



FLYING MERCURY COMES HOME TO PAVLOVSK:

Perspectives on the Return of Wartime Cultural Trophies in Austria and Russia†

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted*

Symbolically on 5th May 2005, a copy of Giambologna (Jean de Bologne)'s statue *Flying Mercury* arrived in Moscow from Graz! *Mercury's* return from Austria attracted minimal press attention in contrast to the spectacular celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of Victory in Moscow a few days later.¹ Before the war, *Mercury*, Catherine II's copy of the sixteenth-century original was one of the features of the gardens of the imperial Russian palace-museum of Pavlovsk. When the Germans occupied suburban Leningrad in 1941, it was carried off to the Reich among wagonloads of other imperial

† An earlier version of this paper was first prepared for the international conference 'Die Rote Armee in Österreich 1945 bis 1955', Moscow, 13-14 May 2004, and subsequently expanded during my research in Austria in connection with participation in the International Congress on Archives (August 2004). A German version, 'Vom 'Fliegenden Merkur' zu den Büchern der Sammlung Esterhazy: Kulturelle Restitution an die UdSSR durch die westlichen Besatzungsmächte in Österreich und sowjetisches Beutegut österreichischer Herkunft' appears in Stefan Karner and Barbara Stelzl-Marx (eds), *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945–1955. Beiträge* (a collection) (Graz/Vienna/Munich: Ludwig Boltzmann Institute für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung, 2005), pp. 363-90. I am particularly grateful to Evelyn Adunka for assistance in Vienna and Carinthia, and I thank the many Austrian and Russian colleagues who advised me on specific issues. Travel support for my Austrian trip came from the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam); travel to Russia was covered by a grant from the International Research & Exchanges Board; while research in Russia was assisted by a grant for collaborative research from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

* Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam)

1 See 'Austria Returns 'Flying Mercury' Wartime Trophy to Russia' (*RIA Novosti*, Moscow, 5 May 2005).



loot. *Mercury* was the only known Russian cultural valuable displaced by the war remaining in Austria, but many of the books from Pavlovsk and other Russian imperial palaces found by the British in Austrian Carinthia had already gone home in 1946. While post-war restitution by the Western Allies in Austria has long been forgotten, now perhaps *Mercury* can herald a new era for the return of displaced cultural property, because there are many more treasures of Austrian provenance in Russia.



Flying Mercury

A late eighteenth-century reproduction of the sixteenth-century bronze statue by Giambologna (Jean de Bologne), looted from the former Russian imperial palace of Pavlovsk, returned to Russia from Eggenberg Castle, Graz.

Photo courtesy Nikolai Petrovskii, Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation

Austrian specialists were slow to admit that the statue held in Eggenberg Castle in Graz was the same copy of the statue that the Germans looted from Pavlovsk. Expert examination by Russian specialists from Pavlovsk in May 2002 established that the bronze statue was indeed the one prepared in 1783 on the basis of a cast made from the Florentine original (1580) held in the Bargello Museum, and not unlike the sixteenth-century version in the Louvre. Although the statue was first displayed in the park of Tsarskoe Selo, after the death of Catherine II, Emperor Paul I had it moved to Pavlovsk, where it appears in the inventory of palace treasures in 1801. Starting in the early 1920s the *Flying Mercury* was at the center of a sculpture alley to the north of the palace.



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When evacuation proved impossible in July 1941, the statues were buried in wooded areas in the palace grounds. The Nazi invaders did not find all of them, but they did find the *Flying Mercury*. Its route to Graz has not been established but, as we will learn below, it did not travel with the imperial palace books. A hint of its location in Austria came in 1979, after it had been spotted by a curator from the Hermitage in an exhibit of Giambologna sculptures in Vienna. A 2003 Russian article by Nikolai Petrovskii, a restitution specialist in the Ministry of Culture, suggested that *Mercury* could be a candidate for an exchange of the Pahlevi parchments and papyri the Austrians are claiming from the Hermitage.² As of May 2005, others are suggesting - and the Austrian press with them - that the return of the statue to Russia could be the pretext for the return of the extensive archives of Austrian provenance still held in Moscow. Celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe and the fiftieth anniversary of the Austro-Soviet peace treaty (1955) could well be an appropriate occasion for remaining cultural prisoners of war to go home. But so far the wheels of identification and restitution in Russia move slowly.

Revelations since 1990 about plundered European cultural treasures transferred to the USSR during Soviet occupation of Germany following the Second World War have brought headlines around the world. Russian politicians in reply have often charged that Russian cultural treasures plundered by the Nazis were never returned. Many Russians speak of the 'trophy' as 'compensation' for wartime loss and damage, too often forgetting about post-war Western Allied restitution to the USSR, the story of which was long suppressed and many of the Soviet sources still classified. Such developments in Austria are virtually unknown today. Preparatory to the celebration of the anniversaries, Austro-Russian negotiations

2 Nikolai Petrovskii, 'Plenennyi Merkurii', *Ekho planety*, 2003, nos 50-51. I am grateful to Petrovskii for providing me a copy of his article and photograph and for clarifying related queries; he has documented the Nazi seizure of the sculpture on the basis of ERR records now held in Kyiv. The article by Pavlovsk curator for sculpture, Evgenii V. Korelev, 'Polety Merkurii (Tsarskoe Selo - Pavlovsk - Graz)', in *Sud'by muzeinykh kollektsii: Materialy VII Tsarskosel'skoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (St Petersburg, 2001), pp. 79-83, was written before he and one of the Pavlovsk directors examined the statue in Graz, where a protocol was signed in May 2002, following their expert appraisal, to which the Austrian side agreed.



have been under way for the mutual return of cultural treasures, including archives, displaced by the war.

Not all Austrian cultural treasures in Russia have as yet been identified, and data about their migration is still classified in many cases. Hence here we first survey a few examples of books and archives of Austrian provenance now held in Russia, while not forgetting suspected works of art. Second, for historical perspective and reciprocity, we survey briefly the forgotten post-war restitution from British and American Zones of Occupation. Perhaps the tens of thousands of books and other cultural property the Allies returned to Russia from Austria after the war could serve as an important precedent for the restitution of Austrian treasures and archives still in Russia. The only Soviet restitutions to Austria since were a few symbolic archival files in the 1960s.

In sharp contrast to the situation in Soviet-occupied Germany, only a few significant instances of Soviet cultural plunder during occupation in Austria (1945-1955) have come to light. Undoubtedly, as has been suggested by one Austrian commentator, the difference can be attributed to the Moscow Declaration by the Allies (1st November 1943) declaring Austria to have been the first victim of Nazi aggression in 1938.³ In a 1996 report, Gerhard Sailer, then president of the Austrian Federal Office for the Protection of Monuments and Cultural Property (Bundesdenkmalamt), cites only one example of looting by Soviet troops, namely from Schloss Grafenegg (Lower Austria), owned by descendants of Metternich, from which "Soviet soldiers transported artworks by the wagon load, so that an empty castle was left behind."⁴ Sailer may have had access to additional information, but the only inventory found among reports of plunder from Grafenegg in the files of the Denkmalamt list only approximately 200 books (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) - many with calligraphic title

3 Gerhard Sailer, 'Country Reports: Austria', *Spoils of War*, no. 3 (December 1996), p. 37 (and electronically: www.dhh-3.de/biblio/bremen/sow3/craustri.htm). The text of the Moscow Declaration appears in *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941-49*, prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the staff of the Committee and the Department of State (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), and electronically at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/moscow.htm>.

4 Sailer, *op. cit.* note 3, at p. 37.



pages, three paintings (one of them fifteenth century) and four sculptures (sixteenth century) from the palace chapel, and lastly “35 meters of wall paper and leather”.⁵

Sailer considers the “most serious Austrian losses of cultural treasures” resulting from the Second World War were wrought by Nazi rather than Soviet occupiers, emphasizing “the so-called *Entlehnung* (borrowing [or *Leihverträge*, loan contracts]) of cultural objects to be used as decoration in National Socialist offices”, most of which “have not been returned”.⁶ He lists the tapestries taken by the Germans from Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum, and suspects the still missing “three series lent to the Reich Chancellery in Berlin may have been taken to Russia.” Since his illustrated publication, the tapestries have not been located.⁷

Sailer fails to mention the expropriation of cultural treasures from private Jewish collections, which was certainly the most important and widespread Nazi cultural atrocity. Although some Jewish-owned treasures went to Austrian museums and libraries, many have been widely dispersed. Despite some post-war restitution within the country, Austria was slow to recognize publicly what *ARTnews* reporter Andrew Decker in 1984 called ‘A Legacy of Shame’, expropriated art that had not been returned.⁸

In 1995, the Austrian Government transferred to a Jewish Community organization title to most of the works of art and other items that had been confiscated from Jewish collections and that were still held in the fourteenth-century Monastery of Mauerbach near Vienna. A public sale at the Museum of Applied Art in Vienna organized by Christie’s offered 1,045 lots (comprising over 8,000 items),

5 Sailer noted the existence of a list of the looted items from Schloss Grafenegg, but examination of Denkmalamt files in August 2004 revealed much more limited seizures than Sailer suggested. I am grateful to the Denkmalamt staff for searching their files and copying relevant documents for me. The only inventory in the Grafenegg file is dated 1947 (no. 4370), fols 54-70.

6 Sailer, *op. cit.* note 3, at p. 37.

7 Gerhard Sailer, ‘Austria’, in Elizabeth Simpson (ed.), *The Spoils of War, World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property* (New York: Henry Abrams, 1997), pp. 89-90, a more detailed version of his paper cited above.

8 Andrew Decker, ‘A Legacy of Shame’, *ARTnews* 83, no. 10 (December 1984), pp. 54-76.



the first time in half a century many of the items had been viewed.⁹ Three lots were withdrawn soon after they went on display - "successfully claimed by an 83-year old Israeli woman who, upon seeing the catalogue, recognized them as belonging to her mother." The worldwide publicity surrounding the Mauerbach Auction brought increased public concern for restitution issues in Austria, and criticism that prior efforts had not been made to find the owners. As was pointed out at the time, not all of the expropriated art was from Austrian collections, and some of it was stored in inaccessible depositories in other Austrian museums. Foreign curators and diplomats had been refused access, and as the French art critic Hector Feliciano explained:

No matter the present Austrian government's undoubtedly good intentions we cannot but deplore that the search for the rightful owners of these works was skirted round, dodged and avoided for half a century.¹⁰

An Austrian Art Restitution Act passed two years later (1998) requires the restitution of cultural treasures expropriated during the Nazi era.¹¹

In 1998 more international publicity came with the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets. The opening of sources in the mid-1990s, and the publicity about 'Nazi Gold' and Swiss bank accounts, have led to an international explosion of literature on the subject. The most impressive Austrian result is Sophie Lillie's groundbreaking 2003 reference description and catalogue documenting 148 major Jewish collections of art appropriated, which, according to the author, is only "the tip of the iceberg."¹²

- 9 An editor's note in *The Spoils of War, World War II and Its Aftermath*, p. 91, mentions the Mauerbach Auction and earlier *ARTnews* articles about the problem of Jewish-owned artworks in Austria, which Sailer did not include. See also Sailer's article in the Brückler edited volume cited below, note 18.
- 10 Background notes are provided by Josephine Leistra, 'The Mauerbach Case, Part 1', in *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 3 (December 1996), pp. 22-24, and Hector Feliciano, 'Part II: An Equivocal Sale', pp. 24-27.
- 11 For the text, with an English translation, see *Cultural Heritage Statutes* (2nd edn, Leicester: Institute of Art and Law, 2004), p. 89.
- 12 Sophie Lillie, *Was einmal war: Handbuch des enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2003; 'Bibliothek des Raubes', Band VIII). Lillie made the remark to me during a meeting in Vienna in August 2004.



