

RESEARCH PAPERS

**The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library
from Paris, 1940-2002
Books as Victims and Trophies of War**

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**The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris,
1940–2002**

Books as Victims and Trophies of War

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Amsterdam
2003

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Foreword

A dozen or so years ago when the Turgenev Library in Paris started to hope in eventually learning more about the fate of its collections that had been plundered during World War II, it never could have hoped that this subject would attract the interest of an historian as tenacious, pugnacious, and meticulous as Patricia Grimsted. Nonetheless, in her characteristic fugue she has taken on this seemingly hopeless and impossible task and has succeeded in reconstructing what she quite rightfully entitles the “Odyssey” of the Turgenev Library. To be sure, as one of today’s leading experts on the history of cultural plunder during World War II, Patricia Grimsted draws on her vast experience working in archives in the different countries involved in this Odyssey—German, French, Russian, Polish, Ukrainian—to say nothing of many private sources. The results of her research during several years are before us.

Having read this work, the reader may wonder what has become of the Turgenev Library in Paris after its plunder in 1940. And also what has been known in Paris, during the past fifty years, about the plundered collections.

The Turgenev Library was not extinguished after the deportation of its books. To be sure, the overwhelming majority of its holdings had disappeared—100,000 volumes according to library estimates at the time. A few books and documents nevertheless remained, thanks to the cold-blooded bravery of librarians who spirited them off, practically under the nose of the invader. Others had already been hidden, thanks to the foresight of librarians and administrators. But what had not disappeared were the people who had been caring for the library and who continued to do so. Thanks to their energy and enthusiasm, the library was able to revive rapidly, like a phoenix from the ashes. Tatiana Osorgina-Bakunina (*in French* Ossorguine-Bakounine), Secretary-General of the Turgenev Library Association during more than forty years, was the heart and soul of that rebirth. Her tireless devotion, her moral and intellectual rigor, her generosity and infinite kindness, permitted her not only to revitalize the library, but at the same time to organize an important research group under library auspices to prepare several fundamental reference works on the Russian emigration. What had not disappeared were the users of the library from throughout the world who assisted its revival by their gifts and their bequests, gifts and bequests that still continue to flow today. And again what has not disappeared are the French Government and the City of Paris, which facilitated the library’s regeneration after 1945 and have continued to assist its operations.

Today the Turgenev Library has more than 60,000 volumes at the disposition of its readers. For the past ten years, along with French contributions, there have been Russian contributions as well—from different Russian libraries, such as the Russian National Library (RNB) in St. Petersburg, among others, and different institutions, most notably the Mayor of Moscow. Last but certainly not least, restitution is starting to the Turgenev Library of some of the plundered books, themselves held in different Russian libraries. We received one volume (a Dutch Bible that had earlier been in Minsk) from the Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow via Amsterdam in 1993. Most recently, in Moscow in February 2002 the State Socio-Political Library (GOPB) – in the presence of the then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aleksandr Avdeev – returned a group of books with stamps of the Turgenev Library to their original owner. The books found in Poland had been presented many years earlier to the GOPB predecessor library under the Communist Party Central Committee and had long been retained in a special collection. Many thousands of books plundered from the Turgenev

Library in Paris in 1940 are still unaccounted for. The 119 books that have come home recently give us hope that more will follow.

As to what had been known in France about the fate of the plundered collections, during the earlier postwar years—practically nothing. We suspected that the books had perished in the course of the war. Then bits of news began to filter through to the West: books with the stamps of the Turgenev Library had been seen in Soviet libraries or in antiquarian bookshops in the USSR, and even in France. Several articles and memoirs published here and there in the Russian press made allusion directly or indirectly to their fate. The sum ensemble of these reports, gathered and preciously guarded by the Turgenev Library in Paris, had, by the end of the 1980s, permitted a vague, but still exceedingly hazy, picture of the fate of the books in the Soviet Union after 1945. But even then, there were still no details at all about what had happened during the war or its immediate aftermath.

Today, thanks to the minute investigation of Patricia Grimsted (allusions to Agatha Christie's celebrated detective "Miss Marple" are not only by chance) these lacunae have also been filled. Besides, her work reveals paths for future research, permitting clarification of still obscure phases and remaining blank spots.

The friends of the Turgenev Library thank her warmly.

*Hélène Kaplan, Secretary-General of the Turgenev Library Association
Paris, February 2003*

Abbreviations Used in Text and Notes

BAB	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), Berlin-Lichterfelde
BAK	Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (most records from the Nazi era earlier held in Koblenz are now held in Berlin-Lichterfelde; those cited as BAK, however, remain in Koblenz)
CDJC	Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Special Command of Reichsleiter Rosenberg)
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow, <i>formerly</i> TsGAOR SSSR and TsGA RSFSR
GAU/Glavarkhiv <i>later</i> Glavarkhiv	Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie pri [NKVD]/Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Main Archival Administration under the NKVD/Council of Ministers of the USSR)
GlavPU RKKA	Glavnoe politicheskoe upravlenie RKKA (Chief Political Command of the Red Army)
GMI	Gosudarstvennyi muzei izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts)
GOPB	Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka (State Socio-Political Library), Moscow, <i>before 1992</i> , Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (<i>before 1956</i> , IMEL) under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
GPIB	Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia istoricheskaya biblioteka Rossii (State Public Historical Library of Russia), Moscow
ICA/CIA	International Council on Archives (<i>French</i> Conseil International des Archives)
IISH/ IISG	International Institute of Social History (<i>Dutch</i> Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis), Amsterdam
IMEL <i>later</i> IML	Institut Marksa, Engel'sa, Lenina pri TsK VKP(b) (1931–1954) <i>after 1956</i> , Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS (Institute of Marx, Engels, and Lenin under the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks]), Moscow, <i>after 1956</i> , Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

NARA	National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC
NACP	National Archives (Archives II), College Park, MD
NKO	Narodnyi komissariat oborony (People's Commissariat of Defense), <i>now</i> Ministry of Defense
ORZ	Otdel literatury Russkogo zarubezh'ia (Division for Literature of Russia Abroad), in RGB, Moscow
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of the Economy), Moscow, <i>before 1992</i> , TsGANKh
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History), Moscow, <i>before 1991</i> , Central Party Archive, TsPA; RTsKhIDNI (1991–1999)
RGB	Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (Russian State Library) Moscow, <i>before 1992</i> , Lenin State Library (GBL)
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow, <i>since March 1999 includes the holdings of former</i> TsKhIDK (TsGOA)
RKKA	Raboche-Krest'ianskaia Krasnaia Armiia (<i>usually in English</i> , Red Army [<i>literally</i> , Worker-Peasant Red Army])
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories [i.e. occupied Soviet lands])
RSDRP	Rossiiskaia sotsial-demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia (Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RTsKhIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Modern History), Moscow (1991–1999), <i>formerly</i> Central Party Archive, TsPA), <i>since 1999</i> , RGASPI
RZIA	Russkii Zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv (Russian Foreign Historical Archive), Prague (transferred to Moscow in 1945/46)
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), Podolsk

TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv, <i>before 1992</i> , TsDAZhR URSR
TsGANKh	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv narodnogo khoziaistva SSSR (Russian State Archive of the Economy), Moscow, <i>since 1992</i> , RGAE
TsGAOR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii [i vysshikh organov sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva] SSSR, <i>full official name varied</i> (Central State Archive of the October Revolution [and Socialist Development] of the USSR), Moscow, <i>since 1992 part of GA RF</i>
TsGOA	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv SSSR (Central State Special Archive of the USSR), Moscow (1992–1999, TsKhIDK), <i>since 1999 part of RGVA</i>
TsK	Tsentral'nyi komitet (Central Committee)
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektzii (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), Moscow, <i>formerly TsGOA SSSR; since 1999 part of RGVA</i>
TsPA	Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv Instituta Marksizma-Leninizma TsK KPSS (Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Moscow, <i>since 1999</i> , RGASPI; (1991–1999), TsKhIDNI
VGBIL	Vserossiiskaia [<i>before 1992 Vsesoiuznaia</i>] gosudarstvennaia biblioteka inostranoi literatury imeni M. I. Rudomino (M. I. Rudomino All-Russian [<i>before 1992</i> , All-Union] State Library for Foreign Literature), Moscow

Technical Note

For transliteration from the Cyrillic for Russian and Ukrainian, a modified version of the Library of Congress system (without ligatures) is used. In references to émigré Russian names, the original Russian form is retained as it appears in Russian sources, although variants used in the West are indicated in parentheses on first reference. References in published book titles are always transliterated as they appear in print.

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

In citations from former Soviet-area archives, numbers are given sequentially for *fond* (record group, etc.)/ *opis'* ([*Ukr. opys*], a series or separately numbered “inventory” or list of files within a fond)/ and *delo* ([*Ukr. sprava*]) or *edinitsa khraneniia* (file or storage unit) numbers. Citations from a few archives that do not involve *fonds*, but only reference *opis'* (*op.*) and *delo* (*d.*) numbers together with the folio(s) (fol. or fols.; *Rus. list*[*y*]).

For historical references to places earlier German and officially part of the Third Reich during the war, official (and usually more familiar) German forms are used with references in the period before September 1945, when following the Potsdam Conference the “Oder-Neise Line” was recognized as the *de facto* German-Polish frontier, with the present Polish or other language versions in parentheses on first reference; e.g., Ratibor (*now Polish Racibórz*). For post-September 1945 references, the present official Polish name is preferred (with German equivalents in parentheses). Occasionally, however, some overlap is unavoidable, particularly to render the names that appeared in Russian sources. A few commonly used geographic names such as Moscow, Cracow (*Polish Kraków*), or Silesia (*Polish Śląsk, German Schlesien*) have been retained in the English form most generally known in the West. Kyiv is used for the capital of now independent Ukraine, as per official Ukrainian and United Nations usage, rather than the more familiar “Kiev” based on transliteration from the Russian.

Preface and Acknowledgments

I first presented a short report about the fate of the Turgenev Library at the Colloquium in Paris, 18–20 January 2001, honoring the 125th anniversary, at which time only one book from the pre-1940 holdings had returned home to Paris. I continued the research when I realized the tremendous interest generated, the potential importance of the new documentation I had found, and the new dialog that had started on the subject in the Russian library world. It became possible to expand the study considerably when the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation encouraged the former Lenin Library (now the Russian State Library—RGB) to open the “seventh seal” of secrecy about its holdings from the Turgenev Library. New revelations in Moscow have continued up until the end of October 2002. The story is hardly finished, because not all the sources needed have been found or declassified, and many of the 100,000 twice-plundered books confiscated by the Nazis from Paris in 1940 have not been located. Yet even if incomplete, the story presented here establishes the general path of their odyssey in the context of other books victimized by the war and its aftermath. The details of this odyssey may help others locate or identify additional volumes, while the tragedy involved gives cause for hope that more of the still displaced books may eventually return home to Paris. Simultaneously, this story serves as a blatant but intriguing microcosm of the fate of the millions of books from many other libraries still lost or displaced as a result of World War II. Even in the case of this most prestigious Russian library abroad, sought first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets, not all of the books were fortunate enough to survive in the hands of their eager captors or liberators.

The data presented here have been collected thanks to unusual encouragement and cooperation of friends and colleagues in many institutions in Russia and abroad who responded to my endless questions and helped me clarify yet another aspect of the story. Some of the background data are drawn from my book, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA: distributed by Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001). Research has paralleled and grown out of my study of a second Paris Slavic library confiscated by the Nazis at the same time: “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998[2000]) [*Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. 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, no. 3-4 (1997[2001]), pp. 392–461. I am grateful to editors and colleagues at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute who encouraged that study, which in turn has contributed to this one.

Further new documentation was uncovered while preparing my article, “Twice Plundered, but Still not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris,” *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39–76, based on my lecture at the Institut des Études Slaves in Paris, 3 October 2001. Some of the spring 2002 Moscow revelations about the Turgenev Library holdings in the former Lenin Library were first presented in that article, as were my recent findings about the fate of the Polish Library from Paris. I greatly appreciate the efforts of *Solanus* editor Christine Thomas in this connection and her friendly encouragement to continue my search.

At the Russian State Library (RGB, formerly the Lenin State Library, GBL) in the course of a series of visits starting in the summer of 2001, Deputy Director Nina Ivanovna Khakhaleva arranged meetings for me with various librarians on the RGB staff and encouraged them to be more forthcoming about the RGB holdings from the Turgenev Library. Of particular note in this respect are Nadezhda Ryzhak, who heads what is now the Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ); Aleksandra Guseva (Head) and Zoia Pokrovskaia in the Museum of the Book (Rare Book Division); Marina Volkova, who heads the RGB Archive; Nikolai Pavlikov and Andrei Serkov in the Manuscript Division; Valeriia Miasishcheva and Elena Chebysheva in the Division of Basic Holdings; and Alia Semeniuk in the Music Division. Nadezhda Ryzhak first revealed new data about the RGB holdings on a panel with me in the January 2001 Paris Colloquium. She and other RGB librarians have subsequently assisted my research in Moscow, and in April 2002 she kindly invited me to the “Rumiantsev Readings” at RGB, where she and Valeriia Miasishcheva gave updated reports, which have since been published in their 2002 article in *Bibliotekovedenie*. Ryzhak kindly arranged permission for me to photograph title pages with dedications and book stamps in her division (ORZ); the Museum of the Book and the RGB Archive likewise arranged for me to photograph books and documents there.

In Moscow, I am also grateful to Tat'iana Pavlova, now a Department Head in the Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) for first opening to me the Turgenev Library records in TsGAOR SSSR (now GA RF) in 1989. Many thanks are due archivists in GA RF, especially Ol'ga Kopylova, for assistance in tracking down relevant documents, and to the GA RF directors for permission to reproduce the documents included in the appendix.

Thanks are due to Liia Ivanovna L'vova, former director of the State Socio-Political Library (GOPB), and her library's enlightened gesture of goodwill in restoring to Paris the 118 books from the Turgenev Library received by the former IML Library in 1984. I particularly appreciate the assistance of retired GOPB librarian Maiia Dvorkina, who shared with me her vast knowledge of the postwar Moscow library scene and considerable data that she had tracked down regarding the fate of books from the Turgenev Library in the USSR.

The director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB), Mikhail Afanas'ev, has long been interested in the fate of displaced library books and has openly consulted with me on the subject; he has been particularly forthcoming in my research on the Turgenev Library, although as far as we know, none of the Turgenev Library books came to GPIB. Ekaterina Genieva, director of the All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL), has encouraged my research on displaced cultural treasures, participated in seminars with me in several countries, invited me to participate in the series of VGBIL conferences on the subject, and together with other VGBIL colleagues, helped facilitate my research in Moscow. I am especially grateful to Karina Dmitrieva, who heads the VGBIL Rare Book Sector and now also the new Center for Displaced Cultural Treasures. Adrian Rudomino kindly searched for relevant documents in the papers of his mother, Margarita Rudomino, that remain in the family archive.

Appreciation also goes to in Ministry of Culture to deputy minister Pavel Khoroshilov, to Nikolai Nikandrov, a senior specialist in the Division of Restitution, and other associates who have been open in their discussions. My long-time friend Evgenii Kuz'min, who first revealed the plight of many “trophy” books and archives in Russia and who now heads the Library Division, has been exceptionally helpful throughout my study. Thanks also go to other library specialists in his division, including now-retired Iurii Grikanov, who prepared a special report on the Turgenev Library. Viktor Moskvina, who directs the Russia Abroad Library Fond consulted with

me about several problems, especially restitution arrangements for the Turgenev Library books in his care. He and his staff also kindly arranged for images from some of the books themselves.

Unfortunately, my formal request for access to the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO) in Podolsk to verify details in this study was denied, which means that data relating to postwar military reconnaissance and trophy shipments could not be verified. Nevertheless, answers to a few questions addressed to TsAMO on my behalf by RGB did serve to clarify several points. It is to be hoped that additional documentation in that archive will soon be open to public scrutiny.

Most of all, this study owes much to my friend and colleague H el ene Kaplan, secretary-general of the Turgenev Library in Paris, with whom I have been sharing data on the fate of the library for many years. She urged me to prepare my report for the Paris Colloquium, hosted me during several visits in Paris, made available materials she has collected, encouraged me to continue research for this more detailed version, and provided critical readings and discussion at various stages. Sabine Breuillard, president of the Turgenev Library Association, has also encouraged my study and assisted with several matters. I also appreciate the assistance of Turgenev librarian Tatiana Gladkova in searching out prewar catalogues and other materials from the library and in making available to me clippings and correspondence among the library's postwar records.

In Cambridge, at the start of my research, Anya Zilberstein helped me gather related published materials; Yulia Woodruff assisted with the final proofs. My friends Konstantin Akinsha (now based in Washington, DC) and Grigorii Kozlov (now living in Cologne) read drafts and advised me on various issues. Kozlov kindly shared with me his documentation about Soviet trophy operations in Silesia, which in turn helped me interpret the new documentation I found; he is now preparing an edition of the diary of Boris Filippov, who led one of the first trophy brigades there.

Jaap Kloosterman, director of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, of which I am an honorary fellow, has actively encouraged my research and arranged for an IISH subsidy for this edition. I appreciate the editorial and production efforts of IISH managing editor Aad Blok. In Moscow, Natasha Maslova and IISH coordinator Irina Novichenko assisted in numerous arrangements, and Natasha also with the final proofreading. My son Almon Grimsted contributed considerable editorial skill to several drafts.

PKG

Moscow, Amsterdam, Paris

November 2002

Cambridge, MA, March 2003

Postscript

Indicative of gradual breakthroughs, and continued frustrations, in research for this monograph (already in final production), while attending a German-Russian Round Table in Berlin on displaced books in early August 2003, I happened to sit beside Nina Kharkhaleva, the deputy director of the Russian State Library (RGB). She told me two surprises were awaiting my return to Moscow: librarians had found another GBL receipt for books from the Turgenev Library, and they finally received an answer from the

Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO) in Podolsk to our follow-up inquiry (November 2002).

The RGB receipt (November 1951) reveals that another postwar Officers' Club had received some Turgenev Library books, in this case in the military base of Pechi (Minsk Oblast, near Borisov), not surprising, given how many volumes are still missing and what we know from Shiperovich and other sources. "During the period 1-10 November 1951, a commission inspected the Officers' Club library and determined that the predominantly prerevolutionary editions with stamps of the Turgenev Library in Paris could not be kept in a 'mass' library." Accordingly, "on order of the Political Administration of the Belorussian Military District" the 362 volumes listed were being sent to the Lenin State Library (GBL) in Moscow. Included (in jumbled order) were incomplete sets of many Russian classics: Lermontov, Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoi, Turgenev, and Dostoevskii (to name only a few); social critics Belinskii and Chernyshevskii; and historians Karamzin and Kliuchevskii. Close to 70 volumes from several prerevolutionary Russian encyclopedias were listed at the end, two-thirds of them comprising an incomplete set of Brokhaus-Efron. Separate columns gave the registration number of each volume in the library and its valuation for a total of 3986 rubles. (RGB Archive, op. 25, d. 221). Coincidentally, 1951 is the year of the reported "cleansing" and bookburning in Legnica.

The letter from TsAMO (dated 21 January 2003) had been "lost in the mail," but RGB sent a staff member to Podolsk to retrieve a copy. The one-page reply only partially answered our questions but confirmed a few details already established. They now found "a card report and personnel file for Captain (not Major) Boris Iakovlevich Shiperovich, born in 1908" (see fns. 60 and 142). They "determined that Captain B. Ia. Shiperovich served as chief of the library of the Officers' Club of the Northern Military Group (Legnica) from December 1945 to March 1948, and in August 1946 travelled on orders to Moscow" (with no mention of the secret mission in March 1946 reported by Rudomino). TsAMO did not provide a copy of the cited document and had "no reports about the Legnica library." Identification and locations of the field post numbers (p.p. 64473 and 02961) requested were "classified" (although earlier TsAMO identified no. 02961 with Legnica, see fn. 175). Other documents requested (including one published in part by RGB) "remain classified." (TsAMO to RGB Military Division, 21 January 2003 [copy]).

Once again I express my deep appreciation to RGB colleagues for their extensive cooperation in this study. It is my hope that future researchers may eventually have access to TsAMO files about displaced cultural treasures, particularly given the key military role in postwar retrieval efforts and transports. Let us also hope that more documentation will surface about the fate of the thousands of volumes still missing from the Turgenev Library from Paris.

In fact, in September 2003 (after the editors had told me to stop), I discovered more books from the Turgenev Library in Minsk, while attending a conference at the National Library of Belarus. In addition to the several hundred volumes in the National Library already reported, and a few in a private collection in Minsk, another close to 500 volumes from the Turgenev Library are now held by the Presidential Library of Belarus (earlier the Gor'kii Library of the Government of the Belarusian SSR). Their story in the context of the thousands of Western European trophy books that arrived with the echelon from Myslowice (Katowice) in the fall of 1945 will require a more extended future treatment.

Moscow, September 2003

The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002

Books as Victims and Trophies of War

ODYSSEY OF THE TURGENEV LIBRARY



Introduction

1. Clues on the Trail of the Turgenev Library

The first time I encountered the book stamp of the Turgenev Library in Moscow was in 1989 in the home of a Russian historian friend. He had never been to Paris, but he held in awe the library in the “city of light” that Ivan Turgenev had helped found in 1875. He knew that Vladimir Lenin had studied there before the Revolution and Pavel Miliukov afterwards, along with many illustrious Russian émigrés and visitors to Paris. He treasured the set of books with their French stamps that he had found in a second-hand bookshop in Moscow. He showed me the stamp of the bookseller on the endpapers of each volume, assuring me he had purchased the books legally. He had heard about the Nazi confiscation of the library, but he knew not how those books in his possession had come to Moscow. For him they symbolized the still-distant “Russia Abroad” that he and other Russian intellectuals of his generation were anxious to rediscover, retrieve, and reintegrate with their expanding vision of Russian culture in the period of *glasnost*. Somewhat reluctantly he offered to lend me one volume I needed to consult. I hesitated, knowing how much the books meant to him, but I also knew that I would have difficulty obtaining a copy in Moscow libraries those days, since that prerevolutionary Russian study undoubtedly would have been in the *Spetskhran* (restricted collection), to which I did not then have access.

A year later a Moscow journalist friend revealed the scandal that over two million “trophy” German books (including many rare early imprints) brought to the USSR after World War II were rotting under pigeon droppings in a former church on the outskirts of Moscow in Uzkoie owned by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Fortunately, my historian friend’s “trophy” Russian volumes from the Turgenev Library had found a more appreciative home. My journalist friend had also mentioned a document he had found confirming receipt by the Lenin Library of books from the Turgenev Library in May 1947 amidst a shipment of some “200,000 books in English, French, and other languages.”¹ That was the first published mention I had seen that the Lenin Library had books from the Turgenev Library. I did not realize at that time how the fate of the Turgenev Library might be related to the trophy books in Uzkoie, although I realized that the fate of the Paris library needed to be investigated in a much broader context. Since then I have heard reports of many other books with Turgenev Library stamps that have passed through antiquarian booksellers, not only in Moscow, but also in many other countries.

Their present “homes” are far removed from the real home of the “Turgenevka,” which was founded in 1875, as a “home away from home” for Russians in Paris, where Russian culture could be preserved and appreciated by the varied community of “Russia Abroad” that was permanently or temporarily based in France. The story of its founding has been retold many times: it was at the initiative of German A. Lopatin, the revolutionary and friend of Karl Marx, with the assistance of Russian writer Ivan S. Turgenev, the singer Pauline Viardot (*Russian Polina Viardo*), and others in their circle of Russian émigrés in Paris. The library centenary in 1975 was the occasion of an

¹ Evgenii Kuz'min, “Taina tserkvi v Uzkom,” *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 38 (18 September 1990), p. 10; English ed.: “The Mystery of the Church in Uzkoie,” *The Literary Gazette International*, 1990, no. 16, p. 20. Kuz'min now heads the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture.

appreciative publication containing many documents, recollections, and historical accounts.² But here we are concerned about the yet untold story of the seizure of the library by Nazi agents, its wartime fate, and its postwar dispersal.

A printed copy of the library's statute in its 1911 redaction is proudly held by the Museum of the Book of the Russian State Library (RGB, former Lenin Library) in Moscow. According to that document, the Turgenev Library: "(a) may not under any circumstances be transferred to the ownership of a private person or for the exclusive use of a single circle; [and] (b) in the case of a resolution for its closure by two-thirds of the membership, it must be transferred to one of the Russian libraries abroad founded on a similar basis."³ As of the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the library in January 2001, only one out of 100,000 of volumes confiscated in 1940 had returned to its Paris home.

Many Russians at home and abroad have long accused the Nazis of destroying the Turgenev Library, and various Soviet writers repeated attestations about the "end of the Turgenev Library" in Nazi hands. Often cited is the memoir account of Il'ia Ehrenburg (*often in English*, Ilya Ehrenburg), where he nostalgically recalls that before the First World War he was among the "two generations of revolutionary émigrés [who] used the 'Turgenevka' and contributed bibliographical rarities to it." He then recounts that early in the Second World War, "One of Hitler's closest associates, the Balt Rosenberg [...] removed the Turgenev Library to Germany." Subsequently, "in 1945, just before the end of the war, [in] a German railway station" a Russian officer "found some rifled crates: Russian books, manuscripts, and letters lying on the ground. He had picked up a few of Gorky's letters and, seeing my signature on a faded sheet of paper [...] sav[ed] it for me." Ehrenburg identified it as a letter he had written in 1913 to the poet Amari (M. O. Tsetlin), which had apparently been among the archival materials "Russian émigré writers had handed over to the library for safekeeping [...]. Such," he concluded, "was the end of the Turgenev Library."⁴

Among those who have repeated Ehrenburg's conclusion is the retired historian-archival director Vsevolod Tsaplin. I first met Tsaplin in the late 1980s after his dismissal from the Central State Archive of the Economy of the USSR (TsGANKh) because he had outspokenly advocated archival reform during the period of *glasnost'*. He let me see and photocopy his doctoral dissertation about Soviet archival developments during the Second

² See the anniversary collection *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva. Sotrudniki—Druz'ia—Pochitateli. Sbornik statei*, ed. Tat'iana L. Gladkova and Tat'iana A. Osorgina (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1987; =Bibliothèque russe de l'Institut d'Études Slaves, vol. 68). See other articles cited in the bibliography below. Hélène Kaplan tells me that the diminutive form "Turgenevka," while earlier used in some Russian references and often used in Soviet and post-Soviet Russian sources, is not today used in Paris.

³ The existence of a copy of this statute in the Russian State Library (RGB—formerly the Lenin State Library) in Moscow was revealed by Galina Grikhanova, "Moskva—Parizh—Moskva," *V mire knig*, no. 3 (March 1975), p. 82. Since it is a printed text, it is unlikely that it was part of the "trophy" receipts by the Lenin Library. Another copy that was undoubtedly among the "trophy" receipts remains with the fragmentary records of the library in GA RF, fond 6846/1/15.

⁴ Ilya Ehrenburg (Il'ia Ehrenburg), *People and Life, 1891–1921*, translated from the Russian by Anna Boistock and Yvonne Kapp (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 76. Ehrenburg uses the diminutive "Turgenevka" in the quoted passage, which has been retained in the English translation. The original Russian is available in several different editions—Il'ia Ehrenburg, *Liudi, gody, zhizn'* (Moscow: "Sovetskii pisatel'." 1961), pp. 109–10. Of importance to note, the fragmentary archive of the Turgenev Library now held in GA RF (fond R-6846) contains a diary and some notebooks of M. O. Tsetlin (*pseud.* Amari) (nos. 86–89), confirming that in fact some of his papers had been given to the Turgenev Library and seized by the Nazis.

World War (written in the 1960s), which he had never been allowed to defend.⁵ In an article from that dissertation published in Moscow in 1997, Tsaplin cites Ehrenbug as providing witness to the fact that “the significant part of the Paris library and its archival materials most probably was lost.”⁶ Tsaplin also cites a report of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG) (not yet declassified in 2002) to the effect that “in 1947 SVAG received information that possibly the Turgenev Library had been brought from Paris to Berlin, but that a search within the Soviet occupation zone was without result.”⁷ I found Tsaplin extremely well informed, particularly since, as a Soviet archival insider, he had had access to many sources that were still not open to me. But with regard to the “Turgenevka” I was more doubtful.

My suspicions were confirmed in 1989 when I encountered the surviving administrative files of the library in what was then the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR (TsGAOR SSSR), now the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF). In the time of *glasnost'*, archivists there began preparing a guide to the holdings from the Russian Historical Archive Abroad (RZIA) in Prague, which had been transferred to Moscow as a “gift” to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1945/46, but then immediately deposited in the secret division of TsGAOR SSSR. The project director, Tat'iana Pavlova, showed me a list of fonds to be covered, and I noticed with some surprise a fond for Turgenev Library records on the list. When I questioned her about its provenance, she assured me that as far as she knew it came from RZIA but then, in response to my doubts, she suggested that I examine the inventory (*opis'*) and some of the files. What I found on many of the documents (as would be expected) were the stamps, incoming addresses, and other internal evidence of the Turgenev Library in Paris, with no markings or other indications whatsoever to suggest those documents had ever been in Prague. Even then I still had some difficulty convincing Pavlova and her colleagues that the fragmentary files had been confiscated by the Nazis from Paris. (Most of the information about the provenance and migration of “trophy” archives was suppressed in the USSR and is still little known in Russia. Besides considerable trophy Rossica from other countries was intermixed with RZIA collections in TsGAOR SSSR, making it very difficult to distinguish exactly what materials came from RZIA itself.) In the end GA RF archivists accepted my explanation and dropped the fond from the RZIA guide before it appeared in 2000.⁸

⁵ Vsevolod Vasil'evich Tsaplin, “Arkhivy, voina i okkupatsiia (1941–1945 gody)” (Moscow, 1968; typescript with hand corrections by the author, signed and dated 20 January 1969). At the time his study was prepared, Tsaplin did not have access to archives outside the USSR, nor could he use many important Nazi records in Moscow and Kyiv, which are now open for research. Regrettably, he had been unable to update the chapter prior to publication.

⁶ Vsevolod Tsaplin, “O rozyske dokumentov, pokhishchennykh v gody voiny iz arkhivokhranilishch SSSR,” *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1997, no. 5, p. 18. Tsaplin cites the Russian edition of Ehrenburg's memoirs.

⁷ Tsaplin, “O rozyske dokumentov,” p. 18. Tsaplin cites a document in one of the SVAG fonds held in GA RF, 7317/17/16.

⁸ I celebrated the appearance of the RZIA guide at the Rosarkhiv presentation in May 2000 in Moscow: *Fondy Russkogo Zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva v Prage: Mezharhivnyi putevoditel'*, comp. O.N. Kopylova et al., ed. T.F. Pavlova et al. (Moscow, 1999). See my explanation about the Soviet handling of RZIA in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, ch. 8. Tat'iana F. Pavlova first arranged my access to the records when she was Acting Director of TsGAOR SSSR and preparing her initial article, “Russkii Zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage,” *Voprosy istorii*, 1990, no. 11, pp. 19–30, the first scholarly account about RZIA to appear in the USSR in the period of *glasnost'*. Coincidentally, Pavlova and I presented papers together on the same panel in the Colloquium honoring the 125th Anniversary of the Turgenev Library (January 2001), which was her first trip to Paris and first-hand acquaintance with the library.

The fragmentary Turgenev Library records in GA RF (*earlier*, TsGAOR SSSR) are arranged in 141 separate files (storage units) with little rational or chronological order. First processed in 1949, the files principally comprise administrative papers, reports of committees, correspondence, and financial records.⁹ One folder with documents on the history of the library even contains, for example, notices about a Russian children's Christmas party at the library in the 1920s. One volume of the prewar library catalogue marked "Sociology" and another for "Philosophy" are similar to those covering other subjects that remain today in the Turgenev Library in Paris.¹⁰ Recently I discovered that thirteen files from the library records were set up in TsGAOR SSSR as a separate fond, "Collection of Letters from Russian Soldiers on the French Front Gathered by the Turgenev Library in Paris." That designation is a misnomer, since the files are clearly part of the library administrative records from 1919; the letters from soldiers after the First World War regard the loan of books from the Turgenev Library.¹¹

When I first "discovered" the Turgenev Library records in Moscow, I was still not aware of how they fit in the much larger picture of displaced books and archives taken back to the Soviet Union after the war. Yet, like Miss Marple, my clues have been coming together from different sources ever since. It was the fall of 1989 when I found the first clues that led me to discover the much more extensive hordes of foreign "trophy" archives in Moscow (as captured records are usually known in Russia). Two years later my story broke about the over seven linear kilometers of captured French records, including vast police and intelligence files, in the top-secret Special Archive (TsGOA SSSR). These were among many other foreign archives that had been seized by Soviet authorities after World War II.¹² Most of those captured records of French provenance have by now been returned to Paris—over two-thirds by early 1994, and most of the rest in 2000. I have since learned that the files in Moscow from the Turgenev Library, like those from the Petliura Library in Paris, followed quite a different migratory route to Moscow, where they still remain.

It was Tsaplin who first acquainted me with a wartime report about Russian libraries abroad prepared by Konstantin K. Parchevskii, which had been Tsaplin's main Moscow source about the Turgenev Library. Parchevskii considered it "the richest Russian library, not only in Paris, but in general outside Russia," containing in his estimate "some 200,000 volumes." He described the several divisions, and noted a full run of *Iskra*. He also mentioned the archive containing documents on the history and function of the library and about Russian life in Paris and France. He recounted that it was the Nazi Dr. Helmut Weiss who arrived to close the library in October 1940, but that

⁹ Scattered administrative records of the Turgenev Library are now held in GA RF (fond 6846, 1 *opis'*, 141 files). The present *opis'* is dated as having been first registered 2 December 1949. See the brief description in the 1994 guide, *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: Putevoditel'*, vol. 1: *Fondy GA RF po istorii Rossii XIX–nachala XX vv.*, ed. S. V. Mironenko et al. (Moscow, 1994), p. 214. See more details in Appendix I.

¹⁰ See below, fn. 42. The bound "Sotsiologiii" catalogue (200 p.), partially typed with later handwritten additions, but lacking a title page, is now held as GA RF, 6846/1/148. The latest entries appear to be several 1939 imprints. The "Filosofiiia" catalogue is filed as no. 122.

¹¹ This collection bears a separate designation (fond R-6162, 1 *opis'*, 13 items, 1919). I personally examined many of the files in the spring of 2000.

¹² Evgenii Kuz'min, "Vyvezti ..., unichtozhit', ... spriatat'..., Sud'by trofeinykh arkhivov" (interview with Patricia Kennedy Grimsted), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 39 (2 October 1991), p. 13; publication of that interview was delayed for almost a year and was permitted in print only after August 1991. (I chose to give the story I had discovered to a Moscow journalist friend Kuz'min, because I was very impressed with his earlier article revealing the scandal of Soviet-captured German library books in Moscow [see fn. 1]).

when the Nazis removed the holdings, librarians in Paris managed to save the archive and the inventory catalogues. Parchevskii's report was apparently prepared for internal circulation in Moscow in 1944 in a period when Soviet authorities were actively searching out information about Rossica abroad, which they planned to retrieve to the homeland in connection with their victorious campaign against Hitler culminating in Berlin.¹³

I have since learned more about Parchevskii, who was born in Vilnius, emigrated in 1919, and worked as a Russian émigré journalist after his arrival in Paris in 1923. He wrote about the Turgenev Library in a Paris Russian newspaper in 1929, served as a member of the Library Association, and was active in acquisitions for the library during the 1920s and 30s. He was also active in Russian émigré Masonic circles. Of some significance, with regard to his own fate and of Soviet knowledge about the library, Parchevskii was also a close friend of the Soviet ambassador in Paris, with whom he had studied in St. Petersburg before the Revolution. That tie may explain how he managed to return to the Soviet Union in 1941 after the outbreak of the war in France.¹⁴ I recently encountered another version of Parchevskii's 1944 "report" on the Turgenev Library that he presented as a lecture at the Lenin Library in October 1944 a year before his death.¹⁵ Soviet authorities in Moscow obviously had an interest in the library and Parchevskii's knowledge about it, both because of its rich émigré literary holdings and, perhaps even more important, its prerevolutionary "illegal" socialist publications. Parchevskii was undoubtedly helping them follow the fate of that Paris outpost of the Russian emigration,

¹³ Konstantin Konstantinovich Parchevskii, "Russkie knigi i istoricheskie materialy v biblioteke i arkhivakh Zapadnoi Evropy" (internal typewritten brochure, n.d.[ca. 1944], 30 p.), especially p. 10, p. 15. A copy is now found among Tsaplin's papers in RGAE (earlier TsGANKh), fond 777. When I first saw it there, with Tsaplin's permission, in a folder "Rossika/Sovetika," it was still being processed and a permanent file number had not been assigned. With the publication of Tsaplin's second article (fn. 6), he notes its issue in 1944, but explains that he had used the same typewritten copy I saw. I have not found a printed copy either in Moscow or abroad. Tsaplin reported that a summary of Parchevskii's account appeared in *Ogonek* in the 1940s, but I have not been able to locate it.

¹⁴ See the biogram by Andrei I. Serkov in *Russkoe masonstvo: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 627–28, and the essay by Brana M. Shafir, "Ocherki K. K. Parchevskogo o Rossiiskoi emigratsii pervoi volny," *Voprosy istorii*, 1998, no. 3, pp. 135–41. Konstantin Konstantinovich Parchevskii (b. Vilnius, 1891–d. Moscow, 1945) finished the Jurisprudence Faculty of St. Petersburg University. He emigrated in 1919. After three years in Bulgaria, he lived in Paris after 1923 and was a correspondent for the Russian émigré newspaper *Poslednie novosti* and secretary of the Union of Russian Writers and Journalists in Paris. His article about the Turgenev Library appeared in the Paris newspaper *Rossia i slavianstvo*, no. 13 (23 February 1929). In Paris at the time of the Nazi invasion and the seizure of the Turgenev Library, he returned to the USSR in 1941 and remained there until his death in 1945. Serkov suggested to me that Parchevskii, through his school days friendship with the Soviet Ambassador might well have long been acting as a Soviet informant in Paris. A copy of his 1929 article and some of his correspondence with the library about purchase and exchange of books remains among the archival files from the Turgenev Library in Moscow (GA RF, 6846/1/29 and 30). Parchevskii's association with the library is mentioned in the introduction to the collection of his Paris essays published recently by his daughter, *Po russkim uglam* (Moscow, 2002), especially p. 11, on the basis of papers remaining with his family in Moscow. That is also the source of his recently published memoir account of the Nazi invasion in France, "Frantsuzskaia katastrofa: voina i peremirie v Parizhe, 1939–1941," ed. T. A. Pavlova and B. M. Parchevskii, *Voprosy istorii*, 1999, no. 6, pp. 86–117, and no. 7, pp. 114–40. A few of his papers from his Paris period are held by the Amherst College Center for Russian Culture, <http://www.amherst.edu/~acrc/par/pardesc.html>.

¹⁵ "Russkaia kniga v Parizhe: Stenogramma lektsii tov. Parchevskogo (Biblioteka Lenina, 28/X–1944)." Maiia D. Dvorkina, a retired librarian from the State Socio-Political Library (GOPB) in Moscow, kindly showed me a copy; she had been collecting documentation about the Turgenev Library for many years.

which may be why he was not remembered in the centenary collection of essays about the library.

I first encountered a dedicatory inscription from the Turgenev Library in Moscow in 1992 when I ordered the initial issue (1925) of a Russian émigré bibliophile journal, *Vremennik Obshchestva družei russkoi knigi*, in the newly accessible *Spetskhran* of the former Lenin Library, then renamed the Russian State Library (RGB). I noticed to my surprise that the issue I held in my hand was dedicated to the “Turgenev Library” by the editor and included a 1925 article about the Turgenev Library itself. The article recounted the library history and noted the recent acquisition (along with several other libraries) of the library of the Russian Higher School for Social Sciences (Russkaia vysshaia shkola sotsial'nykh nauk) in Paris, which had been led before his death in 1916 by Maksim Kovalevskii.¹⁶ I immediately requested to meet the head of that library division and inquired if there were more books with the same stamps, if she had any knowledge about the receipt and fate of the Turgenev Library books in Moscow, or if there was any more documentation about them in her library. She answered negatively in all cases, explaining that the accession of “trophy” books took place on such a massive scale, and in such confusion, that no one had time to keep records of where they came from. As if to divert my interest, she brought out one of my own books (published abroad in the Soviet period) bearing a “Glavlit” censor’s stamp and asked me to autograph it for the library. Nevertheless, despite her denials, I then knew that I was already further along the trail of the Turgenev Library, although it was some years before I returned to the subject and then benefited from her assistance.

Ehrenburg, Tsaplin, and Parchevskii may have been correct that the Nazi confiscation was the “end” of the Turgenev Library as far as the unique collection of books it had brought together and its role in Russian émigré culture in Paris before the war. But in 2001, as we celebrated the 125th anniversary, the Turgenev Library still exists in Paris, as does the Russian émigré association that brought the library together and has replenished its holdings since the war. The Turgenev Library lives on as a cultural monument with its unique aura. It lives on in the distinctive book stamps that even today can identify many of its widely scattered prewar holdings. And it lives on in the unique dedicatory inscriptions that adorn the title pages of many volumes that once graced its shelves and that testify to the devotion of those who cherished its socio-cultural role in Paris. Ehrenburg’s letter in a damaged crate in a German railway station in 1945 represents only one of the many tragic episodes in the wartime and postwar fate of the Turgenev Library. It also represents one that has not yet been confirmed. We do not know where the story may end, because the books and archives revealed so far, like Ehrenburg’s letter, represent only a small percentage of the library’s losses and dispersal in the course of its odyssey.

¹⁶ Iu. Delevskii (*pseud. of* Iakov Iudelevskii), “Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Parizhe,” *Vremennik Obshchestva družei russkoi knigi* 1 (1925), pp. 78–80.

Part I: Wartime Fate

2. Nazi Seizure (1940): Contemporary Émigré Accounts

The Turgenev Library's traumas started in September 1940, soon after the German invasion of Paris. At first the Nazis did not have its correct address, since in 1937 the library moved from its modest quarters on the rue du Val-de-Grace, the address that the Nazi scouts had registered on their pre-invasion "hit list." The library had only recently settled in the elegant fifteenth-century building, known as the "Hôtel Colbert" (13/15, rue de la Bûcherie, at the corner of the rue de l'Hôtel-Colbert), which had earlier housed a medical school, and which the library enjoyed rent-free from Paris municipal authorities. Following the move, the library was able to take over the Herzen Library, founded in Nice in 1912 to mark the centenary of the birth of the Russian socialist thinker and publicist Alexander Herzen (*Russian*, A. I. Gertsen). A "Literary Archive" was being organized in 1938 to collect gifts and deposits of émigré archival materials, with an announcement drafted by its chairman, Russian writer Ivan Bunin, although apparently few significant materials had been formally accessioned before the Nazi occupation.¹⁷

Russian history professor and gymnasium director Dmitrii Odinets was the President of the Turgenev Library Administration at the time of the invasion.¹⁸ Among the distinguished board were the émigré writers Mark Aldanov (*often*, Aldanoff; *pseud.* of Landau) and Mikhail Osorgin (*in French*, usually Ossorguine), and as secretary the Menshevik activist and archival collector Boris Nikolaevskii (*in American usage*, Nicolaevsky), who simultaneously headed the Paris branch of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) based in Amsterdam. A Nazi representative first approached Odinets in September 1940 with an offer to "purchase" the library. Odinets refused and appealed to French municipal authorities. Nevertheless, Odinets explained, "The library was liquidated the following day by the Germans," and he "was forced to sign over the

¹⁷ See the appeal for the "Russian Literary Archive" to be associated with the Turgenev Library, as reprinted from *Poslednie novosti*, no. 6179 (24 February 1938) in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p. 107. An incomplete draft of this appeal remains with the Bunin papers in the Leeds Russian Archive (MS 10661/5607). Richard Davies kindly sent me a copy.

