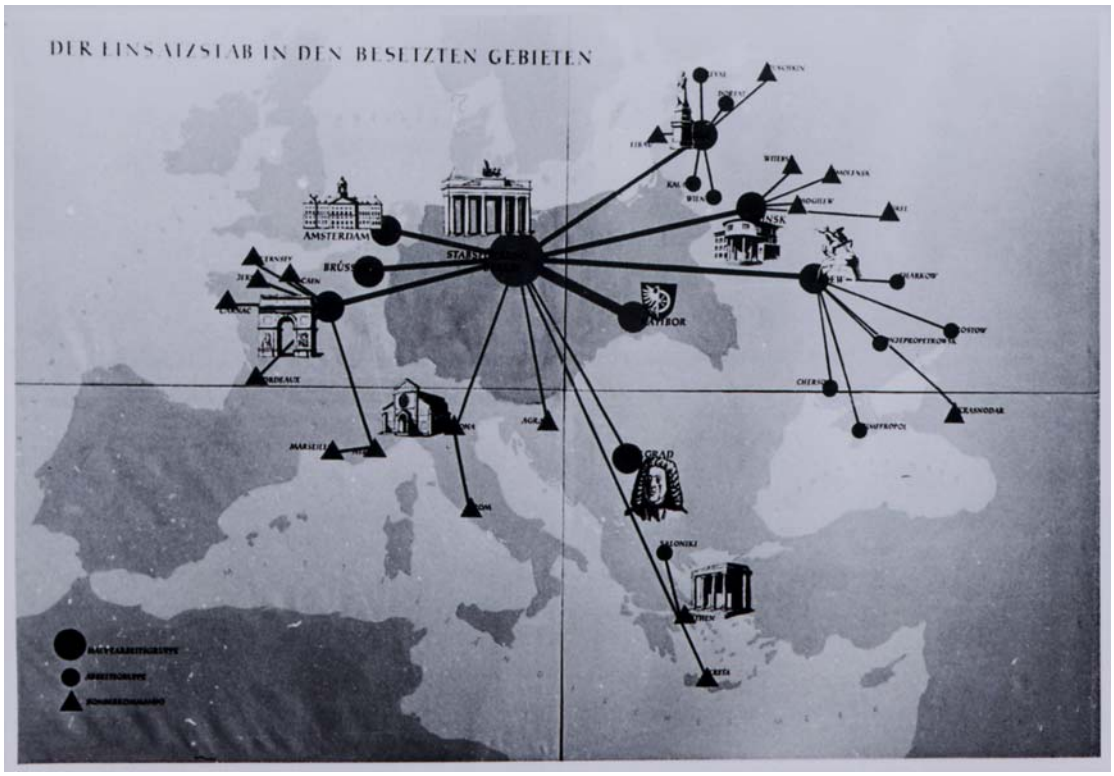
IISH RESEARCH PAPERS

RECONSTRUCTING THE RECORD OF NAZI CULTURAL PLUNDER

A SURVEY OF THE DISPERSED ARCHIVES OF THE EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG (ERR)

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted



In association with the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG), Amsterdam,
and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam,
with generous support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany
(Claims Conference)

ISSN 0927-4618

IISH Research Paper 47

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The author would be grateful for any comments and corrections to this Survey. Please send comments and corrections to pkg@iisg.nl.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For a compilation as large and complicated as the present one, which has been in the works for almost two decades, there is hardly room to acknowledge all who deserve thanks for their role and contributions. Coverage of so many repositories in so many countries is at once an outgrowth of, and at the same time reflects, my international professional archival contacts and friendships that have developed over many years. It is also an outgrowth of my own specific research on problems of displaced cultural treasures resulting from the Second World War.

The ERR project was conceived during the year I was a Visiting Fellow at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC. Although I had previously worked with related records in the National Archives of the United States in College Park, during that year I became better acquainted with those materials, and frustrated that they were not better described and hence not more readily available to prospective researchers. Research for several articles I prepared for the USHMM journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, as well as for other simultaneous publications, have contributed to my experience in related archives.

My associations at Harvard University with the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies have given me the benefits of the extensive Harvard Library collections and working in a congenial intellectual environment. Several research assistants in Cambridge in recent years, including Irina Tarsis and Avram Brown, have helped me track down needed references.

My earlier directories of Ukrainian and Russian archives, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the International Research & Exchanges Board, with additional matching funds from several sources, have led to my exposure to the important groups of ERR records in the Russian Federation and now independent Ukraine. During my time in Moscow over the past two decades, I have predominantly been working on my Russian archival directory ArcheoBiblioBase in collaboration with Russian archivists, as well as and other projects regarding displaced archives and cultural restitution issues related to the Second World War. During the early 1990s, a generous grant from a collaborative program of the American Council of Learned Societies and the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) enabled additional research and travel in Germany and contact with Professor Wolfgang Eichwede at the University of Bremen's Research Center for East European Studies (Forschungsstelle Osteuropa). My related research and publications have also frequently involved the ERR, even before that German wartime plundering agency became the focus of the present volume. In such connections, my current long-time Russian assistant Natasha Maslova has contributed enormously in many ways and deserves special acknowledgement, along with other Russian friends and colleagues.

Compilation of this volume has benefited as a spin-off project from funding, including separate travel grants, for research and several other related projects over the past two decades, although none were directly specifically to the ERR project. During the past five years, however, the Conference on Jewish Materials Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), in the person of the research director Wesley Fisher has had a key role in encouraging me to undertake this Survey and in keeping it going over the years despite all the sea changes. The Claims Conference has provided funding for some of my related travel and for the final editorial work by the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam.

Former IISH Director Jaap Kloosterman has encouraged my efforts in this regard over the decade and a half that I have been IISH honorary fellow and have been engaged there with other

archival-oriented projects. I am particularly grateful for the arrangement for the IISH to take on this publication, in cooperation with the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation. In the latter case, René Pottkamp assisted with some of the technical editorial plans.

Editorial work has been directed by the IISH Executive Editor Aad Blok, who deserves much credit and appreciation for the overtime efforts often involved. Ray Brandon, who had in the past been my occasional research assistant in Germany, has been responsible for copyediting the manuscript. Quite often, his role has also been that of a research assistant in further checking some of the archival holdings and verifying descriptions. He deserves tremendous praise for his careful attention to editorial detail and the thoroughness with which he has accomplished his dual role, transforming my complicated and often unruly text into a more readable and consistent reference work.

Archival colleagues or reference specialists in almost every archival repository listed deserve thanks for consultations regarding their holdings and finding aids in connection with this ERR archival survey project. Additional thanks are due to many friends and colleagues in different countries who have contributed advice and assistance along the way. My long-time friends and colleagues Konstantin Akinsha and Lynn Nicholas, for example, from their differing experience and perspective in the field of wartime plunder and postwar restitution, having assisted with several of my earlier publications, have been among the most active in encouraging me to pursue this one and offering advice for coverage of sources in several countries. Among the many other friends and colleagues below, some have read over and commented on parts of the text, while others provided guidance about specific ERR activities or sources, and still others offered more general advice extending well beyond the country in which they are listed:

Austria: Evelyn Adunka;

Belgium: Jacques Lust, Johanna Pezechkian, Michel Vermote;

France: Sophie Coeuré, Marie Gallup, Hélène Kaplan, Charles Kecskeméti, Jean-Claude Kuperminc, Anne Liskenne-Georgeon, Isabelle le Masne de Chermont, Pierre Mollier, Claude Mosséri-Marlio, Caroline Piketty, and Karen Taieb;

Germany: Ralf Bartoleit, Jana Blumberg, Wolfgang Eichwede, Gabriele Freitag, Angelika Enderlein, Jens Hoppe, Kai von Jena, Grigorii Kozlov, Hans-Dieter Kreikamp;

The Netherlands: Gerald Aalders, Julie-Marthe Cohen, Karin Hofmeester, F.J. Hoogewoud, Eric Ketelaar, Evert Kwaadgras, Odette Vlessing, Willem de Vries;

Russia: Mikhail Afansev, Karina Dmitrieva, Ekaterina Genieva, Vladimir Korotaev, Nikolai Nikandrov, Irina Novichenko, Tatiana Vasileva, and Margarita Zinich;

Ukraine: Hennadii Boriak, Liubov Dubrovina, Maryna Dubyk, Nataliia Kashevarova, Serhii Kot, Nataliia Makovska, Tetiana Sebta, and Kyrylo Vyslobokov;

United Kingdom: John S.G. Simmons, Christine Thomas, and Anne Webber;

United States of America: Konstantin Akinsha, Greg Bradsher, Brewster Chamberlin, Rebecca Collier, David Fishman, Michael Gelb, Charles Goldstein, James Hastings, Sarah Kianovsky, Michael Kurtz, Marc Masurovsky, Henry Mayer, Carl Modig, Fruma Mohrer, Tim Mulligan, Lynn Nicholas, Seymour

Pomrenze, Sem Sutter, Marek Webb, Ruth Weinberger, Robert Wolfe, and Nancy Yeide.