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Rembrandt van Rijn, **Christus dem Volk dargestellt** (*Ecce Homo*)

Engraving from Rudolf Gutmann collection, chosen for the 'Führermuseum' in Linz, last seen in 1945 with a Soviet arts officer in Germany, present location unknown.

Image by permission Czernin Verlag.

Little is known about treasures from Austrian-Jewish collections that may have ended up in the Soviet Union, although Sophie Lillie reveals a few suspected instances. Most notably, Lillie has documented the trail of a group of 41 Rembrandt engravings expropriated from the Rudolf Gutmann family in Vienna. Chosen for Hitler's Linz collection (three others were set aside because of 'Jewish' subjects), they were first deposited in the Führerbau in Munich, and then taken to Dresden. Together with the holdings of the Dresden State Kupferstich-Kabinett, they were evacuated to Weesenstein Castle near Pirna in 1943, where they were surrendered (19th July 1945) by Herman Voss (then head of the Dresden Gallery and Linz collection) to Soviet art historian Sergei Grigorov, secretary of the Commission for Preservation and Registration of Monuments (Moscow), who was serving as a major in a Soviet trophy



brigade. Transferred first to the Soviet collecting point in Pillnitz Castle, they were subsequently spotted in the custody of the Soviet Military Administration (SVAG) in Karlshorst (Berlin).¹³ Lillie has subsequently prepared a more detailed catalogue with images and provenance data for the missing Rembrandt etchings, and she has discovered several more that were part of the collection.¹⁴ Likewise, Lillie has been able to document the seizure of a Dürer engraving from the Josephine Winter collection, also last seen in Dresden.¹⁵ Available documentation affirms that those treasures from Austria collected in Weesenstein Castle and then Pillnitz were part of a special shipment to Moscow, together with treasures from the Dresden Gallery.¹⁶ Lillie also lists some of the rare book and manuscript treasures from the Gutmann library, including a number of illuminated Books of Hours, some of which were also allegedly taken to the USSR, but details or their current location are not available, nor have they as yet been listed in the ongoing Russian inventory of 'trophy' cultural treasures.

Meanwhile, back in Austria, Schloss Thürntal, near Grafenegg, was another castle in which the Soviets showed great interest, because the Germans had used it as a collecting point for expropriated Jewish collections, among them those of Oskar Bondy, Rudolf Gutmann, Alphonse and Louis Rothschild,

13 *Ibid.*, at pp. 438-65; Lillie cites a letter from Rudolf Gutmann to his attorney (31 May 1963) and lists the 44 individual items from the Gutmann collection, all of which were appropriated for Linz, except for three with purportedly 'Jewish' Old Testament subjects. She kindly met with me in Vienna (August and September 2004) to discuss her findings about the art suspected to have been taken to the USSR. Regarding the Dresden seizures and their subsequent fate, see Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov, *Beautiful Loot; The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995), pp. 118-24. See also Werner Schmitt's introduction to Christian Dittrich (ed.), *Vermisste Zeichnungen des Kupferstich-Kabinettes Dresden* (Dresden: Statliche Kunstsummlungen, 1987), pp. 5-11, based on archival documents in museum and State archives in Dresden. That catalogue, however, does not cover the Gutmann drawings and others chosen for the Linz Museum that were not part of the original Dresden collection.

14 Lillie kindly shared her updated data with me, but publication plans for her catalogue are still pending.

15 Lillie, *op. cit.* note 12, at pp. 1298-1330, describes the Winter collection. Her source was a list compiled for the Bundesdenkmalamt. She has since been able to acquire additional documentation from family sources.

16 Akinsha and Kozlov, *op. cit.* note 13, at pp. 125-32. I appreciate the assistance of Konstantin Akinsha and Gregorii Kozlov in attempting to verify these details.



together with some Austrian cultural treasures. One of the chief Soviet restitution officers, Stepan I. Ledovskikh, inspected the palace in August 1946. He discussed the art treasures deposited there with the Austrian Monuments Office (BDA) in the fall of 1946, and there is evidence of the Soviet removal of 39 paintings (as alleged German property) in May 1947.¹⁷ Details remain to be established about the fate of the treasures collected in Thürntal and which of them may have been taken to the USSR.¹⁸

Several recent reports have appeared in Austria on domestic restitution developments, including an extensive series by the Historical Commission appointed by the Federal Government to deal with the matter.¹⁹ Another important collection of articles on restitution subjects, includes articles on the Mauerbach collection, among others, and coverage of source materials gathered by the Bundesdenkmalamt.²⁰ The City Museum and City Library in Vienna have issued their own report on restitution progress.²¹

In many cases books and archival materials were plundered from the same collections as art. Some were destroyed, some dispersed in Germany, and still others deposited in Austrian libraries. There was only partial restitution after the war, and in some cases, Jewish-owned books from Austria were transferred to Israel, as explained in the

- 17 A summary of Ledovskikh's 1946 report to the Soviet Element of the ACA (AVP RF 451/2/31/52), kindly furnished to me by Wolfgang Müller, gives no indication that the Soviets removed any of the contents at that time. Later Soviet reports have not been found.
- 18 See Theodor Brückler, 'Schloss Thürntal als Kunstgut-Gergungsort während des Zweiten Weltkrieges', in *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, 63-64 (1997-1998), especially pp. 217-22. See also the facsimile documents relating to Schloss Thürntal in Theodor Brückler (ed.), *Kunstraub, Kunstbergung und Restitution in Österreich 1938 bis Heute*, (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999; 'Studien zu Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege', Band XIX), pp. 248-51.
- 19 Clemens Jabloner et al. (eds), *Schlussbericht der Historikerkommission der Republik Österreich: Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich: Zusammenfassungen und Einschätzungen* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2003; 'Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Historikerkommission', Band 1). The Commission has issued an additional twenty volumes of reports relating to restitution issues in Austria, all published by Oldenbourg.
- 20 See Kurt Haslinger, 'Mauerbach und der lange Weg bis zu Auktion: 1966-1996', Brückler, *op. cit.* note 18, at pp. 39-52.
- 21 *Die Restitution von Kunst- und Kulturgegenständen im Bereich der Stadt Wien 1998-2001. Museen der Stadt Wien. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek* (Vienna, 2002).



recent book by Evelyn Adunka.²² Starting in the late 1990s, major libraries in Vienna have been researching their accessions dating from the Nazi period. In the National Library, over 14,000 books and 11,000 other items have been identified and are gradually being returned to their owners as far as possible.²³ A 2004 published collection of articles from the National Library presents the result of recent research on a number of related matters, as well as an update of Adunka's account.²⁴ Important reports on such restitution issues were presented at an April 2003 conference held by the Vienna City Library.²⁵

A first case study of rare early manuscript materials that came to the USSR via Germany are the 570 Pahlavi papyri and early Persian parchments from the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which are now held in the Hermitage. Seized neither by German police nor through wartime 'borrowing', the collection, well described in a pre-war published catalogue, had been sent to the restoration studio of Hugo Ibscher in Berlin in 1936.²⁶ In 1981, 31 papyri and two parchments from the missing collection were returned to Vienna from the State Museum in East Berlin.²⁷ The rest of the collection was seized by a Soviet brigade after

- 22 Evelyn Adunka, *Der Raub der Bücher. Plünderung in der NS-Zeit und Restitution nach 1945* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2002; 'Bibliothek des Raubes', Band IX).
- 23 For more details see Adunka, *op. cit.* note 22. See also Adunka, 'Bücherraub in und aus Österreich während der NS-Zeit und die Restititionen nach 1945', in Claus-Dieter Krohn, Erwin Rotermund, Lutz Winckler, and Wulf Koepke with the assistance of Ernst Fischer (eds), *Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch*, vol. 22: *Bücher, Verlage, Medien* (Auftrag der Gesellschaft für Exilforschung/Society for Exile Studies), (München 2004), pp. 180-200; and 'Nazi-Looted Books in Austria and their Partial Restitution', in the forthcoming collection of papers from the 2002 European Association for Jewish Studies conference in Amsterdam, edited by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted and Frits Hoogewoud (Leicester: Institute of Art and Law, 2005).
- 24 Gabriele Anderl, Alexandra Caruso (eds), *NS-Kunstraub in Österreich und seine Folgen* (Innsbruck-Vienna, 2004). See especially, Evelyn Adunka, 'Der Raub von Büchern', in *ibid.*, pp. 278-90; The newly-released volume contains several other relevant articles.
- 25 Information about the international conference, 'Raub und Restitution in Bibliotheken' (23-24 April 2003) is at the website of the Vienna City and Provincial Library (Stadt- und Landesbibliothek) – <http://www.stadtbibliothek.wien.at/bibliothek/veranstaltungen/restitution/programm-de.htm>. The proceedings are being prepared for publication.
- 26 Their fate was explained to me by Professor Hermann Harrauer, Director of the Papyrus Collection (Papyrussaammlung) in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), in a letter (8 June 2004).
- 27 Helene Loebenstein (Director of der Papyrussaammlung) in *Festschrift 100 Jahre Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna, 1983), pp. 31-32.



the war, but since they remained in their original folders and were known to specialists, they were identified in the Hermitage in 1990. In 1992, Hermitage director Boris Piotrovskii approved their return to Austria, as did the Russian State Restitution Commission in 1993, but as of fall 2004, they still remain in St Petersburg.²⁸ So far no documentation has surfaced as to when or where Soviet agents found those Pahlevi papyri, although Soviet cultural scouts found one large consignment of Oriental books and manuscripts, including some papyri, from the Library of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in the Winterhall Mine in Saxony in 1945 and another fourteen crates of papyri from Leipzig University Library in a storage depot near Leipzig.²⁹

The Eisenstadt palace of the Esterhazy family in Lower Austria is one of the few acts of plunder from the Soviet Zone of Occupation for which more sources have recently come to light. According to contemporary memoirs, in April 1945 the Red Army looted the palace and took at least six truckloads of art, furnishings, and books.³⁰ Although the seizure and transport to Moscow cannot yet be documented, approximately 870 volumes from the Esterhazy Library have so far been identified in the Rare Book Department of the All-Russian Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL). The books, including incunabula and imprints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (most from the eighteenth century), bear several different stamps of the Esterhazy family.³¹ VGBIL acquired the books in 1949 and

28 Sailer, *op. cit.* note 3, at p. 36, claims Piotrovskii “declared his willingness to return the collection still wrapped in the original paper envelopes, it’s the bureaucracy which has since prevented the return.”

29 ‘Spisok khudozhestvennykh i kul’turnykh tsennostei, namechennykh k vyvozu v SSSR iz solianykh shakht vokrug Magdeburga i iz Leiptsiga i ego okrestnostei’, GA RF, fond 5325/10/2030, fols 9-13, and ‘Perechen’ i kharakteristika kul’turnykh tsennostei, nakhodiashchikhsia v solianykh shakhtakh vokrug Magdeburga, i iz Leiptsiga i ego okrestnostei’, *ibid.*, fols 14-30. The fourteen boxes of papyri are noted on folio 28, but other Oriental collections, including some from the Library of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, also appear in those lists. A working copy of these lists can be found in GA RF, A534/2/4, fols 234-50

30 Teresia Gabriel, a specialist for the Esterhazy Family Foundation, presented a report on the history and seizure of the family library at the VGBIL conference, ‘Cultural Valuables: In Search of New Solutions to Old Problems’, 6 September 2004.