¹⁸ Dmitrii Mikhailovich Odinets (1882–1950). Born in Kyiv and educated in St. Petersburg, Odinets served as Secretary for Nationalities in the Ukrainian provisional government under Volodymyr Vynnychenko in 1917 and Minister for Great Russian Affairs under Simon Petliura (1918). In emigration in Paris he worked for the newspaper *Poslednie novosti*, edited until June 1940 by Pavel Miliukov, and was active in émigré political and Masonic circles. A professor at the Sorbonne and one of the founders of the Russian National University (in the 1920s), he was a member of the Turgenev Library Association starting in 1927 and its president from 1933. After release from a Nazi prison camp, he edited the newspaper *Sovetskii patriot*, served on the Central Committee of the "Union of Soviet Patriots" and the Executive Committee of the Russian Academic Union, and he still chaired the board of the Turgenev Library. After the Soviet "victory over Fascism," Odinets returned to the Soviet Union in 1948. After becoming a Soviet citizen, Odinets was sent to Kazan, where he taught history at Kazan State University until his death in 1950. See his biogram by Serkov, in *Russkoe masonstvo*, pp. 603–604. Odinets' career and his personal papers, now held by the Rare Book Division of Kazan State University Library, are described by Andrei Skorobogatov, "Archival Collection of Historian D. V. Odinets in the Manuscripts and Rare Books Division of the Kazan University's N. I. Lobachevskii Research Library," *Ad Imperio* (Kazan), no. 1-2 (2001), pp. 305–14, with a bibliography of his published writings (pp. 315–18); see also fn. 231.

keys and was subsequently imprisoned,” probably because he was very active politically in émigré circles in Paris and refused to cooperate with the Nazi invaders.¹⁹

Russian writer Nina Berberova had bicycled to Paris from her country home to return a book to the library that day. She recalled her visit to Il'ia Fundaminskii (*pseud.* Bunakov, *often*, Fundaminskii-Bunakov), who told her that he had recently shown the Turgenev Library to a German “visitor” who could not find the right address and whom Fundaminskii naively trusted. When she proceeded to the library to deposit her book, she found “coffins” all around—the Germans were already packing their crates. She then went to inform Vasilii Maklakov, who immediately called Odinets and advised him to appeal to the Soviet Embassy, since the USSR was then allied with the Third Reich. Odinets recounted the indifference with which he was received at the Soviet Embassy, although he claims to have aroused some excitement when he explained that Lenin had worked in the library and that there were books with annotations in his hand.²⁰ Subsequently Berberova, in her account of Russian émigré Freemasonry, documented the Masonic ties of many of the Turgenev Library inner circle, including Aldanov, Bunin, Maklakov, and Osorgin, as well as Odinets, who were members of various Masonic lodges in France.²¹ A later Russian commentator recently used her account to imply that such Masonic connections gave the Nazis a pretext for the confiscation of the Turgenev Library.²² But neither German nor other French émigré Russian documentation confirms this hypothesis.

In a later interview Odinets claimed that the library had managed to retain approximately one-tenth of the 110,000 titles they then held.²³ Russian historian and journalist Nikolai Knorring, who was also in Paris at the time the library was seized, confirms the Nazi encounter with Odinets. Knorring followed the books to rue de la Monnaie but then lost their trail. He “did not know the total number of crates” removed from the library, although he claimed that there must have been “more than 900 . . . according to the numbers he saw stamped on them.”²⁴ When Berberova returned to the Hôtel Colbert the next day, she recalled, “it was all over. The coffins were gone, the doors closed and sealed. The largest Russian library in exile had ceased to exist.” Although she added in a footnote that the Nazis did not find the six hundred duplicates that had been in the basement and were later used as the start of a new postwar library.²⁵

Knorring, who was still on the administrative board at the time, reported that, in addition to the books, “the Germans took paintings, busts, and portraits,” but “they did not touch the private property held in the library, including the ‘Literary Archive.’” In the original version of his account, published in Alma Ata in 1961, Knorring added “with the exception of papers of Burtsev, Miliukov, and a few others,” suggesting that the Nazis

¹⁹ See “Interview with Dimitri Odinetz [*Russian*, Dmitrii Odinets],” by David P. Boder (4 October 1946, at the Grand Hotel, Paris). An English translation of that last interview in Paris is available electronically—<http://voices.iit.edu/interview.html>.

²⁰ Nina Berberova, “Konets Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Novyi zhurnal* 63 (1961), pp. 155–61; English translation: “The End of the Turgenev Library,” *Grand Street* 11 (1992), pp. 94–101.

²¹ Nina Berberova, *Liudi i lozhi: Russkie masony XX stoletia* (Kharkiv: “Kaleidoskop”; Moscow: “Progress-Traditsiia,” 1997; 1st ed.: New York: Russica Publishers, Inc., 1986).

²² Nikolai Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Ekho planety*, 2000, no. 47, p. 30.

²³ “Interview with Dimitri Odinetz” (1946).

²⁴ Nikolai Nikolaevich Knorring, “Gibel' Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” *Prostor* (Alma-Ata), 1961, no. 8, p. 125; reprinted in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p. 117. Knorring’s article was written after his reemigration to the Soviet Union after the war. Before the war he had been an active member of the Library Administration; the Paris reprint is considerably condensed from the original.

²⁵ Berberova, “The End of the Turgenev Library,” p. 101.

had taken those.²⁶ However, it is still not clear how many archival materials the Nazis did confiscate from the library. In fact, “the ‘Literary Archive’ established under library auspices in 1938 “was still only in the planning stage before the war.”²⁷ Archival materials were not listed with the “over 100,000” books from the Turgenev Library described in the official French compendium of postwar claims for looted libraries compiled in the late 1940s.²⁸

In his 1944 Moscow account, Parchevskii implied seizure of the archival materials presented to the library by various individuals, including the archives of Ivan Bunin and Vladimir Burtsev.²⁹ Knorring more correctly did not mention the seizure of any Bunin papers. Between April 1937 and March 1938, Bunin had deposited nine suitcases containing his papers with Boris Nikolaevskii (then serving as library secretary). In March 1940, he wrote Nikolaevskii from Grasse (west of Nice) that he had not donated his archive to the library, but had only deposited the materials with Nikolaevskii for safekeeping. Nikolaevskii recommended evacuation together with the holdings of the Paris Branch of the International Institute of Social History. But after Bunin requested their transfer to the new library building, an official document on library letterhead from the “Archive” issued at the end of March acknowledged the receipt of the “nine suitcases” for “storage.” Fortunately, the Bunin papers escaped confiscation by the Nazis.³⁰ Osorgin noted that the letters of Pavel Bakunin and Petr Kropotkin were saved by Mariia Kotliarevskaia, who had been serving as librarian.

²⁶ Knorring, “Gibel' Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” *Prostor*, 1961, no. 8, pp. 125–26. The condensed Paris version of Knorring’s text (in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p. 118) omits those exceptions, undoubtedly because the Paris editors thought that they had not been seized by the Germans.

²⁷ Hélène Kaplan, Secretary-General and long-time devotee of the library, among others assures me that the “Literary Archive” existed mainly on paper at the beginning of the war and that most probably only a few materials had been received. See fn. 17 above. Given the fragmentary archival materials from the library now held by GA RF, we know that there were a few papers of M. O. Tsetlin (*pseud.* Amari). Papers of N. I. Sazonov, a member of the library administration, were mentioned in the 1948 transfer of archival materials to TsGAOR SSSR, but their fate is unknown.

²⁸ *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, vol. 7: *Archives, manuscrites et livres rare* (Berlin, 1948), p. 799 (no. 15683 [30.910]).

²⁹ Parchevskii, “Russkie knigi,” p. 15, may well have known that Bunin had deposited his papers with the library. But, as we know from remaining correspondence between Bunin and Nikolaevskii (preserved in the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace, Palo Alto, CA), Bunin had first deposited the suitcases with Nikolaevskii. In a letter to Mikhail Osorgin (23 February 1940), Bunin implored Osorgin to inquire of Nikolaevskii and arrange for his “archive” to be transferred to the Turgenev Library. Bunin also wrote to that effect to Nikolaevskii (10 March 1940). The nine suitcases, their dates of deposit, and his insistence that his archive was only being “stored there” for safekeeping were spelled out in Bunin’s letter to Nikolaevskii (Grasse, 27 March 1940). The transfer of the papers to the Turgenev Library building was formalized by the Turgenev Library Archive (29 March 1940), signed by N. Knorring and two other members of the library Administration. Nikolaevskii proposed evacuation from Paris in a letter to Bunin (17 March 1940) and again in a letter of 1 April, but there is no evidence that any of the Bunin papers remained with Nikolaevskii. Hoover Institution, Boris Nicolaevsky Collection, series 207, box 268, folder 5.

³⁰ A letter to Bunin from Mikhail Osorgin (dated Paris, 21 January 1940) confirms that Bunin had deposited some of his papers but had not formalized the conditions (Leeds Russian Archive, MS 10661/4344), but that was before the letters mentioned in fn. 29. According to Leeds Russian Archive director Richard Davies, most of Bunin’s papers remained in Paris during the war. Soviet authorities later made some payments to Bunin’s widow in return for which they hoped to acquire all of his papers, but only part of his papers went to Soviet archives. The rest were bequeathed first to L. F. Zurov, and subsequently to Dr. D. E. Green of Edinburgh, who later donated them to the Leeds Russian Archive. See the introduction to the admirable new finding aid compiled by Anthony J. Heywood, *Catalogue of the Bunin, Bunina, Zurov and Lopatina Collections* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 2000). I am grateful to Richard Davies for furnishing me a copy of the *Catalogue* and the relevant documents.

The Nazis did obtain some of the Burtsev papers from Paris, which, along with papers of Viktor Chernov, later arrived in the Soviet Union together with books from the Turgenev Library and were transferred from the Lenin Library to TsGAOR SSSR in March 1946.³¹ Besides, we now know that files from the revolutionary journal *Byloe* (which Burtsev edited) were received by TsGAOR SSSR in 1948 along with the Turgenev Library archival files from Paris.³² We cannot confirm if any Burtsev papers were deposited in the Turgenev Library, however, despite their mention by both Parchevskii and Knorring. No Nazi documents confirm their seizure either from the library or separately elsewhere in Paris. The large fond of personal papers of Vladimir Burtsev in GA RF (*earlier* TsGAOR SSSR) includes some files from *Byloe*, although GA RF publications claim—undoubtedly erroneously—that the entire fond came from RZIA in Prague.³³

More likely, however, most of the Burtsev and Chernov papers were collected before the war in Paris for IISH by Boris Nikolaevskii and Boris Souvarine, both of whom were also closely associated with the Turgenev Library. The IISH Paris holdings were confiscated by the Nazis, some from Paris, and some from the evacuation site in Amboise, but no indication has been found of separate seizures from Burtsev, Chernov, or Nikolaevskii, or that any of those papers had been moved to the Turgenev Library with the Bunin papers.³⁴ The intermixture of Burtsev papers from Paris with the Turgenev Library materials probably occurred in Nazi hands, since both were seized by the same Nazi agency (ERR). Some of the Burtsev papers now held in the former CP Central Party Archive (*now* RGASPI) also came from Paris, but further details about their provenance and migration have not yet surfaced.³⁵

We know that a different Nazi agency seized a large part of Pavel Miliukov's personal library and papers in Paris. An extant SD (Security Police) seizure slip dated 21 March 1941 (now held in Moscow), however, affirms that confiscation was from Miliukov's residence (15, avenue de la Motte-Picquet), six months after seizure of the

³¹ Their arrival in Moscow is mentioned in connection with the proposed 1946 transfer to the Main Archival Administration by Lenin Library director Vasilii G. Olishev to I. I. Nikitinskii (19 March 1946), RGB Archive, *op.* 214, *d.* 6, *f.* 19 (see fn. 194). The "Act" of transfer has not been located.

³² Regarding the 1948 transfer to TsGAOR, see fns. 195 and 196. See the text in Appendix IV.

³³ The personal papers of Vladimir L'vovich Burtsev in GA RF (fond R-5802, 2 *opisi*, 2,478 units, 1829–1939) are identified by GA RF as having come from Prague—*Fondy RZIA*, pp. 268–69. It is now difficult to determine how many of the files in this fond may have come from Paris rather than Prague, as there was a tendency in TsGAOR SSSR in the late 1940s to identify most "trophy" Rossica from Paris and other sources as part of the RZIA "gift" from Prague, and the whole special division for émigré files in TsGAOR at that time was known as the RZIA Division. See the descriptive survey by N. A. Sidorov and L. I. Tiutiunnik, "V. L. Burtsev i rossiiskoe osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie (po materialam TsGAOR SSSR i TsPA IML pri TsK KPSS)," *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1989, no. 2, pp. 56–62.

³⁴ Some papers of Viktor Chernov were specifically mentioned in postwar claims submitted to French and U.S. authorities on behalf of Nikolaevskii by Souvarine. Interestingly enough several postwar Souvarine letters written in New York describing the Nazi confiscations from Nikolaevskii, IISH, and himself (one dated 14 December 1945 and a second dated 1 April 1946), mention the Chernov papers as part of the IISH Paris collection. One letter explains that all of those papers may well be found with the materials from the Turgenev Library confiscated by the same Nazi agency—copies of those letters remain in the Souvarine Papers in IISH (Amsterdam), folder 8. Additional Burtsev papers collected by Nikolaevskii are now held in the Hoover Institution in California, where Nikolaevskii settled after the war.

³⁵ The Burtsev papers from Paris are listed in the RGASPI guide to personal papers (fond 238, 207 files, 1830–1940) with the explanation that the fond was "acquired in 1969 from a collector in France"—*Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii: Putevoditel' po fondam i kolleksiiam lichnogo proiskhozhdeniia* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 30–31. See also the descriptive survey by Sidorov and Tiutiunnik (fn. 33).

Turgenev Library. Miliukov, the historian who had served as leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party and Foreign Minister in the Provisional Government in 1917, was a member of the Turgenev Library board, but there is no evidence that any of his papers or personal books had been deposited in the library. A similar SD report of confiscation from the émigré newspaper *Poslednie novosti*, which Miliukov edited until June 1940, gave the address of the editorial office (51, rue de Turbigo).³⁶ The Miliukov papers and library were turned over to the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) Amt VII in Berlin and were evacuated to the Silesian castle of Wölfelsdorf (*now Polish Wilkanów*) with the rest of the Amt VII archival loot. At least 550 archival files and 7,143 printed books (out of 20,000) from the personal library of Miliukov confiscated by the Nazis in Paris were deposited in GA RF in 1947, a year before the Turgenev Library records were accessioned.³⁷

After the war Boris Nikolaevskii claimed that he had acquired the records of the newspaper *Poslednie novosti*, which were confiscated as part of his personal collection or the collections of the Paris Branch of IISH (Amsterdam), but that claim has not been substantiated.³⁸ Nikolaevskii's papers were presumably seized with those of the IISH Paris Branch in Paris (144 crates) and Amboise (at least 8 crates) and were also turned over to the RSHA in Berlin and then Silesia.³⁹ After their second plunder by Soviet authorities and arrival in Moscow, most of the Nikolaevskii papers were also transferred to TsGAOR SSSR, but that transfer was from the former Special Archive (TsGOA SSSR), not with the Turgenev Library materials from the Lenin Library (GBL).⁴⁰

³⁶ A file of fourteen original SD seizure reports from Russian émigrés in Paris remains with the RSHA records in Moscow (most dated 21 March 1941, RGVA, 500K/2/221a) includes slips for *Poslednie novosti* (fol. 5) and Paul Miliukov (fol. 10). A separate slip (fol. 8) confirms confiscation from Mikhail Osorgin (Ossorguine) (see also below fn. 72). Seizure of the Miliukov papers in 1945 by Soviet authorities in Silesia is documented in my article, "Twice Plundered or 'Twice Saved'?: Identifying Russia's 'Trophy' Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15 (September 2001), pp. 191–244.

V. V. Sukhomlin, "Gitlerovtsy v Parizhe," recounts that it was one of the staff of *Poslednie novosti* ("the paper itself having ceased publication in June") who had told him about the confiscation of the Turgenev Library on 13 October 1940. He notes that Miliukov had escaped to "the unoccupied zone in the South of France"—as published in *Novyi mir*, no. 11(41) (November 1956), p. 144.

³⁷ In 1947 TsGAOR SSSR received 550 files and 7,143 printed books (transferred from TsGOA SSSR) from the personal archive and library of Miliukov. The files have been incorporated into the Miliukov personal fond (R-5856), while the editorial files of the newspaper *Poslednie novosti* were arranged as a separate fond (now GA RF fond R-6845)—see *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 331–32, and p. 157. At least a portion of the remains of Miliukov's library is now held in the GA RF Central Library, together with the original card catalogue. In the postwar official register of French claims, the listing for the library of "M. Paul Milioukoff" (20,000 volumes) in *Répetoire des biens spoliés en France*, p. 800 (no. 15696 [30.913]), is quite separate from that of the Turgenev Library.

³⁸ A copy of the list prepared after the war by Boris Nikolaevskii is held with the personal papers of Boris Souvarine in IISH, folder 8.

³⁹ In a letter to Bunin (1 April 1940) (Hoover Institution, Nicolaevsky Collection, series 207, box 268, folder 5, Nikolaevskii said he had already evacuated over 100 crates of the IISH materials from Paris (presumably to Amboise), but it is not clear if the Germans found all of them; most of those that survived in the West are now held in the Hoover Institution. Many of those that the Germans found ended up in Moscow, but no reference has been found to Bunin papers among them. A few files from IISH that remained in the Special Archive (TsGOA) were restituted to the Netherlands in 2002, but one file with Nikolaevskii's correspondence was withheld by Rosarkhiv and now remains in Moscow. Other materials from IISH collections remain in the former Central Party Archive (now RGASPI). Regarding the ERR seizure of the IISH materials in Paris, see fn. 74.

⁴⁰ Regarding their seizure by the ERR, see fn. 74. Nikolaevskii's papers and other documentation he had collected for the IISH were transferred to TsGAOR SSSR after its arrival in Moscow, except for some documents that went to the Central Party Archive (now RGASPI), and some that remained with the

Nikolaevskii is known to have claimed many Russian archival and library materials after the war that were not his own. Most of his postwar collection he transferred to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, in Palo Alto, California, where he was a fellow until his death.

Original handwritten catalogues that escaped capture and are preserved today in the Turgenev Library in Paris could help reconstruct the prewar holdings. The library had published two catalogue volumes of its belles-lettres holdings in the 1920s.⁴¹ Slightly over twenty volumes of pre-1940 manuscript catalogues and acquisition registers (most entitled “inventarnaia kniga”) remain today in the library in Paris, having been found recently in a carton in the basement of the Hôtel Colbert. Those catalogues, arranged by subject, provide a good indication of the breadth of the library holdings: from history, geography, social science, economics, and law, to the natural sciences and even agriculture. Three volumes of catalogues (beginning with 1921) also remain from the library of the Russian People’s University in Paris (Russkii narodnyi universitet v Parizhe). The library’s holdings were later turned over to the Turgenev Library.⁴² A few of the library administrative files remain in Paris, but given the many files in Moscow (GA RF and RGB), obviously the Nazis did take part of the library records, including the catalogues for “Sociology” and “Philosophy,” together with some registration books and a few other archival materials.

The catalogues and postwar claim files in Paris do not, however, reveal how many books remained in the Paris library from the prerevolutionary library of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (RSDRP) from Geneva. Curiously, none of the Russian émigré reports collected for the 100th anniversary publication mention the fact that the Turgenev Library had acquired a significant number of imprints with stamps of the Archive and Library of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the RSDRP. That collection had been moved from Geneva to Paris in 1910 (on the initiative of Vladimir Lenin), and at the end of 1910 an agreement was signed turning over a large part of the RSDRP library to the Turgenev Library. The rest was housed in a room within the same building, with provision for the exchange of duplicates. Although figures are not available, as a result of this transfer in Paris, the Turgenev Library acquired important publications from various Russian—and more broadly European—socialist revolutionary sources as well as those in other fields. After the Revolution, the remaining RSDRP library was shipped to Moscow in 1923 (via Marseilles and London).⁴³ None of

IISH files in TsGOA. The fond of his personal papers is now in GA RF (fond R-9217, 2 *opisi*, 164 file units, 1900–1929) —see *Fondy RZLA*, pp. 331–32, with mention that 46 files were received from TsGOA (undoubtedly with the materials from Paris received after the war from the RSHA loot captured by Soviet authorities in Silesia). The seizure of these materials from Paris is documented in several sources, including letters of claim in the papers of Boris Souvarine held by IISH in Amsterdam (folder 8). Souvarine was then Secretary-General of the IISH Paris Branch. He also lists the files of the Second International, along with papers of Frederick Adler, Viktor Chernov, and Karl Kautsky, among others as having been on deposit with IISH.

⁴¹ *Turgenevskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka: Katalog po belletristike*, [vol. I] (Paris, 1924; 136 p.) and vol. II: *Knigi, postupivshie v 1924–1928 godakh* (Paris 1929; 59 p.). Additional manuscript catalogues cover “belles-lettres” (to no. 10,785).

⁴² The present librarian, Tatiana L. Gladkova, kindly showed me the remaining volumes. Among others I noted the cover labels: “Belletristika”—parts II–VII (covering nos. 4993–10,785); “Istoriia,” 3 vols.; “Geografiia”—I–II; “Iuridicheskii otdel”; “Filosofiiia”—I–II; “Publitsistika”; “Obshchestvennaia i ekonomicheskaia nauka”; “Estestvoznaniie”; “Sel’skoe khoziaistvo”; “Katalog broshur”; and “Rossica.” There are also a few notebook lists of readers holding books, some library correspondence (1928–1939), and a notebook with requests from readers for books to be purchased (1939). See Appendix I.

⁴³ Details about the RSDRP library were first furnished to me in an unpublished report of Maia Dvorkina, who had been researching the subject in records of the IMEL (later IML) Library (now GOPB)

Parchevskii's or any other reports mention any of these books, aside from a run of *Iskra*, which the Turgenev Library may have acquired separately. A prewar Turgenev Library manuscript catalogue of "Brochures" lists many from left-wing socialist sources, but does not indicate if any were acquired from the RSDRP collection. Those books would have been of special interest to the Nazis with their anti-Bolshevik research. To be sure, they were also of prime interest to the Institute of Marx, Engels and Lenin (IMEL) in Moscow, which in the interwar period was spending considerable sums of its limited foreign currency reserves retrieving all possible Russian revolutionary documents and books abroad. In fact, Boris Nikolaevskii was simultaneously serving as an acquisitions agent for IMEL in Western Europe.

Besides dispersing the books and archives, World War II also resulted in the loss or dispersal of many in the Russian émigré community in Paris whose cultural and intellectual life before the war had focused around the Turgenev Library. Several of them passed away during the war: Pavel Miliukov fled to the South of France with the Nazi occupation and died there in 1943; Nikolai Osorgin also escaped south and died in 1942; Il'ia Bunakov-Fundaminskii died in a prison camp in Germany in 1942; and Vladimir Burtsev died in Paris in 1942. Other leading figures in the library administration had fled to what they hoped was more secure exile in America: Boris Nikolaevskii was initially in New York but then settled in California, Boris Souvarine also in New York. The prewar president of the association, Nikolai Knorring, returned to the Soviet Union, only to find exile in Kazakhstan, while Dmitrii Odinets, freed from his imprisonment by the Nazis, sought Soviet repatriation in 1946 and spent the rest of his life as a history teacher in Kazan.

Immediately after the war in Paris those associated with the library made extensive efforts to locate the confiscated books, hoping for the return of at least part of them. Appropriate papers about the Nazi "removal of the entire library" with its "collection that was unique in Western Europe" were filed by the French government. Apparently, only twenty books in Western languages were recovered after the war, presumably some that the Nazis had separated out before shipment or that were returned with other French books through Western Allied restitution programs.⁴⁴ Little news of the real postwar fate of the library was known. Odinets, at the time of his October 1946 interview, claimed "only lately we succeeded in tracing it in Germany in the Soviet Occupied Zone, and we hope that with the help of our representative, we may be able to get back the library or what is left of it."⁴⁵ Such hopes were obviously never realized: in

and the former CP TsPA (now RGASPI) in Moscow. See below, ch. 7 (fns. 204 and 205) for more details about Turgenev Library agreement with the RSDRP (10 December 1910) and the facsimile in Appendix VI.

⁴⁴ See *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France*, vol. 7, p. 799 (no. 15683 [30.910]), with an estimating losses at "over 100,000" books from the Turgenev Library with a description of the different sections of the library. A claim for the "Bibliothèque Tourguenieff (Paris)" from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives Service (dated 23 April 1945) reached U.S. restitution authorities in Germany, but the erroneous figure quoted there was "more than 15,000 volumes"—a copy is found in the U.S. French claims files (no. F 201), US NACP, RG 215 (OMGUS), Property Division, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 744. Extant correspondence in the Turgenev Library files in Paris suggests the retrieval of the twenty books, but there is no indication where they were found. I have not had access to the official French claim file for the library, but neither the *Répertoire* listing nor the French claim to the U.S. suggest loss of archives, although possibly those in Paris filing the claim were not aware of all that was taken.

⁴⁵ "Interview with Dimitri Odinetz," 4 October 1946.

his 1961 account, Knorring, who by that time was living in Alma-Ata, concluded that the “trail of the library and its subsequent fate has been lost, despite some rumors.”⁴⁶

With only skeletal holdings remaining, Paris municipal authorities did not renew the rent-free lease on Hôtel Colbert. With the minimal compensation received for wartime losses, the library purchased a modest apartment in rue de Valence, where it again opened its doors in 1959 and remains today. Such “compensation” could never replace the irreparable losses. Efforts to replenish the library by devotees such as Tat’iana Osorgina (Ossorguine-Bakounine) have been continued by Hélène Kaplan and others. The complexion and prewar role of the library were difficult to revive in postwar decades without the historic collections brought together by the prewar Russian community in Paris. Yet by 2002 the holdings already exceed 60,000 volumes, including some 800 Russian postwar émigré journals, many of which deserve a “rare” designation. Donations have been received from several of the most important private Russian libraries in Paris, with important rarities among them. If in the future more of the prewar collections are returned, the library association plans to seek support for the acquisition of a larger facility commensurate with the library’s past glory and its unique role in Franco-Russian culture.

⁴⁶ Knorring, “Gibel' Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” *Prostor*, 1961, no. 8, p. 126, and in the Paris version, *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p. 118.

3. The “End of the Turgenev Library”: Soviet Published Accounts

Many rumors continued to circulate, including some published behind the Iron Curtain in the more open 1960s. There were also some “hard facts,” many of which were based on Knorring’s first-hand account (although not always so acknowledged), first published in Alma Alta in 1961. (Knorring had returned to the Soviet Union after the war but was essentially banished to the Kazakh capital.) In 1966 the director of the State I. S. Turgenev Museum in Lutovinovo, near Orel, Leonid Afonin, wrote a short account of the fate of the Turgenev Library that included various clues and rumors. Repeating Knorring’s figure of 900 crates sent to Germany from Paris, Afonin claimed (according to undesignated sources) that the library first went to Munich. Subsequently, part went to Berlin, while another part went to East Prussia, and “no small amount was lost in transit,” which is why “books with the Turgenev Library stamp were found in antiquarian book shops in German cities and in the Baltic republics.” Afonin purchased one of these himself in Berlin in 1950—the first volume of Herzen’s writings (Geneva, 1875), and another had been presented to the Turgenev Museum at the end of the 1950s. He related that the Lenin Library in Moscow presented two more books with authors’ dedications from the Paris library to the Orel museum in 1965, and a fifth book had recently appeared as a gift from the Russian émigré journalist Igor A. Lopatinskii. Afonin further recounted that towards the end of the war Soviet soldiers had found one major cache of books sent from Paris to Berlin, but that they “were unable to save them” because “the Hitlerites had mined the warehouse where they were held and those book treasures perished in a powerful explosion.” But he provided no documentation. Also thanks to Lopatinskii, the Turgenev Museum in Orel acquired the historic plaque from the Turgenev Library building (in French and Russian) that “some Russian patriots had found in a Paris garbage heap.”⁴⁷

A few years later, Leningrad library science professor and bibliographer Georgii G. Firsov prepared what is still the most detailed and best-documented account of the Turgenev Library and its fate to have appeared in the USSR. Published in 1968 at a time of Franco-Soviet rapprochement, Firsov considered that library to be “one of the clear testimonies to sincere Russo-French friendship.” Repeating many of the details recounted by Knorring and Afonin, he then amplified the account of the Nazi destruction of the Turgenev Library near Berlin. In contrast to Afonin (who probably could not cite émigré sources), Firsov cited on that point a 1965 article by Lopatinskii in the Paris émigré newspaper, *Russkie novosti*. In what could appear to mesh with the Ehrenberg account (which Firsov subsequently quotes), Soviet soldiers approaching Berlin at the end of the war identified many crates from the Turgenev Library (including some that were damaged) in a warehouse at a railroad junction on the outskirts of the German capital. But “after the decision to move them to the rear lines, unfortunately, that same day the

⁴⁷ Leonid [Nikolaevich] Afonin, “Russkoi suti ne vyvesti: Sud'ba Turgenevskoi russkoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, no. 48(204) (25 November 1966), pp. 16–17. Afonin’s article ends with a photograph of the sign, which is also reproduced on the rear cover of *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, with a reference to the Lopatinskii article.

Afonin’s account of the destruction of the library in a warehouse near Berlin meshes with Ehrenberg’s. He also may have gotten the story from Lopatinskii or coordinated with him, as it coincides with Lopatinskii’s explanation in his 1965 article published in Paris (see fns. 48 and 49); but neither Afonin nor Lopatinskii provide a source for that information. Lopatinskii had visited the Museum near Orel not long before Afonin’s article was prepared.

warehouse exploded from a German-laid time bomb.”⁴⁸ A copy of the 1965 Lopatinskii article remains in the files of the Turgenev Library in Paris with other papers collected by Tat’iana Osorgina (Ossorguine-Bakounine), who was then managing the library. Apparently she decided against including that account in the anniversary collection about the library published in 1987.⁴⁹

Firsov was the first to name yet another city visited by books of the library in the course of their odyssey: Legnica (*Ger.* Leignitz), site of the Red Army Headquarters in Silesia west of Wrocław (*Ger.* Breslau). That city was, as we will learn, pivotal in the fate of the library, although Firsov was unaware of its important role. He recounted that a Polish student at his Leningrad Institute found 600 books with Turgenev Library stamps there. “Such facts,” he emphasized, continuing to blame the Germans, “demonstrate that the holdings of the Turgenev Library taken to Germany were not held in one place, but rather, in all certainly, were widely dispersed and subjected to plunder.” And, echoing Ehrenberg’s assessment with a gesture of rapprochement, “Such was the unfortunate end of the wonderful Russian library on French soil.” After a few paragraphs about the meagre postwar revival of the library, he concluded with an appeal that “the Turgenev Library represents a memorial to Russian culture in Paris and as such should be continued in the future.”⁵⁰

Continuing the theme of the wide German dispersal of the library, Galina Grikhanova of the Maiakovskii Museum in Moscow reported in 1975 that her museum held four books with stamps from the Turgenev Library, including a copy of the novel *Zemlianka* with author Vasilii Kamenskii’s 1911 dedication. Interestingly enough, the facsimile title page pictured in her article with the stamp of the “BIBLIOTHÈQUE RUSSE TOURGUÈNEV—9, Rue du Val-de-Grace à Paris” also bears the same stamp of an Officers’ Club with the field post office no. 62961-D, which we will again see below.⁵¹ She further reveals that the Bibliophile Cabinet of the Lenin Library in Moscow has a copy of the library statute in its 1911 redaction and also the second volume of the “Catalogue of Belles-Lettres of the Turgenev Public Library,” which covers “Books Acquired from 1924–1928” (published in Paris, 1929). That catalogue, she notes, confirms that the four books now in the Maiakovskii Museum had in fact been held in the Paris library.⁵² Both of those items, however, now in the successor Museum of the Book in the Russian State Library, are printed editions and do not bear Turgenev Library stamps; hence most likely they were received before the war, not with the “trophy” materials from Paris. The additional unpublished volumes of the prewar “Belles-Lettres” catalogues, having escaped Nazi confiscation as noted earlier, remain in Paris.⁵³

⁴⁸ See Georgii G. Firsov, “Turgenevskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka v Parizhe,” *Russkaia literatura*, 1968, no. 4, pp. 80–88. On the Berlin explosion, Firsov openly quoted Lopatinskii, “Proshloe i nastoiashchee Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” *Russkie novosti* (Paris), no. 1060 (8 October 1965), although that paper was still normally restricted for Soviet readers.

⁴⁹ *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*. I am grateful to H el ene Kaplan for locating the archival clipping of the Lopatinskii article for me and explaining about Osorgina’s decision regarding it. Lopatinskii’s article itself has no further information not already provided by Afonin and Firsov.

⁵⁰ Firsov, “Turgenevskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka v Parizhe,” *Russkaia literatura*, 1968, no. 4, pp. 80–88.

⁵¹ Galina Grikhanova, “Moskva—Parizh—Moskva,” *V mire knig*, 1975, no. 3, pp. 81–83. Grikhanova later prepared an additional article about this book, “‘Zemlianka’ Vasiliia Kamenskogo,” *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 29 (19 July 1985), p. 16. The military stamp reads “Voiskovaia chast’ Polevaia Pochta 62961-D”—Dlia paketov.

⁵² Grikhanova, “Moskva—Parizh—Moskva,” p. 82–83. In July 2001, colleagues in RGB showed me their copy of the 1911 Turgenev Library statute, but they were not able to locate the catalogue.

⁵³ I examined the remaining prewar catalogues in Paris in January 2001. See fn. 42.

Trying to reconstruct the library's odyssey, Grikhanova accepts as fact Afonin's report about "the Fascist mines" destroying that part of the library sent to Berlin. She then elaborates on the postwar fate of the "part sent to East Prussia" [sic.], which was actually Silesia. She draws on the memoirs of poet and literary critic Anatolii Tarasenkov's account of his friend Boris Shiperovich, who is here identified as an editor and bibliophile from an Armenian newspaper.⁵⁴ According to Tarasenkov's memoirs, edited by his widow, Mariia Belkina, Shiperovich found books from the Turgenev Library in a German castle near Breslau (*now Polish Wrocław*) that was being used as a postwar army rest and rehabilitation center. He identified "some damaged crates of books with German labels indicating their source as 'Minsk, Library of the Academy of Sciences' and 'Paris, Turgenev Library'."⁵⁵

Shiperovich, however, in his own memoir published in 1971 (likewise quoted by Grikhanova) does not specifically mention the Turgenev Library. His memoir emphasizes postwar Red Army efforts to "save" displaced books, especially those looted by the Nazis, and he extols the activities of a unit to which he was attached under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovskii, who became the Soviet hero of his article. He recounts first finding some unusually valuable Russian and foreign books in May 1945 in a rest center and club in the town of Deutsch Lissa. Presumably Red Army officers had made themselves at home in the historic castle, Schloss Deutsch Lissa (*often Breslau-Deutsch Lissa*), 12 km. west of Breslau (*now Polish Leśnica*). Curious as to where the books came from, Shiperovich further relates his explorations in the vicinity of Breslau and Kattowitz (*now Polish Katowice*).⁵⁶

Shiperovich tells of his discovery of two huge warehouses in Kattowitz with "hundreds and thousands of crates" of books with German alphanumeric labels: "I've never seen so many books," he exclaimed. Some of the crates he found were damaged, but the contents of a few that he and his colleagues had opened themselves were in good condition. He identified many crates with books looted from Belarus, as he specifically found stamps of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, and some from the Lenin Library in Minsk. More crates contained books from many "cities of the Soviet Union—Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa [...] books from Russian, Polish, Czech and other cities." He spoke of many French and Polish editions, "incunabulae, imprints of the 16th and 17th centuries," and others in "Hebrew, Slavonic, and Latin." Presumably avoiding mention of foreign "trophies" in this memoir, Shiperovich did not indicate any books from Paris, nor did he specifically identify the Turgenev Library (or any other books of Western provenance). Shiperovich explains that he was operating with a unit under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovskii, to whom he reported this discovery. He mentioned visiting Kattowitz several times with Lieutenant-General [Andrei] Okorokov, whom we will meet again below. As to the disposition of those books, Shiperovich relates, "Rokossovskii ordered that the books be returned to their owners," although "the Russian books without stamps were turned over to the Officers' Club of the Army Group Headquarters."⁵⁷ Following Kattowitz, Shiperovich and his colleagues found one additional hideaway, described only

⁵⁴ Grikhanova, "Moskva—Parizh—Moskva," p. 83.

⁵⁵ The memoir account by Anatolii Kuz'mich Tarasenkov, edited by his widow Mariia Belkina, appeared as "Glavnaia kniga," *Novyi mir*, 1966, no. 11, pp. 214–15. Grikhanova also quotes the Tarasenkov memoirs, "Moskva—Parizh—Moskva," p. 83.

⁵⁶ Boris Shiperovich, "Spasenie knig," *Al'manakh bibliofila*, 1973, pp. 57–59 (the text is dated 1971). See more details in Chapter 5.

⁵⁷ Shiperovich, "Spasenie knig," pp. 60–65. Note that in the memoirs of Anatolii Tarasenkov referenced above by Mariia Belkina (fn. 55), Shiperovich did mention German crates from the Turgenev Library as well as the Library of the Academy of Sciences found "in a German castle near Breslau."

as “a former hunting lodge of Goebbels,” with looted books, including “many manuscript books and rare editions” with, for example, “a special edition of Nietzsche’s *Thus Spake Zarathustra*.” That cache of books, he explained, “Marshal Rokossovskii gave to the Polish People’s Republic.”⁵⁸

In a slightly earlier (1970) journalistic “Notes of a Bibliophile” in a Moscow newspaper, we learn that Boris Iakovlevich Shiperovich (identified there correctly as the head of the Propaganda Division of the “Sovetskii pisatel” publishing house, where he worked as a senior editor and chief bibliographer), “found in a bombed out building in Berlin in the spring of 1945,” an uncensored copy of Griboiedov’s comic drama “Woe from Wit” (*Gore ot uma*, published in Leipzig in 1858) with a stamp of the Turgenev Library. The book was later offered for sale at an antiquarian book auction in Moscow.⁵⁹ That was the same year (1945) that Shiperovich himself later reported (1971) his own involvement with Red Army efforts at “saving books” in Silesia after the war. Despite the many such references to “Boris Shiperovich,” however, the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO) reports that “the name of Boris Shiperovich cannot be located in their card files of officers.” Undoubtedly he was not in the regular army but in the “reserves,” and given an officer’s rank for a special assignment to one of the trophy library brigades under the Red Army Trophy Command or the Chief Political Command of the Red Army in Silesia under General Okorokov, about which we will learn more later.⁶⁰

Other reports have appeared of stray Turgenev Library books found in Berlin at the end of the war, including that of a soldier from Konstantinov-on-Don who found a copy of *Anna Karenina* with a stamp of the Turgenev Library and donated the volume to a local library.⁶¹ Another book from the Turgenev Library, with a dedication by Inkandr Alekseev, was reportedly purchased by relatives of Turgenev in an antiquarian bookstore

⁵⁸ Shiperovich, “Spasenie knig,” pp. 62–64. Shiperovich does not identify his unit, but he emphasizes the positive role of Marshal Rokossovskii. In the case of the last visit described, he said he was with Major A. Kramarenko. At one point he mentions an editorial office from which he and his comrades were sent to the Front as “reserves” (pp. 57–58). In another references in the text, he appears to have been writing as a war correspondent. In the final section of the text, he suggests he was subsequently working in a library and supplying Marshal Rokossovskii with reading materials (pp. 64–65). I have interviewed two people who were acquainted with Shiperovich and who assured me he was at the front at the end of the war and remained in the army in Silesia after the war, where he was working in a library for a military unit.

⁵⁹ V. Alekseev, “Zapiska bibliofila: Sud’ba knigi,” *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 29 October 1970. Shiperovich’s post in the “Sovetskii pisatel” publishing house has been confirmed to me by Mikhail Aivazian, who worked with him there. Aivazian now heads the Manuscript Division in the A. M. Gor’kii Institute of World Literature RAN. Shiperovich headed the bibliographical section and was the major compiler of *Izdatel'stvo “Sovetskii pisatel’”: Bibliografiia, 1934–1974* (Moscow, 1982) and *Izdatel'stvo “Sovetskii pisatel’”: Bibliografiia, 1934–1982* (2d ed., Moscow, 1985). He was a knowledgeable bibliophile, collector of literary autographs, and during some years ran an antiquarian book shop. Colleagues have tried unsuccessfully on my behalf to locate his personnel file at the publishing house, but those archives are not immediately accessible.

⁶⁰ Such details, to be sure, could not have been mentioned during the Soviet period. The name of Boris Shiperovich was one of the specific written queries I submitted to TsAMO in June 2002 and for which I received a negative reply in a letter from the acting director of the Archival Service of the Ministry of Defense, S. Kamenichenko (28 June 2002). I have since been able to confirm the involvement of Boris Iakovlevich Shiperovich with book retrieval in Silesia while he was stationed there in the army on the basis of unpublished letters to his friend Anatolii Tarasenkov (see Chapter 5).

⁶¹ See the brief note by I. Novosel'tsev, “Iz biblioteki I. S. Turgeneva,” *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 32 (August 1985), p. 14. The soldier, Mikhail Ivanovich Machushnin, a driver for a lieutenant in the 62nd Army, was in Berlin in May 1945 where he found some books among bombed out buildings. The library to which the book was donated was not named. That particular book was later transferred to the Turgenev Literary Museum in Orel (see fn. 225).

in Riga after the war.⁶² Such attestations abound from Soviet-period sources. Many Russian friends and colleagues today have noted seeing or purchasing books in antiquarian bookshops, lamenting the dispersal of the library during the Soviet regime.

⁶² Alekseev, "Zapiska bibliofila: Sud'ba knigi," *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 29 October 1970.

4. With the ERR in Berlin and Ratibor: German Wartime Documents

Today we know much more about the route of the wartime odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Nazi documentation. The library was on the Nazi “hit” list even before they arrived in Paris, although by mid-September 1940 they still had the old address of rue du Val-de-Grace, 9.⁶³ Nazi reports and confiscation lists confirm the closing of the Turgenev Library at the end of September 1940 and the seizure of 100,000 books in early October, although a detailed report of the seizure operation or a description of the library (which are available in some other seizure cases) has not been found. Ehrenburg was quite correct in attributing the confiscation to Alfred Rosenberg. By that time in Paris the infamous Special Command (or Task Force) of Reichsleiter Rosenberg was already operating: the “*Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*,” often known by its acronym, ERR. Knorring accurately informed us that it was “Dr. Weiss” who was in charge of the confiscation. (Helmut Weiss was one of Rosenberg’s top aides in Paris, as confirmed in other documents.) Knorring also identified the two main purposes of the Nazi seizure: “to destroy centers of Russian culture in Paris” and “to strengthen holdings of Russian collections in German research institutes on Eastern Europe,” even if he did not name the correct Nazi institutions involved.⁶⁴

As one of the major ideological research and propaganda arms of the Nazi regime, the ERR was involved in looting cultural treasures of all types, especially those from “enemies of the Reich” such as Jews and Freemasons. In Western Europe the ERR is mainly known for its plunder of art works, particularly from the rich Jewish-owned collections in France, whose owners had fled for their lives from the Nazi invasion.⁶⁵ Much less is known about the ERR plunder of libraries and archives, some from the same homes as the art, others from Jewish institutions and community organizations, Masonic lodges, Theosophic societies, Russian émigrés of various political orientation, and socialist groups. The Turgenev Library was not seized in isolation, but was part of a vast program of library and archival confiscations organized by a large team of ERR specialists.⁶⁶

⁶³ Plans for seizure of the Turgenev Library (Bibliothèque Tourgeneff) are mentioned in a memorandum from Fuchs (ERR) to Geheimes Feldpolizei (GFP), Paris (13 September 1940), BAK, B 323/261, but at that point, they still had the old address of “rue du Val-de-Grace, 9,” and a holdings estimate of 60,000 volumes.

⁶⁴ Knorring, “Gibel’ Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” pp. 125–26; and *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, pp. 117–18.