With information coming from so many sources over a long period of time, and with archival transfers and reprocessing, to say nothing of rapidly changing electronic availability of archival information, errors of commission and omission are bound to arise in the text that follows. The compiler and editors would greatly appreciate comments from representatives of the institutions covered, and more generally from readers who may consult the text. We already plan a future update and are anxious for communications that bring mistakes, oversights, and new information to our attention.

PKG
December 2010

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

The following list contains abbreviations and acronyms used in the Survey. Location has been given only for institutions that still exist. Details concerning historical institutions and units are provided in the Survey text.

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office), Berlin
AG	Arbeitsgruppe (Working Group)
AGR	Archives Générale de Royaume (National Archives), Brussels
AHC	Ardelia Hall Collection
ALIU	Art Looting Investigatory Unit
AMG	Allied Military Government
AMN	Archives de Musées Nationaux (Archives of the National Museums), Paris
AN-Paris	Archives nationales de France, Site de Paris (National Archives of France, Paris Site)
APA	Aussenpolitisches Amt (Foreign Policy Office)
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives), Brussels
BA	Bundesarchiv, former acronym; now BArch
BADV	Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues), Berlin
BArch	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives)
BArch-MA	Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv (Federal Archives-Military Archives), Freiburg
BIA	Bureau d'investigation artistique (Office of Art Investigation)
BTG	Brüsseler Treuhandgesellschaft (Brussels Trust Company)
CADN	Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes (Center for Diplomatic Archives in Nantes)
CARAN	Centre d'accueil et de récherche des Archives nationals (National Archives Center for Reception and Research), Paris
CCP	Central Collecting Point
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris

CEGES	Centre d'Études et de Documentation de Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
CGQJ	Commissariat général aux questions juives (General Commissariat for Jewish Questions)
CHAN	Centre historique des Archives nationales (Historical Center of the National Archives), Paris; now AN-Paris
CIR	Consolidated Intelligence Report
CRA	Commission de récupération artistique (Commission for the Recovery of Art), Paris
CVA	Centrinis Valstybinis archyvas (Central State Archive), Vilnius
DBFU	Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP)
DGER	Direction général de l'ensignement et de la récherche (General Directorate for Study and Research), Paris
DHM	Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum), Berlin
DIR	Detailed Intelligence Report
DOS	Dienst voor de Oorlogsslachtoffer (Service for War Victims), Brussels
DSK	Devisenschutzkommando (Currency Protection Commando)
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Operational Staff Reichsleiter Rosenberg)
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police)
HAG	Hauptarbeitsgruppe (Main Working Group)
IEJ	Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for Research on the Jewish Question), Frankfurt am Main, later Hungen
IfZ	Institut für Zeitsgeschichte (Institute of Contemporary History), Munich
IISG / IISH	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History), Amsterdam
IMT	International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg

JHM	Joods Historisch Museum (Jewish Historical Museum), Amsterdam
LV ABM	Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen (Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums)
MAEE	Ministère des Affaires étrangère et européannes, (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs), Paris
M-Aktion	Möbel-Aktion (Furniture Operation)
MBF	Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Commander in France)
MCCP	Munich Central Collecting Point
MEA	Ministère des Affaires économiques (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MEZ	Ministerie van Economische Zaken (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MFA&A	Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives
MNR	Musées Nationaux Récupération (National Museums of Recovered Artwork)
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NACP	National Archives of the United States, College Park, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National-Socialist German Workers Party)
OAD	Offenbach Archival Depot
OBIP	Office des biens et intérêts privés (Office of Private Property and Interests)
OUSCCPAC	Office of United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (High Command of the Army)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (High Command of the Armed Forces)
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States
OSS	Office of Strategic Services

PA AA	Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt (Political Archive of the Foreign Office), Berlin
PRO	Public Record Office; now TNA
PS	Paris-Storey
RA	Collection des fonds des services de la récupération artistiques (Collection of fonds from art recovery agencies), MAEE fond designation
RG	Record Group, NACP designation
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Royal Institute of War Documentation); now NIOD
RKO	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar für das Ostland (Reich Commissar / Commissariat for Ostland)
RKU	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar Ukraine (Reich Commissar / Commissariat for Ukraine)
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RV	Rose Valland, former MAEE fond designation
SEA	Staff Evidence Analysis
SCL	Sous-commission des livres (Sub-Commission for Books)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
Sipo / SiPo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SOMA	Studie en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
SROA	Service de remise en place des oeuvres d’art (Service for the Return of Works of Art)
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service for War Victims), Brussels
TMI	Tribunal militaire internationale (International Military Tribunal)
TNA	The National Archives, London-Kew; formerly PRO

TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv derzhavnoi vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv (Kiev)
TsDAZhR URSR	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï Revoliutsiï Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliki (Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), now TsDAVO
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), now part of GA RF
TsGOA SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Special Archive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), now part of RGVA
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektsii (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), now part of RGVA
TVK	Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut (Trust Administration for Cultural Assets)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
YIVO	YIVO Jewish Research Institute, before 1939 in Wilno, Poland; after 1939 in New York
ZBHS	Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (Central Library of the Hohe Schule NSDAP)

TECHNICAL NOTE

Numerical Hierarchy: Given the scope and complexity of this compendium, the publisher has introduced a numerical hierarchical system often found in European archival literature. This system is intended to facilitate cross-referencing within the text and to provide a modicum of consistency for the description of archival materials within varying repositories in different countries. The repositories described differ widely in their own organization and usage, and at times, the numerical system imposed may appear at odds with the internal usage of a given repository. In general, the levels breakdown as follows:

Level 1 COUNTRY

Level 2 REPOSITORY

Level 3 RECORD GROUP (BESTAND, FOND, ETC.)

Level 4 SERIES

Level 5 SUB-SERIES

Levels 3-5 tend to denote the formal names of record groups, series, and sub-series within an archive, but this is not always the case. In some instances, unnumbered headings have been inserted to designate or highlight particular group of ERR-related documents not indicated as such by the archive itself.

Document-level descriptions are usually preceded by an en-dash.

Documentary Coverage: The descriptions of archival holdings here focus on two broad groups of documentation.

First and foremost are those documents created by the ERR, its working groups and special staffs, as well as the projected university-level Hohe Schule for the Nazi elite and its Central Library (ZBHS) and institutes, in particular the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question Research (IEJ). Also included are the records of the related Furniture Operation (Möbel-Aktion), which was initially run by the western affairs office (Amt Westen) of Rosenberg's Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO). The documents discussed address not only the confiscation and processing of cultural assets, but also their shipment, distribution, and storage in repositories throughout the prewar Reich, Austria, and the Sudetenland.

The second general group consists of the documentation created by the western Allies and various governments in the process of locating, recovering, identifying, and returning the archives, books, art, and other cultural or religious objects seized by the ERR or during the the Möbel-Aktion.

Beyond these two groups are such related records as the materials prepared for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, where Rosenberg was among the defendants.

Level of Detail: Descriptions herein differ from repository to repository in depth and extent. In larger repositories where detailed finding aids are available to researchers, the tendency is to rely on those finding aids and to provide only summary descriptions. Two key exceptions are: 1) the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, because the descriptions of record group B 323 located here were prepared for this Survey long before the recently completed German finding aid went on-line, and 2) the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (MAEE) in

La Courneuve (near Paris), because the coverage of select files found in this Survey represents the first detailed descriptions of these records available to the general public. More detail is also given to record groups where the only available finding aids are brief folder lists, as is often the case at the National Archives of the United States in College Park, MD (NACP).

For smaller repositories and for repositories with limited ERR-related materials, such as YIVO in New York and the Central State Archive (CVA) in Vilnius, more detail is provided at the file and document levels.

Transliteration of Cyrillic: For transcription of Cyrillic references, the Library of Congress system of transliteration is used throughout, modified by the omission of ligatures. Exceptions may appear when an alternate is used in a documentary title or text.

Geographic Names: In general, place names are rendered in accepted English forms (Moscow, Cracow, etc.) or in a form derived from the present-day official language of a country. The major exception to this rule are the ERR evacuation sites and repositories in the Sudetenland. These are given in German first with Czech in parentheses, for example, Troppau (Cz. Opava). These sites appear so often in the German and the U.S. documentation that asserting the Czech and switching to German repository names would disrupt the text and create confusion.

Where names are almost phonetically identical in their English, German, and local forms, the local form alone is used, for example, Novgorod, Dnipropetrovsk, Tukums, Pärnu, etc. Where the German and local names fundamentally differ from one another, the local names come first with the German in parentheses: Tallinn (Ger. Reval), Pskov (Ger. Pleskau), Mohileu (Ger. Mogilew), etc. Here, too, when a well-known English form is nearly the same phonetically as either of the forms given, no additional variation is added.

Where cities changed hands in 1939 or in 1945, they are noted as follows: Niasvizh (prewar Nieśwież, Poland), Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), etc. In the case of Vilnius, Vilna is added to accommodate the predominant English form from between the world wars, as well as the YIVO preference: Vilnius (also Vilna; prewar Wilno, Poland).

U.S. postwar documents refer to Altaussee as Alt Aussee. Within this Survey, Altaussee has been used.

Acronyms: Acronyms reflect the original language of the institution or other agency they represent. In the case of Belgium, both Flemish and French acronyms are presented. A list of the acronyms used in this text (along with names in their original language and English translation) is given. The full form of a repository or agency name is also provided upon first use in each country chapter and repository-level section.