31 See the separate database catalogue of the VGBIL Esterhazy holdings, ‘Peremeshchennyye knizhnye fondy: Kolleksiia kniazei Estergazi’, at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/ester/index.html> with a short introduction ‘Iz istorii odnoi kolleksiis’. Images of the Esterhazy family *ex libris* are reproduced in *Inostrannyye knizhnye znaki v sobranii redkikh knig VGBIL/*



1952 from the Soviet Foreign Ministry and other institutions, but no migration or provenance data was provided then or has surfaced since.³²

At least twenty additional rare books bearing stamps of the Esterhazy family have been located in the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow, but quite possibly more will be found there or in other Russian libraries. As far as is known today, the Esterhazy books are the only ones from Austria identified in the Russian capital. In 1958, when cultural treasures were being returned to East Germany, 332 plundered Esterhazy books were 'returned' from Moscow with them. East German authorities subsequently 'returned' them to Hungary in 1961, but they were finally returned to the Esterhazy family in Austria only in 2003.³³

More is known about the migration of a small group of Esterhazy family archival documents now held in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF) and arranged as 51 files. An April 1945 Red Army report describes the materials as having been found in the Esterhazy Castle (Schloss Esterháza) in northwest Hungary (NW of Kapuvar), at that time still owned by the family.³⁴ Mention is made of correspondence of Metternich and Russian Emperor Alexander I, as well as diplomatic correspondence with

[31 cont.] *Foreign Book Signs in the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Foreign Literature (Founder M. Rudomino)*, compiled by E.A. Korkmazova, E.V. Zhuravlena, and N.N. Zubkov (Moscow: 'Rudomino', 1999), p. 106 (70, E53-49) and p. 258 (T42-23), also available on the VGBIL website. In addition to MID, books were received from the Institute of International Relations and the Central Naval Library. I am grateful to Karina Dmitrieva, head of the VGBIL Rare Book Department, for further information about the collection.

32 A report on the collection prepared by Karina Dmitrieva and Nikolai N. Zubkov, 'Knigi iz sobraniia kniazei Estergazi-Galanta v fonde VGBIL', was presented in Sudak, Crimea, 8 June, and is published in *Materialy Konferentsii 'Krym 2000'* (CD-ROM, Moscow GPNTB Rossii, 2004). Karina Dmitrieva was unable to obtain further documentation from the Russian Foreign Ministry archive (AVP RF).

33 Teresia Gabriel kindly informed me of the details of the books from the family library that were returned Hungary, which she personally accompanied home.

34 Prince Paul Esterhazy was tried and imprisoned in Hungary after the war. Following his release, the family all left Hungary for Austria in 1956. Other parts of the Hungarian Esterhazy family archive are now held in the National Archives in Budapest and in another former family castle in Hungary.



London and Petersburg.³⁵ A June 1945 report confirms receipt by the Central State Historical Archive in Moscow (TsGIAM) of 'trophy documentary materials found in a castle of the Esterhazy counts (Hungary)' in 1945. The materials consist mostly of 'correspondence of Nikolai Esterhazy (1765-1833) and Prince Paul-Antony Esterhazy (1786-1866)', along with other materials of family provenance, including Metternich autographs and correspondence with nineteenth-century Russian Foreign Minister A.M. Gorchakov.³⁶ The current Esterhazy fond is described briefly in the published GA RF guide, but no Metternich autographs or letters to Alexander I are there.³⁷ Neither of the 1945 Soviet reports mentions the seizure of any books.

Of quite a different migratory route are the many trophy archives of Austrian provenance first seized by Nazi agents after the Anschluss in 1938 and then seized a second time in Silesia by Soviet agents. Adolf Eichman, working under Dr Franz Alfred Six in the Sicherheitsdienst (SD), Amt II, developed a card file on potential Jewish, Masonic and Marxist 'enemies of the regime' in Austria in advance of the German 1938 invasion, so that following the Anschluss, no time was lost in appropriate confiscations.³⁸ As of spring 2005, most of those archives still remain prisoners of war in the former Special (Osobyi) Archive (TsGOA SSSR), now part of the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA) in Moscow. Negotiations are under way for their return to

- 35 The seizure of the materials in Hungary by the Chief of the Political Directorate (Politupravlenie) of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Front is reported by GlavPU Deputy Chief Shishkin to G.M. Malenkov (14 April 1945), in Central Committee files now held in RGASPI (17/125/320), to be published in Gennadij Bordiugov, Wolfgang Müller, Norman M. Naimark, Arnold Suppan (eds), *Russische Quellen zur Sowjetbesetzung in Österreich 1945-1955 / Russian Sources on Soviet Occupation in Austria, 1945-1955* (Vienna: Academy of Sciences, forthcoming). I am grateful to Wolfgang Müller for providing me with an advance copy of the document.
- 36 The acquisition by the GA RF predecessor TsGIAM from the Chief Political Directorate of the Red Army (GlavPU RKKA) was reported by TsGIAM director V.V. Maksakov and Morovskaia to I.I. Nikitinskii, chief of GAU NKVD (16 June 1945), GA RF, 5325/2/1353, fol. 47. Mention is made of a letter of the Russian Foreign Minister A.M. Gorchakov and a letter of Metternich (1859), but those are not now held in the GA RF fond.
- 37 The Esterhazy papers (fond 721; 51 units; 1818-1893) are described in *GA RF: Putevoditel'*, vol. 1: *Fondy GA RF po istorii Rossii XIX-nachala XX vv.* (Moscow, 1994), p. 313.
- 38 See Lutz Hachmeister, *Der Gegnerforscher: Die Karriere des SS-Führers Franz Alfred Six* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998), pp. 192-93.



Austria, but the Russian side is apparently not prepared to return all of them. The Russians reportedly want to withhold the files of institutions and individuals who were associated with Nazi Party in Austria.

Almost all of the Austrian archival holdings are well described by Stefan Karner and Gerhard Jagschitz in an annotated guide published in Graz in 1996.³⁹ Although the authors do not trace the migration of those archives, we now know that, thanks to Eichmann's card file, most of them were seized by the SD or other Nazi agencies immediately after the Anschluss and taken to Berlin. Most of them were deposited with the SD in what later became the archival repository of the Seventh Office of the Reich Security Main Office – RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) Amt VII (Emserstrasse 12).⁴⁰ Many plundered books also came to the RSHA center, including some from Austria.⁴¹ The archival materials and some of the books were evacuated to Silesia in the summer of 1943, but more of the books went to the Sudetenland, falling into Czech hands at the end of the war. As early as mid-1943, most of the Amt VII archival holdings were stored in the imposing castle of Fürstenstein (now Polish Książ), about 8 kilometers north of Waldenburg

39 Gerhard Jagschitz and Stefan Karner, *“Beuteakten aus Österreich”: Der Österreichbestand im russischen “Sonderarchiv” Moskau* (Graz, Vienna: Selbstverlag des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung, 1996; = *Veröffentlichungen des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung*, vol. 2).

40 See 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; an updated Russian translation appears in *Ezhegodnik sotsial’noi istorii* (Moscow, 2005). See also *Trophies of War and Empire: the Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 288-99; and the initial report by Grimsted, ‘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 F.J. Hoogewoud, E.P. Kwaardgras *et al.* (eds), *The Return of Looted Collections (1946-1996). An Unfinished Chapter: Proceedings of an International Symposium to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Return of Dutch Collections from Germany* (Amsterdam: IISH, 1997), pp. 52-67. I am currently preparing expanded coverage of these operations.

41 See especially the paper by Werner Schroeder, ‘Jüdische Bibliotheken im Reichssicherheitshauptamt 1936-1945’, and his additional paper ‘Bestandsaufbau durch Plünderung’. Jüdische Bibliotheken im Reichssicherheitshauptamt’, from the 2003 conference at the Vienna Municipal Library. Schroeder kindly provided an advanced copy. See also the earlier writings by Dov Schikorsky, ‘Das Schicksal jüdischer Bibliotheken im Dritten Reich’, in *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 189-222.



(now *Polish* Walbrzych).⁴² In May of 1944, the RSHA archives were moved to the remote castle of Wölfelsdorf (now *Polish* Wilkanów), about 120 km. south of Breslau (now *Polish* Wrocław), which thenceforth became the RSHA Amt VII archival storage center.⁴³ Discovered by a Soviet Trophy Brigade in the summer of 1945, the Austrian archives were among the 28 freight cars from that center taken to Moscow by a Soviet NKVD archival unit under orders from Lavrentii Beria.⁴⁴ With one major exception, all of the archives of Austrian provenance that arrived in Moscow in the fall of 1945 from Wölfelsdorf still remain today in RGVA.

The archive of the Rothschild family in Vienna also ended the war in Wölfelsdorf, although it arrived there only in 1944. After ten years of negotiations, it was handed over to the Rothschild Archive in London in November 2001.⁴⁵ The remarkable 'exchange' netted an important collection of imperial Rossica for the Russian archives – over 5,000 letters of Russian Emperor Alexander II to his morganatic wife, Princess Ekaterina [Catherine] Dolgorukaia (E.M. Iur'eva), purchased from Christie's in 1999 by the Rothschild family (the asking price was \$250,000). The family archive was, it is true, only a small part of the cultural treasures, to say nothing of the steel mills and other commercial property that were part of the price the family had to pay for life and survival of the Holocaust in exile.⁴⁶ According to the Russian

- 42 The Ksiaz Castle (*German* Schloss Fürstenstein), also sometimes known as Schloss Freiburg (now *Polish* Swiebodzice), was the ancestral home of the Counts of Fürstenstein and Princes of Pless, long associated with the Prussian royal family. One of the largest in Silesia, it is now a popular state museum with a hotel and tourist center.
- 43 The castle of Wilkanów is now in ruins, located 8 km. east of Habelswerdt (now *Polish* Bystrzyca-Klodyka) – the closest railroad line.
- 44 See Grimsted, 'Twice Plundered or Twice Saved', *op. cit.* note 40, at pp. 191-244, and the updated Russian translation in *Ezhgodnik sotsial'noi istorii* (Moscow, 2005).
- 45 See the report of Victor Gray, director of the Rothschild Archive in London, 'The Return of the Austrian Rothschild Archives', in the forthcoming EAJIS collection of essays, *op. cit.* note 23. See the earlier description by Frank Trentmann, 'New Sources on an Old Family: the Rothschild Papers at the Special Archive, Moscow—and a Letter from Metternich', *Financial History Review* 2:1 (April 1995): 73-79. Those papers constituted RGVA fond 637k (2 *opisi*; 419 file units; 1769-1939). See also the description in Jagschitz and Karner, *op. cit.* note 39, at pp. 128-30.
- 46 See the coverage of the Rothschild art collection by Lillie, *op. cit.* note 12, at pp. 1002-10 (Alphonse and Clarice) and pp. 112-34 (Louis); Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, 'Von Arisierung und Restituierungen: Zum Schicksal der Rothschild'schen Kunst- und sonstigen Besitztümer in Wien', in, Brückler, *op. cit.* note 18, at pp. 76-90; and Thomas Trenkler, *Der Fall Rothschild: Chronik einer Enteignung* (Vienna: Molden Verlag, 1999).



law on displaced cultural treasures, almost all of the captured Austrian archives remaining in Moscow, like those of the Rothschild family, should be eligible for return since they were confiscated from 'victims of the Nazi regime'.

