

Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War:
The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries
Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris¹

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Public confirmation of over seven linear kilometers of captured French records in Moscow, including those of the security services, such as the Deuxième Bureau and the Sûreté Nationale, came first in the fall of 1991. Plundered first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets at the end of the Second World War, they were held in what was then the top-secret 'Special Archive' in Moscow—TsGOA (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv). A week after the publication of an interview with me in a Moscow newspaper at the beginning of October, the director of the archive confirmed the findings of the 'well-known "archival spy" Grimsted'. I was not permitted in the archive for another two years.² Ten years later, most of the archives of French provenance have since come home to France, including vast documentation from French Masonic and Jewish collections—the latest batch in the fall of 2000, following a decade

¹ A French version of this essay was presented as a lecture at the Institut des Études Slaves in Paris, 3 October 2001. Some of the data presented here are drawn from my book, *Trophies of War and Empire: the Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA, distributed by Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001). For an update on Russian restitution issues, see my article 'Russia's Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?' published by the Open Society Archive (Central European University), Budapest, February 2002—Electronic version (downloadable in English and Russian): <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives.html>. A full bibliography of my publications regarding displaced cultural treasures (some with links to the full texts) is now available on the website of the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG) (Amsterdam): http://www.iisg.nl/archives_in_russia/bibliography.html.

² Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Vyvezti ... unichtozhit' ... spriatat' ... Sud'by trofeinykh arkhivov' (interview with P. K. Grimsted), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 39 (2 October 1991), p. 13; publication of that interview was delayed for almost a year and was permitted in print only after August 1991. A week after the interview with me, TsGOA director Anatolii Prokopenko confirmed the holdings, in the article by Ella Maksimova, 'Arkhivy Frantsuzskoi razvedki skryvali na Leningradskom shosse', *Izvestiia*, no. 240 (9 October 1991). When Maksimova had revealed a year earlier the Nazi records held in TsGOA there was no mention of the foreign holdings. See Maksimova, 'Piat dnei v Osobom arkhive', *Izvestiia*, nos. 49–53 (18–22 February 1990), based on an interview with TsGOA director Anatolii S. Prokopenko. See also Prokopenko's own article, 'Dom osobogo naznacheniia (Otkrytie arkhivov)', *Rodina*, 1992, no. 3, pp. 50–51.

of arduous negotiations.³ A few fonds⁴ of French provenance remain in the former Special Archive (now part of the Russian State Military Archive—RGVA, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv) in Moscow, but most of those from France held in other Russian archives have not even been identified.⁵ Nor have most of the twice-plundered books from French collections that were seized at the same time and are now scattered in Russia and Belarus. Only since the collapse of the Soviet Union can we begin to explore their fate.

Here we focus on the fate of three Slavic libraries from Paris that were confiscated by the Nazis at the beginning of the Second World War and then plundered a second time afterwards and taken to the Soviet Union. These three libraries are but microcosmic examples of the vast European cultural heritage displaced during the war and the many still fugitive or ‘trophy’ (as dubbed in Russian) books and archives in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that have yet to be identified and returned to their prewar homes. New revelations about their odysseys provide insight into the patterns of wartime plunder, postwar counter-plunder, and dispersal, and help explain why more books have still not come home from the war. The tragic fate of these Slavic libraries in Paris also raises important questions about the relationship of émigré cultural centers in the diaspora to the homeland and the legal status of ‘Rossica’, ‘Ucrainica’, and ‘Polonica’ abroad.

³ An earlier transfer took place in February 2000. Regarding the return of the Masonic archives, see Pierre Mollier, ‘Paris–Berlin–Moscou: les archives retrouvées’, *L’Histoire*, no. 256 (July–August 2001), pp. 78–81, and Grimsted (interview by Pierre Mollier), ‘Les prises de guerre de l’Armée rouge: témoignage de Patricia Kennedy Grimsted’, *ibid.*, pp. 84–85. Regarding the 1994 restitution transfers, see Claire Sibille, ‘Les Archives du ministère de la Guerre récupérées de Russie’, *Gazette des Archives*, 176 (1997), pp. 64–77; Dominique Devaus, ‘Les Archives de la direction de la Sûreté rapatriées de Russie’, *ibid.*, pp. 78–86; and Sophie Coeuré, Frédéric Monier and Gérard Naud, ‘Le retour de Russie des archives françaises: le cas du fond de la Sûreté’, *Vingtième siècle*, 45 (January–March 1995), pp. 133–39. Liechtenstein (July 1997), Great Britain (July 1998) and The Netherlands (2001 in part) are the first three other countries to have received their archives from Moscow since 1991. The Rothschild family received the remainder of their archives from RGVA in November 2001. The transfer of archives to Belgium took place in May 2002.

⁴ The archival term *fond* has been anglicized, since there is no exact translation. The term came to the Soviet Union from the French *fonds*, but not without some change of usage. In Russian a *fond* is an integral group of records or a collection from a single office or source. American archivists might prefer the more technical term ‘record group’, which in British usage would normally be ‘archive group’, but the Russian usage of the term is much more extensive, as a *fond* can designate personal papers and/or collections as well as groups of institutional records.

⁵ For background on displaced European archives in Russia see my article ‘Russia’s “Trophy” Archives—Still Prisoners of World War II?’ and other writings listed in the bibliography in note 1. See also report presented at the IISH September 2001 seminar on the website http://www.iisg.nl/archives_in_russia/index.html. For more information about the former Special Archive (now part of RGVA), see *Archives of Russia: A Directory and Bibliographic Guide to Holdings in Moscow and St Petersburg*, English edition edited by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, introduction by Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov (Armonk, NY, London, M. E. Sharpe, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 225–30, with bibliographic updates on the ArcheoBiblioBase website at <http://www.iisg.nl/~abb>.

A Colloquium in Paris in January 2001 honored the 125th anniversary of the Turgenev Library, which was established on the initiative of the Russian revolutionary German A. Lopatin, and with the support of Ivan Turgenev and a circle of liberal colleagues then enjoying refuge in the French capital. It served generations of Russian exiles and émigrés in Paris, including Vladimir Lenin before the 1917 revolutions and Pavel Miliukov afterwards.⁶ A few months after the German invasion in 1940, the entire library was confiscated and shipped to Germany. After its prewar holdings fell into Soviet hands in 1945, part of them were destroyed and the rest widely dispersed throughout the former USSR. Only recently are Russian librarians willing to admit to and identify the books with Turgenev Library stamps they received after the war as part of the vast echelons that brought an estimated eleven million ‘trophy’ books to the Soviet Union. By the time of the 2001 Colloquium, however, only a single book had come home to Paris from Russia.

A Ukrainian Library was founded in 1927 as a memorial to Symon Petliura after his assassination in Paris on 26 May 1926 (with Soviet complicity still assumed by many), and served as a Ukrainian political and cultural center between the wars. The Library also housed the editorial offices of the journal *Tryzub* that Petliura had founded a year before his death. Like its larger Russian counterpart, the library and its archival holdings were plundered—first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets. In contrast to Soviet vilification of Petliura, the seventieth anniversary of his assassination was commemorated in now independent Ukraine for which Petliura had sacrificed his life.⁷ But not even the editors of anniversary publications were aware that some of the books and archives plundered by the Nazis from the library founded in Paris in Petliura’s honor are now widely dispersed in Moscow, Minsk, and Kyiv.⁸ None have re-

⁶ My major study of the fate of the Turgenev Library during and after the war will soon be published as an IISH Research Paper: Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, forthcoming). A French translation is planned. A summary version presented at the 125th Anniversary Colloquium in Paris (January 2001) will appear with the proceedings. See the newspaper report by Ivan Tolstoi, ‘Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii’, *Ruskaia mysl'*, no. 4350 (25–31 January 2001), p. 13. There is a collection of articles on the library’s history with some additional bibliography in the centenary publication, *Ruskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva. Sotrudniki–Druz'ia–Pochitateli: sbornik statei* (Paris, 1987).

⁷ Two documentary publications appeared in Kyiv, appropriately in collaboration with the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris: Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk, ed., *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna: do 70-richchia ioho trahichnoi zahybeli: dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv, 1996); and Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk and Dmytro Stepovyk, eds., *U 70-richchia paryz'koi trahedii, 1926–1996: zbirnyk pam'iaty Symona Petliury* (Kyiv, 1997).

⁸ See Grimsted, ‘The Odyssey of the Petliura Library from Paris and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 22 (1998 [2000]), pp. 181–208, in *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. Zvi Gitelman *et al.*, and ‘The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 21 (1997 [2001]), 393–461. Regard-

turned to Paris except a serial run that was found in Austria at the end of the war.

The oldest of the three, the Polish Library, was established in 1838 by leaders of the 'Great Emigration', including Prince Adam Czartoryski, following the suppression of the 1831 Polish uprising in Russian-occupied Poland. The Library was moved to its present elegant building on the Quai d'Orléans in 1853, a decade before the suppression of another Polish uprising (1863) brought more Polish exiles and émigrés to the French capital. Enriched by successive generations with rare Polish books and manuscripts, the Library, together with the associated Mickiewicz Museum, developed as a major Polish cultural center in Paris, preserving many important treasures exiled from the homeland. Library devotees managed to evacuate some of those treasures and catalogues on the eve of the German invasion. But in 1940 even before its Russian and Ukrainian sister institutions, the rest (over 130,000 volumes) was confiscated *in toto* by the Nazi invaders.⁹ Part ended up in Silesia at the end of the war, was recovered by Polish authorities, and then approximately 45,000 volumes were returned to Paris from Warsaw in 1947. Recently opened documentation shows that an even larger part was found by the Soviets in Saxony and transferred to Moscow. A large part of those books were 'returned' to Poland in the 1950s, but those materials still remain in Warsaw. Nevertheless, the Polish Library is the only one of the three to which a significant quantity of books (approximately one-third) has come home from the war.

Identification of the provenance of archives and library collections seized and transferred to the Soviet Union after the Second World War is complicated by the fact that almost all of the non-German captured books and archives,

ing the history of the library, see Arkady Joukovsky, 'The Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 14, no. 1/2 (June 1990), pp. 218–35, and the Ukrainian version, 'Ukrains'ka biblioteka imeni Symona Petliury v Paryzhi', *Ukrains'kyi arkhivohrafichnyi shchorychnyk*, n.s., 1 (1992), pp. 439–41. See also the memoir account of a former director, Vasyl Mykhal'chuk, *Ukrains'ka biblioteka im. Symona Petliury v Paryzhi: Zasnuyvannia, rozvytok, diial'nist' (1926–1998)* (Kyiv, Vyd-vo imeni Oleny Telhy, 1999).

⁹ The fate of the Polish Library deserves a separate study. For the history of the library, see Franciszek Puławski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu, w latach 1893–1948* (Paris, 1948), and a shorter French version by Irena Gałęzowska, *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris, 1839–1939* (Paris, 1946). Puławski relates many details about the wartime odyssey and postwar attempts at retrieval. I am grateful to Marek Franczkowski in Paris for sending me several accounts of wartime and postwar developments, including a couple of unpublished reports by Puławski. See also Waldemar Rolbiecki, 'Polska stacja naukowa w Paryżu w latach 1939–1978', in Danuta Rederowa, Bohdan Jacewski and Waldemar Rolbiecki, *Polska stacja naukowa w Paryżu w latach 1893–1978* (Wrocław, ZNiO, 1982), Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki, vol. CXXVI; Ewa Markiewicz, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu i jej zbiory* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994/1995); and *Przewodnik po zespolach rękopisow Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, compiled by Maria Wrede, Marek P. Prokop and Janusz Pezda (Paris/Warsaw, 2000). A series of separate catalogues cover many of the manuscript holdings: *Katalog rękopisow Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, vols 1–2, 4–7 (Paris/Warsaw, 1939–1996).

with the exception of those from Eastern Europe, were first plundered by various Nazi agencies at the beginning of the war. Confiscated from declared political and ideological ‘enemies’ of the Nazi regime, they were seized a second time by Soviet authorities at the end of the war, when Lavrentii Beria and his security agents wanted the books and archives to help rout out and study the ‘enemies’ of the Soviet regime. And so the three Paris libraries were twice plundered, or as many prefer to call them (particularly in Russia) ‘twice saved’. Analysis of these complexes of looted materials and identification of the specific Nazi and Soviet agencies responsible for their plunder (with newly available files of the Nazi agencies themselves), is helping to establish their provenance and migratory paths and providing new clues about missing or dispersed segments.