Archival Terminology in the Post-Soviet Realm: In the Soviet Union, as well as archives today in Russia and Ukraine, the Russian and Ukrainian archival term *fond* can be more extensive than a "record group," because it can include personal papers or what Western archivists would refer to as a "collection." Hence the term has been anglicized and should not be translated as "collection." That would create confusion about the type of archival materials involved.

For citations from Russian and Ukrainian archives, references are given as follows: archival acronym, fond number, inventory or series (*opis'* in Russian or *opys* in Ukrainian) and file unit (*edinitsa khraneniia* or *delo* in Russian or *sprava* in Ukrainian). In both Russian and Ukrainian, an *opis'* or *opys* is a series within a fond and a finding aid or inventory of file units. In citations of folios (pages) within a file, the letter "v" after a folio number indicates the overleaf (verto).

Names of Individuals and Art Collections: Particular attention has been given to identifying the correct names of owners whose cultural assets were confiscated by the ERR. Often, the only available documentation for these are ERR records, and in several cases, the ERR rendered names incorrectly or in a Germanized form. Of particular concern are the Jewish owners of art collections seized in France and processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume building in Paris.

The on-line database "Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume," a project of the Conference on Jewish Materials Claims Against Germany located at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (see Section 9.2.3.), is based on the original ERR records and thus adheres largely to ERR spellings, some of which went on to circulate in postwar documents, including U.S. intelligence reports and, most recently, *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research.* Appendix 1 of this volume is based on the names of collection owners such as they are found in French claims dossiers or other sources. ERR versions of names are also provided.

The French or ERR versions may not be the only versions of the names encountered. Some of the owners were of foreign nationality and their names often took another form upon assuming French citizenship. Some later filed postwar claims from countries other than France. In addition, different members of the same family sometimes used different forms of their name (or even a pseudonym) in different countries in the course of their flight from Nazi persecution. Accordingly, names can appear in slightly variant forms in the descriptions of the records below. It has not been possible to correct inconsistencies or provide alternate spellings for all of the victims, but where possible, corrections have been added.

Repository Websites: The links inserted in Survey functioned as of the date of publication. This does not preclude the possibility that some will change over time or be discontinued.

On-line Research Resources: The number of digitized resources available to researchers, including specialists working in provenance research, has expanded significantly in the last five years, ranging from the offerings of commercial vendors such as Footnote to those of state archives such as the ARGUS system of the Bundesarchiv. Most of these resources are explained at length in the text (see in particular Chapter 3, pp. xxxx-xxxx, Section 3.1.1., Section 3.1.2, and Section 3.6, as well as Section 9.1., pp. xxxx-xxxx, and Section 9.2.3.). Two items, however, should be mentioned here, as they bear on specific features of this Survey.

First, the company Footnote has so far posted on the Internet four NARA microfilm publications relevant to this Survey. During the editing of this volume, it was discovered that the links to images were did not change each time they were accessed. Therefore, for three of the four microfilm publications, the editors inserted the links beneath the proper file descriptions. Thus readers may quickly view the documents described in:

- *NARA Microfilm Publication M1942: Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946-1951*;
- *NARA Microfilm Publication M1782: OSS Art Looting Investigation Unit Reports, 1945-1946)*; and
- *NARA Microfilm Publications M1270: Interrogations Records Prepared for War Crimes Proceedings at Nuernberg, 1945-1947*.

Time did not permit doing the same for the files described in *NARA Microfilm Publication M1947: Records Concerning The Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952*, which is much larger than the others. At the time of insertion, access to these collections was free. Since the summer of 2010, this is no longer the case. Readers who wish to view the holdings at footnote.com will have to subscribe.

Second, less important to provenance research, but important to the overall history of Alfred Rosenberg's activities, including the ERR, are the documents processed for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg. The proceedings and most of the documents entered in evidence before the IMT were later published in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg*, known to specialists as the "Blue Series." Within the Blue Series, the Nuremberg editors placed an asterisk after documents appearing in the document volumes of the series. The editors of this Survey have also adopted this practice as a service to researchers. This is all the more convenient, since the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress has posted the English edition of the Blue Series on-line (see Section 9.1.7.).

Telephone Numbers: Depending on provider, mobile or land-line, private or public, making local or long distance calls within some of the countries discussed in this Survey is not as straightforward as in other countries. Researchers should consult the Internet for the most up-to-date information on dialing telephone numbers in the country they plan to visit.

Printing: The Survey and its appendices are for the most part formatted on U.S. Letter-size throughout, as this prints well on DINA4-size paper as well. The sole exception is Appendix 1, which is on DINA4 and can be printed to U.S. Legal.

Updates: At least one update is planned twelve months after this Survey goes on-line. Thereafter, additional updates should follow on an annual basis. The compiler and the publisher would be exceedingly grateful for comments and corrections. Please send comments and corrections to pkg@iisg.nl.

FOREWORD

The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) is most pleased to sponsor the electronic publication of *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)* and to have assisted in some of its preparation. Compiled by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, the preeminent expert on archives displaced as a result of the Second World War, this work promises to be of great use to historians, archivists, provenance researchers, museum curators, art dealers, and the heirs of families and communities that were plundered. Appropriately, it is being published by the International Institute for Social History, whose massive Amsterdam and Paris library and archival collections were plundered by the ERR beginning in 1940, and whose building on the Keizersgracht was used for the ERR headquarters in the Netherlands.

Dedicated since 1951 to providing a measure of justice for Jewish victims of Nazism, the Claims Conference has always been concerned with the restitution of plundered artworks, religious artifacts, archives, libraries, and other cultural property. But restitution efforts in this area have in the past yielded far fewer results than have efforts to restitute non-cultural assets such as immovable property and bank accounts, insurance policies, and other financial holdings. The reasons for this lack of progress include the ease of transporting artworks and books across international borders, the lack of public records documenting original ownership, the difficulty of tracing art transactions through the decades, and in some countries, the lack of government commitment to restitution, appropriate legislation, or a central authority to arbitrate claims.

At the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in 1998, attention turned to the importance of archival records in understanding the plunder of art and other cultural property by the Nazis and their allies. Subsequently, at a seminar presentation at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in February 2000, Patricia Grimsted made an appeal for a virtual compendium of the widely dispersed records of one of the most important Nazi cultural looting agencies, the ERR. This idea was discussed with interest by delegates from many countries later in October of that year at the Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Cultural Assets. During the next few years, Dr Grimsted continued to uncover the locations of scattered ERR files and wrote an article on patterns of ERR library and archival plunder during the Second World War, as well as articles on the postwar fate of the ERR's loot and its documentation.

At the same time, the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) began a comprehensive program to assist the further restitution of Jewish-owned art and cultural property lost and plundered during the Holocaust. Although a number of countries have compiled lists of cultural losses, there has been no large-scale attempt to determine the full scope of cultural property seized by the specific agencies of the Nazis and their allies that has not been restituted. Instead, the focus has been on checking the provenance of museum collections and on claims made by individual survivors and heirs of owners. But more often than not, families and communities do not have full knowledge of what was taken from them. Art dealers, major collectors, and institutions may have kept lists of artworks or catalogs of libraries and archives prior to the war, but often such lists and catalogs – like their owners – did not survive the Holocaust, and in any event, the vast majority of the millions of persons who were robbed had no such lists or catalogs. We therefore decided to try to reconstruct the historical-archival record so as 1) to develop listings of what was plundered by the Nazis and their allies; 2) to assemble

listings of cultural property known to have been restituted; and thereby 3) to produce net listings of outstanding items of cultural property that have yet to be returned.[1]

In consultation with Dr Grimsted, the Claims Conference therefore undertook to support three major activities in regard to the records of the ERR. The first is the online publication of the current survey and preliminary guide. The second is the ongoing imaging of the ERR files located in Kyiv (Kiev), Moscow, Vilnius, Berlin, Koblenz, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, and Washington with a view to making the ERR records generally available. And the third is the joint creation with the USHMM of a Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume that brings together in searchable form documentation, including photographs, of the over 20,000 major art objects that the ERR confiscated from Jews in Paris, in other parts of France and parts of Belgium and brought for processing to the Jeu de Paume in the Tuileries Gardens.[2]

These three activities should prove to be very helpful to the field of provenance research that has developed so greatly in the art world – but also in regard to libraries and Judaica - over the past decade or so. Indeed, in some respects these three activities taken as a whole may constitute a paradigm shift for the field. Instead of looking at collections in museums today, at lists of objects being sought by claimants, or at lists of objects found after the Second World War, the aim is to reconstruct the original record of what was seized and from whom by bringing together what remains of the detailed records that the Nazis – in this case specifically the ERR – kept of their looting.

This approach should prove helpful not only in the restitution of Jewish cultural property but also in the identification of the losses by non-Jewish institutions and families. In particular in its activities on the Eastern Front, the ERR necessarily had different priorities and different patterns of plunder than in Western Europe, since the only small private or Jewish-held collections were found in western areas annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939. As a result, unlike France, the ERR plundered cultural items primarily from Soviet state institutions. Countries such as Russia and Ukraine that are seeking the return of their cultural property often lack knowledge of what was taken from where by which Nazi agency and what was returned after the war.

