Kyiv, Kerch, Feodosiia, Bakhchisarai, and Alupka (the latter four in the Crimea). In May 1944, a second ERR-sponsored colloquium in Ratibor brought together representatives from “research centers” throughout the Reich.<sup>169</sup>

The Ratibor center reached the zenith of its activity in summer and fall 1944. In May it had staged an exhibition on Hauptabteilung IV’s work over the past three years, with samples of library and archival “acquisitions” from many countries. Plans for the displays have survived, together with posters and visual exhibits. Eastern Europe was the focus, but there were also displays on Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Greece. Greek Masonic lodges and the Sephardic Jews of Salonica merited special displays, as did the Rothschild family. The organizers boasted proof of Masonic connections for Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Léon Blum.<sup>170</sup> The ERR was already winding down operations in many places, but work continued in Ratibor until January 1945.

#### The Buchleitstelle and Western Library Holdings in Ratibor

The ERR’s central book sorting facility for ZBHS, the so-called Buchleitstelle, was also moved from Berlin to Ratibor. Most ERR library plunder initially went to the Berlin facility, but some shipments did go directly to their planned destinations. For example, the early shipments of priority books from Paris for the IEJ bypassed Berlin for a shipping facility in Frankfurt, while some reserve copies or items designated for ZBHS went straight to Berlin.<sup>171</sup>

Once the Buchleitstelle was in Ratibor, virtually all shipments were screened there, under the direction of Paul Ruhbaum.<sup>172</sup> For example the illustrious library of James, Baron de Rothschild from Château de Ferrières-en-Brie was shipped to Ratibor in 1944 after the Allies landed in France, and was then taken by truck to Tanzenberg.<sup>173</sup> According to one of the ERR confiscation lists, sixty-one cases of

books from that library seized between 2 and 4 September 1940 had been shipped directly to Frankfurt for the IEJ;<sup>174</sup> some, including one manuscript of the nineteenth-century catalogue, are now in Minsk, suggesting that at least some samples were left behind in Ratibor.<sup>175</sup>

Many books from other Western European private libraries were sent to Ratibor, presumably because they had not been sorted or appraised in Berlin before the ERR evacuated. A unit associated with the Buchleitstelle was charged with the appraisal of incoming libraries, following earlier practice in Berlin. By October 1943 the Franzkowiak transport firm had shipped 217 crates, among them 22 from Elena Droin-Rothschild, 16 from attorney Albert Wahl, 7 from legal scholar Henry Levy-Ullmann, 10 from journalist Louise Weiss, and 15 from a Masonic lodge in Rouen.<sup>176</sup> Between 200 and 300 crates are reported in a “protective depository for Western materials” (Sicherung des Westmaterials), as distinct from the Ostbücherei; apparently these were not for any library in Ratibor because 183 crates were being sorted for the ZBHS, *Weltdienst* publishing house, other Hohe Schule institutes, or “duplicate reserves.”<sup>177</sup> A June 1944 Ratibor quarterly report listed many libraries from Paris sorted during the last quarter, including collections of Léon Braunschweig, a professor in the Sorbonne; Julien Cain, former director of the Bibliothèque Nationale; 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, an economist and financial advisor to the Popular Front; Hans Arnold, a Jewish emigrant and banker; Rudolf Breitscheid, a prominent German Social Democratic official; Henry Levy-Ullmann, a law professor at the University of Paris; journalist Georges (Géo) London; and Paul Winkler, director of the Jewish “Opera Mundi.”<sup>178</sup>

Coincidentally, that list matches names in surviving files of typed ERR library surveys (now in TsDAVO and YIVO), with one- to two-page descriptions of twenty-eight personal libraries the ERR had confiscated from prominent Parisian Jews. Twenty-three of the surveys were prepared in Ratibor between March and November 1944, except for five lists prepared in Berlin in 1942; books from the latter had been sent to ZBHS. The ERR specialist G. Haefner, who signed most of the Ratibor reports, is named elsewhere as working with those Western materials.<sup>179</sup> All the library owners appear on the ERR confiscated libraries lists from Paris, indicative of the considerable French collections in Ratibor. Preparations for the spring 1944 exhibition noted approximately 4,000 crates in the Western section of the Buchleitstelle.<sup>180</sup> Many individual reports indicate archival materials, which explains why most of those names also appear on the list of individuals whose personal papers were returned to France from Moscow in 2000.<sup>181</sup> Apparently, most of those French collections remained in Ratibor, featuring in a December 1944 report as a “collection of crates from the West” (Leobschützerstr. 50), although no figures are given. By that time, Wunder was projecting a “Westbücherei” with socialist and Eastern European-related materials in Western languages, presumably paralleling the Ostbücherei.<sup>182</sup>

## The Ostbücherei and Arriving Soviet Plunder

Major library efforts in Ratibor centered on the Ostbücherei, given the primacy of anti-communist writing under Dr. Wunder. The former Lagerplatz Synagogue and the adjoining building (Niedertorstr. 3) housed most of the Ostbücherei along with part of its catalogue, but the rest of the library was kept in at least six other buildings, as listed, for example, in an April quarterly report by Haupteinsatzführer Dr. Harry Thomson. He mentions 394 crates from Mogilev in Niedertorstr., while most of the seventeen wagonloads from the Lenin Library in Minsk went to the book depository in Paulsgrund. Three wagonloads from HAG-Ostland joined the Riga collection (first copies and duplicates) in Langestr. 53. Meanwhile, the catalogue brought from Kharkiv was at Oderstr. 23, while “Villa Nova” housed the “Trotskiana” collection and duplicates from Kyiv. Depository facilities for unsorted materials were in a former cigarette factory in nearby Kranstädt, which also housed other book collections and the last nine freight wagonloads from Berlin.<sup>183</sup> A special ERR archive of working research papers and 80,000 volumes of journals, mostly on Soviet subjects, was headed by Dr. Gustav Mücke, who had previously headed the ERR archival task force in Smolensk.

One special component was the “Western Collection” of the Sonderstab Osten from Paris, including the Petliura and Turgenev Libraries. These had been consolidated with holdings from some smaller émigré collections, and more from the Soviet book dealer in Brussels, totaling approximately 1,000–1,200 crates (300,000 volumes), all of which arrived intact.<sup>184</sup> They were kept in two rooms of the former synagogue, because the ERR believed that they did not have the same proprietary rights to the émigré collections as to the Jewish and other “abandoned” or “heirless” materials.<sup>185</sup> In mid-December 1944 the “Holdings from the Sonderstab Osten” were still listed at the building adjoining the Lagerplatz Synagogue.<sup>186</sup>

Many of the richest libraries in Belorussia were virtually cleaned out. Now scattered files record the shipments, some repeating, others augmenting details about the arrivals mentioned by Dr. Harry Thomson in his April 1944 report.<sup>187</sup> In October 1943 HAG-Mitte, for example, sent half a railway freight car with card catalogues from Belorussian libraries, and another with collections from the Radziwiłł Library (which the Soviets had moved from Nesvizh to Minsk in fall 1939). Early in 1944 another freight car of books from the Radziwiłł Library was shipped to Ratibor.<sup>188</sup> By December 1944, the Radziwiłł Library, including manuscripts, was located in Niedertorstrasse.<sup>189</sup> Apparently in December 1943 four freight cars of books and archival materials were shipped to Ratibor from Mohilev via Białystok, including materials from the noted Agricultural Library from nearby Horki, which ERR specialists had spent months preparing; these were destined for the castle of Schönhain (Gratenfeld).<sup>190</sup> We learned earlier that seventeen freight cars of books (ca. 200,000 volumes) from the Lenin Library in Minsk were deposited in the Paulsgrund cigar factory by April 1944, but other lists suggest that more had already been sent, including

one carload of periodicals from the Academy of Sciences Library. Another report mentions four wagons from the Academy of Sciences, 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,” probably for a collection point in the Jewish quarter. One wagon of Judaica from Minsk was sent on to Hungen.<sup>191</sup> Crates, including films and periodicals, were prepared in early May for what they called the “White Ruthenian [Belorussian]” Library (Weissruthenischer Bucherei) located in the Lagerplatz Synagogue.<sup>192</sup> That those Belorussian collections were housed with the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries becomes crucial later, and explains why the Soviet authorities later shipped parts of both to Minsk.

Ukraine was well represented in Ratibor, with extensive holdings from what the Germans dubbed the Kirov Library (for the State Library on Kirov Street) in Kyiv, and from the Korolenko Library in Kharkiv, among others. Reports from Kyiv provide details about the books being shipped for the Ostbücherei and other ERR destinations.<sup>193</sup> However, Ukrainian holdings in Ratibor were outnumbered by those from Belorussia, leading to the suspicion that not all of those prepared in Kyiv were actually received. Early in 1944 “Kyiv holdings . . . of 20,172 volumes” (not including duplicates) were exhibited in the Lagerplatz Synagogue together with archives and artifacts from the anti-religious museum in Kyiv.<sup>194</sup> By fall holdings from Kyiv had multiplied. Duplicates and Trotskiana were still being held in “Villa Nova.” In April the extensive card catalogues from Kharkiv and another major shipment were redirected to the castle of Tunskirch, but by year’s end, at least some of the card catalogues from Kharkiv’s Korolenko Library were housed at Oderstr. 23 under Dr. Thomson.<sup>195</sup> Some books had come from Dnipropetrovsk (via Kyiv). Ratibor apparently also received part of the Künsberg Commando’s plunder from Kyiv, although most of that had been sent earlier to Berlin and Tanzenberg. A reference to “tsarist” books in Ratibor suggests books from the Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad, but we know that most of those ended the war in Tanzenberg.<sup>196</sup>

During the Germans’ retreat in 1943 ERR brigades accelerated evacuation of their loot. By spring 1944, three freight cars from the Baltic were being housed in another Ostbücherei depository in the city of Ratibor (Langestr. 53).<sup>197</sup> Shipments increased during summer and fall following abandonment of the Baltic. As noted, HAG-Mitte and HAG-Ukraine had joined forces in Białystok in early 1944, and when they were forced out again, most of the property and loot they had brought were sent on to Pless in seven freight cars, with another wagon sent on 14 September.<sup>198</sup>

The major serials division of the Ostbücherei (Presse-Amt) was greatly expanded in Pless as more material arrived throughout 1944. According to an ERR report for October/November 1944, one division of the Ostbücherei in Pless housed 95,000 volumes (including periodicals) in Russian and other Eastern European languages—most from Soviet libraries—but the total was increasing as more titles were catalogued.<sup>199</sup> At one point, periodicals totaled approximately 8,000 titles (including

12,000 volumes), with another 3,500 in reserve; these figures apparently did not include newspapers and other periodicals already located in Ratibor itself, or others not yet processed.<sup>200</sup>

Collections were still arriving from the West too—for example the library of the prominent socialist Boris Souvarine (Lifchitz), whose well-known French communist publications, and especially his 1935 biography of Stalin, made his library and papers obvious targets.<sup>201</sup> At the time of the invasion, Souvarine was secretary of the Paris Branch of the IISH. According to a January 1942 confiscation list, three crates of his library had already been seized in 1941.<sup>202</sup> In early November 1944 Wunder received word that “the library of the Jew Souvarine (Lifschitz [*sic*]) was being held in Paris;”<sup>203</sup> by early December 1944 Wunder could report that thirty crates were being processed in Ratibor (minus one lost in transit).<sup>204</sup> Some of Souvarine’s personal papers eventually reached the former Special Archive in Moscow, presumably received from Ratibor (via Minsk); they were finally returned to France in 2000, but the library remains dispersed.

Many of the 1944 arrivals were never processed. According to a December report, the main division of the Ostbücherei in Ratibor had catalogued only 119,894 volumes—109,137 in Russian and Ukrainian, 4,069 in Latvian, 741 in Estonian, 468 in Lithuanian, 2,328 in German, and 1,871 in French. Another 3,000 duplicates and hundreds of other crates were waiting to be unpacked in intermediary depositories and warehouses. Indeed another 67,000 Ostbücherei titles were still in Berlin as of January 1945.<sup>205</sup>

Plans for the May 1944 exhibition suggest the Ostbücherei held a total of about one million volumes, as does another general report, presumably from later that same year.<sup>206</sup> By mid-July, however, Dr. Thomson was estimating the uncatalogued backlog at two million—and he was probably not including the Western holdings not intended for the Ostbücherei. Although the number of books properly catalogued increased steadily, it had not reached 200,000.<sup>207</sup> More shipments were arriving, but figures diverge. Retrospective calculations suggest at least two million; Gerd Wunder admitted after the war to “several million,” at best a gross estimate.

Some catalogue plans with indications of anticipated subject divisions have been preserved, and a number of lists of new accessions for the Ostbücherei survive.<sup>208</sup> Library work sheets from as late as the third week of January 1945 suggest that even with renewed evacuation in the offing, staff were still working actively. Correspondence files recently added to the ERR fond in Berlin (earlier preserved in Potsdam) give a vivid picture of library activities during the final year in Ratibor: book shipments, bibliographic and reference inquiries, requests for duplicates from other libraries—this inter-library loan service served such research institutions as the Osteuropa Institut in Breslau (by then evacuated to Schloss Gröditzberg) and the Anti-Komintern collection (Berlin-Schöneberg, Badensegestr. 2).<sup>209</sup> The Ratibor library was even serving private individuals: the future founder and long-term director

of Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute, Omeljan Pritsak, then a Ukrainian graduate student in Berlin, requested in December 1944 five titles needed for his dissertation on the early history of Turkestan; marginal notes on his postcard confirm that Ostbücherei staff had located three of his requests.<sup>210</sup>

#### Soviet Archival Holdings in Ratibor

The ERR did not succeed in separating the archival materials from the libraries, something that influenced their fate in Soviet hands. Soviet archives were a high priority. The ERR worked with professionals sent by the Reichsarchiv and the Archivschutz. The state archive in the city of Troppau (*now Czech Opava*) became a branch of the Reichsarchiv after the Sudetenland was occupied in 1938. Under Dr. Walther Latzke, it became the hub for archives from the occupied Soviet Union. Apart from the main repository and additional buildings within the city, their network included nearby castles and monasteries. Most of the major evacuations of Soviet historical archives (except for Reval/Tallinn and Königsberg [now Kaliningrad]) went to Troppau. A chart prepared in 1944 by the Reichsarchiv office in Potsdam gives good indications of chosen targets, locations near Troppau, and the magnitude of evacuations.<sup>211</sup> Approximately half of the historical treasures evacuated from the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts made their way to Troppau, as did records of "German" interest from Tartu and Riga. Some archival materials shipped to Ratibor but found irrelevant were sent to Troppau or turned over to other agencies: for example, among 380 crates the ERR dispatched from Belorussia archival materials from the Radziwiłł Library were sent on to Troppau, as were three crates of archival materials originally shipped from Pskov to Ratibor in December 1944.<sup>212</sup>

But the ERR kept what it needed. It collected significant fragments of several regional Communist Party archives from Ukraine, working with Georg Winter, who directed the Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the RKU. Reports and inventories are preserved from the Communist Party archives of Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad, Zaporizhe, and Uman.<sup>213</sup>

Most important were the fragments from Dnipropetrovsk that arrived in Ratibor on 5 November 1943: "29 crates, 64 satchels, and 343 document packages."<sup>214</sup> During Winter's first visit to Dnipropetrovsk, in June 1942, he reported "the only Party archive they had discovered so far, although one third... has been evacuated or burned."<sup>215</sup> When Soviet archivists were unable to evacuate or destroy that archive, they followed orders to destroy the finding aids.<sup>216</sup> Winter "personally spent some time putting the archive in order."<sup>217</sup> Before shipment, ERR specialist Erich Lüddeckens, an "orientalist" with knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian, spent almost a year arranging and describing the Dnipropetrovsk records.<sup>218</sup> The Soviet destruction order is understandable and explains why the Nazis did not find more. Even so the looters did not command sufficient rolling stock to take everything.<sup>219</sup> In December 1944 Dnipropetrovsk files were being held in the Lagerplatz Synagogue

with the Russian-language part of the Ostbücherei, but we do not know whether researchers were using them.<sup>220</sup>

Shipment of Communist Party records from Uman is noted in ERR reports by Dr. Walter Modrijan from Cracow in October 1943.<sup>221</sup> Lüddeckens also supervised “the organization and listing of fonds” in the Zaporizhe Party Archive in fall 1942.<sup>222</sup> Further reports of shipment or receipt of Uman or Zaporizhe files have not been found. The Kirovohrad CP files were turned over to the RSHA.<sup>223</sup>

The ERR assembled its so-called “Revolutionary Archive” in Kyiv, a significant mass of documentation from the revolutionary period and subsequent Ukrainian attempts to establish an independent state (1917–1923),<sup>224</sup> along with other fonds that Soviet archivists could not evacuate in 1941. The Nazis considered the revolution and the interwar period strategic because those were the years in which the young Bolshevik regime succeeded in suppressing Ukrainian independence (thus the interest in the materials of the Petliura regime, in Paris).<sup>225</sup>