⁶⁵ ERR art looting in the West, involving as it did Rosenberg’s alliance and fierce competition with Göring, are well analyzed by Jonathan Petropoulos, in *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (University of North Carolina Press, 1996); also available in a German edition: *Kunstraub und Sammelwahn: Kunst und Politik im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Propylä, 1999). Petropoulos’ study, revised from his doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, has been followed by a second monograph, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also the relevant chapters in Lynn Nicholas’ *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe’s Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); also available in a German translation: *Der Raub der Europa* (Munich: Kindler Verlag, 1995) and a Russian edition *Pokhishchenie Evropy: Sud’ba evropeiskikh kul’turnykh tsennostei v gody natsizma* (Moscow, 2001); additional translations have appeared in French, Spanish, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese (Brazil), among other languages. See also the relevant chapters on ERR art looting in the study by Anja Heuss, *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub: Eine vergleichende Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000).

⁶⁶ See my forthcoming article about the ERR library and archival looting in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, and my report “New Perspectives for the Identification and Restitution of Nazi-Plundered Books and Archives,” presented at VIIIth Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies, Amsterdam (21–25 July 2002), in the session organized by Frits Hougewood, “Nazi-

According to Nazi ideology, and especially for Rosenberg, Bolsheviks were considered an integral component of the “world Jewish conspiracy” and hence also “enemies of the Reich.” Rosenberg himself (born in Tallinn in 1893) had fled to Germany in 1918 after the Bolshevik Revolution, which he (along with other Nazi ideologists) blamed on the Jews and Masons. In preparation for the Eastern invasion to rid Europe of the “Bolshevik tyrant,” even while Hitler was allied with Stalin, Nazi agents were searching for strong library collections dealing with Bolshevism. In retrospect at his trial in Nuremberg, Rosenberg testified about why the occupied countries of the East were treated differently from those in the West. He explained:

Because those whom we considered as our adversaries or opponents from the point of view of our conception of the world are different in the West from what they are in the East. In the West there were certain Jewish organizations and Masonic lodges, and in the East there was nothing more than the Communist Party.⁶⁷

ERR operations chief Gerhard Utikal reported in March 1941 that the ERR Special Eastern Commando (Sonderstab Osten) in the French capital would first seize the “heirless property of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe for Eastern-area research (Ostforschung) under the Hohe Schule,” the elite Nazi university planned by Rosenberg to be established in Bavaria after the victorious war.⁶⁸ Since the Turgenev Library was not an “heirless” Jewish organization, however, the Nazis initially proposed “purchase.” They planned to use the Turgenev and the other Slavic library holdings for their immediate wartime anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda efforts. Utikal boasted in March 1941 that already “the Polish Library, the Turgenev and the Ukrainian Petliura Library with all of their holdings were sent to Berlin” by the Sonderstab Osten for research on Eastern lands, along “with materials from 28 smaller specialized collections.” Besides, he explained, such confiscation of “important Marxist-Communist documentary materials significantly assisted the liquidation” of what was considered “the central scientific, political, and publicistic operational centers of the Eastern emigrant ‘enemies’ in Paris.”⁶⁹ That was the period just before the soon-to-be-launched Eastern campaign “Barbarossa” (i.e., the invasion of the Soviet Union), where Rosenberg himself was to assume control over both the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO; i.e., the occupied lands of the Soviet Union) and the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR).

At the same time ERR Paris office chief Dr. Gerhard Wunder could list 110 libraries confiscated from Paris, including the Masonic and many other non-Jewish libraries as well as archival materials and books. The Turgenev Library appears in his March 1941 list with indication that “386 crates had been removed from 13/15, rue de la

Looted Cultural Property – Jewish Books and Archives Past, Present, Perspectives.” Selected documents regarding ERR art and library looting in France were published soon after the war in the CDJC collection, *Le pillage par les Allemands*.

⁶⁷ “Testimony of Alfred Rosenberg, taken at Nuremberg, Germany, on 29 September 1945, 1022–1152,” in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality), vol. 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1946), p. 1347.

⁶⁸ Gerhard Utikal, “Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes der Dienststellen des Reichsleiters Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande in Frankreich” (Paris, 20 March 1941), photostat copy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468.

⁶⁹ Utikal, “Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes.”

Bûcherie between the 26th of September and the 6th of October 1940.”⁷⁰ This is not even half of Knorring’s figure of “over 900 crates,” but other Nazi reports confirm the lower figure while citing the estimated total of 100,000 volumes. Another ERR list of 71 confiscated private archives and libraries from Paris recently found in Kyiv explains the discrepancy. In the more detailed Kyiv list, which shows the actual Nazi crate markings, “387 crates” were removed from the Turgenev Library (numbers “M 1–152, and 766–999”) and were turned over to Amt Osten. Interestingly enough the missing numbers on that same list were those assigned for the Polish Library, for a total of 766 crates (sections “M I—M VII, 1–766”).⁷¹

Confiscations from several other Russian émigrés associated with the Turgenev Library are also noted on the Kyiv list, including Mark Aldanov (crate markings SOQ 1–9) and Mikhail Osorgin (SOE 1–11).⁷² Other Russian émigré confiscations include those from Il’ia Fundaminskii together with records of the journal *Novaia Rossiia* (SOB 1–29), the journal *Nashe Slovo* (78, rue de Lorraine, SOD 1–6), and from Boris Souvarine (SOS 1–3). It also notes that 71 crates were confiscated from a Czech Library (SOK 1–71). That list does not include the Petliura Library, but it does list 5 crates (markings “SOO 1–5”) from the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub*, whose editorial office was in the Petliura Library.⁷³

No indication has been found of separate confiscations from Burtsev, Chernov, or Boris Nikolaevskii, but their papers were undoubtedly seized with the “144 crates (SOH 1–144)” confiscated from the Paris branch of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) (7, rue Michelet), directed by Boris Nikolaevskii, and an additional 8 crates of personal materials that had been evacuated from Paris to Amboise. Another 15 crates were listed as having been seized from the Office of the Second International (SOC 1–15), whose papers were reportedly also held with the IISH collections containing papers of numerous Russian revolutionaries.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ ERR-HAG Frankreich, “Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien” (Paris, 23 March 1941), photocopy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468. Another copy, in a positive photocopy from the microfilmed MFA&A files (film 14.51, pt. 2), in BAK, B 323/261, frames 48–60, includes a supplemental April list of 30 more library collections and a cover letter from Dr. Gerhard Wunder to the Militärbefehlshaber [Military Administration] in France (2 May 1941), which describes them all as “Jewish libraries.” Another photocopy is found on the U.S.–Alexandria (NARA) microfilms in the series “Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich,” roll 362, item 85621 (294K–306K), the originals of which are now held in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, Bestand RW 35. I have as yet not located the original document. Although still far from comprehensive coverage of confiscated libraries, that list provides positive proof, with the name, address, brief identification, and exact quantity of crates seized from each individual or institution.

⁷¹ “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek” ([n.d.] but with covering memos in the same file and other reports from 1942), TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–275, possibly the covering memo is the one filed later in the same dossier (21 January 1942) fol. 324. Knorring was correct about the “over 900” in terms of numbers, but he did not realize that the Polish Library crates were numbered “1–766.”

⁷² “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–275. The confiscation of materials from Osorgin by the SD in March 1941 is indicated in the file cited earlier (see fn. 36), but that report does not indicate quantity. A detailed claim covering the Osorgin confiscation was prepared by his family after the war, a copy of which (submitted to U.S. authorities) remains among U.S. claim files, US NACP, RG 215 (OMGUS), Property Division, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 743, no. F-158.

⁷³ “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–275. As an indication that this list was incomplete with respect to the Souvarine confiscation is an ERR report from Ratibor (7 December 1944) to the effect that 30 crates of the Souvarine library were unpacked (SOS 1–31 with SOS 16 missing) on 5–6 December. BAB, NS 30/50.

⁷⁴ “Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek,” TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, fols. 274–275. A detailed claim covering the IISH confiscation (submitted to U.S. authorities) remains among U.S. claim files, US NACP, RG 215 (OMGUS), Property Division, Reparations and Restitutions Branch, MFA&A, Cultural

Those ERR lists, to be sure, were hardly complete, because many libraries known to have been confiscated do not appear. And some of the libraries listed were turned over to other Nazi agencies. For example, Nazi reports confirm removal of over 130,000 volumes from the Polish Library, which had already arrived in Germany by mid-November 1940.⁷⁵ The ERR had been forced to turn the Polish Library over to the Reich Ministry of the Interior, and it was shipped to Berlin for use by that ministry's research unit, the so called *Publikationsstelle*. Evacuated to Bauzten (Saxony) from Berlin starting in 1943, a Soviet trophy brigade discovered 742 crates and shipped them to Moscow in 1946. The Poles found approximately a third of the looted books in Silesia in the fall of 1945 and returned them to Paris.⁷⁶

Many of the most important Jewish private and organization libraries on the ERR seizure lists were turned over to the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question in Frankfurt, another Rosenberg organization under the aegis of the NSDAP Hohe Schule. Some of the Masonic collections also went to the Frankfurt Institute, but many of the Masonic archives and those from more politically active Jewish organizations and individuals were subsequently turned over to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA, Reichsicherheitshauptamt) in Berlin. Many other confiscated books from Paris went to the Central Library of the projected NSDAP Hohe Schule, first organized in Berlin, but then moved to the former monastery of Tanzenberg, near Anaheim, Kärnten (Carinthia) in the Austrian Tyrol.

Many of the library collections on the Paris confiscation lists have still not been located, although parts of some were returned from the U.S. library restitution center at Offenbach (near Frankfurt-am-Main) or by British authorities in Tanzenberg. There is little conception today of the immensity of ERR library plunder or the precise records the ERR kept of its operations. The Turgenev Library remained with the ERR, ending the war in Silesia, and hence does not appear on Western Allied restitution lists.

The Nazi preoccupation with the Jewish question in the Frankfurt Institute was paralleled in Berlin by the ERR anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda operations. The Nazis believed the war in the East was not only a drive for *Lebensraum* (living space) and “not only a fight against the Red Army,” but also “an ideological struggle against

Property Claim Applications, box 742, no. F-151. Lists of the contents are also preserved among the papers of Boris Souvarine in IISH, folder 8. Fedor Dan is listed separately on the ERR list with indication of 2 crates removed (SOW 1–2). Many of the archival materials involved likewise ended up with the RSHA Amt VII in Wölfelsdorf, whence they were seized by Soviet authorities, rather than with the ERR in Ratibor (see Ch. 2, fns. 36–40).

⁷⁵ Regarding the seizure of the Biblioteka Polska/ Bibliothèque polonaise in Paris, see the Fuchs ERR report to Geheimes Feldpolizei (Paris, 15 September 1940), BAK, B-323/261. Its confiscation is also noted in Rosenberg's “Report to the Führer” (13 November 1940)—as published in *Le pillage par les Allemands des oeuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appartenant à des juifs en France: Recueil de documents*, ed. Jean Cassou (Paris: CDJC, 1947; “Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Série “Documents,” no. 4), p. 87. See also other ERR reports (16 September 1940), CDJC, CXLV-574; (17 September 1940), CDJC, CXLI-181; and Rosenberg to Schwartz (18 September 1940), CDJC, CXLIII-275.

⁷⁶ More details and documentation about the fate of the Polish Library are included in my essay “Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris,” *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39–76. Regarding the Soviet recovery in Saxony, see “Pol'sko-frantsuzskaia biblioteka,” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh,” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 133v, and 10, fol. 178v; published in German translation by Ingo Kolasa and Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, eds., *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1996), p. 133. See also the telegram from Rudomino to VGBIL (16 May 1946), A-534/2/8, fol. 133.

Bolshevism.”⁷⁷ During the 1930s Rosenberg had already established a major anti-Bolshevik research operation in Berlin whose staff included several German refugees from the USSR. Among them was Georg Leibbrandt (born in the Odessa region), who headed the Rosenberg Amt Osten, alternatively operating as part of the Nazi Foreign Office (NSDAP Assenpolitisches Amt). Following the organization of the ERR, most of the Rosenberg anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda operations came under the ERR. Some, however, remained under other Rosenberg operations, including the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO), established with Rosenberg as Reichsminister after occupation of Soviet lands was underway.

Whereas the Rosenberg anti-Bolshevik research efforts under the ERR (and RMbO) never had the formal structure of the Frankfurt Institute under the Hohe Schule, they were equally aggressive in accumulating library resources from confiscated collections. Most of these became part of the special “Eastern Library” relating to Bolshevism and other East European affairs, the “*Ostbücherei*,” then being developed by the ERR in Berlin and subsequently in Riga.⁷⁸ The *Ostbücherei* acquired books from “heirless” and émigré institutions and individuals in the West, and later major state libraries in occupied Soviet lands, along with major institutional and private collections in the Baltic countries. The Rosenberg anti-Bolshevik operations were not as scholarly as some of the other *Ostforschung* efforts under the Third Reich,⁷⁹ but the Turgenev Library was well suited to the ERR’s predominantly popular propaganda concerns. Once in Berlin, it was joined by the smaller holdings from the Petliura Library in Paris (seized by order of Leibbrandt) and other Paris private libraries for the special collection of the Sonderstab Osten. Eventually they were to be integrated into the *Ostbücherei*.

Despite the demands of other agencies, the ERR was able to preserve the holdings from the Petliura Library and the Turgenev Library relatively intact until almost the end of the war. Postwar speculations alternatively suggested that the Turgenev Library books went to Munich, Leipzig, and Königsberg, but thus far German documents do not substantiate this. The ERR frequently did share its plunder with other agencies, resulting in the tragic dispersal of many collections. Although no totals have been found, it appears the ERR kept most of the prized Turgenev Library together.

After the Western Allies started bombing Berlin, many Nazi units were moved from the capital to more remote areas, particularly to the East. Starting in the summer of 1943, the headquarters of various Rosenberg command units and major ERR research and library operations were transferred from Berlin to the relatively isolated city of Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz), 80 km. southwest of Kattowitz (now Polish Katowice), on the Oder (Polish Odra) River in Silesia.⁸⁰ Among the operations transferred were the anti-

⁷⁷ Herbert Will to Utikal (21 June 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/2/22, fols. 79–81. See also the testimony of Alfred Rosenberg cited above (fn. 67).

⁷⁸ Regarding the *Ostbücherei* and ERR anti-Bolshevism research activities, see Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive”: Communist Records in the Service of Anti-Communism* (Pittsburgh, 1995); Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, pp. 316–23; and my more detailed article about the ERR library and archival loot in Ratibor in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), and Gabriele Camphausen, *Die wissenschaftliche historische Russlandforschung im Dritten Reich 1933–1945* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990).

⁸⁰ More details about ERR operations and their library and archival loot in Ratibor will be presented in my forthcoming article in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. See also my 1996 report “New Clues in the Records of Archival and Library Plunder: The ERR and the RSHA VII Amt Operations in Silesia,” in *The Return of Looted Collections (1946–1996): An Unfinished Chapter: Proceedings of the International Symposium to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Return of Dutch Book*

Bolshevik research and propaganda units. Ratibor research operations, especially in the anti-Bolshevik area were headed by Dr. Gerhard Wunder, the same Nazi ideologist and library specialist who had surveyed the “Jewish libraries” the ERR had confiscated in the French capital.⁸¹ Wunder’s Paris list, as noted above, had included the Turgenev Library. Under his tutelage, various research groups and independent specialists were assigned to analyze Bolshevism and prepare pseudo-polemical studies reflecting Nazi ideological and practical concerns. According to abstracts and other remaining reports, among topics under consideration were “The Struggle against Bolshevism” for the Propaganda Division and “Ideology and Techniques of Bolshevik Mass Leadership.”⁸² In 1944 Wunder himself was finishing a book on the “Bolshevik conspiracy,” *The Wall Falls Down: The True Face of Bolshevism*.⁸³

As library resources for those operations, the special collections of the Ostbücherei were also moved to Ratibor. One ERR report from Berlin suggests that some 106 crates of books from France were destroyed in a bombing raid on Berlin on the night of 3-4 September 1943, but there is no indication that any volumes of the Turgenev Library were lost.⁸⁴ Books found in Berlin after the war suggest that some were left behind. Obviously, the ERR did not need *Anna Karenina* and all of the prerevolutionary belle-lettres for anti-Bolshevik research, so possibly some of those remained in Berlin.

The Ostbücherei, headed by Haupteinsatzführer Dr. Harry Thomson, was organized in several different buildings in the city of Ratibor. Castles and other sites in the surrounding area were used for storage and offices for different ERR units. By February 1944 the holdings from the Turgenev Library (assigned library call numbers starting with

Collections from Germany in 1946, Amsterdam, 15 and 16 April 1996 (Amsterdam, 1997), especially pp. 52–60. Aside from its location on the Oder for river transport, Ratibor was on the main rail line Berlin-Breslau-Oderberg-Vienna, and could be easily reached from the Berlin-Breslau-Kattowitz-Cracow line.

⁸¹ Wunder earlier headed the DBFU section on Judaism and Freemasonry and then headed one of the ERR sections in Berlin. See his list of confiscated libraries in Paris (fn. 70). Available postwar biographic data (and list of writings) for Gerhard Wunder (1908–1988) completely omit his work with the ERR during the Nazi period. Mention is made that during the war he served with the infantry in Belgium and France, and then Russia, where he was subsequently involved with “a party office for research regarding Communism in the Soviet Union, in Riga, Berlin, and Ratibor.” Before he was involved with the ERR, Wunder taught for several years in Chile (1933–1934), and starting in 1935, directed the Düsseldorf Public Library (Düsseldorfer Volksbücherei). After the war he was a gymnasium professor in Schwäbisch Hall and active in the Commission for Regional Studies in Baden and Württemberg. His postwar writings (issued under the name Gerd Wunder) were primarily in the field of local history and genealogy with emphasis on the medieval and early modern period. Later biograms understandably mention no details about his wartime ERR activities. See Dieter Wunder, “Gerd Wunder,” in *Festschrift für Gerd Wunder, =Württembergisch Franken. Jahrbuch* 58 (Schwabisch Hall: Historischer Verein für Württembergisch Franken, 1974: 7–13, and Edith Ennen, “Sehr verehrter, lieber Herr Wunder! (Laudatio Gerd Wunder),” *Württembergisch Franken. Jahrbuch* 67 (Schwabisch Hall, 1983), pp. 3–9.

⁸² Waldenburg memorandum (22 February 1944), TsDAVO, 3676/2/23, fol. 12.

⁸³ The typescript and proof copies of Wunder’s book *Die Mauer Fällt: Das Wahre Gesicht des Bolschewismus*, being published in Munich by “Zentralverlag der NSDAP Franz Eher Nachf.,” are among the ERR records in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde, BAB, NS 30, files nos. 108–114. No record has been found that the book was actually published before the end of the war.

⁸⁴ See the ERR report preserved in TsDAVO, 3676/1/17. This loss is reported (but not documented) in the paper presented by Nikolai Nikandrov (of the Russian Ministry of Culture), “‘Voennaia sud’ba’ Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki v Parizhe,” or in English translation, “‘Military Fate’ of the Turgenev Library in Paris,” published with the proceedings of the VGBIL conference, “Mapping Europe: Fate of European Cultural Valuables in the Third Millennium” (April 2000— <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf>). Many documents about the Ostbücherei move to Ratibor are preserved in TsDAVO, 3676/1/17, and others are in BAB, NS 30 and CDJC. In October, Wunder was still concerned that it was too early to bring all of the Ostbücherei to Ratibor, as some was still needed in Berlin—(27 October 1943), TsDAVO, 3676/1/17, fols. 97–98.

“M”), along with those from the Petliura Library, some smaller émigré collections (call numbers starting with SO a–z), and holdings from the Soviet book dealer in Brussels (OBLA), were all listed as part of what was designated as the separate component Collection of the Sonderstab Osten from Paris. This special collection had reportedly arrived in Ratibor intact, totalling approximately 1,000–1,200 crates (300,000 volumes), whereas some of the other collections had been split up in transit. Housed in the former Lagerplatz Synagogue (which had been burned out in 1938 on Kristallnacht) in the center of the city and adjoining buildings (Niedertorstrasse 3), the collection was considered one of the major components of the Ostbücherei.⁸⁵

At that time this “Western Collection” was kept together in two rooms in the Synagogue building because, according to one Nazi report, the ERR believed that they did not have the same degree of proprietary rights to these émigré collections as they did for the Jewish and other “abandoned” or “heirless” library materials confiscated.⁸⁶ They were considering the possibility of moving some of the less used books from the Turgenev Library to a suburban repository in a former cigar factory in Paulsgrund, but there is no indication that was ever carried out. By mid-December 1944 the “Holdings from the Sonderstab Osten” are still listed at Niedertorstrasse. That same building also housed many other Russian-language collections and what was designated as the “White Ruthenian (i.e., Belarusian) Library, along with 380 crates from Mogilev, parts of the Radziwill Library (also from Belarus),” and looted portions of the Communist Party Archive from Dnipropetrovsk Oblast.⁸⁷ These were only a small part of an estimated close to two million volumes that the ERR had amassed in Ratibor and its vicinity by the end of 1944. Their main periodical holdings (with many from Belarus libraries) were located in one of the administrative buildings of the elegant castle of Pless (*now Polish Pszyczna*), 70 km. east of Ratibor, which also housed four or five freight wagon loads from the prized Communist Party Archive from Smolensk that was moved there from Vilnius in the summer of 1944.⁸⁸

In November 1944 the director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Ukrainischer Wissenschaftlichen Institut/ Ukraïns'kyi naukovi instytut) in Berlin, Professor Ivan Mirtschuk [Mirchuk], visited Ratibor to present a lecture. An ERR report about this visit noted his interest in both the Petliura and the Turgenev Libraries. He was informed that there was also considerable interest from other agencies in those collections, but that the ERR needed them and intended to keep them in Ratibor. “Perhaps he might be able to inspect the duplicates.”⁸⁹

⁸⁵ The Turgenev Library in Ratibor is specifically mentioned in several ERR reports: see, for example (Ratibor, 8 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, fol. 252–252v, where it is the first item mentioned among those from the Sonderstab Westen from Paris—“Turgenjeff-Bücherei, Signatur M” (Ratibor, 14 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, fol. 247. See also Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library,” pp. 189–91.

⁸⁶ One of the ERR reports: (Ratibor, 8 February 1944), elaborates on this point: BAB, NS 30/22, fol. 252v.

⁸⁷ Report of Herbert Lommatzsch, “Aufstellung über Bestände, nach Lagerplätzen geordnet” (13 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50. There is a note that one crate from the Petliura Library with a life-sized Ukrainian in uniform (undoubtedly from the library museum), was held in the cellar of the ERR Headquarters in the Franciscan Monastery (Sudetenstrasse 27). It is important to note these other materials from Belarus, because apparently the Turgenev Library (or at least a major part of it) remained with these Belarusian collections when they were recovered by Soviet authorities (see below). The only books then listed as being held in Paulsgrund were collections from Minsk.

⁸⁸ See Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive,”* pp. 42–48.

⁸⁹ ERR report of 29 November 1944, BAB, NS 30/57; the German spelling of Mirtschuk is also used on his calling card among Wunder’s papers. See also the report on the Petliura Library of 1 December 1944, BAB, NS 30/53, fols. 234–235.

Most likely, at least some of the Russian émigré archival materials the ERR had confiscated from Paris, including the records of the Turgenev Library itself, were held in Ratibor as well, but these are not mentioned in extant ERR reports. A folder has recently surfaced among the YIVO archives in New York City that contains one- to two-page summary descriptions of 28 personal libraries (many with archival materials), which the ERR had confiscated from prominent Jews in Paris. The reports were prepared in Ratibor between April and November 1944, except for five of them that had been prepared in Berlin in 1942.⁹⁰ All the names involved appear on the Nazi Paris confiscation lists mentioned above that also include the Turgenev Library.⁹¹ Although these Jewish materials were processed by a different ERR unit from the Ostbücherei and anti-Bolshevik research operation, the reports confirm the extensive holdings of Nazi-looted French collections in Ratibor, which at the end of the war were to fall into Soviet hands together with the Turgenev Library. They explain why Shiperovich and others found so many French books in Kattowitz (*now Polish Katowice*) and other places in Silesia after the war.

Reports of the Ratibor operation from as late as January 1945 confirm that the ERR did not have sufficient rolling stock to evacuate many of their Ratibor holdings to the West when the Nazis retreated. The ERR-targeted evacuation sites in the Bamberg/Staffelstein area of northern Bavaria were later taken over by the U.S. Army, including the Castle/Monastery of Banz.⁹² Among the archival materials saved to Banz/Staffelstein were the working files from Ratibor of Gerhard Wunder, who himself was in Banz by early February, including the page proofs of his own 1944 monograph on the Bolshevik conspiracy and many of his office papers. These were recovered after the war by the U.S. Army with the other ERR materials in the Banz area, and are now held among the ERR records in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde.⁹³ The evacuated ERR books and some of the archival materials found in those sites were taken to the Offenbach Archival Depot, the U.S. library restitution center near Frankfurt, for return to their countries of origin. But no books from the Turgenev Library were noted in Staffelstein or Castle Banz. Nor is the Turgenev Library book stamp found in the Offenbach albums of book markings used for sorting the three million books that were processed for restitution there between 1946 and 1949.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G-223, a file from the records of the ERR Stabsführung IV5, most of the 28 library descriptions were dated in 1944 in Ratibor, except for five prepared in Berlin. Cf. the reference to “28 smaller collections” from Paris in one of the earlier ERR reports (fn. 69).

⁹¹ See fns. 70 and 71.

⁹² The ERR evacuation sites were headquartered in the nearby town of Lichterfels at Schloss Banz, owned by Baron Kurt von Behr, who had directed ERR operations in Paris; they also included parts of the former Benedictine Abbey (or Convent—Kloster Banz), near Staffelstein, and another building within Staffelstein itself. Regarding U.S. Army recovery of ERR materials there, after the suicide of von Behr and his wife, see Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive*, pp. 52–53.

⁹³ Many of Wunder’s office files are among the Bundesarchiv ERR record group in Berlin-Lichterfelde, BAB, NS 30, e.g. file numbers 47–50, 107–117, 144, 145. Reportedly some of his papers were turned over to the family after the return of the ERR records to Germany from the United States. See the U.S. Army report on the removal of ERR materials from Staffelstein and Castle Banz (8 December 1945), BAK, B 323/550.

⁹⁴ A few materials known to have been in the Ratibor area did reach Offenbach, as we know that is where U.S. intelligence authorities found and seized the over 500 files from the Smolensk Communist Party Archive that remained in the U.S. National Archives in Washington until their return to Russia in December 2002. For more details of those operations, see Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive.”* Offenbach files within the OMGUS records in US NACP, RG 260 examined have no indication of books from the Turgenev Library, and the library stamps are not to be found in preserved

Possibly the ERR did manage to ship some crates of books from the Turgenev Library back to Germany, but aside from the suggestions of Lopatinskii and Ehrenburg, we have no documentary confirmation. Alternatively, the book from the Turgenev Library that Boris Shiporovich found in Berlin could indicate that the ERR had left some books behind in Berlin (part of the Rosenberg headquarters remained there until close to the end of the war). That would explain why some stray volumes were found amidst the rubble of bombed-out buildings in Berlin after the war. It is less likely they would have tried to bring any books or papers back to Berlin itself in early 1945 when they were evacuating Ratibor, as was evident by Wunder's retreat to the Von Behr estate in the Banz-Staffelstein area.

Many of the ERR records now in Kyiv, some of which appear to be of Ratibor provenance, arrived in Kyiv in December 1945 from Dresden, together with some ERR-looted books and Western European archival materials, which were among other treasures found by Ukrainian trophy brigades. Ukrainian trophy shipments from Dresden at that time have been confirmed from other sources, but we still do not know where ERR books and records were actually recovered by Soviet authorities. The fate of the books received in Kyiv mentioned in the transfer document is also not known.⁹⁵

Fortunately, at the end of the war, the Nazis did not destroy the plundered archives and library materials they had collected. With the speed of the approaching Red Army during the winter of 1945 and the shortage of rolling stock, many of the materials in Ratibor and the surrounding region had to be abandoned nearby. If evacuation was not possible from Ratibor, ERR operations chief Utikal explained in late January 1945, they were preparing to burn the remaining Ratibor office files. An ERR agent "was prepared to destroy the materials there with gasoline and canisters readied for the task." Apparently they did succeed in evacuating or destroying most of their records. But they decided not to destroy the Ostbücherei, because they still hoped to evacuate it or return and resume using it if the war situation changed. If that was impossible, they reported (and probably assumed), the abandoned books would be "captured by the Bolsheviks."⁹⁶ No later Nazis accounts have been found clarifying the extent to which they were able to evacuate their Ratibor loot or indicating where they abandoned it, but if the ERR was trying to move the books by rail and eventually to the West or elsewhere, the closest major railroad junction with a direct rail line from Ratibor would have been the Kattowitz region.

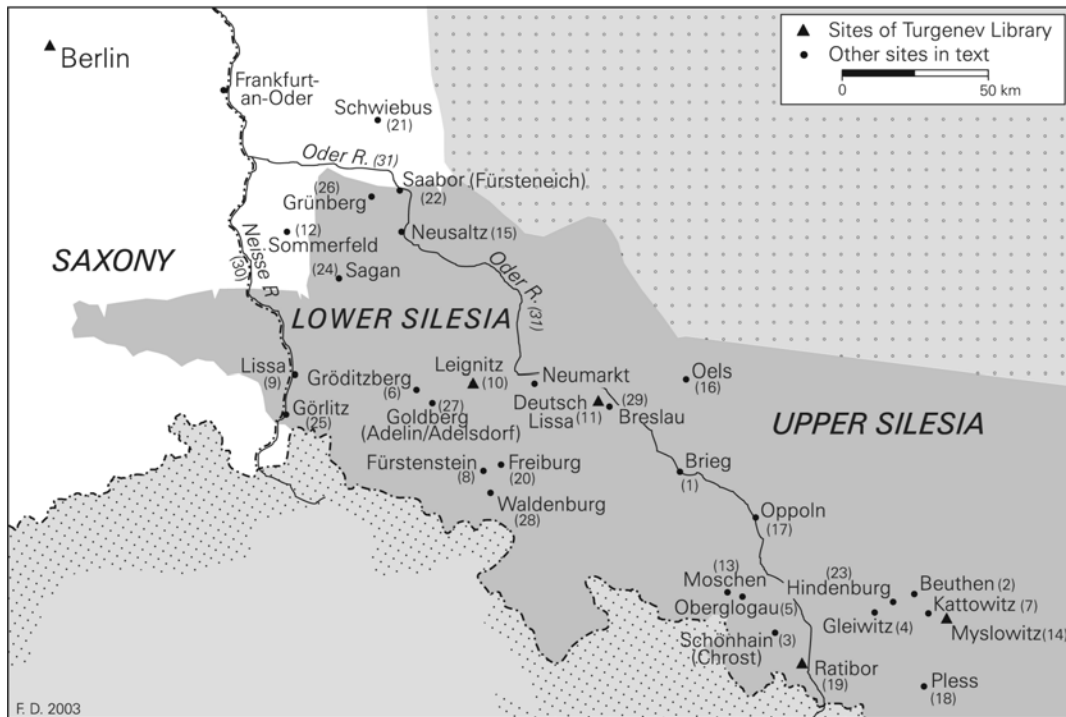
albums of book stamps found in Offenbach in US NACP, Still Pictures, RG 260-LM—"Library Markings from Looted Books, Made at the Offenbach Archival Depot." Books stamps from former Soviet lands in the Offenbach albums are reproduced in the CD-ROM edition produced by the National Archives, *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an Introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, with a Foreword by Michael J. Kurtz (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001).

⁹⁵ Many of the ERR records now in Kyiv (TsDAVO, fond 3676) appear to have been of provenance either in Berlin or in Ratibor. The files now constituting the first inventory (*opys* 1), transferred to the Central State Historical Archive (TsDIA URSR) in December 1945, were received from Dresden, according to the official transfer document from the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the Ukrainian SSR (12 December 1945), TsDAVO, 4703/2/3, fol. 1. See Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, ch. 8, and my forthcoming article about the ERR and its Ratibor operations.

⁹⁶ ERR Stabsführer Gerhard Utikal to Rosenberg, "Aktenvermerk für den Reichsleiter—"Dienstgut in Oberschlesien" (25 January 1945), BAB, NS 8/261; the text is published in Ulrike Hartung, *Verschlept und verschollen: Eine Dokumentation deutscher, sowjetischer und amerikanischer Akten zum NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion (1941–1948)* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), pp. 204–205 (doc. I/87). This policy is apparent from Nazi procedures in many areas and by different agencies involved with captured archives.

Part II: Postwar Fate in Soviet Hands

SILESIA AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II (1945)



Key for Silesian map

Silesian Sites (mentioned in text)

Polish	German	Polish	German
(1) Brzeg	Brieg	(18) Pszyczna	Pless
(2) Bytom	Beuthen	(19) Racibórz	Ratibor
(3) Chrosty	Schönhain (Chrost)	(20) Świebodzice	Freiburg
(4) Gliwice	Gleiwitz	(21) Świebodzin	Schwiebus
(5) Głogówek	Oberglogau	(22) Zabór	Saabor (Fürsteneich)
(6) Grodziec	Gröditzberg	(23) Zabrze	Hindenburg
(7) Katowice	Kattowitz	(24) Żagań	Sagan
(8) Książ	Fürstenstein	(25) Zgorzelec	Görlitz
(9) Lasów	Lissa	(26) Zielona Góra	Grünberg
(10) Legnica	Leignitz	(27) Złotoryja	Goldberg
(11) Leśnica	Deutsch Lissa	(Zagrodno)	(Adelin/Adelsdorf)
(12) Lubsko	Sommerfeld	(28) Wałbrzych	Waldenburg
(13) Moszna	Moschen	(29) Wrocław	Breslau
(14) Mysłowice	Myslowitz		
(15) Nowa Sól	Neusaltz	(30) Nysa	Neisse
(16) Oleśnica	Oels	(31) Odra	Oder
(17) Opole	Oppoln		

5. Silesian Sojourns and Book Transports to Moscow

The books from the Turgenev Library abandoned by the ERR in the Ratibor area were indeed captured by Soviet authorities after the war, many of them not far away near Kattowitz (*now Polish* Katowice). Newly opened Soviet documentation tells us more about the postwar fate of the millions of books the Nazis left behind. We can now piece together a better picture of the extensive Soviet cultural trophy operations in Silesia, along with the retrieval of books the Nazis had looted from Soviet libraries. This provides the context for the transport of the Turgenev Library to Moscow and Minsk and the happenstance of its wide dispersal. Although all the surviving documentation is not yet openly available, it is becoming increasingly clear that what we have learned of the fate of the Turgenev Library in that context is but a microcosm—a prelude to a much larger story yet to be told.

Most significantly for our immediate story, the Turgenev Library appears as “no. 31” at the end of a report (published recently in German translation) briefly describing library collections captured in the spring of 1946 by a Soviet trophy library brigade. According to that summary, a Red Army unit found the Turgenev Library among 4,000–5,000 crates of books that, “already in early 1945 were collected in Masłowice (in the Cyrillic original, Maslovitsa [sic])” and “placed under guard of the Fourth Ukrainian Front.”⁹⁷ Undoubtedly the reference should be to “Mysłowitz” (then still German; *now Polish* Mysłowice), a city a few kilometers to the east of Kattowitz, now an industrial suburb and a major railroad junction for East-West transport.⁹⁸ Most of the other crates were from Belarus and reportedly some from Latvia, although there were additional books from Paris among them. Transport of the Turgenev Library to Moscow was considered secret, especially when French and American authorities had official claims pending for its return to Paris. And it would not have been politic to record the extent of plunder from Silesian castles after that territory had already been turned over to Poland.

The spring 1946 report is not signed but subsequent library reports in the same folder are all signed by Margarita Rudomino, director of the All-Union Library for Foreign Literature in Moscow (VGBIL, now named in her honor), who headed the library group in a Soviet trophy brigade sent to Germany by the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions under the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR (May

⁹⁷ The brief report on the Turgenev Library is no. 31 “Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha),” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul’tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda,” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137–137v (original ribbon copy, fols. 131–138; cc in A-534/2/10, fol. 182–182v); a carbon copy covering the libraries through no. 29 (without coverage of the Turgenev Library) follows, A-534/2/1, fols. 139–144v. A facsimile of the coverage of the Turgenev Library with an English translation appears in Appendix III. A German translation of the entire document is published in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. no. 20, pp. 127–43 (Turgenev Library, p. 141). One of the GA RF copies was extracted in the recent article by Nikolai Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Ekho planety*, 2000, no. 47, pp. 30–31. Nadezhda Ryzhak quotes a variant handwritten copy held by the RGB Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ, former *Spetskhran*).

⁹⁸ There is an isolated town named Masłowice [sic] about 100 km. north of Katowice, but there is no rail line nearby. Obviously neither the Germans in retreat nor the Red Army would have moved the thousands of book crates there. I appreciate the efforts of Wojciech Kowalski (law professor and restitution specialist in Katowice) to verify this point; he suggests that there were (and still are) many warehouses in Mysłowice appropriate for the storage of books. Other references below also make it clear that the spelling in the Russian report cited above was in error.

1945–October 1946).⁹⁹ Since her later reports incorporate large parts of the spring report (but not the Turgenev Library), we can hence assume that she was responsible for that report as well. Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, Director of the Scientific-Research Institute for Museum and Regional Studies (Moscow), headed the brigade.¹⁰⁰ The library group included Major Dmitrii Nikolaevich Chaishanskii, head of Acquisitions Division and later the Museum of the Book (Rare Book Division) of the Lenin Library (GBL).¹⁰¹ Major Elena Sergeevna Dorogutina, division head from the State Public Historical Library (GPIB), was also part of the library group for the first six months in Germany (to 15 November 1945). Museums represented in the brigade were the State Historical Museum, the State Polytechnic Museum, and the State Museum of Revolution.¹⁰² There is no indication, however, that Rudomino or other members of the Library Group visited Myslowitz. Elsewhere Rudomino reports that her group had visited libraries in seven cities in Poland in addition to 200 in 57 cities of Germany and 2 in Czechoslovakia.¹⁰³ The Manevskii/Rudomino group was being assisted and well supplied by the several trophy groups from the Red Army Trophy Command, but sometimes there were rivalries with other trophy hunters.

Since the segment quoted from the Rudomino report focuses on the Turgenev Library, and since Nazi reports give no indication that the ERR had any of the Turgenev Library books elsewhere, we can assume the thousands of crates of books referenced in Myslowitz (Masłowice) were from Ratibor. Some may have still been on their way to Ratibor. Besides, we can document extensive ERR shipments to Ratibor of books from Minsk and Riga (as well as Kyiv) in 1943 and early 1944, which would account for the massive quantities of books from Belarus and Latvia. We still do not know, however, if the Germans had moved all of the books from Ratibor, including the *Ostbücherei*, to the Myslowitz warehouses in the Kattowitz area, or if the Red Army found some of them in Ratibor or its environs and moved them to Kattowitz after the Red Army liberated the area in the winter and early spring of 1945.

Red Army scouts had found more of the ERR looted library materials in the Ratibor area. In March 1945 the Chief Political Command of the Red Army (GlavPU RKKA)

⁹⁹ Regarding Rudomino's participation, see her memoir account, Margarita I. Rudomino, *Moia biblioteka*, edited with commentary by Adrian V. Rudomino (Moscow: "Rudomino," 2000), pp. 189–21. Although considerable documentation is given for Rudomino's participation in the trophy library brigade, neither the Turgenev Library nor her visit to Silesia is mentioned. Her son Adrian Rudomino at my request kindly searched further in his mother's papers, but found no additional documentation.

¹⁰⁰ The subsequent library report (May–August 1947) is signed by Rudomino, GA RF, A-534/2/1, fols. 50–57 (cc fols. 58–66), as is the cumulative report (May 1945–August 1946, fols. 90–96 (cc fols. 97–101), but neither of those mention the Turgenev Library or other libraries in Silesia that were included in the spring 1946 report (fn. 97). Some of the larger reports that include German museums as well as libraries are signed by Manevskii.

¹⁰¹ A few papers of Dmitrii Nikolaevich Chaishanskii (1906–1957) are deposited in the Archive and the Museum of the History of RGB, but are still being worked over for potential publication purposes. None of the documents I was shown contained any relevant information (an *opis'* was not available); Nadezhda Ryzhak assured me she likewise found nothing there of relevance. According to notes by Maïia Dvorkina of an interview with Margarita Rudomino, two others from the Military Division of GBL (Division Head Lazebnii and Kartlin) were also part of the group, but their names do not appear on staff lists or in remaining documentation from the Manevskii/Rudomino brigade in GA RF, A-534, *op. 2*, especially file nos. 1–12.

¹⁰² A list of the staff of the brigade is found in GA RF, A-534/2/2, fol. 67, and 534/2/10, fol. 70, and copies on fols. 140 and 203; published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. nos. 10 and 11, pp. 57–60.

¹⁰³ For example, Rudomino's signed report "Kratkie itogi raboty," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 55 (cc fol. 51 and fol. 80), and another draft in A-534/2/2, fol. 48, and copies on fols. 140 and 203; published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. nos. 10 and 11, pp. 57–60.

reported to the Communist Party that a unit of the Fourth Ukrainian Front captured a German echelon at the Pless (*now Polish Pszczyna*) railroad station with an estimated ten to twelve freight wagonloads of books, journals, and a few museum exhibits that the ERR had plundered from the USSR. In this case, reports of the reconnaissance reached the CP Central Committee, undoubtedly because five or six wagonloads from the CP and Komsomol Archive from Smolensk were part of the echelon.¹⁰⁴ These would have been part of the collections that the ERR had housed in the castle of Pless (70 km. east of Ratibor), organized as a subsidiary of the Ratibor research and library center for their newspaper and serial collections, and, after its arrival at the end of the summer 1944, the Communist Party Archive from Smolensk.

According to ERR wartime reports, the Smolensk CP Archive, earlier held by the ERR in Vilnius (after German archivists directed by Wolfgang Mommsen had transferred it from Smolensk in the winter and spring of 1943), arrived in Silesia early in the fall of 1944 and was being held through December in the subsidiary ERR research center in Pless. We have confirmation that four or five wagonloads of the Smolensk CP Archive were returned to Smolensk in April or May of 1945 from the railroad junction of Dziedzice, 8 km. south of Pless.¹⁰⁵ While the journals, all from Belarusian libraries, were undoubtedly collected for the ERR serials facility in the castle of Pless, some of the “many valuable editions of foreign literature on various subjects” may have come from Ratibor itself. According to one of the CP reports (March 1945), the cache of an estimated 100,000 books and 80,000 volumes of serials were being shipped back to Minsk, with no indication that some of those materials were being moved to Myslowitz.¹⁰⁶ Minsk could have been an intermediary railroad stop for a transport to Smolensk, although conceivably, with lack of rolling stock and other problems, the Belarusian books and serials could have been moved to the Myslowitz warehouse, which was only about 35 km. north of Pless (with rail connection).

A July 1945 Red Army report confirms that books from the “Russian Turgenev Library in Paris” were found in the Myslowitz warehouse. By that time workers from the Political Command had apparently been sorting the crated books and were able to project “an estimated 1,200,000 volumes in Russian and foreign languages” from six named Soviet libraires in Mogilev, Pskov, and Riga, with “4,735 crates and 2,305 cardboard containers all packed in a warehouse in Myslowitz (Poland). Forty railroad wagons would be required for transport.” The seventh library listed as “owners of the Russian books”

¹⁰⁴ Report by the Deputy Chief of the Chief Political Command of the Red Army (GlavPU RKKA), I. V. Shikin to G. M. Malenkov, TsK VKP(b) (1 March 1945), RGASPI, 17/125/308, fols. 11–12; G. F. Aleksandrov and I. V. Shikin to G. M. Malenkov, TsK VKP(b) (1 March 1945), RGASPI, 17/125/308, fols. 14–17. Major excerpts from the original reports were published by Valerii Shepelev, “Sud’ba ‘Smolenskogo arkhiva’,” *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1991 (5): 135–36. See more background details in Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive,”* pp. 44–48. Most of the 580 crates of books were from the Library of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences and the Lenin Library in Minsk, while 100 crates contained library materials from the Baltic capitals and Pskov.

¹⁰⁵ A June 1945 report to Moscow from the Smolensk Party Archive notes three and a half freight cars from Dziedzice, and another letter in the same file (17 July 1945) mentions four freight-car loads that had been “taken to Germany” that were returned in April 1945—“Spravka o sostoianii partiinogo arkhiva Smolenskogo obkoma VKP(b)” (21 June 1945),” RGASPI, 71/6/119, fol. 119. See also the letter of 17 July 1945, fol. 115.