In June 2009, 47 countries along with relevant non-governmental organizations participated in the Holocaust Era Assets Conference held in Prague and agreed to the Terezín Declaration, which calls for international cooperation in provenance research and the restitution of cultural property. This Survey directly relates to the goals of the Terezín Declaration and such international cooperation, and Dr Grimsted appropriately presented the project at the Prague Conference.

The importance of this Survey goes well beyond its relevance to provenance research and the restitution of cultural property, however. In its allocation grants to institutions in research and education, the Claims Conference has for many years been the principal supporter of Holocaust-related archival work. The importance of this Survey is equally in its relevance to the restitution of history.

Wesley A. Fisher, Director of Research
Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany

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[1] Information regarding the Claims Conference / WJRO Looted Art and Cultural Property Initiative may be found at http://www.claimscon.org under "Artworks" and "Judaica"; for .

[2] See http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/.

7. UKRAINE

Introductory Remarks

Most of the captured foreign records seized by the Soviets at the end of the Second World War were ordered to be transferred and centralized in Moscow. Nonetheless, Ukraine was able to retain many important German records and fragmentary files created during the German occupation. These included files either left behind by the Germans, or captured by Ukrainian authorities during the war or shortly thereafter. Those of ERR provenance or related to ERR activities in occupied Europe are held in three fonds in the Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of Power and Administration of Ukraine (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia, TsDAVO) in Kyiv (Kiev).[29]

General Directory of Records from the Second World War

Arkhivy okupatsiï 1941-1944 [Archives of the occupation]. Comp. Nataliia Makovs'ka et al. Kyiv: Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia, 2006. Derzhavnyi Komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny. ("Bil'she ne taiemno," vol. 1).

On-line version: http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/CD/Okupatsionnye_funds

Includes a brief survey of the fonds held by TsDAVO described below (pp. 32-49; register pp. 49-51, and specifically the ERR records pp. 33, 36-38.

Makovs'ka, Nataliia. "Aktual'ni dzherela TsDAVO Ukraïny z istoriï Druhoï svitovoï viiny" [Contemporary sources of TsDAVO Ukraine for the history of the Second World War]. *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, 2005, nos. 1-3, pp. 63-85.

See pp. 78-79, for specific summary of the ERR records.

[29] These materials were described in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Institute, 2001), especially pp. 314-329. The ERR records in Kyiv were first mentioned by Grimsted in "The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II: The Plunder of Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the Third Reich," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39, no. 1 (1991), pp. 55-58; expanded with documents as a monograph in Ukrainian, *Dolia skarbiv Ukrains'koï kul'tury pid chas druhoï svitovoï viiny: Vynyshchennia arkhiviv, bibliotek, muzeïv* [The fate of Ukrainian cultural treasures during the Second World War: plundered archives, libraries, and museums], trans. and ed. Hennadii Boriak (Kyiv: Arkheohrafichna komisiia AN URSR, 1991; 2nd edn., L'viv, 1992), pp. 8-12.

7.1. TSENTRAL'NYI DERZHAVNYI ARKHIV VYSHCHYKH ORHANIV VLADY TA UPRAVLINNIA UKRAÏNY (TSDAVO)

[Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of Power and Administration of Ukraine]

> ***Previous names*:** Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï revoliutsiï, vyshchykh orhaniv derzhavnoï vlady i orhaniv derzhavnoho upravlinnia Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliki (TsDAZhR URSR)
> [Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Highest Agencies of State Power and Agencies of State Administration of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], 1980-1991
> Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï revoliutsiï ta sotsialistychnoho budivnytstva Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliki (TsDAZhR URSR)
> [Central State Archive of the October Revolution and Socialist Development of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], 1943-1980

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E-mail: tsdavo@archives.gov.ua
Website: http://www.archives.gov.ua/Archives/index.php?ca01

As currently arranged in TsDAVO, there are three fonds containing original ERR and related files. Two of them (fonds 3674 and 3676) are specifically designated by name for the ERR, while a third (fond 3206) contains fragmentary files from the Reich Commissariat for Ukraine (Reichskommissariat für die Ukraine). The voluminous ERR records held by TsDAVO were acquired by its Soviet-era predecessors from several different sources. Taken together, these materials represent one of the most important surviving groups of ERR records and need to be carefully considered in connection with those preserved in the Bundesarchiv and elsewhere. These records have never been appropriately processed or described by office of provenance and are still in the state of disorder in which they were first processed and deposited in the secret divisions of several archives.

The ERR files in TsDAVO cover the years 1940-1944. Many of the documents were probably sent from selected ERR units in occupied Europe to ERR headquarters in Berlin, where many ERR records were reportedly destroyed in November 1943 during a bombing raid. It may be that the files preserved were evacuated to Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), but it is possible that they remained in or near Berlin. Some of the files are apparently of Berlin provenance, but may well have been taken to Ratibor and then evacuated west again at the end of 1944 or in early 1945. Some of the documents dated September 1943 and later represent original incoming and carbon copies of outgoing documents from the ERR center in Ratibor, thus lending credence to the idea that the rest of the files in the same group were in fact evacuated from Berlin to Ratibor earlier in 1943. Presumably, these files were found by Soviet trophy scouts somewhere between Ratibor and Berlin in the autumn of 1945, but details surrounding their discovery in Germany have not surfaced.

The ERR files in TsDAVO are now arranged in two separate fonds – fond 3676 entitled as if for the ERR in the occupied Soviet Union and fond 3674 for the ERR in occupied Western Europe. However, the implied distinction in content is erroneous and misleading. The ERR used at least two varying names at different times, but not based on the geographic distinctions suggested by the titles of the TsDAVO fonds. When the ERR began operating in Western Europe in the summer of 1940, it initially used the name "Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg for the Western Occupied Territories and the Netherlands" (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande), the name assigned to TsDAVO fond 3674. After the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, and the formation of Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, RMbO), also under Rosenberg, in July 1941, the ERR dropped the adjective "Western" and "the Netherlands," thus changing the latter half of its name to "for the Occupied Territories" alone.[30] The tag "for the Occupied Eastern Territories" (für die besetzten Ostgebiete), as assigned to TsDAVO fond 3676, is an incorrect construction. There were many ERR units and offices, but there was never an ERR for the east and an ERR for the west. The current arrangement is all the more misleading, when one sees that fond 3676 (for the east) contains more files with documents from Western Europe, in particular Belgium, than fond 3674 (for the west). In fact, within fond 3676, many of the files, indeed several entire *opysy*, have little or no relationship to the ERR. The fonds 3676 and 3674 belong together, without the east-west distinction.

The third ERR-related fond in TsDAVO – 3206 designated for records of the Reich Commissariat for Ukraine (Reichskommissariat für die Ukraine, RKU) – has only one series with original Nazi-era documents, namley *opys* 5. This series – although not entitled accordingly – contains surviving records of the Provincial Administration for Libraries, Archives, and Museums (Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen, LV ABM), which were captured by Ukrainian archivists in the Moravian-Silesian city of Troppau (Cz. Opava) in the autumn of 1945. Although administratively under the RKU, the LV ABM took on many civilian cultural functions during the occupation, shared staff with the ERR, and, during the retreat from Ukraine in 1943, assisted in removing plundered cultural treasures and evacuating Ukrainian specialists to ERR repositories in the Reich.

Several other fonds retain significant documentation from cultural institutions and archives in Ukraine during the occupation, but the coverage below will be limited to the three aforementioned fonds, the files from which are now available on the Internet.

On-Line Version of ERR Collection

"Kollektsiia dokumentov Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga"
On-line at: http://err.tsdavo.org.ua

The two fonds of original ERR documentation and the related LV ABM files in TsDAVO are now available on the Internet as the "Collection of Documents of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg," together with Russian-language descriptions and indexing data from the 2006 finding aid compiled by Nataliia Kashevarova and Nina Maloletova (see below). Lists with brief folder descriptions can be viewed consecutively, while individual file units are presented in high-

[30] Numerous examples of such documents are found in BArch, NS 8/259, starting with the order of 15 July 1940, where the name is explained. See more details in the Introductory Remarks to this volume. These administrative details were first noted in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 19, no. 3 (2005), pp. 394-397.

quality, color PDF files. Institutional, name, and geographical indexes are also provided for the three fonds represented. The project was completed under an agreement between TsDAVO and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), as part of the larger ERR project mentioned in the Foreword. Ukrainian and German versions of the finding aid are planned. The collection constitutes the Ukrainian contribution to the international Internet portal for records in different countries relating to Holocaust-Era cultural property, an initiative of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (forthcoming spring 2011).

Finding Aid and Index for On-line Version of ERR Collection

Kashevarova, Nataliia, and Nina Maloletova. *Deiatel'nost' operativnogo shtaba Reikhsliaitera Rozenberga v okkupirovannoi Evrope v period Vtoroi mirovoi voiny. Spravochnik-ukazatel' arkhivnykh dokumentov iz kievskikh sobranii* [Activity of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in occupied Europe during World War II: a reference-index of archival documents from Kievan collections]. Introduction by Hennadii Boriak and a methodological introduction by Liubov Dubrovina. Kyiv, 2006; Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; National'na biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V.I. Vernads'koho; TsDAVO; Thompson Gale.