By September 1942, the ERR had processed 2,000 units in Soviet Ukraine, with additional original posters, handbills, and leaflets from the years 1917–ca.1920, including counterrevolutionary materials from General Denikin and others. The ERR archival specialist in Kyiv, Dr. Martin Granzin, was reporting 3,000 units by October 1942.<sup>226</sup> A surviving exhibition poster from Ratibor confirms that figure, listing the “Revolutionary Collection” along with the party archives from Dnipropetrovsk and Smolensk, materials from the anti-religious museum in Kyiv, and “Bolshevik museums in Minsk, Rostov, and Krasnodar.”<sup>227</sup>

The prize ERR haul from the Soviet Union was the almost complete archive of the Communist Party organization of Smolensk Oblast’, measuring some 1,500 linear meters (four to five freight cars). While based in Berlin in May 1942, Wunder first heard from Otto Nerling (then heading HAG-Ostland in Riga) about “one of the very few cities where the local Communist Party archive is preserved almost in its entirety,” and he commissioned Wolfgang Mommsen to investigate.<sup>228</sup> Mommsen then headed Reichsarchiv activities in the Baltic (based in Riga) and served on several ERR missions. After local ERR specialists prepared lists of fonds and inventories Mommsen returned there in January 1943 to arrange transport to Vilnius; he traveled to Smolensk for more in April. Once the Smolensk Party Archive arrived in Vilnius, the ERR Task Force gathered knowledgeable specialists (including two “Polish professors”) to study it.<sup>229</sup> By mid-March 1944 they had prepared content-summary cards for more than 16,739 documents.<sup>230</sup> By the 12<sup>th</sup> of May in Ratibor Dr. Wunder had received a copy of Elisabeth Pirson’s essay on “The Role of the CPSU in Industrialization and Current Problems of Soviet Industry,” labeled the first report based on the Smolensk Archive.<sup>231</sup> With ERR retreat in June 1944, most of the Smolensk records were shipped to Ratibor; by fall they were in Pless. During November 1944 ERR specialists in Pless were studying “Bolshevik control policies” on the basis of work started in Vilnius.<sup>232</sup>

A separate photographic archive in Ratibor initially held some 8,000 images from the USSR and some 4,000 Soviet sound recordings, while a film archive was housed separately (Leobschützerstr. 50). The combined Photokino Archive could boast 90,000 negatives by spring 1944.<sup>233</sup> Part of the photo archive was evacuated and subsequently captured in Germany by the U.S. Army. Eventually turned over to West Germany, it was processed as part of the Picture Archive (Bildarchiv) in BAK, with at least 3,000 photographs from Ukraine.<sup>234</sup> In 1997 the German government presented copies, including many photographs taken by the Germans in Ukraine, to archives in Kyiv and Minsk.<sup>235</sup> An additional fragment of the collection recently surfaced in the U.S. National Archives in College Park.<sup>236</sup> Many of the collections had been sent farther west to the Film Archive in Potsdam;<sup>237</sup> some 500 crates with 37,000 negatives from the Central State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents in Kyiv were found after the war in Soviet-occupied eastern Germany and returned in 1946.<sup>238</sup>

#### Western Archival Holdings in Ratibor

In Ratibor archival plunder from Western sources amounted to only a fraction of what the RSHA amassed in Wölfelsdorf (much initially plundered by the ERR). While the ERR retained some fragmentary Jewish files from the West, there is little evidence that these meshed with research projects in Ratibor to the same extent as materials from the East. The ERR still held scattered archival materials of Western European personal or family origin, most Jewish or Masonic, as in the shipment of 217 crates by Franzkowiak mentioned above. Louise Weiss's papers were among the holdings being processed in Ratibor in October 1943, along with some papers of [Fernand] Corcos, a Jewish writer and authority on Zionism. At that point the ERR also held papers of Léon Blum and Friedrich Adler, but they were planning to send these for processing to *Weltdienst*.<sup>239</sup> An "Itemization of Names from Paris Documents" (161 listings) suggests the ERR kept more Jewish archival material in Ratibor than earlier suspected. All of the owners' names appear among the twenty-eight library surveys on the list.<sup>240</sup> However, the papers of many of those individuals have likely been lost or destroyed. Quite possibly, many of the Western materials were part of what was listed in December 1944 as the "Aktenbestände West" with Dora Salamon in charge (Flurstr. 12).<sup>241</sup>

Another collection in Ratibor (Archiv der Ausarbeitungen, Oberwallstr. 28) also apparently held some archival materials from Paris and Brussels.<sup>242</sup> While details are lacking, apparently the ERR retained papers they seized in Brussels from Friedrich Adler and from the nearby claimant to the French throne, the Duc de Guise.<sup>243</sup> (More of the Adler materials went to the RSHA.) Some Adler materials surfaced in Offenbach after the war, possibly materials the ERR had transferred to *Weltdienst*;<sup>244</sup> others turned up in a collection of socialist holdings found by the Poles, presumably from Ratibor, and returned to Belgium and the Netherlands

in 1956.<sup>245</sup> The ERR Ratibor center may have received material collected for the German Labor Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront), part of whose collections were reportedly evacuated to Silesia. At least part of the IISH library also ended up in Ratibor, as is apparent from books with IISH stamps in Minsk today; no evidence of IISH archival materials has surfaced there, however, except possibly some of the Adler materials.<sup>246</sup>

Fragmentary personal papers of prominent French and Belgian individuals were acquired by the Special Archive in Moscow, many from the RSHA Wölfelsdorf center, but others from Ratibor (via Minsk). All were returned to France in 2000. Many of those names appear in books shipped to Minsk in November 1945. In some instances, ERR specialists removed archival materials, especially photographs and clippings, from collections: a large file among Dr. Wunder's papers, for example, includes photographs, genealogical data, and clippings of many French Jews whose names appear on the lists—in particular various members of the Rothschild clan. Wunder also collected documentation about such prominent German Jews as Walther Rathenau and Albert Einstein. Wunder took all of this when evacuating Ratibor.<sup>247</sup>

At least eighty fragmentary groups of documents of Western European origin were intermingled with the records and books that a Ukrainian trophy brigade found “in Germany” in 1945 and sent to Kyiv with a consignment “from Dresden” that December, presumably all from Ratibor. The ERR documentation itself suggests their provenance in Ratibor or Berlin ERR headquarters (they were possibly transferred to Ratibor and then reevacuated to Germany). Questions remain, but there is no doubt that these Kyiv holdings were from the ERR. Soviet Ukrainian archivists processed them as fonds devoted to individuals—with some fragmentary agency records and personal papers from France, Belgium, Austria, Germany, and other countries. A 1948 order designated these “trophy” materials for the “Special Archive” in Moscow (TsGOA SSSR, now part of the Russian State Military Archive—RGVA). However, transfer had not taken place by 1953, when Moscow complained, according to a report identified in Kyiv.<sup>248</sup>

Among the thirty-eight fragmentary groups of French-language materials from Belgium and France that came to Kyiv was a group (forty-five kgs.) of various French Jewish community records.<sup>249</sup> These could not be matched to others in Moscow, unlike the Masonic documentation (Grand Orient de France), or files from the Jewish Club de Faubourg (director Léo Poldes [*pseudo.* of Leopold Sessler]).<sup>250</sup> Among papers of French writers and journalists, a few fragments from André Gide, Émile Ullmann, and Jules Benda also came to Kyiv.<sup>251</sup> Léon Blum is the most important name among the Ratibor holdings, although most of the Blum papers went to Moscow from RSHA sources.<sup>252</sup> The ERR had held on to a few of Blum's papers, for their interest in his political role remained strong, as indicated by his prominent place in an ERR exhibition poster highlighting “Jewish Politicians in France.”<sup>253</sup>

The ERR seized Rothschild family collections in Paris and elsewhere for the IEJ; a surviving ERR poster depicting the Rothschild genealogy mentions the 760

crates of the Paris Banque de Rothschild records sent to Frankfurt.<sup>254</sup> Quite possibly, fragments were either kept by Wunder at the time of their original dispatch, or otherwise retained by the ERR and moved to Ratibor. That would explain how thirty-seven kgs. of Rothschild papers came to be listed with the ERR materials in Kyiv later transferred to Moscow; included were papers of the brothers Edmond, Eduard, Heinrich, and Robert.<sup>255</sup> Nevertheless, most of the French Rothschild papers in Moscow came from RSHA at Wölfelsdorf; as far as is known, all of those were returned, the last in 2000.<sup>256</sup> Soviet authorities found additional Rothschild papers from Vienna in Wölfelsdorf; these were returned to the family archive in London in 2001.<sup>257</sup>

Most of the Kyiv fonds of Belgian provenance were added to earlier existing fonds in the former Special Archive.<sup>258</sup> Among them were Masonic materials that included scattered files of *Le Grand Orient de Belgique*.<sup>259</sup> There were also scattered files from Jewish communities and organizations, probably added to the collection of Belgian Jewish files in TsGOA.<sup>260</sup> Personal papers included items belonging to Belgian journalist and poet Léon Kochnitzky, although these had been seized in Paris.<sup>261</sup> Another list of forty-two fragmentary German- and French-language fonds in Kyiv were tentatively identified with primarily Jewish provenance from Vienna, Cologne, Brussels, Paris, and elsewhere; a final forty-third item contained fifty-five kg. “of manuscripts, letters, and photographs that had not been identified”—samples the ERR had retained or flotsam of multiple transfers.<sup>262</sup>

Rather than being transferred to Moscow as ordered in March 1948, almost two-thirds of these fragments (fifty-four out of the ninety designated groups) was sent to the wastepaper mill in 1953 after the Ukrainian archival Expert Appraisal Commission pronounced them of “no interest” to the USSR: “147 kg., 11 file units, and 10 cartons.” The official protocol indicated exceptions for a few files deserving “further preservation.”<sup>263</sup> The list of items destroyed, predominantly Jewish, includes fragments of fonds that were then being held in Moscow, such as one kg. of papers of the French jurist, politician, and law professor Henry Levy-Ullmann (RGVA, fond 233k); a half kg. of papers of the Belgian socialist editor Grégoire Koulisher (RGVA, fonds 19k and 109k); a half kg. from the Faubourg Club in Paris (RGVA, fond 230k); two kgs. of Zionist organizations in Brussels (RGVA, fond 160k); and fourteen kgs. of records of Jewish communities from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Paris, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and other cities.

Other spared materials were transferred to the Special Archive in Moscow in 1956, added to related groups already received by TsGOA from other sources (predominantly the RSHA).<sup>264</sup> Folder-level inventories remain in Kyiv, for example forty-five files of the Jewish Consistory in Bordeaux, some dating back to the eighteenth century.<sup>265</sup> Except for the Bordeaux files, most appear on the ERR confiscation lists discussed above. Virtually all of the surviving Jewish fonds were returned from Moscow to France in 2000 or Belgium in 2002.

### Sonderstab Musik: Langenau and Plundered Music

While major offices of the ERR Amt Musik were evacuated to Silesia in 1943, only a small unit went to Ratibor. The Western operations of the ERR Sonderstab Musik have been well-documented by Dutch musicologist Willem de Vries.<sup>266</sup> A small music office, as noted earlier, was housed in Pless by fall 1943, but there is no indication of any plundered musicalia there or in Ratibor.

The ERR Special Commando for Music (Sonderkommando Musik), soon established its own bailiwick several hundred kilometers farther west. Herbert Lommatzsch, in charge of ERR organizational arrangements in Ratibor, visited the Renaissance castle of Langenau (*now Polish Czernica*), twelve km. from Hirshberg (*now Polish Jelenia Góra*) to the west of Breslau, and arranged for Sonderstab Musik to move there in October 1943.<sup>267</sup> Dr. Herbert Gerigk, who headed Sonderstab Musik, had set up his own headquarters in Langenau Castle in late 1943 and early 1944. De Vries determined that all of the surviving musicalia and musical instruments were being evacuated from Leipzig to Langenau, but some Italian musicalia was being shipped to the music institute in Leipzig as well as Langenau during 1944.<sup>268</sup> No ERR operational reports from Langenau or details regarding its holdings have survived, but estimates suggest upwards of seven freight cars of musicalia removed by the Red Army when the castle was taken over as a military hospital in spring 1945.<sup>269</sup>

No documentation that has surfaced in Russia confirms shipments known to have come from Sonderstab Musik, but many Russian trophy music holdings have not been adequately identified, and documentation remains classified as of 2005. Extant shipping lists confirm that the trophy brigade under Boris Filipov shipped musical instruments from the Kattowitz area in March–June 1945, but there are no details as to where they were captured, and Filipov's diary gives no indication that his group reached Langenau.<sup>270</sup> Moscow reports giving statistics for the arrival of upright and grand pianos in 1946 and 1947 survive, but give no links to Langenau or identification of provenance.<sup>271</sup> A few documents from Soviet sources dated in the 1950s regarding distribution of trophy music collections were published in German translation in 1996, but the original Soviet documents are now reclassified in the former Central Party Archive (now RGASPI), and little progress has been made towards verification.<sup>272</sup> A few scores from Paris have surfaced at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, undoubtedly from Langenau, so it is still possible that more of the musicalia collected by Sonderstab Musik remained behind in Poland.<sup>273</sup> One small group of scores seized from the home of Polish-born pianist Artur Rubinstein ended the war in the basement of the RSHA library facility in Berlin, where they were seized a second time by a Soviet brigade. A few scores dedicated to Rubinstein surfaced recently at the Glinka Central Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow, but the fate of Rubinstein's large library from Paris remains a mystery.<sup>274</sup> Recently a few additional scores from Rubinstein's collection were returned to the family heirs by the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

The Langenau holdings (presumably from Western Europe) should not be confused with the Berlin music collections from the Staatsbibliothek, the Hohe Schule für Musik (including the Spitta Collection), and the Sing-Akademie in Berlin, all evacuated to Silesia in 1943. Those collections from Berlin were not ERR plunder. The first two were recovered by the Poles after the war, and remain in Poland to the present. The Sing-Akademie Musikarchiv was found by a Ukrainian trophy brigade, taken to Kyiv and returned to Berlin in 2001.<sup>275</sup> Other German music collections figured among the materials transferred to the USSR from Silesia.<sup>276</sup>

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### **German Evacuation from Ratibor**

As the Red Army advanced and German retreat intensified in 1944, the ERR made careful plans for its Ratibor complex. According to a mid-December 1944 plan, they intended to ship part of the materials in Pless west to Carlsbad, including most of the Smolensk Archive. That shipment (seven freight cars) was also to include a large part of the newspaper collection, 180 crates from Riga, 14 from the Pushkin Museum, and approximately 61 of the Genss Library from Tallinn. They had sorted another 3 wagons (2 of them for the rest of the Smolensk CP archive) with choice holdings that were intended for transport to Ratibor. These included 37 crates of the Westbücherei, 12 of periodicals from Mitava (Jelgava), and Russian books from Libau (Liepaja).<sup>277</sup> The ERR abandoned most of these at the railroad station in Pless while fleeing in the midst of fierce fighting during January and February 1945.

Reports dated January 1945 confirm that the ERR did not command sufficient rolling stock to remove everything they wanted. Their intended evacuation facilities were in the northern Bavarian town of Lichterfels (Franken) and in the former Benedictine cloister in Schloss Banz on the estate of Baron Kurt von Behr, who had headed ERR operations in Paris, with additional storage facilities arranged in nearby Staffelstein (the closest rail station). What limited books and papers the ERR was able to evacuate from Ratibor (and some from Berlin headquarters) went to various buildings in the Bamberg/Banz/Staffelstein area, where they also found limited office space.

Wunder himself reached Banz in early February 1945. Of ERR staff in Ratibor, six left under fire on 12 February, two more on the 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>278</sup> Wunder had prioritized his own papers, including page proofs of his monograph on the “Bolshevik conspiracy.” Some fled farther south to the Chiemsee region, and as late as the 1990s some books transported from Kyiv were found there, to be restituted in 1995.<sup>279</sup> A major group of ERR records evacuated from Ratibor, however, never reached Banz/Staffelstein, namely those the Soviets found in Germany and shipped to Kyiv in late November or early December 1945 with one of the trophy shipments from Dresden. The fate of the books received in Kyiv and mentioned in one Ukrainian transfer

document is unknown.<sup>280</sup> The ERR files remaining in Banz were recovered after the war by the U.S. Army, together with the other ERR materials in the area; many now reside among the ERR records in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde.<sup>281</sup> The evacuated ERR books and some of the archival materials found at those sites were taken to the Offenbach Archival Depot, the U.S. library restitution center near Frankfurt, where they joined the ERR loot gathered in Frankfurt and Hungen.