Many French archives seized by Soviet authorities and transferred to Moscow after the war came with the loot of the Reich Central Security Office—RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) from the RSHA Amt VII (Seventh Office) archival hideaway in Wölfelsdorf (Polish Wilkanów) near Habelschwerdt (Polish Bystrzyca-Kłodzka) in Silesia. Previously taken from Paris to Berlin, they were evacuated to Silesia during the summer of 1943. The RSHA Amt VII loot included massive plundered files from Masonic, Jewish, socialist, and Russian émigré organizations, along with many personal papers in all categories. At least 28 freight train wagons of those archival holdings were transferred to Moscow by Soviet authorities in the fall of 1945. Another 25 wagons of the French intelligence and police records were captured by Soviet authorities in a remote village near Česká-Lípa (German Böhmisch-Leipa), across the Czech border in Sudetenland, having been moved there from Berlin for a special counter-intelligence unit under the RSHA Amt IV (Fourth Office), which also comprised the Gestapo. Most (but still not all) of them have been returned to France. Some library materials taken to the Soviet Union after the war came with the RSHA archival loot, but after arrival in Moscow, most of them were transferred to a variety of Soviet libraries.¹⁰

Many of the archival and library materials from France that ended up in the RSHA cache in Silesia had initially been confiscated—or ‘saved’—by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), one of the most important Nazi agencies of cultural plunder working in the French capital. In Paris the ERR is best known for its widescale confiscation of famous art collections, particularly

¹⁰ See the study by Grimsted, ‘Twice Plundered or “Twice Saved”? Russia’s “Trophy” Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15(2) (September 2001), pp. 191–244. See also my initial report, ‘New Clues in the Records of Archival and Library Plunder during World War II: the ERR Ratibor Center and the RSHA VII Amt 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. I am currently preparing a monograph on these operations with extensive documentary appendixes.

from Jews who had fled or were deported. More research is still needed about the massive ERR confiscation of libraries and archives.

Many of the archival materials that were returned to Paris from Moscow in 1994 and 2000 appeared on a spring 1941 ERR list of 110 confiscated Paris 'Jewish libraries'—with names, addresses, the number of crates, and date of confiscation. Indicative of the problems of research regarding displaced archives and libraries, I first found a copy of the first part of that list two years ago in the U.S. National Archives in College Park, MD. A few months later, I found two more complete copies in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.¹¹ More recently, I identified another complete copy with the covering letter among U.S.-captured German military records returned to Germany and now held in Freiburg.¹² And recently in Kyiv I found several other ERR lists of private libraries and archives confiscated from Paris, which actually provided the ERR code numbers used for the crates and confirmed the quantities plundered from many of those same collections, including the three Slavic libraries.¹³

Following confiscation, the ERR was obliged to turn over many of the archival materials and some of the books from those Paris libraries to the RSHA and to other Nazi organizations. Others remained with the ERR or were transferred to other Rosenberg agencies. Their location at the end of the war depended on what agencies received them and where they evacuated them to avoid Western Allied bombing raids. Some of the books and archives on those lists that accordingly ended up in Western hands were returned from the Western Allied Zones of Occupation in Germany and Austria to France after the war. However, none of the books from the libraries on those ERR lists that ended up in Soviet hands after the war have been returned from Russia

¹¹ ERR-HAG Frankreich, 'Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien' (Paris, 23 March 1941), photostat copy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468. Another copy, in a positive photocopy from the microfilmed MFA&A files (film 14.51, pt. 2), in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz (BAK), B 323/261, ff. 48–60, includes a supplemental April list with an additional 30 library collections, and also a covering letter from Dr Gerhard Wunder to the Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Commander in France) (2 May 1941), which describes them all as 'Jewish libraries'. Still another (less legible) copy is to be found in BAK, B 323/258, ff. 471–483. (See also note 12.) Although still far from a comprehensive listing of confiscated libraries, that list provides positive proof, with name, address, brief identification, and exact quantity of crates seized from each individual or institution.

¹² The document (also a photocopy) is found on the U.S.–Alexandria (NARA) microfilms in the series Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich, roll 362, item 85621 (294K–306K), the originals of which are now held in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, MGRA 85621. Although this would appear to be the original photocopy other copies of which are held in US NACP and BAK (note 11), I have as yet not located the original document.

¹³ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (undated but with covering memos in the same file and other reports from 1942), in TsDAVO (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh organiv vldy ta upravlinnia Ukraïny), fond 3676, op. 1, sprava 172, ff. 274–275. Possibly the covering memo is the one filed later in the same dossier (21 January 1942), f. 324.

to France. Their fate in Nazi and Soviet hands can now be traced from several sources.

These three Slavic libraries were seized soon after the Nazi occupation of Paris, during the year before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. The Turgenev Library appears on the March 1941 list with an indication that '386 crates had been removed from 13/15 rue de la Bucherie between the 26th of September and the 6th of October 1940'.¹⁴ Nikolai Knorring, one of the Russian members of the Turgenev Library Administration who was in Paris at the time, gave the figure of over 900 crates because he saw some of the crates with numbers above 900.¹⁵ The additional ERR list found recently in Kyiv explains the discrepancy. According to that list (with actual Nazi crate markings), 387 crates were removed from the Turgenev Library—numbers 'M 1–152, and 766–999' and were turned over to the 'Amt Osten'. Interestingly enough that same list gives numbers for the Polish Library (with a total of '780 crates') as 'M I—M VII, 1–766', also turned over to the 'Amt Osten'.¹⁶ That list does not include the Petliura Library, but it does mention 5 crates ('SOO 1–5') from the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub*, whose editorial office was in the Petliura Library. We know from other sources that the Petliura Library was visited by ERR agents at the same time, although the actual confiscation of its entire holdings of between 15,000 and 20,000 books and many archival materials came in January 1941.¹⁷

The confiscation of the three Paris Slavic libraries—along with others on the ERR lists—served two purposes for the Nazis. First, they wanted to obliterate all 'enemies of the Nazi regime', including the Jews, Masons, and other potential opposition elements, and to abolish their operations. According to one ERR specialist, in the case of the Slavic libraries and related institutions, such confiscation of 'important Marxist-Communist documentary materials, significantly assisted the liquidation' of what they considered to be 'the central scientific, political, and publicistic operational centers of the Eastern emigrant "enemies" in Paris'.¹⁸ Second, once they had gotten rid of the 'enemies', the Nazis wanted to utilize their books and archives for analysis of 'enemy' opera-

¹⁴ ERR-HAG Frankreich, 'Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien' (Paris, 23 March 1941) (note 11).

¹⁵ As quoted by Nikolai Nikolaevich Knorring, 'Gibel' Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe', *Prostor* (Alma Ata), 1961, no. 8, p. 125; reprinted in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva* (note 6), p. 115.

¹⁶ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek', TsDAVO, fond 3676, op. 1, sprava 172, ff. 274–275.

¹⁷ See Grimsted, 'The Odyssey of the Petliura Library', and Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

¹⁸ Gerhard Utikal, 'Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes der Dienststellen des Reichsleiters Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande in Frankreich' (Paris, 20 March 1941), photocopy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468.

tions and preparation for their ideological struggle against them. In the case of the Paris Slavic libraries, the Nazis needed their holdings for their immediate wartime research and propaganda writings on Eastern lands (*Ostforschung*).

The occupation of Poland had already been achieved a year before the Polish Library and the remainder of the Mickiewicz Museum were packed and removed (September–November 1940).¹⁹ Although the holdings were designated for Rosenberg's planned postwar Nazi university known as the Hohe Schule, the ERR was forced to turn the Polish collections over to the Reich Ministry of the Interior for the library of its own research programme known as the Publikationsstelle—PuSte (literally, Publications Office).²⁰ But the Russian and Ukrainian libraries were retained by Rosenberg's Amt Osten in preparation for Operation Barbarossa, soon to be launched against the Soviet Union. Thus the Turgenev and Petliura holdings went to the ERR center for anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda in Berlin, along 'with materials from 28 smaller specialized collections'.²¹ In the case of the Petliura Library, the Nazis also brought the librarian Ivan Rudychiv to assist with the library in Berlin; he never saw the books there and a year later they sent him back to Paris. Before leaving Berlin, Rudychiv managed to transfer a few of the papers he had rescued from the Library and some of his own to a friend from Prague to be donated to the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine. They were later captured with other Prague émigré collections by Soviet Ukrainian authorities, which explains why that segment ended up in Kyiv.

Most of the library materials confiscated from both the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries stayed with the ERR throughout the war. After arrival in Berlin they were incorporated into the so-called Ostbücherei Rosenberg, a special ERR library for anti-Bolshevik propaganda research. As Allied bombing intensified in 1943 the Ostbücherei and related research operations were evacuated from Berlin to the remote ERR Silesian center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz), southwest of Katowice.²² A memorandum accompanying the

¹⁹ 'Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris sous l'occupation allemande, 1940–1944' (16 February 1945), signed by Jan Zarnowski, Franciszek Puławski and Czesław Chowaniec, supplied to SHAEF by the French Mission (22 March 1945), US NACP, RG 331 (SHAEF), G-5 Division, Operations Branch, MFA&A, Subject Files, 'Looting France', box 326. Another copy is among the OMGUS records (RG 260), Reparations and Restitutions Branch, Property Division, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 743.

²⁰ Michael Burleigh documents the arrangement for use of the Polish Library by the Publikationsstelle in his *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 held in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BAB), R153.

²¹ Utikal (note 18).

²² My detailed study of the ERR library and archival confiscations and operations in Ratibor is in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*; see also *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), chapter 8. Regarding ERR anti-Bolshevik research in Berlin and Silesia, see Grimsted, *Odyssey of*

ERR 1941 Paris confiscation list mentioned above was signed by Dr Gerhard Wunder, who by 1943 directed the ERR center in Ratibor. ERR documents found in Berlin confirm that the Petliura Library and the Turgenev Library were in Ratibor from the fall of 1943 until as least December 1944.²³ As another example from those lists, some of the personal papers of Boris Souvarine were returned to France from Moscow in 2000, but none of the 15,000 volumes of his Paris library, which (according to ERR documents) joined the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries in Ratibor.²⁴ At the time of their retreat from Ratibor in January–February 1945, the ERR was unable to evacuate the library books it had brought together in Ratibor—an estimated between one and two million volumes by the end of 1944.

Although most of the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries were retained intact by the Nazis, the fate of the books from the Turgenev Library in Soviet hands resulted in their wide dispersal throughout the USSR and Poland. At the end of the war Soviet scouts found a massive warehouse in a suburb of Katowice (75 kilometers northeast of Ratibor) with ‘hundreds and thousands of German crates’ of books.²⁵ Since many of those books had been plundered by the Nazis from Belarusian libraries, according to Soviet trophy brigade reports, an echelon was dispatched from Katowice (Mysłowice) to Minsk in October 1945. Some books from the Turgenev Library together with some from the Petliura Library, along with other Paris books from Ratibor, were part of that cargo.²⁶ The director the National Library of Belarus confirmed that a

the ‘Smolensk Archive’: Plundered Communist Records for the Service of Anti-Communism (Pittsburgh, REES, 1995), Carl Beck Papers in Russian & East European Studies, no. 1201.

²³ The Turgenev Library in Ratibor is specifically mentioned in several ERR reports. See, for example (Ratibor, 8 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, f. 252–252v, where it is the first item mentioned among those from the Sonderstab Westen from Paris—‘Turgenjeff-Bücherei, Signatur M’ and (Ratibor, 14 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, f. 247. See also Grimsted, ‘The Odyssey of the Petliura Library’ (note 8), pp. 189–91. An ERR report dated 29 November 1944 describes the visit of Professor Ivan Mirtschuk [Mirchuk], the director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Ukrainisches Wissenschaftliches Institut / Ukraïns’kyi naukovi instytut) in Berlin, who was shown both libraries when he came to Ratibor to lecture—BAB, NS 30/57. The Petliura Library (ca. 10,000 vols) is also mentioned in a separate ERR report of 1 December 1944, BAB, NS 50/53, ff. 234–235.