Among the many 'twice plundered' or 'twice saved' fonds of Austrian provenance still in Moscow are some important records of the Federal Chancellery (1906-1938) (fond 515k) and other government offices, Austrian business records, and those of newspapers, sporting societies, religious, feminist and cultural organizations, including pacifist, Theosophic (fond 1291k), and Esperanto (fond 539k) societies, and several different student groups, among many others. Of special political interest are the extensive holdings of the Catholic ultra-conservative Fatherland Front (Vaterländischen Front) (fond 514k), now arranged with a separate fond for the Lower Austria branch (fond 540k). Austrian Masonic records have not been divided into separate fonds, but the Jagschitz and Karner guide lists over 45 Austrian lodges whose files are to be found among the large pan-European Masonic collection in RGVA (fond 1412k, with close to 14,500 files), totaling an estimated at least 4,660 files of Austrian Masonic provenance.⁴⁷

At least 30 fonds of personal papers represent political leaders, attorneys, and intellectual and cultural élite, among them the conservative banker and economist Gottfried Kunwald (1869-1938) (fond 616k), economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) (fond 623k), right-wing economist and philosopher Othmar Spann (1878-1950) (fond 658k), conservative high government advisor and press secretary Karl Werkman (1878-n.k.) (fond 603k), diplomat and monarchist Friedrich von Wiesner (1871-1951) (fond 704k), and social philosopher and politician Ernst Karl Winter (1895-1959) (fond 1202k), to give only a few examples of large and important fonds. Also of note are the collections of the Austrian Counts von Bellegarde (fond 1474k, mostly eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and the princely family of Reuss-Köstritz (fond 1500k, 1500-1855).

Records of Austrian-Jewish provenance include those of many social, political, and Zionist organizations, including

47 See the helpful annotation by Jagschitz and Karner, *op. cit.* note 39, at pp. 212-32. Further expert appraisal of that Masonic collection in RGVA may reveal more.



the Jewish Religious Communities in Vienna – IKG (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde) (fond 707k) and Graz (fond 709k), large fonds from the Jewish Alliance (fond 675k), and the Jewish Theological Seminary/Institute (Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt) in Vienna (fond 717k), the politically conservative Bund of Jewish Frontline Soldiers (Bund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten) (fond 672k), and the personal papers of Chief Rabbi of Styria David Herzog (1869-1946) (fond 1204k).

As one example of special note, no fewer than 281 files remain for the Jewish Community of Vienna (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, Wien) – IKG (fond 707k), most of whose members either fled or were annihilated during the Holocaust.⁴⁸ Like some of the finding aids for Jewish and Masonic records in RGVA that were not of priority importance to Soviet security services, not all of that fond had been professionally described. For example, in the original *opisi*, copies of which have been prepared in German translation for IKG, as many as 75 of the manuscripts in Hebrew or other languages that were processed as part of the fond of the Jewish Community, are now listed simply as “manuscript (or materials) in early Jewish language [i.e. Hebrew script]” with dates and authors unknown.⁴⁹ Recently in connection with a guide to Jewish holdings in RGVA (part of the New York-funded Project Judaica), more complete descriptions have been prepared, and new finding aids (*opisi*) nearing completion. Further efforts are now under way to describe professionally more of the ‘trophy’ Hebrew manuscripts in Moscow, checking and correlating them with earlier catalogues of Hebraic manuscripts in Vienna.⁵⁰

48 I examined the original three inventories of the Vienna Community records in Moscow (as of July 2004) in preparation for this report - RGVA, fond 707k, 281 items, 1782-1940. Sections of the largest first *opisi* (prepared in 1951) list records of administration, emigration, finance, education, and the library; the other two *opisi* contain the same types of materials added later. See the brief published annotation by Jagschitz and Karner, *op. cit.* note 39, at, pp. 156-58.

49 RGVA, fond 707k, *opisi* 1-3. Those designations appear for some 45 items in the first *opisi*, nos 30-39 in the second, and for 19 out of 22 items in the third. More details must await completion of the new *opisi*.

50 RGVA director Vladimir Kuzelenkov kindly showed me briefly parts of a preliminary copy, but correlations with pre-war catalogues were still lacking. I appreciate the assistance of Deputy Director Vladimir Korotaev in verifying these details. On the basis of descriptive work for the New York-funded project, new *opisi* are being prepared, but as of my latest visit to RGVA in September 2004, they had not been completed.



Israeli specialists who have worked with the manuscripts and archival files in Moscow (and those received on microfilm in Israel) report that there has been considerable intermixing of materials in different Jewish fonds in RGVA and many inaccurate assignments of provenance. This may have occurred, since at least some of the documents involved may have been extracted from RSHA files, where they had been incorporated by SD or Gestapo agents for analysis. One Israeli archivist suggests, for example, at least two items now in fond 707k actually belong to the fond of personal papers established for Rabbi Joseph Isaac Schneerson (1880-1950, *often* Yosef Yitzchak Schneersohn) (fond 706k); at least 50 files in fond 707k may actually belong to the fond of provenance in the Jewish Theological Institute/Seminary (fond 717k); scattered files are probably personal papers of the Talmudic scholar Meir Friedmann, who taught at the so-called Lehrhaus (Bet Hamidrash) and occasionally at the Seminary; while at least five additional files (with more under question) from the Vienna Community, and more papers of Meir Friedmann, can now be found in the large and important collection labeled as German-Jewish materials (RGVA, fond 1325k).⁵¹

The Austrian materials represented in that particular fond (now 1325k), while not included in the Jagschitz and Karner guide, were listed a German-published description as early as 1992.⁵² Hence, in formulating a specific archival claims list for restitution negotiations, Austrian-Jewish specialists will need to familiarize themselves in far more detail with the organization of all German-Jewish holdings remaining in RGVA, examine carefully the Russian finding aids for German-language Jewish fonds, and thoroughly inspect individual files in any fonds with suspect attributions of provenance. The former TsGOA holdings in RGVA are all open for public consultation, but despite the commendable Jagschitz and Kärner guide, Austrian Hebraic specialists have not taken full advantage of the openness in Moscow in attempt to identify archival materials of Viennese provenance.

51 I am grateful to Hadassah Assouline, director of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, who kindly provided some examples based on her preliminary analysis, in a letter to me, 10 October 2004. Such problems have been reported by several other specialists.

52 Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Das Zentrale Staatsarchiv in Moskau ("Sonderarchiv"): Rekonstruktion und Bestandsverzeichnis verschollen geglaubten Schriftguts aus der NS-Zeit* (Düsseldorf: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 1992), pp. 40-43.



Some manuscripts from the Vienna Community were among the 250 'manuscripts in early Jewish language' that the Special Archive turned over to the Lenin Library (GBL) in 1949, but, we still do not know how many.⁵³ As of September 2004, according to one source in RGB, at least twenty have been identified, but more have been found among the unprocessed Hebraic holdings in the successor Russian State Library (RGB). Since their receipt half a century ago, unfortunately, those Hebrew manuscripts were never formally accessioned.⁵⁴ Even more unfortunately, the fact that they were never processed earlier (and hence had no stamps, registration numbers, or other markings) has led to the strong (in some cases confirmed) suspicion that many of the most valuable early manuscripts were filtered off for sale on the antiquarian market, especially in Israel.

Most of the Hebrew manuscripts held before the war by IKG (and elsewhere in Vienna) were described by Arthur Zacharais Schwarz, and it will now be important to verify those now in the two Moscow repositories against the Schwarz 1925, 1931, and 1973 catalogues.⁵⁵ Hebrew manuscript specialist in Jerusalem (Jewish National University Library) Benjamin Richler already started the process in a preliminary survey, when during one visit to Moscow, he found 57 manuscripts from Vienna among 247 manuscripts held in the former Lenin Library (now RGB). Not all of the manuscripts there were described by Schwarz, and some of the approximately 50 he attributes to IKG provenance are student dissertations, notebooks, or other

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- 53 The receipt of the manuscripts by GBL is recorded in the transfer act held in the RGB Archive, *opis'* 25, no. 93, folio 43.
- 54 Under a VGBIL project, specialists are trying to identify and prepare a catalogue of the MSS of Vienna-Jewish provenance in RGB. Previously, copies of the Schwarz catalogues were not openly available in Moscow, but efforts are now under way to verify the holdings against those pre-war descriptions.
- 55 Arthur Zacharias Schwarz, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1925); *Die hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich (ausserhalb der Nationalbibliothek in Wien)*, vol. I: *Bibel-Kabbala* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1931), and vol. 2: (New York, 1973; American Academy for Jewish Research, 'Texts and Studies', vol. 4). Part B of the second volume was prepared by D. Samuel Loewinger and Ernst Roth. Note that Schwarz prepared several other catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts in Vienna before the war, which may have become intermixed in the course of wartime migration. Schwarz (1890-1939) was a communal rabbi in Vienna and son of the rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna, some of the manuscripts from which also came to Moscow after the war (see RGVA, fond 717k).



fragments.⁵⁶ Richler's current website provides Schwarz catalogue numbers for eight and parts of two more IKG manuscripts now in RGB. Further he notes, "Most of the pre-sixteenth-century MSS that may have been in the library are apparently no longer there."⁵⁷ Richler, who follows antiquarian Hebrew manuscript sales, lists Schwarz numbers for sixteen IKG manuscripts that were offered for sale in Jerusalem in 1995, and two more in New York, thereby confirming his suspicions. He now speculates in terms of the RGB trophy collection, "The 'good stuff' is or was floating on the market and almost all that is left in Russia is second or third rate."⁵⁸

The Vienna IKG materials are thus indeed a prime example of the complexities of wartime and post-war dispersal, together with lack of progress in identification and restitution. They would be a prime candidate for an attempt at virtual reconstruction of the collection in exile, as Richler's significant efforts already indicate.⁵⁹ Their disposal and the reasons behind their dispersal are complicated. In the immediate post-war period, IKG members who survived the wartime inferno and returned to Vienna were quite prepared to see their archives and surviving books go to Israel, and Hebraic studies were not a strong point in university centers in Austria. It was only in the 1990s, with a significant influx to Austria of Jews from Eastern Europe, that the community library was reopened, and specialists learned the extent to which their archival and manuscript heritage had survived the war, albeit widely dispersed.

Important IKG Hebrew manuscripts also surfaced in Poland and were consolidated in the Institute of Jewish History

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- 56 See Benjamin Richler's 'Corrections and Additions' for RGB, updating coverage in his *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem, 1994), listed on the website of the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts <http://jnul.huji.ac.il/imhm/guidecor.htm>. There Richler quotes the figure of 300, many of which have not been professionally described or identified as to provenance, but questions remain about earlier figures. I am very grateful for Richler's consultations on these matters.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 'Vienna, Isr. Kulusgemeinde'. He lists Hebrew MSS now in RGB with Schwarz (1931-1947) nos 50, 109, 120, 123, 134, 209, 265 and 289, and fragments of nos 132 and 300. One of those sold in New York in 1996 (Schwarz no. 92), he says is now in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.
- 58 Richler kindly sent details and confirmed his suspicions in a letter to me (Jerusalem, 17 October 2004).
- 59 See Richler's website coverage of 'Corrections and Additions', *op. cit.* note 56, updating his 1994 Guide.