¹⁰⁶ RGASPI, 17/125/308, fols. 11–17. See also Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the “Smolensk Archive,”* pp. 44–48. Arrival documents in Minsk for the shipment have not yet been found. When I visited Pszczyna (Pless) in November 1999, the director of the castle museum postulated that the ERR center was probably based in the castle administrative building in the town (now a hospital) rather than in the impressive castle itself, but full documentation has not been found.

was none other than “the Russian Turgenev Library in Paris.”¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the full original text and contiguous army reports are not open for research, and evidently sections covering trophy books were omitted from the version published by the Russian State Library (RGB). (Because the Turgenev Library was a “Russian” library, Soviets did not count books with its stamps as “trophies”!) Most important from that report, we can now confirm that by mid-July 1945, the Political Command of the Red Army was already aware that books from the Turgenev Library were in Myslowitz.

That same July 1945 Red Army report also references other books confiscated by the Nazis that the ERR had presumably tried to evacuate from their Ratibor center and its subsidiaries. It confirms the “approximately 150,000 books and 100,000 journals found in Pless from the Belorussian SSR, Novgorod, Pskov, Vitebsk, Brest, and Pinsk.” It also mentions that 20,000 books from Belorussian libraries in Minsk were found 20 km. northwest of Ratibor in Schönhain (*now Polish* Chrosty). Much further west 32,500 books from Soviet repositories were found (including some from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Novgorod Historical Museum) on the estate of the former German ambassador to the USSR, Herbert von Dirksen—the palace and castle of Gröditzberg (*now Polish* Grodziec), near Goldberg (Zlotoryja), 30 km. west of Legnica. The estate had been a retreat for German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop during the war and, starting in 1943, an evacuation site for library and art treasures from Berlin and Breslau.¹⁰⁸ We have no indication that the books from Soviet libraries found there had been with the ERR in Ratibor. Yet Gröditzberg is within close range of another German library evacuation site near Goldberg where Polish scouts in October 1945 retrieved some major library collections. Those included books of priority value removed from the Ossolineum (by 1941 taken over by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR) and archival materials from other collections in Lviv; but those materials came to that evacuation site via Cracow, rather than Ratibor; 110 crates from the Polish Library in Paris recovered there had been in Bautzen, Saxony in 1944.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Fragments of the report by Major V. Pakhomov (of the Chief Political Command [GlavPU]), “O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii,” are published as doc. no. 169 in *Bibliotечноe delo v Rossii v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (iun' 1941–mai 1945)*, comp. A. L. Divnogortsev, ed. V. A. Fokeev et al. (Moscow: Izd-vo RGB “Pashkov dom,” 2000), pp. 274–75; the archival reference cited is TsAMO, fond 32 (Chief Political Command RKKA), *opis'* 11302/327, fols. 383–384v. Notably the fragments published deal only with the retrieval of books confiscated by the Nazis from Soviet libraries. The reference to the Turgenev Library from Paris is the only mention of non-Soviet plundered libraries. Divnogortsev assured me he did not have a copy of the complete original. The same document (with neither names nor date, and with a variant reference) as cited by Aleksandr M. Mazuritskii, *Knizhnye sobraniia Rossii i Germanii v kontekste restitutsionnykh protsessov: monografiia* (Moscow, 2000; Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet kul'tury), p. 72, led me to query Mazuritskii. Mazuritskii explained that he did not have access to TsAMO, but that he saw the document in RGB. My request to TsAMO for a copy of that specific document was not answered, but the acting director of the Archival Service of the Ministry of Defense, S. Kamenichenko (letter of 28 June 2002), claimed that “they have no documentation relating to the retrieval of libraries and archives.” Presently the records of fond 32 (RKKA Political Command [GlavPU]) and its Trophy Administration) are not open for research.

¹⁰⁸ Pakhomov, “O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii,” p. 275. The village of Schönhain has been located (with the pre-1936 German name of Chrost), but no further details about the recovery site are available nor its use by the ERR. Grodziec (west of Legnitz [*now Polish* Legnica]) is confirmed as the palace of former Ambassador von Dirksen—an Internet reference confirms the wartime evacuation site under the direction of Professor Günther Grundmann—the Baroque palace as a deposit for books and library materials from Breslau, and the castle for books from the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The article also mentions Soviet plunder in 1945: “Tajemnica ambasadora Dirksena (Tajemnica zamku w Grodźcu)”: http://www.turystyka.riders.pl/pl/miejsca_tajemnicze/index.php3?Action=1&nr=10.

¹⁰⁹ The shipment of about five freight cars, abandoned by Nazi authorities in February 1945, was found in a shed on an estate in Kswary Świerkowski in Zagrodno (*German*, Adelin or Adelsdorf), near

Available evidence points to Boris Shiperovich as the first to have found the Myslowitz site. Apparently he was then assigned to a Red Army military trophy library brigade under Lieutenant-General Andrei Okorokov and Marshal Konstantin Rokossovskii. His 1971 bibliophile memoir (mentioned earlier) attested to “hundreds and thousands” of German crates he discovered in a vast Kattowitz warehouse in May 1945, containing French books along with many looted by the Nazis from Belarus libraries. That discovery took place soon after he had found some books from the Turgenev Library in an army rest and rehabilitation center located in a castle near Breslau (*now Polish Wrocław*). Rudomino’s report suggests the books from the Turgenev Library were found “early in 1945,” but Soviet forces had not secured the area before March. If we can believe Shiperovich’s memoir, he gives no suggestion that the Red Army had found the warehouses earlier or arranged the crates of books in the elaborate labyrinth he described. He claims to have informed Marshal Rokossovskii and visited the site twice with Lieutenant-General Andrei Okorokov. The Rudomino report confirms Okorokov as the Red Army general in charge of the Myslowitz site.¹¹⁰

Shiperovich’s involvement with the Myslowitz warehouses is further confirmed by his unpublished letters from the front in 1945 to his friend Anatolii Tarasenkov in Moscow. Although, since he was writing under military censorship, he gave no location details. The conjunction of these sources and his knowledge of and involvement with books gives further credence that Shiperovich was indeed the one to have found and identified the books from the Turgenev Library in Silesia after the Nazis retreat. He probably did not realize how many Turgenev books were there amidst the thousands of crates or whence they came, and he could not have known about their migration in Nazi hands. In one of his letters he mentions “book collections taken from various places by the Nazis.” He regrets that he discovered the books too late because, as he explained to his friend, “many materials had already been looted, including poetry and manuscripts.” He was able to rescue and load “two cars with foreign books, including books from the library of the Rothschilds.” Subsequently, “in further searching and excavation” among the crates of books in the warehouse, he and his colleagues found “the library of the Duke of Orleans and other important people who knew how to love books.” In the same letter, Shiperovich also mentioned sending a few interesting books to Tarasenkov by various couriers.¹¹¹

Złotoryja (*German, Goldberg*), 80 km. west of Wrocław—as described in a 25 October 1945 report by Dr. Bohdan Horodyski of the Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw). The head of the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Narodowa kindly showed me a copy of the report and inventory in 1989. Most of the other Polish collections in that cache had been evacuated from Cracow in January 1945, including many earlier (spring 1944) evacuated to Cracow from the Ossolineum and other Ukrainian Academy of Sciences sources in Lviv. This would have been only a few kilometres from the von Dirksen estate.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Shiperovich, “Spasenie knig,” *Al'manakh bibliofila*, 1973, pp. 60–62 (see above, fns. 56–58), and “Turgenevskaia biblioteka v Lignits.” Shiperovich names the city of Kattowitz rather than the neighboring town of Myslowitz, but then he was writing for a mass audience and in Soviet style was not providing any precise details.

¹¹¹ Shiperovich’s letters to Tarasenkov during the period February 1945 through 1947 confirm that he was there in the Army and actively involved with the displaced books—RGALI, fond 2587 (Anatolii Kuz'mich Tarasenkov papers)/1/760. The quotes here are from an undated letter [1945] with no army postal number (that may be filed out of sequence), fols. 79–82. Reference to “the library of the Duke of Orleans” is not clear, but it may have been a manner of confirming books from France; the ERR had also seized many books from different members of the Rothschild family in Paris, some of which came from distinguished French collections. Obviously since Shiperovich’s mail was going through military censor, specific references to where he was and what he was doing were prohibited. Not all of Shiperovich’s letters are dated, but the earlier letters in the series, dating from February and March of 1945, indicate his military field postal no. 25360-K. According to other letters, late in the spring of 1945, Shiperovich was

Apparently, most of the books from the Turgenev Library were in fact together for the last time in that Myslowitz (Kattowitz) warehouse. How many were there originally, or when they all arrived, we still cannot determine. But there is no question that was where their more serious dispersal began. According to the Rudomino report (which varies slightly, but still confirms comments in Shiperovich's letter), after the "guard was removed in July, the books, especially those in Russian, were subjected to looting—people took what they wanted." However, the report continues,

When the Political Command of the Northern Group under General Okorokov heard about the situation, a brigade of fifteen men was ordered in and worked for two and a half months sorting the books. They separated out the Russian-language books from the Turgenev Library, which turned out to be predominantly Soviet publications.¹¹²

Since most of the other books in the warehouse had been looted by the Nazis from Belarusian libraries, "the remaining literature was shipped to the USSR, addressed to the Public Library of the Belarusian SSR." "Most probably," as the spring 1946 Rudomino report concluded, "many books from the Turgenev Library were in that echelon sent to Minsk from Myslowitz."¹¹³ One of Shiperovich's letters (presumably from the same site) mentions that "57 wagons were steaming away to Minsk."¹¹⁴ A Belarus library director confirmed that a shipment "reached Minsk by train in the autumn of 1945—totaling 54 freight cars carrying about one million books."¹¹⁵

Rudomino does not mention an echelon from Myslowitz in any of her other retrospective reports, suggesting her group was not directly involved. In a communication confirming Manevskii's request (22 October 1945) to military authorities for freight cars to transport materials from various trophy warehouses, however, Myslowitz (Maslovitsy [sic]) is listed as the third site, with indication that "50 wagons" were being designated. From all four trophy bases indicated, they "were planning to send approximately three million books."¹¹⁶ That is ten freight wagons more for Myslowitz and one million more

involved in an accident injuring his legs to the extent he was hospitalized and could not walk ([n.d.], army field post 61430-K), fol. 85; by the end of June (17 June 1945; field post 61430-K), he was "out of the hospital and walking without a cane" presumably in a rest home "on the shore of the Baltic," fols. 86–87. (Regarding my unsuccessful attempt to confirm Shiperovich's military role through inquiry to TsAMO, see fn. 60.)

¹¹² "Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol'sha)," in "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh," fol. 137/182.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Shiperovich to Tarasenkov, undated letter [1945], RGALI, fond 2587/1/760, fol. 80. In another undated letter with "New Year's Greetings," Shiperovich mentions finding two crates of contemporary English literature, although he "had not been able to get them, so they went to Minsk," fol. 84.

¹¹⁵ From a letter by the National Library director Galina N. Oleinik to Frits J. Hoogewoud (June 1993), quoted by Hoogewoud in "Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)," in *The Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 72–73. Oleinik did not indicate any more details about the shipment or its point of origin, but further investigation is needed in Minsk. Hoogewoud kindly showed me the original letter. The small divergence in the number of wagons could have resulted from reloading for the wider gauge rails at the Soviet border in Brest.

¹¹⁶ L. Chekin to A. D. Manevskii (n.d. [October 1945]), GA RF, A-534/2/7, fol. 200. Other designated sites with trophy warehouses listed were (a) Berlin (50 wagons), (b) Dresden (10 wagons), and (d) Breslau, Sagan, and Schiebus (30 wagons). In another communication from T. Zuev to Maj. Gen. Zernov (17 October 1944), they had requested 120 "closed wagons" and an "airplane for two-three flights for the immediate transport of the most valuable unique items" (fol. 201). We have ample proof that several airplane loads of rare books were sent from Berlin in October 1945, including the Gutenberg Bible.

books to be transported than had been mentioned in the published fragments from the July 1945 Red Army report.

According to the July 1945 Red Army report cited above, “during the period of active warfare of the Red Army in German territory, two groups of library workers were sent with the assignment to protect and put under guard all of the most valuable book collections and libraries [...] taken from the USSR and other countries [...]”¹¹⁷

Shiperovich was probably serving in one of those library brigades under the Red Army Chief Political Command (GlavPU RKKKA), although confirmation of his post is not available.

In any case, Shiperovich was neither the first bibliophile nor the only Soviet cultural trophy scout in the Kattowitz region, and the Turgenev Library books were only a small part of the trophies transferred to Moscow. Two months before his May visit, a Soviet trophy brigade from the Committee on Arts (predecessor of the Ministry of Culture) arrived in Silesia in early March 1945, on the heels of the “liberation” of the area by the Red Army. Led by Colonel Boris Filippov, director of the Moscow Art Theater, the brigade included the art historians Major Andrei Chegodaev from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Major Sergei Grigor'ev from the Commission on the Registration and Preservation of Monuments, Major Natal'ia Sokolova a curator in the Museum of Western European Art, and Major E. A. Sushchenko from the State Symphony Orchestra. The brigade was attached to the First Ukrainian Front; its mission was to check out castles and other repositories for cultural treasures that could be transported to the Soviet Union before the civilian administration in Upper Silesia was handed over to the Poles at the end of March. First assigned to the industrial city of Beuthen (*now Polish Bytom*), 14 km. north of Kattowitz, the brigade was attached to the Trophy Administration under Maksim Saburov, who earlier headed Gosplan, where he represented Stalin's Special Committee on Reparations. The brigade found representatives of many Soviet ministries at work disassembling German factories for transport to the USSR.¹¹⁸

By March 3 their looting operations for cultural treasures was moved to Gleiwitz (*now Polish Gliwice*), about 20 km. further west of Kattowitz. They organized a collecting point for books in the Gleiwitz Public Library, which itself yielded some treasures; according to Filippov's diary the operation was run by SMERSH. They packed “carpets and chandeliers, filling crates with all kinds of things from nearby castles,” including “furniture, paintings, sculptures [...], porcelain, concert pianos [...], and of course books.” One of the sources mentioned for musical instruments was a castle in Hindenburg (*now Polish Zabrze*), between Beuten and Gleiwitz.¹¹⁹ They also looted castles further afield, including (at the end of March) the castle of Crown Prince Wilhelm in Oels (*now Polish Oleśnica*), 30 km. northeast of Breslau.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Pakhomov, “O bibliotekakh, obnaruzhennykh voiskami Krasnoi Armii,” p. 274.

¹¹⁸ Stalin's top-secret order establishing the Committee had just been signed (25 February 1945), headed by Marshal Georgii Zhukov in the field and Grigorii Malenkov on the home front, as reproduced by Pavel Knyshevskii, *Dobycha: Tainy germanskikh reparatsii* (Moscow: “Soratnik,” 1994), pp. 10–11. Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov with Sylvia Hochfield, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995), devote a chapter to the operations of the Filippov brigade in Silesia (pp. 105–11) with several quotes from the Filippov diary in RGALI, fond 3002/1/3 and 4. Kozlov is now preparing extracts of the diary for publication and kindly shared his findings with me.

¹¹⁹ Akinsha and Kozlov, *Beautiful Loot*, pp. 106–109. The quotation is from a manuscript memoir of Natal'ia Sokolova.

¹²⁰ Their art loot from Oels (135 km. northwest of Beuthen) is referenced in one of the brigade transfer receipts (“Akt,” 31 March 1945), preserved in RGALI, fond 962 (Vsesoiuznyi komitet po delam

By the second half of April they were working in castles several hundred kilometers further northwest in the region of Grünberg (*now Polish Zielona Góra*). Raids by the Filippov group in that area of Silesia included Schloss Sommerfeld (*now Polish Lubsko*, 45 km. southwest of Grünberg) and Schloss Saabor in Fürsteneich (*now Polish Zabór*, 15 km. east of Grünberg]). In the latter case, with limited rolling stock available, they took only 33 crates of books (3,106 books), along with furniture and other art treasures. They left 40,000 books from the castle library and 420 crates from the Prussian State Library stored there, in addition to furniture, under control of the Military Commandant in Grünberg. We now know that many of those books were later sent to the USSR, but reportedly some of the books from Berlin were returned to Germany in 1965.¹²¹ One of their last stops for treasures of art and furniture in Silesia at the end of April was the impressive Schloss Moschen (*now Polish Moszna*), 30 km. south southwest of Oppoln (*now Polish Opole*), owned by the German industrialist family of the Counts von Tiele-Winckler. Among the loot taken there were 840 books on art history.¹²²

Chegodav was not impressed with the quality of art found in Silesia, but he recalled that in “deserted villas and castles he found [...] ‘books thrown on the floor; nobody needed them. I exported to the [Pushkin] Museum 40,000 art books, and after forty-five years these books still make up a third of the museum’s library.’”¹²³ Although furniture, musical instruments, and *objets d’art* made up the bulk of transports by the Filippov brigade, many crates of books appear on the shipping lists for the transports destined for Moscow. Available documents suggest there were several shipments with cultural property from Beuthen and Gleiwitz between early April and the beginning of May 1945, although documentation is incomplete. The contents of one major military transport from Gleiwitz in May with three echelons (military train no. 177/3349 [and/or 177/3339]) were received by the Museum of Contemporary Western Art in July 1945, and there is also mention of an initial echelon with 110 crates sent earlier from Beuthen at the

iskusstv), *opis’ 6*, ed. kh. 1207, fol. 2 (see also fol. 3). Schloss Oels is described and pictured in Helmut Sieber, “Oels,” *Schlösser in Schlesien* (Frankfurt, 1971), pp. 85–87 (with illustration), with mention that it served as a Soviet military base before it was given over to the Poles in 1945. See more details with images of the castle at <http://www.olesinica.net/zamek.htm>.

¹²¹ A signed receipt remains for loot from the castle of Sommerfeld (24 April 1945), RGALI, 962/6/1207, fol. 16. The receipt from the castle of Fürsteneich (*Polish Zabór*) is also preserved (25 April 1945), RGALI, 962/6/1207, fol. 14. A picture of the Fürsteneich castle and confirmation of its use as a depository for the Prussian State Library is found in Gudrun Voigt, *Die kriegsbedingte Auslagerung von Beständen der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek und ihre Rückführung: Eine historische Skizze auf der Grundlage von Archivmaterialien* (Hannover: Laurentius, 1995; “Kleine historische Reihe,” vol. 8), p. 122, who notes that some of those books were returned to Germany in 1965. Soviet plundering of Schloss Saabor in 1945 is confirmed by Sieber, “Saabor,” *Schlösser in Schlesien*, pp. 180–81 (with a picture of the castle). See below regarding the fate of the books and furniture left with the Commandant in Grünberg (fn. 128).

¹²² The receipt of “treasures from the castle of Count Tiele-Winckler in Moshen” is dated 29 April 1945, RGALI, 962/6/1207, f. 15. The castle is now a psychiatric hospital but is also used for concerts. See a description with images at <http://www.moszna-zamek.pl/html/frame.html>, <http://www.daewoo.com.pl/~dflaszyn/pictures/moszna1.htm#x>, and additional historic notes at <http://www.gornyslask.pl/szuflada/ludzie/moszna.htm>. There is another castle of the Von Tiele-Winckler family just outside of Beuthen in the town of Miechowitz (*now Polish Miechowice*) which was left in ruins by Soviet forces in 1945 (See a description with images: <http://www.gornyslask.pl/szuflada/architekura/>), but the name “Moschen” clearly corresponds to the Russian “Moshen” in the RGALI reference. Miechowitz (Miechowice) was probably plundered earlier, as it was the site of a major Soviet battle with the Armei Krajowa in January 1945.

¹²³ As quoted by Akinsha and Kozlov, *Beautiful Loot*, p. 111, p.106. The quotation is from an interview with Andrei Chegodav.

end of March.¹²⁴ Their book contents, as confirmed by inventories now publicly accessible in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), included belles-lettres, history, and music, as well as art books, but with no mention of their source nor any indication that any had been collected by the ERR in Ratibor and Pless.¹²⁵ Although Filippov himself visited Ratibor, he did not report finding anything there. There is no indication that the Filippov brigade found any of the books looted from the ERR from Ratibor, which by then probably had already been moved to the Myslowitz warehouses found by Shiperovich. But then the Filippov brigade was not really looking for looted books, and may not have known the ERR had been based in Ratibor.¹²⁶ There were many other trophy brigades in Silesia, and many more scavengers.

Even before the Rudomino library group arrived in Berlin in early May (in time for victory celebrations) at least one if not two library brigades were already operating in Silesia under the Red Army Trophy Administration, searching for choice collections to send home to the Soviet Union. Seizure documents from one of the military library brigades in Silesia in late April and early May have surfaced among the files of the Manevskii/Rudomino brigade, suggesting their close connection with the Moscow-staffed trophy library operation after Rudomino's library group arrived in Germany. On the heels of the Filippov cultural trophy hunters, the military library group took some of the books the Filippov brigade left behind and went to other castles and libraries the Filippov group had missed. For example, on 4-5 May 1945, Major G. S. Krasovskii visited the "castle of the Crown Prince" in Oels to arrange removal of the castle library "to be sent by the Chief Political Command of the Red Army."¹²⁷ Meanwhile, in Grünberg on 5 May, the Military Commandant issued a permit for Lieutenant B. G. Kucherenko to deal with books from the State Library in Berlin, the City Library, and "the castle of William II," to arrange for 500 crates of literature selected to be dispatched to the Trophy Administration, presumably the ones Filippov had left in his charge. Kucherenko (also identified as representing the CP Central Committee) was not interested in the furniture the Filippov brigade had left behind, deciding it was not worth transport.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ The only RGALI file found with documentation from the Filippov brigade (RGALI, 962/6/1207) has a small slip noting the 110 crates shipped from Beuthen (echelon I) with no military train number indicated (fol. 1a), in addition to extensive seizure reports, some rough inventories, and transfer documents for echelons II, III, and IV accompanied by Sushchenko (military transport no. 177/3349) from Gleiwitz. However, another list of received shipments in 1945 kindly shown to me by Grigorii Kozlov lists "20 pieces from Beuthen (through warehouse no. 128)," military transport 117/3339 from Gleiwitz (52 pieces), and then again transport 117/3339 together with 177/3349 with a total of 80 pieces as having been received by the Museum of Contemporary Western Art. Further research may clarify these matters.

¹²⁵ Inventories of trophy books found in the library of the Pushkin Museum of Arts (GMII) are preserved in RGALI, 962/6/1242, but the provenance of the books, date of accession, or castle from which they were seized is not indicated. Although numbered crates of books are listed in the shipping documents from Gleiwitz and Beuthen preserved in file 1207, it is also not clear in all cases from which castles they were seized. Some of the trophy books from GMII were later transferred to the Lenin Library (24 August 1946), RGB Archive, *op.* 25, *d.* 65, fols. 3-42.

¹²⁶ Ratibor is mentioned only in passing in Filippov's retrospective comments about his trip, as one of the cities he had visited, RGALI, 3002/1/4, fol. 46, a schematic city plan of Ratibor is also checked off on pages from a printed German regional map—3002/1/3, fol. 101. Apparently he found nothing worth reporting there.

¹²⁷ See the permit issued by the Military Commandant in Oels (4 and 5 May 1945), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fols. 42 and 43. Documentation of the Filippov brigade makes no mention of the seizure of books from Oels (see fn. 120).

¹²⁸ See the permit issued by the Military Commandant in Grünberg (5 May 1945), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 48. Cf. the reference to books and furniture left under the control of the Commandant in Grünberg by the Filippov brigade (fn. 121).

Lieutenant Kucherenko also worked on other sites in the region not visited by the Filippov brigade. For example, on 5 May he delivered five crates of trophy literature to the Military Commandant in Neusaltz (*now Polish Nowa Sól*, 30 km. southeast of Grünberg) to be sent to the Commissariat of Defense (NKO) Moscow warehouse no. 312. Three days later he and his group were issued a permit by the Military Commandant in Sagan (*now Polish Żagań*; 40 km. south of Grünberg) to send up to 25,000 books (300 crates) to the USSR, including some from the library of the castle of the Duke of Sagan, along with those selected from the City Library and books that had been evacuated from the Berlin Sanitary Administration.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, a few days before his mission in Oels, Major Krasovskii had found books from Breslau University Library in a village in the Neumarkt District (*now Polish Środa Śląska*; 30 km. east of Legnica), and on the day before (3 May 1945), further east, he selected 12,500 books from the castle of Oppersdorf-Radziwill in the town of Oberglogau (*now Polish Głogówek*; 60 km. west of Gleiwitz). Also in early May they delivered up to 10,000 trophy books from libraries of museums and the gymnasium in Brieg (*now Polish Brzeg*; 42 km. southeast of Breslau) to the Commandant of that city. Most of the permits issued to this group give NKO warehouse no. 312 in Moscow as the designated address for book shipments, which we will learn is the same number designated on one transfer document to the Lenin Library in October 1948 for 1,160 books (seven crates) from the Turgenev Library. Also of special note for later reference, on 28 April 1945, Lieutenant Krasovskii transferred 406 crates of literature (of undesignated provenance) to the Military Commandant in Legnica for safekeeping prior to their transport to the USSR.¹³⁰ Later in May the group was back on the Germany side of what was soon to become the new frontier, selecting books for the Manevskii/Rudomino brigade in Berlin.

Presumably, many of the books collected in Silesia by the Krasovskii and Kucherenko brigades and their group left for Moscow in the only 1945 shipment Rudomino noted from Poland, dispatched in September from Schwiebus (*now Polish Świebodzin*, 45 km. north of Grünberg [*now Polish Zielona Góra*]), approximately 70 km. east of Frankfurt-on-Oder. According to Rudomino's later report that shipment involved approximately 300,000 volumes "collected during the fighting by the 2nd Trophy Command of the 33rd Army." The shipment comprised books that had been "taken by the Germans from the Soviet Union and also trophy literature collected in Polish territory."¹³¹ In the October 1945 designation of freight cars for the transport of trophy literature from different sites, 30 wagons were designated for "Breslau, Sagan, and Schwiebus," but since transport documents are not available, we do not know how many were shipped from that point, or if any of the Turgenev Library books and other books looted by the Germans from Belarus found by Shiporovich in Deutsch Lissa (near Breslau) might have been

¹²⁹ See the permits issued by the Military Commandant in Neusaltz (4 May 1945), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 49, and in Sagan (7 May 1945), fol. 47. In the case of Neusaltz, the provenance of the books is not identified.

¹³⁰ See the permits issued by the Military Commandant in Neumarkt (29 April May 1945), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 45; Oberglogau (7 May 1945), fol. 47; and Brieg (May 1945), fol. 46 (in the latter case, the binding of the file has obscured the day of the month). The Legnica "akt" executed with Krasovskii (28 April 1945), fol. 50, was also signed by T. A. Baganov on behalf of the Legnica Military Commandant.

¹³¹ A summary report "Kratkie itogi raboty" (Berlin, September 1946), signed by Rudomino, references "an echelon in September 1945 . . . from Shibus [sic] addressed to the NKO (People's Commissariat of Defence) with (ca. 300,000 volumes)," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 57 (cc fol. 54). See the German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. no. 26, p. 164; the German translator used "Schwiebus bei Frankfurt-am-Oder." It is also mentioned in other variant reports in the same file, fol. 21 (cc fol. 60) and fol. 91.

included in that transport. We do know that Chaishanskii (from the Lenin Library) was involved with the dispatch of the echelon from Schwiebus, as the Chief of the Trophy Division of the 33rd Army requested at the end of August that he “be permitted to arrange transport of literature from Schwiebus/ Grabov addressed to the Committee on Culture.”

¹³² Rudomino’s son Adrian recalls his mother making a trip to Silesia in a small plane at the end of the summer of 1945, but the only other hint of her involvement was her mention of the Schwiebus echelon in her later report.¹³³

Although some of the Turgenev Library books went to Minsk in the fall of 1945 in the transport from Myslowitz, according to the Rudomino report, “60,000 Russian-language books from the Turgenev Library,” were transferred from Myslowitz to “the Officers’ Club in Legnica” (ca. 70 km. west of Wrocław), the Red Army headquarters for Silesia. Shiperovich also mentioned the transfer of some books from the Katowice warehouse to an unspecified officers’ club.¹³⁴ News reached Moscow soon afterwards, but apparently, Margarita Rudomino’s Library Group had not yet heard that the highly-prized Turgenev Library had been found.

In late January 1946, the Committee on Culture in Moscow telegraphed Manevskii and Rudomino in Berlin: “Turgenev Library, taken by Germans from Paris, located in Legnica in Polish Silesia.” Indicative of the importance Soviet authorities attached to the Turgenev Library, Manevskii and Rudomino were ordered “urgently to send a representative to clarify on the spot”! The several handwritten resolutions on the original copy of the telegram received in Berlin, including one (signed by Manevskii) ordering “Comrade Rudomino [to] ascertain the possibility of removal from Poland,” suggest that action was underway and that a coded reply was being sent to Moscow.¹³⁵

In a reply to the Committee on Culture, Rudomino confirmed that the “Paris Turgenev Library is held in the Officers’ Club in Leignits [sic.] Poland under the authority of the Chief of the Political Command of the Northern Military Group Lieutenant General Okorokov.” She further explained that Okorokov “categorically refused to [allow] General Bokov the transfer of the library to the USSR.” Hence, she recommended that it would be “desirable to send [*komandirovat*] a specialist from Moscow to determine the actual value of that library and decide with respect to its future disposition. Our going to Poland at the present time is not possible.”¹³⁶ There is no indication that Rudomino herself went to Legnica before March 9, when she requested travel orders to Poland for five days for

¹³² The authorization for Chaishanskii’s involvement (30 August 1945) comes in a communication from Colonel Abralov, Chief of the Trophy Division of the 33rd Army to the Chief of the 2nd Trophy Command (30 August 1945), GA RF, A-543/2/8, fol. 2, but Rudomino’s name was not mentioned. The reference to “Grabov” together with Schwiebus has not been determined.

¹³³ I am grateful to Adrian Rudomino for trying to find more documents and discussing these matters with me. The trip is not mentioned in any of Rudomino’s papers. Transport documents for the shipment from Schwiebus have not been found.

¹³⁴ “Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha),” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh,” fol. 137/182. Cf. Shiperovich, “Spasenie knig,” *Al’manakh bibliofila*, 1973, p. 62 (see above, fn. 56).

¹³⁵ The telegram from Morozov is addressed to Aleksei D. Manevskii and Margarita Rudomino (22 January 1946), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 218, with handwritten resolutions regarding their removal from Poland. The text of the telegram was published from the copy I found in GA RF by Ivan Tol’stoi in his report on the January 2001 Colloquium in Paris—“Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii: ‘Kul’tura v izgnanii, kul’tura izgnaniia’, Zametki uchastnika konferentsii,” *Russkaia mysl’* (Paris), no. 4350 (25–31 January 2001), pp. 1, 13. The original telegram is reproduced in facsimile in Appendix II (with an English translation).

¹³⁶ Rudomino’s handwritten reply is preserved in the same file together with the telegram, GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 216. No date is indicated although a “31” is crossed out, as is her indication that it was to sent in code. An English translation is presented in Appendix II.

herself and Dmitrii Chaishanskii to visit Lissa (by then *Polish* Lasów) and Legnica.¹³⁷ Although no further confirmation of her trip to Legnica has surfaced, the fact that she included the library in her spring 1946 report on libraries surveyed suggests that she had indeed been there. And the fact that she included Shiperovich in her report suggests the possibility that he was the Moscow-designated specialist assigned to sort out the Turgenev Library. He would have been in Moscow when her telegram was sent at the end of January, which is apparent from his correspondence with his friend Tarasenkov.

Rudomino emphasized her interest in the Lissa estate in her formal travel request (although Legnica was also listed), undoubtedly because the location of the Turgenev Library was still being kept secret. She explained that her group had found other parts of the German Book Exchange Collection in Saxony, and that was where she had learned that the French part had been evacuated to Lissa, then in Poland, 10 km. across the frontier near Görlitz (the part of the city on the Polish bank of the Neisse [*Polish* Nysa] River was then already known as Zgorzelec). On the Lissa estate, she explained, “there were 200,000 volumes purchased by the Germans in France for one million marks in 1943,” which would be of considerable interest to Soviet libraries.¹³⁸ In her retrospective report from late spring 1946 (the same report that included the Turgenev Library in Legnica), Rudomino wrote that the “Lissa” holdings contained

up to five wagonloads of French and English literature [...]. The estate had been occupied by Polish frontier guards, and the crates had been opened. Many of the books were in the courtyard, wet from rain; there was no guard; many of the books were destroyed, damaged, burned. By subject—new editions on literary criticism, diplomacy, history, belles-lettres, hard sciences; many complexes of scientific journals [...]. The books were being prepared for dispatch to the USSR.¹³⁹

Aside from Rudomino’s coverage of both the Lissa estate and the Turgenev Library in her spring report, no details about her visit to Poland with or without Chaishanskii have surfaced.

The Rudomino report estimated that “there were approximately 60,000 books from the Turgenev Library in Legnica.” And the report continued, the “cream” of the Turgenev Library that had been in the Officers’ Club in March 1946 was personally delivered by “Library Chief Major Shaporovich [sic]” to the Lenin State Library (GBL) in Moscow,

¹³⁷ Rudomino’s handwritten request for travel orders (*komandirovka*) (9 March 1946)—“Raport”—remains in two copies in GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 201 (a signed copy), and fol. 200 (an earlier draft). The Renaissance castle of Lissa (late 16th c.) on the Polish bank of the Neisse (Nysa) River about 10 km. north of Görlitz (*Polish* Zgorzelec) had been used by Polish frontier guards. The castle is described with a 1943 drawing in Günther Grundmann, *Burgen, Schlösser und Gutshäuser in Schlesien*, vol. 2: *Schlösser und Fest Häuser der Renaissance* (Würzburg: Verlag Weidlich, 1987; *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler im Östlichen Mitteleuropa*, Band 3). An official travel order for that trip is not preserved. It is not sure if Chaushanskii accompanied Rudomino on that trip, because his official travel orders to “Wernigerode, Merseberg, and other cities in Saxony” for 5–12 March 1946 (issued 4 March) and to Leipzig, Halle, and Jena, and other cities for 14 March–10 April (issued 12 March), are found in the same file, GA RF, A-534/2/8, fols. 13 and 14. A car was issued for Chaushanskii’s latter trip “to Dresden and cities of Saxony,” 14 March–10 April, as documented in fol. 146.

¹³⁸ As presented in Rudomino’s “Raport” for travel orders (9 March 1946), GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 201.

¹³⁹ The books on the Lasów estate are described in more detail in the Rudomino report, “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh,” GA RF, A-534/2/10—no. 22: “Imenie v Lissa (Pol’sha),” fol. 180–180v, and A-534/2/1, fol. 135–135v; as published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. 20, p. 137.

namely “various rare editions” from among the library’s “manuscripts, first editions, [and] autographed books by well-known authors.” Obviously the reference was to Major Boris Shiperovich, the bibliophile mentioned earlier, who was accompanying Generals Rokossovskii and Okorokov in trying to “rescue” displaced books in Silesia.¹⁴⁰ Major Shiperovich was specially ordered to Moscow for that transfer and “to discuss various questions about the further work on the Turgenev Library.”¹⁴¹ Confirming documentation about that transfer to the Lenin Library or Shiperovich’s “discussions” has not yet been found in the Archive of the successor Russian State Library (RGB), while the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO) “could not identify Boris Shiperovich [Shapirovič] in their card file for officers.”¹⁴² Yet since presumably Rudomino was in Legnica in March, she would have known first hand about Shiperovich’s mission to Moscow.

One of Shiperovich’s letters to Tarasenkov mentions a March 1946 trip to Moscow. In fact his letters confirm that at least between February 1946 and March 1948 he was working in a military library and involved with the expedition of books. His letters use the same military postal number (02961-D) that has been officially identified as a unit of the Northern Group then headquartered in Legnica. In one letter (3 February 1946) he mentions having just been in Moscow, that a colleague of his named “Stor” would soon be leaving for Moscow, and that he was planning to go for a longer time himself in March. The fact that archival materials were involved is confirmed by his remark, “Yesterday I found proofs of a large article by Gippius about Rozanov and also interesting materials of Maks[imilian] Voloshin, showing that he was able to draw.” A letter dated 10 May, after he had left Moscow, explains to his friend that he had to leave quickly “and wasn’t able to see you again,” but that another friend would be bringing Tarasenkov more books soon. We know that he gave some books from the Turgenev Library to Tarasenkov, as confirmed more recently by Tarasenkov’s widow, but details of his delivery to the Lenin Library remain to be established.¹⁴³

Presumably, many of the other Turgenev Library books were also shipped to Moscow, but we have only a few clues. Even without the official receipt (*akt*) or other reports, we can now confirm that before 19 March 1946 the Lenin Library received at least one shipment of Turgenev Library books from Legnica. On that date GBL director Vasilii Olishev wrote the chief of the Main Archival Administration under the NKVD,

¹⁴⁰ Both archival copies of the Rudomino report state the name as Shaporovich, “Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha),” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh,” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 137v, and A-534/2/10, fol. 182v.

¹⁴¹ “Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha),” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh,” fol. 137/182v.

¹⁴² See fn. 60. Reference is to the letter addressed to me by S. Kamenichenko, Acting Chief of the Archival Service (28 June 2002). Possibly that was because Shiperovich was in the “reserves,” or more likely, because the files of the “Trophy Administration” have not been declassified.

¹⁴³ At least five Shiperovich letters to Tarasenkov during 1946 and 1947 reference field post no. 02961-D—(3 February 1946), RGALI, 2587/1/760, fol. 91; (10 May 1946), fol. 92; (24 January 1947), fols. 96–97; (n.d. [1947]), fol. 101; and (14 March 1947), fol. 92. According to a letter from TsAMO to RGB (25 September 2001), that was the post number for the military unit (Voiskovaia chast') under the Chief Political Command (GlavPU) of the Northern Group (Severnaia gruppya), which in June 1945 had been assigned to Legnica. That is the same number found on book stamps from Legnica in many of the books from the Turgenev Library in Moscow (see below, fn. 175). Tarasenkov’s widow, Mariia Belkina (“Masha” in Shiperovich’s letters) personally confirmed to me (September 2002) that Shiperovich was organizing an army post library after the war, and that he had brought Tarasenkov a number of books from the Turgenev Library “especially poetry,” and she also mentioned Bunin, who was then prohibited. She never heard that he was involved in a transfer to the Lenin Library, but probably he was obliged to keep that secret even from close friends. Regarding Shiperovich’s memoir, see fns. 56–58.

Major-General Nikitinskii, proposing to transfer the papers of Vladimir Burtsev and Viktor Chernov that had “arrived with books from Germany from the Officers’ Club of the Political Command of the Northern Forces [i.e., in Legnica].”¹⁴⁴ Several Russian émigré accounts noted that the Burtsev papers had been taken by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library, or at least they had been seized from Paris and were held by the ERR with the Turgenev Library.¹⁴⁵ Thus, we can now assume that most probably many of the Turgenev Library books went to Moscow in the referenced special shipment organized by Major Boris Shiperovich in March 1946. But not all of them were sent in March. In his letter received by Tarasenkov on 8 June 1946, Shiperovich said that he was “preparing to send a large number of books.” Presumably, however, Shiperovich was sending those books to Tarasenkov, as he would have hardly mentioned a library shipment in a personal letter. He lamented that some of the books he had sorted out earlier had disappeared while he had been away.¹⁴⁶

If in fact Major Shiperovich delivered only the “cream,” quite possibly more Turgenev Library books were joined to other trophy book shipments from Silesia arranged by the Rudomino brigade. In another retrospective summary report from Berlin the following September, Margarita Rudomino affirmed that “in March 1946 the Political Command of the Northern Group under General Okorokov provided assistance in the dispatch of trophy literature in Legnica, Wałbrzych (Ger. Waldenburg), Lasów (Lissa), and other cities of Poland, and organized an echelon to send the selected literature to Moscow to the address of Gosfond Literaturny.” She gave the “total of books sent as 200,000 volumes,” with no further specifics.¹⁴⁷ The three sites are all described in the same Rudomino spring 1946 report that covers the “Turgenev Library in Legnica.” A telegram from Moscow confirms the dispatch of the echelon of ten freight train wagons from Legnica (military transport no. 173/9078) arranged by General Okorokov.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ The note from GBL Director Vasilii G. Olishev to Major-General I. I. Nikitinskii, I found in RGB Archive, *op.* 214, *d.* 6, fol. 19. It was common for Soviets still to refer to Silesia as “Germany,” although the area east of the Oder-Neisse Line was then already recognized as part of Poland and, except for the continued presence of the Red Army, under Polish administration. The Russians still used German geographical names in many cases. A subsequent act of transfer for those books has not surfaced.

¹⁴⁵ Both the Burtsev and Chernov papers are now held in GA RF. The Chernov papers were confiscated by the ERR with the collections of the Paris Branch of the IISH, and probably the Burtsev papers also had been taken from the IISH Paris collections under Boris Nikolaevskii rather than the Turgenev Library (see fns. 33 and 34).

¹⁴⁶ Shiperovich to Tarasenkov (n.d.; received 8 June 1946), RGALI, 2587/1/760, fol. 94. Among books he named as having been sent were [Boris] Poplavskii’s, *Venok iz voska*, a “poet of Smolensk,” and books by Adamovich. He was distressed at the loss of a Webster’s *Dictionary* among other books that had disappeared.

¹⁴⁷ “Itogi raboty bibliotechnoi gruppy Komiteta kul'tury pri Osobom komitete Soveta Ministrov SSSR po Germanii, mai 1945 g.–avgust 1946 g.,” filed as part of a larger report, “Otchet o rabote gruppy Komiteta kul'tprosvetuchrezhdenii pri Sovete Ministrov RSFSR za vremia s 6 maia 1945 goda po 1 sentiabria 1946 goda,” GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 57 (signed by Rudomino) with an unsigned cc (fol. 54). The “Kratkie itogi raboty” (fols. 55–57) constitutes the final section.

¹⁴⁸ A telegram from Moscow, signed Zueva (18 May 1946) states that 10 wagons had been assigned from Breslau 22 April for General Okorokov (transport no. 173/9078) to Gosfond literaturny—GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 132. See also the text for a telegram regarding the shipment (20 May 1946), fol. 129, and an earlier telegram from Moscow to Manevskii also to the effect that 10 wagons had been assigned for Okorokov’s shipment of literature to Gosfond (23 April 1946), A-534/2/7, fol. 27. An Instruction of the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions (29 April 1946) includes that echelon along with two others (from Berlin and Dresden) for which delivery plans were being made in Moscow: “Prikaz po Komitetu po delam kul'turno-prosvetitel'nykh uchrezhdenii o poriadke priema trofeinykh gruzov, prebyvaiushchikh v Moskvu s eshelonami 177/8030, 178/8041 i 173/978,” issued over the signature of the Committee Chairman, Zuev, Arkhiv VGBIL, fond 1, otd. fond 1, *op.* 33, *d.* 11/413, fols. 20–21v (available electronically at the VGBIL website).

The books from Wałbrzych (*Ger.* Waldenburg) undoubtedly referred to the library from the castle of Fürstenstein (*Polish* Książ), the ancestral home of the Counts von Hochberg, Princes of Pless, near Świebodzice (*Ger.* Freiburg) and Wałbrzych. Hitler had personally used the castle during the war.¹⁴⁹ Rudomino's retrospective report also includes a summary about the renowned library of 100,000 books removed from that castle.¹⁵⁰ The Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL) currently reports holdings of 800 volumes from the Fürstenstein collection in its Rare Book Division, and the Lenin Library returned some of the manuscripts to Poland in the 1950s.¹⁵¹ In a letter from Berlin in May, Rudomino stated that the ten wagons, in addition to "literature from the castle of Fürstenstein" also included books from "the castle of William II and others." The latter reference is presumably to some of the books Lieutenant Kucherenko deposited with the commandant in Legnica a year earlier. Rudomino explained that "the literature from the German State Exchange Collection in French and English on the estate of Lissa would require an additional 6–8 wagons." The inclusion of books from the Turgenev Library was not mentioned.¹⁵²

Inventories for shipments from Silesia have not been found, although they undoubtedly remain in military records. While many crate list inventories of outgoing echelons of books from Berlin survive among the files of the Manevskii/Rudomino trophy brigade, none of them include crates from the Turgenev Library. Besides, it is unlikely that books from Legnica would have been taken back to Berlin for shipment, particularly when a transport was going out from Legnica. There are no indications that more Turgenev Library books had been found in Germany itself.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ The castle of Fürstenstein (sometimes known as Schloss Freiburg, or in *Polish*, Książ or Zamek Hochbergów), one of the largest in Silesia, 5 km. SW of Freiburg (*Polish* Świebodzice), near Waldenburg (*Polish* Wałbrzych). See the brief description with mention of Soviet plundering by Sieber, "Fürstenstein," *Schlösser in Schlesien*, pp. 51–54 (with illustrations).