²⁴ Wunder, ‘Zwischenbericht über Souvarine’ (Ratibor, 7 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50, includes a two-page summary list of the 31 crates received (no. 16 was missing). The figure of 15,000 volumes was given by Souvarine in wartime and postwar attestations to French authorities—IISH, Souvarine Papers, folder 8.

²⁵ See the journalistic memoir of Boris Shiporovich, ‘Spasenie knig’, *Al’manakh bibliofila*, 1973, pp. 57–65 (the text is dated 1971).

²⁶ ‘Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha)’, no. 31, in ‘Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul’tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda’, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182–182v (original ribbon copy; cc in fond A-534, op. 2, delo 10, f. 137–137v); a German translation is published in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Arme: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1996), p. 141,

shipment ‘reached Minsk by train in the autumn of 1945—totaling 54 freight wagons carrying about one million books’.²⁷ Many of the foreign books remained in Belarus, whose libraries were devastated by the war, but others were forwarded to Moscow or Leningrad. A Soviet military report confirms a shipment of forty wagons from a Mysłowice warehouse that had been dispatched to the USSR with an estimated 1,200,000 books from Mogilev, Pskov, and Riga that had been retrieved by the Red Army. Presumably, they were part of those plundered books brought to the Ratibor area by the ERR, but we do not yet know if reference was to the same shipment as the one to Minsk that reportedly included some books from the Turgenev Library.²⁸

Some of the Turgenev Library books found in the Katowice (Mysłowice) warehouse were ravaged even before the shipment to Minsk, according to that same trophy brigade report. But a larger part of the Library remained in Poland. By the end of the year 60,000 volumes from the Turgenev Library were transferred to a Soviet Officers’ Club in Legnica, the Red Army Headquarters for Silesia, west of Wrocław.²⁹ A recently discovered January 1946 telegram—addressed from Moscow to the Soviet trophy library brigade headed by Margarita Rudomino (then in Berlin)—confirms the Legnica location and indicates the importance with which Soviet authorities regarded the Turgenev Library.³⁰

According to the trophy brigade report the most valuable books from the

Zeitschrift für Bibliotheksvesen und Bibliographie, Sonderheft 64. The report is signed by Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, director of the Scientific-Research Institute for Museum and Regional Studies (Moscow), who headed one of the main Soviet trophy brigades in Germany (May 1945–December 1946) under the Committee for Cultural-Educational Institutions under the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR and the Committee for Culture under the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR. Margarita Rudomino, Director of the All-Union Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow, headed the library group.

²⁷ From a letter by the director of the National Library Galina N. Oleinik to Frits J. Hoogewoud (June 1993), quoted by Hoogewoud in ‘Russia’s Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)’, in *The Return of Looted Collections* (note 10), pp. 72–73. Hoogewoud kindly showed me the original letter, but Oleinik gave no more details about the shipment or its point of origin.

²⁸ The Red Army document was cited without names or date by Aleksandr M. Mazuritskii, *Knizhnye sobraniia Rossii i Germanii v kontekste restitutsionnykh protsessov: monografiia* (Moscow, Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet kul’turny i iskusstv, 2000), p. 72, from an unspecified file in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMORF), fond 32, op. 113, delo 327, ff. 383–384v. I have as yet been unable to verify the original or related files and hence cannot confirm if that is one and the same shipment referred to by Oleinik (see note 27).

²⁹ ‘Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha)’, GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182–182v.

³⁰ The telegram from Morozov is addressed to Aleksei D. Manevskii and Margarita Rudomino (22 January 1946), GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 8, f. 218, with handwritten resolutions regarding their removal from Poland. The text of the telegram was first published by Ivan Tol’stoi in his report on the January 2001 Colloquium in Paris—‘Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii: “Kul’tura v izgnanii, kul’tura izgananiia”’, *Zametki uchastnika konferentsii*, *Russkaia mysl’* (Paris), no. 4350 (25–31 January 2001), pp. 1, 13.

Turgenev Library—from a Soviet standpoint—were delivered from Legnica directly to the Lenin State Library in Moscow in March 1946 by Major [Boris] Shapirovič [*sic*, i.e. Shiperovich].³¹ However, the arrival of that shipment or of Major Shiperovich at the Lenin Library has yet to be documented in the successor Russian State Library. We do now know, nonetheless, that the Lenin Library received a shipment of books ‘from Germany from the Officers’ Club of the Political Command of the Northern Forces’ in Legnica before 19 March 1946, because on that date the library’s director wrote the chief of the Main Archival Administration under the NKVD proposing to transfer the papers of Vladimir Burtsev and Viktor Chernov that had arrived with those books. Several Russian émigré accounts noted that the Burtsev papers had been taken by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library.³²

Although RGB librarians earlier refused responses and were apparently unaware of the extent of their holdings from the Turgenev Library, as of spring 2002, they are estimating between 8,000 and 10,000 books held in different divisions of their Library. But librarians emphasise that that remains a preliminary, and very provisional, estimate. The first public mention of that figure came at the RGB colloquium ‘Rumiantsev Readings’ in April 2002.³³ The quantity and the chaos in which ‘trophy’ books were received—usually without any indication of whence they came nor the multiple different divisions of the library to which they were directed without trace of their provenance—makes it exceedingly difficult and time-consuming today to trace their source and date of acquisition.

Because the Turgenev Library in Paris was such a prestigious institution and of such importance to Soviet authorities, books that bore that stamp were given special treatment in the Lenin Library, and penciled numbers with a ‘Tg’ designation were affixed to over 9,000 volumes. In July 1948, at least

³¹ See the Manevskii/Rudomino report, ‘Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha)’, GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182v.

³² The note from Lenin Library Director V. G. Olishv to Major-General Nikitinskii, I found in RGB Archive, op. 214, delo 6, f. 19. Both the Burtsev and Chernov papers are now held in GARF. The Chernov papers were confiscated by the ERR from with the collections of the Paris Branch of the IISH (see note 74).

³³ See the reports by N. V. Ryzhak, ‘Kollektsiia parizhskei Russkoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB’, in *Rumiantsevskie cheteniia—2002: Natsional’naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul’turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow, RGB, 2002), pp. 296–301; and by V. S. Miasishcheva, ‘Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kollektsiiami, popavshimi v SSSR v sostave kul’turnykh tsennostei peremeshchennykh v resul’tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, i nakhodiashchikhsia v Otdel’ khreneniia osnovnykh fondov (V kontekste deiatel’nosti po raskrytii knizhnykh fondov za starye gody)’, *ibid.*, pp. 280–83. Nadezhda Ryzhak kindly invited me to attend the session on 23 April, when she presented her more detailed report and showed several documents. See also Ryzhak’s article ‘Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud’ba izdaniia parizhskei Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB’, *Bibliotekovedeniia*, 2002, no. 3, pp. 114–18. Valeriia Miasishcheva was not able to present her report at the conference but kindly gave me a copy later.

one major batch of Turgenev Library books were catalogued in the Lenin Library in what was then known as the 'Fond of Fatherland Books' (Fond Otechestvennye knigi), as apparent in one of the recently opened acquisition registers (Aktovaia kniga) for 1948.³⁴ However, many of the accessions from the Turgenev Library were not processed until 1983. As a result of the inventory and call numbers (shelfmarks) assigned at that time, librarians have been able to identify one specific area of the stacks with 2,500 books from the Paris library. They showed me many of the books there and demonstrated the database they are preparing for those with Turgenev Library stamps among the RGB Division of General Holdings.³⁵

The Museum of the Book (Rare Book Division) is preparing a card catalogue of their holdings from the Turgenev Library—obviously among the most interesting of those received—currently numbering 425 items. Already they have searched their 'revolutionary' sections and found many volumes with stamps both of the Library/Archive of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) and the Turgenev Library. Librarians estimate closer to 1,000 volumes in that division, which will undoubtedly include more volumes with dedicatory inscriptions to the Paris library, and many with various stamps or inscriptions of previous owners (as is also the case in the Division of General Holdings). Most of the Rare Book receipts started in 1948 and came from other divisions; hence they do not have documentation about their arrival in Moscow.³⁶ As of spring 2002, not all documentation regarding 'trophy' receipts in other divisions of the library has been declassified or is open to outside researchers. But now that RGB has started a special project to identify and inventory books from the Turgenev Library (with the encouragement of the Ministry of Culture), information is beginning to open and further publications are planned.

A letter dated in the fall of 1947 now held in the Turgenev Library in Paris confirms that many books from the Turgenev Library were in Legnica, which may have been the first time the Turgenev Library Association in Paris knew

³⁴ A 1948 acquisition register that I examined (in April 2002) includes, for example, 'Akt no. 357' (27 July 1948), ff. 133–134v, with a heading 'Turgenevskaiia b-ka', for nos. 56807–56949. Books are listed with the author, title, place, and date of publication typed in, and the Lenin Library shelfmark added by pen in hand. Almost all authors' names in that sequence start with 'B'. This would suggest that the Turgenev Library books had been arranged in rough alphabetical order after their arrival in Moscow before they were formally entered in the accession register.

³⁵ One register for the early months of 1983—'Otechestvennye knigi 1983', kn. 1, nos. 1–1585', that I examined in April 2002, contains many scattered inventory sheets with the heading 'Turgenevskaiia biblioteka', dated 15 February through 17 March, for example, no. 43 (inventory nos. 723–749), no. 51 (853–875), no. 57 (nos. 907–926), through no. 96 (1457–1481). Many of the entries indicate that they were received in earlier years ('Probely za starye gody') and many indicate that they came from the exchange collections (*obmennyi fond*).

³⁶ I am particularly grateful to Zoia A. Pokrovskaiia in the RGB Museum of the Book for showing me the card catalogue and many of the Turgenev Library books she has identified.

of that location.³⁷ By that time, however, many had apparently already been transferred to Moscow. In November 1948, the Lenin Library transferred most of the archival materials it had acquired of provenance in the Turgenev Library to the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR (TsGAOR SSSR, now part of the State Archive of the Russian Federation—GARF). The ‘Act’ of transfer from the Lenin Library for those archival materials from Paris notes that they ‘were acquired with books from the Turgenev Library in 1946–1947’.³⁸ And in fact the Lenin Library received most of its estimated close to two million ‘trophy’ books during those two years.

By 1948, the Lenin Library had also started to transfer Turgenev Library books to other institutions. Notably, in 1948 at least one book from the Paris library containing notes by Vladimir Lenin was transferred to the Central Party Archive (TsPA) under the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML pri TsK KPSS).³⁹ Other books transferred to IML were registered in the library. For example, stamps of the Turgenev Library have recently been identified on seven issues of Lenin’s revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* in the former IML library, which has now been rebaptized the State Socio-Political Library—GOPB (Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka).⁴⁰

Even if it has not yet been possible to document the main Lenin Library acquisitions in 1946 and 1947, nor all of the transfers to other Soviet repositories, we now know that library continued to receive books from the Turgenev

³⁷ The handwritten personal letter from an unidentified ‘Katia’ addressed to ‘Aunt Dan’ia’ (possibly Tania) (probably Tanya Osorgina, who served as the principal librarian of the Turgenev Library after the war) is among Turgenev Library files in Paris.

³⁸ An ‘Act’ of transfer for archival materials from the Turgenev Library to TsGAOR SSSR (now GARF) (18 November 1948), GARF, fond 5142, op. 1, delo 423, f. 141. According to Nadezhda Ryzhak, after I showed her a copy of the document found for me by an archivist in GARF, she found a copy in the files of the former Special Division (Spetskhran), now the Division of Émigré Literature, which she heads, but she could not cite its location, because those files have not been declassified.

³⁹ That book is now held in the special collection of Leniniana, in the TsPA successor, the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), fond 2, op. 1, no. 26073, entitled *Fabrichno-zavodskaiia i remeslennaia promyshlennost’ Odesskogo gradonachal’stva Khersonskoi Gubernii* (Odessa, 1897). In addition to a stamp of the Turgenev Library, the book also bears a stamp of the Library and Archive of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (‘Biblioteka i arkhiva TsK RSDRP’), although that stamp had been cancelled out and a stamp of the State Lenin Library added. According to Maia Davidovna Dvorkina, who has researched these collections in the former TsPA and generously shared her findings with me, the book had probably been acquired by the Turgenev Library in 1920 and remained in Paris when the rest of the RSDRP library from Geneva was sent to the Soviet Union via Marseilles. That is the only book from the Turgenev Library that Dvorkina has found that was transferred to IML, although quite possibly there were others.