(Zydowski Instytut Historyczny) in Warsaw. Some of the most valuable manuscripts from that collection also disappeared during decades of Communist rule when Hebraic studies were not a priority, and when Institute specialists received only minimal compensation. Currently descriptions are being prepared.⁶⁰ Other IKG manuscripts that survived the Holocaust are now held in JNUL. The Central Archives of the Jewish People in Jerusalem holds on deposit 800 cartons of archival materials from IKG.⁶¹ With the recent revival of a strong Jewish Community and its library in Vienna, some regret that so many of their treasures were sent across the seas and not earlier returned from Eastern Europe.⁶² Yet in 2001, when the Community started processing their own post-war records, they discovered many more than expected IKG records on the home front, some going back to the nineteenth century, as well as some from 1938-1945.⁶³

Complexities in the migration of Jewish cultural treasures were highlighted when in November 2003, quite unexpectedly, a fragmentary fourteenth-century Cabalistic manuscript known as the *Sefer Jezira* was returned to the Jewish Community (IKG) in Vienna from New York. At some point after the war, the manuscript found its way to Israel, although its migratory route is still unknown. Purchased from an antiquarian dealer in Jerusalem and smuggled into the United States, it was sold at auction in New York in March 2002 for \$68,000. But thanks to the IKG provenance listed in the auction catalogue, it was spotted by a Jewish specialist in New York who notified the Vienna Community. Seized by US Customs authorities, instead of going to the purchaser, it was returned to Vienna in November 2003.⁶⁴ The executive director of the

60 See the listings in Schwarz, *op. cit.* note 55, vol. 2, Appendix E, pp. 111-2.

61 Hadassah Assouline letter to Grimsted, 10 October 2004.

62 For more details on these issues, see Adunka, *op. cit.* note 22.

63 For more details on the discovery and preliminary inventory work, see the IKG newsletter *Die Gemeinde* (October 2002), no. 543, pp. 8-10.

64 The manuscript appears as lot 191 in the printed auction catalogue, *Fine Judaica. Books, Manuscripts and Works of Art ..., Tuesday, March 12, 2002* (New York: Kestenbaum & Company, 2003), pp. 156-57. Richler identified the MS as listed by Schwarz in his 1931 catalogue of Hebrew MSS in Austria. The provenance note in the sale catalogue erroneously references Schwarz, *Die hebräische Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1925), no. 240, and further states: "The Library was looted by the Nazis during WWII and ceased to exist in its original form." Evelyn Adunka alerted me to this transaction in connection with her article I was editing, 'Nazi Looted Books in Austria and their Partial Restitution', in the forthcoming EAJS collection of essays, *op. cit.* note 23.



Jewish Community Organization, Erika Jakubovits, noted this was:

the first time since the 1950s that a manuscript with such important cultural, historical, and religious value had been restituted. ... Before the Nazi annexation of Austria in 1938, the Jewish Community had more than 600 manuscripts, but it currently has only six.

In describing the transfer to me, she emphasized her appreciation that there were no legal or customs charges in the US.⁶⁵ David Kestenbaum, who heads the New York auction house that advertised and sold the manuscript, explained that other manuscripts of the same provenance have previously appeared on the open market, and that he and his consultants were not aware that the IKG library had been re-established in Vienna.⁶⁶ It turns out that the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at JNUL, headed by Benjamin Richler, acquired a microfilm of the complete manuscript before it was divided. According to Richler, the other part of the manuscript remains in private hands, if it has not also been sold separately. Several people have suggested that it came to Israel from the RGB collection in Moscow.⁶⁷

While all of the archives discussed so far were removed from Austria by the Nazis, one example of archives removed during Soviet occupation should be noted. Although not directly of Austrian provenance, major parts of the archive of the Grand Duchy of Liechtenstein were found by Soviet agents in 1945

65 Marilyn Henry, 'Looted Tome Goes Home', *ARTnews*, February 2004, p. 48 (with color photograph). My coverage includes remarks from a recent interview with David Kestenbaum, regarding the manuscript. See also the US Customs report at <http://exchanges.state.gov/culprop/custpr4.pdf>, which states that in September 2003, Aaron Stefansky, the US citizen who smuggled the manuscript into the United States, "was sentenced in U.S. District Court of Southern New York for introducing commercial merchandise into the U.S. by means of false declarations."

66 Kestenbaum repeated this point in a phone interview from Cambridge MA in April 2004; see the Schwarz listings given by Richler cited abovenote 56. See Adunka, *op. cit.* note 22, at p. 154, and her article cited above note 23. I am grateful to her for arranging my recent visits to the Jewish Community in Vienna (August 2004).

67 Benjamin Richler, in a letter to me in October 2004. I am very grateful for Richler's consultations regarding the Vienna IKG collection. Microfilm copies of the whole manuscript and the missing half are available at the Institute of Microfilmed Jewish Manuscripts (JNUL).



in the family castle of Hollenegg (bei Deutschlandsberg in Steiermark). Initially sent to the Fundamental Library of the Academy of Sciences (FBAN) in Moscow, the archive was transferred to the former Osobyi Archive (TsGOA SSSR) by the end of 1946.⁶⁸ Finally in 1996, the archive was returned to Liechtenstein, authorized by a decree of the Duma claiming the “family archive ... had no bearing on the history of Russia ... [and] would not be contrary to the new law on restitution”, although there were subsequent vicious press attacks on the transfer.⁶⁹ Paralleling the Rothschild return, Russia received in exchange an enticing collection of documentation relating to the assassination of Emperor Nicholas II, purchased at Sotheby’s (initially valued at half a million dollars), which led the major newspaper in Vaduz to complain in a headline that Prince Hans Adam II had been forced to ‘repurchase’ his own property, namely the legitimate archival heritage of the Grand Duchy.⁷⁰ There is no reasonable explanation as to why the predominantly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Liechtenstein grand ducal archive was designated for transport to the Soviet Union, where it would remain unused and virtually unknown for over half a century. It is possible that some printed books were brought to the USSR with the archive, but these have not yet been publicly identified.

There was better rationale behind other archival transports from Austria to the USSR. Little was known of the details, but evidence has surfaced since 1991 that specialists working with the Soviet Element of the Allied Commission in Austria combed archives in their zone of occupation in Vienna and elsewhere for appropriate materials to send to the USSR. According to one GlavPU report to Agitprop under

68 See the brief description and report on the contents of the Liechtenstein archive (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries) by three archivists from TsGOA (15 May 1946), GA RF 5325/2/1704, fol. 16-16v.

69 See the transcript of the Duma session of 13 June 1996 and the official ‘Postanovlenie Gosudarstvennoi Dumy - ob obmene arkhivnykh dokumentov Kniazheskogo doma Likhtenshtein, peremeshchennykh posle okonchaniia Vtoroi mirovoi voiny na territoriiu Rossii, na arkhivnye dokumenty o rassledovanii obstoiatel'stv gibli Nikolaia II i chlenov ego sem'i (arkhiv N. A. Sokolova)', 13 June 1996 (No. 465-II GD). Earlier, the Duma had voted against the return of the Liechtenstein archive. For more details, including references to the virulent Russian press criticism, see Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, *op. cit.* note 40, at pp. 413-15.

70 Patrik Schädler, ‘Fürstliches Hausarchiv und Sokolov-Archiv/ Gestern begann der Austausch: Fürst Hans-Adam ‘kauft’ sein Eigentum zurück’, *Liechtensteiner Vaterland*, no. 172 (31 July 1997), p. 1.



the Central Committee, in the process of retrieving archival collections taken by the Germans from the Museum of the Revolution in Kyiv, they also found Austro-Hungarian military files from Galicia (1890-1895).⁷¹ Receipts documented in Ukraine include 78 crates of military service files from Galicia (1868-1945), which Soviet authorities apparently considered legitimate prey as 'territorially pertinent' records, since those western areas were now part of Soviet Ukraine.⁷² The Soviets were searching for documentation from the Petliura-led Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), and it is possible that some relevant files were sent to Kyiv from Vienna. However, émigré Ukrainians were apparently able to remove most of the UNR records from Vienna either to Rome or to the United States to avoid capture.⁷³

In contrast to operations in Soviet-occupied Germany, where many original archival files were seized during occupation, Soviet archival scouts in Austria turned to microfilm. Instead of original archival files, they prepared copies of files for several different major Russian archives of potential interest to Soviet specialists. Lists have been preserved, for example, of hundreds of rolls of microfilm prepared and some copies of documents apparently prepared by hand. During the spring of 1948, for example, Soviet specialists in Vienna sent to Moscow a series of copies from Austrian Foreign Ministry records, from the Austrian Embassies in Paris (1930-1938)

- 71 Report of GlavPU, Lt. Gen. S. Shatilov (Vienna, 31 March 1947), RGASPI, 17/125/579. fol. 76. There is insufficient description to confirm, but apparently these are at least part of the Galician files that arrived in Kyiv in July (see note 72, below).
- 72 A freight car arrived in Kyiv with those records from Vienna in July 1947. See the special report on the Consolidated Military Registration Bureau in Vienna, in a secret memorandum by Bondarevskii to V.P. Gudzenko (9 July 1946), TsDAVO, 4703/2/10, fols 9-10. Several collections from Vienna are among those listed held by the Special Secret Division of TsDIA URSR, as documented in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, *op. cit.* note 40, at pp. 359-61.
- 73 One Ukrainian report suggests that SMERSH found one wagonload of UNR records that had come from Vienna, but presumably those were the ones seized by SMERSH in Cracow that the Nazis had found in Tarnów. See Patricia Grimsted, 'The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998 [2000]) [also issued separately as *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, eds Zvi Gitelman *et al.*], pp. 189-91; and Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21, nos 3-4 (1997[2001]), pp. 392-461.



and Moscow (1924-1938), and the Austrian Consulate in Munich (1933-1938). Later they sent some eighteenth-century documents to the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA). Materials gathered for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism ranged from documents on European national liberation movements in the nineteenth century, a Socialist Party conference in Stockholm in 1927, and the Austrian labor movement, including files regarding émigré socialists, some of them involving extracts prepared from the original archives rather than microfilm copies. Unfortunately, many of the documents that could provide precise descriptions of those transfers and their Soviet destinations, while briefly available for research earlier in the early 1990s, are now reclassified.⁷⁴

The fact that documentation on cultural trophies taken from Austria to the Soviet Union is scarce may suggest that few cultural treasures were removed. But even in known instances, related Soviet documents regarding their migration have not all been declassified. On the other hand, we can much better document British and American cultural restitution to the USSR in Austria, because British and American restitution records are all open for public research. Those operations have hitherto been unknown in the USSR, and even unknown in the West.

Most important in terms of library restitution, in the summer of 1945 in the former castle and monastery of Tanzenberg (near Klagenfurt) in Austrian Carinthia (Ger. Kärnten) the British found over half a million books plundered from all over Europe. The books had been collected for the Central Library of the Hohe Schule – ZB or ZBHS (Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule NSDAP), Alfred Rosenberg's projected post-war university for Nazi élite. Most of the books had been plundered by the infamous Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) throughout the European continent. A special

74 Many reports of materials forwarded by SVAG to the Archival Administration in Moscow, sometimes with accompanying inventories, are found, for example, in GA RF, 5325/2/2579, among others. In most cases memoranda indicate the archives or other repositories to which the archival and library materials were directed. That file and the related file 2580 were briefly available for research, but are now classified. Quite probably the following two files similarly described in the *opis'* (nos 2581-2582) contain additional reports from seizures in Germany and Austria.