On-line version of reference-indices: http://err.tsdavo.org.ua

This ambitious Russian-language "reference-index" for TsDAVO ERR records was initially prepared by specialists in Kyiv in conjunction with the PSM microfilm project (see below), albeit never coordinated with the microfilm reels. The descriptive data and indices have since been adapted for use with the on-line version of the files.

The "reference-index" covers the records of ERR provenance in fonds 3676 and 3674, as well as the related files from the LV ABM (fond 3206, *opys* 5). Over 500 pages in length, this publication provides detailed descriptions of many individual files, often distinguishing and describing significant groups of documents within larger files. Some errors in the Soviet-era Russian inventories are also corrected. The expanded content description, although a major improvement over the Soviet-era *opisi*, is offset by an unnecessarily complicated format that many users will find awkward.

Included are two separate sets of indices – one in German, one in Russian – for personal, geographic, and institutional names found in the documents, although those names do not always appear in the file descriptions. The entries are exhaustive, but readers will at times be confronted with the problem of multiple forms of names in different languages; for example, the Russian transliteration of German variants may not always reflect original local spelling or transliteration standards. Because German forms of names appear only in the indices, not in the file descriptions, coordination between the indices and file descriptions is difficult. In many instances, even the Russian translation or transliteration does not appear in the file descriptions, thus making it hard to identify the entry sought. The problem is further compounded in the textual section, where Russian-equivalent indexing terms are listed only in separate sub-paragraphs. Often the offices in which a document originated or to which it was addressed are not covered in the file descriptions and hence context is not apparent.

Additional Finding Aid

Sebta, Tet'iana M. "Kyïvs'ka chastyna materialiv Ainzatsshtabu reikhsliaitera Rozenberga." *Arkhivy Ukraïny* 1997 (1-6), pp. 53-73.

On-line version: http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/Researches/Doslidz-Sebta.php

See also Sebta's dissertation on the basis of documentation in fond 3676 below.

Microfilm Publication

Cultural Policies and Plunder of the Third Reich in Occupied Europe: Files of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in Kiev. Woodbridge, CT, and Reading, England: Primary Source Media [2007].

Part 1: *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reichsleiter Rosenberg's Operational Staff for the Eastern Occupied Territories)*, 44 reels.
Part 2: *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die westliche besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande (Reichsleiter Rosenberg's Operational Staff for the Western Occupied Territories and the Netherlands)*, 1 reel.

The microfilm version from Primary Source Media, a subsidiary of Thompson Gale, reflects the current arrangement of the ERR records in TsDAVO described below. Part 1 (fond 3676) includes 239 numbered files from *opys* 1; 39 numbered files from *opys* 2; and two files from *opys* 4 (nos. 326 and 444). Part 2 (fond 3674) comprises the three numbered Belgian ERR files in that fond. The ERR-related files in fond 3206, however, are not included. See: http://www.gale.cengage.com/servlet/ItemDetailServlet?region=9&imprint=745&titleCode=PSM350&type=4&id=226161

The scope of the PSM microfilm publication was made possible by the most welcome cooperation of Derzhkomarkhiv and TsDAVO. Initially, PSM had not been prepared to film all of the ERR records in Kyiv as a commercial venture, but with the donation of a new scanner from the Claims Conference, PSM decided to include more files in the microfilm edition. However, scanning was done in black and white without opening the bindings and hence images for the microfilms were less than optimal. More recently, color digital images have been produced for the TsDAVO on-line version of ERR records (see above).

PSM-Related Finding Aids

Cultural Policies and Plunder of the Third Reich in Occupied Europe: Files of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in Kiev. Woodbridge, CT, and Reading, England: Primary Source Media, 2007.

This "reel guide," which accompanies the PSM microfilms, is merely a printed transcription of the Soviet-era, Russian-language inventories for TsDAVO fonds 3676 and 3674, with parallel English translations. Includes an introduction by Liubov Dubrovina and a brief editorial note.

The introduction fails to explain the misleading names and division of fonds 3674 and 3676, as well as the awkward arrangement of the ERR documents in the latter. Not only does the PSM reel guide simply reproduce the vague and inaccurate Soviet-era *opisi* (without acknowledging them as the source), it fails to draw on the 2006 reference-index by Kashevarova and Maloletova to note, correct, or disclaim the errors and inadequacies contained therein. Copies of Kashevarova and Maloletova finding aid are distributed by PSM with the microfilms.

Kashevarova and Maloletova. *Deiatel'nost' operativnogo shtaba Reikhsliaitera Rozenberga v okkupirovannoi Evrope v period Vtoroi mirovoi voiny. Spravochnik-ukazatel' arkhivnykh dokumentov iz kievskikh sobranii.* Kyiv, 2006.

See full annotation above.

Additional Microfilm Copies Located Abroad (selected)

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), Washington, DC
Scattered selected files from fond 3676, *opys* 1 and *opys* 2, are available on microfilm in the USHMM, as part of RG-31.002M, a larger collection of documentation filmed in TsDAVO (although the current name of the archive is not given). Those indicated as being from fond 3206, *opys* 5, are erroneously labeled as such; there are no such documents among this collection (see Section 9.2.2.).

Related Finding Aid (USHMM microfilms)

"Reichskommissariat für die Ukraine and Einsatzstab Rosenberg records from the Ukraine Central State Archive."
On-line version: http://resources.ushmm.org/inquery/uia_doc.php/archives/xRG31002

Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society (SOMA/CEGES), Brussels
Microfilmed copies of documents from selected files of the ERR working group in Belgium (fonds 3674 and 3678) are available at the Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society (Studie- en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij / Centre d'Études et de Documentation de Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines) in Brussels (see Section 1.3.1.).

Related Survey (SOMA/CEGES microfilms)

Dirk Martin. "Something new: Archives from the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg from Kiev have been brought to the Centre War and Society (SOMA/CEGES) in Brussels." *Spoils of War. International Newsletter*, no. 7 (Aug. 2000), pp. 71-75.
On-line version: http://www.lostart.de/Webs/EN/Start/Index.html?__nnn=true ("Publications")

7.1.1. FOND 3676: SHTAB IMPERS'KOHO KERIVNYKA (REIKHSLIAITERA) ROZENBERHA DLIA OKUPOVANYKH SKHIDNYKH OBLASTEI [*SIC*], MM. BERLIN, KYIV[31]

[Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg for the Occupied Eastern Territories]

5 series/inventories (*opysy*), 885 files (*sprava*) (*Op.* 1: 253 files; *op.* 2: 44 files; *op.* 3: 48 files; *op.* 4: 491 files; *op.* 5: 43 files), 1940-1945

As most recently processed in the 1980s, this fond is made up of five *opysy*; however, not even half the files are of ERR provenance. The largest and most important group of ERR files now constitute *opys* 1 and had been first processed in the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian RSR in Kyiv (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR, Kyiv, TsDIAK URSR). These files document ERR operations throughout Europe, although the majority of these records were generated in the occupied Soviet territories.

The other four *opysy*, acquired from various different sources, were sent to Kharkiv and deposited in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Ukrainian RSR (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï revoliutsiï, TsDAZhR URSR), the postwar predecessor of TsDAVO, which was moved to Kyiv only in 1972. One group of five files in *opys*

[31] See the explanation of ERR names under Section 7.1.

2 document ERR operations in its Silesian headquarters in Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), to which the ERR evacuated many of their library and research operations from Berlin in the summer and fall of 1943.[32] The first two of the five *opysy* are almost completely made up of documents of ERR provenance, with only a few scattered files located in the other three.

Only two files in *opys* 4 have been identified as of ERR origin, with a third being only partially ERR related. Other files in *opys* 4 came from postwar investigations of wartime collaborators conducted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Narodnyi kommissariat vnutrennikh del, NKVD), after March 1946 the Ministry for State Security (Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoi bezopastnosti, MGB), and later, starting in March 1953, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del, MVD).

Some files from RMbO operations, apparently transferred from Latvia, were added to *opys* 5. Not all of these later additions are related to the ERR.

Given the confusion about the contents of this fond, which differ from the official name assigned, more explanation will appear below, including for files not of ERR provenance.

Surveys and Documentary Publications

Kashevarova, Nataliia Hryhorivna. "Dokumenty Operatyvnoho shtabu Reikhsliaitera Rozenberha iak dzherela z istorii vyvchennia natsystamy okupovanykh skhidnykh terytorii (1941-1944)." Dysertatsiia na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk. Kyiv, 2008.

———. *Dokumenty Operatyvnoho shtabu Reikhsliaitera Rozenberha iak dzherela z istorii vyvchennia natsystamy okupovanykh skhidnykh terytorii (1941-1944). Avtoreferat dysertatsiï na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk*. Kyiv, 2008.

> The typescript dissertation provides considerable coverage of files relating to developments in occupied Soviet territories, especially cultural plunder, found among ERR records in TsDAVO fond 3676.

Sebta, Tet'iana Mykolaïvna. "Arkhivni dzherela pro ukraïns'ki kul'turni tsinnosti, vyvezeni natsystamy v roky II svitovoï viiny." Dysertatsiia na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk. Kyiv, 2000.

———. *Arkhivni dzherela pro ukraïns'ki kul'turni tsinnosti, vyvezeni natsystamy v roky II svitovoï viiny. Avtoreferat dysertatsiï na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk*. Kyiv, 2000.