⁴⁰ I am exceedingly grateful to GOPB librarian Maia Dvorkina and her colleague who identified the seven issues in a preliminary search of copies of *Iskra* now held in GOPB; further searching may reveal more, but the task is difficult, because the issues were not kept together in serial runs by source. An early catalogue of serials still remaining in Paris indicates many of the issues of *Iskra* held before the war by the Turgenev Library.

Library in subsequent years. For example, one transfer of seven crates with 1,160 books from the Turgenev Library was received by the Lenin Library at the end of October 1948 from military sources, but there is no indication that those books had been in Legnica.⁴¹ Another recently surfaced three-page list gives highly abbreviated titles of 85 books and 13 journal issues received by the Lenin Library in January 1949 from the Officers' Club in Legnica. RGB librarians verified *de visu* 25 entries on the list (as a sample), all of which bear stamps of the Turgenev Library. Because the stacks of the Division of Émigré Literature remain closed for major reconstruction, it was not possible to verify the 12 émigré imprints listed but crossed out.⁴² Although the books on that list already verified do not bear stamps of the Officers' Club in Legnica, many other books with Turgenev Library stamps now held in RGB do.⁴³

If the current estimate for holdings in the Russian State Library is plus or minus 10,000, then what happened to the additional approximately 50,000 books from the Turgenev Library that were transferred from Myslowice to Legnica? And what happened to the rest of the closer to 100,000 volumes that the ERR had kept together in Ratibor? While as of spring 2002 those questions can be answered only in part, we know that many of the Turgenev Library books were left behind in Legnica. An officer who had been stationed there in the early 1950s reported in print (in 1994) that in 1951 he and some fellow

⁴¹ A copy of that 36-page list (mostly written in pencil and prepared in several separate sections) was first revealed by Nadezhda Ryzhak during her presentation at the RGB April 2002 colloquium. I have since seen the original in the RGB Archive, op. 25, delo 80, ff. 7–44. A note at the end, signed by the 'Chief of the Library, Lieutenant V. Popov', gives a total of 1130 books. The pencilled covering 'Akt' of transfer (30 October 1948) bears a stamp of the NKO (People's Commissariat of Defence) warehouse (*sklad*) no. 312 of the Storage Division (*otdel khraneniia*). The location of that warehouse has yet to be verified.

⁴² I first saw a copy of the undated typewritten list several years ago, but in April 2002, RGB colleagues found the original with a cover memorandum (dated 29 January 1949) in the RGB Archive, op. 25, delo 93, ff. 1–4. The receipt for the shipment was not sent until after 24 October 1949, when the Chernovitskii garnizonnyi dom ofitserov requested acknowledgement that the Lenin Library had 'received literature—85 books and 13 journals from the Turgenev Library (city of Paris) sent to you . . . in January 1949 by fast passenger train' (RGB Archive, op. 217, delo 4, f. 203). That note is signed by the same Lieutenant-Colonel Moisei Chertkov who signed the typewritten list. A confirmation of receipt was sent to the Officers' Club from the Lenin Library 24 November 1949 (RGB Archive, op. 217, delo 4, f. 202). Nadezhda Ryzhak kindly had an RGB colleague verify a sample 25 items on the list and provide their current call numbers; she has promised to check on the 12 émigré publications listed as soon as the stacks of her division are reopened. Chertkov's position as Chief of the Officers' Club in 1948–1949 has been confirmed by his military record card held in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO RF) in Podol'sk, a copy of which was sent to RGB with a letter of 25 September 2001.

⁴³ RGB librarians have found and shown me many such stamps. TsAMO also confirmed (letter of 25 September 2001, see note 42), the identity of the military unit referenced on the stamp—Voiskovaia chast', Field Post no. 02461. Earlier under the Political Administration of the 2nd Belorussian Front, it was reorganized under the Northern Command (Severnaia gruppa) and in June 1945 assigned to Legnica. I am grateful to RGB and TsAMO colleagues for verifying these details at my request.

soldiers were ordered to burn the remaining ‘degenerate’ part of the Turgenev Library, comprising ‘many émigré editions—Riga, Belgrade, Berlin, Tallinn, Paris, Sofia . . .’. He does not say how many books perished, but the process continued for over a month in the fireplace of the former German school building that housed the Officers’ Club. He was able to save only one of them to bring home as a souvenir.⁴⁴ Confirmation of the Turgenev Library book burning in Legnica in the early 1950s comes recently from another source—a retired librarian who had been there at the time and managed to save only a few.⁴⁵

Some books from the Turgenev Library survived the book burning in Poland. Several years ago (in the late 1990s), Turgenev Library Secretary-General Hélène Kaplan was shown 118 books bearing stamps of both the Turgenev Library and the same Officers’ Club in Poland in the library of the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism (now GOPB). Some of the stamps from the Library of the Officers’ Club include dates from as late as 1962. These books had been presented to the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow by the Institute of Party History in Warsaw in 1984. Since their arrival in Moscow, the library held them apart and did not accession them, because they were not in the GOPB ‘profile’, and librarians hoped to be able to return them to Paris.

The book burning in Legnica was not the only act of destruction at Soviet hands suffered by the captive émigré books from the Turgenev Library. Many of the books that remained in Minsk suffered a similar fate during Soviet ‘ideological purification’ campaigns, as confirmed by a librarian in the Belarusian capital who risked censure by trying to save some of the title pages with dedicatory autographs.⁴⁶ I have since heard confirmation from other sources, and I fear the same may have happened to books from the Petliura Library there. The same tragic fate befell a few volumes from both the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries that ended up in the State Historical Library in Kyiv, as reported to

⁴⁴ Vladimir Sashonko, ‘Knigi s ulitsy Val-de-Gras’, *Neva*, 1994, no. 10, pp. 301–305. The author reports an interview with the director of the Officers’ Club, Aleksandr Rodionov.

⁴⁵ Mikhail D. Afanas’ev, Director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow kindly furnished me a copy of a report he received from the daughter of a former librarian in the Legnica Officers’ Club, recounting that Turgenev Library books were burned in Legnica in 1955.

⁴⁶ See a lengthy footnote on the fate of the Turgenev Library by Nikolai V. Kotrelev, ‘Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki’, in *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: izuchenie i opisaniie (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh otdelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek vuzov, Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), pp. 107–109, or the English version: ‘Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library’, *Kul’turologiia: the Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1 (3), 1993, pp. 147–50. Kotrelev documents the rescue of several title pages with dedicatory autographs of important Russian writers from several volumes with stamps of the Turgenev Library that were designated for destruction ‘in an outlying Soviet library’. Kotrelev later identified that library to me as being in Minsk and told me that he has further evidence that most of the books were subsequently destroyed.

me personally by a now retired librarian who had headed the Division of Foreign Literature.

To add to the further dispersal of those libraries, many of the books first sent to Minsk were later forwarded to Moscow. Others remain in Minsk, as reported from numerous sources. The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation has given a figure as high as 3,000 for books from the Turgenev Library remaining in the National Library of Belarus in Minsk. However, in 2000 when the director of the Library of the Russian Cultural Fund in Moscow inquired, he was told there were none. Several Belarusian colleagues confirm books from the Turgenev Library remaining in Minsk, and some from the Petliura Library as well. A librarian from Minsk recently assured me he has seen (as late as the early 1990s) a considerable number of books with Turgenev Library stamps, including one with illustrations and a dedication by Marc Chagall. Possibly some were transferred to the newly established Presidential Library in Minsk. Belarusian President Lukashenko presented four books with Turgenev Library stamps to Russian President El'tsin in 1997, and assured his Russian hosts that there were more where those came from. Further research in Minsk is badly needed soon, because recent publications suggest many books of French provenance remain there with important dedications, including those from the personal libraries of Léon Blum and the publicist Emmanuel Berl—with autographs by André Malraux, Paul Valéry, and André Gide, as well as limited editions by Max Jacob with original illustrations by Pablo Picasso.⁴⁷

Only a relatively few books from the Petliura Library have surfaced since the end of the war. About 220 books with Petliura Library stamps were 'returned' to Kyiv from Minsk in 1989, and have recently been identified in the Parliamentary Library of Ukraine. Recently, the Russian State Library has acknowledged the existence of a few books with stamps of the Petliura Library, which have been identified since 2001, when librarians started examining more of their 'trophy' holdings and searching for Turgenev Library books. Further verification is needed there, particularly in the separate section for Ukrainian books that has not yet been searched. Some fragmentary serial issues with stamps of the Petliura Library are now catalogued in the former Special Archive (now part of RGVA) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) as part of the archival fonds of provenance in the Paris library. Many of the archival materials in RGVA were transferred to the former Special Archive from Minsk, while those in GARF came from the Lenin Library with the archival materials from the Turgenev Library. Surviving archives of

⁴⁷ See the articles by Vladimir Makarov, 'Avtografy sud'by', *Evropeiskoe vremia* (Minsk), no. 12 (November 1993), pp. 12–13; 'Avtografy sud'by', *Vsemirnaialiteraturn* (Minsk), 6 (1998), pp. 134–43; and 'Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk', *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999), pp. 25–27. The latter specifically names the Turgenev Library.

the Petliura Library, along with some of its prewar archival holdings and more issues of its serial holdings are now also to be found in two different archives in Kyiv.⁴⁸

Confiscated books from the Polish Library had a different odyssey from those of the other two Paris Slavic libraries. According to contemporary Nazi reports, the ERR removed at least 130,–140,000 volumes from the Polish Library. Assigned to the Reich Ministry of the Interior for use of their Publikationsstelle (PuSte), most of the more than 130,000 books had already arrived in Berlin by December 1940.⁴⁹ Since the PuSte had inadequate room for what would have involved three kilometers of shelf space in their present building, the books were initially deposited in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv (Berlin-Dahlem), where sorting and cataloguing was carried out by a PuSte team.⁵⁰ An extant 34-page crate-list inventory lists the contents of the 780 crates removed from Paris, grouped in sections MI–M VII, confirming the figures in the ERR report cited earlier.⁵¹ In February 1943 the Polish Library books were transferred to the PuSte building at Potsdamerstrasse 61, where holdings from the Mickiewicz Museum (including paintings, engravings, and other works of art) had earlier been placed. Some documents suggest that as many as 20,000 duplicates were assigned to other institutions, including the Staatsbibliothek, but confirming details have not been located.⁵²

The Polish Library hardly got settled in before it was moved again, remark-

⁴⁸ Detailed description of the archival materials from the Petliura Library in Moscow and Kyiv and the fate of its books are to be found in Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

⁴⁹ Regarding the seizure of books and the Biblioteka Polska/Bibliothèque polonaise in Paris, see the Fuchs ERR report to the Geheimes Feldpolizei (Paris, 15 September 1940), BAK, B 323/261. A 'Report to the Führer' by Rosenberg (13 November 1940) mentions 'a Polish library consisting of 130,000 volumes devoted to the history of the East', along with a list of other Jewish and Masonic cultural materials that had been shipped to Berlin—as published in *Le pillage par les Allemands des œuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appartenant à des juifs en France: recueil de documents*, ed. Jean Cassou (Paris, CDJC, 1947), p. 87, Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Série 'Documents', no. 4. See also ERR reports from the time of the initial seizures, all of which mention the Polish Library and the Rothschild Library (16 September 1940), CDJC, CXLV-574; (17 September 1940), CDJC, CXLI-181; and Rosenberg to Schwartz (18 September 1940), CDJC, CXLIII-275, and the later ERR report ([1944?], CDJC, CXLI-158). More details about the Polish Library from the German perspective (including initial reports from Paris and negotiations with the ERR) are found in BAB, R 153, especially file nos. 6, 1516, and 1650, many of which are cited by Burleigh (note 20), pp. 228–30. See also Puławski, *Biblioteka Polska* (note 9), pp. 134, 137, and the 1945 report cited in note 19.

⁵⁰ See, for example, PuSte director Dr Johannes Papritz's report for 1940–1941 (BAB, R 153/1516) and librarian Dr Wolfgang Kohte's report for 1941 (BAB, R 153/1131).