Fortunately, at the end of the war the Nazis did not destroy the archives and libraries they had collected. (Nazi practice in other areas was to destroy secret files among their own operational records, while preserving the foreign materials with which they were working or that they were holding in unpacked crates.) The speed of the approaching Red Army during the winter of 1944–1945 and the shortage of rolling stock forced the abandonment of many of the materials in Ratibor and surroundings. According to an ERR report of January 1945 many of the most important records had already been evacuated, and the ERR still hoped “it would be possible to take more on open wagons to Castle Banz.” They were preparing other Ratibor office files for destruction in Ratibor and Pless in case evacuation failed: a remaining ERR agent had “gasoline and canisters readied for the task.” According to the same report, they had decided not to destroy the Ostbücherei, as they still hoped to evacuate it and/or return and resume its use “if the military situation improved.” If that was impossible, they resigned themselves to the fact that the abandoned materials would be “captured by the Bolsheviks.”<sup>282</sup>

We do not know what the ERR destroyed before its final retreat from Ratibor, or even whether they had moved most of the books out of the city. All we know is that in the spring of 1945, the Red Army indeed captured four and a half freight cars of the Smolensk Archive and a vast number of crates of books and periodicals abandoned at the railroad station near the castle in Pless, and that they found vast warehouses of crated books from Ratibor in the Myslowitz suburb of Kattowitz. Their postwar fate will require subsequent treatment.

## Abbreviations

AG	Arbeitsgruppe
AHC	Ardelia Hall Collection
AIU	Alliance Israélite Universelle
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
BAB	Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde
BAK	Bundesarchiv, Koblenz
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, Paris
DBFU	Bbeauftragter des Führers der NSDAP für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (Office of the Führer’s Deputy for Supervising the Entire Spiritual and Ideological Training of the NSDAP)

ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Moscow, <i>formerly</i> TsGAOR SSSR and TsGA RSFSR
GAU	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie, <i>alternatively</i> , Glavarkhiv ( <i>Ukrainian</i> HAU) pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR and UkrSSR, 1960–1991, pri NKVD (after 1946, MVD) SSSR, 1941–1960
Glavarkhiv	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie, <i>alternatively</i> , and earlier usually, GAU
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
IISH/ IISG	International Institute of Social History/Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam
LV ABM	Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen, under RKU
MFA&A	Museums, Fine Arts, and Archives
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennykh del, <i>before 1946</i> NKVD
NACP	National Archives, College Park, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC
NIOD	Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, <i>formerly</i> RIOD
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennykh del, <i>after 1946</i> MVD
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
OAD	Offenbach Archival Depot (OMGUS)
OMGUS	United States Office of Military Government for Germany
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PRO	Public Record Office (National Archives), London/Kew Gardens
RAN	Rossiiskaia Akademiia nauk
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam (now NIOD)
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii, Moscow, <i>before March 1999</i> , RTsKhIDNI; <i>before 1991</i> , Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive, formerly Special Archive, or Osobyi arkhiv), Moscow, <i>since March 1999 includes former</i> TsKhIDK (TsGOA SSSR)
RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland
RKU	Reichskommissariat Ukraine
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt

RTsKhIDNI	Rossiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii, Moscow ( <i>formerly</i> TsPA), now RGASPI
SD	Sicherheitsdienst
SIPO	Sicherheitspolizei, <i>alternatively</i> SiPo
TsDAHO	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'ednan' Ukraïny, Kyiv ( <i>formerly</i> PA TsK KPU)
TsDAVO	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv derzhavnoi vldy Ukraïna, Kyiv ( <i>formerly</i> TsDAZhR URSR)
TsDAZhR URSR	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoi revoliutsii URSR, Kyiv ( <i>now</i> TsDAVO)
TsDIA URSR	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR, Kyiv, after 1958: u m. Kyiva ( <i>often</i> TsDIA-K, <i>now</i> TsDIAK) ( <i>Russian</i> , TsGIA)
TsGAFFKD	Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotofono dokumentov (Central State Archive of Film-, Photo-, Phonographic Documents)
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii i vysshchikh organov vlasti SSSR, Moscow ( <i>now part of</i> GA RF)
TsGAOR	Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii SSSR, Moscow ( <i>now part of</i> GA RF); UkrSSR, Kyiv ( <i>now</i> TsDAVO)
TsGOA SSSR	Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR, Moscow (1992–March 1999 TsKhIDK), <i>since</i> March 1999, part of RGVA
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksiï, Moscow ( <i>formerly</i> Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv—TsGOA SSSR)
TsNB	Tsentrāl'na naukova biblioteka im. V. I. Vernads'koho NAN, <i>now</i> NBUV
USFA	U.S. Forces, Austria
USFET	U.S. Forces, European Theater
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
US IMT	United States International Military Tribunal
YIVO	YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, <i>earlier</i> Vilnius
ZAGS	Zapis' aktov grazhdanskogo sostoianiia (Registry of Vital Statistics)
ZBHS	Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule NSDAP

## Notes

1. See Lynn Nicholas's prize-winning *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Knopf, 1994; several translations published); and less well-documented Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan and Alija I. Barkovets (then deputy director of GA RF), *Le Grand Pillage: Du butin des nazis aux trophées des Soviétiques* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 1998). Jonathan Petropoulos concentrates on policy issues and art collectors: *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

2. See Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov's (with Sylvia Hochfield) *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995; British edition: *Hidden Treasures*); findings appeared earlier: "Spoils of War: The Soviet Union's Hidden Art Treasures." *ARTNews* (April 1991): 30–41; and "The Soviets' War Treasures: A Growing Controversy," *ARTNews* (September 1991): 112–19. For context of Stalinist reparations policy, see Pavel Knyshevskii, *Dobycha: Tainy germanskikh reparatsii* (Moscow: Soratnik, 1992, also available in German edition). See also impressive volume from 1995 conference in New York, *The Spoils of War: World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property*, ed. Elizabeth Simpson (New York: Abrams, 1997).
3. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "The Road to Minsk for Western Trophy Books," *Libraries and Culture* 30, no. 4 (Fall 2004), 351–404.
4. See 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. See the updated Russian version, "Dvazhdy zakhvachennye ili 'dvazhdy spasennye'? Rozysk rossiiskikh 'trofeinykh' arkhivov i dobycha Glavnogo upravleniia imperskoi bezopasnosti," *Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik 2004* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2005): pp. 401–55.
5. See the collection of essays *Return from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution*, ed. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted and F.J. Hoogewoud (Leicester: Institute of Art and Law, forthcoming 2005).
6. I first discussed Ratibor in "The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II: Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the Third Reich," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39, no. 1 (1991): 66–69. I devoted a brief introduction to Ratibor in *The Odyssey of the "Smolensk Archive": Plundered Communist Records for the Service of Anti-Communism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Carl Beck Occasional Papers, 1995), esp. pp. 16–18; and in my more focused "New Clues Regarding Nazi Archival and Library Plunder: The ERR Ratibor Center and the RSHA VII Amt Operations in Silesia," in *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*, ed. F.J. Hoogewoud, E.P. Kwaadgras et al. (Amsterdam: IISH, 1997), pp. 52–67. See my *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), esp. ch. 5.
7. OSS, Art Looting Investigatory Unit, Consolidated Interrogation Report no. 1 (J.S. Plaut): "Activity of the ERR in France" (15 August 1945), mimeographed, p. 2; several copies in National Archives, College Park (NACP), e.g., RG 239 (Roberts Commission)/85 and RG 260 (OMGUS), Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), in the NARA Microfilm Publication M1782, roll 1—OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit Reports. Another copy resides in the Public Record Office (PRO), T209/29, available electronically on the website of Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property, 1933–1945: [http://www.lootedart.com/International/International%20Bodies%20and%20Reports/Orcid\\_GSF\\_38002\\_4627314815.asp](http://www.lootedart.com/International/International%20Bodies%20and%20Reports/Orcid_GSF_38002_4627314815.asp)
8. The most extensive study to date of the ERR plunder of Western European libraries is Donald E. Collins and Herbert P. Rothfeder, "The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Looting of Jewish and Masonic Libraries during World War II," *Journal of Library History* 18 (Winter 1983): 21–36, written, however, before the opening of ERR

records in Kyiv and Moscow, and before re-appraisal of related surviving sources. Also true of Rothfeder's dissertation, "A Study of Alfred Rosenberg's Organization for Nationalist Socialist Ideology" (University of Michigan, 1963). See also Joshua Starr, "Jewish Cultural Property under Nazi Control," *Jewish Social Studies* 12 (January 1950): 32–45; and Leslie I. Poste "Books Go Home from the Wars," *Library Journal* 73, no. 21 (December 1948): 1699–704.

9. An English translation of Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* was first published in 1952 and reissued in 1982 by a revisionist press. Michael Kellogg relates Rosenberg to the Aufbau Circle in *The Russian Roots of Nazism: The Influence of White Émigrés on the Making of National Socialism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Among studies see Robert Cecil's well-informed *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1972).

10. Regarding Rosenberg's intellectual background and activities as Beauftragter des Führers (DBFU) see Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im Nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970); and Rothfeder's dissertation. See also Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes against the Jewish People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 22–27. See early biography and register of documents by Joseph Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien: Inventaire commenté de la collection de documents conservés au C.D.J.C. provenant des archives du Reichsleiter et Ministre A. Rosenberg* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1963=*Les inventaires des archives du CDJC*, Paris, vol. 1).

11. The ERR designation was initially typed "Einsatzstab der Dienststellen des Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete u.d. Niederlande." A round stamp was in being by September 1940. Numerous examples are in Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfeld (BAB), NS 8/259, starting with the order "Bestätigung" of 15 July 1940, where the name is explained. By June 1941 the name had dropped the "westlichen."

12. Georg Leibbrandt (1899–1982) was born in Torosovo (*German* Hoffnungsfeld, Odessa Oblast). With a doctorate from Leipzig University, he studied in Paris and the U.S. before 1933, and had worked with Karl Stumpp at the Deutsche Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart.

13. On Sammlung Leibbrandt see Gabriele Camphausen, *Die wissenschaftliche historische Russlandforschung im Dritten Reich 1933–1945* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 213–24; this study does not detail archival plunder from Odessa and other areas, particularly that involving records of German communities. Leibbrandt's associate in the Stuttgart-based Deutsches Ausland Institut, Karl Stumpp (1896–1982), headed a special commando in Ukraine (Sonderkommando Stumpp) during the war, intersecting with the ERR although under the RMbO. See Eric J. Schmaltz and Samuel D. Sinner, "The Nazi Ethnographic Research of Georg Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp in Ukraine, and Its North American Legacy," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 28–64; revised version in *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1920–1945*, ed. Michael Fahlbusch and Ingo Haar (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004). Many Stumpp reports remain in TsDAVO, BAB, and microfilm at the Library of Congress.

14. Alfred Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland! Der Bolschewismus, seine Häupter, Handlanger und Opfer* (Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1922); condensed edition by Georg Leibbrandt: Munich: F. Eher, 1937.

15. Georg Leibbrandt, *Jüdische weltpolitik in selbstzeugnissen*, intro. Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (Munich: F. Eher, 1938); *Moskaus aufmarsch gegen Europa* (Munich: F. Eher, 1938 and 1939).
16. *Europas Schicksal im Osten: 12 Vorträge der vierten Reichsarbeitsstagung der Dienststelle für Schrifttumspflege bei dem Beauftragten des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Erziehung der NSDAP und der Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums*, ed. Hans Hagemeyer with Dr. G. Leibbrandt and Dr. B. Payr (Breslau: F. Hirt, 1938 and 1939). Rosenberg's contribution appears first ("Deutschland als Bollwerk im europäischen Osten: Weihespiel des Arbeitsdienstes"), and Leibbrandt's appears second ("Der bolschewistische Aufmarsch des Ostens gegen Europa und die Welt"). Cf. Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors*, pp. 75–78.
17. See instruction from Hitler's assistant Martin Bormann to Rosenberg in the Rosenberg collection in CDJC, CXLIII–258.
18. "Testimony of Alfred Rosenberg, taken at Numberg, Germany" (29 September 1945). "Reason for Harsh Treatment of Eastern Peoples," in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression / Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1946), vol. 2, p. 1347.
19. See 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; updated in Polish: "Dwukrotnie zrabowane i nadal z dala od ojczyzny: Losy trzech bibliotek słowiańskich przejętych przez nazistów w Paryżu," *Archeion* 106 (2003 [2005]): 47–84.
20. Quoted from the English translation of the extensive text of Rosenberg interrogations (26 September 1945), Imperial War Museum, FO 645, box 160, p. 16.
21. The exact date of the formation of the ERR is not established, but letters exchanged with Hitler's secretary Martin Borman and with Ebert in Paris sketched arrangements—which is why Ebert is often credited with the idea of an "Einsatzstab." No date is established in Rosenberg's Nuremberg interrogation, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2, pp. 1333–37.
22. The order was conveyed by Minister of Foreign Affairs von Ribbentrop through General Keitel, Chief of the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht (OKW) to General von Böchelberg, Commandant of the Military Command in France (MVF—Militärverwaltung in Frankreich). Petropoulos offers an analysis of ERR looting in the West and Rosenberg's alliance with Göring in *Art as Politics*; see his later *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also relevant chapters in Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa*. Anja Heuss compares plunder in France and the Soviet Union in *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub: Eine vergleichende Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000).
23. Göring memorandum to Hitler (Berlin, 1 June 1941); a French translation appears in Jean Cassou, ed., *Le pillage par les Allemands des oeuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appartenant à des juifs en France: Recueil de documents* (Paris: CDJC, 1947), p. 90. The same point is reiterated in Hitler's order (Führererlass) dated 1 March 1942, *ibid.*, pp. 96–97.
24. See Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg*.
25. Gerhard Utikal (1912–19??) was born in Silesia, joined the Nazis in 1931 (*Personalkarte* in Berlin Document Center file, BAB, 1190001728), and worked in the Rosenberg Dienststelle

from 1937. His antisemitic tract *Der jüdische Ritualmord: Eine nichtjüdische Klarstellung* (Breslau: H.W. Pötsch, 1935) appeared in several editions. Gerard Aalders describes Utikal's 1941 pamphlet justifying confiscation of Jewish property in *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry during the Second World War*, trans. Arnold Pomerans with Erica Pomerans (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2004); originally *Roof: De ontvreemding van joods bezit tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (The Hague: SDU, 1999), pp. 49–50.

26. Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg*, discusses the ERR (pp. 123–51), referring to documents in CDJC. See also OSS, Consolidated Interrogation Report, no. 1: “Activity of the ERR in France”; attachment no. 10 lists major Jewish art collections confiscated in Paris with ERR codes. Supplemental secret British MFA&A report (“The ‘Einsatzstab Rosenberg’”) in PRO, T209/26.

27. On ERR Belgian operations see Jacques Lust and Michel Vermote, “‘Papieren Bittel’ The Confiscation and Restitution of Belgian Archives and Libraries (1940–2002),” in Grimsted and Hoogewoud, *Return from Russia*. Lust draws on his earlier *De Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg en de bibliotheekroof in België (1940–1943)* (Brussels: Werknota Studiecommissie Joodse goederen, 2000).

28. On the Netherlands see Aalders, *Nazi Looting*; and also Peter Manasse, *Verschleppte Archive und Bibliotheken: Die Tätigkeiten des Einsatzstabes Rosenberg während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, trans. Georg A. Pippig (St. Ingbert: Rühlig Universitätsverlag, 1997), originally *Verduwenen archieven en bibliotheken* (The Hague, NBLC Uitgeverij 1995).

29. Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996) brings together considerable documentation on the ERR special commandos in the West, one of the first studies to show the significance of Ratibor. See also de Vries's, “Rosenberg's Music Theft Apparatus” (pp. 26–32), and my report at same conference, “New Clues Regarding Nazi Archival and Library Plunder,” in *The Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 52–60 and 65–66.

30. On Belgium see Jacques Lust and Michel Vermote, “‘Papieren Bittel!’” The authors quote additional Dutch sources on M-Aktion. See also summary by Johanna Pezechkian, “La Möbelaktion (1940–1963):” <http://www.combuysse.fgov.be/mobelaktion.html#topwet> (Brussels, 4 September 2000). Aalders devotes a chapter to M-Aktion, explaining that although Dienststelle Weste was in charge in the Netherlands, it actually operated under the ERR-HAG Nederland; *Nazi Loot*, pp. 203–9. The International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam is currently digitizing voluminous M-Aktion records held in the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD) for their website: see [http://www.joodsmonument.nl/article.php?thg\\_id=1005.72&lang=en](http://www.joodsmonument.nl/article.php?thg_id=1005.72&lang=en) (English and Dutch).

31. Peter Wörmke to Karl Brethauer (Paris, 17 June 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 249–252; and “Die Buch- und Zeitschriftenbestände in Paris, 45, rue la Bruyère,” signed Wörmke (Paris, 4 July 1942), Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vshcheykh orhaniv derzhavnoi vldy Ukraïna (TsDAVO), 3676/1/172, fols. 241–241v. On the AIU library and archives see Jean-Claude Kuperminc, “Looted French Jewish Archives: The Case of the Library and Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle,” in Grimsted and Hoogewoud, *Return from Russia*.

32. Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, pp. 207–8.

33. Rosenberg's order to Reich Commissar Ostland (20 August 1941) was entered in evidence at Nuremberg: Exhibit USA–385 (1015c–PS), *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the*

*International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946 (Nuremberg, 1947–1949), Documents in Evidence*, vol. 26, pp. 530–31.