¹⁵⁰ "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh," GA RF, A-534/2/10—no. 25: "Biblioteka v zamke Freiburg (Pol'sha)," fol. 181, and A-534/2/1, fol. 136; published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. no. 20, pp. 138–39.

¹⁵¹ A current Internet report—<http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/collection.html>), mentions at least 800 books from the Fürstenstein collection. The book stamps and ex libris are reproduced in *Inostrannye knizhnye znaki v sobranii redkikh knig Vserossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki inostrannoi literatury imeni M. I. Rudomino/ The Foreign Book Signs in the Rare Book Collection of the Library for Foreign Literature (Founder M. Rudomino)*, comp. E. V. Zhuravleva, N. N. Zubkov, and E. A. Korkmazova (Moscow: Rudomino, 1999), nos. 40, 205, 289 (the family is listed as Fürsten von Hochberg-Pless). In October 1957, the Lenin Library (now RGB) returned 105 manuscripts from Fürstenstein to Poland—as recorded in the official Act of Transfer, RGB-Archive, *op.* 268, *d.* 263 (4 October 1957).

¹⁵² See the unsigned letter (Berlin, 22 May 1946—probably not sent) from Rudomino addressed to Tat'iana Mikhailovna and Ivan Sergeevich, confirming a recent conversation with General Okorokov from the Political Command of the Northern Group (Legnica), and his having shipped the ten wagons by the 16th of May, GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 127. It is clear from that letter that Rudomino was making the arrangements by telephone from Berlin. There is no confirmation that the Lissa books were sent later.

¹⁵³ Many reports and shipping inventories, together with some correspondence of the group headed by Margarita Rudomino are preserved among the secret files of the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions of the RSFSR in GA RF, A-534, *opis'* 2. One list for 1946 with train numbers and number of wagons for four echelons from Berlin and one from Dresden is published in German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, doc. no. 26, p. 170, and another (with 1945 shipments) as doc. no. 30, p. 186. But both of them lack the last two echelons in August 1946, one to Moscow and one to Leningrad. See GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 66, fol. 69, and the list in the September 1946 report by Rudomino, fol. 101. A more complete list was published from the report of the library group of the "Trophy Commission" from May 1945 through August 1946 (without archival citation) by Waldemar Ritter, *Kulturerbe als Beute? Die Rückführung kriegsbedingt aus Deutschland verbrachter Kulturgüter – Notwendigkeit und Chancen für die Lösung eines historischen Problems* (Nuremberg: Verlag des

Not all the books from the Turgenev Library were shipped to Moscow in 1946. Some remained in Legnica in 1947, if we can believe a letter of 20 November 1947 among the correspondence files of the Turgenev Library in Paris.¹⁵⁴ The family letter (from an unidentified “Katia” addressed to “Aunt Dania”) stated that “books from the Turgenev Library were in the Officers’ Club in Legnica,” but did not reveal how many books were there. That may have been the first time the library administration in Paris knew the location of at least some of the books, but at that point they were unable to pursue the matter. And they would not have known by then that many of the Turgenev Library books had already left for Moscow. Meanwhile during 1947, Shiperovich was still sending books to Tarasenkov.¹⁵⁵

Even if it has not yet been possible to document the main shipments to the Lenin Library from Legnica in 1946 or 1947, we now know that the Lenin Library had received thousands of them and continued to receive books from the Turgenev Library in subsequent years from different sources. We have no indication that Shiperovich had anything to do with the trophy books received the Lenin Library 21 May 1947 delivered from the building of the Central Theater of the Red Army, “including some that were the property of the Turgenev Library in Paris in Russian and foreign languages.” That is the consignment first mentioned in Kuz'min’s 1990 article about the German trophy books in Uzko. The penciled transfer “Act” remains in the Archive of the former Lenin Library (RGB). As Kuz'min had quoted, that consignment contained “trophy literature in various fields of knowledge in English and French (200 crates of books and two sacks of book fragments).” It was delivered to the Lenin Library “on orders of the Armed Forces Political Administration (GlavPU),” but with no indication from whence it came. Possibly those crates could have been from one of the castles Shiperovich visited when he first discovered Turgenev Library books in Silesia in the spring of 1945. Perhaps they had simply gone astray from Myslowice or Legnica, or were left over from earlier shipments to Moscow, but no further details are indicated, not even an address for the Red Army center or how many books there were from the Paris library.¹⁵⁶

A much smaller transfer of seven crates with 1,160 books from the Turgenev Library arrived at the end of October 1948 from a military warehouse in Moscow (*sklad* no. 312), although with no other notation about where those books had come from. This was the same warehouse address in Moscow for books being processed for transport by the officers of the Trophy Administration under the Chief Political Command in Silesia, who had been operating in the Breslau area where Shiperovich had found crates from the Turgenev Library in Deutsch Lissa. That same military warehouse was also referenced for

Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1997; Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Band 13), p. 61, but that list also lacks the shipments from Silesia.

¹⁵⁴ Hélène Kaplan kindly furnished me a copy of the letter we found in the Turgenev Library administrative files in Paris. Kaplan suggests that the letter may well have been addressed to (or enclosed with another letter to) Tat'iana Ossorguine-Bakounine, who served as the principle librarian for the Turgenev Library after the war, and other letters to her are found in the same file.

¹⁵⁵ Letters are preserved from Shiperovich to Tarasenkov (8 January, 15 February, 14 March, 8 April, and 12 May 1947), RGALI, 2587/1/760, several of which mention sending books to his friend. Many of those letters bear the Field Post no. 02961-D, which we have already identified with Legnica.

¹⁵⁶ See the Kuz'min article about the books in Uzko mentioned in fn. 1. An RGB archivist on my request recently found the original document Kuz'min quotes (“Akt,” 21 May 1947), signed by “an assistant to the Chief of the Library of the Central House of the Red Army (TsDKA), Comrade Abakumovskii—RGB Archive, *op. 25, d. 69*.”

“the receipt of library books and music scores that were received in Moscow in 1946 and were being distributed by the Committee on Arts.”¹⁵⁷

A small 1949 shipment from Legnica to the Lenin Library was clearly indicated as to origin. In January 1949 the Officers’ Club in Legnica sent a shipment of close to 100 titles from the Turgenev Library (85 books and 13 journal issues) to the Lenin Library “by fast passenger train”: a typed three-page signed list found in the RGB archive certifies that the books were being transferred from “the Chernihiv Zone Guards Unit Officers’ Home [in Legnica] to the Lenin Library.” When by chance I first found a copy of the undated list in a collection of unpublished documents abroad in the fall of 2000, I thought it might have been the transfer by Shiperovich in March 1946 referred to in the spring 1946 Rudomino report, but Shiperovich is not named, and the books listed would not appear to be the “cream” of the Turgenev Library. A year and a half later I was able to examine the original and related documents in the RGB archive confirming that the list was from a January 1949 shipment from Legnica. Shiperovich had already left Legnica by then.¹⁵⁸

Further indications that some books were left behind in Legnica have come from many other sources, although again with only occasional hints as to how many books were there at what point. Soviet library science professor Firsov had reported that a student had found 500 volumes in Poland in the 1960s, but that report could not be verified. As we will learn below, 118 volumes bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library and the Legnica Officers’ Club were presented by the Communist Party of Poland to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in 1984. But all of the figures from Legnica still do not begin to add up to the 60,000 volumes reported as transferred to the Officers’ Club in the fall of 1945.

Even if Army reports regarding the Legnica library have yet to surface, private reports attest to the final destruction of a large portion of the Turgenev Library books remaining in the Officers’ Club. An officer by the name of Vladimir Sashonko, who had been stationed in Legnica in the early 1950s with the Northern Group of the Soviet Army, described (in a 1994 memoir) the Officers’ Club located “in the building of the Augusta-

¹⁵⁷ A copy of the 36-page 1948 list (mostly written in pencil and prepared in several separate sections) was first revealed by Nadezhda Ryzhak during her presentation at the RGB April 2002 colloquium. I have since seen the original in the RGB Archive, *op. 25, d. 80, fols. 7–44*. A note at the end, signed by the “Chief of the Library, Lieutenant V. Popov,” gives a total of 1,130 books. The pencilled signed covering “Akt” of transfer (30 October 1948) bears a stamp of NKO warehouse (*sklad*) no. 312 of the Storage Division (*Otdel khraneniia*). Regarding earlier reference to sklad 312, see “*Otchet o postuplenii trofeinogo narodno-khoziaistvennogo imushchestva iz Glavnogo upravleniia muzykal'nykh uchrezhdenii Komiteta po delam iskusstva pri SM SSSR na 1-e ianvaria 1947 g.*,” RGALI, 962/5/975, fol. 2. See also the notes above for the Krasovskii-Kucherenko brigade, but none of their extant documents reference Deutsch Lissa.

¹⁵⁸ “*Opis' knig parizhskoi biblioteki im. Turgeneva, otpravlennykh bibliotekoi Chernovitskogo garnizonnogo Doma Ofitserov v biblioteku im. Lenina*” (typescript, n.d.). The undated inventory is signed at the end by the Chief of the Officers’ Club, Lt. Colonel Chertkov and the head of the Library of the Officers’ Club Lieutenant Vakhnov. In April 2002, RGB colleagues found the original with a cover pencilled “Akt” (dated 29 January 1949) in the RGB Archive, *op. 25, d. 93, fols. 1–4*. Acknowledgement that GBL had received the shipment did not come until after 24 October 1949, when the “*Chernovitskii garnizonnyi dom ofitserov*” in Legnica wrote to find out if the Lenin Library had “received literature — 85 books and 13 journals from the Turgenev Library (city of Paris) sent to you . . . in January 1949 by fast passenger train” (RGB Archive, *op. 217, d. 4, fol. 203*). That note is signed by the same Lieutenant-Colonel Moisei Chertkov who signed the typewritten list. In reply, the Lenin Library sent a confirmation of receipt to the Officers’ Club (24 November 1949), RGB Archive, *op. 217, d. 4, fol. 202*. Regarding the fate of the books listed in RGB, see Chapter 6, fns. 188–189. In a letter to Tarasenkov (1 March 1948), apparently the last in the series, Shiperovich wrote that he planned to leave on 10 March, RGALI, 2587/1/760, fol. 109.

Victoria School, a former German secondary school (lyceum) named after the wife of Emperor William II.” In 1951, he recalls, the Chief of the Library of the Officers’ Club (Lieutenant Aleksandr Rodionov) showed him “a huge pile of books” (he does not estimate how many) that was closed off “in a separate part of the building.” He found the stamp “Bibliothèque Russe Tourguenev—Rue du Val-de-Grace, 9” on many title pages—“many émigré editions—Riga, Belgrade, Berlin, Tallinn, Paris, Sofia [...]” The library had already been sorted, his chief explained, and “the chosen books, such as those related to the name of Lenin or with Bunin autographs, had been shipped to Moscow.” As for the rest, the library chief had “received orders from Moscow to burn them in the fireplace” of the building. “Orders are orders!” the chief proclaimed. Sashonko regretted that he was able to save only one of them to bring home as a souvenir. In his 1994 article he lamented that the remains of “the Turgenev Library were slowly reduced to smoke and ashes, scattering over Legnica [...] sharing the tragic fate of a crematorium with the unhappy millions who perished in the Fascist concentration camps.” The fact that “books from rue Val-de-Grace perished in the hands of their liberators,” he concluded, was but one of the “strange paradoxes of the Twentieth Century.”¹⁵⁹

Confirmation of the Turgenev Library book-burning in Legnica in the early 1950s, came recently from another source, in this case by e-mail to the director of the State Public Historical Library in Moscow from the daughter of a retired librarian who had worked at the Officers’ Club in the 1950s. Her recollection dates the burning as 1955 and as having taken place in the Club courtyard over a two-month period. The explanation given was that the books were old, and “from reasons you would understand,” the military command decided to burn them. Her mother managed to “save” a few souvenir volumes and brought them home. As for those “several rescued books,” she explained, “I take care of them as my mother did.”¹⁶⁰

Specialists at the Ministry of Culture may find the story of book burning in Legnica as “totally strange (*fakt sovershenno dikii*)” or prefer to dismiss its significance. But they now admit the hypothesis that in the 1950s, “the burning of ‘dangerous literature’ of many emigrant authors”—by then all relegated to *Spetskhrany* in Moscow—might well have been “more desirable than transporting such ‘ideologically contaminated’ materials to the USSR.”¹⁶¹ Indeed we know, as Sashonko was informed, that many of the 60,000 volumes transferred to Legnica had already been sent to Moscow. We can also assume that Shiperovich sent more to his friend Tarasenkov and some he probably intended for his own collection or his antiquarian book business. Others undoubtedly went to the Soviet Union as “trophy” souvenirs and were scattered widely. How many perished in Silesia remains a question.

¹⁵⁹ Vladimir Sashonko, “Knigi s ulitsy Val-de-Gras,” *Neva*, 1994, no. 10, pp. 301–305.

¹⁶⁰ Mikhail Afanas'ev, Director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow, kindly furnished me a copy of the message he received from an unidentified “Liudmila” in August 2001. My reply to her with a request for a meeting and/or further information has gone unanswered, and Afanas'ev has been unable to establish further contact.

¹⁶¹ Such was the comment of Nikolai Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Ekho planety*, 2000, no. 47, p. 31. Another retired specialist from the Ministry of Culture who had been following the fate of the Turgenev Library also seriously questioned the veracity of the story in a conversation with me in September 2001. But now Afanas'ev's second report lends more credence, even if the exact dates do not jibe.

6. The “Leninka” Opens Its “Seventh Seal”

Estimates for trophy book shipments to the USSR run as high as eleven million volumes, but that figure does not include all that were shipped to the Academy of Sciences, the Main Archival Administration, or other specialized agencies that had their own scouts in the field.¹⁶² In preparing the book shipments, Soviet trophy brigades usually made no distinction between those plundered from German libraries and those plundered a second time, having earlier been looted from occupied countries by various Nazi agencies. Books looted by the Nazis from Soviet libraries that were retrieved often came in the same echelons with trophy books. Many of the Soviet books looted by the Nazis were retrieved by Soviet scouts, while others were found in Western occupation zones and returned to the USSR by the Western Allies. Unfortunately, again many of the available statistics do not distinguish among these categories either.¹⁶³ Frequently, the shipping or transfer papers bore no indication of source or libraries represented, all of which makes it more difficult to trace their return or inadvertent dispersal today.¹⁶⁴ Often books retrieved were not directed to the right library from which they had been plundered by the Germans.

Many of the books that were shipped from Berlin and Silesia to Moscow in 1946 were addressed to Gosfond Literaturny (State Literature Fund), a postwar book distribution agency with branches in both Moscow and Leningrad established to replenish the stocks of the many Soviet libraries that were devastated during the war and Nazi occupation. Some books that were addressed to specific libraries via Gosfond, and others were distributed by Gosfond throughout the Soviet Union. That agency was replete with scandals during the postwar decade, but the fact that its records are not now available makes it even more difficult to trace the shipments for which it served as intermediary.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² That figure is based on a retrospective report by Margarita Rudomino—“Spravka o trofeinykh fondakh, privezennykh v SSSR v 1945–1946 gg.” (December 1948 [date pencilled in later]), Arkhiv VGBIL, 1/29–37/20, fols. 29–31 (unsigned carbon copy). A German translation is published by Ingo Kolasa, “Sag mir wo die Bücher sind . . .,” in *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 42:4 (July/August 1995), pp. 350–52. See Evgenii I. Kuz'min, “Neizvestnye stranitsy istorii nemetskikh biblioteknykh kollektii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voyny,” in *Restitutsiia biblioteknykh sobranii i sotrudnichestvo v Evrope. Rossiisko-germanskii “krugly stol,” 11–12 dekabria 1992 g.*, Moskva: Sbornik dokladov, ed. S. V. Pushkova (Moscow: Rudomino, 1994), pp. 17–24; first published in German, *Restitution von Bibliotheksgut. Runder Tisch deutscher und russischer Bibliothekare in Moskau am 11. 12. Dezember 1992*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1993) [= *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, Sonderheft 56]. Regarding the trophy books delivered to the Academy of Sciences, see V. P. Leonov, *Sud'ba biblioteki v Rossii* (St. Petersburg: BAN, 2000), pp. 356–64.

¹⁶³ Many of my own findings are based on the recently declassified files of the library trophy brigade sent to Germany under the direction of VGBIL director Margarita Rudomino and Aleksei Manevskii, found among the secret records of the Committee on Cultural-Enlightenment Institutions (predecessor of the Ministry of Culture), in GA RF, A-532, *opis' 2*. Some of those files include detailed inventories of individual shipments. Sample documents from those files are published in German translations in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee*, comp. and ed. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa (see fn. 28). See more details about the trophy book shipments in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, especially chapter 7.

¹⁶⁴ This is true of most of receipts for 1946–1948 in the RGB Archive, where several folders contain many “Akts” of receipt from Gosfond. See, for example, *opis' 25, dela 80 and 81*. Many reports suggest that the Gosfond records themselves have not been preserved, but in any case they have not been located for this study.

¹⁶⁵ Regarding Gosfond, see the account of Aleksandr M. Mazuritskii, *Ocherki istorii bibliotchnogo dela perioda Velikoi Otechestvennoi voyny, 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 1995; RGB, Moskovskii

Adding to the complexity, the Communist Party and its censorship agency, Glavlit, resolved to identify and register the potentially degenerate foreign literature, and by 1948 required libraries to submit reports on trophy receipts. Libraries often had inadequate staff to catalogue or shelves to house many of the unwanted and inappropriate books they received, which explains why some of them were relegated to damp basements or abandoned in unheated churches. A composite report prepared by Agitprop (the Division of Agitation and Propaganda) to the Central Committee in November 1948 gives statistics and examples of some of the absurd distribution problems of trophy books and the control the Communist Party tried to establish.¹⁶⁶ Only 40 years later would larger scandals reach the public, such as the millions of German books left to rot in the Church of Uzko outside of Moscow mentioned at the outset.

The fact that Turgenev Library books are now so widely scattered adds to the likelihood that at least some of them came to Moscow with the Gosfond trophy shipments or were later turned over to Gosfond as duplicates from receiving libraries. According to a retired Kyiv librarian, several books bearing Turgenev Library stamps were received from Leningrad via Gosfond by the Historical Library in Kyiv, but she was not able to document acquisition data, because the books were later “cleansed” from the library. We also know that many of the trophy books received by the Lenin Library came through Gosfond, but often without indication of their library of origin or transit point, with only an estimated number of volumes or crates. Others came from the Main Archival Administration, archives under its jurisdiction, and its related archival agency under SVAG, or from museums that received unneeded trophy books, such as the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (GMII) that received more books than it could handle from the Filippov Brigade in Silesia—many of them unrelated to art.¹⁶⁷ Since the Lenin Library received many duplicates, its “exchange fund” was one of the largest agents responsible for distribution and dispersal of trophy library books.

The Lenin Library had not suffered proportionately as many losses as other Soviet libraries during the war, but as the most important library in the capital it was the destination of a large percentage of the most sought-after trophies. Available sources all point to the former Lenin Library in Moscow as the largest initial recipient of books from the Turgenev Library, that is to say, the largest surviving part of the 60,000 Turgenev Library books that were reportedly transferred from Myslowitz to Legnica. The books from Legnica arrived amidst an estimated two million other trophy books received by the Lenin Library, mostly in 1946 and 1947. The “Act” of receipt of Turgenev Library books in May 1947 quoted in Kuz'min's 1990 article did not mention Legnica, although a Soviet

gosudarstvennyi universitet kul'tury). Mazuritskii suggests that the records of Gosfond were probably destroyed during the purges of that agency in the 1950s (p. 147), a view he has reaffirmed in later conversation with the present author.

¹⁶⁶ Many examples of the distribution scandals problems from different parts of the USSR and the CP attempts to control trophy books are given in the composite 1948 report in the Agitprop files of the CPSU Central Committee (7/8 November 1948), RGASPI, 17/132/97, fols. 92–110. When I ordered a xerox copy of that document, some paragraphs of the report were censored (blanked) out. Extracts from this report are published by Knyshevskii, *Dobycha*, pp. 110–11. For Ukrainian examples, see Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, pp. 257–66. Some of the other files in that same RGASPI fond relating to trophy books remain classified.

¹⁶⁷ Several folders with GBL receipts for 1946–1948 in the RGB Archive contain many “Akts” of receipt from Gosfond. See, for example, *op. 25, d. 65*, fols. 1–2, fol. 43; and *dela 80* and *81*. In a few cases, the echelon numbers and crate lists can be coordinated with shipping lists available in other archives. Other receipts in those files suggest wide variety of other institutions transferring trophy books to the Lenin Library. The typed list of trophy books received by GMII mentioned above (fn. 125) suggests the content, if not the provenance of part of those transfers.

Army source was indicated. The transfer document explained that “most of the books were defective” and further suggested, “Part of them are damaged so seriously that it is impossible to mend them and they will have to be recycled.” No further reports have been found to indicate how many of the damaged books bore stamps of the Turgenev Library.

RGB librarians’ 2002 estimates of approximately 10,000 trophy books from the Turgenev Library would mean that the successor Russian State Library (RGB) holds only approximately one-sixth of the 60,000 volumes that were reported in Legnica, which in turn is only one-tenth of the 100,000 books plundered by the Nazis from Paris. But the 2002 RGB estimates are still preliminary, because it was only in 2001 that RGB started to research the matter and was prepared to admit to any of its extensive holdings from the Turgenev Library in Paris in contrast to its earlier silence on the subject.

Writing in November 2001, and paying tribute to the 125th anniversary, a specialist in the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation publicly pointed a finger at RGB, and noted the extent to which “the number of Turgenev Library books found in the ‘Leninka’ remains as earlier a secret under seven seals.”¹⁶⁸ Further indicative of the secrecy that has long surrounded trophy matters in the “Leninka,” deputy director Nina Khakhaleva told me in October 2000 that she “had been designated to study the matter some years ago,” but had “tried in vain to find any documentation.” Her address to the April 2000 Conference on Displaced Cultural Valuables did not mention the Turgenev Library.¹⁶⁹

Indicative of earlier prevailing attitudes in the Leninka, the head of the RGB Museum of Library History, Liudmila Koval’ openly addressed broader issues of trophy books in a 2000 article honoring the Soviet triumph over Nazi Germany in World War II, which was still described in Soviet terms as the “55th Anniversary of the Great Victory.” In that article RGB was starting to be more open about its trophy holdings, but rejected the idea of restitution of any trophy books, which (as explained in a headline caption) “indeed like all of our holdings are part of our state heritage.” A second headline notes that “in the treaties signed after the end of the Great Fatherland War, there was no provision obliging the victors to return trophies to the vanquished.”¹⁷⁰ In fact there were no treaties with Germany after the war, but the point of view expressed may explain why RGB colleagues, even as late as the summer of 2001, openly voiced concern that the Turgenev Library might “have pretensions” to the trophy books from prewar holdings in Paris. Other RGB librarians have recently suggested to me that it is fine to investigate and identify the displaced books of various historic libraries, but that there should be no consideration of moving them again.

As anticipated in Khakhaleva’s 2000 talk, and as has become apparent two years later, attitudes are changing rapidly with reference to trophy holdings in the former Lenin Library. The Ministry of Culture public pronouncement about the “seven seals” provided a gentle prod, if not a turning point. German books were the first to be revealed during the past decade, as RGB specialists started to identify trophies plundered by Soviet trophy

¹⁶⁸ Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” p. 30. Kuz'min, who first mentioned the receipt by the Lenin Library of Turgenev Library books in his 1990 article, “The Mystery of the Church in Ozkoye” (see fns. 1 and 155), now heads the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture. Unlike the other receipts from Legnica mentioned elsewhere, that May 1947 receipt was from the Central Theater of the Red Army—Arkhiv RGB, op. 25, d. 69.

¹⁶⁹ Nina Khakhaleva, “Peremeshchennye fondy v RGB: proshloe, nastoiashchee, budushchee/ Displaced collections in the Russian State Library: Past, Present and Future,” published electronically in English and Russian with the “Proceedings” of the conference “Kul'turnaia karta Evropy/ Cultural Map of Europe,” http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/hahaleva_e.html. With minor modifications in grammar, I quote from the official English translation posted.

¹⁷⁰ Liudmila Koval', “. . . i u knig svoia sud'ba—v Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteke,” *Biblioteka*, 2000, no. 7, pp. 86–88.

brigades after the war. A prime example was the first exhibition of the Gutenberg Bible in 1995, 50 years after its arrival by plane along with other spectacular holdings from the Museum of the Book in Leipzig. Understandably, first attention has gone to those long-hidden incunabulae, palotypes, and early imprints that Manevskii's trophy brigade shipped to Moscow by air in October 1945 (escorted by Chaishanskii of the Lenin Library), as Rudomino's library group decimated the most illustrious German rare book collections.¹⁷¹

In her 2000 address to the VGBIL Conference, RGB deputy director explained the new policy. With reference to the UNESCO "Memory of the World" program, she pointed out:

[The] political and psychological atmosphere of the last decade led us to [the] understanding that concealment of cultural valuables is not suitable for civilized society. Cultural valuables are to be looked at as a common property of mankind and are to be broadly presented to the public [...]. In the framework of this tendency toward an open society, mutual penetration and enrichment of cultures, the State Library started its work with displaced valuables.

Khakhaleva for the first time publicly related how trophy books had been handled in the library and revealed some of the disastrous problems, such as water damage from broken heating pipes and mold that befell some extensive stack areas that held some of the long-hidden treasures. She also tells that when trophy books were passed on to other libraries earlier stamps were usually blacked out or expunged to the extent possible.¹⁷²

The Paris Colloquium honoring the 125th anniversary of the Turgenev Library in January 2001 was the first time the former Lenin Library (now RGB) openly admitted to holding books from the Turgenev Library. In her Paris presentation Nadezhda Ryzhak, who now heads the Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ, as the former restricted *Spetskhran* is known today), revealed that her division holds approximately 2,000 volumes from the Turgenev Library in a separate collection, and at least 1,400 other volumes dispersed in other RGB divisions had already been identified, with an estimated total of 3,400 volumes dispersed throughout the library.¹⁷³ The difficulties in tracking

¹⁷¹ See the first descriptive publication in Russia by Margarita Rudomino's son, Adrian Rudomino, "Polveka v plenu," *Nashe nasledie*, no. 32 (1994), pp. 92–96, and Oleg Borodin and Tat'iana Dolgodrova, "Kolleksiia Nemetskogo muzeia knigi i shrifta v sobranii Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki," *ibid.*, pp. 97–106. Dolgodrova extends her expertise to Western European imprints in "Unikal'nye zapadnoevropeiskie pechatnye knigi XV–XVI vekov iz trofeinogo sobraniia Rossiiskoi Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki," *Nashe nasledie*, no. 42 (1997), pp. 113–19. The Gutenberg Bible was first publicly displayed at a 1995 exhibition at the Moscow library. Dolgodrova devotes a major section of her doctoral dissertation to the text, *Nemetskaia i niderlandskaia kniga XV veka (Problemy vzaimovlianiia i natsional'nye osobennosti)* (Avtoreferat— Moscow: MGU, 2000). Adrian Rudomino and the Gutenberg Bible were the focus of a major segment in the television film "Po pravu pobeditelei" aired on Russian television in connection with the 50-year anniversary of "Victory" in 1995. Chaishanskii's travel orders to Moscow remain with the Manevskii/Rudomino files in GA RF, A-534/2/8, as do packing lists for the shipment.

¹⁷² Khakhaleva, "Displaced collections in the Russian State Library."

¹⁷³ Nadezhda Ryzhak's report preceded my presentation at the final session of the Paris Colloquium and is being edited for publication in the proceedings. I had informed her previously in Moscow (November 2000) that I had found some interesting documentation about the Lenin Library accessions from the Turgenev Library and would be presenting some of my findings in Paris. A few highlights of that session and from my report (including the text of the 1946 telegram described above) are presented by Ivan Tolstoj, "Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii," *Russkaia mysl'*, p. 13. I first met Ryzhak in 1992 as the

down the Turgenev Library books within the library are much greater than for the rare German editions that all went to special vaults under the Rare Book Division. As part of the complicated pattern of dispersal after postwar acquisition, many of the trophy books were fully accessioned and integrated into the holdings of various divisions.

By July 2001 the estimate of the total RGB holdings from the Turgenev Library had risen by almost 1,000 volumes in six months. RGB librarians were then admitting to me accessions of some 4,300 Turgenev Library books between the years 1948 and 1988. A librarian examining book stamps in the Division of Basic Holdings showed me some examples, provided photocopies of title pages, and explained that they were still finding more. Most of those shown to me had stamps of the Lenin Library as well, including accession stamps and handwritten call numbers. They also reported a 1992 card file with approximately 1,000 titles from the Paris library, although it was inaccessible because the library was closed for renovation.¹⁷⁴

In addition to stamps of the Turgenev Library, some of the books bore the stamp of the same Red Army Officers' Club I had seen on other Turgenev Library books in Moscow. Not knowing where it came from, RGB librarians, at my request, verified the inscription on the stamp with the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense. The report came back that the unit indicated—"Voiskovaia Chast', Field Post no. 02961"—was in fact under the Political Command of the 2nd Belorussian Front, but was then reorganized under the Northern Group (Severnaia gruppa) and in June 1945 assigned to Legnica.¹⁷⁵ Some books also had stamps of the Library (and Archive) of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) in Paris, which, as we learned earlier, had been transferred to the Turgenev Library building in 1910.

As of spring 2002 RGB librarians were estimating that between 8,000 and 10,000 books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library from Paris were held in different divisions of the library. The first public mention of that higher figure came at the RGB colloquium "Rumiantsev Readings" in April 2002, to which I was personally invited. Two papers devoted to the subject, one by Nadezhda Ryzhak and a second by Valeriia Miasishcheva, both appeared in the proceedings. Ryzhak even commented orally about the Ministry of Culture accusation and the RGB imperative to break the "seventh seal."¹⁷⁶ Ryzhak emphasizes that the 8–10,000 figure remains a preliminary, very provisional, estimate.

head of the former Spetskhran of the Lenin Library (now RGB), after I found the Turgenev Library dedication in her division (see the introductory section above).

¹⁷⁴ Elena Vladimirovna Chevushcheva, head of an expert group in the Division of Basic Holdings (Otdel khraneniia osnovnykh fondov) reported this figure to me during a meeting at RGB in July 2001.

¹⁷⁵ RGB librarians have furnished me with xerox copies of several sample pages with such stamps. The Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence (TsAMO RF) in Podol'sk (letter dated 25 September 2001), in response to an inquiry from the Military Division of RGB, confirmed that the military unit referenced on the stamp —Voiskovaia Chast', Field Post no. 02961. I am grateful to RGB colleagues for verifying these details at my request and to TsAMO archivists for their response.

¹⁷⁶ See the printed versions: N. V. Ryzhak, "Kolleksiia parizhskoi Russkoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB," in *Rumiantsevskie chteniia—2002: Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow: RGB, 2002), pp. 296–301; and V. S. Miasishcheva, "Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kolleksiiami, popavshimi v SSSR v sostave kul'turnykh tsennosti, peremeshchennykh v resul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i nakhodiashchikhsia v Otdel'no khraneniia osnovnykh fondov (V kontekste deiatel'nosti po raskrytii kniznykh fondov za starye gody)," *ibid.*, pp. 280–83. Ryzhak kindly invited me to attend the session on 23 April, when she presented her report and invited me to comment. Valeriia Miasishcheva was not present at the conference, but kindly gave me an electronic copy of her report and later showed me the database catalogue she is now preparing of the Turgenev Library holdings she has identified in the RGB Division of Basic Holdings.

The quantity and the chaos in which trophy books were received—usually without any indication of whence they came or the different divisions of the library to which they were directed, and without any trace of their provenance—makes it exceedingly difficult and time-consuming today to trace their source, route, and date of acquisition. Yet RGB librarians have devised methods to identify at least some of the Turgenev Library books that remain in different divisions of the library today.

An article by Ryzhak and Miasishcheva three months later announced these revelations to the Russian library world in the widely circulated RGB journal *Bibliotekovedenie*. The article extracted variant texts of several key documents already prepared as appendixes to the present edition, including a variant of the fragment of the Rudomino trophy brigade report about the books found in Legnica.¹⁷⁷ Illustrations included reproductions of several title pages with Turgenev Library stamps and a dedication. One of those pictured was a first edition of the seventh volume of the *Complete Writings of Aleksandr Sumarokov*, published by Nikolai Novikov in 1781–1782, which was among the “rarities” singled out in a 1937 Paris essay by Mikhail Osorgin included in the 1987 library memorial volume.¹⁷⁸

Because the Turgenev Library in Paris was an institution of such importance in Soviet eyes, books that bore its stamp were given special treatment. Penciled numbers with a Cyrillic “Tg” designation were inscribed on the front end-papers of an estimated over 10,000 volumes that had apparently been sorted out and marked accordingly, but it is not clear where and when those markings were added. (Perhaps by Shiperovich in Legnica? But that hypothesis becomes less likely because RGB librarians report similar marks on the Rybiakov collection that came to GB: om the late 1940s from Switzerland.) Miasishcheva explained that she has not found “Tg” numbers above 10,000. I was subsequently invited to inspect many samples in the library stacks.¹⁷⁹ During 1948 and 1949, major batches of Turgenev Library books were catalogued in the Lenin Library in what was then know as the “Fond of Fatherland Books” (Fond Otechestvennykh knig), as apparent from the acquisition registers (aktovye knigi) for those years. Several separate sections within those registration books have headings labeling the books that follow as coming from the Turgenev Library, and all of the books in those sections examined thus far bear the “Tg” marking. This suggests that a major portion of the Turgenev Library books were received together (probably in 1946 and 1947) and recognized as a distinct collection. Yet, apparently deliberately, they were not all registered at the same time, but rather in batches over at least a two-year period, while others were set aside for another 30 years before formal registration.

¹⁷⁷ Nadezhda Ryzhak and Valeriia Miasishcheva, “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud'ba izdaniia parizhskoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB,” *Bibliotekovedenie*, 2002, no. 5, pp. 104–108. Compare the excerpt from the Rudomino report, “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh” (Appendix III); although specific documentation is not provided, Ryzhak explained that she had found a handwritten version among the files of the former *Spetskhran*. In Paris, I had given her copies of several of the documents I had found, one of which was also quoted by Petrovskii’s article from the Ministry of Culture.

¹⁷⁸ Mikhail Osorgin, “Redkosti Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p. 75. The article was reprinted from *Poslednie novosti*, no. 6082 (19 November 1937). The RGB authors do not say if RGB now has the whole set and any other “rarities” mentioned in Osorgin’s report, but the RGB inventory of Turgenev Library books is only beginning.

¹⁷⁹ Miasishcheva, “Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kollektsiiami,” p. 283. Miasishcheva showed me examples of books with the “Tg” designation and noted that she has found some books in Russian from German libraries with that designation. Her estimate is based on the highest number she has found. Although she thought the markings were added at the Lenin Library, conceivably they could have been added in Myslowitz (Mysłowice) or Legnica, before the books reached Moscow. They are not the type of markings made by the ERR.

Miasishcheva, who has been examining all of these registration books and the books listed *de visu* one by one, has found that a few of the Russian-language books with the penciled “Tg” designation bear stamps of other libraries, including German ones—for example, several from the Osteuropa Institute (Breslau)—as well as some from libraries in the Belarusian SSR. Undoubtedly this results from the fact that the ERR had all the books in Ratibor, and some others were undoubtedly inter-shelved with Turgenev Library books within the *Ostbücherei*. Many of the entries indicate that they were received in earlier years (“Probely za starye gody”) and that many came from the “exchange (*obmennyi*) fond.”¹⁸⁰ Many other Turgenev Library books received were not processed in the Lenin Library, however, until 1983. Miasishcheva has found that the “Tg” markings were apparently erased from most of the books registered in later years, although usually traces remain.¹⁸¹

As a result of the inventory and call numbers (shelf marks) assigned in that connection, librarians have been able to identify one particular area of the stacks which alone houses 2,500 books from the Paris library. In a few cases some individual books in those sections were later withdrawn, with the dates of withdrawal marked to the side in the original registers. Extant transfer registers make it possible to trace at least the first stage of their migration to other divisions or other libraries.¹⁸²

Some Ukrainian-language books were also registered in those “Turgenev Library” groups, although they were usually assigned different call numbers (shelf marks: “Ukr”) for the Ukrainian section of the stacks, most of which is now held in the RGB branch in Khimki. Recently, Miasishcheva examined one group with Khimki call numbers and found that, while a few of the Ukrainian-language books bore Turgenev Library stamps, between 15 and 20 of them bear stamps from the Petliura Library (Paris).¹⁸³ Thus we know that even after Ratibor, many of the Petliura Library books traveled together with those from the Turgenev Library. Either the people sorting and assigning the “Tg” numbers did not understand that they came from a different Paris library, or simply did not take the time to separate out books with stamps of other smaller collections.

Starting in 2001, on the basis of listings in these registers and examination of the books themselves, Miasishcheva has been preparing a database with full catalogue data for all books with Turgenev Library stamps in the Division of Basic Holdings, which now includes the earlier “Fond of Fatherland Books.” Although at first the division did not have a scanner, Miasishcheva was recording descriptions of the stamps and additional markings found in each volume; with the 2003 acquisition of a scanner, she has been

¹⁸⁰ One acquisition registers for April 2002 that I examined—“Akt no. 357” (27 July 1948), ff. 133–134v, for example, bears a heading “Turgenevskaia b-ka,” for nos. 56807–56949, among other similar sections in later months. Later in September 2002 Valeriia Miasishcheva showed me additional registers for 1948 and 1949. In all these registers each book was listed with the author, title, place, and date of publication typed in, and the Lenin Library shelf mark added in ink by hand. But it is only thanks to the section headings that Miasishcheva has been able to identify the call numbers and hence to locate the groups of books that turned out to have Turgenev Library stamps.

¹⁸¹ One register for 1983—“Otechestvennye knigi 1983, kn. 1, Nos 1–1585,” which I examined in April 2002, contains many scattered registry sheets with the heading “Turgenevskaia biblioteka,” dated 15 February through 17 March, for example, no. 43 (inventory nos. 723–749), no. 51 (853–875), no. 57 (nos. 907–926), through no. 96 (1457–1481). Valeriia Miasishcheva showed me books catalogued in the 1980s where the “Tg” had been erased.

¹⁸² For one test example of tracking down a withdrawn entry, see Chapter 7, fn. 203.

¹⁸³ For example, this group under a heading “Turgenevskaia b-ka,” was found in acquisition register no. 3 for 1949 (13,442–20,291), p. 3. The Ukrainian books bear registration nos. 14025–14037. One book by P. A. Kulish, *Mahomet y Khadyza* (Lviv, 1883)—registration no. 14033-49; call no. W 518/497—remains in the main building stacks, but many of those numbers with “Ukr” call numbers that Miasishcheva examined in Khimki bear stamps of the Petliura Library.

adding images. Already she has identified fifteen different book stamps of the Turgenev Library itself, used at different times with different addresses (see Appendix VII). Many volumes bear additional stamps of previous owners: booksellers (in the Russian Empire, Paris, and elsewhere), earlier libraries incorporated by the Turgenev Library, various other French institutions, and individuals (including some in Russia). As we might anticipate from the library's history, stamps have been found from the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP), the Library/Archive of the RSDRP, the Paris Social-Democratic Club, the Paris Assistance Group of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (SR's), the Lavrov-Gotz Russian Library (a large part of which is now held by IISH in Amsterdam), the Russian Library (Bibliothèque russe) in Montpellier, the Russian Library, later the A. I. Herzen Library-Reading Room in Nice. At least seven different stamps were identified from Red/Soviet Army Military units (some of them different stamps used by the same unit at different times), most of those from the Officers' Club in Legnica ("Voiskovaia chast'/Polevaia pochta 02961-D"). Army units specified in other stamps (e.g., "Biblioteka V/Ch P.P. 64473") have not yet been identified as to location.¹⁸⁴

Other RGB divisions have also been alerted about the Turgenev Library identification project. Among the most interesting and valuable books received by GBL were transferred, starting in 1948, to the Rare Book Division (Museum of the Book). Most of the Rare Book acquisitions came from other divisions of the library, without any provenance data or documentation about their arrival in Moscow, according to librarian Zoia Pokrovskaia who heads the "Revolutionary Literature" section of the Museum of the Book. Already she and her colleagues have searched that section and prepared cards for 425 books and brochures with Turgenev Library stamps. Among the many imprints that bear stamps as well of the Library/Archive of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) are a 1900 Geneva Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, Anatolii Lunacharskii (*pseud.* V. Voinov)'s account of the 1905 uprising in St. Petersburg, *Kak peterburgskie rabochie k tsariu khodili* (Geneva, 1905), and a rare Berlin Russian edition of three stories by Maksim Gor'kii that had been forbidden by the censor. A few volumes also bear stamps of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (SRs). Socialist brochures by Russian and foreign authors in one group from the period of the 1905 Revolution in Petersburg and Moscow have a characteristic blue-grey paper binding with the letters "BRT," similar to some also found in other RGB library divisions. As of 2002 librarians are estimating that there are closer to 1,000 volumes in the Rare Book Division, which will undoubtedly include more imprints from other sections of the division that have not yet been searched, and presumably more with dedicatory inscriptions to the Paris library and other stamps or inscriptions of previous owners.¹⁸⁵ Indicative of the further dispersal of the Turgenev Library books within the Lenin Library is one children's beginning piano book with a stamp of the Turgenev Library recently that has surfaced in the Music Division.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ See Miasishcheva, "Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kolleksiiami," pp. 281–83. Miasishcheva provided me a copy of the list of book markings she had already compiled and kindly took time to show me samples. Regarding the Legnica stamp with the number 02961-D, see fns. 143 and 175. Some are reproduced in Appendix VII.

¹⁸⁵ I appreciate consultations with Aleksandra Guseva, Head of the RGB Division of Rare Books (Museum of the Book), and I am particularly grateful to Zoia Pokrovskaia for showing me the card catalogue and many of the Turgenev Library books she has identified. She kindly provided me a copy of her typewritten report about holdings from the Turgenev Library (18 January 2002), data from which appear in the Miasishcheva and Ryzhak article. The Division kindly permitted me to photograph some of the title pages with stamps, selections of which are reproduced in Appendix I.