ZBHS Commando was sent to Paris and Brussels in the summer and fall of 1941. A few choice collections had been 'purchased' by ZBHS agents in Germany and Czechoslovakia. Most of the books from Amsterdam came in 1944. Others were plundered by a Special ZBHS Commando sent to occupied Soviet lands (late 1941-early 1943), attached to the ERR, although some were initially plundered by the Künsberg commandos.⁷⁵ Few if any of the books in Tanzenberg were from Austria. Between August 1945 and 1948, British Monuments, Art & Archives (MFA&A) officers sorted an estimated over 600,000 books and prepared them for transfer to representatives of their countries of origin. Remaining British restitution files identify the provenance and document the large transfers to France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Soviet Union, to name only the largest recipients.



The Monastery (Stift) of Tanzenberg (near Klagenfurt, [Kärnten] Carinthia), from a postcard in the wartime ERR files now in Kyiv. Original in TsDAVO, 3674/1/2, fol. 300; courtesy TsDAVO.

75 The best description of the Tanzenberg collection and the library operation is found in the mimeographed lengthy British MFA&A 'Preliminary Report on Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (NSDAP)' (1.VIII.1945), several copies of which are available among British Foreign Office files in the PRO, FO 1020, including 1020/2793, doc. 2A. A copy is also among the records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (Roberts Commission), US NACP, RG 239/11; see also the subsequent 'Progress Report on Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule, Tanzenberg (to 25 Aug 45)', FO 1020/2793. Regarding ZBHS, see also Adunka, *op. cit.* note 22, esp. pp. 15-70 and pp. 143-48; Adunka's summary account will appear in 'Nazi-Looted Books in Austria and their Partial Restitution', in the forthcoming collection of essays, *op. cit.* note 23. See also Gabriela Stieber, 'Die Bibliothek der 'Hohen Schule des Nationalsozialismus' in Tanzenberg', in *Carinthia* 1995, pp. 343-62.



Among an estimated total of over 60,000 books from Soviet lands were approximately 35,000 books plundered by Künsberg Commandos and the ERR from former Russian imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad – 397 crates, many of them still unopened (still with their German markings ‘ZAB’) from Gatchina, Pavlovsk, and Tsarskoe Selo. Those books seized by the Künsberg commando in the fall of 1941 had been turned over to the ERR by the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin, and joined others the ERR had looted themselves. Although some were distributed as ‘trophy’ to the Nazi élite in Berlin, most of them were shipped to Tanzenberg in 1942-1943.⁷⁶ The imperial palace books were joined by others from Novgorod, Kyiv, Voronezh and the Baltic countries.

Ironically, in the summer of 1945, several of the librarians who had served the Nazis were held under house arrest as British prisoners of war and forced to prepare the plundered books for return to their pre-war countries of origin. The main ZBHS specialist in Tanzenberg for books from Soviet lands was Dr Gottlieb Peeter Ney, who formerly directed the Estonian State Archives and Library (1936-1941).⁷⁷ In preparation for the British restitution, Ney prepared a sample list of 42 books in Tanzenberg from the former imperial palaces (crates ZAB 1-397), although some of those listed were from Kyiv collections.⁷⁸ Initially, the British used the

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- 76 See more details in Grimsted, ‘Von Bernsteinzimmer zu dem Büchern der Russischen Zarenpaläste: Identifikation und Rekonstruktion verbrachdter Kulturschätze’, and ‘Ot Iantarnoi komnaty k knigam iz russkogo imperatorskogo dvortsa. Identifikatsiia i rekonstruktsiia peremeshchennykh kul’turnykh tsennostei’, in *Kulturgüter – Möglichkeiten und Perspektiven einer gesamteuropäischen Zusammenarbeit. Materialien der internationalen Konferenz Kulturelle Zusammenarbeit in Europa: Fragen der Erhaltung und des Schutzes von Kulturgütern, St. Petersburg, 12. Mai 2003/ Kul’turnye tsennosti: Vozmozhnosti i perspektivy obshcheevropeiskogo sotrudnichestva. Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii “Kul’turnoe sotrudnichestvo v Evrope: problemy sokhraneniia i okhrany kul’turnykh tsennostei,” Sankt-Peterburg, 12 Maia 2003 g.* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag/Moscow: Rudomino, 2004), pp. 108-52. An updated English-language version is in preparation. Regarding the shipments to Tanzenberg, see ‘Preliminary Report on ZBHS’ and ‘Progress Report on ZBHS’, PRO, FO 1020/2793.
- 77 British biographic data for Ney is included in the ‘Preliminary Report on ZBHS’, p. 15, undoubtedly based on the British ‘Interrogation of Dr G. Ney’, PRO, FO 1020/2795, and ‘Statement by Dr Ney’, PRO, FO 1020/2878. Regarding Ney’s work for ZBHS in occupied Soviet lands, see Grimsted, ‘Rare Books from Voronezh to Tartu and Tanzenberg: From Nazi Plunder and British Restitution to Russian ‘Lost Book Treasures’’, *Solanus* 18 (2004), pp. 74-103.
- 78 Gottlieb Ney, Appendix to Report of 11.VIII.1945, with ‘Dr Ney’s Report on Russian Books’ (Tanzenberg, 11 August 1945), PRO, FO 1020/2878.



presence of the books in the British Occupation Zone and prospect of their restitution to induce the Soviets to return the works of art and furnishings of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna that had been stored in the Hofburg Palace (being used as a Soviet Casino) and in Lower Austria (Soviet Zone), involving long and complicated negotiations.⁷⁹

In April 1946 Stepan I. Ledovskikh, a specialist in the Educational [Cultural Enlightenment] Division of the Soviet Element of the Allied Commission for Austria (ACA), visited Tanzenberg to arrange the restitution transfer. In reporting his visit to Soviet Major-General Mikhail N. Kleshnin in Vienna, Ledovskikh listed a few of the same books from the imperial palaces and Voronezh that Ney had listed for the British.⁸⁰ After Ledovskikh returned to Vienna, General Kleshnin drafted orders for the transfer:

1. To the Chief of the Soviet Reparations Division Colonel Borisov to arrange, during the period 10.4 to 25.4 of this year, the transfer of the books from Tanzenberg (British Zone) to Moscow, ... and permission from the British Element of the Allied Commission for the removal of the books and disposition from the above-named British military authorities in Klagenfurt for motor transport and workers for their transfer from the castle of Tanzenberg to the railroad station in Klagenfurt.
2. To the Chief of the Transport Division General Kulagin to designate six [freight train] wagons for transport of the books from Klagenfurt railroad station to Moscow.
3. To the Chief of the Military Division Colonel

79 Soviet files corresponding to the British Foreign Office files have not been declassified. In September 2003 the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF) could find only three related documents, copies of which they kindly gave me with no archival citations. While Austrian colleagues have worked with many additional files from the records of other divisions of the Russian Element (Chast') of the ACA in AVP RF, archivists claim they do not hold the records of the Restitution and Reparations Division. I am very grateful to Wolfgang Müller for advising me about the ACA records that he recently consulted in AVP RF for his doctoral dissertation at the Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

80 Ledovskikh to Kleshnin (6 April 1945), AVP RF. The director of AVP RF kindly furnished me a copy of Ledovskikh's report but would not reveal the fond and file from where it is found.



Lavrov to designate two or three officers to go to Klagenfurt for the books.⁸¹

Although the arrangements took longer than ordered, two Soviet 'civilian' officers from Vienna, Sidorov and Ushakov arrived in Klagenfurt the morning of the 21st of May. On the 21st-22nd May 1946 they supervised transfer from Tanzenberg to nearby Klagenfurt where 557 crates of books were loaded in four freight-train wagons. Although an official signed 'Act' of transfer has not yet been located, Ney's draft official British transfer document (prepared in three languages) with a summary of the crate contents is preserved, specifying the sources:

South-Russian group (total: 128 crates):

VO 1-82: Voronezh University Library
(crates 1-15 – Russian books; crates 16-82 – books in foreign languages)

KJ 1-46: Kyiv libraries and former Caves Monastery

North-Russian group (total: 427 crates):

OLE 1-30: Principally from Riga and [Vilnius] (Wilno)
ZAB 1-397 Tsarskoe Selo, Pavlovsk, Gatchina, and Novgorod

Total: 555 crates⁸²

An *ex post facto* British report dated 24th May describes the completed transfer, and both that report and later ones specify a total of 557 crates with an estimated 60 to 65,000 volumes.⁸³ The following year, Soviet officer Lt Colonel V. Nikolaev signed for an additional twelve crates of Soviet books on 28th August 1947, making a total of 569 crates received by Soviet officials by the time the British were leaving Tanzenberg in mid-October 1948. One memorandum among British files suggested that over half of the final batch were from Kyiv.⁸⁴

81 Kleshnin, 'Prikaz o vyvoze knig, prinadlezhashchikh SSSR, iz zamka Tantsenberg v g. Vena' (draft [Proekt], n.d.). The AVP RF director kindly gave me a copy with no specifications. Austrian historian Wolfgang Müller, who had earlier seen the same document, kindly identified it for me as coming from fond 451.

82 See Ney's handwritten draft 'Russland-Transport, Mai 1946/ Russian Transport, May 1946/ Russkii transport, mai 1946', PRO, FO 1020/2879.

83 Anlage 1. zum Wochenbericht Nr. 39 - 'Russland-Transport am 21.-22.Mai 1946 (Tzbg. 24/V.46)', signed by Grothe, PRO, FO 1020/2879, together with other documents regarding the transfer.

84 See the British reports and the original signed transfer documents (dated 28 August 1947), PRO, FO 1020/2794 and 2880.



Since Soviet copies of the 'acts' of transfer and related documents have not been found, it has been impossible to trace the shipment in Soviet hands. However, from the Leningrad end, we now know the Tanzenberg consignment was received and that at least some of the books reached their home libraries in the Soviet Union. Since the former imperial palaces were then in ruins, their books (together with furnishings and art) retrieved after the war, all initially went to the Central Repository for Museum Fonds of the Leningrad Suburban Palaces: TsKhMF (Tsentral'noe khranilishche muzeinykh fondov Leningradskikh prigorodnykh dvortsov), already established in 1944 first in the Alexander Palace in Pushkin (Tsarskoe Selo) and after 1955 in Pavlovsk.

A Russian act of receipt from Austria at TsKhMF on 16th December 1946 (no. 665) confirms arrival of 452 crates of books intact, 53 partially damaged ones, together with more loose books, and some cabinets with zoological and geological exhibits. The shipment that left Vienna on 23rd July 1946 had first been addressed to the 'Central Depository of the Book Fond of the Committee for Culture [Gosfond]', presumably in Moscow.⁸⁵ That some of the Tanzenberg books came home to suburban Leningrad is also confirmed by a photograph (dated ca.1948-1950) showing several crates in the Tsarskoe Selo Museum with 'returned exhibits'.

Some confusion remains as to how many books arrived in that shipment and from what libraries in what cities. A recent Russian analysis notes 32,539 books from the palace museums in the Central Repository in 1946, but without reference to the Tanzenberg shipment.⁸⁶ But it is difficult

85 Tsarskoe Selo curator Irina Zaitseva has examined the original, as she describes in 'O knizhnykh poteriakh tsarskosel'skikh dvortsovykh bibliotek v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny', in *Rossiiia-Germaniia: Prostranstvo obshcheniia*. X *Tsarskosel'skaia nauchnaia konferentsiia: Materialy* (St Petersburg, 2004), pp. 171-72. I have personally requested access to the act or a copy, since I first heard about it in May 2003, but the TsKhMF files remaining in Pavlovsk have not been open for research.