34. *Biblioteky Kyiva v period natsists'koï okupatsii (1941–1943): Doslidzhennia. Anotovanyi pokazhchyyk. Publikatsii dokumentiv*, comp. L. A. Dubrovina and N. I. Malolietova; ed. O. S. Onyshchenko, H. V. Boriak, L. A. Dubrovina, et al. (Kyiv: NBUV; Derzhkomarkhiv, 2004) series “Biblioteky Ukrainy pid chas Druhoï svitovoi viiny”). See esp. the introduction by Boriak and Dubrovina, and Tetiana Sebta on the organization of the ERR in Ukraine (pp. 114–48).

35. Margarita S. Zinich, *Pokhishchennye sokrovishcha: Vyvoz natsistami rossiiskikh kul'turnykh tsennosti* (Moscow: Institut Rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 2003). See also her “Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba A. Rozenberga po vyvozu kul'turnykh tsennosti iz SSSR,” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 4 (1999).

36. Mikhail A. Boitsovyi and Tat'iana A. Vasil'eva, eds. and comps., *Kartoteka “Z” Operativnogo shtaba “Reikhsliaiter Rozenberg”*: *Tsennosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorossii, 1941–1942* (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998).

37. The ca. 300 registration cards for the Baltic countries (not included in Moscow publication of *Kartoteka “Z”*) remain in the ERR collection in RGVA, fond 1401k, file 75. Approximately 150 ERR cards from Lithuania (and a few from Estonia) remain in Vilnius, LCVA, fond 633, files 3 and 24.

38. Discussion in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, ch. 5.

39. Decree of the Führer (Führererlass) (1 March 1942; 149–PS; Exhibit USA–369) to all offices of the Wehrmacht, the Party, and the State, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 25, p. 235. English translation in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2, pp. 190–91. Russian translation in *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva: Dokumenty ob okkupatsionnoi politike fashistskoi Germanii na teritorii SSSR (1941–1944 gg.)* (Moscow, 1963), p. 255. Copies in many other German files, e.g. TsDAVO, 3206/5/4.

40. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2, p. 1338.

41. Winter (1895–1961) served as first president of Bundesarchiv in Koblenz (BAK) after the war. Brief mention of Winter's administration first appeared in Grimsted, “The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II,” pp. 56–57; remaining records of LV ABM now constitute opys 5 of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU) records in TsDAVO (Kyiv), fond 3206, recovered by Ukrainian archivists in Opava after the war. See details in Liubov A. Dubrovina and Nina I. Malolietova, “Fond ‘Reikhskomisara Ukraïny (1941–1944)’ u TsDAVO Ukraïny: Ohliad dokumentiv z istorii bibliotek periodu natsists'koï okupatsii Kyiva,” in *Arkhivovoznavstvo. Arkheografiia. Dzhereloznavstvo: Mizhvidomchyi zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, vol. 4: *Studii na poshanu Ruslana Pyroha*, ed. H. V. Boriak et al. (Kyiv, 2001), pp. 408–27. See also Maryna H. Dubyk, “Skhema sprav Kraiovoho upravlinnia arkhivamy, bibliotekamy ta muzeiamy pri Reikhskomisariati Ukraïny (1944 r.),” *Arkhivy Ukraïny* 1–3 (1995): 35–37.

42. Mentioned in a Rosenberg communication to the RKU regarding “Sicherstellung von Kulturgütern in den besetzten Ostgebieten” (3 October 1941), BAB, NS 8/259.

43. Grimsted, “Twice Plundered or ‘Twice Saved?’”

44. A file of fourteen original SD reports of seizures from Russian émigrés in Paris is in the RSHA records in Moscow (most dated 21 March 1941, RGVA, 500k/2/221a), including slips for Miliukov (fol. 10) and for the newspaper he edited, *Poslednye novosti* (fol. 5). Another

report in same file (fol. 8) confirms confiscation from Mikhail Osorgin (Ossorguine). On seizure of the Miliukov papers in 1945 by Soviet authorities in Silesia see Grimsted, "Twice Plundered or 'Twice Saved'?", pp. 211 and 237–38.

45. See Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) during World War II," [part 1] *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1999) [= *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. Zvi Gitelman et al.], pp. 185–87.

46. Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 228–30, based on records of that agency now in BAB, R153. See new details about the Polish Library in Grimsted, "The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries," and esp. the updated Polish translation, op. cit.

47. See details in Grimsted, *Odyssey of the "Smolensk Archive,"* pp. 20–23, 25–32, updated in *The Return of the Smolensk Archive*, ed. Marianna Tax Choldin, Ekaterina Genieva, and Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (Moscow: ROSSPEN, forthcoming 2005).

48. See attachment no. 10 to OSS, Consolidated Interrogation Report, no. 1: "Activity of the ERR in France" (15 August 1945), op. cit. Cf. "List of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) Codes" for French collections in *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, comp. Nancy H. Yeide, Konstantin Akinsha, and Amy L. Walsh (Washington: American Association of Museums, 2001), pp. 299–304 (Appendix K).

49. NARA Microfilm Publication—M1943 (38 rolls): *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) Card File and Related Photographs 1940–1945*, Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, World War II (RG 260) (Washington: NARA, 2003), including ca. 21,000 art registration cards and 10,000 photographs prepared at the Jeu de Paume in Paris. Since cards are coded by provenance, the list of collections appears in the finding aid (Appendix I), ed. Greg Bradsher and Tim Mulligan. A database planned by the Conference on Material Claims against Germany in New York should eventually link coverage to other sources and additional cards and images in BAK.

50. *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, pp. 58–103.

51. See Grimsted, "The Road to Minsk," esp. pp. 364–69. Further details will appear in a research note in this journal.

52. A photocopy of the March list by ERR-HAG Frankreich, "Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien" (Paris, 23 March 1941), is preserved in French restitution files in the Archives Nationales, F17/17996. Jean-Claude Kuperminc kindly informed me about that copy, earlier cited by Nicholas Reymes in "Le pillage des bibliothèques appartenant à des Juifs pendant l'occupation," *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah: Le monde juif* 163 (January–April 2000): 38–41. Sophie Coeuré kindly sent me a copy with the supplement, "Nachtrag zu den in Paris verpackten Büchereien" (Dr. Wu/Schö, ERR HAG-Frankreich, Paris, 24 April 1941) from the same file, but it lacks the covering memo.

53. Dr. Gerd (sometimes Gerhard) Wunder (1908–1988), a key player in library confiscation and ERR research and propaganda, had headed a DBFU section on Jewry and Freemasonry. From June 1940 to June 1941 he headed the Paris library group and then was transferred to head HAG-Ostland. He subsequently headed ERR research and propaganda operations in Berlin and Ratibor, his own focus being "Eastern European anti-Bolshevism." His ERR

reports frequently bear the code “Dr. Wu.” According to BDC records (“Personalkarte,” BAB, PK 12100011129), he joined the Nazi Party on 1 May 1930, taught in Chile in 1933 and 1934, and then in 1935 took over direction of the Düsseldorf Public Library. Wunder was interrogated in connection with the Alfred Rosenberg trial in Nuremberg (18 and 26 August 1947); transcripts in NARA Microfilm Publication M1019, roll 81, frames 102–121. He was also questioned with Dr. Karl Brethauer by Bundesamt für aussere Restititionen (Bad Homburg, 5 January 1960) in connection with French claims, but his replies do not clarify the fate of the collections. I am grateful to Willem de Vries for a copy of the transcript. Postwar resumés understandably omit Wunder’s work with the ERR, although they mention his service in the infantry in Belgium, France, and Russia, where he was involved with “a party office for research regarding communism in the Soviet Union,” continuing that “work” in Riga, Berlin, and Ratibor. After the war he taught in a *gymnasium* in Schwäbisch Hall and was active in the Commission for Regional Studies in Baden and Württemberg, writing about local history and genealogy, esp. medieval and early modern. See Dieter Wunder, “Gerd Wunder,” in *Festschrift für Gerd Wunder* (Schwäbisch Hall: Historischer Verein für Württembergisch Franken, 1974), pp. 7–13; and Edith Ennen, *Sehr verehrter, lieber Herr Wunder!* (Laudatio Gerd Wunder) (Schwäbisch Hall: Historischer Verein für Württembergisch Franken, 1983), pp. 3–9.

54. Wunder to Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (2 May 1941), with the March list and the April addenda, Anlage II, ERR HAG Frankreich. A complete photocopy remains in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, MGRA 85621. Those original files were among U.S.-captured German military records returned to Germany in the 1960s. The same photocopy is reproduced in NARA Microfilm Publication T501, “Records of German Field Commands: Rear Areas, Occupied Territories, and Others” (Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich), roll 362, item 85621 (294K–306K), frames 386–88; I have not located the original.

55. Copies of the 23 March and 24 April lists with Wunder’s memo (2 May 1941) are in BAK, B 323/261, fols. 48–60 (cc in BAK, B 323/258, fols. 471–483). A poorly legible photostatic copy also remains in OMGUS restitution files, NACP (National Archives of the United States, College Park, MD), RG 260, Records of the Property Division, AHC, box 468 ( slated for micro-filming as part of M1946).

56. A handwritten note in the file (PRO, FO 1020/2793) explains, “extracted from a file of reports by Dr. Gerhard WUNDER, found at Tanzenberg and forwarded by Major [John] Hayward, 16 August 45. A copy has been sent to the French.” Sophie Coeuré kindly sent me a copy of an earlier version from AN, 38 AJ 5937.

57. A group of retrospective typed confiscation lists, with covering memorandum signed by Dr. Karl Brethauer (21 January 1942) are with ERR records in Kyiv. The lists of private libraries confiscated in Paris confirm (and often add to) the names, addresses, and numbers. “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek” (including ERR code numbers), TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–276. Other lists, “Sonderakte Paris,” and “Positive Einsatzstellen Paris” (n.d.) are in the same bound file, fols. 273, 283, and 277–282, as is the Brethauer memo (21 January 1942) naming those same lists (fol. 324). Prof. Dr. [Gerhard] Schilde was active in Paris, but was sent to the Baltic in October 1941 heading a special “Kommando Schilde.” The fate of Schilde’s Paris card file is unknown.

58. “Aufstellung der Namen der Pariser Akten” (Ratibor, 3 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/56. The list, providing only names and some biographical data, is signed by [Brunno] Helfrich, whose name also appears on an ERR staff list from Ratibor.

59. See Grimsted, "Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War," and updated Polish version.
60. For example, see a letter (10 February 1942) with list of addresses and property plundered from members of the Rothschild family, by President de Boisanger of the French Delegation for Economic Affairs to Minister-President Hemmen of the German Delegation for the Economy (10 February 1942), CDJC, CXVII–38.
61. *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, issued by Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, Groupe français du conseil de contrôle, Division des réparations et restitutions, Bureau central des restitutions, vol. 7: *Archives, manuscrits et livres rares* (Berlin, 1948); at least three supplements appeared through 1949 (series available on NARA microfilm M–1949).
62. See the finding aid "Inventaire des archives du Commissariat général aux questions juives et du Service de restitution des biens des victimes des lois et mesures de spoliation," sous-série AJ38, comp. Marie-Thérèse Chabord et Jean Pouëssel (Paris: Centre historique des Archives Nationales, 1998; Commissariat général aux questions juives). AN, Series F/17 (17994–17996), "Bibliothèques pillées sous l'occupation, 1945–1953," contains Sous-Commission des Livres (1945–1949) records, under Commission de récupération artistique du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. The article by Nicholas Reymes mentioned above, "Le pillage des bibliothèques appartenant à des Juifs pendant l'occupation," developed from his doctoral dissertation, one of the first publications to use the newly opened files; however, the author did not find all of the other lists or related documents available in other archives.
63. Plans are under consideration by Jean-Claude Kupermine, who heads the library and archive of the AIU, and other French colleagues.
64. *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, pp. 80–88, provides a description of these files with lists of individual French claims in numbered folders, available in NARA only in microfilm publication, M–1949; folder numbers still pertain, although without correlation to box numbers.
65. ERR-Belgien, "Übersicht über die Arbeitsverhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien in zeitlicher Reihenfolge" (n.d. [March 1943]), TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 53–66. "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, pp. 21–23, contains excerpts listing Jewish collections involved.
66. Hans Muchow (ERR chief in Belgium) to ERR Ratibor (Brussels, 23 March 1944), with supplemental list, "Beantwortung der Eilanfrage aus Ratibor" (Brussels, 24 March 1944), BAB NS 30/56.
67. A group of the three files from the ERR Belgian Working Group in a separate fond (TsDAVO, fond 3674/1/1) includes packing lists from Grand Orient de Belgique (fols. 1–34), Supreme Conseil de Belgique (Rite Écossais) (fols. 35–97), and Loge-Amis du Commerce et de la persévérance réunis (fols. 100–113); other fols. document seizures from Vienna philosophy professor Alfred Stern (fols. 117–21), attorney Léon Kubowitzki (fols. 122–27), and

French royal heir, duc de Guise (Manoir d'Anjou) (fols. 140–88), among others. The main ERR fond in TsDAVO, fond 3676, esp. file nos. 159–175, 235, and 239, contain scattered Belgian confiscation reports. The Center for War Documentation (SOMA) in Brussels acquired copies of many.

68. Michel Vermote and Jacques Lust's excellent survey, "Papieren Bitte," presents details of ERR (and other agencies') confiscations in Belgium. See also Lust, *De Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg en de bibliotheekroof in België*; the authors kindly furnished me copies. Belgian government 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. pp. 132–42.

69. [August Schirmer], "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes der Dienststelle des Reichleiters Rosenberg in des westlichen besetzten Gebieten und den Niederlanden: Arbeitsgruppe Niederlande," in *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 25, pp. 247–55 (Exhibit USA-707; 176-PS). 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*, vol. 3, pp. 200–09. Schirmer was Oberreichsleiter (general director) of the Netherlands Task Force (AG Niederlande; later HAG) from September 1940 until May 1941, and hence the list probably dates from April or May 1941. The published version incorrectly gave "Schimmer" as his name.

70. See Aalder's chapter on "The Looting of Cultural Property," in *Nazi Looting*, pp. 43–83, and Manasse, *Verschleppte Archive und Bibliotheken*.

71. A file of originals from AG-Niederlande (1941–1942), most signed by S.S. Sturmabführer Schmidt-Stähler, is in BAB, NS 30/15; the list has 176 entries: "Einsatzstellen der Hauptarbeitsgruppe Niederlande." The same folder has weekly and monthly reports providing detailed packing and shipping data for Dutch collections. The NIOD "Rosenberg Files" (Amsterdam) has copies of parts of that file from a U.S. microfilms printout, and also lists from other sources.

72. [Schirmer], "Report on the Activities of the Einsatzstab," in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 3, p. 206.

73. Regarding seizure and fate of 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), with references to related publications and sources. See Eberhard Kautter's report to Rosenberg (Berlin, 28 April 1941), published in German, pp. S28–S38, and English, pp. S38–S47, from original in BAB, NS 8/252. Reports in BAB NS 30/15 (op. cit.) record some early IISH shipments. More detail appears in Maria Humink, *De papieren van de revolutie: Het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 1935–1947* (Amsterdam: IISG, 1986), with related documents and a list of major collections the IISH had acquired before the war.

74. For seizures in Yugoslavia see "Jahresbericht 1943/1944 der Arbeitsgruppe Südosten," signed Dr. [Günther] Kraft (Belgrade, 29 February 1944), YIVO, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), folder OccE5g-4. The folder includes weekly reports March–December 1943. Boxes 36 and

37, folders E5g-2-5 preserve other reports and confiscated book inventories (photocopies are held in BAB, NS 30).

75. See RGVA, 1401k/1, files 5, 8, 10-29, and 43-47.

76. See memorandum signed by Anton (Belgrade, 28 April 1944) to Hauptabteilung II (Ratibor) with appended shipping crate list, BAB, NS 30/32. Crates were numbered B E 121-140, suggesting that many preceded. Only two are indicated as having held Jewish literature. The first 157 leaves are reports from HAG Südosten in Belgrade, most signed by Anton, earlier head of HAG Ukraine. Photocopies of ERR reports from Yugoslavia in YIVO are also in BAB, NS 30/173-178.

77. "Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland" (Athens, 15 November 1941), BAB 30/75. The thirty-four-page report's original typescript has five appendices: 1) ERR Sonderkommando staff, specialized sub-sections; 2) map indicating cities covered; 3) lists of leaders and branch lodges under Great Lodge of Greece; 4) copy of 1935 printed directory of that lodge; 5) name and address lists of Jewish individuals and institutions "worked over" (*bearbeiteten*); and 6) subject register of materials concerning foreign relations of Greek Jewish and Zionist organizations, Rotary Clubs, and Masonic lodges. Mimeographed copies (31 pp. + appendices) are in RGVA, 1401k/1/9; and CDJC, CCXXXII-17. Cf. Yitchak Kerem's account, "The Confiscation of Jewish Books in Salonika in the Holocaust," in *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation*, ed. Jonathan Rose (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), pp. 59-65, which did not utilize ERR documentation; I have not found a thorough study of ERR activities in Greece.