> The typescript dissertation itself has considerable coverage of ERR records in Kyiv, Moscow, and Germany. The bibliography provides a descriptive list (superior to the present *Opys* 1) of many of the Ukrainian-related files in Fond 3676. Appended charts provide a helpful survey of the organization of the fond.

Biblioteky Kyieva v period natsists'koï okupatsiï (1941-1943): Doslidzhennia. Anotovanyi pokazhchyk. Publikatsiï dokumentiv [Libraries of Kyiv in the period of Nazi occupation (1941-1943): Research. Annotated directory. Publication of documents]. Comp. L.A. Dubrovina and N.I. Maloletova; ed. O.S. Onyshchenko, H.V. Boriak, L.A. Dubrovina et al. Kyiv: National'na biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V.I. Vernads'koho, Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny, 2004; "Biblioteky Ukraïny pid chas Druhoï svitovoï viiny."

> Provides a register of documents in fond 3676 relating to libraries and general ERR cultural policies in Ukraine during the occupation, with full facsimile texts in German and Ukrainian

[32] See Grimsted, "Roads to Ratibor," pp. 390-458.

translations of key documents. In addition to the introduction by Boriak and Dubrovina on the ERR, there is a good introductory chapter by Tet'iana Sebta on the organization of the ERR in Ukraine (pp. 114-148).

Povernennia kul'turnoho nadbannia Ukraïny: Problemy, zavdannia, perspektyvy, no. 5. Kyiv, 1994.

A generally inadequate survey of the ERR records in TsDAVO.

Bondarevskii, "Kharakteristika dokumental'nykh materialov shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga," 11 Oct. 1947, TsDAVO, 4703/2/12, folios 3-13.

This unpublished report by the then director of TsDIAK shows more clearly than the current first *opys* the different groups of ERR materials involved (something that was later obscured in the process of archival arrangement) and suggests the abundance and variety of the materials among the ERR records in TsDAVO, fond 3676, *opys* 1.

Archival Finding Aids

The current typescript *opysy* available to researchers for fond 3676 in the TsDAVO Reading Room are Ukrainian translations of the Russian-language *opisi* from the 1980s, which were in turn updated versions of the original Russian *opisi* prepared in the 1940s and 1950s. The Ukrainian translations do not improve on or correct the description of the contents contained in the original Russian *opisi*. The former *opisi* are listed as file units within the current *opysy* that they describe. *Opisi* 1 and 2 are published with English translations as a reel guide for the PSM microfilm edition. Kashevarova and Maloletova, *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, provide much more helpful annotations than the Soviet-period *opisi* for all of the ERR documents in the five series.

Opys 1, 253 files (nos. 1-240, plus 13 supplemental files), 1941-1944

The files listed in *opys* 1 were first processed in TsDIAK URSR as fond 276s, later fond 1778s, with 207 units. The initial Russian-language *opis'*, dated 2 Mar. 1951, is itself now filed in *opys* 5 as file 40. Files 208-238 were added from a separate register, which was prepared in 1944 as 1a with files 1-30. The last Russian-language *opis*', dated 3 Feb. 1983, is now filed as fond 3676/*opy*s 1/file 240. Pages 23-309 of the "reference-index" by Kashevarova and Maloletova – *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga* – provide much more helpful annotations than the Soviet-period *opisi.*

Opys 2, 44 files (1-40, 29a-v, 30a), 1941-1944

The initial Russian-language *opis'* (22 Dec. 1954) from TsDAZhR URSR (listed there as fond 1778s) is now filed as *opys* 5, *sprava* 41. The last Russian-language *opis'* [1983] is now filed as 3676/2/40. The descriptions in Kashevarova and Maloletova, *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, pp. 309-330, are more helpful than the Soviet-era *opisi.*

Opys 3, 48 files

First prepared in TsDAZhR URSR, the initial Russian-language *opis'* (22 Dec. 1954) is now under *opys* 5, *sprava* 42. The last Russian-language *opis'* (4 May 1983) is filed as 3676/3/48. Kashevarova and Maloletova, *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, pp. 330-341, provide more helpful annotations than the Soviet-period *opisi.*

Opys 4, 496 files (1-491 plus 41a-d), 1940-1945 (with subsequent MVD annotations)

First prepared in 1960 in TsDAZhR URSR (with 483 files), the original Russian-language *opis'* is now held as *opys* 5, *sprava* 43. The last Russian-language *opis'* (4 May 1983) is now filed as 3676/4/491.

Opys 5, 43 files, 1942-1943

The original Russian-language *opis'* (8 Apr. 1964) from TsDAZhR, now file no. 39 within the fond 3676, has a stamp suggesting it originated with the Latvian Historical Archive. The last Russian-language *opis'* (4 May 1983) is now filed as 3676/5/39. Again, the descriptions in the "reference-index" by Kashevarova and Maloletova provide annotations for most of the files, see *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, pp. 344-352).

Opys 1

The files of the first series, *Opys* 1, constitute the largest group of ERR materials in the main ERR record group (fond 3676). They document ERR operations throughout Europe, although most were generated in the occupied Soviet territories. Those files, reportedly retrieved by Red Army scouts "in Germany," came to Kyiv with a "trophy" shipment from Dresden in the autumn of 1945. After being received by the Committee for Cultural-Educational Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, they were deposited in the Special Division of Secret Fonds of TsDIAK URSR in December 1945.[33]

When first processed in 1947, a Ukrainian archivist reported "among the materials received from Dresden" approximately 300 kilos of documentation from the "ERR (Shtab Rozenberga) working groups from different oblasts in Ukraine, including those from Kyiv and Kharkiv." No mention was made of materials from other parts of the Soviet Union or Western Europe, probably to justify their retention in Kyiv.[34] Although still inadequately arranged or described for optimal research access, these ERR files greatly expand the source base for the study of ERR operations in the occupied Soviet territories, from the Baltic republics to the Caucasus. Many of the files from different ERR units and operations were intermingled when the documents were bound, mostly in large composite folders and often in helter-skelter fashion.[35]

The files listed in *opys* 1 document Nazi propaganda activities and cultural seizures of all kinds, from archeological exhibits to films, library books, paintings, and Soviet propaganda exhibits. ERR inventories list the contents of archives and libraries of interest to the Germans, while some shipping lists give details of cultural property plundered by the Germans and sent to the Reich. These include collections from the Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad, icons from Pskov and Kyiv, and books from state libraries in the Baltic republics, Ukraine, and Belarus, to name only a few highlights.

Original files from the Main Working Group Ukraine (Hauptarbeitsgruppe Ukraine, HAG Ukraine) and its subordinate working groups, are largest in number, which is probably why the whole fond remained in Kyiv. Many documents appear to be original reports addressed to Berlin, copies of reports about ERR operations in Ukraine addressed to both Berlin and Ratibor, or

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[33] The official acts of transfer to TsDIAK say that they were received from Dresden, see Pashchin, chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the SNK UkrSSR, to TsDIAK, 12 Dec. 1945, TsDAVO, 4703/2/3, fol. 1.

[34] Bondarevskii to Gudzenko, 10 July 1947, TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 19-20 (cc fols. 24-25).

[35] The original 1951 *opis'* – see 3676/1/240 – had established at least rough rubrics in German for the different ERR operations involved, although the files were not always kept together. Unfortunately, those helpful indications were dropped from subsequent Russian-language *opisi*.

copies of reports to and from other ERR units. The Ukrainian-related groups of documents were probably evacuated west during the retreat in the late summer and autumn of 1943, when part of the HAG Ukraine retired to Austria, although some of the documents represent files that would have been forwarded earlier to Berlin or Ratibor.

Significant runs of reports remain from HAG Ostland working groups in the Baltic countries, western Belarus, and military occupied northwestern Russia, including Novgorod and the palaces of suburban Leningrad, as well as from the HAG Mitte (established 1 May 1943 to cover General Commissariat White Ruthenia and Rear Area Army Group Center). These include an almost complete series of reports of the Special Staff Library of the Hohe Schule (Sonderstab Bibliothek der Hohen Schule) led by Estonian-born Gottlieb Ney, who spent over a year in occupied areas of the Soviet Union from the Baltic to Voronezh and Kyiv, collecting books to be sent to the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule der NSDAP, ZBHS) in Austria.[36] There are also a number of documents from the ERR units operating in the Crimea (then still part of the Russian Federation).

From elsewhere in Europe, some files contain reports from various working groups addressed to ERR headquarters in Berlin. Intermingled in *opys* 1 are 16 files from the ERR working group, later a main working group, in Belgium and Northern France (nos. 159-171, 212, 217, 135, 239). These contain otherwise unavailable reports from Brussels to Berlin describing ERR operations and detailing seizures of important library and archival collections, including from Jewish institutions, Masonic lodges, Socialist institutions, and private collections in Belgium. Scattered documentation from the HAG Belgien is also to be found in other files.

Runs of documents in several files detail ERR activities in France (parts of nos. 171-174) including reports on confiscated libraries and the most complete lists available anywhere of ERR library confiscations from Paris, along with a few copies of reports relating to confiscated Jewish art collections. There are also a few documents from the Netherlands (parts of no. 171 and others). Other scattered files document ERR propaganda activities in Italy (parts of nos. 171, 175, 176) after German troops entered the country in 1943.