⁵¹ BAB, R 153/1569; the cover note (dated 9 March 1942) is now filed with what would appear to be a copy of the initial inventories prepared at the time of shipment from Paris.

⁵² See Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards*, p. 230. I have not yet found that figure nor any transfer documents. Colleagues in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin have been unable to document any receipts from the Polish Library. Reports by the PuSte librarian Kohte for 1941 (R 153/1131), 1942 (R 153/1522), and 1943 (R 153/1523) do not suggest major transfers.

ably with apparent little loss. Following government orders to evacuate Berlin with the threat of more serious Allied bombing, already starting in August 1943, the PuSte moved its major research activities and library southeast from Berlin to Bautzen (Saxony). Documentation for many of the evacuation shipments (including shipping papers and crate inventories) remain among PuSte records. Even floor plans of the Bautzen building, with indication of which sections of the library were assigned to which area of the repository, and the local home addresses of PuSte staff have been preserved.⁵³ The PuSte director's report that 130,000 volumes of the Polish Library were sent to Bautzen, with no indication of their further dispersal, suggests that indeed the vast majority of the holdings of the library were still together in the PuSte Bautzen evacuation center.⁵⁴

The Polish Library director in Paris, Franciszek Puławski, even before the end of hostilities, had learned that the bulk of the Polish Library that had been assigned to the Publikationsstelle in Berlin was further evacuated to Bautzen. According to his sources, during the fall of 1944, the library was further evacuated to Neugersdorf, not far from the present-day Czech border. Polish librarians (and representatives of the Paris library) became aware of the Neugersdorf cache and, soon after the end of hostilities, appealed to Soviet authorities for restitution. Apparently, as Puławski suggests, they succeeded in arranging for part of the library to be removed to what was soon to become the Polish side of the frontier, but that transfer has not been documented.⁵⁵

Already in February 1945, unlike the other two plundered Paris libraries, the Polish Library filed a day-by day account of the Nazi plunder and detailed list of losses with French authorities, a copy of which was forwarded to the Allied Military Headquarters (SHAEF) MFA&A units handling restitution.⁵⁶ But the Western Allies found no trace of the library in their occupation zones of Germany and Austria. Books evacuated from the Polish Library to the south of France and other safe havens were returned to Paris.

Meanwhile, plus or minus 110 crates of books (some of the books were not even packed) from the Polish Library were recovered in Silesia west of Wrocław by Polish authorities in the fall of 1945 in a manor house near Za-

⁵³ See especially the floor plans in Bautzen (Kornstrasse 1) and shipping inventories for the Polish Library from Berlin to Bautzen in BAB, R 153/823. Shipments continued until January 1944. See also the documents in R 153/825.

⁵⁴ That figure is mentioned in the report by PuSte director (Leiter) Dr Johannes Papritz (23 August 1943), BAB, R 153/825.

⁵⁵ See Puławski, *op cit.*, and esp. p. 172. These details are repeated in several other Polish reports prepared in Paris. Aside from Puławski's account, no documentation has surfaced about any transport of books from Neugersdorf into Silesia, although indeed Puławski and other Polish scouts, as he relates, were searching for Polish cultural property in Germany immediately after the end of hostilities.

⁵⁶ See note 19.

grodno (German Adelin, close to Złotyja, German Goldberg). We do not know how or whence the ca. 110 crates of Paris books reached Silesia (Zagrodno/Adelin). No documentation or first-hand accounts have surfaced to confirm they had been moved there from Neugersdorf, as Puławski suggests, with or without Soviet assistance. Curiously, they were found 25 kilometers southwest of Legnica, the Red Army Headquarters for the region with the Officers' Club to which the Turgenev Library books were transferred a month or two later. In any case, those books found in Silesia from the Paris Polish Library were taken to the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw in October 1945, although some serials went to the Parliamentary (Sejm) Library.⁵⁷ Most of them were thence returned from Warsaw to Paris in July 1947—namely '45,592 volumes, 1,229 volumes of periodicals, 878 manuscripts, 85 drawings, 52 portfolios of maps, and 298 other items (including catalogues and brochures)'.⁵⁸ Only a few materials remained in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw.

What Puławski and his Polish colleagues did not know is that Soviet authorities found 747 crates of books from the Polish Library in an abandoned brick factory in Neugersdorf in the spring of 1946, and thence dispatched them to Moscow in one of the echelons of Soviet 'trophy' books. Recently declassified Soviet trophy brigade reports document the shipment of those 747 crates (ca. 70,000 volumes and one crate of an alphabetical catalogue) to the Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow among forty freight cars in military echelon 177/8030 from Dresden on 6 May 1946. The Soviet report emphasized that the library was 'of interest to the USSR as a text for the study of Poland and other Slavic countries, most particularly, since our largest libraries have very little literature on such questions'.⁵⁹ Once the Polish Library books

⁵⁷ The shipment of about five freight cars, abandoned by Nazi authorities in February 1945, was found in a shed on an estate in Kswary Swierkowski in Zagrodno (German Adelin or Adelsdorf), near Złotyja (German Goldberg), 80 kilometers west of Wrocław—as described in a 25 October 1945 report by Dr Bohdan Horodyski of the Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw). The head of the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Narodowa kindly showed me a copy of the report and inventory in 1989. Most of the other Polish collections in that cache had been evacuated from Cracow in January 1945, including many earlier (spring 1944) evacuated to Cracow from the Ossolineum and Ukrainian sources in Lviv. There is no indication that any books from the Polish Library had been shipped to Cracow, although the Publikationsstelle had a subsidiary unit there connected with the Institute for German Work on the East (Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit) responsible directly to the Nazi Governor-General Dr Hans Frank.

⁵⁸ As quoted from the protocol by the Paris library director Puławski (note 9), p. 172.

⁵⁹ A telegram signed by Margarita Rudomino (16 May 1946) announced the dispatch to Moscow of 747 crates of books from the Polish Library found by Soviet authorities in a brick factory in Neugersdorf (together with several other German library collections)—GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 8, f. 133; that shipment is confirmed by shipping lists and other documents in the same file. See also the report 'Pol'sko-frantsuzskaia biblioteka', in 'Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh', GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 133v, and delo 10, f. 178v; published in German translation by Ingo Kolasa in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee* (note 26), document no 20, p. 133. See also the German published version of a summary note about the Polish Library in another report signed by Rudomino, *ibid.*, pp. 166–67, which dates the shipment as leaving

arrived in Moscow, however, 742 crates of them were turned over to the State Public Historical Library rather than the Library of Foreign Literature.⁶⁰

Librarians made an initial inspection of the 'trophy literature' in the summer of 1950, according to documents about the collection recently available in the Historical Library. In a subsequent report (March 1951), 'the collection with stamps of the Polish Library in Paris' was estimated as comprising '35,000 books, 100,000 issues of newspapers and journals, and 40 crates of other materials'. The latter were described as containing 'mostly clippings from newspapers and journals, photographs, letters' . . . , 'materials from the Museum of Adam Mickiewicz' . . . , 'materials from the Mickiewicz Academy in Florence,' and materials on the history of the Polish emigration and its organizations in Italy and England (19th–20th cc.)'. Among other archival materials were 'personal papers of Kazimierz Smogorzewski' and 'documents regarding the history of the Polish Library in Paris'.⁶¹

Because the collection was then 'stored in an unheated former church being used by GPIB for its duplicates and exchange collections', the more thorough cataloguing of the materials ordered by the Committee for Cultural and Educational Institutions of the RSFSR could be carried out only during the summer. By October 1953, after sorting and processing the materials, librarians described the collection as containing 'books, brochures, and newspaper and journal issues to 1917—50,317 volumes; books, brochures, and journal numbers post-1917—14,503 volumes; clippings from newspapers to 1917—64,820 in 15 boxes (with 12,807 folders); clippings post 1917—29 boxes (1,540 folders); and manuscripts, 4 boxes'. As evident in the reports and budget calculations, GPIB librarians prepared a complete card catalogue for all of the books and serial issues and summary lists of the other materials.⁶² At the end of December 1954, the entire collection was turned over to

Dresden on 6 May 1946 (p. 170); the original and another copy of that document are in GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, ff. 21–25 and ff. 59–65). Another summary chart of the library shipments published in German translation (document no. 31, p. 197), confirms the number of the echelon, but indicates that there were only 742 crates from the Polish Library from Paris. Another summary list signed by Rudomino in the same publication indicates that there were 60,000 rather than 70,000 books from the Polish Library found in Neugersdorf that were shipped to Moscow (document no. 26, pp. 166–67).

⁶⁰ The transfer to GPIB is documented in a memo by VGBIL director Margarita Rudomino to the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions (November [1945]), published German translation in *ibid.*, p. 171 (document no. 27). Documentation regarding the arrival of those crates in GPIB has not yet surfaced, but curiously, a tabular listing of the number (and markings) of crates in that echelon 177/8030 found in the RGB Archive (op. 25, delo 81, ff. 6–7) indicates that of the 747 crates marked 'P', only 725 were received by GPIB. Under an earlier echelon (177/8028), 7 crates are listed for the Lenin Library with the mark 'P', but further verification is needed to determine if those might be in fact from the Polish Library.

⁶¹ GPIB Archive, special unnumbered folder on the 'Polish Collection', ff. 11–12. I am grateful to GPIB director Mikhail D. Afanas'ev for arranging for me to consult the formerly secret folder.

⁶² GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, report dated 27 October, 1953, ff. 17–18. A later

the Ministry of Culture for transfer to Poland.

Some of the materials from the Polish collections from Paris brought to Moscow from Germany had gone to the Lenin Library, since they too were involved in the December 1954 transfer, as is evident from the official transfer papers and inventories turned over to the Soviet Ministry of Culture. Separate inventories prepared by the Lenin Library described 108 works of art, including 16 literary portraits, lithographs and engravings, among them a collection of 71 watercolors and pencil drawings with scenes from the Polish Romantic poet and revolutionary Julian Słowacki, and 20 rare items of printed material, most from the nineteenth century, including a five-volume set (printed and manuscript) relating to the Polish Uprising of 1863.⁶³

In January 1955, Soviet authorities, 'aware of the tremendous losses of Polish libraries and museums', announced at a reception at the Ministry of Culture the 'return' of these 'Polish books and manuscripts plundered by the fascist aggressor that were recovered by the Soviet Army'. Summary inventories of the Paris collection were handed over to Polish authorities in January 1955, but the official act of transfer to Poland has not yet been found.⁶⁴ Most of the materials received later in 1955, according to published Polish sources, were deposited in the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Museum (Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza) in Warsaw—namely, according to one source, 'the entire book collections of the Mickiewicz Museum in Paris (ca. 5,700 volumes), part of the books from the Polish Library (29,000 volumes), many manuscripts, and a large collection of albums of clippings . . . Because their return to Paris was not possible they were placed on "deposit" status'.⁶⁵

We do not yet know how many books from the Polish Library were left behind in the Soviet Union, nor how to account for the difference between the Soviet and Polish figures quoted, nor what may have become of what would appear to be missing crates (including the one with card catalogues) from the shipment from Dresden. Possibly some books also went Lenin Library (now RGB) and remain there. RGB librarians who have been searching for the

report (29 November 1954) includes 'five' rather than four boxes of manuscripts from the Mickiewicz family and Kazimierz Smogorzewski', f. 67. Apparently the card catalogues prepared in the early 1950s were among those destroyed by fire in 1980 in the former church used by GPIB for auxiliary storage, as suggested by GPIB director Afanas'ev.

⁶³ GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, receipt dated 29 December 1954, f. 70; typed copy f. 73 with inventories of materials from the Lenin Library, ff. 71–72.

⁶⁴ GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, report 'Priem' (22 January 1955), f. 74.

⁶⁵ These figures are given by Halina Natuniewicz, *Zbiory i prace polonijne Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza w Warszawie: informator* (Warsaw, 1984), *Zbiory i Prace Polonijne Bibliotek Polskich*, vol. 2, pp. 36–37. The transfer and holdings are confirmed (with an erroneous receipt date of 1954) by Tadeusz Januszewski, in *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1988), pp. 299–300. Further verification is needed in Warsaw regarding the materials received from the Soviet Union in the 1950s, as Hanna Łaskarzewska from the Biblioteka Narodowa also appropriately suggests.