78. See AG Italien reports in TsDAVO, 3676/1/171 and 176, and BAB, NS 30/32 (middle section) and NS 8/260 and 262. Several Kyiv reports and one in NS 8/262 (Verona, 28 August 1944) suggest emphasis on ideology and propaganda. A collection of ERR tracts preserved in BAB, NS 30/76, includes a translation of "Eine jüdische Dynastie: Die Sassoon ('Die Rothschild des Orients')" about the banking family of David Sassoon. By mid-November 1944 AG Italien retreated to Pension Olga in Zell am See near Salzburg.

79. See Sonderstab Musik reports by Dr. [Max] Unger (Quito near Verona, 10 December 1943 and Verona, 3 June 1944), and his letters to Dr. Gerigk (Florence and Verona, May and June 1944), and Maier correspondence with Gerigk (April-August 1944) in BAB, NS 30/63; the latest Gerigk letter is dated "Langenau ü. Hirschberg, 1 November 1944."

80. Dr. Hans Maier, ERR Sonderkommando Italien, "Monatsbericht Dezember 1943" (21 January 1944), BAB, NS 30/32 (photoprint from film). The Jewish libraries noted were those of Philippson from Pistoia and Prof. Luigi Rossi. Dario Tedeschi, who heads the Italian government commission investigating Jewish losses, kindly furnished me a transcribed copy that led me to the original file in BAB.

81. Stanislao Pugliese, "Bloodless Torture: The Books of the Roman Ghetto under Nazi Occupation," *Libraries and Culture* 34, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 241-53; reprinted in *The Holocaust and the Book*, pp. 47-58.

82. F.J. Hoogewoud, "Die späte lines jüdischer Büches aus Hungen über Hannover nach Rom," in the proceedings of the symposium "*Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut*" (Frankfurt: Vitorio Kloosterman, 2005, forthcoming) = *Zeitschrift für Bifliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, (special issue). See Associated Press report "Ancient book returned to Rome's Jewish community," *Jerusalem Post*, 23 May 2005.

83. See Alfred Bäumler, *Alfred Rosenberg und Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1943).

84. An English translation of the Führererlass (29 January 1940—136-PS) was published in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 3, p. 184; original German in *Trial of Major War Criminals*, vol. 25, pp. 229–30. Summary of documentation on work of Hohe Schule in Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg*, pp. 65–85. See Rosenberg's memo "Die Hohe Schule der NSDAP und ihre Aufgaben" (Denkschrift, 1937), BAB, NS 8/175; and early sketch, "Die Hohe Schule am Chiemsee," *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* 3 (January 1939): 17–19. A published section of Rosenberg's interrogations at Nuremberg is devoted to "Origin and Activities of the Hohe Schule"; in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2, pp. 1332–36. Rothfeder, *Rosenberg's Organization* has a good chapter on the Hohe Schule, pp. 327–99. Copies of the drawings are preserved in the Library of Congress.

85. A folder of documentation about Tanzenberg during the war is preserved in Archiv der Diözese Gurk in Klagenfurt, Seminarakten, folder 112, with several early images. I am grateful to Evelyn Adunka for arranging my visit.

86. British MFA&A prepared in summer 1945 the most helpful introductory survey (based on Nazi documents and British interrogations), "Preliminary Report on Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (NSDAP)" (1 August 1945), and "Progress Report on Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (NSDAP), Tanzenberg" (to 25 August 1945), PRO 1020/2793. A copy of the initial report resides among records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (Roberts Commission), NACP, 239/11. Other copies and subsequent British reports are found among British records of restitution operations in Tanzenberg after the war—PRO, FO 1020, esp. file nos., 2549, 2793, 2878, and 2879. See also Cruse's report, "Übersicht über die Buchenteilung des ERR für die Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule" (1 January 1944), CDJC, CXLV–159, and full German ZBHS annual report for 1943 in BAB, NS 8/267. A wartime postcard picturing Tanzenberg is in TsDAVO, 3674/1/3, fol. 300, reproduced in my "Rare Books from Voronezh to Tartu and Tanzenberg: From Nazi Plunder and British Restitution to Russian 'Lost Book Treasures,'" *Solanus* 18 (2004). See also Gabriela Stieber's, "Die Bibliothek der 'Höhen Schule des Nationalsozialismus' in Tanzenberg," *Carinthia I, Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 185 (1995): 343–63, probably the first to utilize British files in PRO, FO 1020. More thorough is Evelyn Adunka, *Der Raub der Bücher: Plünderung in der NS-Zeit und Restitution nach 1945* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2002), esp. ch. "Die Bibliothek von Tanzenberg in Kärnten," pp. 15–70.

87. On the Edouard Rothschild library see the Grothe report (26 January 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/219, fols. 385–387 (cc. 388–390). Based on shipping papers and postwar interrogations, British MFA&A's "Preliminary Report on ZBHS" lists cities of origin for consignments arriving in Tanzenberg and analyzes ERR shipping patterns.

88. The British "Preliminary Report on ZBHS" and later British restitution papers (PRO, FO 1020) provide data on looted and purchased collections.

89. Two fragmentary ZBHS acquisition registers recently discovered in the Vienna University Library feature Rosenberg donations. Ingrid Ramirer kindly arranged for me to examine them.

90. Original documents in TsDAVO, 3676/2/1, fols. 7–14, 34; the file includes reports relating to Russian imperial libraries and Kyiv materials plundered by Künsberg Commandos, which the ERR also sent to ZBHS. See also Cruse's explanation about plans to survey the books and archives seized in Paris, many of which were intended for ZBHS, fol. 31 (cc fols. 32–33).

Additional copies of the surveys (initialed by Cruse) are preserved at the YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G–223, which also includes an appraisal of the van Zuylen library.

91. Instructions and lists of subjects for shipments survive in Kyiv ERR files—TsDAVO, 3676/1/136, fols. 188, 206, 210, and 213–241. See working instructions (Berlin, 12 March 1942), fols. 433–444; shipping plans and detailed subject profiles, fols. 218–219; and “Aktennotiz” (Riga, 10 November 1942), fols. 222–231 and 234.

92. Dr. Gottlieb Peter Ney (1881–1972) was born in Reval (Tallinn) and educated in Derpt (Iuriev/Dorpat/Tartu) and St. Petersburg. He directed the Estonian National Library and Archives between 1936 and 1940, before being “resettled” in Germany after the Hitler-Stalin Pact. See the British “Interrogation of Dr G. Ney,” PRO, FO 1020/2795, and “Statement by Dr Ney” PRO, FO 1020/2878. After British release Ney settled in Germany, but then emigrated to Sweden, where he worked in the provincial archives of Lund. He died in Stierstadt, Germany. I am grateful to Peep Pillak of the Estonian State Archives for information about Ney. Many of Ney’s weekly and monthly reports from the Baltic survive in Kyiv, including TsDAVO, 3676/1/136; and his annual report, Ney, Sonderstab Bibliothek der Hohen Schule, “Jahresbericht für das Jahr 1942” (1 November 1941–31 December 1942) (Riga, 5 January 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/136, fols. 237–241. See more details and photo of Ney in Grimsted, “Rare Books from Voronezh,” pp. 72–107.

93. Several reports about shipments remain among the fragmentary ERR files in Moscow, RGVA, 1401k/1/6, in addition to those in Kyiv.

94. ERR report to Berlin Headquarters (Smolensk, 10 June 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/144, fols. 112–113. Loot from Novgorod is covered in Ney’s ERR-AG Lettland, Sonderstab Bibliothek H.S. report (Riga, 29 July 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/136, fols. 203–204.

95. See Anja Heuss, “Die ‘Beuteorganisation’ des Auswärtigen Amtes: Das Sonderkommando Künsberg und der Kulturgutraub in der Sowjetunion,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 45, no. 4 (October 1997): 535–56; and Ulrike Hartung, *Raubzüge in der Sowjetunion: Das Sonderkommando Künsberg 1941–1943* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997). On Künsberg loot, see the official transfer document (Berlin, 3 February 1943), precisely noting the number of books from points of origin—TsDAVO, 3676/2/1, fols. 4–6; and report in TsDAVO, 3676/2/1, fols. 42–57. See also earlier despatch (11 July 1942), in TsDAVO, 3676/1/22, fol. 209.

96. MFA&A “Preliminary Report on ZBHS,” p. 9, p. 20. That report identifies “ZAB” as “Zarenbibliothek, Qatchina,” imperial libraries looted by Künsberg group; more in Grimsted, “Ot Iantarnoi komnaty k knigam iz russkogo imperatorskogo dvortsa: Identifikatsiia i rekonstruktsiia peremeshchennykh kul’turnykh tsemnostei,” in *Kul’turnye tsemnosti: Vozmozhnosti i perspektivy obshcheevropeiskogo sotrudnichestva. Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii “Kul’turnoe sotrudnichestvo v Evrope: problemy sokhraneniia i okhrany kul’turnykh tsemnostei, Sankt-Peterburg.” 12 Maia 2003 g.* (Moscow: Rudomino, 2004), pp. 108–52 (includes German version). See also my forthcoming article, “Nazi-Plundered Books that Came Home from the War: Forgotten British and American Library Restitution to the USSR.”

97. MFA&A, “Preliminary Report on ZBHS,” pp. 8–9, 20. See Grimsted, “Rare Books from Voronezh,” and Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, pp. 199, 207, 230–33, 269, 318, 417.

98. On IISH collections, see Roth, *The International Institute of Social History as a Pawn of Nazi Social Research*. Roth details rivalries of Nazi agencies, and documents IISH shipment to

ZBHS (16 July 1943), pp. 19–20 and 88. After the war, the British found 975 crates of books from the Netherlands there, mostly IISH.

99. ERR report (14 September 1944), BAB, NS 30/53. Note Frauenberg/ Steiermark address: Gauschulungsburg Martinshof, Post Graz-Strassgans/Steiermark (as per note in same file from Georg Anton, head of HAG-Ukraine, dated 30 November 1944).

100. Rosenberg's original typescript for his address to the opening of IEJ, "Nationalsozialismus und Wissenschaft" (26 March 1941) in CDJC, CXLVI–22. See Joshua Starr's early account of the library's formation, "Jewish Cultural Property under Nazi Control," pp. 32–45, and Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors*, esp. pp. 97–119. On the power struggles see Dieter Schiefelbein "Das 'Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage Frankfurt am Main': Antisemitismus als Karrieresprungbrett im NS-Staat," in "*Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses . . .*" *Antisemitische Forschung, Eliten und Karrieren im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut (Frankfurt/New York, 1999), pp. 43–71.

101. See background discussion of Frankfurt operations in 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* (Amsterdam) 26, no. 1–2 (1992): 158–92. A 1945 report prepared under British auspices by ZBHS deputy director, Dr. Adolf Trende, mentions AIU and École Rabbinique books among those evacuated to Hungen—"Das Institut zu Erforschungen der Judenfrage" (August 1945), PRO 1020/2793.

102. F.J. Hoogewoud obtained a copy of the ERR rental contract for rooms in the castle and related documents regarding the Hungen facilities, which he kindly shared with me.

103. See Maria Kühn-Ludewig, *Johannes Pohl (1904–1960): Judaist und Bibliothekar im Dienste Rosenbergs: Eine biographische Dokumentation* (Hannover: Laurentius Verlag, 2000).

104. Johannes Pohl, "Die Bibliothek zur Erforschung der Juden Frage" (29 April 1943—IMT Exhibit USA–383; 171–PS), in *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 25, pp. 243–46 (171–PS), cover note signed by Dr.[Gerd] Wu[nder]. English translation (without attribution) in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 3, pp. 200–203. Poster showcasing holdings listed: BAB, NS 30/19. Reymes cited (without indication of source) figures in Pohl's report, "Le Pillage des bibliothèques," *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 168 (January–April 2000):38–40.

105. "Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland"; see also Kerem, "The Confiscation of Jewish Books in Salonika," pp. 59–65.

106. Many Salonica Jewish Community files taken to Frankfurt are in YIVO in New York City (RG 207); they probably arrived with the Berlin Collection (RG 215), with many IEJ files. Two files sent to Amsterdam by mistake remain in the Municipal Archives. Archival files from Salonica in Moscow are in RGVA, fond 1428k (285 file units for the years 1919–1941), and in two smaller fonds with records of Zionist offices in Salonica for emigration to Palestine (fonds 1435k and 1437k) possibly intermixed; most probably they were seized by the ERR unit at the same time. "Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland" (Athens, 15 November 1941); copy in CDJC, CCXXXII–17. See Kerem's brief survey, "Sources on Greek Jewry in the Special Archives of Moscow," *Sharsheret hadorot* 7, no. 2 (April 1993): x–xi (in English; Hebrew text, p. 6), and the more recent descriptions in *Dokumenty po istorii i kul'ture evreev v trofeinykh kollektiivakh Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo*

*voennogo arkhiva. Putevoditel'*, comp. and ed. V.N. Kuzelenkov, M.S. Kupovetskii, David E. Fishman (Moscow: Rosarkhiv; RGGU: RGVA; Jewish Theological Seminary of America; YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2005 [a publication of "Project Judaica"]), esp. pp. 93–100; that recent guide also describes several other fonds of Greek Jewish provenance.

107. See "Bericht über die vorläufige Sichtung der Judaica und Hebraica in Kiew," TsDAVO, 3676/1/50, fols. 10–13; Zöllfel to Benzig (17 September 1942), TsDAVO, 3206/5/16, fol. 417, shows Dettmann and Fuchs in charge; Anton to IEJ (25 September 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/39, acknowledges receipt of one wagon in Frankfurt (5 October 1942), fols. 2 and 4. A later report mentions collections from Podil and what the Germans called the "Jewish conservatory in Kyiv" at Pavlovskaia 2 (29 May 1943), fol. 1.

108. *The Holocaust and the Book*, pp. 165–200, excerpts Dina Abramowicz's and Herman Kruk's memoirs, two important sources on the fate of Jewish books from Vilnius, also cited by Sem C. Sutter in "The Lost Jewish Libraries of Vilna and the Frankfurt Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage," in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. James Raven (Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 219–35. Sources from Moscow, Kyiv, and Vilnius, and post-1991 research now supplement Sutter's study. See also David E. Fishman, *Embers Plucked from the Fire: The Rescue of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Vilna* (New York: YIVO, 1996; English and Yiddish); also in *The Holocaust and the Book*, pp. 66–78.

109. See the 1998 facsimile compendium of ERR cultural registration cards for Belorussia, Ukraine and RSFSR: Mikhail A. Boitsovi and Tat'iana A. Vasil'eva, eds. and comps., *Kartoteka "Z" Operativnogo shtaba "Reikhsliaiter Rozenberg": Tsemnosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriiakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorussii, 1941–1942* (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998). Not included are the 300 extant ERR registration cards from the Baltic countries (RGVA, fond 1401k/1/75).

110. LCVA, fond 633/3 and 24.

111. Details on shipments from YIVO in Vilnius and other Lithuanian Jewish collections in ERR HAG-Ostland reports; Pohl's reports (2 April 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/128, fols. 163–164; lists of Hebraica from Kaunas (20 April 1942); another Pohl report YIVO (28 April 1942), fols. 179–193; and a note that by October, fifty crates were packed for Frankfurt (15 October 1940), fols. 330–335. A report on special ERR Jewish work force in Vilnius, "Bericht von dem Arbeitsergebnis der jüdischen Arbeitsgruppe beim Einsatzstab RR Wilna" (18 February–8 June 1942), details removals from YIVO, LCVA, 633/5. Some lists of materials confiscated in Vilnius in LCVA, fond 633/4, are available on microfilm in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). See also Esfir Bramson-Alperniéné (National Library of Lithuania) re efforts to preserve what YIVO materials were left behind: "Das Schicksal der Dokumente des YIVO in Wilna," in *Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 45–51; and other Bramson-Alperniéné writings on the subject. Sutter suggests a 70 percent destruction figure for Vilnius Jewish collections, "The Lost Jewish Libraries of Vilna," pp. 226–27, but again, without documentation.

112. Redlich reports Riga shipments (15 October 1941), TsDAVO, 3676/1/128, fols. 54–55, and Pohl (Dunaberg, 10 November 1941), fols. 72–74, 149, and 152; (21 March 1942); TsDAVO, 1/128, fol. 149, mentions 17,000 Jewish books to be sent from Riga to Frankfurt and 20,000 for waste paper. See also Schäfer's report (4 December 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/145,

fols. 5 and 6. Another (Riga, 19 December 1942) lists twenty-five crates for the Jewish Institute in Frankfurt, TsDAVO, 3676/1/118, fol. 16.

113. See n. 106 above.

114. See “Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 10. Februar bis 11. März 1944,” YIVO, RG 215; and Langkopf (HAG-Mitte), “Monatsberichte 12.43–1.44” (Minsk, 21 February 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fol. 347 (cc 341).