¹⁸⁶ A. Le Carpentier, *Cours pratique de piano élémentaire et progressif jusqu'au degré de force des études de Cramer*, 50th edition (Paris, n.d.). In addition to the stamp of the Turgenev Library (9, rue

While during the Soviet period most of the socialist rarities from the Turgenev Library published abroad were transferred to the Lenin Library's Rare Book Division (now the RGB Museum of the Book), most of the treasures of émigré literature were hidden away in the *Spetskhran* (Special [Restricted] Collection). Finally opened to the public in 1992 as the Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ), its long-hidden treasures were closed again during library reconstruction in the late 1990s. Now once again open after renovation in the fall of 2002, the division has recently been actively investigating its holdings from the Turgenev Library. Among some of the many interesting books bearing authors' dedications to the Turgenev Library is one by the well-known writer Mark Aldanov, *Portrety* (Berlin, 1931), and a rare edition by Illarion Remizov (*pseud.* V. Nevol'nik), *Chernaia Roza* (Berlin, 1910); by historians Vasilii Maklakov and Pavel Miliukov; by the revolutionary publicist Vladimir Burtsev, including a 1933 issue of the journal *Byloe* that he edited; and essays on Russian Freemasonry (Paris, 1935) by Tat'iana Bakunina (Ossorgine-Bakounine), the beloved Russian teacher who long served the Paris library with exceptional dedication.¹⁸⁷

In cooperation with the present publication, ORZ division head Nadezhda Ryzhak and her assistants searched entries on the typewritten list we had found of books that had been sent from the Officers' Club in Legnica to the Lenin Library in January 1949. They located and verified *de visu* 25 entries, most of them Soviet publications from the 1920s, all of which turned out to be held in the Division of Basic Fonds. All of those examined bore only stamps of the Turgenev Library, without the stamp of the Officers' Club.¹⁸⁸ Twelve books on the list were crossed out, namely émigré imprints from the 1920s from Prague, Berlin, Riga, and Paris, but tracking those books down in RGB is proving much more difficult. Of four books located and examined thus far in ORZ, only two bear stamps of the Turgenev Library: a copy of a Berlin 1929 edition of Il'ia Erenburg (*often* Ilya Ehrenburg)'s "Ten Horsepower" (*10 l.c. [Desiat' loshadinykh sil]: Khronika nashego vremeni*) and a Paris 1921 issue of the journal *Sovremennye zapiski*. Two other imprints listed have been identified in ORZ, but neither of them have stamps from the Turgenev Library. One Riga publication of Viacheslav Shishkov (1927) has stamps of the Riga City Library (later absorbed by the Academy of Sciences Library of the Latvian SSR), and a Paris edition of Semen Iushkevich (1927) bears stamps of the Russian Democratic Union in Paris.¹⁸⁹ As was true for the some 10,000 books registered in the library with "Tg" penciled inscriptions that had apparently been received earlier, the group of 100 books from Legnica included some Russian-language books of provenance in other libraries that had undoubtedly been transferred there from Myslowitz and Ratibor.

Another five of the 12 books crossed out on the 1949 list have been located in the RGB Museum of the Book. Among those examined with stamps of the Turgenev Library is a 1925 Prague edition of short stories, *Zga*, by Aleksei Remizov. Interestingly enough, a well-worn 1925 Paris edition of Ivan Bunin's *Mitina liubov'* bears a stamp of the library of the Young People's Christian Association (Khristianskii soiuz molodykh liudei, YMCA). Presumably it came from Paris and went to Moscow during the 1949 transfer from Legnica

du Val-de-Grâce), the book bears two faded stamps from earlier Paris sources, all of which have been crossed out. The Lenin Library registration number is W53952-68, indicating that it was catalogued in 1968.

¹⁸⁷ ORZ Division Head Nadezhda Ryzhak kindly selected out these editions and has permitted me to photograph the title pages and dedications, samples of which are included in Appendix I.

¹⁸⁸ Ryzhak's division prepared a written report listing the 25 books found with their RGB call numbers. A copy of the Russian original is presented with much appreciation in Appendix V, together with the original list "Opis' knig parizhskoi biblioteki im. Turgeneva," RGB Archive, *op.* 25, *d.* 93, fols. 1-4. Regarding the shipment from Legnica, see fn. 158.

¹⁸⁹ I am grateful to Nadezhda Ryzhak and her ORZ staff for searching the 12 émigré imprints. Photographs of the title pages of two of them are included in Appendix I.

with the Turgenev Library books. On the title page is a personal stamp of Anatolii Tarasenkov, Shiperovich's friend to whom he had sent a few souvenir books from the Turgenev Library (and apparently other sources) during his military tour in Silesia. The presence of that stamp can be explained by the fact that Tarasenkov's widow, Mariia Belkina, after the death of her husband gave most of Tarasenkov's library—including all of the books with stamps from the Turgenev Library (she assured me)—to the Lenin Library's Museum of the Book. Why that particular Bunin edition would have appeared on the 1949 list with the other Turgenev Library books transferred to the Lenin Library, and then have been crossed out with other émigré editions, remains a mystery, although the fact that it had been given to Tarasenkov suggests Shiperovich's involvement in the process. What an interesting turn of fate that not only that one émigré publication from the Russian YMCA library in Paris, but also all the other books with stamps of the Turgenev Library that Shiperovich had given to Tarasenkov rather than the Lenin Library, have now rejoined the rest of the books from that Russian library in Paris in what is now the Russian State Library. After Tarasenkov's death, Shiperovich edited a catalogue of his friend's library, and later a catalogue of some of the literary autographs in Tarasenkov's library. To be sure, none of the books from the Turgenev Library were included or so indicated.¹⁹⁰

Even if we have not been able to document the arrival of all of the Turgenev books in Moscow, or the role of the elusive Boris Shiperovich, we know that the Lenin Library received most of its trophy books during 1946 and 1947, following the Gutenberg Bible and other special rare book treasures that had already arrived by plane in October 1945. Documentation from the Manevskii trophy brigade, in which Margarita Rudomino supervised the library transports (May 1945–November 1946), supplements the minimal documentation available on the subject in the RGB Archive (as of 2002). The “Act” of receipt in March 1946 has not surfaced there. Yet it was among files in the RGB Archive that we were able to document the arrival of 1,160 more books from the Turgenev Library in November 1948 (from military warehouse No. 312 [in Moscow]) and close to 100 additional volumes directly from Legnica in January 1949.¹⁹¹

Some other GBL acquisition files from the postwar period found in the RGB Archive help complete the broader picture of the arrival of the close to two million trophy books RGB librarians are now estimating the Lenin Library received during 1946 and 1947. Presumably, other still hidden documentation may also surface in RGB, while research and productive dialog can continue about the fate of the Turgenev Library. As of fall 2002, even RGB librarians researching holdings from the Turgenev Library claim not to have seen the files of the GBL First [Secret] Division, and the administrative files of

¹⁹⁰ Shiperovich mentions having sent Tarasenkov books in several of his letters described above, RGALI, 2587/1/760, fols. 81, 92, 94, and 101, among others. See Chapter 5, fns. 143 and 146. I am grateful for colleagues at RGALI and Mariia Belkina for informing me about the transfer of Tarasenkov's library to GBL. Artur Tol'stiakov, who had known Shiperovich and worked with him at the Sovetskii pisatel' publishing house, kindly showed me Tarasenkov's posthumous bibliography, based in part on his library, which he recalled Shiperovich had edited—Anatolii Tarasenkov, *Russkie poety XX veka, 1900–1955: Bibliografiia* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966). He told me that Shiperovich also served as a “content” editor for the catalogue of dedicatory literary autographs from the Tarasenkov library, [Gosudarstvennaia ordena Lenina biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina, Muzei knigi], *Avtografy sovetskikh poetov iz kollektzii A. K. Tarasenkova: Katalog*, comp. E. I. Iatsunok, M. M. Geller, and S. S. Ishkova (Moscow: GBL, 1981; “Russkaia kniga XX veka v sobranii Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina: katalogi,” vol. 3); the latter catalogue includes a preface about the Tarasenkov library (ca. 8,500 volumes). Neither of these publications mentions Shiperovich by name, nor do they mention any receipts from the Turgenev Library. Likewise, the card file covering the Tarasenkov library held in the Museum of the Book does not record any Turgenev Library book stamps.

¹⁹¹ See the documentation about the arrival of those shipments mentioned earlier (fns. 156 and 158).

the *Spetskhran* are still closed to outside research. Nevertheless, we have come a long way and can anticipate more revelations now that RGB has, with the encouragement of the Ministry of Culture, started a special electronic catalogue of books from the Turgenev Library and has publicly revealed what its librarians now know about RGB holdings from Paris, which had previously been held in secret beneath the “seventh seal.”¹⁹²

¹⁹² Ryzhak and Miasishcheva, “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud'ba Turgenevskoi biblioteki, p. 108. Files from the *Pervyi otdel* have not yet been declassified nor are files of the former *Spetskhran* available for consultation as of 2002. Ryzhak and her RGB colleagues report finding no further documentation about the arrival of the estimated 8,000–10,000 Turgenev Library books from Legnica, or the role of Boris Shiperovich in their transfer.

7. Archival Rossica and Leniniana Find New Homes

The administrative records of any institution are crucial to its existence, the memory of its past, and its legal functions. While the Turgenev Library functions today in Paris, what remains of its pre-World War II records is held in Moscow, including even two volumes of its book catalogues. Library associates in Paris had not realized the extent to which the ERR had confiscated the administrative records of the library along with the books, and only recently are the extent, importance, and dispersal of those pre-1941 records becoming apparent. While many of the administrative files of the Turgenev Library came to the Lenin Library together with the library books, presumably via Legnica, most of the files were transferred elsewhere or were forgotten according to Soviet priorities. Their story reflects another aspect of the larger context of the fate of the Turgenev Library in Soviet hands, paralleling in some ironic ways its earlier fate under the Nazi regime. The fate of the library's archives thus becomes a microcosmic example of Soviet policies and procedures for the retrieval and dispersal of captured archives—in this case, within the framework of the “archival Rossica” (and “Sovietica”) components.¹⁹³

All archives in the Soviet Union, together with their controlling agency, the Main Archival Administration (GAU pri NKVD; 1946–1960, MVD; later known as Glavarkhiv), were under NKVD (after 1946, MVD) jurisdiction from 1936 until 1960. During World War II, and especially as the Red Army advanced to Berlin, it was usually the military counter-intelligence agency SMERSH that dealt with the reconnaissance of archives, while the specialized library trophy brigades under the Chief Political Command (GlavPU RKKA) of the Red Army were searching for books: potential trophy books as well as those from Soviet libraries that had been plundered by the Nazi occupiers. We have no confirmation that SMERSH was involved in the case of the retrieval of the Turgenev Library, but we do know that Major Boris Shiporovich was reporting directly to General Okorokov, who we know headed the Chief Political Command in Silesia.

During the final year of the war, instructions went out for the care and retrieval of archives. One of the high priorities for SMERSH and other military trophy brigades was the retrieval of “archival Rossica,” including the socialist component “Sovietica.” Particularly important in terms of archival Rossica, were materials that could help Soviet authorities track down Russian émigré organizations, identify potential “enemies of the Soviet regime,” and control dissemination of their “pernicious literature” abroad. Thus the Turgenev Library received the priority attention already noted. Another high priority was the retrieval of books and archival materials relating to the socialist revolutionary movement, and especially the history of the Communist Party of the USSR. The fact that

¹⁹³ See my article “Russia’s Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?” [Electronic version](http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives.shtml)—Budapest: Open Society Archive (Central European University), 2002—<http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives.shtml>. Regarding the Rossica component, see Grimsted, “Tsel' vyivleniia zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: Politika ili kul'tura?” in *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: Itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 16–17 noiabria 2000 g., Moskva*, ed. V. P. Kozlov and E. E. Novikova (Moscow, 2001; Rosarkhiv, Rossiiskoe obshchestvo istorikov-arkhivistov), pp. 20–39. An English version is forthcoming, “Russian Attitudes Towards Archival Rossica Abroad: Cultural Reintegration or Political Agenda?” as part of the proceedings of the conference honouring the 50th Anniversary of the Barhmeteff Archive, Columbia University, 12–13 October 2001, in *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 4, no. 4 (2003). An expanded English version is in preparation.

Vladimir Lenin himself had personally worked in the Turgenev Library during his prerevolutionary Paris visits made its holdings potentially even more attractive in Moscow.

According to Soviet regulations, captured archives were handled differently and with a higher priority than captured books, although they often arrived in Moscow intermixed. Specific NKVD archival instructions in the postwar years called for archival materials to be separated from printed books. Receiving institutions were required to transfer trophy archival materials in various categories to the appropriate archival authorities. Files of Russian émigré organizations and individuals were among those to be transferred to the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR—TsGAOR SSSR (now a major part of the State Archive of the Russian Federation, GA RF). There they joined the Russian Foreign Historical Archive (RZIA) from Prague, which had arrived in Moscow in nine freight wagons just after New Year 1946. Although RZIA came as a “gift” to the Academy of Sciences, it was immediately signed over to TsGAOR SSSR, where a special secret division was created to prepare card files and reports on émigrés named in its collections, along with related émigré archives. Any papers of Bolshevik revolutionary leaders, especially any associated with Marx, Engels, and even more specifically any scrap of paper that was related to Vladimir Lenin, were to be transferred post haste to the Central Party Archive (TsPA), now the major basis of the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI). Some categories of trophy archival materials that related to the Russian revolutionary movement abroad (especially those who sided against the Bolsheviks or did not “contribute” to the Bolshevik cause), however, were also usually transferred to the same secret division of TsGAOR.

Presumably the archival materials from the Turgenev Library had moved with the books to the Lenin Library in one or more of the book transfers involving that library. Already in late March 1946 we heard that the director of the Lenin Library had proposed to transfer some of the archival materials that had arrived from Legnica, namely, the papers of Vladimir Burtsev and Viktor Chernov that were part of “a shipment of books from Germany from the Officers’ Club of the Political Command of the Northern Group.”¹⁹⁴ While the official “Act” of transfer has not been found, large fonds of papers of both Vladimir Burtsev and Viktor Chernov are held in GA RF (earlier in TsGAOR SSSR).

Full documentation is available for the 1948 transfer of émigré materials of Paris provenance, including records of the Turgenev Library, to TsGAOR SSSR. (A facsimile of the official “Act” of transfer appears in Appendix IV.) The administrative files from the Turgenev Library were the first to be listed as part of a large transfer from the Lenin Library to TsGAOR SSSR in November 1948 consisting of 170 bundles (in 30 crates) of “archival materials acquired in 1946–1947.” That transfer (dated 18 November 1948) involved: “(1) materials acquired together with books from the Turgenev Library from Paris in 1946–1947” and “(2) materials acquired together with trophy books from Germany.”¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ See the letter from Lenin Library director Vasilii G. Olishev to GAU Chief I. I. Nikitinskii proposing transfer (19 March 1946), RGB Archive, *op.* 214, *d.* 6, *f.* 19. See also fn. 31. The official acts of transfer/accession in TsGAOR have not yet been located. Some of the personal papers of both Burtsev and Chernov now held in GA RF were received in the late 1940s.

¹⁹⁵ The official “Act” of transfer (18 November 1948) is retained among the administrative records of TsGAOR SSSR, GA RF, 5142/1/423, fol. 141. That copy was signed by Mikhail Il’ich Rubinskii, chief of the RZIA Division of TsGAOR SSSR and Ol’ga V. Rubetskaia of the Lenin Library, and attested by GBL Director Vasilii G. Olishev (18 November 1948; a handwritten date over the seals is 2 December 1948). GA RF archivist Ol’ga Kopylova found this document and kindly provided me a copy when I was earlier researching the fate of the Petliura Library, after I had questioned the GA RF attribution of provenance of the Petliura Library files to RZIA. See the facsimile in Appendix IV. Ryzhak quotes a copy in the files of the former Special Division (Spetskhran), “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud’ba Turgenevskoi

A report dated nine days earlier by the Chief of the RZIA Division of TsGAOR SSSR explains that he had inspected all of those materials in the Secret Division of the Lenin Library, where they “had been received with books from Berlin.” He advised their transfer to TsGAOR, explaining, “by their content they relate to the holdings from RZIA.”¹⁹⁶

Details under the first category specified “administrative records (*deloproizvodstvo*) of the Turgenev Library in Paris from 1911–1937.” Also included were “documentary materials of Russian emigrants in Paris, [...] correspondence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Paris from 1932–1936, [...] and] editorial materials of the journal ‘*Byloe*’, [...] among others.” Vladimir Burtsev, then based in Paris, edited the journal *Byloe*. The transfer also specified “materials of Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Paris,” which was undoubtedly the source of the administrative files and catalogues from the Petliura Library now held in GA RF, as well as files of the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub* housed in that Ukrainian Library in Paris. Other archival materials from Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris, many of which had been collected in the Petliura Library before the Nazi invasion, were also included with that transfer but were separated out into fragmentary splinter fonds in TsGAOR SSSR.¹⁹⁷

Files of the Turgenev Library now constitute two separate fonds in GA RF. Most of the important documents in the main fond of the Turgenev Library (fond 6846, 141 files) are some of the library’s administrative records (1911–1938), including an incomplete series of reports and minutes (protocols) of association meetings (1912–1933), scattered correspondence files (1910–1940), financial accounts (1906–1934), book acquisition records (1927–1932), and files of published articles and reports about the library and its history, with printed announcements about some of its historic celebrations. There are also some files of offprints and clippings on various subjects and other miscellaneous materials that had undoubtedly either been collected in the library or donated with personal archival materials of various members, but which have become hopelessly disarranged in the course of successive transports and transfers.¹⁹⁸

Indicative of the problems of Moscow archival rearrangement for the émigré materials received after the war is exemplified in the Turgenev Library fond, where the first file under “correspondence” contains letters to and from soldiers after World War I (1920) borrowing or returning books to the library. The contingent correspondence relating to soldiers borrowing books from the library during 1919, however, was erroneously arranged in TsGAOR SSSR as a separate fond, although the letters are clearly an integral part of Turgenev Library records.¹⁹⁹

biblioteki,” p. 106; but she told me that was probably on the basis of the copy from GA RF I had given her.

¹⁹⁶ See the handwritten report signed by Mikhail Il’ich Rubinskii, chief of the RZIA Division of TsGAOR SSSR (9 November 1948), GA RF, 5142/1/423, fol. 140. The fact that these materials were accessioned by the RZIA Division explains why TsGAOR SSSR archivists later assigned their provenance to RZIA. See the text in Appendix IV. There is no confirmation available as to what archival materials were “received from Berlin” or which actually came from Legnica.

¹⁹⁷ “Act” of transfer (18 November 1948), GA RF, 5142/1/423, fol. 141. Note that the revolutionary journal *Byloe* was edited by Burtsev and probably came with his papers mentioned above. For details about the groups of records from the Petliura Library, editorial records of *Tryzub*, and other Ukrainian community organizations in Paris now in GA RF, see Grimsted, “The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library,” especially pp. 408–16.

¹⁹⁸ See GA RF, fond 6846 (1 *opis*’, 141 files). More details and reference to published descriptions are found in Appendix I.

¹⁹⁹ The correspondence about books borrowed from the library by soldiers in 1919 remains now inappropriately as a separate collection (fond R-6162, 1 *opis*’, 13 items, 1919). See more details in Appendix I.

Not all the “archival” materials from Paris had been adequately sorted from the printed editions in the Lenin Library before their odyssey continued across Moscow to TsGAOR, nor did any the hasty arrangement of the fonds in TsGAOR reflect their true provenance. What the November 1948 inspection report and transfer papers failed to point out, but that was noticed by an archival inspection team 15 years later in 1963, was that some 35 files of printed brochures and serial issues were intermixed with the transferred archival materials and had been arranged in what had been established by TsGAOR archivists as the fond for records of the Turgenev Library. Although the 1963 inspectors and subsequent commission report advised that those 35 files should be transferred to the TsGAOR library, they still remain today as originally arranged in the fond. Thus approximately 35 of the 141 files in the main fond of Turgenev Library administrative records comprise fragmentary printed serial issues and brochures, many (but not all) of which had undoubtedly been previously held by the Paris library.²⁰⁰ These include, for example, six issues of a prerevolutionary union newspaper for metal workers *Metallist*, scattered issues of a French newspaper of the metal workers’ union, several issues of the journal *Edinstvo* (St. Petersburg), an issue of the journal *Kolokol* (1912) founded by Alexander Herzen (Aleksandr Gertsen), and a number of other socialist brochures in Russian and French.

Recently it has come to light that 26 files (four archival boxes) of administrative documentation from the Turgenev Library remain today in the RGB Manuscript Division, long kept inaccessible in the unprocessed trophy reserves. Presumably they arrived with the rest of the Turgenev Library materials that in 1948 were transferred from the Lenin Library to TsGAOR SSSR, because they mesh with those files now held in GA RF. Since my initial request to examine these documents in 2000, the Manuscript Division has been processing the files, registering them as a separate fond (fond 878). Most important are two albums of original documents relating to the history of the Paris library that were prepared in the mid-1930s, one large one dealing with the pre-1936 history, and a second prepared after the library moved to 13/15 rue de la Bucherie. Financial records of the Paris library date (with gaps) from 1908 to the end of 1927. Several files contain reports and/or protocols of meetings of the Library Administration, including one of particular interest covering the period of World War I through 1921, which recount that the library nearly had to close its doors permanently during the war. These records also describe the program of book loans to Russian soldiers in France (covered by the second fond in GA RF). Several additional files contain correspondence by different individuals associated with the library along with some acquisition records.²⁰¹ Thus, not only does RGB retain thousands of books from the Paris library, but it also retains some of the library’s important administrative files. But the unfortunate division of the Turgenev Library’s extant records between two repositories in Moscow is not the only problem. Still a third Moscow archive was involved in the dispersal, namely, the successor to the Central Party Archive (TsPA), today known as the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI).

The Institute of Marx, Engels, and Lenin (IMEL pri TsK VVP[b], after 1956 IML pri TsK KPSS) was one of the most important institutions whose holdings were enriched by trophy archives in the aftermath of World War II. IMEL had top priority on materials

²⁰⁰ “Spravka” (30 February 1964), signed by Belousova, GA RF, *delo fonda* 6846, fol. 4v, and repeated in another signed order, fol. 5. I am very grateful to GA RF archivist Ol’ga Kopylova for finding this documentation and helping me resolve some of the remaining questions about this fond.

²⁰¹ Andrei Ivanovich Serkov in the RGB Manuscript Division confirmed their identity to me in 2000. In September 2002, I was shown six of those files that had been processed in fond 878 (Turgenevskaiia obshchestvennaia biblioteka v Parizhe, Arkhiv), fond 878, but finally in July 2003 I was able to examine the rest. See more details in Appendix I.

with a “socialist” orientation. When its representatives heard about the arrival of the Turgenev Library in Moscow, they sent inquiries to the Lenin Library and Gosfond, and their specialists examined incoming books for receipts of IMEL “profile.” Although several transfers took place from the Lenin Library to IMEL in the immediate postwar decade, there is no evidence of any significant transfer of trophy books with Turgenev Library stamps.²⁰²

Only one book containing notes by Lenin from the Paris library has been identified, an 1897 analysis of factories in the Odessa region. That volume is now held in the special collection of Leniniana (part of fond 2) in RGASPI, the successor to the Central Party Archive (TsPA). In addition to having two different stamps of the Turgenev Library, the book also bears a stamp of the Library/Archive of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (“Biblioteka i arkhiv TsK RSDRP”), which we have encountered elsewhere, although in this case the stamp had been heavily blacked out and a stamp (and accession number) of the State Lenin Library (GBL) was added. Using that GBL registration number, with the help of RGB librarians, it was possible to track down the withdrawal note for the book in the 1948 Lenin Library register. Interestingly enough, in that case, the book had been withdrawn because there were already two other copies of that edition in the Lenin Library. Apparently the Lenin notes were discovered only later, and then the volume was transferred to the Party Archive.²⁰³ Other books transferred to IMEL from the Lenin Library would have been accessioned in the regular holdings of the IMEL Library rather than the Central Party Archive. How many volumes might have been involved has yet to be determined.

In the postwar decades IMEL did not claim most of the other Turgenev Library books in the Lenin Library that also bear stamps of the Central Committee of the Foreign Bureau of the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party (ZB TsK RSDRP). Many books with both those stamps have been identified in the RGB Museum of the Book, and many others have surfaced in the Division of Basic Holdings. While prerevolutionary socialist publications from the Paris library were naturally of direct interest to IMEL, many of them turned out to be duplicates of books and brochures already transferred to Moscow with the RSDRP library itself in 1923 or received by IMEL in the 1920s and 30s from other sources.

The incidence of RSDRP stamps on books also bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library results from the little known 1910 agreement between the RSDRP and the Turgenev Library, whereby a significant part of the RSDRP library was given over to the Turgenev Library with provisions for housing the rest of the RSDRP library and archival collections that had arrived earlier that year in Paris from Geneva, together with Vladimir Lenin and the Central Committee Foreign Bureau itself. Writings about the Turgenev Library have never referenced the matter, perhaps because the original signed copy of the

²⁰² A copy of one outgoing memorandum from the Lenin Library (dated 12 March 1946) explains that GBL could not send one register with a Lenin inscription as a reader to IMEL because it comprises an important permanent record of the library readership with 19 other inscriptions by readers on the same page. RGB, Archive, *op.* 214, *d.* 6, fol. 7.

²⁰³ RGASPI, fond 2/1/26073, entitled *Fabrichno-zavodskaiia i remeslennaia promyshlennost' Odesskogo gradonachal'stva Khersonskoi Gubernii, s prilozheniem spiska fabrik, zavodov i sel'sko-khoziaistvennykh mel'nits*, compiled by A. A. Mikulin (Odessa, 1897). The GBL accession number (120340-48) was registered in 1948, and withdrawn in late 1949 or early 1950. In addition to the TsPA registration, the book also bears an earlier IMEL Library stamp and accession number (664928). Given the Turgenev Library stamp with the address of “328, rue Saint-Jacques,” the book would have been acquired between 1900 and 1913 when the library was located there. According to Maiia Dvorkina, who has researched these collections in the former TsPA, that is the only book with Lenin notes from the Turgenev Library she has found that was transferred to TsPA from GBL after the war.

1910 agreement between the Turgenev Library Association and the RSDRP Foreign Bureau from the Turgenev Library administrative records is today held in Moscow among CP Central Committee records (fond 17) in RGASPI (formerly TsPA).

The handwritten agreement (signed by Lev Kamenev [*pseud. of Rozenfel'd*]) on behalf of the RSDRP provides for the transfer of major parts of the RSDRP library—referred to there as the “library of the editorial office of ‘*Proletarii*’ (Proletariat)”—to the Turgenev Library, and provides for a separate room (with exclusive RSDRP use) for other parts of the RSDRP library within the Turgenev Library building. Approximately 12,000 catalogue positions were involved. In exchange for accommodations, the RSDRP transferred part of its library to the Turgenev Library Association. Thus the Turgenev Library acquired full ownership of all “belles-lettres” imprints in Russian and foreign languages from the RSDRP library, along with books relating to the history of literature, linguistics, and art, as well as science and technology and descriptions of Russia by foreign authors. The RSDRP Central Committee retained ownership of books, brochures, and serials on socio-political subjects and revolutionary literature, although the Turgenev Library had the right to use them (but not check them out of the library), and there were provisions for the exchange of duplicates in those subject areas. A specified number of RSDRP members were to be given free use of the Turgenev Library among other reciprocal and technical arrangements specified in the agreement. The same file also contains the original transfer proposal to the Turgenev Library Association from the RSDRP Foreign Bureau, along with follow-up letters regarding arrangements and lists of some of the RSDRP periodicals delivered to the Turgenev Library during 1911.²⁰⁴

While after the Revolution in 1923 the remainder of the RSDRP library from Paris was sent to the Soviet Union, the RSDRP library transfer to the Turgenev Library and the close relationship starting in 1910 explains why there were also so many RSDRP stamps on Turgenev Library books that arrived in Moscow after World War II. Russian librarians today may want to claim that the provenance of many of those books was the RSDRP Library. In fact, however, as a result of that signed transfer agreement, those books were legally acquired by the Turgenev Library in Paris, although while the RSDRP library was housed in the Turgenev Library building, it did also acquire some duplicates that might have had Turgenev Library stamps.

Although not so acknowledged in the Central Committee records in RGASPI (fond 17), the documents in that file, including the signed agreement between the RSDRP Central Committee and the Turgenev Library, actually came to Moscow with the archival materials of the Turgenev Library itself. Those documents had been acquired by TsGAOR SSSR with the 1948 transfer from the Lenin Library and arranged as a file (no. 144) within the records of the Turgenev Library (Paris) in the secret RZIA Division of TsGAOR (fond 6846). The file was discovered there by the same 1963 inspection team mentioned above that had also found printed journal issues within the fond. The 1963 inspection “report” (Spravka) took special note of the “correspondence of the library association with the Central Committee of

²⁰⁴ The original signed agreement “Dogovor” (10 December 1910) is in RGASPI, 17/1(pt.2)/936, fols. 2–3. (See the text in Russian transcription, facsimile, and English translation in Appendix VI.) Maïia Dvorkina kindly alerted me to the agreement, and I was later able to trace the provenance of the document. The original transfer proposal to the Turgenev Library (fol. 1) on behalf of the RSDRP Foreign Bureau (2.XII.1910) is signed by Boris Igorev (*pseud. of B. I. Gol'dman*) (see the facsimile in Appendix VI). Lists of serial issues transferred to the Turgenev Library in 1911 are also preserved (fols. 6 and 14). An explanation about the agreement and the negotiations regarding the RSDRP library was published by Roman Peresvetov, *Poiski bestsennogo naslediiia (O sudbe nekotorykh rukopisei V.I. Lenina)*, 2d ed. (Moscow: Politizdat, 1968), “Posleslovie” by TsPA Chief Vinogradov, pp. 330–31. The underground newspaper *Proletarii* (1906–1909) was edited by Lenin, and Kamenev also participated.

the RSDRP Foreign Bureau of the RSDRP Central Committee (with a letter of Lenin included) about the use of the library and transfer of books.” Unlike the printed materials noted in the same report that remain part of the fond today in GA RF, however, the original documents in the file about the RSDRP library in Paris (no. 144) were all removed and replaced with photocopies. In February 1964 the original correspondence in that file was transferred to IML for deposit in the Central Party Archive.²⁰⁵

Among the original documents in that file there was indeed an incoming autograph letter to the Turgenev Library in Russian signed “V. Lenin” (and below in Latin letters, “Vl[adimir] Oulianoff, 4 rue Marie Rose”), dated 29 March 1912 (as evident from the photocopies remaining in GA RF). Acknowledging that the RSDRP library was now housed in the Turgenev Library, Lenin addressed the Turgenev Library Association proposing the desirability of discussing “the terms and conditions for the transfer of the library.”²⁰⁶ Apparently, Lenin was not aware of the contract signed earlier by the predominantly Menshevik members of the RSDRP Technical Commission, and reportedly he did not favor providing open access to the RSDRP library and archive. According to a draft reply to the RSDRP Foreign Bureau, the Turgenev Library, acknowledging the receipt of Lenin’s letter, pointed out that there was already a signed agreement (dated December 1910) followed by a letter confirming the technical arrangements for the library from the RSDRP Technical Commission (23 June 1911).²⁰⁷ A subsequent letter to the Turgenev Library signed by the secretary of the RSDRP Technical Commission (dated 9 April 1912) reaffirmed the terms of the 1910 agreement, explaining that “Lenin had not been involved.”²⁰⁸

The original incoming autograph Lenin letter had little bearing on the arrangements for the RSDRP library between the RSDRP Foreign Bureau and the Turgenev Library Association. Yet the removal of that letter from what was to become the Central Committee file, and the earlier removal of that entire file from the twice-plundered Turgenev Library records in GA RF, are significant as examples of the unfortunate dispersal of trophy archives and the disruption of the original office context of the records in the process. Such patterns of dispersal were all too common with the trophy archives that were transferred to the Soviet Union after World War II, and greatly complicate efforts to track down the fate of a particular body of surviving records.

²⁰⁵ “Spravka” (30 February 1964), GA RF, *delo fonda* 6846, fol. 4, with confirmation of the transfer to IML, fol. 5. A margin note beside the entry for *delo* 144 in the present *opis'* for fond 6846 also acknowledges the transfer as does a signed note attached inside at the folder (dated 25 June 1964), of present file no. 144 that contains quality photocopies. A photocopy of the signed agreement is found in GA RF, 6846/1/144, fols. 2–4. (See the facsimile reproduced in Appendix VI)

²⁰⁶ V. I. Lenin (Ul'ianov) to Turgenev Library Association (Paris, 29 March 1912), GA RF, 6846/1/144, fol. 9 (photocopy); a pencilled note on the cover of the folder erroneously indicates a letter of Lenin on fol. 7. The original letter is now held in RGASPI, fond 2/1/25573 (the original remains in the RGASPI vault); although also no acknowledgement that the letter had been withdrawn from the RSDRP file in the Central Committee records in RGASPI, 17/1(pt. 2)/936. The letter was also mentioned in the “Postscript” [Posleslovie] by TsPA director Vinogradov, in Peresvetov, *Poiski bestsennogo naslediiia*, pp. 330–31. The discovery of the Lenin letter in TsGAOR SSSR was described in a newspaper article by A. Lazebnikov, “Vstrechi s Leninyim na Pirogovskoi, 17. Reportazh iz arkhiva Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii,” *Sovetskaia Rossia*, no. 185 (7 August 1965), p. 4.

²⁰⁷ Turgenev Library Association to ZB RSDRP (draft, [Paris], n.d.), GA RF, 6846/1/144, fols. 11–12 (photocopy). The original draft of the Turgenev Library reply is found in the file in RGASPI, 17/1(pt.2)/936, fols. 9–9v. When I first examined the file in RGASPI, I did not understand the meaning of the draft reply, because the incoming letter from Lenin referred to was missing from the file.

²⁰⁸ Secretary ZB RSDRP Lev Vladimirov [M.K.] to Turgenev Library Association (Paris, 9 April 1912), RGASPI, 17/1(pt.2)/936, fols. 10–11; GA RF, 6846/1/144, fols. 13–14 (photocopy).

At the end of 1945 or early in 1946, IMEL received from Minsk another set of publications from the Turgenev Library bearing stamps of the Central Committee (TsK) of the RSDRP. It consisted of a complete run of Lenin's revolutionary newspaper *Iskra*, which had "come to Germany from a Russian Library in Paris." When the complex surfaced in Minsk in the fall of 1945 in one of the trophy book shipments, Belarusian Communist Party officials dutifully wrote to Moscow requesting permission to retain the complete set of 96 issues of the newspaper *Iskra* (1901–1905). The Minsk request was denied by Agitprop (Administration of Agitation and Propaganda) under the CP Central Committee. On 20 December 1945, Agitprop Chief Georgii Aleksandrov reported the Minsk request to Central Committee Secretary Grigorii Malenkov, and explained the Agitprop decision that, "taking into account its historical value, that complex should be turned over to IMEL" in Moscow. Besides, Aleksandrov's letter continued, "more than half of those numbers (late 1903, 1904, and 1905) pertain to the Menshevik *Iskra*." Hence "it would be preferable to give the Belarusian Central Committee duplicate issues of the Leninist *Iskra* from IMEL."²⁰⁹

The formal act of transfer has not surfaced, and that particular historic run of *Iskra* with RSDRP and Turgenev Library stamps has not been located in Moscow. Unfortunately IMEL did not keep all of its *Iskra* holdings together in consecutive sets, nor did it retain data about where they came from, but none of the several sets in the former Central Party Archive (now RGASPI) bears RSDRP and Turgenev Library stamps. Recently, librarians in the IMEL/IML successor library GOPB have identified seven issues of *Iskra* bearing Turgenev Library stamps, but only one of them has a faded stamp that may have been that of the RSDRP Foreign Bureau.²¹⁰ Several prewar accounts of the Paris library mention a full set of *Iskra*, and an extant undated prewar catalogue of serials still preserved in Paris lists 74 issues. The fate of the rest of the issues listed that surfaced in Minsk has yet to be determined.²¹¹

Thirty-five years later, in 1984, the IML Library received another batch of books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library, in this case a gift from the Institute of Party History in Warsaw. It was explained at the time of transfer that the books had been found in a Russian Officers' Club in Poland. More recently, in the course of this study, it has been possible to determine that the 118 books received all bore stamps from the same Officers' Club in Legnica (Field Post no. 02961-D) to which 60,000 books from the Turgenev Library had been transferred at the end of 1945. This was also where Major Boris Shiperovich was presumably sorting and organizing the library, and where many of those with Turgenev Library stamps perished in the following decade. At least now we know that these were some of the Turgenev Library books that survived the "final solution" in the Legnica crematorium.

Above we noted that Russian library school Professor Firsov in Leningrad reported that some 600 books with Turgenev Library stamps had been spotted in Legnica in the

²⁰⁹ G. Aleksandrov and M. Iovchuk to G. M. Malenkov (20 December 1945), RGASPI, 17/125/308, fol. 64.

²¹⁰ I am grateful to Maiia Dvorkina and her colleagues for searching for the missing set in GOPB and xeroxing the issues with stamps they found. Several issues have an additional poorly visible stamp, possibly the stamp of the RSDRP. One of the runs of *Iskra* held by RGASPI bear stamps of Turgenev Library or RSDRP as verified there with the kind assistance of RGASPI archivists. Further investigation of the fate of the *Iskra* complex from the Turgenev Library in the USSR is still needed.

²¹¹ *Iskra* is listed with individual holdings of at least 74 issues in the extant prewar catalogue of serial publications now held in the Paris library. See the catalogue listing reproduced in Appendix I.

1960s by a Polish library student. Later efforts to verify that report were inconclusive.²¹² We also referred to the fact that the same book stamp of the Legnica Officers' Club was on books from the Turgenev Library in the Maiakovskii Museum and some of those in the Lenin Library! As was the case with the books examined in the former Lenin Library, many of the 118 books have stamps from other previous holding libraries as well: 23 bear stamps from the Herzen Library in Nice, which had been turned over to the Turgenev Library in Paris in September 1938, and four came from the Russian Library in Montpellier.²¹³ Since most of the books were in the category of "belles-lettres," the IML Library decided the books did not fit its "profile." Accordingly, they were set aside and never officially accessioned.

In February 2002 those 118 books were formally turned over to representatives of the Turgenev Library in Moscow. By the fall of 2002 they had been transferred to the French Embassy in Moscow and arrived in Paris by diplomatic pouch in January 2003. Today, even while IML's successor archive (RGASPI) retains some of the twice-plundered socialist "gems" (including a letter signed by Lenin) from the Turgenev Library acquired in the postwar Soviet period, ironically and symbolically, it is IML's successor library GOPB that today leads all other Russian libraries on the road to restitution of books to Paris from the Turgenev Library.

²¹² Firsov, "Turgenevskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka," p. 87. Maïia Dvorkina attempted unsuccessfully to extract more information from Firsov and to verify the Polish report further herself. Her unpublished typewritten report was prepared recently for the Turgenev Library in Paris, "Proiskhozhdenie knig iz Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki v Gosudarstvennoi obshchestvenno-politicheskoi biblioteke." After H el ene Kaplan kindly furnished me with a copy, I have had several occasions in Moscow to discuss related problems with Dvorkina personally.

²¹³ Dvorkina, "Proiskhozhdenie knig iz Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki." Dvorkina kindly furnished me copies of several title pages with stamps. A collection of Kapnist writings (St. Petersburg, 1849), in addition to the Army stamp (Voiskovaia chast'—Dlia paketov"), bears two earlier stamps of the Paris library—"Biblioth que Russe de Paris" and "Biblioth que Russe de Tourgu neff," as well as a stamp "SPETsFOND" with the inventory no. 1257 (earlier no. "312" is crossed out as is a price of "5 rubles"; "50 kop." remains).

8. From Minsk to the Island of Sakhalin

If the current estimate of holdings in the Russian State Library is approximately 10,000 volumes, then what happened to the additional approximately 50,000 books from the Turgenev Library that were transferred from Mysłowice to Legnica? And what happened to the remaining additional 40,000 of the over 100,000 volumes that the ERR took from Paris and kept together as far as Ratibor? These questions can only partly be answered. We do not know how many volumes from the Turgenev Library the ERR had in Ratibor. We do not know how many were shipped to Minsk or how many books were left behind in Legnica, how many perished there, or how many fell into private hands. While we know that the largest number of surviving books from the Paris collection came to the Leninka, we also know that by 1948, the Lenin Library started to transfer trophy books to other institutions, in some cases shorn of their earlier markings, Turgenev Library books among them. We still have no idea about how many were dispersed to libraries throughout the former USSR from Minsk.

The run of *Iskra* that surfaced in Minsk in 1945 and that was supposed to have been sent to Moscow was only one of the more sought-after publications from Paris that arrived in the Belarusian capital. Many more of the Turgenev Library books from Ratibor were found by Soviet authorities in Mysłowitz and never unpacked from the German shipping crates were in fact transferred to Minsk with the fall 1945 echelon. It is exceedingly difficult—if not impossible—today to determine the exact number or their subsequent fate. According to Galina N. Oleinik, the director of what is now the National Library of Belarus (formerly the Lenin State Library of the Belarusian SSR), many foreign books from Belarus were transferred to Moscow at various times.

After the restitution shipment from Moscow to the Netherlands in 1992, of 600 Dutch books from the All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL), Dutch librarians and their Moscow colleagues made further efforts to trace the migration of the books that had been returned. They discovered that the books had most probably been transferred to VGBIL from Minsk. Oleinik reported shipments of some 96 Dutch books in 1981 and another 1,207 in 1983 to the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL). At least one earlier transfer of approximately 11,000 volumes of books in foreign languages took place before 1978, part to VGBIL and part to the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN) in Leningrad.²¹⁴ So far only one book from the Turgenev Library surfaced among the VGBIL receipts from Minsk, and that one was an 1885 Dutch-language edition of the New Testament bearing Turgenev Library stamps. After it was “returned” to Amsterdam in 1992 with the restitution shipment of 600 Dutch books from VGBIL, Dutch librarians recognized the stamp and returned the book to its Paris home. In addition to two different Turgenev Library stamps, the Dutch Bible now held by the Turgenev Library in Paris also bears a stamp and registration number of VGBIL.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ See details, including the figures about the shipments from Minsk to Moscow (on the basis of a letter from G. N. Oleinik), in Hoogewoud’s report, “Russia’s Only Restitution of Books to the West,” in *The Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 72–74.

²¹⁵ The return to Paris is also mentioned by Hoogewoud, *ibid.* The Dutch Bible now in Paris bears an only partially visible stamp of VGBIL (on its table of contents page) with the registration number 1970709. Karina Dmitrieva, head of the VGBIL Rare Book Sector, verified that the Bible was received in 1984 from Minsk. I am grateful to Hèlene Kaplan for arranging digital images of the stamps. The title page and the partially visible VGBIL stamp are reproduced in Appendix I.

Other volumes from the Paris library that were shipped to Minsk were not as lucky as the Dutch Bible. The book burning in Legnica was not the only act of destruction suffered by the captive books from the Turgenev Library in Soviet hands. Reports from several sources indicate that many of the books with Turgenev Library markings that remained in Minsk suffered a similar tragic fate. Destruction during Soviet-period “ideological purification” campaigns was confirmed to a Moscow colleague by a librarian in the Belarusian capital who risked censure by trying to save some of the title pages with dedicatory autographs.²¹⁶ Recently another librarian from Belarus attested to the disposal of Turgenev Library and other foreign books that were taken to the “KGB incineration site” in Asipovichy (*Russian* Osipovichichi) about 100 km. from Minsk, but again figures are not available.

The same tragic fate befell a few volumes from the Turgenev Library that ended up in Ukraine, but no others have been identified there in the meantime. In November 2000 a retired Kyiv librarian recounted to me the fate of a few books with stamps of the Turgenev Library, together with a few books from the Petliura Library, that were received amidst one of the shipments of trophy books from Leningrad to Kyiv in 1946–1947. The librarian, who headed the Foreign Literature Division in the State Historical Library in Kyiv for many years, related that in the 1960s, she had answered an appeal from the Moscow press for information about books from the Turgenev Library, and her response about those in Kyiv was published in Moscow (she could not recall the journal). In 1983, however, during a period of further “ideological cleansing,” she was ordered to remove all of the books so identified and turn them over to the appropriate authorities. After she wrote a letter of protest to the Communist Party in an effort to preserve more of the books in her section from destruction, she lost her job, following a trying investigation.²¹⁷

Given that story, perhaps there is hope of salvation for other books in Ukraine that did not make it to a library. A colleague in Kyiv recently reported news of a few more Turgenev Library books in a village outside of Kyiv that had been brought home by a soldier from the war. They are now in the hands of a destitute elderly man who lacks an adequate retirement pension. The Kyivan colleague has not yet been able to inspect them or extend an offer to purchase.

Additional volumes originating in the Turgenev Library that survived the library purges in Belarus have recently been identified in Minsk, but we still do not know how many. As reported by a Moscow colleague, the Minsk library had a special secret section for trophy books, which had still not been registered or fully catalogued in the 1960s.²¹⁸ The existence of such a section, with Turgenev Library books among them, has been

²¹⁶ See a lengthy footnote on the fate of the Turgenev Library by Nikolai V. Kotrelev, “Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki,” in *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: Izuchenie i opisanie (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh otdelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek yuzov. Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), pp. 107–109; or the English version: “Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library,” *Kul'turologiia: The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 3 (1993), pp. 147–50. In a footnote Kotrelev documents the rescue of several title pages with dedicatory autographs by important Russian writers from volumes with stamps of the Turgenev Library that were designated for destruction “in an outlying Soviet library.” Kotrelev later identified that library to me as being in Minsk, and told me that he has further evidence that most of the books were subsequently destroyed.