Turgenev Library books report finding some from the Polish Library as well, but duplicates received by the Lenin Library may well have been distributed elsewhere. Perhaps some crates ended up with the State Literary Fond that was also distributing books in the postwar years to libraries throughout the USSR. Fifteen books with stamps from the Polish Library (two of them also with stamps of GPIB) have surfaced in the library of Voronezh State University together with another twenty-six from the Turgenev Library, as listed in brochures issued by that library.⁶⁶ Where more books from the Polish Library will turn up is now impossible to say, but recently books with stamps of the Turgenev Library have been reported as far away as the island of Sakhalin.⁶⁷

An unpublished 1969 report in Paris with details on the wartime losses by the head librarian (Kustoszh), Wojciech Kret, concludes that approximately 48% of the prewar holdings had been returned to the library in Paris at that point.⁶⁸ Kret, however, was apparently unaware of the materials transferred from the Soviet Union that were then held by the Literary Museum in Warsaw. Current Warsaw estimates from the Biblioteka Narodowa, if combined with Nazi documentation about the seizures and transfers, would suggest that the total returned (as of 2002) should probably be closer to 30%.⁶⁹ In 1992 the Biblioteka Narodowa started an assistance programme for the Biblioteka Polska in Paris, including 'arrangement, cataloguing, microfilming, and retrieval of fugitive books and manuscripts'.⁷⁰ Several accession registers and a few other materials were returned from the Biblioteka Narodowa to Paris at that time, but so far as is known, all of the books and manuscript materials deposited in the Literary Museum in Warsaw remain there today.⁷¹

⁶⁶ The report by Voronezh librarian Svetlana Iants at the April 2000 international conference on displaced cultural treasures in Moscow (VGBIL) is available electronically at http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/janz_r.html. Iants kindly gave me copies of the recent series of brochures listing the books held by the Regional Scientific Library (Zonal'naiia nauchnaia biblioteka) of Voronezh State University: *Universitetskaia biblioteka v litsakh, sobytiakh, knigakh*, no. 3: *Knigi iz Russkoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe, khraniashchiesia v NB VGU*; and no. 5: *Iz kataloga knig 'Pol'skaia biblioteka v Parizhe'* (Voronezh, 2000).

⁶⁷ See S. A. Paichadze, 'Knigi iz Turgenevskoi Biblioteki v Parizhe na ostrove Sakhalin', in *Tret'ie Grodekovskie chteniia: materialy regional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Dal'nyi Vostok Rossii: Istoricheskii opyt i sovremennye problemy zaseleniia i osvoeniia territorii, Khabarovsk 4-5 oktiabria 2001 g.* (Khabarovsk, Khabarovskii kraevoi kraevedcheskii muzei im. N. I. Grodekova, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 172-75. Turgenev Library President Sabine Breuillard kindly sent me a copy of the Sakhalin report.

⁶⁸ 'Oświadczenie w sprawie strat poniesionych przez Bibliotekę Polską w Paryżu w wyniku deportacji zbiorów przez Niemców w roku 1940' (Paris, 29 December 1969). Marc Franciszkowski kindly furnished me with a copy of this report from the papers of the Librairie Lettres Slaves in Paris.

⁶⁹ Hanna Łaskarzewska, who heads the Sector for the History of the Book at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, kindly investigated Polish sources and furnished me with a report about her findings in April 2002.

⁷⁰ Ewa Markiewicz (note 9), p. 7.

⁷¹ Other colleagues in the Biblioteka Narodowa had earlier suggested to me that more of the

Other private Slavic libraries and archives confiscated in Paris at the same time include those of Pavel Miliukov and Boris Nikolaevskii, as is apparent from the ERR lists and other Nazi documents. The papers of Pavel Miliukov seized by the Nazis from Paris are now in GARF, along with the editorial records of *Poslednie novosti* which Miliukov edited until June 1940. Over 5,000 volumes from his personal library are now held in the GARF library in Moscow. They had actually been seized, not by the ERR but by the SD for the RSHA, and were transferred to Moscow with the RSHA Amt VII loot from Wölfelsdorf in Silesia. Those books were transferred from the Special Archive to TsGAOR SSSR (the predecessor of GARF) in 1946, together with the papers of Boris Nikolaevskii from Paris, among others.⁷²

The ERR Paris lists include confiscations (books and archives) from several other Russian émigrés, including nine crates from Mark Aldanov (Aldanoff; pseud. of Landau) (SOQ 1–9), eleven from Mikhail Ossorgin (SOE 1–11), and initially three but later more from Boris Souvarine (Lipschitz) (SOS 1–3). Twenty-nine crates were confiscated from Il'ia Fundaminskii (usually Fundaminskii-Bunakov, although Bunakov was a pseudonym) together with records of the journal *Novaia Rossiia* (SOB 1–29). Seventy-one crates are listed as confiscated from a Czech library (SOK 1–71) in Paris, but their fate is unknown.⁷³ Also on one of those lists were 144 crates of the collections of the Paris Branch of the International Institute of Social History (IISH), which Nikolaevskii directed before the war, housed in the building (7, rue Michelet) next door to the Institut des Études Slaves, and which was rich in socialist documentation, including many papers of exiles from Eastern Europe.⁷⁴ An-

Biblioteka Polska books in Poland had been returned to France after the rescinding of Soviet-era restrictions, but Hanna Łaskarzewska in her April 2002 report assures me that was not the case. No returns of books from Warsaw are mentioned in the post-1991 annual or biennial reports of the Paris library published in the series, *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, 6 vols. (Paris/Warsaw, 1991–2000).

⁷² The Miliukov papers from both Paris and Prague (RZIA) are now held in GARF, fond R-5856 (2 opisi; 788 units; 1869–1939), as described in *Fondy Russkogo zagranichnogo arkhiva v Prage* [RZIA]: *mezharhivnyi putevoditel'* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 331–33. According to that account, Miliukov had transferred some of his papers to RZIA in Prague in 1935/1936, but 550 file units and 7,143 books from Paris were received from TsGOA. The figure of 550 files corresponds to the figure for the transfer of 18 September 1946 given in the annual report by Musatov, 'Doklad o rabote TsGOA SSSR za 1946 god', GARF, fond 5325, op. 2, delo 1640, f. 83. The editorial records of *Poslednie novosti* are held as fond 6845 (351 units; 1920–1939), described in *Fondy RZIA* (p. 332), as having been separated out of the Miliukov papers which we now know were seized by the Nazis in Paris. The papers of Boris Nikolaevskii from Paris are part of the fond held in GARF (fond R-9217; 95 file units; 1923–1937).

⁷³ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (note 13), ff. 274–275. Several PuSte reports from September and October of 1940 (BAB, R 153/1650) suggest interest in the Czech library, and in one (9 September 1941), PuSte librarian Wolfgang Kohte claimed to have no details about its holdings. No further documentation has been found. Regarding more crates of the Souvarine collection in Ratibor, see note 24.

⁷⁴ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (note 13), f. 275. The IISH location and con-

other document in the same Kyiv file lists 135 predominantly Jewish library and archival confiscations along with more Masonic ones. I more recently found ERR descriptions prepared in Ratibor in 1944 of 28 of those confiscated libraries among fragmentary ERR files in the YIVO Archives in New York City, but the Slavic libraries under consideration here were not included, since those higher priority acquisitions were immediately incorporated into the ERR Ostbücherei.⁷⁵

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the restitution of archives from Russia has so far been much more successful than that of library books. The extensive archival restitution to France is a case in point. In 1990 the Moscow journalist Evgenii Kuz'min, who now heads the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture, prepared the first major report about trophy library books in the USSR. His story revealed the millions of 'trophy' German books that had been left to rot under pigeon droppings in an abandoned church in Uzkoie outside of Moscow, including many valuable early imprints from famous German collections.⁷⁶ At a Russo-German Library Roundtable in December 1992, Kuz'min released a document giving the figure of eleven million trophy books brought to the USSR from Germany after the war, but that figure does not include those brought by other agencies or those that came intermixed with archival shipments. Initially at that meeting directors of many Russian libraries were not even prepared to admit that they held any trophy books at all, and only gradually has the truth about trophy collections been surfacing.⁷⁷

Since 1991, however, there have been only two library restitution transfers from Russia, both to the Netherlands in 1992, one of 600 Dutch books from the All-Russian Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL), and another of European socialist literature from the former library of the Institute of Marxism-

fiscation is confirmed by the report of Boris Souvarine, then the Secretary of the IISH Paris Branch, found among his papers in IISH, Souvarine Papers, folder 8, and also a claim submitted to U.S. authorities in Germany—NACP, RG 260, Reparations and Restitution Branch, Property Division, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 783.

⁷⁵ TsDAVO, fond 3676, op.1, sprava 172, ff. 273–283. YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G-223, a file from the records of the ERR Stabsführer IV5; most of the 28 library descriptions were dated in 1944 in Ratibor, although five of them had been prepared in 1942 in Berlin.

⁷⁶ See Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Taina tserkvi v Uzkom', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 38 (8 September 1990), p. 10.

⁷⁷ See Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), especially chapter 7, especially pp. 257–70, with citations to relevant literature. See especially the article by Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Neizvestnye stranitsy istorii nemetskikh biblioteknykh kollektzii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny', in *Restitutsiia biblioteknykh sobranii i sotrudnichestvo v Evrope: Rossiisko-germanskii 'kruglyi stol', 11–12 dekabria 1992 g.* (Moscow, 1994; also published in German), and the article by Ingo Kolasa, 'Sag mir wo die Bücher sind . . . : Ein Beitrag zu "Beutekulturgütern" und "Trophäenkommissionen"', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 42(4) (1995), pp. 357–60. The Kuz'min article and a few other selections from the 1992 Roundtable are available electronically at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution>, together with an extensive bibliography.

Leninism (now GOPB).

As of the 125th Anniversary Colloquium of the Turgenev Library in January 2001 only one of the 100,000 books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library (and then seized by the Soviets) had come home from the war to Paris, and that one by sheer accident. A Dutch-language 1885 edition of the New Testament bearing the Turgenev Library stamp was returned in 1992 to Amsterdam with the restitution shipment from VGBIL in Moscow, and Dutch librarians duly returned it to Paris.⁷⁸ There are some indications that some of the Turgenev Library books were not shipped on to Berlin and Ratibor; one letter found recently among the library files in Paris notes that approximately twenty of its books in Western languages were returned from Germany or Austria by the Western Allies after the war. Only one serial run from the Petliura Library has returned to Paris, having been found in Austria immediately after the war, making a total of 27 prewar volumes now held by that library in Paris.

Since the end of 1992 the initial optimism about accommodation and possible restitution of library books from Russia waned. The growing Russian nationalist reaction led to the Duma prohibition of all cultural restitution in the spring of 1994. As if in retaliation, German librarians published a volume with German translations of secret Soviet trophy brigade reports, documents how many books (and/or crates) were seized from each of hundreds of German libraries and museums.⁷⁹ Those documents have helped me establish the fate of all three Slavic libraries from Paris, but not all the archival originals are declassified in Moscow.

The Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) has been one of the leaders of openness in Russia with respect to trophy holdings, and its directors have since the early 1990s stressed the benefits of 'gestures of goodwill' in terms of restitution to libraries abroad. VGBIL has issued several catalogues of its trophy holdings and a database compendium of foreign book markings.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁸ This incident was reported to me by Frits Hoogewoud, Deputy Curator of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, University of Amsterdam Library. See Hoogewoud's published report about the migration and fate of the returned collections, 'Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)', in *The Return of Looted Collections* (note 10), pp. 72, 74. The book was first exhibited and appears in the catalogue *Tentoonstellingscatalogus van de boeken uit het fonds van de VGBIL aanhorig bij de Nederlandse bezitters Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, September 1992 / Books from the Netherlands—War Victims: Catalogue of a book exhibition from the holdings of the VGBIL, belonging to the Netherlands, 15–28 June 1992*, compiled and edited by M. F. Pronina et al. (Moscow, "Rudomino," 1992); an annotated copy of the catalogue is held in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.

⁷⁹ *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee* (note 26). Although most of the original Soviet documents in GARF included are now declassified, those among former CP records in RGASPI and RGANI remain classified.