115. Langkopf (HAG-Mitte), Minsk, 6 June 1944, BAB, NS 30/160. Wunder’s report about the missing freight cars from Minsk and Rome is noted by Starr in “Jewish Cultural Property under Nazi Control,” p. 44; I have not located the original document. Lommatzsch’s report after visiting Hungen confirms arrival and processing of Judaica from the East (Ratibor, 1 September 1944), IfZ, MA, box 244.

116. To Rosenberg, “Betr: Brand der Hohen Schule, Aussenstelle Frankfurt a. M. infolge Luftangriffes am 22. März 1944—Verhalten der Verwaltungsorgane” (Hungen, 27 March 1944), BAB, NS 8/266, fols. 62–72.

117. Lt. Robert Schoenfeld, Report from Hungen (8 April 1945), MII Team 430G, 5th Infantry to Asst. Chief of Staff, G–2, Report no. 44, NACP, RG 94, box 6779.

118. Captain Robert E. Posey’s two-page summary MFA&A report on Hungen (inspected 9 April 1945) is included in “Semi-Monthly Report on MFA&A for period ending 15 April 1945,” Headquarters, 3d U.S. Army, G–5 Section (17 April 1945), NACP, RG 331 (SHAEF), MFA&A, box 334; another with records of the Internal Affairs Branch is in RG 751, box 19. See detailed report by U.S. restitution officer in charge, Glenn H. Goodman, “Rosenberg—Institut für Judenforschung, Repositories in Hungen, Oberhessen,” [nd], NACP, RG 242, AGAR–S, no. 1454. Goodman estimated over one million total volumes, but others put the total much higher. See also F.J. Hoogewoud’s account reconstructing IEJ operations in Hungen based on U.S. MFA&A reports, “Tracing Nazi Looters,” in Grimsted and Hoogewoud. See the published brochure for the Hungen exhibit in November 2004: *Geheimsache Schloss Hungen—Die Geschichte der geraubten Bücher in Hungen and Hirzenhain (1943–1946)*, sowie *Dokumente und Bilder zur jüdischen Geschichte von Hungen und Exponate zum Heute von Juden und Freimaurer in Giessen* ([Hungen], 2004). The exhibit was restaged in Hannover in connection with the Second Hannover Symposium, “Jüdische Büchbesitz als Raubgut” (10–11 May 2005), and the catalogue published: *AUF TRANSPORT! Deutsche Stationen ‘sichergestellter’ jüdischer und freimaurerischer Bibliotheken aus Frankreich und den Niederlanden (1940–1949)* (Hameln: Niemeyer, 2005).

119. See the RSHA inter-office memo and instructions, “Freimaurerforschungsinstitut der Hohen Schule der NSDAP” (8 February 1941), BAB, R 58/6499, fols. 773–774, and Paul Dittel note about RSHA Amt II A 3 (later separate Amt VII) receipt of Masonic materials from Paris, R 58/6499, fol. 772.

120. As Rothfeder documented, “The ERR,” pp. 24–25. See also Florence de Lussy, “Vicissitudes des archives maçonniques françaises sous le régime de Vichy (1940–1944),” in *Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 33–44.

121. The two-part article by Dutch Masonic archivist and librarian Evert Kwaadgras, “Roof en recuperatie: Het lot van de verzamelingen van de Orde ten tijde van de Tweede Wereldoorlog,” pt. 1: “Voorgeschiedenis; hoe kon dit gebeuren?” *Thoth: Tijdschrift voor Vrijmetselaren* 51, no. 4 (August 2000): 115–28; and pt. 2: “Wat er gebeurde, en de nasleep,” *ibid.*, 51, no. 6

(December 2000): 201–31, depict the Hirzenhain site (also in Hungen exhibit). See Kwaadgras' shorter English survey, "The Fate of a Special Collection: Library, Archives and Museum of the Netherlands Freemasons," in Hoogewoud et al., *The Return of Looted Collections*, esp. pp. 122–24; and his 2000 report, "A Great Waste of Time and Energy: The Seizure and Scrutiny of Masonic Documents during and after World War II," with conference proceedings, "Cultural Map of Europe," VGBIL, 20–21 April 2000, [http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/kwaadgras\\_e.html](http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/kwaadgras_e.html).

122. Few operational files from these institutes survive; some have been identified in Kyiv, others with Rosenberg files in the Bundesarchiv and at CDJC in Paris.

123. David Roxan and Ken Wanstall describe Wolffhardt's role in the Linz library in *The Jackdaw of Linz: The Story of Hitler's Art Thefts* (London: Cassell, [1964]), pp. 177–78.

124. Given the number of crates being shipped there in one quarterly report for July–September 1943: "Unterlagen für den Vierteljahresbericht (1.7.1943 bis 30.9.1943)"; one copy is found in NIOD, Rosenberg files; and another in the Institute für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ), probably from a U.S. microfilm. The same number for Weltdienst appears in a quarterly report: Wunder, "Arbeitsbericht der Abteilung Erfassung und Sichtung für die Zeit vom 1.7.–30.9.1943" (Ratibor, 7 October 1943) in same collection.

125. A 1940 memorandum in BAB, NS 8/217 suggests Leibbrandt's role in its formation and proposed relations with the Hohe Schule.

126. See Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors*, pp. 95–97. The Smithsonian Museum of Natural History acquired many records from the section captured by the U.S. after the war; some maps and materials were distributed elsewhere. Gretchen E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, in an unpublished finding aid, *Register of Materials of the Institut für Deutscheostarbeit* (Washington, DC: National Anthropological Archives, 1998), describe those in the Smithsonian. The Institute for National Memory (Zespól 113) in Warsaw preserves additional Cracow Institute records; complete copies are available on microfilm at USHMM, RG–15.010, Records of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Kraków, 1942–1944 (seven reels). The Institute evacuated Cracow in July and August 1944 to Schloss Miltach and Schloss Zandt in Bavaria, where U.S. officers found materials and interrogated staff; see NACP, RG 260, AHC, box 471. Regarding the anthropological work of IDO, see Gretchen Engle Schafft, *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), parts of which are based on the IDO archives.

127. In the latter case, R. Lee Hadden has been researching the so-called Heringen Collection and kindly shared an abstract of the paper he is preparing for publication following a 2003 report to the Geological Society of America. His abstract from the earlier report is available at [http://gsa.confex.com/gsa/2003AM/finalprogram/abstract\\_64921.htm](http://gsa.confex.com/gsa/2003AM/finalprogram/abstract_64921.htm).

128. Joshua Starr, "Jewish Cultural Property under Nazi Control," *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 1 (1950): 45–46. Starr's account draws on interviews with survivors associated with RSHA operations, including Dr. Ernst Grumach.

129. Reports about the takeover of the building with the Rosenthal firm as the liquidator (13 April 1938) are in RGVA, 500k/3/367, fols. 11–13.

130. See several spring 1939 reports including "Aktennotiz: Juden-Bibliotheken" (20 May 1939), BAB, R 58/6424 II, fol. 367; "Berichte. Zentralisierung der Judenbibliotheken," fols.

371–373; and “Berichte. Räumliche Unterbringung der Judenbibliotheken,” initialed by Paul Dittel (17 June 1939), BAB, R 58/6424 II, fols. 312–315. These recently discovered documents update my coverage in “Twice Plundered or ‘Twice Saved?’”

131. Dr. Ernst Grumach (1902–1967), a former lecturer in Classical Philology at the University of Königsberg, prepared after the war a report on RSHA Jewish library operations, and descriptions of working conditions (under a postwar claim to the German government), published (German and English) by Dov Schidorsky in “Confiscation of Libraries and Assignments to Forced Labor: Two Documents of the Holocaust,” *Libraries and Culture* 33, no. 4 (Fall 1998): 347–88. Schidorsky’s introduction and helpful notes provide context. An alternate English translation is appended to a postwar report by Koppel S. Pinson; an unsigned typescript remains among records of Offenbach Archival Depot: “Report on Confiscation and Treatment of the Former Jewish Libraries by the Gestapo from 1933–1945,” NARA, RG 260 (OMGUS), Property Division, AHC, OAD, box 250. See also Dov Schidorsky, “Das Schicksal jüdischer Bibliotheken im Dritten Reich,” in *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Peter Vodosek and Manfred Komorowski, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei O. Harrass, 1989 <1992>), pp. 189–222.

132. Werner Schroeder, “Strukturen des Bücherraubs: Die Bibliotheken des RSHA: Aufbau und Verbleib,” *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 51, no. 5–6 (2004): 316–24; idem., “Die Bibliotheken des RSHA: Aufbau und Verbleib” at [http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/pdf/provenienz\\_schroeder.pdf](http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/pdf/provenienz_schroeder.pdf); and “‘Bestandsaufbau durch Plünderung’: Jüdische Bibliotheken im Reichssicherheitshauptamt,” his presentation at an April 2003 conference in Vienna. See also Elisabeth M. Yavnai, “Jewish Cultural Property and Its Postwar Recovery,” in *Confiscation of Jewish Property in Europe, 1933–1945: New Sources and Perspectives. Symposium Proceedings* (Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM Occasional Paper, 2002); Yavnai concentrates on RSHA library books that ended the war in Czechoslovakia.

133. See Grimsted, “Twice Plundered or ‘Twice Saved?’”; the updated Russian edition mentions restitutions to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, described in more detail in the forthcoming volume *Return from Russia*.

134. Dittel memorandum (9 January 1942), BAB, R 58/7148, fol. 15–15v (microfilm: USHMM, RG–15007M, 362/148). See details about the Gens collection in Grimsted, “The Road to Minsk,” pp. 363, 375.

135. Ebling to Six (23 January 1942), BAB, R 58/7401, fol. (microfilm: RG–15007M) USHMM, 362/401, fol. 10–10v (microfilm: USHMM, RG–15007M, 362/401); Braune to SD Reval (27 February 1942), *ibid*, fol. 27. A telegram describing the library came from the SD/SIPO (26 February 1942), fol. 34. SD Reval to Braune (28 February 1942), USHMM, 362/148, fol. 34.

136. ERR monthly report for November by Müller (Pless, 1 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/55.

137. Lommatzsch report (Ratibor, 13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. At that point, a list of items to be shipped to Carlsbad included the Gens library, but the Red Army found those items in the echelon at the Pless railroad station in February 1945, including much of the Smolensk CP archive.

138. See Himmler’s letter to Rosenberg (31 January 1939); and Rosenberg to Minister of the Interior Frick (2 July 1940), CDJC, CXLV–515.

139. Full English translation of Rosenberg interrogation, with summaries and analysis, in the British IMT records at the Imperial War Museum, FO 645/box 160.
140. SD Riga memoranda (17–30 September 1942), BAB, R 58/7148, fols. 44 and 49 (microfilm: USHMM, RG–15007M, 362/148).
141. More about these operations, involving the Kyiv Archive of Early Acts, appears in Grimsted, “Dolia Kyiivskoho Tsentral’noho arkhivu davnikh aktiv: Potriina tragediia - nyschennia, pohrabuvannia, propahandy,” *Arkhivy Ukrainy* 4–6 (2003): 47–76. Electronic version: <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/Archives>; English version: “The Fate of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts: A Triple Tragedy of Destruction, Plunder, and Propaganda,” *Canadian Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 29, no. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 2004). See esp. *Korpus mahdeburz’kykh gramot ukrains’kym mistam: Dva proekty vydan’ 20–x–40–x rokiy XX stolittia*, comp. Volodymyr Andreitsev, Vasyli’ Ul’ianovs’kyi, and Viktor Korotkyi (Kyiv: “Praim,” 2000).
142. Studies do not always put the two elements together, as in Schmaltz and Sinner, “The Nazi Ethnographic Research of Georg Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp.”
143. Evidence suggests that in 1944 an “Institute for Anti-Bolshevism” was being considered with the Hohe Schule. See “Begründung eines Institutes zur Erforschung des Bolschewismus” and protocol of a meeting with Utikal, Härtle, and Wagner, signed by Köppen (6 June 1944), BAB, NS 8/132; additional documentation is in NS 8/241.
144. Revealing list of studies underway or planned in Ukraine in HAG-Ukraine circular report—“Rundschreiben,” no. 9/43 (Kyiv, 23 March 1943), signed by Anton, TsDAVO, 3676/1/26a, fols. 204–218. Those underway in Vilnius figure in a supplement to the HAG-Osten monthly report for November 1943 (Vilnius, November 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fol. 185.
145. A fifty-nine page report from ERR Sonderkommando Osten (Frauenberg, 22 January 1945), BAB, NS 30/211(x), signed by Rudolf Proksch, Stabseinsatzführer in charge of the Special Eastern Commando, including appended HAG-Ukraine reports and a report from Białystok (9 March 1944, and 1 June 1944).
146. Will to Utikal (21 June 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/22, fols. 79–81. See also interrogation of Rosenberg (29 September 1945), *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Supp. B, p. 347.
147. See Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002: Books as Victims and Trophies of War* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 2003); “IISG Research Papers” no. 42; electronic version: <http://www.iisg.nl/publications/respap42.pdf>.
148. Confirmed in a Zipfel memorandum, TsDAVO, 3206/5/26, fol. 22; archival materials seized later.
149. BAB, NS 30/53, fol. 234–234v. Initial deposit with Foreign Office in Berlin and dispatch of librarian Ivan Rudyshiv are confirmed in Rudyshiv’s account (prepared in Berlin) “Ukrains’ka biblioteka imeni Symona Petliury v Paryzhi,” TsDAVO, 4362/1/5, fol. 4–4v; and in his report to the library council after returning to Paris in December 1942. See Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library.”
150. Hermann Lommatzsch’s report (late April/May 1943) (18 pp.) gives the overall plan; the original typescript copy with cover note from Zeiss to HAG-Frankreich (3 June 1943) is in NS 30/55; copies were also sent with cover note from Dr. Will (Berlin, ca. 10 May 1943) to

HAG-Ostland, HAG-Mitte, and HAG-Ukraine, BAB, NS 30/163(cc). An earlier signed copy with hand-written corrections is in TsDAVO, 3676/1/213, fols. 128–146 (published in facsimile and Ukrainian translation in *Biblioteky Kyieva*, pp. 722–59). Dr. Müller's reports (Minsk, 8 and 24 May 1943) are in same NS 30/163 file, with Lommatzsch's summary (Vilno, 8 May 1943). Another plan by Lommatzsch for organization and plunder of the *Ostbücherei*, "Arbeitsplan für die Ergänzung der Ostbücherei" (Berlin, 2 June 1943, 8 pp.), is in NS 30/55. Cf. preparatory reports by Lommatzsch with same title (Kyiv, 6 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/163 (cc), fols. 35–45 and report on organization of card catalogues with 1,000 titles per drawer, drawn up by Lommatzsch (4 pp.). Additional copies of many remain in TsDAVO, as indicated in *Biblioteky Kyiva*.

151. ERR Stabsführung, quarterly report, 1 July–30 September, 1942 (Berlin, 9 October 1942), CDJC, CXLI–147, fols. 3–5 (reference to collection of Rosenberg documents, some copies of those used in Nuremberg, others originals). See also ERR report (5 June 1943), BAB, NS 30/163. Reference to earlier September 1942 report quoting holdings as of August. See also Lommatzsch plan for preparatory work in Kyiv for the *Ostbücherei* (6 April 1943), BAB, NS 30, fols. 35–45, and also in TsDAVO, 3676/1/213, fols. 166–171. See additional summer 1943 reports in TsDAVO, 3676/1/213, esp. fols. 3, 36, 65–71, 74–75, 82–84, 95–96, 108–111.

152. ERR report (2 June 1943), BAB, NS 30/163.

153. See Paul J. Newerla, *Ratibor einst und jetzt* (Racibórz: Towarzystwo Miłoników Ziemi Raciborskiej, 1998); Polish ed.: *Opowiesci o dawnym Raciborzu* (1996); and Hugo Weczerka, *Schlesian* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1977), pp. 426–30. A helpful prewar plan of the city is in Fritz R. Barran, *Städte—Atlas Schlesien* (Leer: Rautenberg, 1993), pp. 210–12, and in *Racibórz na dawnej pocztówce/Ratibor ols auf der alten Postkarte* (Opole: Alfred Otlík, 1998). Pictorial album: *Racibórz wczoraj i dziś* (Racibórz: R.A.F. Scriba, 1998). Brief city history in Hugo Weczerka, "Ratibor (Racibórz)," in *Schlesien: Handbuch der historischen Stätten* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1977), pp. 426–30. See also Lech Szaramiec, *Górny Śląsk, Małopolska—południowo-zachodnia, północno-zachodnia, Śląsk Opawski, Dolny Śląsk: Zabytkowe ośrodki miejskie* (Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie, 1992), pp. 305–13 (with illustrations). No local literature mentions the ERR wartime presence. I first visited Racibórz with Ukrainian colleagues in 1991. I am grateful to Prof. Wojciech Kowalski (now an ambassador dealing with restitution issues in the Polish Foreign Ministry) for assistance in arranging my longer visit to Racibórz with Willem de Vries in 1999; and to the director of the Racibórz museum and staff for assisting us locate various buildings in the city that are mentioned in ERR documents, and for providing many photographs.