²¹⁷ I am grateful to Serhii Kot of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for arranging my interview with Mariia Evgrafevna Samoiloiva, then a department head in the National Parliamentary Library of Ukraine (but since retired). She recounted her story of the fate of the “trophy” books from the Petliura and Turgenev Libraries that had been acquired after the war by the State Historical Library in Kyiv, where she worked until her dismissal in 1984.

²¹⁸ As reported by Frits Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution of Books to the West,” in *The Return of Looted Collections*, pp. 72–74.

reported to me more recently by another librarian from Belarus as well as by Moscow librarians who visited Minsk. Other library visitors from Moscow report many more books with Turgenev Library stamps in private hands. A librarian from Minsk recently assured me he has seen, as late as 1993, a considerable number of books with Turgenev Library stamps in library custody, including one with illustrations and a signed dedication by Marc Chagall.

The émigré writer and literary critic Roman Gul', in a posthumous edition of his memoirs recently published in Moscow, provides yet another angle on the survival of the Turgenev Library in Minsk. In an earlier edition of his memoirs he had recounted one of the Soviet period variants that “the Germans had taken away the entire library to Germany and that it was destroyed there in bombing raids.” He later noted that after that account came out in *Novyi zhurnal*, he received a letter from a “third wave” emigrant who questioned the destruction of the Turgenev Library in Germany because he had seen many books with stamps of the Turgenev Library in the Minsk Public Library. Indeed his informant wrote, when “that priceless library” came into Soviet hands, “instead of returning it to their French ‘Allies’ they stole it. And of course, they brought the books not to Moscow or Leningrad, but to Minsk, where access to it by foreigners would have been essentially closed.”²¹⁹ As it turns out, although Gul’s informant again confirms a significant part of the library was in Minsk, he was not aware how it got there. And obviously he was not yet aware of the fate and dispersal of the rest of the library that had been sent from Legnica to the Lenin Library in Moscow.

Many other books of French provenance that arrived after the war and remain in Minsk libraries were described in two publications during the 1990s in Belarus. Attention focuses on samples with important dedications, including books from the personal libraries of Léon Blum and the publicist Emmanuel Berl (with autographs by André Malraux, Paul Valéry, and André Gide), as well as limited editions by Max Jacob with original illustrations by Pablo Picasso.²²⁰ The Turgenev Library is specifically mentioned among others by the same author in another report on the “Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk” that appeared in 1999 in the *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*.²²¹ Many of the private libraries mentioned also appear on the ERR confiscation lists and undoubtedly ended the war in the Ratibor region. Books from the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam have also surfaced in Minsk, and a provisional list was compiled in the early 1990s.²²² Reports have reached specialist circles that there are many Hebrew books from important European collections, including some from Yugoslavia that were known to have gone to Ratibor. With confirmation about the large echelon of books from Mysłowice we can thus assume that many of the books from Paris libraries that were confiscated together with the Turgenev Library, as well as other books plundered by the Nazis from Ratibor were indeed sent to the Belarusian capital.

²¹⁹ Roman Gul', *Ia unes Rossiia. Apologiia emigratsii*, vol. 1: *Rossiia v Germanii* (Moscow: B.S.G. Press, 2001), p. 108. I am grateful to Konstantin Akinsha for calling this reference to my attention. Gul' noted that the letter reporting books from the Turgenev Library in Minsk remains with his papers, which are now deposited at Yale University.

²²⁰ Vladimir Makarov, “Avtografy sud'by,” *Evropeiskoe vremia* (Minsk), 1993, no. 12, pp. 12–13, and “Avtografy sud'by,” *Vsemirnaia literatura* (Minsk), 1998, no. 6, pp. 134–43.

²²¹ Vladimir Makarov, “Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk,” *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999), pp. 25–27.

²²² A list of books from the International Institute of Social History (IISH), prepared with the assistance of Belarus librarians, is available at IISH in Amsterdam. As of 2003, the National Library has not offered to return them, and IISH has not filed a formal claim.

The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation has estimated that as many as 3,000 for books from the Turgenev Library remained in the National Library of Belarus in Minsk in the late 1990s.²²³ In 2001, however, when the director of the Library of the Russia Abroad Library-Fund in Moscow inquired, he was told there were none. That was the same person who had first identified the Turgenev Library stamp among the Dutch transfers from Minsk to Moscow in the early 1980s.²²⁴ Possibly at least some of the books that arrived in Minsk and had escaped deliberate destruction during the Soviet regime were moved to the Academy of Sciences Library or the recently established Presidential Library in the Belarusian capital, but details are not available. Librarians in Minsk now estimate no more than several hundred in the National Library, but a precise count is not available, because many of the books have now been integrated into the library's holdings.

Four volumes with stamps of the Turgenev Library from Minsk were reportedly transferred to Russia in the late 1990s. If the insatiable demand for Leniniana and other Sovietica inspired the preservation of books from the Turgenev Library in the USSR, and the transfer of the run of *Iskra* with RSDRP stamps from Minsk to Moscow during the Soviet period, post-Soviet politics on the highest level have also played a role in their dispersal. In 1997 Belarusian President Lukashenko presented four books with Turgenev Library stamps to Russian President Yeltsin, and assured his Russian hosts there were thousands more where those came from. The Russian Presidential Administration called upon the Ministry of Culture for a report about the Paris library because they questioned whether or not these books were actually from the personal library of Ivan Turgenev, as Lukashenko had alleged. Although the Ministry of Culture duly explained the history of the Turgenev Library in Paris, when the matter reached Russian Duma leader Egor Stroev, he insisted that the books be given to the Turgenev Museum in Spasskoe-Lutovinovo near Orel (his home district). Thereupon a plea to the Ministry of Culture suggested that all books with the stamp of the Turgenev Library in the former USSR be transferred to Orel. The Ministry of Culture, well aware of the history and importance of the Turgenev Library in Paris, rejected that appeal. In a recent letter to me, however, the Orel Museum director denied receipt or any knowledge of the four Turgenev Library books from Minsk, but their fate has not yet been determined. The museum director also confirmed what we had learned from her predecessor Afonin in 1966: that five books with Turgenev Library stamps were already held by the Turgenev Museum in Orel, including two of them with author's dedications presented to the museum by the Lenin Library (Moscow) in 1965. The Orel Museum director also noted the subsequent receipt of two books with Turgenev Library stamps—one a copy of Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina* from Konstantinov on the Don and another from Ivano-Frankivsk (Ukraine).²²⁵

²²³ "Kratkaia spravka o Turgenevskoi biblioteke v Parizhe" (1997), prepared for the Ministry of Culture by Iurii Grikhanov.

²²⁴ These details come from my conversations with Viktor Moskvina in Moscow in the summer of 2001. Moskvina, who was earlier Deputy Director of VGBIL, now heads the Russia Abroad Library Fund and has been serving as the Moscow representative for the Turgenev Library in Paris. See below, fn. 242.

²²⁵ The details about the Lukashenko visit come from a report, "Kratkaia spravka o Turgenevskoi biblioteke v Parizhe," prepared for the Ministry of Culture at the time of Lukashenko's visit in 1997. I appreciate colleagues in the Ministry openly discussing these matters with me. Details about the other five books there are given in Afonin's article cited in fn. 47. A letter from Orel museum director Valentina Viktorovna Safronova to Patricia K. Grimsted (Orel, 11 April 2003), provided current details of the museum holdings of books with Turgenev Library stamps. The retrieval of a copy of *Anna Karenina* from the Turgenev Library book in Konstantinov-na-Donu was reported in *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 32 (August 1985), p.14 (see fn. 61). Safronova wrote that the book was missing the title page and first 68 pages.

Determining the number and fate of Turgenev Library books that came to the Lenin Library in Moscow and were subsequently dispersed to other libraries is today virtually impossible. Most of those books, particularly since there were many Russian literary classics and Soviet-period publications, would have been duplicates of volumes already held (some in multiple copies) by the “Leninka.” These might have been rare in Paris, but in Moscow the Lenin Library would have received deposit copies to start with and acquired others along the way. Hence it is not surprising how many Turgenev Library books were relegated to the “exchange” or duplicates fund and distributed far and wide. Some of them may have gone to Gosfond, or have stayed with Gosfond after their arrival in Moscow, but others were distributed as duplicates directly from the Lenin Library itself. Besides, as we learned earlier, the Lenin Library did not always keep acquisition data for trophy literature, and earlier stamps were sometimes obliterated or blacked out. Given these complexities, we should delight in the fact that so many books with Turgenev Library stamps have surfaced recently, and that librarians care enough about their fate to make such time-consuming efforts to account for them today.

Indeed, books with stamps of the Turgenev Library from Paris continue to surface in other locations. Twenty-six books from the Turgenev Library have been identified in the library of Voronezh State University, along with another 15 books from the Polish Library in Paris. Librarians there prepared printed catalogues in a series of brochures showing their trophy holdings.²²⁶ Some of the Turgenev Library books distributed to other libraries also have stamps of the Officers’ Club in Legnica, as is the case for at least one of the four books identified in the Maiakovskii Museum in Moscow.²²⁷ That was also true for two books presented by the Lenin Library in 1965 to the Turgenev Museum in Orel mentioned above.

A report presented in the summer of 2001 at a conference in Khabarovsk in the Russian Far East related that some books with the stamp of the library were identified as far away as the island of Sakhalin, north of Japan. These include a study of the “Eastern Question in the Eighteenth Century” by Albert Sorel and a French translation of the letters of the German Social Democrats Karl and Louisa Kautsky with Rosa Luxembourg. From information the Sakhalin librarian was able to gather, the books had been received after the war from the “Exchange Fund” of the Lenin Library.²²⁸

Shortly after the publication of the *Bibliotekovedenie* article about the Turgenev library books in RGB in the summer of 2002, the library of the Luhansk Pedagogical University in Ukraine reported that it had identified one book with a stamp of the Turgenev Library. We cannot determine if that book was received from the former Lenin

²²⁶ A report on the findings in Voronezh was presented at an international conference at the All-Russian State Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow in April 2000. A recent series of leaflets issued by the library (*Zonal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka*) of the Voronezh State University provides full catalogue data. One 2000 issue lists twenty-six books from the Turgenev Library—see *Universitetskaia biblioteka v litsakh, sobytiakh, knigakh*, no. 3: “Knigi iz Russkoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe, khраниashchiesia v NB VGU” (Voronezh, 2000). Another lists fifteen books from the Polish Library in Paris: no. 5: “Iz kataloga knig ‘Pol'skaia biblioteka v Parizhe’.”

²²⁷ Grikhanova, “Moskva—Parizh—Moskva,” p. 81. See above fns. 51 and 52. One of the books pictured in the article bears the same stamp with field post no. 02961-D. The author specifically mentions the acquisition of those books from Gosfond.

²²⁸ S. A. Paichadze, “Knigi iz Turgenevskoi Biblioteki v Parizhe na ostrove Sakhalin,” in *Tret'i Grodekovskie chteniia: Materialy regional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Dal'nii Vostok Rossii: Istoricheskii opyt i sovremennii problemy zaseleniia i osvoeniia territorii. Khabarovsk 4–5 oktiabria 2001 g.* (Khabarovsk: Khabarovskii kraevoi kraevedcheskii muzei im. N. I. Grodekova, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 172–75. Sabine Breulliard, President of the Turgenev Library Association, kindly provided me a copy of this article.

Library or from a returning soldier, since it also bears a stamp of a different Soviet military unit.²²⁹ We can only wonder how many and which other libraries in the former Soviet Union received some of the Lenin Library “duplicates.”

Soviet library exchanges may also explain why the stamp of Turgenev Library has been found as far away as Palo Alto, California. As illustrated in a 1991 study of imperial Russian bookplates, the author discovered the Turgenev Library stamp on two books in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. Possibly they came with the collection of Boris Nikolaevskii, who spent the postwar decades as a fellow there until his death in 1966. Perhaps they had been acquired by Stanford University through Soviet-period library exchange or else purchased in an antiquarian bookshop. In her annotation, the author suggests that the Turgenev Library had “perished in the war,” although (as if she had inside information) she added: “There were founded rumors that crates containing books from the Turgenev Library were later located by the Soviet Forces in Berlin and taken to the USSR.”²³⁰

Yet we have to recognize that Soviet library “exchange” funds and interlibrary transfers were not the only causes of dispersal. As if to lead our odyssey back to its September 1940 starting point, we learn that after the death of prewar Turgenev Library president Dmitrii Odinetz in Kazan in 1950, the Lobachevskii Library of the University of Kazan acquired his personal archive and library. Several books from his collection with a stamp of the “Russian Turgenev Library, rue de la Bûcherie 13” surfaced in a Kazan antiquarian book shop.²³¹

At a Moscow conference on displaced cultural treasures in April 2000 at the Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL), when Voronezh librarian Svetlana Yanz revealed that 26 books from the Turgenev Library had been identified in her library, response was immediate. Mikhail Afanas'ev, director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow, appealed that all books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library which ended up in Russia should be returned to Paris, in tribute to the unique function of that library as an outpost of Russian culture in the French capital. One specialist from the Ministry of Culture commented on the desirability of “assisting our compatriots reconstruct their library,” and another repeated that plea in print. Others have repeated the same sentiment to me personally when they heard I was researching the fate of the library.²³²

A year later, in April 2001, H el ene Kaplan, the secretary-general of the Turgenev Library Association in Paris, presented a report at “Gestures of Goodwill,” a follow-up

²²⁹ I am grateful to Nadezhda Ryzhak for informing me of this discovery. Reportedly the book, in addition to the Turgenev Library stamp, also has a stamp of the “30-ogo avtotransportnogo polka.”

²³⁰ Marguerite Studemeister, *Bookplates and their Owners in Imperial Russia: An Illustrated Survey of Holdings at Stanford University* (Tenafly, NJ: Hermitage Publishers, 1991), p. 200 (no. 191). Efforts to clarify details from Studemeister and the Hoover library have been unsuccessful.

²³¹ Odinetz's career and his personal papers are described by Andrei Skorobogatov, “Archival Collection of Historian D. V. Odinetz” (see fn. 18). The books with Turgenev Library stamps in Kazan are described by Viacheslav Aristov, “Kniga vernulas' na rodinu,” in *Podarok dekabrists (Po stranitsam neizvestnykh rukopisei i zabytykh knig)* (Kazan, 1970), pp. 52–56. Maia Dvorkina kindly alerted me to both these references.

²³² See the program and reports: <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/index.html>. See the comment of Ministry specialist Nikolai Nikandrov in his report, “‘Voennaia sud'ba' Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki v Parizhe”/ English translation: “‘Military Fate’ of the Turgenev Library in Paris,” in “Mapping Europe: Fate of European Cultural Valuables in the Third Millennium” (April 2000), http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/nikandrov2_e.html. See also Nikolai Petrovskii, “Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki,” *Ekho planety*, 2000, no. 47, p. 31. Other colleagues in the Ministry of Culture have suggested to me personally the desirability of returning the Turgenev Library books to Paris.

conference on displaced cultural treasures and restitution issues at VGBIL. At that time she could report one promised “gesture of goodwill” (although not yet implemented). This gesture was the only one recently reported in the Russian library world. Several years earlier she was told about the 118 books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library held in the IML Library successor, now rebaptized as the State Socio-Political Library (GOPB). Because those books were never formally incorporated in the GOPB holdings, the director wanted to restore those books to the Turgenev Library in Paris. Kaplan gratefully accepted the GOPB restitution offer, especially in tribute to the upcoming 125th anniversary of the Turgenev Library.

Understanding the importance of Russian support of the Turgenev Library in Paris, the Ministry of Culture, together with GOPB, prepared all the necessary papers. Unfortunately, however, the export clearance expired before the Russian delegation left for the celebration in Paris in January 2001, so that not even a symbolic volume could be presented on that occasion. A year later, nonetheless, in November 2001, the 118 books were transferred to the Russia Abroad Library-Fund in Moscow that was to exhibit them and oversee their journey home to Paris. That is the first and only such “gesture of goodwill” in the Russian library world has been implemented in the last decade. By late 2002 those 118 books were finally transferred to the French Embassy in Moscow. After their long odyssey they are at last home from the war to Paris to join the Dutch Bible that returned to Paris a decade ago in 1993, presumably via Berlin, Ratibor, Myslowitz, Minsk, Moscow, and Amsterdam.

Epilogue: Russia and Russia Abroad: 1 + 118 Books Come Home to Paris

Many of the Soviet-published findings about the fate of the Turgenev Library do not really conflict with the historical record from Nazi and Soviet documents, but their conclusions were usually based on the false assumption that it was the Nazis who destroyed the Turgenev Library. To the contrary, no first hand account has yet surfaced of intentional German destruction of any part of the library in Berlin or elsewhere. While some questions remain, the general odyssey and fate of the library are now clear. The Turgenev books or crates mentioned in the Soviet accounts were undoubtedly spotted (or in some cases pilfered or left behind) along the route of the main library odyssey.

With some variations, the Turgenev Library shared that route with the two other Paris Slavic libraries, the Petliura Ukrainian Library and the Polish Library, both of which were seized at approximately the same time (as well as hundreds of others). The Nazis plundered the Petliura Library in its entirety, including 15,000 books and many collected archival materials. Surviving archival materials from the Petliura Library (and with them some issues of Ukrainian émigré serials) are now to be found in two archives in Moscow and two in Kyiv. The largest group of surviving books—only about 220—have been identified in Kyiv, where they were “returned” from Minsk in 1989. We do not know how many additional books remain in Minsk, although recently more have been reported there. A few have recently surfaced in the former Lenin Library in Moscow, although RGB has not yet begun to survey the “Ukrainian” section among their holdings for foreign book stamps. Only one serial run has returned to Paris, having been found in Austria after the war.²³³

The Polish Library succeeded in evacuating some of its treasures and catalogues on the eve of the German invasion, but the Nazis seized the rest—over 130,000 volumes. Some (ca.110 crates) that ended the war in Poland (near Legnica) were returned to Paris from Warsaw in 1947. Many more (747 crates, ca. 70,000 volumes) were found by a Soviet trophy brigade in Saxony and shipped to Moscow from Dresden in one of the major trophy book echelons from Germany in the spring of 1946. Approximately 65,000 volumes of those were catalogued in the early 1950s by the State Public Historical Library in Moscow. Most of those, along with many manuscripts and rare imprints from the Paris library that had gone to the Lenin Library, were “returned” to Warsaw in 1954-1955 and deposited in the Mickiewicz Literary Museum. The fate of the rest remains a mystery, but the 15 that surfaced recently with Turgenev Library books in Voronezh are only part of the story. Although the Polish Library in a 1969 report suggested that 48 percent of its prewar holdings had been returned to Paris, more likely the returned portion would be closer to one-third. And that would not include any of the approximately 70,000 volumes captured by the Soviets after the war, a large percentage of which today remain in Warsaw. The wartime and postwar odyssey of that library, including the stopover in Moscow for over half of the holdings, will require a separate study.²³⁴

World War II, among other cultural devastation, produced the greatest library dislocations in history. Some collections were burned in disrespect, as, for example, the anti-Semitic ravages of Kristallnacht, while others were sent to waste-paper mills. Some

²³³ See Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library,” and “The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library.”

²³⁴ More details about the wartime and postwar fate of the Polish Library are covered in my article, “Twice Plundered, but Not Yet Home from the War,” *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39–76.

were evacuated and spent part of the war in salt mines and distant castles. Some were looted by scavengers along the way. Still others were destroyed in transit or in the bombing that reduced major European cities to rubble. Many were plundered, first by the Nazis for a variety of political, strategic, and propaganda purposes. And then many were plundered or “saved” a second time by the Soviet victors as they liberated Germany and Eastern Europe from the Nazi regime. But rather than “saving” them as the cultural-historic or personal collections they represented, the books were widely scattered. Under the Soviet regime, socialist relics were treasured, while “ideologically contaminated” volumes were destroyed. Some were stolen or saved from the book-burnings and found their way to antiquarian bookshops or local libraries throughout Eastern Europe. Others remain in private hands. Still others were distributed by Gosfond or the Lenin Library to compensate Soviet libraries for wartime losses. In the process integral collections were broken up and dispersed; sometimes bookplates or other markings were removed or blacked out. Little has been known until recently about the many millions of displaced or trophy books that were scattered throughout the USSR, and with them the stamps of various libraries from Paris, including the Turgenev Library. We still do not even know how many of those stamps were (or still are) to be found among the millions of holdings in major libraries such as the Russian State Library in Moscow and the National Library of Belarus in Minsk. We do not know how many of the Turgenev Library books were transferred to Leningrad, either directly with the trophy echelons after the war or later from Minsk. Some have been reported recently in St. Petersburg. Further investigations there and in Minsk are still needed. The Turgenev Library from Paris is but a microcosm of a massive cultural tragedy. Half a century later we are beginning to understand the rationale or happenstances involved, as we try to trace the migratory route and identify the survivors.

By the time of the 125th Anniversary Colloquium in January 2001, only one of the 100,000 books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library had come home from Russia since the war, and that one by sheer accident: the Dutch-language New Testament bearing the Turgenev Library stamp that was returned to Amsterdam with the 1992 restitution shipment of Dutch books from Moscow. In a letter of thanks to the University of Amsterdam Library, “this volume was welcomed as ‘the first of 100,000 books from the Tourguénev Library confiscated by the Germans in October 1940’.” The Dutch Bible bears a stamp and registration number as well of the Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow.²³⁵

At the end of October 2000, many archival materials from French Masonic and Jewish collections that had appeared on Dr. Wunder’s spring 1941 lists of 110 confiscated Paris libraries were turned over to French authorities in Moscow, following others that had been returned in March 2000. Earlier archival restitution to France included the much more voluminous military, intelligence, and security service records (Deuxième Bureau and Sûreté Nationale) that were returned to Paris from Moscow in 1994, following their

²³⁵ As quoted by Hoogewoud, “Russia’s Only Restitution of Books to the West,” in *The Return of Looted Collections*, p. 74. The book was first exhibited and appears in the catalogue *Tentoonstellingscatalogus van de boeken uit het fonds van de VGBIL aanhorig bij de Nederlandse bezitters Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, September 1992 / Books from the Netherlands—War Victims: Catalogue of a book exhibition from the holdings of the VGBIL, belonging to the Netherlands, 15–28 June 1992*, compiled by M. F. Pronina, L. A. Terechova, N. I. Tubeieva, E. E. Eichmann; edited by M. F. Pronina (Moscow: “Rudomino,” 1992). See the image of the title page of the New Testament in Appendix I and the table of contents bearing a half legible stamp and registration number of VGBIL.

parallel odyssey at the hands of the Nazi and Soviet regimes.²³⁶ The administrative records and other Ukrainian émigré collections from the Petliura Library, which are now in the former Special Archive in Moscow, had been designated for restitution in the 1992 Franco-Russian agreement, but have not yet been returned. The administrative records of the Turgenev Library that are still held in GA RF and the Russian State Library have yet to be considered for restitution. As of October 2002 the French side had filed no formal claim, and Russian authorities do not appear inclined to offer their return as a “gesture of goodwill.”

Numerous international conventions and resolutions, including those of the United Nations and UNESCO, call for the return of alienated cultural property to the country of its origin. Established international archival practice and various resolutions of the International Council on Archives assert that archives are inalienable, should remain the legal property of the agency that created them, and should never be treated as “‘trophy’ or objects of exchange.”²³⁷ Many national representatives to the International Federation of Library Associations have repeatedly called for the return of displaced books. One of the conditions Russia signed in 1996 when it was admitted to the Council of Europe called for the return of cultural property of member States. But unfortunately those international legal instruments have not yet helped return home many of the trophy books and archives that still remain in Russia. The terrible fragmentation and dispersal of archival and library collections wrought by the Nazi regime during the war and the Soviet regime thereafter remain a serious detriment to national culture, Russian émigré communities, and scholarship in both East and West. The dispersal and postwar destruction of the Turgenev Library by Soviet authorities remains a blight on the image of Russia vis-à-vis the Russian emigration abroad.

The Turgenev Library shared its tragic wartime fate with many other Paris libraries on the ERR confiscation lists, and even shared with them many stops on its odyssey. Its books shared railway boxcars (and even passenger cars) in the echelons (or other transports) that brought them to Minsk and Moscow. Many Russians may prefer to count the Turgenev Library as a “Russian library” (as it was listed in a 1945 Red Army report) legitimately retrieved for the homeland, rather than among trophy books and archives that should be considered for restitution. Yet even in Russian eyes (at home and abroad) the Turgenev Library has always been special: although “Russian” it nonetheless remains part of “Russia Abroad.”

If today there is a real spirit of political and cultural renewal in Russia, and a post-Soviet respect for the traditions of the Russian cultural heritage, as one would expect, we should also hope that appropriate restitution could reunite the library collections of the Turgenev Library as an outpost of Russian culture in Paris. Many émigré archives, books, and other cultural treasures of “Russia Abroad” have been “retrieved” to Russia, and more have been donated since the collapse of the Soviet Union. But the Turgenev Library was created in emigration and its life and home was in Paris—a place where issues of the Soviet newspapers *Iskra*, *Izvestiia*, and *Pravda* in the tradition of Lenin could share the

²³⁶ See Claire Sibille, “Les Archives du ministère de la Guerre récupérées de Russie,” *Gazette des Archives* 176 (1997), pp. 64–77; Dominique Devaus, “Les Archives de la direction de la Sûreté rapatriées de Russie,” *ibid.*, pp. 78–86; and Sophie Coeuré, Frédéric Monier, and Gérard Naud, “Le retour de Russie des archives françaises: Le cas du fond de la Sûreté,” *Vingtième siècle* 45 (January–March 1995), pp. 133–39.

²³⁷ Resolutions of the XXX International Conference of the Round Table on Archives (CITRA), Thessalonica, October 1994, first published in the International Council on Archives (ICA) *Bulletin*, no. 43 (December 1994), pp. 14–15; the text is reprinted in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empires*, Appendix VI, pp. 555–56.

reading room with the émigré paper *Poslednie novosti* in the tradition of Miliukov.²³⁸ It was always a Parisian library, as was recognized in numerous presentations of the 125th Anniversary Colloquium. As Hélène Kaplan has phrased it admirably,

The Turgenev Library also has a universal significance. It is a unique case today for Russia and Russia Abroad (at least in Europe)—the creation of a living cultural community which, on the one hand, is completely detached from its cultural milieu of origin. On the other hand, that cultural community, while in total symbiosis with the milieu that has welcomed it, simultaneously perpetrates the culture of its origin.²³⁹

Such a role was recognized by the European Union when, after the sad fate of the Turgenev Library was raised at a colloquium in Brussels in 1996, representatives dealing with the repatriation of cultural property were anxious to accelerate research on the issue. An appeal appeared the next year in the Paris newspaper, *Le Figaro*, but there were no tangible results.²⁴⁰ Yet at that point more clues were just beginning to emerge as to where the library was, thanks to a volume of German-translated Soviet documents about the trophy library brigades, not all of which are now declassified. Some may have suspected, but no one knew about the thousands of books in the former Lenin Libraries in Moscow or in Minsk, or where stray dispersed volumes might surface next.

Paris Mayor Jean Tiberi, during his official reception at the Hotel de Ville in January 2001 honoring the library, accepted congratulations of Moscow Mayor Yurii Luzhkov, who sent an anniversary gift of 500 newly published Russian books for the Paris library. Although the new books were duly appreciated and displayed on the occasion, some of us present were dismayed when the Russian delegation arrived from Moscow with not even one symbolic volume of the promised 118 books with Turgenev Library stamps from GOPB.²⁴¹ Significantly, at the colloquium Nadezhda Ryzhak, who heads what used to be the *Spetskhran* in the former Lenin Library (RGB), revealed for the first time that 3,400 books with Turgenev Library stamps had been identified in various divisions of the Russian State Library. Earlier such holdings had been denied. A year and a half later, the total estimate has risen to between 8 and 10,000 volumes. RGB is still looking for more, planning exhibitions, and continuing the electronic catalogue they started in 2001. They may never know exactly how many books with Turgenev Library stamps they have, while many librarians there may not want to consider restitution.

A year after the 125th anniversary celebration, the 118 books from GOPB found in Poland were formally transferred to the president and secretary-general of the Turgenev Library in a ceremony in Moscow on 12 February 2002. The ceremony opened an exhibit at the Russia Abroad Library-Fund—“Books—Victims of War.” Perhaps not entirely coincidentally, the director of the Russia Abroad Library, Viktor Moskvina, had been the Deputy Director of VGBIL when the Dutch Bible with the Turgenev Library stamp was “returned” to Amsterdam. While that library houses many émigré collections that have

²³⁸ As was pointed out by Mikhail Osorgin, “Gore Russkikh v Parizhe: Unichtozhena Turgenevskaiia Biblioteka,” in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka*, p.113 (reprinted from *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, 1 November 1940).

²³⁹ Hélène Kaplan, in a letter to the author, December 2001.

²⁴⁰ As mentioned in an article by Anne-Sophie Cathala, “Les livres spoliés de la bibliothèque Tourgueniev,” *Le Figaro*, 28 July 1997, p. 27.

²⁴¹ The restitution of these books was announced several times during the Colloquium, including by the Mayor of Paris at his reception at the Hôtel de Ville. Later the official explanation in Moscow was that the export papers had expired before the delegation departed at the beginning of the new year.

recently been transferred from abroad to the Russian “homeland,” it has also been overseeing the return of the Turgenev Library to Paris.²⁴²

Ironically, because the 118 books were a “gift” from Poland to the Communist Party of the USSR in the 1980s, under current laws of the Russian Federation they could be exported without approval of the Duma or the new Restitution Council. At the official transfer ceremony in Moscow, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Aleksandr Avdeev, emphasized how appropriate it was that such displaced cultural treasures “should be returned to their legitimate owners.” By the fall of 2002 the 118 books had been transferred to the French Embassy in Moscow, and they arrived in Paris in January 2003. Quite coincidentally they can be welcomed home again by Ambassador Avdeev, as he now serves as Russian envoy to France. We can only hope that this symbolic “gesture of goodwill” by the former library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism will be an example to other libraries and to other political and cultural leaders in the “new” Russia and other former Soviet republics.

One would hope that more Russians today would consider the restitution of the historic collections of the Turgenev Library as a matter of national prestige and as an important step towards the desired reintegration of the long-exiled culture of Russia Abroad with the culture of the Russian Federation in the twenty-first century. The Turgenev Library deserves to live on in Paris, not only in memory of its illustrious past, but with the surviving remnants of its prewar collections reunited as a living memorial and continuation of the unique socio-cultural function it has served for so many generations of the Russian emigration.

²⁴² See the press release “Biblioteka-fond ‘Russkoe zarubezh’e’ provodit 12 fevralia 2002 g. v 16:00 vystavku ‘Knigi—Zhertvy voiny’.” I am grateful for commentary on the ceremony from H el ene Kaplan and Viktor Moskvina, among others, as I was unable to attend myself. Moskvina reminded me that he had been the one to identify the Dutch books in VGBIL and led the initiative for their restitution in 1992 to Amsterdam, whence the Dutch Bible returned to Paris.

The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002
Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

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Parchevskii, Konstantin Konstantinovich. "Russkie knigi i istoricheskie materialy v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Zapadnoi Evropy." Internal typewritten brochure, n.d.[ca. 1944]. 30 p. (A copy is found among Tsaplin's papers in RGAE [*earlier* TsGANKh], fond 777.)

— —. "Russkaia kniga v Parizhe: Stenogramma leksiï tov. Parchevskogo (Biblioteka Lenina, 28/X–1944)."

Tsaplin, Vsevolod Vasil'evich. "Arkhivy, voïna i okkupatsiia (1941–1945 gody)." Moscow, 1968. Typescript with hand corrections by the author, signed and dated 20 January 1969. (A copy is found among Tsaplin's papers in RGAE [*earlier* TsGANKh], fond 777.)

This lengthy study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation, but the author was never permitted to defend it.

Appendix I

List of Known Present Locations of Books and Archives from the Prewar Turgenev Library

A. ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

Russian Federation

Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GA RF)

[State Archive of the Russian Federation], Moscow

Fond 6846: Turgenevskaia rusaskaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka, Parizh
[Turgenev Russian Community Library, Paris] (fond R-6846, 1 *opis'*, 141 files).

The fragmentary Turgenev Library records in TsGAOR (now GA RF) were transferred from the Lenin Library (GBL) in 1948 and mesh closely with those now available in RGB (see below). They were arranged into 141 separate files (or storage units), when first processed in 1949 (file nos. 36–46 were not used), and a few items were added later. The subject groupings and rubric labels assigned in the opis' are not consistent or chronological.

The files can be divided into several categories (although not systematically arranged or numbered accordingly):

Protocols (minutes) of meetings and reports of the Library Administration: Bound protocols (minutes) of meetings—1912–1927, 1930–1932, 1937 (nos. 2–11, 12a). Some include reports of the administration (1922, 1927–1930) and inspection committees (1929).

Administrative correspondence files: There are a number of relating to administration, acquisitions, and exchanges (nos. 18–33—1910–1940), including correspondence about books borrowed by soldiers (no. 18—1920), correspondence of library association director Sergei G. Savatkov (no. 19) and secretary Konstantin. K. Parchevskii (no. 30—1933–1937), and correspondence and an agreement with the Central Committee of the RSDRP Foreign Bureau (no. 144—1910–1912 [remains in photocopies, as the original documents in this folder, including an autograph letter of Lenin, were transferred to IML in 1964]).

Other administrative papers and historical documents: These include a printed copy of the library 1911 statute (no. 1), clippings of published reports or descriptions of the library from many sources, including entries in library directories in the 1920s and 30s (nos. 13–17, 146, 149). Several folders contain documents on the library history, such as notices, handbills, and reports about library events, and French memoirs of Turgenev (1917).

Financial records: Several files contain scattered library account books—1906–1934 (nos. 126–138, 147). Some files document book purchases—1927, 1929 (nos. 137, 138).

Library catalogues and registers of readers: Two original bound catalogues cover parts of the library: one for sociology—“Sotsiologiiia” [200 p.] (no. 148,

accessioned later from IML), and an older catalogue for philosophy—“Spisok knig po Filosofii” (no. 122). There is an inventory register listing book acquisitions for the years 1929–1932 (no. 121), a catalogue of authors held in the library—1932 (no. 120), a list of members (no. 12, [n.d.]), cards for readers (nos. 124–125), and a notebook listing books given out to readers in 1941 (no. 123).

Fragments from personal papers: These include a diary and some notebooks of the poet Amari (M. O. Tsetlin) (nos. 86–89). Some unidentified research notes on various subjects and other materials were undoubtedly donated with personal archival materials. A folder of music scores (no. 119), some addressed to Madame Roubakine in Lausanne, was possibly misfiled from the Rubakin papers.

Printed serial issues (not all with stamps of the library): Over 35 files consist of individual unbound issues of information bulletins, journals, newspapers, and a few brochures (nos. 72, 75, 76, 78–85, 91–114, 142, 145), which would have been held by the library among its printed collections, including, for example, six issues of a prerevolutionary union newspaper for metal workers *Metallist* (nos. 97–99—1911–1913), and *Rabochii po metallu* (nos. 105–107—1906, 1907, 1927); scattered issues of a French newspaper of the metal workers’ union, *L’Union des métaux* (no. 111—9 issues, 1919, 1920, 1925, and 1926); three issues of the anarchist bulletin *Burevestnik* (no. 91—1909), a leaflet edited by Bakunin, *Khleb i Volia* (no. 112—1903, no. 5); several issues of the journal *Edinstvo* (no. 94—St. Petersburg, 1909, 1910); an issue of the journal *Kolokol* (no. 145—1912), and some French-language bulletins, including one folder of bulletins from the IVth International (no. 72—1938). Some of these issues, however, may have been mixed in with the Turgenev Library materials from other socialist sources in Paris confiscated at the same time.

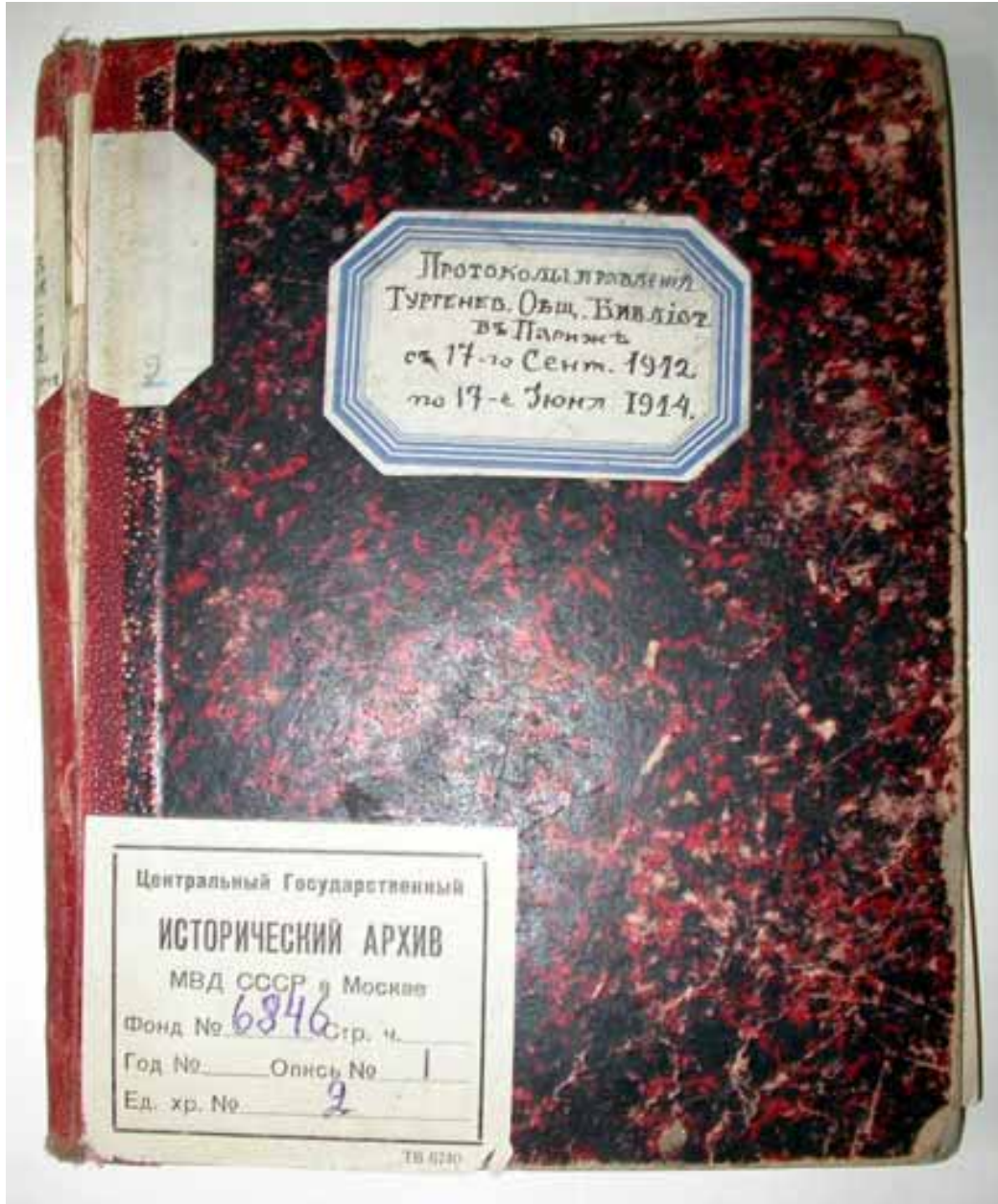
Miscellaneous offprints: Some files contain miscellaneous offprints collected by the library, including several from the journal *Obrazovanie*—1903, 1908 (nos. 75, 76, 78–81, 84, 85).

Published description:

Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: Putevoditel', vol. 1: *Fondy GA RF po istorii Rossii XIX–nachala XX vv.*, ed. S. V. Mironenko et al. (Moscow, 1994), p. 214.

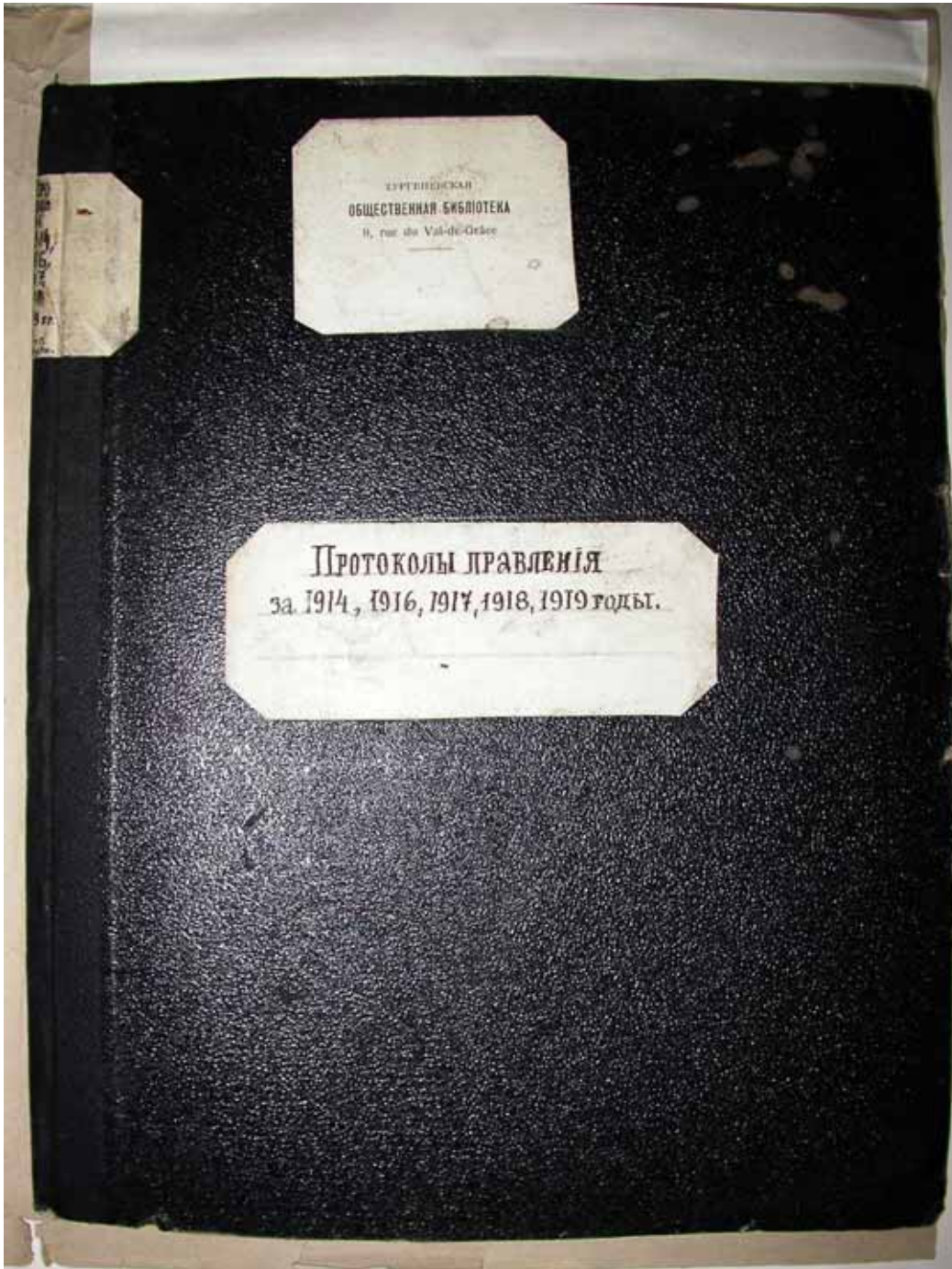
Illustrations from GA RF, Turgenev Library archive, fond 6846

**Bound notebook with protocols of Turgenev Library Association meetings,
1912–1914 —GA RF, fond 6846, opis' 1, delo 2**



**Bound notebook with protocols of Turgenev Library Association meetings,
1914–1920—GA RF, fond 6846, opis' 1, delo 3**





Fond R-6162. “Kolleksiia pisem soldat russkikh voinskikh chastei na frantsuzskom fronte, sobrannaia Turgenevskoi bibliotekoi v Parizhe”

[Collection of Letters from Russian Soldiers on the French Front Gathered by the Turgenev Library in Paris] (1 *opis'*, 13 files, 1919).