⁸⁰ *Katalog der Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts aus den Beständen des VGBIL / Katalog nemetskoiazychnykh izdaniy XVI veka v fondakh VGBIL / Catalogus librorum sedecimi saeculi qui in Totius Rossiae reipublicae litterarum externarum bibliotheca asservantur*, comp. I. A. Korkmazova and A. L. Ponomarev; ed. N. V. Kotrelev (Moscow, "Rudomino", 1992, 1996), and the more recent *Katalog iz-*

VGBIL website provides a virtual bulletin board for Russian and related international developments.

A conference in April 2000 at VGBIL in Moscow heard the revelation about the twenty-six books from the Turgenev Library and fifteen books from the Polish Library in Paris identified in Voronezh.⁸¹ A colleague from Kyiv then queried if any books from the Petliura Library had been found there, but the answer was negative. The director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow thereupon appealed that all books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library which ended up in Russia should be returned to Paris, in tribute to the unique function of that library as an outpost of Russian culture in the French capital. A specialist from the Ministry of Culture later repeated his suggestion in print.⁸² A second VGBIL international seminar on restitution issues was held in April 2001 entitled 'Legislation and Gestures of Goodwill', but there were few other Russian gestures to report. Hélène Kaplan reported on the Turgenev Library anniversary, but the 118 promised books with library stamps had not yet been received from GOPB.⁸³ That 'gesture of goodwill' with respect to the Turgenev Library proposed a year earlier was finally implemented in November 2001, followed by a transfer ceremony in February 2002.

I first encountered the book stamp of the Turgenev Library in Moscow in 1989 at the home of a Russian historian friend. Never having been to Paris, he held in awe the library that Ivan Turgenev had helped found 125 years ago. He treasured the books with the library stamp and showed me the stamp of the second-hand bookshop in Moscow where he had legitimately purchased them. There have been many other sightings of Turgenev Library stamps in antiquarian bookshops and in personal collections throughout the former Soviet Union. Soviet newspapers report one deposited in a local library in Novo-Konstantinovo on the Don River and four in the Maiakovskii Museum

danii XVI veka v fondakh VGBIL / Catalogus librorum sedecimi saeculi qui in totius Rossiae reipublicae litterarum externarum bibliotheca asservantur, pt. 2: Knigi na novykh evropeiskikh iazykakh (krome nemetskogo) / Libri verba aliarum linguarum vernacularum continentes (Moscow, "Rudomino", 2001). The database of book markings is available electronically at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution>, and has also been issued in printed form (Moscow, "Rudomino", 2000).

⁸¹ For the conference report and published leaflets, see note 66.

⁸² See the conference programme and reports at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/index.html>. See the reference to the appeal by GPIB director Mikhail Afanas'ev with comments by a specialist from the Ministry of Culture—Nikolai Petrovskii, 'Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki', *Ekho planety*, no. 47 (November 2000), p. 31. Other colleagues in the Ministry of Culture, including Library Division Head Evgenii Kuz'min and Deputy Minister Pavel Khoroshilov, have also suggested the desirability of returning books from the Turgenev Library to Paris.

⁸³ See the programme and reports at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf01/index.html>, including my own brief contribution, 'Gestures of Goodwill and the Unfinished Business of Post-World War II Restitution', available in English and Russian translation. Kaplan's report was unfortunately not submitted for publication. The conference proceedings were published in both Russian and German (Berlin/Moscow, 2001).

in Moscow. Several have been presented at different times to the Turgenev Museum near Orel, often because people wrongly assumed the stamps meant the books were from Turgenev's personal library; these include the most recent gift to Russia from Belarus President Lukashenko. Russian librarians report having been shown books with Turgenev Library stamps in Minsk. A Ukrainian colleague reported a few more in a village outside of Kyiv—brought home by a soldier from the war. Two have been reported at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California—probably received on exchange from the Soviet Union.⁸⁴

At the end of the 1980s, 220 surviving books with Petliura Library stamps identified in Minsk were 'returned' to Kyiv rather than to Paris. Recently the Russian State Library is finding a few more books from the Petliura Library, and scattered periodical issues are among the archival materials from its prewar collections now held in two archives in Moscow and two in Kyiv. In 2000 Russian archivists refused to return the administrative records of the Petliura Library remaining in the former Special Archive (now RGVA) that were listed among the archival fonds of French provenance claimed by France. Also on the list of official French claims—but held back from restitution—were several groups of files from Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris that were held by the Petliura Library before the war, including editorial records of the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub*, whose office was housed in that library. Additional records of the Petliura Library and scattered files of other émigré groups created in France collected by the Library before the war are located across the city of Moscow in the State Archive of the Russian Federation—GARF.⁸⁵

GARF also holds two fonds with important fragments of the Paris administrative files and even prewar catalogues of the Turgenev Library.⁸⁶ Those twice-plundered records of the Turgenev Library and more of those from the Petliura Library that are still held in GARF have yet to be considered for restitution and did not appear on the Franco-Russian restitution list. At that point, no formal claim had been filed by the French side, which will now undoubtedly be necessary. Russian archivists tend to believe that 'archival Rossica' should be kept in Russia and balk about its restitution, even if it was created in emigration and seized by the Nazis during the war.⁸⁷ Recently I have

⁸⁴ These are all documented in my forthcoming study of the Turgenev Library (note 6).

⁸⁵ Descriptions of all of the archival fonds as currently organized in both RGVA and GARF are listed in Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

⁸⁶ Fragmentary administrative records of the Turgenev Library, together with stray issues of several émigré journals confiscated by the Nazis from Paris, are currently held in GARF, fond 6846 (141 files), and a few additional files relating to books borrowed by Russian soldiers at the end of World War I are held separately in fond 6162 (13 files).

⁸⁷ See my recent report on the Russian retrieval of archival Rossica, 'Tsel' vyavleniia zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: politika ili kul'tura?', in *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: itogi i perspektivy*

confirmation that approximately eighteen additional files from the Turgenev Library's own records are held among unprocessed 'trophy' reserves in the Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library, but they are not open for examination.⁸⁸ Given the fact that these materials arrived with postwar 'trophy' shipments, a formal claim from Paris may be necessary for their retrieval, along with a claim for the thousands of books from Paris still in that same library.

Before 2001, information about the Turgenev Library holdings in RGB was not openly available, and even RGB librarians were not aware of all their holdings. An article by a specialist in the Ministry of Culture suggested in the fall of 2000 that such data was 'locked away with seven seals'.⁸⁹ Soon after that article appeared and the Ministry of Culture issued orders (and provided support) for the description of 'trophy' library holdings, the Russian State Library is now openly admitting its 'trophy' holdings and undertaking costly efforts to identify them and document whence they came.

When the French archival claims were filed in Russia in the 1990's, specialists in Paris were still unaware of those Ukrainian émigré materials in Moscow. When a preliminary list of fonds in the Special Archive was prepared in Moscow, Russian archivists erroneously identified the fonds of the Petliura Library and other Paris Ukrainian émigré organizations as of provenance in Ukraine. Most of those fonds in GARF were listed publicly for the first time in 1998 as part of the archive's 'Rossica' holdings, but their provenance was not identified. They were subsequently identified and described in my article on the fate of the Petliura Library.⁹⁰ In the year 2000 a guide appeared in Moscow covering the holdings of the Russian Foreign Historical Archive (RZIA) in Prague that were transferred to Moscow as a 'gift' to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1946. When work started on that guide in 1989 archivists in TsGAOR SSSR had the fond containing the archive of

vyiavleniia i vozvrashcheniia. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 16–17 noiabria 2000 g., Moskva, ed. Vladimir P. Kozlov (Moscow, Rosarkhiv, Rossiiskoe obshchestvo istorikov-arkhivistov, 2001); an expanded English version of my study is in preparation.

⁸⁸ As described to me in September 2001, approximately three additional partially processed archival boxes (*ca.* 18 files) remain in the Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library. As of spring 2002, pending further processing, I have still not been permitted to examine these files.

⁸⁹ Nikolai Petrovskii, 'Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki', *Ekho planety*, no. 47 (November 2000), p. 30.

⁹⁰ *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: putevoditel'*, vol. 6: *Perechen' fondov Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii i nauchno-spravochnyi apparat k dokumentam arkhiva*, ed. S. V. Mironenko (Moscow, 1998). They were also listed in an appendix of a monograph by Andrei V. Popov, *Russkoe zarubezh'e i arkhivy: dokumenty rossiiskoi emigratsii v arkhivakh Moskvy: problemy vyiavleniia, komplektovaniia, opisaniia, ispol'zovaniia* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 250–53, *passim*. Those fonds will be described in more detail in the forthcoming guide to émigré fonds in GARF. For the Ukrainian ones from Paris, see Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8), pp. 410–13.

the Turgenev Library listed as having come from RZIA in Prague. After my explanation that the files came from Paris with evidence of Turgenev Library book stamps, GARF archivists dropped them from the RZIA guide.⁹¹

Numerous international conventions and resolutions, including those of the United Nations and UNESCO, the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA), and the International Council on Archives (ICA) call for the return of displaced cultural property to the country of origin. One of the conditions Russia signed in 1996 when it was admitted to the Council of Europe called for the return of cultural property of member States. But unfortunately those international legal instruments have not yet helped bring home many of the 'trophy' books and archives that still remain in Russia.

The case of the Slavic libraries in Paris is different to the extent that one would hope there would be more goodwill from the 'homelands' involved, especially today following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when all three Slavic nations are seeking reintegration with the lost and earlier exiled culture of the diaspora. Those three libraries represent cultural centers for Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles in Paris, where they were founded and have a long history and important traditions. Earlier they may have protected and preserved for posterity exiled elements of cultural and political history. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, they may have served as centers of opposition to the Communist regime that went to great lengths to seal itself off from its exiles and dissidents, yet simultaneously trying to keep track of them. Today they could all serve as potential centers for strengthening and enriching Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish ties with the diaspora.

In contrast to the lack of close ties with the homeland for the Russian and Ukrainian Libraries, the Polish Library in Paris has had direct ties with the Polish Academy in Cracow since the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, during the interwar period it became an important cultural center abroad for the newly reconstituted Polish Republic. More recently, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is resuming its former academic ties with the Cracow Academy, and the Biblioteka Narodowa has also been providing professional assistance for what they consider an important outpost of Polish culture in the French capital.

Recently, a few Ukrainian colleagues in Kyiv who have heard about the sad fate of the Petliura Library books and archives in the Soviet Union have suggested their willingness to assist that library in Paris regain its displaced holdings that survive in former Soviet repositories. But the question arises as to whether or not the Ukrainian émigré community in Paris today has adequate resources today to reprocess and preserve those library and archival materi-

⁹¹ *Fondy RZIA* (note 68). One of the compilers, Tatiana F. Pavlova, kindly showed me the list and arranged my access to the records in the archive then still known as TsGAOR SSSR.

als, or if there is another suitable repository for preservation in Paris. Today, at least some Russian colleagues understand the importance of the Turgenev Library in Paris and want to help retrieve its lost collections. The 118 books transferred from GOPB in Moscow are a good example, as is the appeal of the Moscow Historical Library director that all Turgenev Library books in the former Soviet Union should be returned to Paris, even if at present the modest library accommodations hardly befit its past glory. In the post-Soviet epoch these Slavic émigré libraries cannot survive their tragic dispersal during World War II without good cultural relations with—and assistance from—the home country. But those libraries also need the support of a strong and active émigré community in Paris, such as existed before the Second World War and whose intellectual focus included the libraries, and when in turn the rich and illustrious library holdings gave the libraries greater potential for good relations with the émigré communities in France. Today, to be sure, they would benefit considerably from renewed French government assistance, such as the municipal support the Turgenev Library enjoyed before World War II.

The half-century denial that thousands of books from the Turgenev Library were in fact held by the former Lenin State Library and the ‘non-existence’ of documentation about their arrival amidst the vast shipments of cultural ‘trophy compensation’ was part of the Soviet cover-up of the tragic postwar fate of the Paris libraries. Why should books from the Petliura Library found in Minsk have been ‘returned’ to Kyiv instead of Paris? Or why should books with stamps of the Turgenev Library in Paris transferred with Nazi wartime loot from Silesia to Minsk be presented to Orel rather than to Paris? We know why Soviet authorities wanted memorials to the Polish revolutionary movement returned to Warsaw rather than Paris in the 1950s. But whether or not today those treasures, or at least part of them, should remain in Warsaw is a difficult question that will have to be resolved between the émigré community and specialists in the home country. Certainly there will be little argument for the return of any more to Paris before the library there can complete its renovation and reopen adequate facilities to preserve the Polish treasures it lost to the Nazis and to better serve as a vibrant center of Polish culture abroad.