86 See the coverage of TsKhMF by Margarita S. Zinich, *Pokhishchennye sokrovishcha: vyvoz Natsistami rossiiskikh kul'turnykh tsennostei* (Moscow: Institut Rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 2003), pp. 177-95. Most of the records of the Central Repository, established under the Leningrad City Executive Committee (Upravlenie kul'tury Lengorispolkoma) are now held in the Central State Archive of Literature and Art of St Petersburg (TsGALI SPb), fond 387 (1943-1956), but some remain in Pavlovsk. Zinich notes the 1946 figure for palace books on p. 185. See also the briefer, undocumented account by Pavlovsk Deputy Director Aleksei N. Guzanov, 'K istorii Tsentral'nogo khranilishcha muzeinykh fondov prigorodnykh dvortsov-muzeev', in *Sud'by muzeinykh kollektzii: Materialy VII Tsarskosel'skoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (St Petersburg, 2001), pp. 346-53.



to establish precise figures, as a 1950 TsKhMF report gives a total of 33,247 books returned, according to pre-war inventories of the palace museums, with an additional 20,949 units of graphic materials.⁸⁷

The number of crates may also indicate that the Smolensk materials returned by the Americans in Salzburg came home from the war. One TsKhMF 1946 report gives 582 crates in the December shipment.⁸⁸ Another (1947) says 587 crates, in both cases as many as 30 crates more than the British transferred to Soviet officers in Tanzenberg in May. The difference can well be explained by hypothesizing that the additional 30 crates could have been the '30 boxes of books and scientific equipment' from Smolensk that were restituted to Soviet officers in Salzburg by the Americans in December 1945. The same Stepan I. Ledovskikh signed an official act of transfer (see below)!⁸⁹ The 'cabinets with zoological and geological exhibits' noted with the Tanzenberg crates above were undoubtedly those returned to Soviet officers in Salzburg by the Americans. The return of books from Smolensk (not found in Tanzenberg) is included in a 1947 TsKhMF report, further supporting such an hypothesis:

V. Gathering and systematization of books arriving in the TsKh in December 1946 (more than 32,000 books). Transfer to libraries in Kyiv, Voronezh, Riga, Novgorod, Smolensk—327 crates with books.⁹⁰

We do not know whether or not all of those materials were returned to Smolensk. Nor do we know whether TsKhMF

87 TsKhMF, 'Ob"iasnitel'naia zapiska k bukhgalterskomy otchety ...za 1950 god', TsGALI SPb, 387/1/105, fol. 1. Reference is specifically to the palace museum collection in the 'Nauchno-vspomogatel'nyi kabinet'. The same figure is given in 1951, but labeled 'books and others' - 387/1/119.

88 TsKhMF, '1946 god', TsGALI SPb, 387/1/20, fol. 3.

89 See the facsimile documents for transfer no. 3 (5 December 1945), in Grimsted, *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945-1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an Introduction by P.K. Grimsted, CD-ROM (Washington, DC: 2001). Additional documents and the official signed claim forms (found later) remain among the records of the US Element, USACA, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, MFA&A Branch, Russian claims (now on microfilm, M1927, roll 2). See also Grimsted, 'Spoils of War Returned: U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945-1959', *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 34(1) (Spring 2002), pp. 27-41, on the website of the US National Archives: http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/spring_2002_spoils_of_war_1.html.

90 TsKhMF, '1947 god', TsGALI SPb, 387/1/38, fol. 1.



staff opened and checked the contents of all the 327 crates they shipped out 'to libraries in their cities of origin', or whether they simply believed the German/British markings. The breakdown of the 327 crates sent is not explained in TsKhMF reports, but until we can examine the actual 'acts' of transfer with numbers to each destination, we cannot solve the problem.

Many of the books plundered from the palaces have still not been accounted for, as is apparent from the recent catalogues of Russian *Lost Book Treasures*.⁹¹ Complaints abound that cultural treasures from the Central Repository were dispersed to the wrong places. For example, one report suggests books from the palace in Pavlovsk were sent to twelve different places.⁹² In the case of Gatchina, many of the palace books were distributed elsewhere during the years the palace was not functioning as a museum. It will be a difficult task to follow the dispersal trail, or to rectify their faulty distribution after return to the USSR following the war, but the introductions to the Russian Ministry of Culture series have not adequately taken account of this problem, and have not even recognized the British restitution.

Although TsKhMF reports also do not mention Austria, post-war 'returned' stamps in pre-war (1938-1940) palace inventories for the museum collections in Gatchina bear handwritten notations 'from Austria', referencing an act of receipt (in Pushkin) as 'no. 665' (16th December 1946).⁹³ Accordingly, already by the early 1990s, Gatchina deputy

91 Lost books from Tsarskoe Selo are scattered throughout the recent catalogues, *Svodnyi katalog kul'turnykh tsennostei, pokhishchennykh i utrachennykh v period Vtoroi mirovoi voiny*, English edn: *Summary Catalogue of the Cultural Valuables Stolen and Lost during the Second World War*, vol. 1: *Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik "Tsarskoe Selo" / The Tsarskoe Selo State Architectural Palace-Park Museum Zone*, books 1 and 2: *Ekaterininskii dvorets / The Catherine Palace* (Moscow-St. Petersburg: Ministerstvo kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1999-2000). Pavlovsk books are listed in vol. 2: *Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik "Pavlovsk": Pavlovskii dvorets / The Pavlovsk State Museum Zone: The Pavlovsk Palace* (Moscow, 2000). Lost books from Gatchina appear in vol. 11: *Utrachennyye knizhnye tsennosti*, book 2: *Leningradskaia oblast'. Gatchina / Lost Book Treasures*, book 2: *Leningrad Region oblast'. Gatchina* (Moscow, 2003).

92 Zinich, *Pokhishchennyye sokrovishcha*, p. 194.

93 Valerii A. Semenov kindly arranged for me to see and photograph the Gatchina pre-war inventories with the stamps corresponding to the act cited above, note 85. These details, unfortunately, are not made clear in the newly-published Ministry of Culture vol. 11, book 2: *Gatchina*, listing 562 lost books.



director Valerii A. Semenov, noted that approximately 3,000 books from the palace of Gatchina had returned from Austria.⁹⁴ Semenov's figure of '3,000 from Austria', he now explains, is undoubtedly low, because many of the pre-war library inventory books are not available in the palace archive, although they were known to have survived the war. Inventories in Tsarskoe Selo bear the same stamps and reference the same 'act' of receipt (no. 665) from the Central Repository, but the words 'from Austria' do not appear in those examined.⁹⁵ Many of the pre-war library inventories are likewise missing in Tsarskoe Selo. Since the British documents with Ney's sample packing lists have surfaced, librarians in the three palaces have checked their holdings and confirmed that indeed many of the specific books listed by Dr Ney in Tanzenberg have come home from the war.⁹⁶

Most of the close to 7,000 books from Voronezh found in Tanzenberg (82 crates marked VO 1-82) also never reached their home. In August 1945 Ney prepared a sample list of over 70 books from Voronezh out of a total of 6,954 that he packed for return in 82 crates.⁹⁷ In 2002 the Russian Ministry of Culture issued an initial volume listing samples of Russia's *Lost Book Treasures* in the elegantly-published series, including 155 books still lost from Voronezh, but the Russian editors were not aware of the British restitution. Coincidentally, thirteen of the 155 titles correspond to items on Dr Ney's Tanzenberg 1945 short-title packing list found in British restitution records.

94 See Valerii A. Semenov, 'Biblioteki Gatchinskogo dvortsa', in *Gatchina: Imperatorskii dvorets: Tret'e stoletie istorii*, comp. N. S. Tre'iakov *et al.* (St Petersburg, 1994), pp. 415-20, and 'Knizhnye sobraniia Gatchinskogo dvortsa', *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta*, ser. 2: *Istoriia, iazykoznanie, literaturovedenie*, 1992, no. 4 (23), pp. 90-94. He was then unaware of the British restitution.

95 I appreciate the assistance of the curatorial staff in Tsarskoe Selo with my research in June 2004.

96 Ney's Tanzenberg lists covering the ZAB crates for the three palaces are preserved with his reports for the British in PRO, FO 1020/2878. Special thanks are due to the librarians Irina Zaitseva in Tsarskoe Selo, Irina Alekseeva in Pavlovsk, and Ol'ga Petrova, together with Deputy Director Valerii Semenov in Gatchina. See some of the initial notes in Grimsted, 'Von Bernsteinzimmer zu dem Büchern der Russischen Zarenpaläste'/'Ot Iantarnoi komnaty k knigam iz russkogo imperatorskogo dvortsa'. A more detailed analysis of our findings is in preparation.

97 Ney's 'Woronesch' lists are appended to his August reports, PRO, FO 1020/2878 (copies in file 2793). See Grimsted, 'Rare Books from Voronezh to Tartu and Tanzenberg', *Solanus* 18 (2004), pp. 74-102.



Another ten titles listed bearing pre-Revolutionary stamps of Dorpat University were identified in 2004 as having been returned by Ney under ERR auspices to Tartu in 1943.⁹⁸ In fact, most of the 155 book titles from Voronezh University listed in the published volume were those Ney earlier listed as examples in the fall of 1942, when he was preparing them for shipment to ZBHS or to Tartu under ERR auspices in Kursk and Kyiv.⁹⁹ So presumably more sent to Tanzenberg would have been returned to the USSR. Although Voronezh was mentioned as one of the shipping destinations from TsKhMF in 1947, librarians there report return of only some 40 books after the war from suburban Leningrad (Pushkin). Until we can verify documentation in Pavlovsk, however, we cannot determine how many of the 82 Voronezh crates in the Tanzenberg consignment were shipped from Pushkin to Voronezh in 1947.¹⁰⁰ Further study is under way of the fate of the Tanzenberg books from Kyiv and Novgorod, and the books found in Salzburg from Smolensk.

Given the Cold-War divide, Russian specialists never knew about the British restitution from Austria, and details were never published.¹⁰¹ Only recently with the revival of interest in wartime cultural displacements has the British restitution from the Tanzenberg facility come to the attention of Western specialists.¹⁰² But it is still the case

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- 98 *Svodnyi katalog kul'turnykh tsennostei*, vol. 11: *Utrachennye knizhnye tsennosti*, book 1 / English edn: *Lost Book Treasures*, book 1 (Moscow, 2002); the Voronezh Oblast section is on pp. 25-51, with 'Introduction' by Aleksandr M. Mazuritskii (pp. 25-31). Regarding the Tartu books, see Grimsted, 'Rare Books from Voronezh to Tartu and Tanzenberg', *passim*.
- 99 Copies (most signed by Ney) and related documents are preserved in the ERR files in Kyiv, TsDAVO, 3676/1/11, 16, 20, 45, 136 and 144. See more details in Grimsted, *op. cit.* note 97.
- 100 The figure of 'forty books' was reported to me by the present library director, Svetlana Yants. Zinich, *op. cit.* note 86, at, p. 178, notes the arrival of books from Voronezh.
- 101 See the official British report by Leonard Wooley, *A Record of the Work Done by the Military Authorities for the Protection of the Treasures of Art & History in War Areas* (London: HMSO, 1946), pp. 39-40; and the report of the British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and Other Material in Enemy Hands, *Works of Art in Austria (British Zone of Occupation): Losses and Survivals in the War* (London: HMSO, 1946), p. 4. These reports mention only general figures for returns to different countries.
- 102 Reference to the brief British published reports, and full British documentation is explained in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, *op. cit.* note 40, chs 5 and 6, especially pp. 230-33. See Adunka, *op. cit.* note 22, and Stieber, *op. cit.* note 75.