Some files include long runs of reports of the ERR main working groups in the Balkans, especially in former Yugoslavia (nos. 155-158), primarily with regard to propaganda activities. Significant files of newspaper clippings also remain in *opys* 1, but it is not clear whether these represent all of the files of newspaper clippings initially received, as some were apparently destroyed as waste paper.

An undated plan for the ERR archive in Ratibor (probably from 1944) clarifies organizational intentions and undoubtedly provides a key to how the ERR records would have been arranged under the ERR had the plan been put into effect.[37]

When archivists in Kyiv processed the ERR materials in 1947, they separated out some eighty "fragmentary bundles of personal papers and fonds of commercial and manufacturing firms in France, Belgium, and other countries (including materials from the personal papers of French writers of the 20th century), consisting of approximately 350 kilos," that had been captured by the Nazis.[38] As subsequently processed, these included 38 French-language fonds dealing mainly with French and Belgian Jews and Freemasons, with some documentation from French Jewish

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[36] See Grimsted, "Rare Books from Voronezh in Tartu and Tanzenberg: From Nazi Plunder and British Restitution to Russian 'Lost Book Treasures'," *Solanus* 18 (2004), pp. 72-107.

[37] "Vorläufiger Entwurf zum Aktenplan der Hauptabteilung IV, Ratibor," TsDAVO, 3676/1/3a.

[38] Bondarevskii to Gudzenko, 10 July 1947, TsDAVO, fond 4703/*opys* 2/file 10, fols. 19-20 (cc fols. 24-25),

communities dating back to the 18th century.[39] An additional 42 fragmentary fonds were identified as of German and Austrian origin, with a forty-third group of "manuscripts, letters, and photographs that had not been identified."[40] As has recently come to light, nearly 150 kilograms of these ERR-files of foreign provenance were destroyed in Kyiv in 1953 as waste paper, most of them of French Jewish provenance.[41] The rest of the original western archival material was sent to Moscow in 1956 and deposited in the Central State Special Archive.[42] The files forwarded to Moscow match up in provenance and content with fonds of foreign records Soviet archivists captured in Silesia from an archival center of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) and brought to Moscow in autumn 1945.[43] The fate of all the significant quantities of books received in Kyiv with those ERR records deserves further research, although 51 volumes were recently identified in the central library of Derzkomarkhiv.

Opys 2

This second series of ERR files, *opys 2*, apparently acquired from a different source and first deposited in TsDAZhR URSR in Kharkiv, contains fragmentary administrative files on ERR Ratibor operations (files 19-24), predominantly relating to housekeeping matters, building leases, transport arrangements, and personnel movements, many of which are crucial to the location of plundered cultural items. These files may well have been captured in Silesia by Soviet forces, either in the Ratibor region or somewhere on the road during evacuation. Other fragmentary files in the series come from other ERR units, including some press clippings and translations.

Opys 3

The files within *opys* 3 contain personnel files of local German staff in occupied Ukraine, including some connected with various ERR units. The Russian-language 1983 *opis'* claims they were all ERR staff, but that is not always clear.[44]

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[39] A list of these 38 fonds was presented with a descriptive memorandum by A. Bondarevskii to Gudzenko (11 July 1947), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 19-20. A separate list – "Spisok i kratkoe soderzhanie fondov i grup dokumentov na frantsuzskom iazyke, vyiavlennykh v fonde 'Aenzatsshtaba Rozenberga'" – [compiled by Vaisbergan?] signed by A. Bondarevskii, 26 Nov. 1947, is in TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols. 33-40, 51-52 (cc fols. 41-50).

[40] The separate list was prepared over the signature of Oleinik, director of TsDIAK, and Skorokhedova, a division chief within the same archive, 8 Jan. 1948, TsDAVO, 4703/2/15.

[41] The official excerpt from commission protocol no. 026 is dated 30 June 1953; it designated 1 Aug. 1953 as the date of destruction for "147 kg. 11 files, and 10 cartons." The list of ERR files that were slated for destruction is now missing from that file, TsDAVO, 4703/2/29, fols. 1-3. However, two copies of an eight-page list of the files destroyed was found among TsDIAK appraisal commission records for 1953, TsDAVO, 4703/1/136, fols. 113-121 and 122-129.

[42] See the letter from Pilkevich, chief of the Archival Administration of the UkrSSR, to Oleinik, director of TsDIAK (4 Aug. 1953), complaining about the non-fulfillment of the transfer order of 4 Apr. 1948, TsDAVO, 4703/2/17, fol. 69.

[43] See Grimsted, *Return from Russia*, pp. 57-64, 78-80. They had been found in an archival center in Wölfelsdorf (postwar Wilkanów, Poland), run by RSHA Department VII (Amt VII), Ideological Research and Analysis (Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung). The fact that these were parts of the same fonds from Kyiv suggests that the ERR was in fact forced to turn over much of its archival loot to the RSHA.

[44] See the Kashevarova and Maloletova, *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, pp. 330-341.

Opys 4

Files in the *opys* 4 were reportedly received from the MVD in 1960 and contain many NKVD/MVD investigatory files unrelated to the ERR.[45] Only two files in this *opys* appear to be of ERR provenance (nos. 326 and 344), although some others may have been intermingled with ERR operations. File no. 310 may have been ERR-related as it contains a manuscript of Professor Stepa, who was apparently being considered for propaganda work with the ERR.

> **326:** Contains letters to the ERR with Russian translations regarding many Soviet intellectuals the ERR was courting, some of whom had been repressed by Soviet authorities. Although of ERR provenance, the documents were also presumably linked to postwar NKVD/MVD investigations (see below).
> **444:** Documents of provenance in the HAG Ukraine with typewritten incoming originals and carbon copies of outgoing dispatches from Kyiv.

Due to the potential confusion involved in determining the provenance of additional files assigned to this ERR *opys*, but clearly not of ERR provenance, notes are provided here showing some examples of files of diverse provenance that have been examined and identified accordingly. These important documents, although not of ERR creation or related to the ERR, may otherwise be overlooked.

Commando Stumpp and Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*): Of particular interest to genealogists, especially Mennonites and other Germans from Russia, are the major group of files in *opys* 4 from the Special Commando for Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) headed by Dr. Karl Stumpp, himself a leading Nazi genealogist and the author of several important works on German settlers in the Russian Empire. These files include nos. 4, 10, 12, 15-39, 41-43, 74, 79-91, 96-100, and 299. There are also some reports from Stumpp's Dnipropetrovsk office. Other extensive files from *Volksdeutsche* units in Ukraine provide detailed information on numerous German settlements dating back to the 18th century (many with local maps), which Stumpp and his German specialists had compiled. Some of Stumpp's activities, particularly the plunder of archival documents relating to German communities, were associated with the ERR or carried out under its auspices. Although Stumpp was operating under the RMbO, he was often in contact with the ERR in connection with his activities and the materials he chose for evacuation.

> **N.B.** Mennonite specialists have checked the documents in this *opys* and reported the following files of relevance: nos. 4, 12, 18-24 (23-24 non-Mennonite), 25, 26 (26 non-Mennonite), 27, 48, 49 (vol. 2 continues 48), 50, 55, 58, 60, 62, 72, 74, 80, 85, 88-90, 96, 125, 129-131.[46]

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[45] The last Soviet-period Russian *opis'* has no introductory notes concerning provenance or receipt, but TsDAVO archivists looked into the issue on my behalf and suggested the aforementioned source of acquisition. The MVD origin of many of the files is apparent in the annotations and printed forms accompanying some of the documents concerning the SS-Training Camp Trawniki, among others.

[46] Researchers interested in these resources and other Ukrainian holdings and the extent to which copies are available should refer to the website hosted by Tim Janzen: http://www.timjanzen.com, and his compilation "Genealogical Resources for the Low German Mennonite Researcher": http://www.timjanzen.com/pdf/general.pdf. He and his colleagues have informed me of their interest in the documentation found among the ERR fonds in TsDAVO. Further references are available from the Mennonite Historical Society of Alberta: http://www.mennonitehistory.org/index.html.

Hitler Youth (Hitler-Jugend): Hitler Youth-related files include nos. 230-231, 248, 249, 353-355, 357-360. File nos. 229-241 relate mainly to Hitler Youth members among *Volksdeutsche*, but Stumpp Commando records concerning *Volksdeutsche* are also intermingled here.

Other RMbO and German Units: Interspersed in *Opys* 4 are a few files from other RMbO units in Berlin, including reference to the establishment of an Eastern Institute (Ostinstitut) in Berlin and plans for a German Academy (Deutsche Akademie) and *Volksdeutsche* schools in the east (no. 14). There are also some scattered reports regarding German tobacco firms in Ukraine (nos. 1-2, 5-9, 11, 40). One stray photo album contains pictures taken by Hungarian soldiers in Ukraine (no. 104).