154. ERR report (24 May 1943), BAB, NS 30/163. See list of planned regional collections in Lommatzsch report "Landbücherein" (Berlin, 24 March 1945), and (for periodicals), "Erfassung der Zeitschriften" in the same file.

155. Lommatzsch memorandum (26 August 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/16, fols. 170–171v. See other correspondence and instructions about the move—3676/1/16, fols. 144–171, incl. one shipment of 6,000 crates—3676/1/17, fols. 90–108, 116–120; and packing lists (5 August 1943), 3676/2/19, fols. 1–1v, and 2–5. See also report (30 August 1945) in BAB, NS 30/39.

156. Lommatzsch, "Aktentnotiz" (Ratibor, 4 September 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/16, fols. 144–171, and notes on holdings sent to different buildings (10 September 1943), 3676/2/23, fols. 50–53 (copy—3676/2/22, fols. 49–52).

157. Destruction suffered on 22 November 1943 included part of the ERR administrative archive, in ERR report: CDJC, CXXIXa, 15.
158. One of the few contemporary archival references to the ERR presence in Ratibor comes from the monastic chronicle, as reported to me by Belgian specialist Jacques Lust.
159. Pictures of the former synagogue, including one of it burning on 10 November 1938 (i.e., Kristallnacht), are in Newerla, *Ratibor einst und jetzt*, pp. 194–96.
160. ERR report (30 August 1943) is in BAB, NS 30/39; see additional reports about transfers to buildings in Ratibor: TsDAVO, 3676/2/19 and 22.
161. Lommatzsch report (17 September 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/19, fols. 23–30, and no. 22, fols. 49–50.
162. See ERR report and description, with full floor plans, of Pless castle, last owned by Prince Johann Henryk XVII von Pless, Graf von Hochberg (9 September 1943) in TsDAVO, 3676/2/22, fols. 55–56; and additional Lommatzsch report, TsDAVO, 3676/2/23, fol. 80. One ERR report gives an address in Pless of Schädflitzerstr., and mentions barracks housing ERR operations; see BAB, NS 30/220. See also “Pless” in Weczerka, *Schlesian*, pp. 410–13.
163. I first visited Pszczyna with Ukrainian colleagues in 1991, when the castle was closed. Thanks to Polish colleagues I visited in 1999 with a Dutch colleague; the museum director kindly showed us around, told us what little they knew about the wartime, but they knew nothing about ERR operations in Ratibor/Pless. A local account of the Pless family and castle during the war mentions only the RMbO—Jerzy Polak, “Ostatnie lata rezydencji pszczyńskiej (1939–1945),” in *Muzeum wewnątrz zabytkowych w Pszczynie, Materiały 4* (Pszczyna, 1987): 208–26, esp. 218–21.
164. Wunder report (10 December 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/22, fol. 5.
165. Wunder report (10 December 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/22, fol. 5; Lommatzsch report (20 September 1943), 3676/2/23, fol. 80. We have a good sense of major collections in Pless from Lommatzsch’s December 1944 evacuation plan (Ratibor, 13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.
166. His official letter of appointment, signed by Utikal (Berlin, 9 November 1943), is in BAB, NS 30/47. More of his personal and family correspondence has recently surfaced in BAB, some of it earlier retained in the GDR, e.g., NS 30/208.
167. Waldenburg memorandum (22 February 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/2/23, fol. 12.
168. Lommatzsch reports (17 September 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/19, fol. 27, and (28 October 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/22, fol. 81.
169. Report on “Zweite Arbeitstagung des ERR in Ratibor am 5–7 mai 1944” features the opening presentation by Rudolf Proksch, BAB, NS 30/211.
170. Several drafts of the exhibition plans are preserved with the ERR report “Arbeitsschau des Einsatzstabes Reichsleiter Rosenberg, Mai 1944,” BAB, NS 30/56. De Vries reproduces visual displays in *Sonderstab Musik* and translates fragments of the text (pp. 107–115); the originals are in the Bildarchiv in BAK. Regarding the document with Roosevelt’s address to a Masonic conference and the letter of Churchill to Léon Blum regarding the Masonic community, see NS 30/215. Regarding Roosevelt, see also the RSHA Amt VII publication by Erich

Ehlers, *Freimaurer arbeiten für Roosevelt: Freimaurerische Dokumente über die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Roosevelt und der Freimaurerei* (Berlin: Nordland-Verlag, 1943).

171. The British MFA&A “Preliminary Report on ZBHS” discusses shipping based on ERR documentation and interrogations in Tanzenberg. ERR stamps from as late as November 1944 indicate the full name was Buchleitstelle der ZBHS.

172. Ruhbaum appears in “Sonderberichte” (1 October–13 December 1943), BAB, NS 8/267, fols. 139–140; earlier his name appears as member of ERR Sonderstab Bibliotheksaufbau in the Netherlands in BAB, NS 30/15. Another report indicates involvement of Frau Irene Wolff (fol. 120).

173. British MFA&A, “Preliminary Report on ZBHS,” pp. 7–8. ZBHS librarians under interrogation differed as to whether all books first went through Ratibor.

174. “Positive Einsatzstellen Paris,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fol. 277.

175. Lommatzsch report (Ratibor, 13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.

176. ERR report, “Unterlagen für den Vierteljahresbericht” (1.7.1943 bis 30.9.1943); copy in Institute für Zeitgeschichte (Munich), MA 244, another in RIOD, Rosenberg files, 265, box 3; both probably from U.S. microfilms. Papers of Louise Weiss were later returned to Paris from RGVA, but many of her books are in Minsk (from Ratibor).

177. Wunder, “Arbeitsbericht” (Ratibor, 7 October 1943), copy in IfZ, MA 244.

178. Wunder, ERR quarterly report “Vierteljahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1.4.1944–30.6.1944” (Ratibor, 7 July 1944), BAB, NS 30/55; CDJC, XVC–225. De Vries reproduces a facsimile of the first pages in *Sonderstab Musik*, p. 63.

179. YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G–223, and TsDAVO, 3676/2/1. Haefner, named elsewhere as working with Western materials in Ratibor, signed fifteen of the twenty-three surveys prepared in 1944; others were signed by Backer, Gildayart Fögel, Penner (three), Frau Röck (two), and [Dora] Salaman (three). See fn. 90 regarding the other surveys prepared by Cruse.

180. “Die organization des Einsatzstabes in den besetzten Gebieten,” p. 8 of what appears to be the final copy of exhibition plans, “Arbeitsschau des ERR, Mai 1944,” BAB, NS 30/56.

181. The full list of French archival fonds returned from Moscow is being published for the first time in Grimsted and Hoogewoud, *Return from Russia*.

182. Lommatzsch report (Ratibor, 13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.

183. Dr. Harry Thomson, “Vierteljahresbericht der Ostbücherei (1.1–31.3.44.)” (Ratibor, 17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55. The same file has Thomson’s subsequent quarterly report (Ratibor, 10 July 1944) and a series of other ERR reports on the Ostbücherei during 1943 and 1944, giving statistics about cataloguing, arrivals, staff, and outlying depositories. Surviving photographs of ERR library operations in Ratibor are reproduced in Hoogewoud, “The Nazi Looting of Books and Its American ‘Antithesis,’” pp. 158–92 (esp. 177), from an album depicting ERR activities in NACP Still Pictures, 260–PHOAD. Other ERR Ratibor photographs from BAK are reproduced in de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, passim.

184. ERR report (Ratibor, 14 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, fols. 246–247. More in Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library,” pp. 189–91; and idem, *Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, n. 85.

185. One ERR report: (Ratibor, 8 February 1944), elaborates this point: BAB, NS 30/22, fol. 252v.

186. Report of Herbert Lommatzsch, "Aufstellung über Bestände, nach Lagerplätzen geordnet" (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. A note records one Petliura Library crate with a life-sized dummy of a Ukrainian man in uniform (likely from the library museum) held in ERR headquarters cellar in the Franciscan Monastery (Sudetenstr. 27). There were suggestions of moving some less used books from the Turgenev Library to the Paulsgrund repository, but in December 1944 the only books listed there were from Minsk.

187. The Berlin Collection (RG 215) in the YIVO Research Institute in New York City, boxes 30–32, Occ 9, 10, E 42, E 3a 20–35, holds extensive original files documenting ERR library plunder from Belorussia (photocopies in BAB, NS 30).

188. See monthly summary, February and March 1944 (1 April 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fols. 333–335; BAB, NS 30/167.

189. Report of Lommatzsch (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.

190. ERR report (8 October 1943), BAB, NS 30/167, fols. 18ff.; (December 1943–January 1944, TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fol. 349. See initial Horki (Gorkii) library report "Bericht über den Einsatz in Gorki (Bez. Orzcha)" (20 December 1942), BAB, NS 30/83, a photocopy of one in the series of special Einsatzkommando Gorki reports (May–September 1943), YIVO, RG 215, box 32, folder 32.

191. Three preserved wagon lists cover the January–March shipments from Minsk: for example, "Abtransporte in der Zeit vom 31.1 bis 5.2.1944," in YIVO Archives, RG 215; ERR records in BAB, NS 30, esp. folders 55 and 167, and in TsDAVO in Kyiv, hold copies, variants, and related documents. "Niamiha" was a street in a then heavily Jewish area of Minsk; reportedly the ERR collected Jewish books in a building there.

192. See series of ERR HAG-Mitte reports regarding evacuations—(Minsk 10 May 1944), fols. 7–8, (4 April 1944), fol. 9 (14 July 1944), fol. 11. ERR quarterly report, 1 January–4 March 44 (17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55. See also earlier plan signed by Lommatzsch, "Arbeitsplan für die Ergänzung der Ostbücherei" (6 April 1943), fols. 35–39, and evacuation report signed by Sporket—(9 March 1943), fols. 82–86.

193. See the annotated list of documents relating to Kyiv libraries during the war prepared by Liubov Dubrovina et al.: *Biblioteki Kyieva pid chas natsists'koi*.

194. An ERR report, "Arbeitsberichte" (Ratibor, 21 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/55, also contains weekly reports for the Ostbücherei, November 1943–August 1944, and Redlich's reports (January–February 1944) about the Ostbücherei portion still in Berlin.

195. ERR quarterly report, 1 January–4 March 44 (17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55; Lommatzsch report, 13 December 1944, NS 30/50. Details about shipping in reports in Kyiv, TsDAVO.

196. Wunder, "Arbeitsberichte" (Ratibor, 7 December 1943), IfZ, MA 244.

197. ERR quarterly report 1 January–31 March 1944 (17 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/55.

198. ERR report (14 September 1944), BAB, NS 30/53.

199. Lommatzsch report (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. Figure is up from 83,000 serial and newspaper titles in another mimeographed Ostbücherei report, "Der ERR am

Jahresschluss 1944” (Ratibor, 16 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/211, but the categories covered are unclear, perhaps explaining the discrepancy.

200. ERR report, BAB, NS 30/58. More detailed reports in same file cover NR Abteilung and work at “Villa Nova.”

201. Boris Souvarine, *Staline: Aperçu historique du bolchévisme* (Paris: Plon, 1935). Harvard University’s Houghton Library holds Souvarine’s copy on fine paper bound in red morocco with original printed wrappers.

202. “Pariser Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fol. 276 notes seizure of three crates of Souvarine’s library (SOS 1–3).

203. Wunder to Prof. Dr. H. H. Schaefer (Ratibor, 10 November 1944), CDJC, CXL–116.

204. ERR report from Ratibor (7 December 1944) affirms thirty Souvarine library crates unpacked (SOS 1–31, with SOS 16 missing) 5–6 December, BAB, NS 30/50.

205. “Der ERR am Jahresschluss 1944” (Ratibor, 16 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/211; category division is unclear, possibly explaining discrepancies. The plans for cataloging Ostbücherei Western-language section were recently added to ERR records in BAB: NS, 30/212.

206. “Die organization des Einsatzstabes in den besetzten Gebieten,” in “Arbeitsschau des ERR, May 1944,” BAB, NS 30/55.

207. Thomson, “Vierteljahresbericht vom 1.April bis zum 30.Juni.1944” (Ratibor, 10 July 1944); and “Die Organisation des Einsatzstabes in den besetzten Gebieten,” in “Arbeitsschau des ERR, May 1944,” BAB, NS 30/55.

208. Several files held earlier with ERR materials in Potsdam were recently added to the main ERR fond in Berlin-Lichterfelde, BAB, NS 30. Files with Ostbücherei catalogues and fragmentary accession lists are in NS 30/217–219.

209. BAB, NS 30/220–221. Ostbücherei correspondence files: no. 220 (30 November 1943–18 January 1945), outgoing, with internal register; and no. 221 (10 November 1944–17 January 1945), incoming.

210. Omeljan Pritsak to Bibliothek der ERR, Ratibor in Schlesien (1 December 1943), BAB, NS 30/220–221. Three issues of two journal titles were located and OB registration numbers indicated, but three (or alternate fourth) books he needed were not located. When I gave Pritsak a copy of the surviving postcard he was amazed.

211. I treat Troppau in “The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures,” pp. 68–69; a chart prepared for the Reichsarchiv by Dr. Walter Vogel appears in facsimile in the Ukrainian edition, pp. 80–86; republished in German by Wilhelm Lenz and Klaus-D. Postupa, “Im Zweiten Weltkrieg verlagerte Archivbestände aus dem Osten—Eine Übersicht des ‘Kommissars für den Archivschutz,’” *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* 4, no. 1 (1996): 19–26. An expedition to Troppau and outlying locations in 1991 turned up more documentation: Grimsted, H. V. Boriak, and N. M. Iakovenko, “Memorial’na arkheohrafichna ekspeditsiia po Chekho-Slavachchyni: Slidami kul’turnykh tsinnosti, vyvezenykh z Ukraïny pid chas Druhoï svitovoi višny,” *Ukrains’kyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* 2 (1993): 437–45.

212. Lommatzsch, “Aufstellung über Bestände,” mentions 380 crates (Ratibor, 13 December 1944), NS 30/50. Apparently at least some of them reached their destination, as postwar reports from Czechoslovakia mention materials from Pskov and Radziwiłł materials from Belorussia.
213. See full documentation in Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive*, esp. pp. 20–23.
214. Its dispatch from Cracow by freight car to Ratibor is confirmed by Hülle, “Halbmonatsberichte 9.–31.Okt.1943” (Cracow, 2 November 1943), with copy of shipping list—“29 Kisten 64 Schachteln und 343 Aktenpakete,” and “1 crate of books and atlases and 6 large crates [Verschläge] with paintings—die schon im Besitz des ERR waren,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/225, fol. 296. Hülle to ERR HAG-Ukraine (8 November 1943), fol. 288, and his monthly report, November 1943 (fol. 268) in the same file, confirm shipment to Ratibor with Dnipropetrovsk material on 5 November 1943.
215. Winter report, 3–4 June 1942, TsDAVO, 3206/5/2, folio 631; Winter’s report: “Das Ukrainische Archivwesen im Kriegsjahr 1942,” *Mitteilungsblatt des Generaldirektors der Staatsarchive* 8 (1942):107.
216. In Dnipropetrovsk Lüddeckens found the NKVD evacuation order, dated 18 July 1941, with instruction prioritizing materials to be destroyed. Lüddeckens’ translation (18 July 1941) is appended to his report (Dnipropetrovsk, 15 July 1942), TsDAVO, 3206/5/21, fol. 27.
217. Winter (ERR-AG Ost Ukraine), monthly report (June 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/26, fols. 37–39.
218. See Winter on discovery of Dnipropetrovsk archive (3–4 June 1942), TsDAVO, 3206/5/2, fol. 631; detailed inventories by Lüddeckens, “Parteiarchiv des Oblasts Dnjepropetrowsk Repertorium des Fonds Nr. 1—Dnjepropetrowsker Ablast [*sic*]-Komitee der Kommunistischen Partei der Bolschewiken der Ukraine (1932–1941)” (typescript, 197 pp.) (22 February 1943), TsDAVO, 3206/5/21, fols. 373–582 (2nd copy—fols. 586–784); TsDAVO, 3206/5/14, fols. 1–150 (3rd copy). Copies of German documents were destroyed by the Party Archive in Dnipropetrovsk in the late 1980s—as reported to me by Dnipropetrovsk archivist Dmytro Meshkov.
219. Winter to RKU (3 December 1943), TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 160–162; Winter report (30 October–7 November 1943, fol. 182).
220. Lommatzsch report (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. Dnipropetrovsk files identified in poster showcasing ERR Ratibor activities: de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, p. 114; another copy is preserved in album in NACP, Still Pictures Division, RG 260–PHOAD–III–6.
221. TsDAVO, 3676/1/225, fols. 252–253, 258–259.
222. ERR quarterly report, 1 July–30 September 1942 (Berlin, 9 October 1942), CDJC, CXLI–147, fol. 3. A more detailed report by Lüddeckens resides among ERR materials in TsDAVO, fond 3676, reported to me by Dmytro Meshkov.
223. See reports of ERR AG-South Ukraine head Bruno Skolaude to ERR (Berlin, June 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/229, fols. 29 and 31; “Beschlagnahmung eines Parteiarchives in Kirowograd” (fols. 33–34), and “Aktenvermerk” (fols. 29–30).
224. A number of reports mention the collection, e.g., quarterly report from Kyiv noting that Dr. Martin Granzin was working on a “collection” with 3,000 documents: “Vierteljahresbericht” (1 July–30 September 1942) (Berlin, 9 October 1942), CDJC, CXLI–147, fol. 3.