FLYING MERCURY COMES HOME TO PAVLOVSK

that few people have seen the 1946 article by John F. Hayward, the British MFA&A officer in charge in Carinthia, in a London art journal describing some of the incunabula and rare books exhibited in Klagenfurt in December 1945, before their return to their countries of origin. None of the Russian palace books was exhibited, however, Hayward explained, because they were already packed for restitution.¹⁰³ Even today Russian politicians prefer to claim that most of the cultural treasures plundered by the Nazis from the USSR are still in the West, many of them sent across the seas to America. A major reason for that conception is the lack of information about restitution and about the fate of the books returned in Soviet hands. According to British reports, the approximately 55,-60,000 books of Russian (i.e. Soviet) provenance found in Tanzenberg were the only Soviet cultural property discovered in the British Zone of Austria.¹⁰⁴

Many more plundered cultural treasures were found in the American Occupation Zone in Austria, most particularly important high-value Nazi-plundered art collections, including those intended for Hitler's projected museum in Linz, which were found by the Americans in the salt mines of Alt Aussee, Bad Ischl, and Lauffen. Most of those art treasures were transferred to the US Central Collecting Point in Munich for restitution processing. Similarly some books from Smolensk that were found in Villa Castiglione on the Gundelsee went to the Munich restitution center.¹⁰⁵ Other Nazi depositories in Bavaria, however, were where most of the Soviet cultural treasures plundered by the

103 John F. Hayward, 'The Exhibition of Rare Books from the Library at Tanzenberg', *Apollo: The Magazine of the Arts for Connoisseurs and Collectors*, 43 (March, 1946), pp. 53-57, 70. Hayward (1916-1983), following his MFA&A assignment, worked for Sotheby's in London, was a curator in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and wrote several books on British furniture, silver, and European armour.

104 Correspondence regarding restitution negotiations is found in PRO, FO 1020/2794.

105 Some related documents remain among US Austrian restitution claims records. Reference to the return of Smolensk University books found in the Villa Castiglione (Grundelsee) for Hitler's Linz Library appears in a letter of Chief RD&R Division, OMGUS, James Garrish, to Soviet RD&R Division, Colonel V. Borisov (10 September 1947), BAK, B323/497. More documents are available in the Soviet claims files in the US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the US Element, USACA, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, MFA&A Branch, Russian claim no. 20 (now on microfilm, M1927, roll 2).



Germans were found, and most of their contents likewise went to the Munich Collecting Point.¹⁰⁶

Given the open availability of Soviet claims files in US records, it has been possible to document several other small American transfers of cultural treasures to Soviet authorities in Austria. As noted above, in December 1945 in Salzburg, the same Stepan Ledovskikh who visited Tanzenberg in April 1946 signed for 30 crates of books and scientific equipment from Smolensk State University. The official US receipts and inventories are published, but the corresponding Soviet copies have not surfaced.¹⁰⁷ As already explained, undoubtedly those crates arrived in suburban Leningrad (Pushkin) with the Austrian shipment, but we do not know if they reached Smolensk.

Soviet claims files in the US records also document two other minor restitution transfers of cultural property in Austria involving booty brought home by individual soldiers. On 21st May 1947 in Linz, the same Lt Colonel V. Nikolaev named above, then the Chief of the Soviet Restitution Division, signed for seven icons, one Russian nineteenth-century painting, and four other religious objects that had been plundered from the USSR; and on 14th May 1948 in Vienna, Soviet restitution officer Boris Sergeevich Adamov signed a receipt for three icons and an oil painting from the town of Pushkin (Tsarskoe Selo) removed by an individual soldier and found in Grunden, Upper Austria.¹⁰⁸ These may be small examples, but they illustrate the fact that the American MFA&A officers were making an effort to find and return Soviet cultural property.

Unfortunately, records are still not available to researchers concerning the disposition of cultural treasures in the Soviet Zones in Germany and Austria, corresponding to the British and American records. Many of those records needed have

106 See the Grimsted 'Introduction' and facsimiles of the signed transfer documents reproduced in *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR*, *op. cit.* note 89.

107 See the facsimile documents for transfer no. 3 (5 December 1945), in Grimsted, *op. cit.* note 89.

108 US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the US Element, USACA, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, Monuments and Fine Arts Branch, Russian claim nos 19, 4 and 24 (now on microfilm, M1927, roll 2). I discovered these files after publication of *U.S. Restitution*.



yet to be transferred to public archives, such as those remaining under military agency auspices. Accordingly, it has been possible so far to piece together only a few examples. In Russia the subject retains strong political overtones, and even specialists in the Russian Ministry of Culture handling restitution issues and the published series of *Lost Book Treasures* remain poorly informed. More than half a century after the end of World War II, many Russian libraries and archives are still in the dark about the wartime and post-war fate of their collections and are likely to remain so until there is more declassification. Until there is access to the documentation needed, many foreign cultural treasures in Russia cannot be properly identified, nor indeed can many Russian 'lost cultural treasures' be found.

The fact that many millions of books from Soviet libraries were lost or destroyed during World War II, and that the Russian Ministry of Culture is publishing an impressive series listing their 'Lost Book Treasures', makes it important to identify the survivors and trace their odyssey, in the hope of finding more and, where possible, reconstructing lost collections. We also need to counter the Russian belief that all of the missing books were either destroyed by the Nazis, taken to America, or are hidden in private collections in Germany and Western Europe. Although that may be the fate in some instances, already evidence is mounting that some important library collections believed to have been lost or destroyed, did in fact survive the war, although, sadly, they were dispersed within the Soviet Union, and never returned to their homes.¹⁰⁹

Clearly Soviet occupation policy in Austria regarding cultural treasures sharply differed from the policy under SVAG in Soviet-occupied Germany. Since the Soviet Union recognized Austria as an occupied country (legally it was incorporated into the Third Reich), seizure of 'spoils of war'

109 Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940-2002: Books as Victims and Trophies of War* (Amsterdam: IISH, 2003), and my article, 'Twice Plundered but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated from Paris', *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39-73; an updated version appears in Polish, 'Dwukrotnie zrabowane i nadal z dala od ojczyzny. Losy trzech bibliotek slowianskich przejetych przez nazistow w Paryżu', *Archeion* 106 (2003 [2005]), pp. 47-84.



was not authorized to the extent it was in Berlin, East Germany, and formerly-German Silesia (which later became part of Poland). Undoubtedly that explains why we have comparatively few examples of Austrian cultural treasures in the former Soviet Union. Yet besides the Rothschild papers from Vienna, none of the treasures of Austrian provenance that have been identified in Russia, including the vast quantities of archives first seized by the Germans after the Anschluss, have come home to Austria.¹¹⁰ Restitution matters move slowly in Russia following the collapse of the USSR in 1991, but during the past decade, many displaced archives of foreign provenance have been going home from the war to a few Western European countries, much more so indeed than books and art.¹¹¹ We can only hope that the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1955 peace treaty with Austria may provide an occasion for more of the Austrian cultural treasures to follow suit. As Russian restitution negotiations with Austria progress, perhaps more lost art from Austria collections will surface, such as the missing Rembrandt etchings, so they too can return home with the books and archives. As the *Flying Mercury* returns to Pavlovsk, it could be a symbolic messenger of hope for more international cooperation in the location, identification, and return of still more displaced cultural hostages.

110 As noted above, the Rothschild papers from Vienna were handed over to the Rothschild Archive in London in November 2001.

111 See Grimsted, 'Russia's Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?' Electronic version: Budapest: Open Society Archive (Central European University): <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives/RussianTrophyArchives.html> (last revised April 2002; an updated version is in preparation) Detailed accounts of recent archival restitutions from Russia will appear in the forthcoming collection of essays, *op. cit.* note 23.

**ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACA	Allied Commission for Austria (<i>Rus.</i> SKA—Soiuznicheskaiia komissiiia po Avstrii)
AVP RF	Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation), Moscow, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
BDA	Bundesdenkmalamt ([Austrian] Federal Monuments Office)
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Rosenberg Special Command Force for Occupied Territories)
FO	Foreign Office
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow, <i>formerly</i> TsGAOR SSSR and TsGA RSFSR
GAU	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie (Main Archival Administration), <i>alternatively</i> , Glavarkhiv —pri NKVD (after 1946, MVD) SSSR (under the People's Commissariat [after 1956, Ministry] of Internal Affairs of the USSR), 1941–1960 —pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (under the Council of Ministers of the USSR), 1960–1991, <i>often</i> Glavarkhiv
GBL	Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina (Lenin State Library), Moscow, <i>since 1992</i> , RGB
Glavarkhiv	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie (Main Archival Administration), <i>alternatively</i> , and <i>earlier often</i> , GAU
GlavPU	Glavnoe politicheskoe upravlenie Krasnoi Armii (Chief Political Administration of the Red Army), <i>alternatively</i> GPU
GPIB	Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia istoricheskaiia biblioteka Rossii (State Public Historical Library of Russia), Moscow
HAG	Haupt Arbeite Gruppe (Main Task Force), under ERR
IKG	Israelitische Kultusgemeinde (Jewish Religious Community), Vienna
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
MFA&A	Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (Cultural protection officers in the British and American Armed Forces during World War II and postwar occupation)
MID	Ministerstvo inostrannykh del RF (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation)
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States
PRO	Public Record Office (National Archives), London (Kew Gardens)
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History), Moscow, <i>before March 1999</i> , RTsKhIDNI; <i>before 1991</i> , TsPA
RGB	Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (Russian State Library), Moscow, <i>before 1992</i> , GBL
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow, <i>since March 1999 includes the holdings of former TsKhIDK (TsGOA SSSR)</i>
Rosarkhiv	Federal'noe arkhivnoe agentstvo (Federal Archival Agency), Moscow; <i>before March 2004</i> , Federal'naia arkhivnaia sluzhba Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Federal Archival Service); <i>before 1992</i> , Glavarkhiv
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Secret Security Police)
SVAG	Sovetskaia voennaia administratsiia v Germanii (Soviet Military Administration in Germany)



- TsAMO** Tsentral'nyi arkhiv Ministerstva oborony RF (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podol'sk
- TsDAVO** Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv derzhavnoi vldy ta upravlinnia Ukraïna (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine), *formerly* TsDAZhR URSR (*Russian* TsGAOR UkrSSR), Kyiv
- TsDIAK** Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR u m. Kievi (Central State Historical Archive of the UkrSSR in Kyiv)
- TsGIAM** Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskv (Central State Historical Archive of Moscow)
- TsGOA SSSR** Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR (Central State Special Archive of the USSR), Moscow, *now part of* RGVA, *earlier* (1992–1999) TsKhIDK
- TsGALI SPb** Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva Sankt-Peterburga (Central State Archive of Literature and Art of St. Petersburg)
- TsKhMF** Tsentral'noe khranilishche muzeinykh fondov Leningradskikh prigorodnykh dvortsov (Central Repository for Museum Fonds of the Leningrad Suburban Palaces), Pushkin, *later* Pavlovsk
- USACA** Allied Commission for Austria, US Element
- US NACP** National Archives of the United States, College Park, MD
- VGBIL** Vserossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka inostranoi literatury imeni M. I. Rudomino (All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature [founder M. I. Rudomino]), Moscow
- ZBHS** Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (NSDAP) (Central Library of the Higher School [Nazi Party])