Soviet NKVD/MVD Files: A second major component of *opys* 4 (not indicated as such and unrelated to the ERR) is an extensive series of NKVD/MVD investigatory files on Soviet citizens of German background and other Soviet citizens from Ukraine (given by name), presumably in connection with postwar investigations into collaboration. Interspersed are many "trophy" documents from the German police, the SS, and various camps, especially Trawniki (a training camp for prison guards near Lublin, to which many Ukrainian POWs were sent). *Opys* 4 also includes documents related to Ukrainian nationalist groups, some of which originated with the RMbO, but others probably stem from MVD sources. There is no explanation as to why these files were assigned to the ERR fond.[47]

Opys 5

This last series – which was sent to Kyiv from Riga and added to the ERR fond at TsDAZhR – was most probably abandoned by one of the RMbO agencies, but sent to Ukraine, because many of the individuals named were from Ukraine. The *opys* contains a few fragmentary RMbO files, mostly personnel files on teachers (some *Volksdeutsche*) in Ukraine, which presumably would have come from the RKU rather than ERR records. Many were associated with Kherson, a few from Mykolaïv (Nikolaev) and Beryslav.[48]

7.1.2. FOND 3674: EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG SHTAB IMPERSKOGO RUKOVODITELIA (REIKHSLIAITERA) ROZENBERGA DLIA OKKUPIROVANNYKH ZAPADNYKH OBLASTEI I NIDERLANDOV. RABOCHAIA GRUPA BEL'HII[49]

[Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg for the Occupied Western Territories and the Netherlands. Working Group Belgium]

Opys 1, 3 files, August 1940-January 1943

These files from the ERR Working Group Belgium (Arbeitsgruppe Belgien, AG Belgien, sometimes called AG Brüssel) were first deposited and processed as a separate fond in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution (TsDAZhR; then in Kharkiv), rather than the

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[47] File 347 (605 cards) is made up of identity cards (with photos) for "eastern workers" (*ostarbeitery*) and prisoners of war from Ukraine and Poland. File no. 78 contains *ostarbeitery* documents from the Demeg machine-tool factory, also from the MGB / MVD. File 107 contains documents from Leipzig police files concerning a factory Falkensee, near Berlin.

[48] See the listings in Kashevarova and Maloletova, *Deiatel'nost' Operativnogo shtaba reikhsliaitera Rozenberga*, pp. 344-352.

[49] See the explanation of the different names for the ERR under Section 7.1.

Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian RSR in Kyiv (TsDIAK). The fond was renumbered but never integrated with the more voluminous reports (ca. 15 files) from AG Belgien that are currently in fond 3676, *opys* 1, i.e., with the ERR records received "from Dresden" and initially held in TsDIAK. No information is available as to when or where these files were captured, but they were obviously displaced from the contingent files in fond 3676, *opys* 1.

The three files comprising this fond are all of provenance in the AG Belgien, August 1940-January 1943, first under Gerhard Ebling, later Dr Hans Muchow. All three files contain reports and correspondence addressed to ERR headquarters in Berlin. The first file contains detailed reports about ERR confiscations from about fifteen institutions or individuals, with the most detail being on Belgian Masonic lodges, for example, the lodge of the Grand Orient de Belgique (34 folios) in Brussels, and on the Suprême Conseil de Belgique (Rite Ecosse), likewise in Brussels (62 folios), among other lodges; individuals from whose libraries and personal papers were confiscated include Alfred Stern, Leo Kubowitzki, and the Duc de Guise (Jean, duc d'Orléans; Manoir d'Anjou), the pretender to the French throne. The other two files contain original incoming correspondence and copies of outgoing reports (no. 2: Oct.-Nov.1940) and no. 3 (1942-Jan. 1943).

Finding Aid

The current official Ukrainian-language *opys* is dated 20 February 1995. The initial Russian-language *opis'* (now held as fond 3674/1/4) was dated 19 October 1960 (initially TsDAZhR fond 1776s). The initial Russian-language *opis'* is reproduced in the PSM microfilm finding aid, with English translations of the folder descriptions.

7.1.3. FOND 3206: REICHSKOMISARIAT UKRAÏNY (RKU), RIVNE
[Reich Commissariat for Ukraine]

Opys 5, 38 files, 1941-1945

Provincial Administration for Libraries, Archives, and Museums (LV ABM)

The fifth series with fond 3206, *opys* 5, contains the fragmentary surviving office records of the Kyiv-based RKU cultural agency, the Provincial Administration for Libraries, Archives, and Museums (LV ABM). They were found by Ukrainian archivists along with evacuated Ukrainian archives in the Moravian Silesian city of Troppau (Cz. Opava), the final working center for the LV ABM. German archivist Georg Winter, who headed the LV ABM, had been sent to Ukraine in the autumn of 1941 by the ERR and the Reichsarchiv, after having earlier served with Nazi archival operations in France (also under the Reichsarchiv). During the first year, he worked primarily under ERR auspices, although he also simultaneously reported to the Reichsarchiv. The files here include some of the lists of archival holdings in Ukraine prepared under Winter's direction for the ERR and the Reichsarchiv.[50]

[50] After the war, Georg Winter became the first president of the Bundesarchiv. See the lengthy obituary by Wilhelm Rohr in *Der Archivar* 14, no. 3 (July 1961), cols. 179-190. His personal papers in Bundesarchiv Koblenz do not pertain to his activities in Ukraine, but some of his personal correspondence from Ukraine, especially during German retreat, is to be found among the LV ABM records in TsDAVO. See also the recent study based on the doctoral

Formed at the end of 1942 under the RKU, the LV ABM served as a political counterweight to the ERR, apparently a part of the power struggle between Reich Commissar for Ukraine Erich Koch and Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg. The LV ABM took over some ERR staff and worked closely with the ERR. There was also considerable overlap and exchange in personnel, with many LV ABM staff members working simultaneously for the ERR. Some of the archival material evacuated by Winter was sent to the Reichsarchiv center in Troppau, and a part of that material was in turn subsequently transferred to western Bohemia (then part of the Sudetenland).[51]

Some of the TsDAVO files document the evacuation of the LV ABM, with lists of the archival fonds and other items taken with them, first to Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi in autumn 1943, and then to Troppau, where a temporary headquarters was established, in winter 1944. Other files cover museum exhibits, icons, Bolshevik art, and antiquities evacuated for the ERR. They also include correspondence with Paulina Kulchenko, the Ukrainian art historian sent with plundered icons first to Troppau and then to an estate near Königsberg (postwar Kaliningrad, Russia). There are also some details about the evacuation of archeological exhibits and antiquities, along with Ukrainian archeological staff, under the direction of Rudolf Stampfuss, the head of the Sonderstab Vorgeschichte, which went first to Cracow and then to the palace Schloss Höchstädt, an ERR repository in Bavaria.

The LV ABM files provide many fresh details about the Nazis' organization and activities on the cultural front in the RKU, including the plunder of archives, libraries, and museums. They contain descriptions and inventories of some plundered cultural property, particularly items evacuated when the ERR were retreating in 1943, including remaining icons and art from the Kyiv Museum of Ukrainian Art among other museums.

Finding Aids and Surveys (published)

Dubyk, Maryna H. "Skhema sprav Kraiovoho upravlinnia arkhivamy, bibliotekamy ta muzeiamy pry Reikhskomisariati Ukraïny (1944 r.)" [A sketch of the files of the Provincial Administration for Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the Reich Commissariat for Ukraine (1944)]. *Arkhivy Ukraïny* 1995, nos. 1-3, pp. 35-37.

———. *Arkhivna sprava v okupovanii Ukraïni (1941-1944 rr.). Avtoreferat dysertatsiï na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk.* Kyiv: NANU IUA, 1997.

The typescript dissertation itself has a descriptive list (superior to the present *opys* 1) of many of the files in Fond 3206, *opys* 5.

Sebta, Tetiana Mykolaïvna. "Arkhivni dzherela pro ukraïns'ki kul'turni tsinnosti, vyvezeni natsystamy v roky II svitovoï viiny" [Archival sources for Ukrainian cultural valuables, taken by

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dissertation by Stefan Lehr, *Ein fast vergessener "Osteinsatz": deutsche Archivare im Generalgouvernement und im Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2007; = *Schriften des Bundesarchivs*, Band 68).

[51] Regarding the archival evacuations from Kyiv arranged by Winter, see P.K. Grimsted, "The Fate of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts: A Triple Tragedy of Destruction, Plunder, and Propaganda," in *Synopsis: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Zenon E. Kohut*, ed. Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn (Edmunton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005); also published serially as *Canadian Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 29 (Summer-Winter 2004), pp. 73-114; see also the earlier Ukrainian version, "Dolia Kyïvs'koho Tsentral'noho arkhivu davnikh aktiv: Potriina tragediia – nyshchennia, pohrabuvannia, propahandy," *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, 2002, no. 4-6, pp. 47-76. An on-line version is available at: http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/AU/AU-2002-4-6.pdf.

the Nazis during the years of World War II]. Dysertatsiia na zdobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorychnykh nauk. Kyiv, 2000.

Arkhivy okupatsiï 1941-1944. Comp. Nataliia Makovs'ka et al. Kyiv: Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia, 2006; Derzhavnyi Komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; = Bil'she ne taiemno, vol. 1.

Makovs'ka, Nataliia. "Aktual'ni dzherela TsDAVO Ukraïny z istorï Druhoï svitovoï viiny. *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, 2005, nos. 1-3, pp. 77-78.