225. Grimsted, "The Odyssey of the Petliura Library," references collecting efforts in several locations.
226. Two inventories prepared by Lange (25 February 1942) and Granzin (8 September 1942) note a finding aid in preparation—TsDAVO, 3676/1/56, fols. 1 and 2. Parts of their registration file are missing and shipping data is not indicated. Another ERR quarterly report by Lommatzsch (Berlin, 9 October 1942) lists 3,000 documents (1917–1923)—CDJC, CXL1–147.
227. Lommatzsch ERR report (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50, mentions this collection in Ratibor (Flurstr. 12). Poster in de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, pp.114.
228. Wunder to Mommsen (Berlin, 6 June 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/136, fol. 37; and Dr. Nerling, ERR Sonderkommando im Operationsgebiet der Heeresgruppe-Mitte, to ERR Stabsführung, Berlin (Smolensk, 17 May 1942), "Arbeitsverhältnisse in Smolensk," YIVO, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), box 32, file 32 (photostat in BAB, NS 30/195). Further details are in Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive*, esp. pp. 23–43, updated in Grimsted, "The Smolensk Archive Returns," in Marianna Tax Choldin, Ekaterina Genieva, and Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, eds., *The Return of the "Smolensk Archive."*
229. ERR file fragments regarding the Smolensk Archive remain in Vilnius, LVCA, R–633/1/30.
230. Pison (Obereinsatzführerin), "Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten im Smolensker Parteiarhiv" (17 March 1945), documents 159 and 160 from the Rosenberg File under the Office of Chief Counsel for War Crimes (IMT), from CDJC in Paris. Deputy RGASPI Director Valerii N. Shepelev kindly alerted me to a photostat (fond 71/5/1088, fols. 115–120), missing first page. See Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive*, pp. 33–42, and "The Smolensk Archive Returns."
231. BAB, NS 30/78. A registration sheet indicates that Wunder received a copy in Ratibor.
232. Müller, "Monatsbericht für November 1944" (Pless, 1 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/55.
233. Undated fragmentary report, CDJC, CXL–41. Preparatory plan (May 1944) listed a higher figure for exhibit of ERR achievements, spring 1944: BAB, NS 30/56.
234. See earlier subject headings in Ratibor, NS 30/61.
235. Ukrainian archival chief Hennadii Boriak and I initially found and surveyed the Koblenz collection. The gift to Ukraine is described in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, p. 462.
236. NACP, Still Pictures, RG 242, RPG, 1905–1943.
237. ERR Ostbücherei report (October–November 1944), BAB, NS 30/29.
238. According to a July 1946 report, Pshenichnyi, "Dokladnaia zapiska o prodelannoi rabote TsGAFFKD MVD UkrSSR za 1–e polugodie 1946 g." (13 July 1946), GA RF, 5325/2/1620, fol. 113.
239. Wunder, "Arbeitsbericht der Abteilung Erfassung und Sichtung" (Ratibor, 7 October 1943), IfZ, MA 244. Corcos's name is on one of the spring 1941 ERR Paris confiscation lists, but none of his papers surfaced in the USSR. Louise Weiss's papers were later returned to Paris from RGVA.
240. "Aufstellung der Namen der Pariser Akten" (Ratibor, 3 April 1944), BAB, NS 30/56. [Brunno] Helfrich, also on ERR staff, signed.

241. "Aufstellung über Bestände" (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50.
242. ERR report (Ratibor, 14 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, fol. 146.
243. ERR inventory noted "Friedrich Adler—3 crates without code numbers from Brussels" (Berlin, 5 December 1941), TsDAVO, 3676/2/1, fol. 1. Detailed ERR report on duc de Guise's materials in Kyiv: "Duc de Guise et Comte de Paris (Jean d'Orleans), Manoir d'Anjou, Brussels," TsDAVO, 3674/1/1, fols. 140–188.
244. Wunder, "Arbeitsbericht" (Ratibor, 7 October 1943), IfZ, MA 244.
245. See 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* 3 (25) (1998), 317–24.
246. See Roth, *The IISH as a Pawn*, esp. 19–20. See also Karl Heinz Roth, "Searching for Lost Archives: The Role of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront in the Pillage of West European Trade-Union Archives," *International Review of Social History* 34 (1989): 272–86; and Karl Heinz Roth and Karsten Linne, "Searching for Lost Archives: New Documentation on the Pillage of Trade Union Archives and Libraries by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (1938–1941) and on the Fate of Trade Union Documents in the Postwar Era," *International Review of Social History* 38 (1993): 163–207; on Silesian shipments see pp. 169–71; the author was then unaware of additional sources in Kyiv and Moscow. Most IISH materials went to Moscow from Wölfelsdorf with RSHA collections, although some may have arrived from Polish CP sources.
247. "Handakten Dr. Wunder" (ca. 1922–1944), BAB, NS 30/48. See also Wunder's four-page essay "Die Heirats-Politik der Rothschilds" (Berlin, 22 March 1943), BAB, NS 30/107, and report on genealogy of "Familie Rothschild" to Dr. Maier, emphasizing their Italian connections (Ratibor, 30 May 1944), BAB, NS 30/32.
248. Official letter from Chief of Archival Administration of UkrSSR Pilkevich to director of TsDIA UkrSSR Oleinik (4 August 1953) complaining about non-fulfillment of 4 April decree. Materials were "packed and ready to go already in 1950" but remained "under the stairwell" until July 1953; "no current TsDIA report accounted for them," hence unless transfer occurred by 1 December 1953 "major unpleasant consequences" would result —TsDAVO, 4703/2/17, fol. 69. I have not yet found follow-up report or evidence of shipment before 1956 among TsDIA URSR or Ukrainian Archival Administration administrative records. Archivists in the successor TsKhDIK admitted finding incoming reports of TsGOA accessions from Ukraine in 1956, but they are classified.
249. Bondarevskii presented a list of thirty-eight fonds (Kyiv, November 1947) with memorandum to Gudzenko (11 July 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 19–20; with separate list—"Spisok i kratkoe soderzhanie fondov i grupp dokumentov na frantsuzskom iazyke, vyivlenykh v fondе 'Aenzatsshtaba Rozenberga'" (compiled by Vaisbergan?), signed by A. Bondarevskii (Kyiv, 26 November 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 33–40, 51–52 (cc fols. 41–50).
250. Most of the records of Le Grand Orient de France, including associated lodges throughout Europe and North Africa (fond 113k with over 3,500 file units), came to TsGOA from Wölfelsdorf, but ten kgs. of related files listed in Kyiv as received with ERR records were later transferred to TsGOA. A half kg. of files (1938) from Club du Faubourg that came to TsGOA via Kyiv was incorporated in the existing fond (fond 230k; 1910–1940; 498 units). Both fonds were returned to France in March 2000.

251. Only one kg. of Levy-Ullmann's (1870–1940?) personal papers came to TsGOA from Kyiv in 1955–1956 (according to RGVA opis' [finding aid] introduction for fond 233k) (167 units); another portion arrived the same year from TsGAOR BSSR (Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) in Minsk. Seventeen items in Émile Ullmann's fond (RGVA, fond 234k; 1876–1934) undoubtedly were the same four kgs. listed in Kyiv. Both returned to France in March 2000.

252. The Kyiv list records one kg. of documents relating to Léon Blum (mostly newspaper clippings 1935–1936), but 425 units (fond 46k, 1920–1940) had already arrived in Moscow from Wölfesdorf; fragments added later from other sources brought total to ca. 1,400 units (returned to France in March 2000).

253. Poster in de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, p. 223.

254. Poster in de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, p. 223.

255. Inventory of Rothschild files in TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fols. 165–172.

256. According to RGVA records, transfer of Rothschild papers to Moscow from Kyiv (TsGAOR UkrSSR) occurred in 1960, but most (fond 58k with 1,398 units by 1985, dating from 1816 to 1940) came to TsGOA from Glavarkhiv MVD SSSR in 1945, presumably from Wölfesdorf. All but five units returned to France in 1993–1994, five large remaining files (received from TsGAOR SSSR in 1989) consisting of business correspondence and political or personal papers (1912–1940) returned to Paris in March 2000, now in the Rothschild Archive, London.

257. Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov, "Moscow's Trove of Bank Records," *Wall Street Journal*, 5 March 1997, claimed that Russians still secretly held the S.M. Rothschild & Sons bank records from Vienna. In fact, Frank Trentmann described those records, open to researchers since 1992, in "New Sources on an Old Family: The Rothschild Papers at the Special Archive, Moscow—and a Letter from Metternich," *Financial History Review* 2, no. 1 (April 1995): 73–79. Regarding their migration and transfer to Rothschild Archive, London, in 2001, see Victor Gray, "The Return of the Austrian Rothschild Archives," in *Return from Russia*.

258. Small guide to fonds of Belgian provenance in RGVA, published first in Russian—*Fondy bel'giiskogo proiskhozhdeniia: Annotirovannyi ukazatel'*, comp. T. A. Vasil'eva and A. S. Namazova; ed. M. M. Mukhamedzhanov (Moscow: Rosarkhiv; TsKhIDK; Institut vseobshchei istorii RAN, 1995); Flemish version appeared in 1997. See also survey compiled by Wouter Steenhaut and Michel Vermote—*AMSAB Tijdingen* 16 (Summer 1992), extra number: *Mission to Moscow: Belgische socialistische archieven in Rusland*. I appreciate the assistance of archivists in TsKhIDK (now part of RGVA) and Amsab in correlating Belgian listings.

259. Documents from Masonic lodge "Grand Orient de Belgique" (1834–1935) (1 kg.) were probably added to fond 114 in TsGOA, comprising Belgian Masonic material. ERR report about seizure of thirty-one crates of books and archives from "Le Grand Orient de Belgique" in Brussels (6–8 rue de Persil) in October 1940 is in a second ERR fond in Kyiv, TsDAVO, 3674/1, fols. 1–34, with packing lists and descriptions of other Belgian Masonic confiscations.

260. Group of Brussels Zionist organizations' materials (two kgs.), added to fond 160 in TsGOA.

261. Six kgs. went to TsGOA (fond 223; 37 units; 1929–1939), returned to Brussels in 2002. Documents (1/2 kg.) relating to Grégoire Koulisher, editor of *Le Peuple* in Brussels, undoubtedly added to fonds 19 and 109.

262. A subsequent memorandum featured predominantly German materials with a list of forty-three fonds over the signature of TsGIA director Oleinik and division head Skorokhodova (8 January 1948), TsDAVO, 4703/2/15. See list of fonds with transfer papers to Moscow (29 March 1957) in TsDAVO, 4703/1/136, fols. 39–51.
263. Official excerpt from Commission protocol no. 026 dated 30 June 1953. Brief memo from V. Konovalova to deputy TsGIA UkrSSR director Myshak (15 July 1953) noted accompanying sixteen-page list (now missing) indicating files to be destroyed, TsDAVO, 4703/2/29, fols. 1–3. An eight-page list (in two copies) of files destroyed is found among TsDIAK appraisal commission records for 1953, TsDAVO, 4703/1/136, fols. 113–121. Annotations repeat 1947 and 1948 lists of fragmentary foreign archives, including weight, separate from ERR records in Kyiv.
264. I appreciate the assistance of TsKhIDK archivists in verifying these lists in October 1996. Considerable rearrangement occurred after transfer.
265. See lists of French fonds to be transferred with cover memorandum from Sheludchenko to S. D. Pil'kevych (Kyiv, 13 February 1956), TsDAVO, 4703/1/193, fols. 21–23, 77, and (3 April 1956) fols. 105–108. File-level inventories for many of the fonds are in the same folder; see inventory of Bordeaux files in fols. 176–180.
266. Regarding ERR music operations, including move to Ratibor and Schloss Langenau (near Hirshberg), see de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, esp. pp. 50–54, 57–58, 62–63, 75–76, and (with illustrations) pp. 107–17. De Vries' findings corroborate mine regarding importance of Ratibor, although he assumed a larger music unit than existed and had not realized before our 1999 visit that Langenau was not part of the Ratibor center. We used some of the same documentation, now augmented by ERR reports in Kyiv.
267. Lommatzsch report (4 September 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/23, fols. 43–44. Lommatzsch was accompanied by ERR officer Wagner. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century castle, originally built by the von Langenow family, subsequently changed hands several times. Weczerka, "Langenau, Ober und Nieder," in *Schlesien*, p. 266. Under usual Nazi practice, some of the family stayed on through the war's end. In October 1999, the young Polish businessman owner was actively renovating the castle.
268. See above regarding correspondence of Gerigk with Maier of Verona ERR office.
269. Weczerka, "Langenau," p. 266. Source of that report not given, but present owner repeated the same story in 1999. No Soviet reports of reconnaissance or transport have surfaced.
270. Details about shipments from Silesia and Filipov's brigade in Chapter 7 of Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*.
271. Documentation from Filipov brigade and Filipov's diary available in RGALI, 962/6/1207. Incoming trophy musical instruments are listed in related files of the Committee on Art, but without indication of source.
272. See reports on "trophy" music transfers to the USSR in German translation, *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken*, eds. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1996)=*Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* (special issue) 64, pp. 218–32, nos. 37–40 (originals classified in RGASPI [then RTsKhIDNI], 17/132/418).

273. Willem de Vries identified several musical scores of Darius Milhaud during our 1999 visit.

274. Thanks to Soviet documents, I could trace and verify a collection of trophy music scores in the Glinka Museum in 1991. Seizure of one crate from the Artur Rubinstein collection (plundered from Paris by ERR) is mentioned in Trophy Brigade report: “Otchet o rabote . . . s 6 maia po 31 dek. 194[5] g.,” signed by Manevskii (31 March 1946), GA RF, A-534/2/10, fol. 48 (another copy is in A-534/2/1, fol. 103); in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, p. 105 (doc. 17). See the report of a group of German music specialists permitted to visit in 2004: Helmut Hell, Ingo Kolasa, Wolfgang Rathert, and Willem de Vries, “Wiederentdeckt—Eine Sammlung von Musikhandschriften und Musikdrucken deutscher Provenienz am Staatlichen Zentralen Glinka-Museum für Musikkultur in Moskau,” *Forum Musikbibliothek* 24 (2003/04), pp. 416–25; details about seven scores belonging to Rubinstein are on pp. 422–23.

275. I refer to all three collections in “Bach Is Back in Berlin: The Return of the Sing-Akademie Archive from Ukraine in the Context of Displaced Cultural Treasures and Restitution Politics,” *Spoils of War: International Newsletter* 8 (June 2003): 67–104. Electronic version (revised and illustrated): <http://www.huri.harvard.edu/work7.html> (June 2003).

276. See documents in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, n. 274 above.

277. Lommatsch ERR report (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. Carlsbad is mentioned as a prospective evacuation site for part of Smolensk archive, but no evidence suggests materials were taken there.

278. Wunder, “Meldung an den Stabsführer” (Staffelstein, 23 February 1945), BAB, NS 30/50.

279. Gunter Schöbel, “Eine kleine Geste an die Ukraine: Rückgabe von verschleppten Büchern,” in *Displaced Books: Bücherrückgabe aus zweierlei Sicht: Beiträge und Materialien zur Bestandsgeschichte deutscher Bibliotheken im Zusammenhang von NS-Zeit und Krieg* (Hannover: Laurentius Sonderheft, 1999), pp. 68–74.

280. Many ERR records in Kyiv (TsDAVO, fond 3676) appear to be from Berlin or Ratibor. An official transfer document from the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the Ukrainian SSR (12 December 1945), TsDAVO, 4703/2/3, fol. 1, records files constituting the first inventory (opys 1), transferred from Dresden to Central State Historical Archive (TsDIA URSR) in December 1945. See Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, ch. 8, and my forthcoming survey of ERR records.

281. See U.S. Army report on removal of ERR materials from Staffelstein and Castle Banz (8 December 1945), BAK, B 323/550. Wunder’s office files are found among Bundesarchiv ERR records in Berlin-Lichterfelde, BAB, NS 30: e.g. file numbers 47–50, 107–117, 144, and 145. Regarding U.S. Army recovery of ERR materials after von Berg and his wife’s suicide see also Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive*, pp. 52–53, and “The Return of the Smolensk Archive.”

282. ERR Stabsführer Gerhard Utikal to Rosenberg, “Aktenvermerk für den Reichsleiter—Dienstgut in Oberschlesien” (25 January 1945), BAB, NS 8/261; copy in NS 30/7.