Some émigrés today may prefer to see their personal libraries and the archival legacy earlier preserved in exile reunited in archives in the home country—now that Ukraine has achieved independence, or now that the Russian Federation is no longer part of the Soviet Union. Such should be their individual choice. However, as long as there is an émigré community in Paris, its strength and vitality, together with its cultural heritage, can be important to Russia or to the newly independent Ukrainian nation. Petliura himself, not long before his assassination in Paris, pronounced his belief that a strong library and cultural center is essential to an émigré community.

Approximately thirty percent of the prewar collections of the Polish Library

and related Mickiewicz Museum have come home from their wartime odyssey. Another thirty percent have been identified in Warsaw, although the rest is still missing. Poland understood the importance of the Paris library when it returned the books that were found in Poland immediately after the war in 1947 and started professional library assistance in 1992. The Biblioteka Narodowa has been collaborating in the publication of a scholarly journal and series of manuscript catalogues and staged an exhibition about the Paris library in 1994–1995. To be sure, the Polish Library in Paris retains full independence and resists any attempts at political or cultural control from Warsaw.⁹² The Polish Library is the oldest, richest in holdings, and now best supported of the three. Although currently closed for major renovation of its historic building on the Ile-St-Louis it nonetheless provides a constructive example for the other two in terms of relations with the homeland.

At a reception in the Hotel de Ville honoring the 125th Anniversary of the Turgenev Library last January, Paris Mayor Jean Tiberi acknowledged a gift of 500 newly published Russian books from Moscow Mayor Iurii Luzhkov. Those new books were duly appreciated by the library and displayed in the French capital. However, the Russian delegation of eight who arrived from Moscow for the colloquium on that occasion could not bring even one symbolic volume of the promised 118 books with prewar Turgenev Library stamps from the former Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (now GOPB). Significantly at the Colloquium a representative of the Russian State Library revealed for the first time that 3,400 books with Turgenev Library stamps had been identified in the former Lenin Library (earlier such holdings were denied). A year later in spring 2002 that total has risen from 8,000 to 10,000 volumes. The Moscow library, with support from the Ministry of Culture, is preparing an electronic catalogue with even more detail about their holdings from the Paris library than GPIB prepared in the 1950s for its even more extensive holdings from the Polish Library in Paris that were subsequently returned to Warsaw. Whether more of those books will be candidates for ‘homecoming’ to the French capital has now become a more open question.

A year after the anniversary the 118 books from GOPB found in Poland were formally transferred to the president and secretary-general of the Turgenev Library in a ceremony in Moscow on 12 February 2002. The transfer was attended by the the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Aleksandr Avdeev (now the Russian Ambassador in Paris),

⁹² See the series *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* (Paris, 1991–2000), 5 vols; and the series of manuscript catalogues in note 9. The annual reports in successive volumes of the *Akta* give details about the professional assistance of the Biblioteka Narodowa, including listings of the archives, support for publications, microfilming and conservation. See also the brochure about the exhibit prepared by Ewa Markiewicz, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu i jej zbiory* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994, 1995).

who emphasized how appropriate it was that such displaced cultural treasures 'should be returned to their legitimate owners'. He was joined by a representative of the Government of the City of Moscow, and representatives from the Ministry of Culture and other major Russian libraries, all of whom appeared to appreciate the historic role of the Turgenev Library in Paris.

Ironically, because those 118 books were a 'gift' from Poland to the Communist Party of the USSR in the 1980s, they could be exported under current laws of the Russian Federation without approval of the Duma or the new Restitution Council. We can only hope that the symbolic 'gesture of goodwill' involved in their return will be an example to other libraries and to other political and cultural leaders in the 'new' Russia and other former Soviet republics. Now in a new century, over sixty years since their confiscation, is it not time at last for more missing books from the three Paris Slavic libraries to come home from the war?

Postscript: Russian Legal Bases for Restitution⁹³

It has taken ten years since the revelations about displaced cultural treasures for the Russian Federation to develop a legal basis and procedures for processing restitution claims, but still most of the trophy cultural property and archives held in Russia have not been openly described. The chairman of the Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) Vladimir Kozlov boasted to me in late September 2001 that Russia is the only country that has a law regulating restitution. My answer should have been that Russia is the only country that really needs one! But we should recognize that the law that took effect in April 1998, while there are limited provisions for restitution, is basically a law nationalizing the cultural treasures brought to the USSR after the war.⁹⁴

⁹³ For more details about recent legal and procedural developments in Russia with respect to restitution, see the first sections of my article, 'Russia's Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?' (see note 1). What follows is a brief summary. The official texts of all of the Russian legal instruments referred to below now appear electronically at the VGBIL website for restitution issues at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/law/index.html>. References below are to the official published Russian texts. English translations of most of them appear at the website of the Commission for Art Recovery in New York at <http://www.comartrecovery.org>, under 'policies—Russia'.

⁹⁴ For the background and political context of the Russian law, see Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), especially chapter 11. The full text of the law appears as 'O kul'turnykh tsennostiakh, peremeshchennykh v Soiuz SSR v rezul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i nakhodiashchikhsia na territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii' (signed 15 April 1998–64-FZ), in *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, no. 16 (20 April 1998), statute 1879. The Constitutional Court decision is printed in *ibid.*, no. 30 (26 August 1999), statute 3989. See the statements by the then Minister of Culture, Vladimir Egorov, and several museum leaders in 'Nachinaem restituivat', no Germanii ne dadim nichego', *Kommersant*, no. 127 (21 July 1999), p. 10, and 'Spravedlivoie reshenie v nespravedlivykh obstoiatel'stvakh', *Kul'tura*, no. 27 (29 July–4 August 1999), p. 1.

The latest version of the law (signed by President Putin with amendments in May 2000) reinforces the prohibition of restitution of cultural property to Germany and the Axis powers. At the same time, it provides for the potential restitution of cultural treasures under specified conditions from countries that fought against the Nazi regime and from those victimized by the Nazis.⁹⁵ Specified conditions for restitution include provisions for high financial charges by the Russian side, including storage, appraisal, and processing fees. In the case of archives, the Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) has also been requiring proprietary countries claiming their archives to pay high costs for them to be microfilmed before their return, in addition to related fees, and Rosarkhiv has also been trying to force all claimants to turn over any archival materials of Russian provenance, even those that may remain in private hands. In reality, this amounts to the fact that foreign nations and individuals must ‘repurchase’ or ‘barter’ for their cultural property seized first by the Nazis and then by Soviet authorities after the war.

An implementing Regulation (*postanovlenie*) of the Government of the Russian Federation (2 December 2000—no. 913) puts the Ministry of Culture in charge of processing restitution matters. Subsequently, another Government Regulation (11 March 2001—no. 174) established and named the members of a new Inter-agency Council on Restitution with offices under the Ministry of Culture. Each act of restitution must now be approved by the new Inter-agency Council. Once it has been approved by the Council and an appropriate agreement with the holding repository (usually RGVA for archives) with the approval of Rosarkhiv is in place, a *postanovlenie* (regulation) of the Government is still required for export.⁹⁶

In the spring of 2001 the Ministry of Culture issued a *prikaz* ordering all cultural institutions to undertake a full accounting of their trophy holdings (including archives) in a consolidated database. Initial plans call for the database to be completed by the end of 2002, but as things appeared in Moscow in spring 2002, that date is as unrealistic as it is to expect the identification of all displaced treasures. The Ministry plans to open its website with some initial descriptions early in the summer of 2002. How long it will take to complete identification in all repositories is impossible to estimate. If listing of individual library volumes is required, how long will it take to describe the millions of ‘trophy’ books dispersed throughout the Russian Federation? Rosarkhiv published (with German subsidy) a preliminary list of record groups in the former Special Archive (now part of RGVA) at the end of 2001, which is incomplete

⁹⁵ The text of the new amendments—‘O vnesenii izmenenii i dopolnenii v Federal’nyi zakon “O kul’turnykh tsennostiakh, peremeshchennykh v Soiuz SSR v rezul’tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i nakhodiashchikhsia na territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii”’ (signed 25 May 2000, no. 70-FZ) appears in *Sobranie zakonodatel’sтва RF*, no. 22 (29 May 2000), statute 2259.

⁹⁶ See the electronic versions as referenced above (note 88).

and totally inadequate for researcher use, let alone for the establishment of any foreign claims.⁹⁷ How long will it take and who will prepare a more revealing sequel? And to what extent is Rosarkhiv prepared to list and acknowledge 'trophy' holdings in other federal archival repositories?.

Once a special catalogue from the database is published, 'foreign countries or individual citizens will have 18 months to file claims in accordance with the Federal Law on Displaced Cultural Treasures'. Those not claimed will be registered as federal property. It is not clear to what extent repositories will (or even will be obliged to) describe all cultural valuables that are already registered as state property. Many books and archival materials seized by Soviet authorities after the war—many of them still bearing clearly distinguishing stamps or other markings of ownership—were in fact integrated into the main holdings of state libraries and archives. Yet claims in such cases are nonetheless anticipated by the Ministry of Culture, as is apparent in the directives issued recently.⁹⁸ Without formal claims and significant 'barter', however, restitution is unlikely for cultural property in state repositories that come under the purview of the new laws. 'Gestures of goodwill' can be anticipated only in exceptional cases, and usually connected to some high-level political purpose or showcase.

As of spring 2002 under the new procedures, only one act of 'restitution' of art has been approved—the return of the medieval stained glass panels from the Marienkirche in Frankfurt-on-Oder. A federal law of 17 April 2002 approved the initial 2001 Council action, but given the complex restitution process, and the political sensitivities at every stage, it will take several years to implement. In 2001, the Council approved the restitution of three sets of archives, and all but part of the second have been transferred. First, a personal claim for the return of the Rothschild family papers from Vienna was approved in May 2001, although that case involved elaborate 'barter' rather than restitution. As agreed, the Rothschild family offered in exchange a collection of 5,170 documents including love letters from Russian Emperor Alexander II to his morganatic wife Ekaterina Iur'eva (née Dolgorukova) purchased from Christie's. After over three years of negotiation on 30 November 2001 the director of the Rothschild Archive flew home to London with the remaining papers of the Austrian branch of the family. A second case involving 31 fonds of provenance in the Netherlands, also in the former Special Archive (now RGVA) was approved after ten years of negotiation with a proclamation by President Putin at the time of the visit of Queen Beatrix in June 2001. The official transfer

⁹⁷ *Ukazatel' fondov inostrannogo proiskhozhdeniia i Glavnogo upravleniia po delam voennoplennykh i internirovannykh NKVD-MVD SSSR Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo voennogo arkhiva*, comp. V. I. Korotaev, A. P. Naganov *et al.*; ed. V. P. Kozlov and V. N. Kuzelenkov (Moscow, 2001).

⁹⁸ Copies of the implementing regulations issued by the Ministry of Culture were provided to me in Moscow during the summer of 2001.

finally took place in The Hague on 30 January 2002, but as of May 2002, nine fonds were still withheld for further 'expert examination' by the Russian side, including major files of Dutch Feminist, Jewish, and Masonic organizations, at least part of which have already been well described by Dutch experts.

The Inter-agency Council approved the restitution of Belgian archives from RGVA at the end of August 2001, and a decree issued in November by the Ministry of Culture provided for the return of 40 fonds, which took place amidst much publicity in late May 2002. The printed archival materials and books claimed by Belgium from the same archive, however, were still under negotiation. Examination of materials of alleged Belgian provenance in other Russian archives, including many socialist files transferred to the former Central Party Archive (now RGASPI) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), has not yet been possible. Negotiations regarding still displaced archives with Austria, Greece, Luxembourg, Poland, and other countries are also pending. Thus far, besides the still unaccepted part of the Belgian claim, there have been no formal claims for the restitution of library materials from Western European countries, and the 118 books from the Turgenev Library in Paris is the only recent 'gesture of goodwill' in terms of restitution in the library world since 1992.

Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War

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