This fragmentary group of letters came from the Turgenev Library records that were transferred to TsGAOR (now GA RF) from the Lenin Library (GBL) in 1948. This small collection should be considered part of the administrative records of the Turgenev Library (fond R-6846).

Correspondence files of letters from Russian soldiers, most in convalescent homes, regarding the loan of books from the Turgenev Library.

Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (RGB), Otdel rukopisei (OR)

[Russian State Library, Division of Manuscripts], Moscow, *formerly* State Lenin Library (GBL)

Fond 878: Arkhiv Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki v Parizhe (materialy 1874–1938 gg.) [Archive of the Turgenev Community Library, Paris (materials from 1874–1938)] (4 archival boxes [*kartonki*], 33 files: box 1 (nos. 1–11); box 2 (nos. 1–11); box 3 (nos. 1–10); box 4 (nos. 1–6). As of 2003, the fond has a detailed finding aid (*opis'*).^{*1}

This important, but fragmentary, group of files are part of the Turgenev Library records that were received with the library books by the Lenin Library in 1946–1948. These files were left behind when in 1948 the rest of the Turgenev Library administrative files were transferred from the Lenin Library (GBL) to TsGAOR (now GA RF, fond R-6846). They remained among GBL unprocessed reserves, and were finally accessioned and processed in 2001–2000 (accession nos. 33-2001 and 1-2002). Thus the administrative records of the Turgenev Library are now divided between RGB and GA RF, with two additional files in RGASPI and a few more in the National Library of Belarus. Some of the units are bound with black or marbled paper on cardboard covers with labels on the top cover and spine, intended as permanent library records.

The RGB finding aid notes four main subjects among the files (although not arranged and numbered accordingly):

I. Materials on the history of the Turgenev Library. Most important in RGB are two bound albums of original documents relating to the library history, both of which were compiled in the 1930s (vol. 1: box 4, no. 1; vol. 2: box 1, no. 1):

“Materialy po istorii Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki v Parizhe,”

Vol. 1 (1886–1936); compiled by Liudmila V. Chekhova-Sheinis, Mariia P. Kolliarevskaia (BT librarians), and Sergei G. Savatkov (director of the Library)

¹ In July 2003 I examined the recently completed detailed *opis'* in RGB. I appreciate the assistance of RGB colleagues and the indulgence of the IISH editor who permitted me to update this report accordingly. Earlier in October 2002, the *opis'* had not been compiled and I could examine only six random files. Because these materials have previously not been publicly available, I include proportionately more detail.

Administration, 1920–1930). Includes a copy of the library statutes (1911); notes on the history of buildings occupied by the library with some original contracts; an inventory of portraits and busts in the library reading room; official invitations, announcements, and newspaper clippings about library events including concerts, soirées, poetry readings, and lectures; appeals for funding; and other original documents.

Vol. 2, compiled after the 1937 transfer to 13/15, rue de la Bucherie, although a few of the materials date from before the move. Includes photographs (with full captions) of the library administration and librarians, the new building (with an account of its history), official invitations and newspaper clippings about the reopening and subsequent library-sponsored events, appeals for funding, and announcement of the “Literary Archive,” among other documents.

II. Financial records

Financial records include annual financial reports, monthly account books, and cash expense registers: for 1907 (box 1, no. 5 and box 4, no. 6); 1908 (box 1, no. 3); 1907–1909 (box 4, no. 2); 1910–1911 (box 1, nos. 4 and 6); 1912 (box 1, no. 7); 1913 (box 2, no. 1); 1914–1915 (box 2, no. 2); 1918–1922 and 1924–1927 (box 4, no. 2), 1920–1925 (box 2, nos. 3–6, 8, and 10), and 1927 (box 2, no. 9).

Two folders with receipts for book purchases in 1925 (box 4, nos. 4 and 5) and a large bound folder of original receipts for book purchases in 1927 from various Paris book sellers (box 2, no. 11), some listing actual books purchased, give a good idea of the policy and sources for library acquisitions in the 1920s.

III. Protocols (minutes) of meetings and reports of the Library Administration

Bound signed protocols of Library Administration meetings are preserved for 1922–1929 (box 3, no. 1), 1930–1931 (box 3, no. 2), and 1932–1933 (box 4, no. 3)—similar to those pictured above in GA RF. Also of interest reports for 1914–1921 (“Otchet y za 1914–1921-ie gody”) (box 2, no. 10) includes a 1920 retrospective report covering World War I, and reports for 1920 and 1921.

IV. Correspondence files

Fragmentary library administrative correspondence (regarding book loans, book transfers, and library events) in the RGB files have been broken down into letters for individuals including Tat'iana Bakunina (box 3, no. 3, 1931), Liudmila Sheinis (box 3, nos. 4, 5, 7, and 8), and a 1933 postcard from Dmitrii Odinet to Konstantin Parchevskii (box 3, no. 6). Some bound volumes listed above also include scattered letters.

Miscellaneous units not in the listed categories, but worthy of note, are:

a) an original bound manuscript catalogue of the library holdings in geography and ethnography: “Katalog knig po geografii i etnografii,” started in 1929 by N. A. Palchevskii (box 1, no. 2);

b) a fragmentary notebook, with research notes (in Russian) from writings of Marx, Lasalle, Merhring, and other socialist writers regarding the revolutionary labor movement in France and Germany, probably from library sources (although the library itself is not indicated), similar to fragmentary personal materials found in GA RF (box 3, no. 10).

c) a course of lectures by N. S. Tagantsev, “Kurs ugovnogo prava: Lektsii N. S. Tagantseva (Kurs 1-go klassa)” (SPb: Litografiia Kurochkina, 1874; 892 p.) with library stamps from 9, rue Val-de-Grace; the cover has a Cyrillic label “Iu 84”) which also appears on the front end-paper, indicating the book had been catalogued in the legal section of the library (box 3, no. 9).

**Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii
(RGASPI)**

[Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History], Moscow

Fond 2. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, opis' 1, no. 25573

Autograph Lenin letter to the Turgenev Library (29 March 1912) from the archive of the Turgenev Library (originally in the file in fond 17).

See the text of this letter in Appendix 6, no. 5.

— — — **opis' 1, no. 26073**

A book from the Turgenev Library bearing handwritten notes by Lenin.

Fond 17. Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS (TsK KPSS) [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] (CPSU Central Committee), *opis' 1* (pt. 2), file 936.

The documents in this file had been acquired by TsGAOR SSSR with the 1948 transfer from the Lenin Library and arranged as a file (no. 144) within the fond for records of the Turgenev Library (Paris) in the secret RZIA Division of TsGAOR (fond 6846). The file was discovered there by a 1963 inspection team and was transferred to IMEL in June 1964 (as explained in the text above).

See the text of the agreement in Appendix 6, nos. 2–4.

The file includes the handwritten transfer agreement (10 December 1910) between the RSDRP and the Turgenev Library, providing for the transfer of major parts of the RSDRP library—referred to there as the “library of the editorial office of ‘Proletarii’”—to the Turgenev Library. The transfer took place after the RSDRP library was transferred to Paris in 1910 from Geneva on the initiative of Vladimir Lenin, together with the Central Committee Foreign Bureau. The agreement provides for a separate room (with exclusive RSDRP use) for other parts of the RSDRP library within the Turgenev Library building. Approximately 12,000 catalogue positions were involved (see further details in the text above, Chapter 7 and Appendix 6). Other documents in the file are subsequent correspondence regarding acquisitions and arrangements between the RSDRP and the Turgenev Library.

The original incoming autograph letter to the Turgenev Library in Russian signed “V. Lenin” (29 March 1912), was originally part of this file when it was held in TsGAOR SSSR, but since its transfer to IMEL, it has been removed and placed in a separate file in the special fond for Vladimir Lenin (fond 2).

Published description:

Peresvetov, Roman. *Poiski bestsennogo naslediiia (O sud'be nekotorykh rukopisei V.I. Lenina)*, 2d ed. Moscow: Politizdat, 1968, “Posleslovie” by TsPA Chief Vinogradov, pp. 330–31.

B. BOOKS from the Turgenev Library Bearing Stamps and/or Dedications (not including those known in private collections)

Russian Federation

Moscow

Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (RGB)

[Russian State Library], Moscow, *formerly* Lenin Library (GBL)

- ca. 8,000–10,000 books bearing Turgenev Library stamps reported (April 2002).
 An estimated 6 to 8,000 identified in the Division of Basic Holdings [Otdel osnovnykh fondov]
 2,000 identified in the Division of Literature of Russia Abroad [Otdel literatury russkogo zarubez'ia] (ORZ)
 425+ identified in the Scientific-Research Division of Rare Books (Museum of the Book) [Nauchno-issledovatel'skii otdel redkikh knig (Muzei knigi)]
 1 identified in the Division of Music Scores

Published descriptions:

Miasishcheva, Valeriia S. “Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kolleksiiami, popavshimi v SSSR v sostave kul'turnykh tsennosti, peremeshchennykh v resul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i nakhodiashchikhsia v Otdele khraneniia osnovnykh fondov (V kontekste deiatel'nosti po raskrytiiu knizhnykh fondov za starye gody).” In *Rumiantsevskie chteniia—2002: Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow: RGB, 2002), pp. 280–83.

Ryzhak, Nadezhda V. “Kolleksiia parizhskoi Russkoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB.” In *Rumiantsevskie chteniia—2002: Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow: RGB, 2002), pp. 296–301.

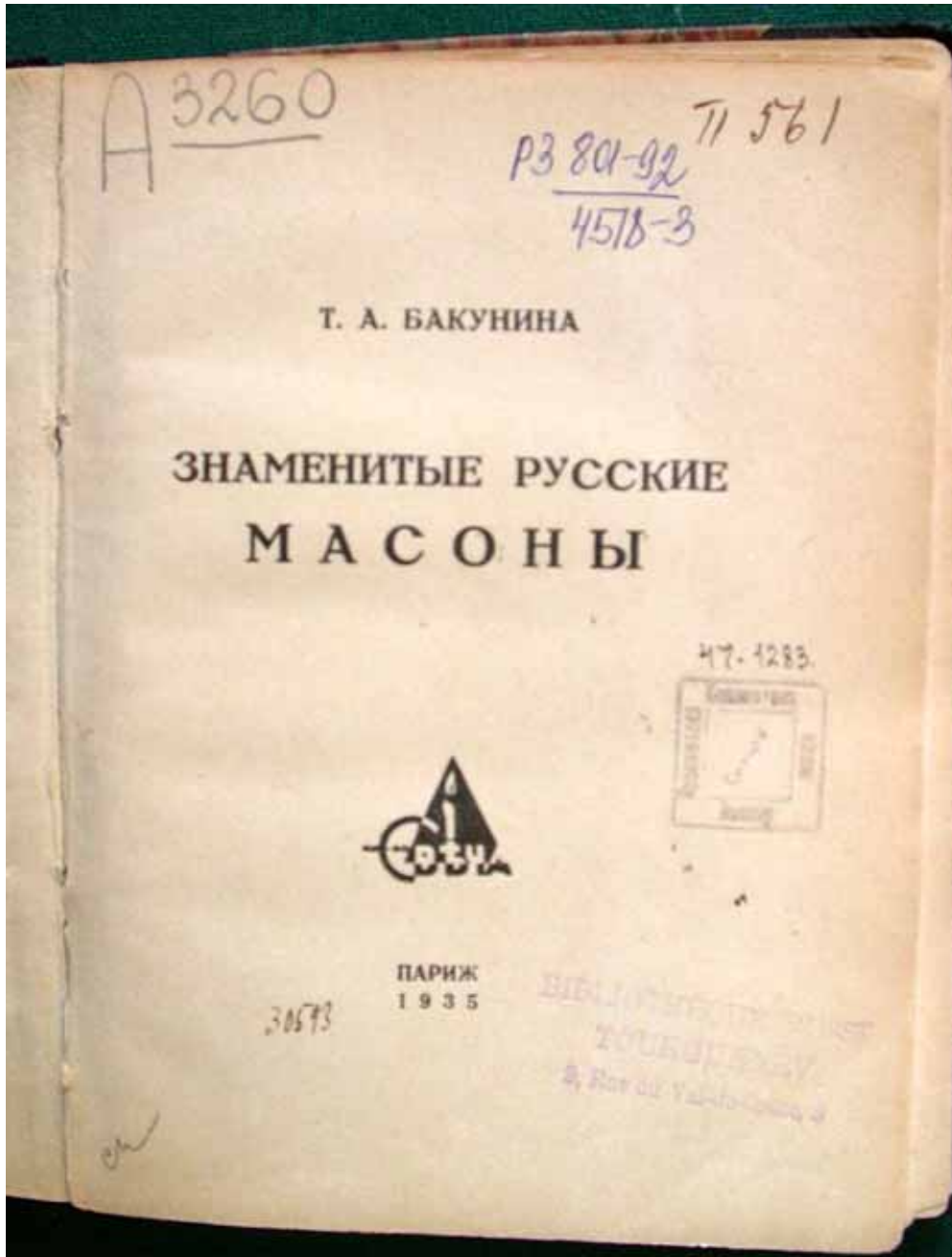
Ryzhak, Nadezhda V.; and Valeriia S. Miasishcheva. “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud'ba izdaniia parizhskoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB.” *Bibliotekovedenie*, 2002, no. 5, pp. 104–108.

Illustrations of Sample Title Pages with Book Stamps and/or Dedications

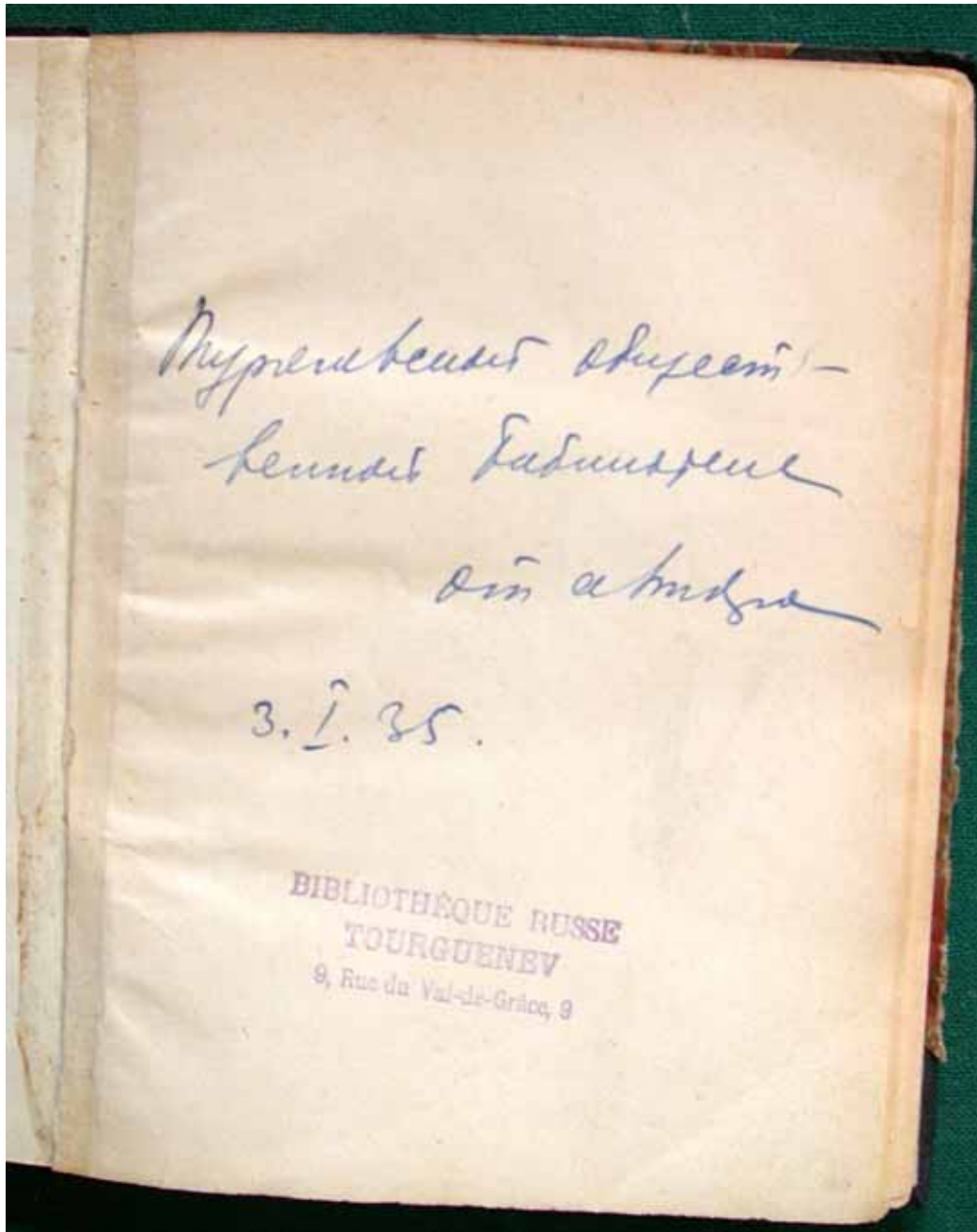
Russian State Library (RGB)

Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ)

1. Tat'iana Bakunina (Ossorgine-Bakounine), *Znamenitye russkie masony*
(Paris 1935)
 - a. Title page



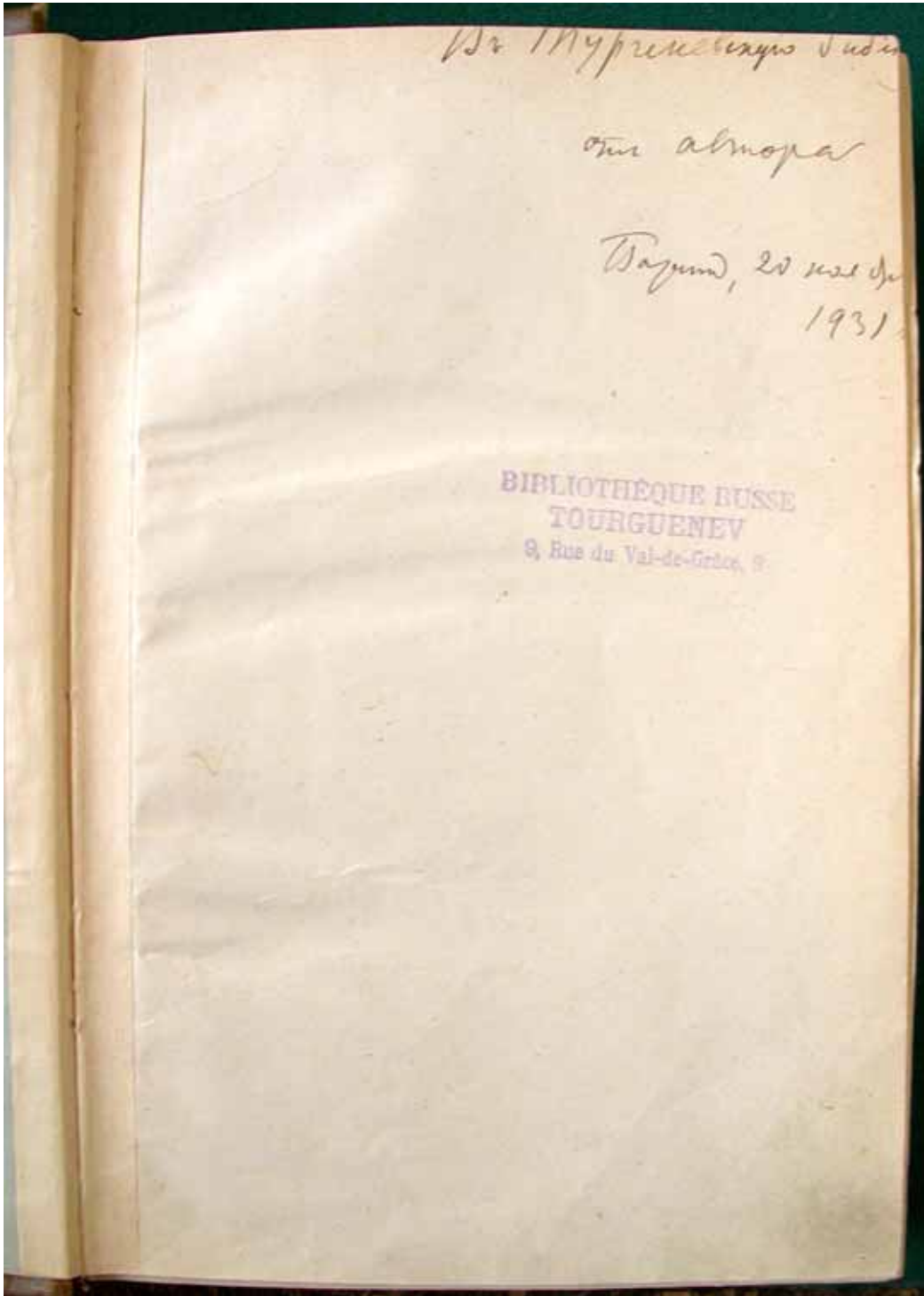
b. Dedication by the author —on the front end paper



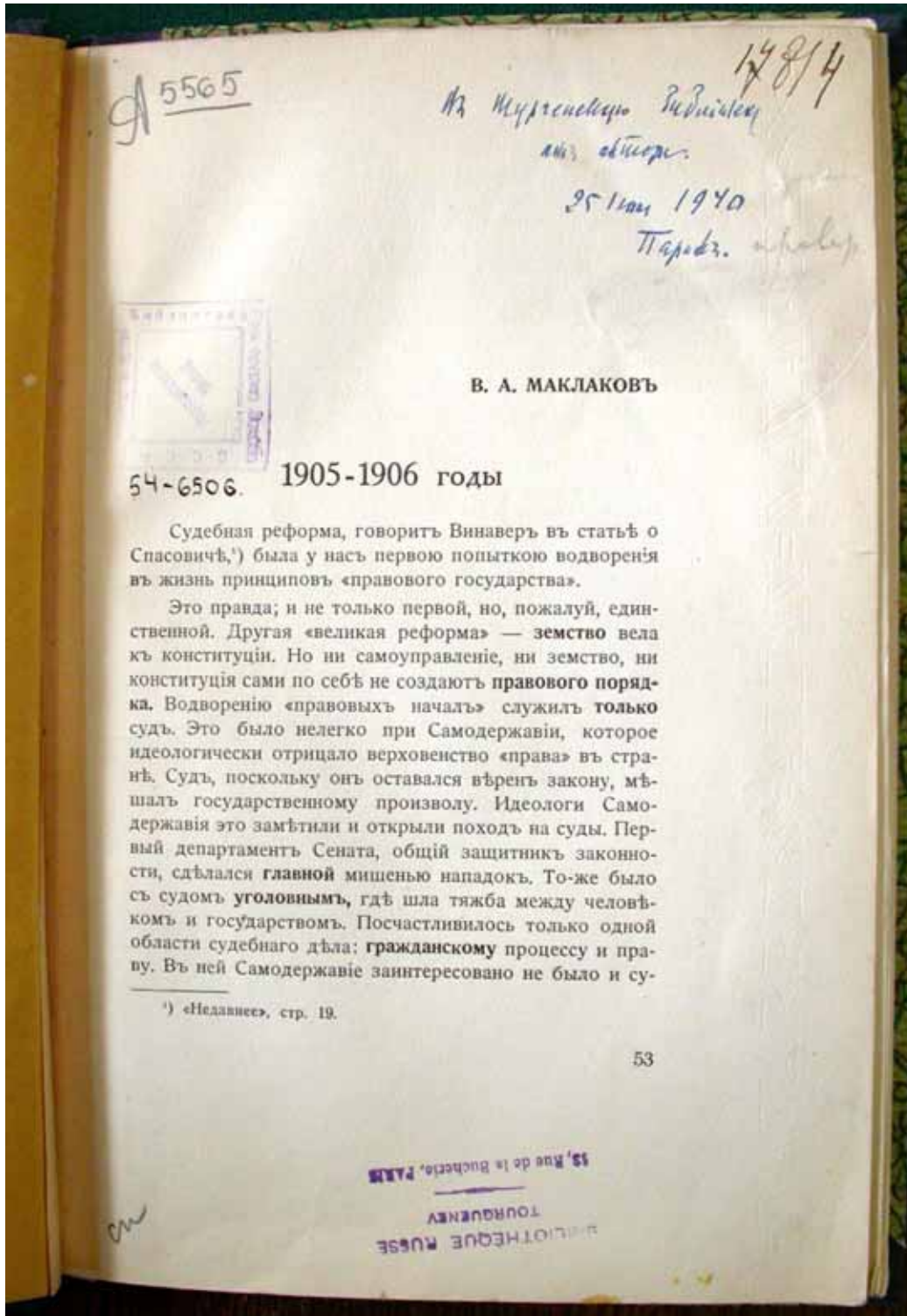
2. Pavel Miliukov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury* (Paris, 1931)
a. Title page



b. Dedication by the author —on the front end paper

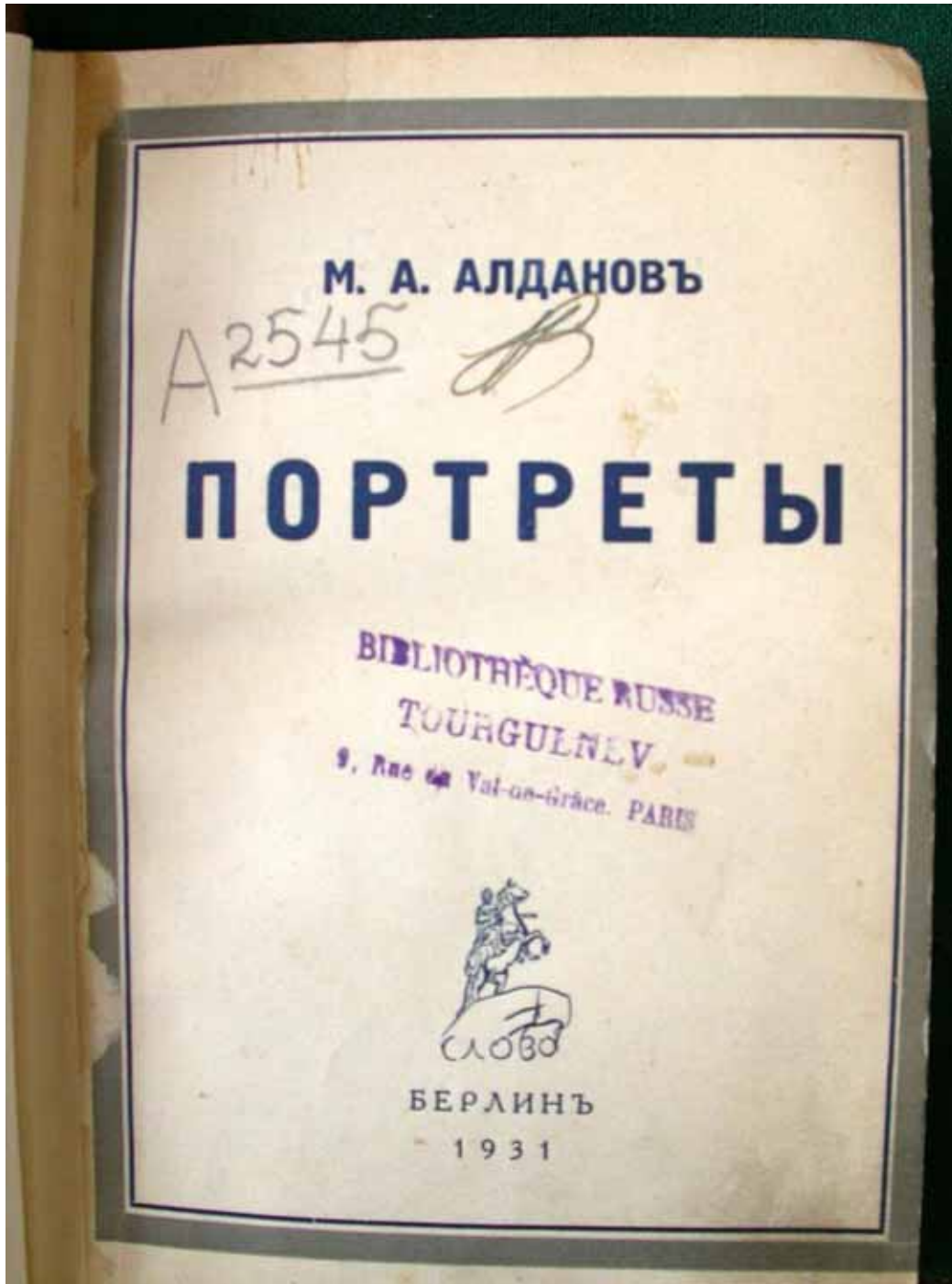


3. Vasilii Maklakov, “1905–1906 gody”
Dedication on the offprint of his article

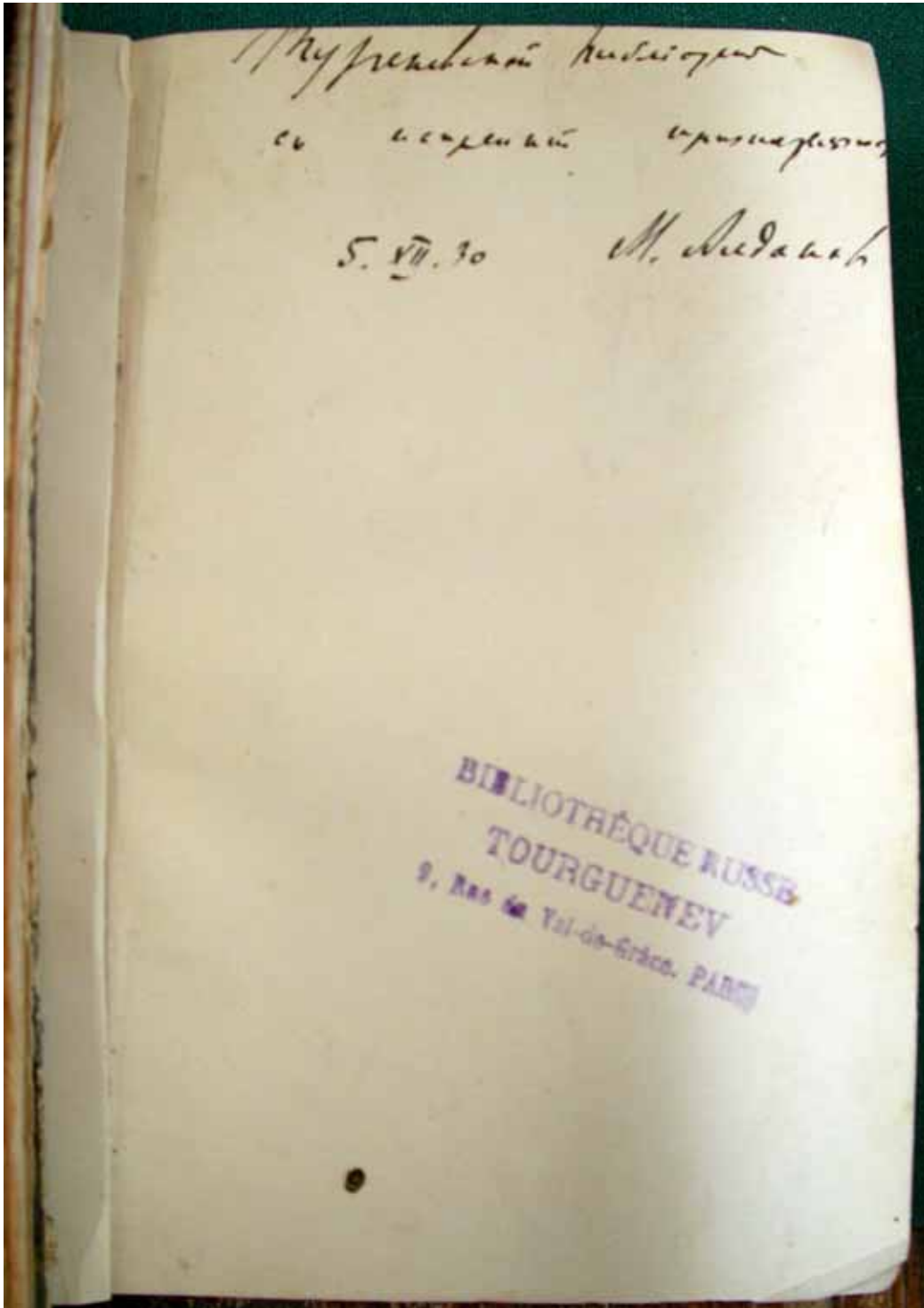


4. Mark Aldanov, *Portrety* (Berlin 1931)

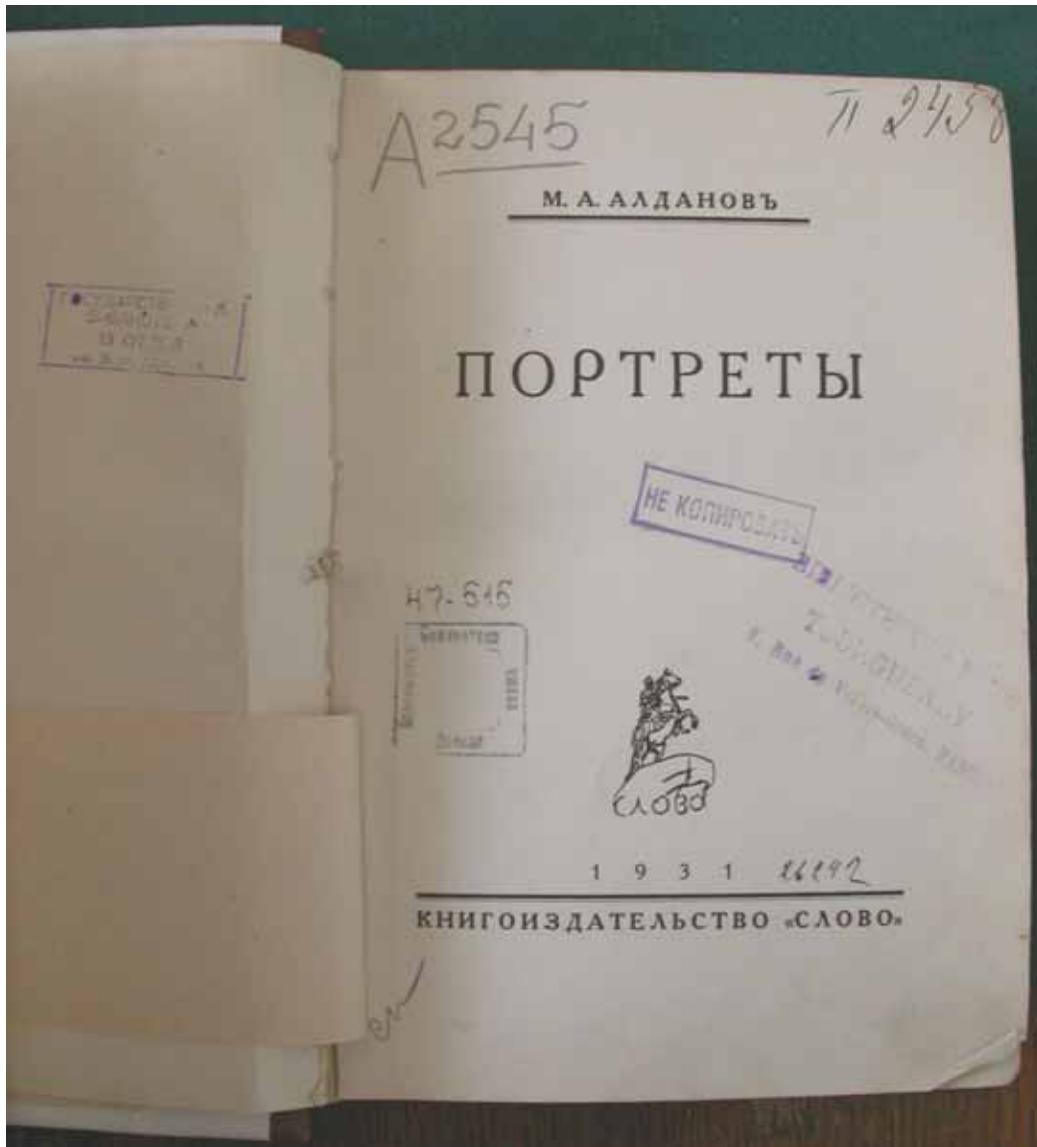
a. Front cover



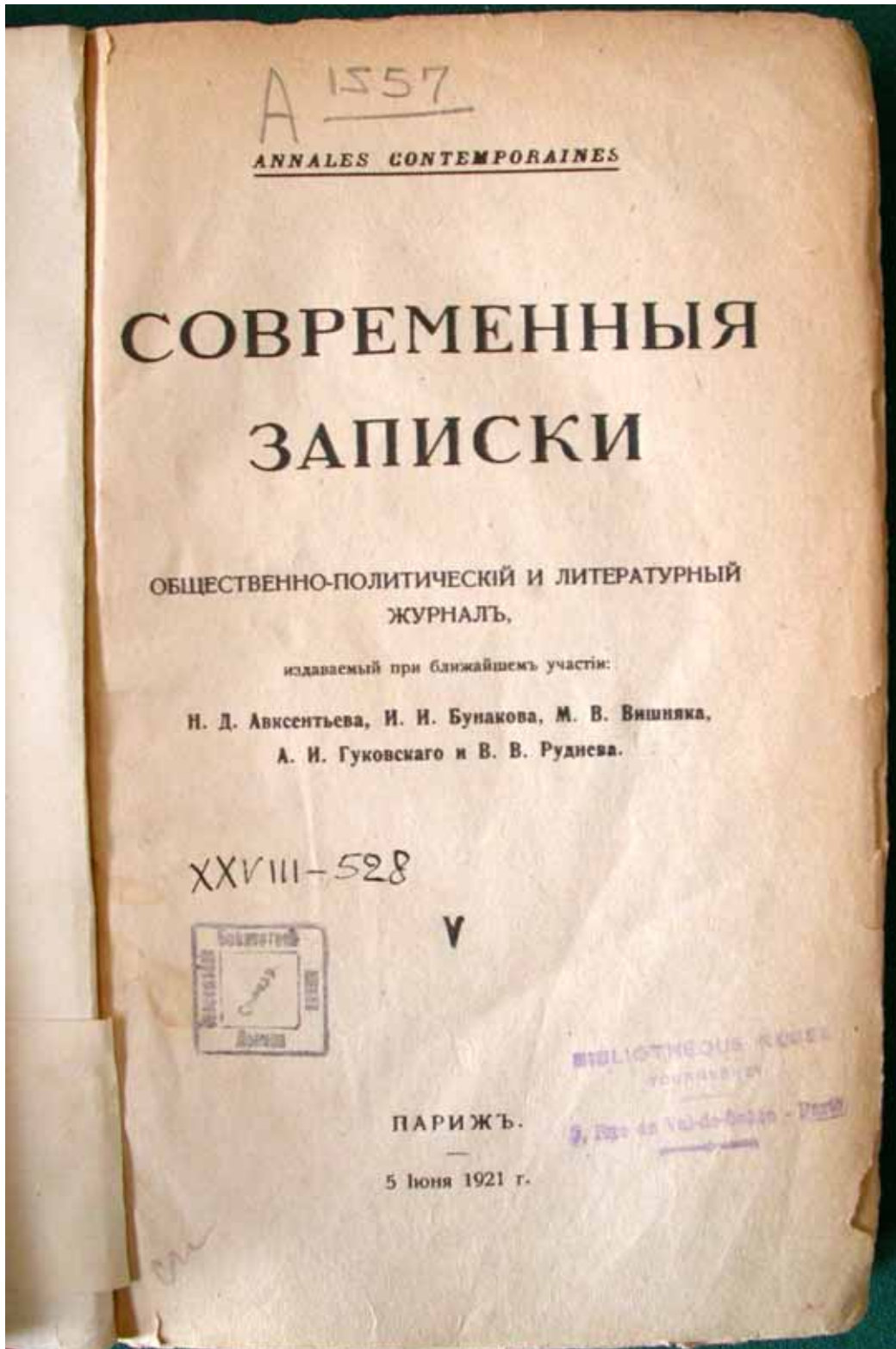
b. Aldanov autograph on the front end paper



c. Title page with library stamp



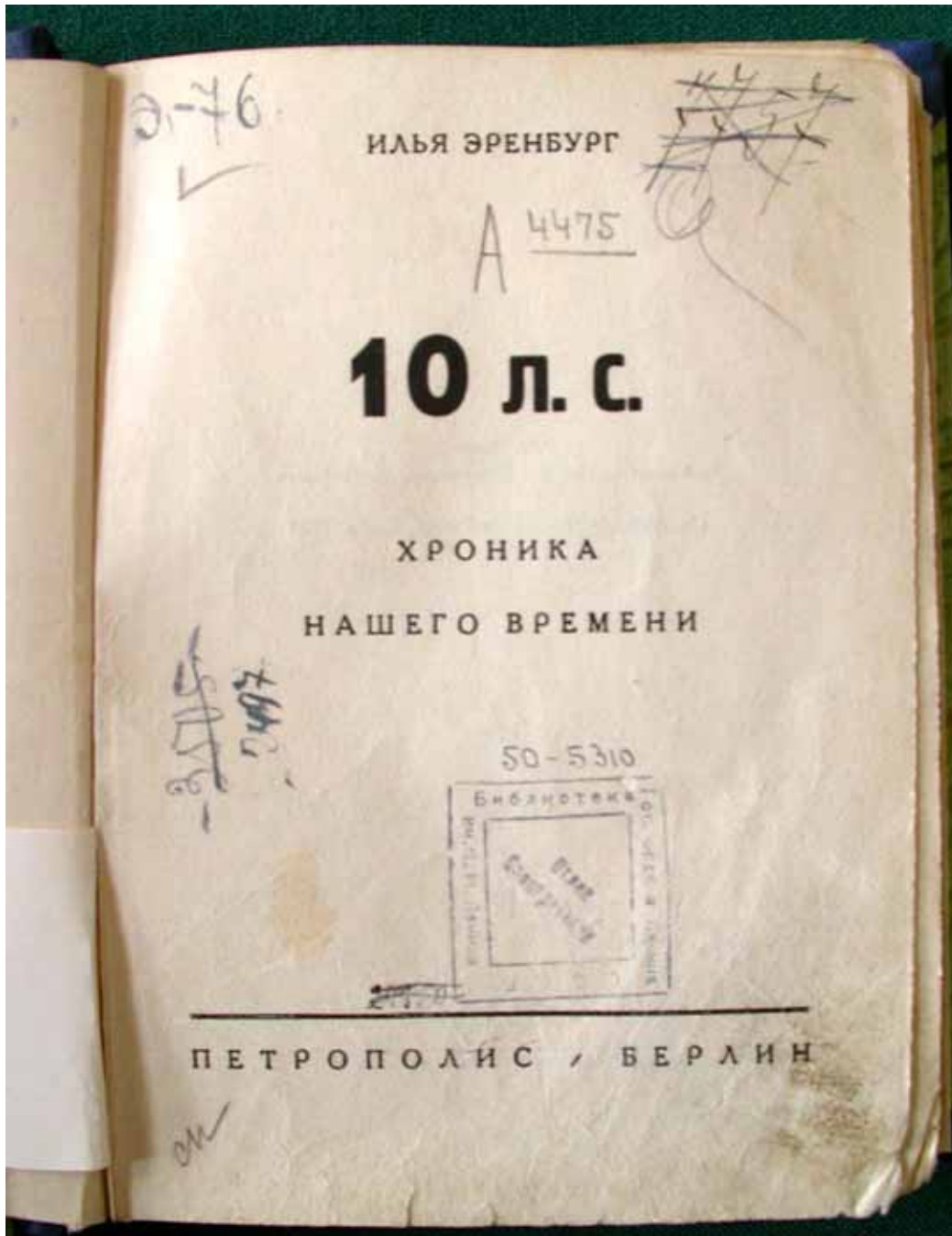
6. *Sovremennye zapiski* (Paris 1921)



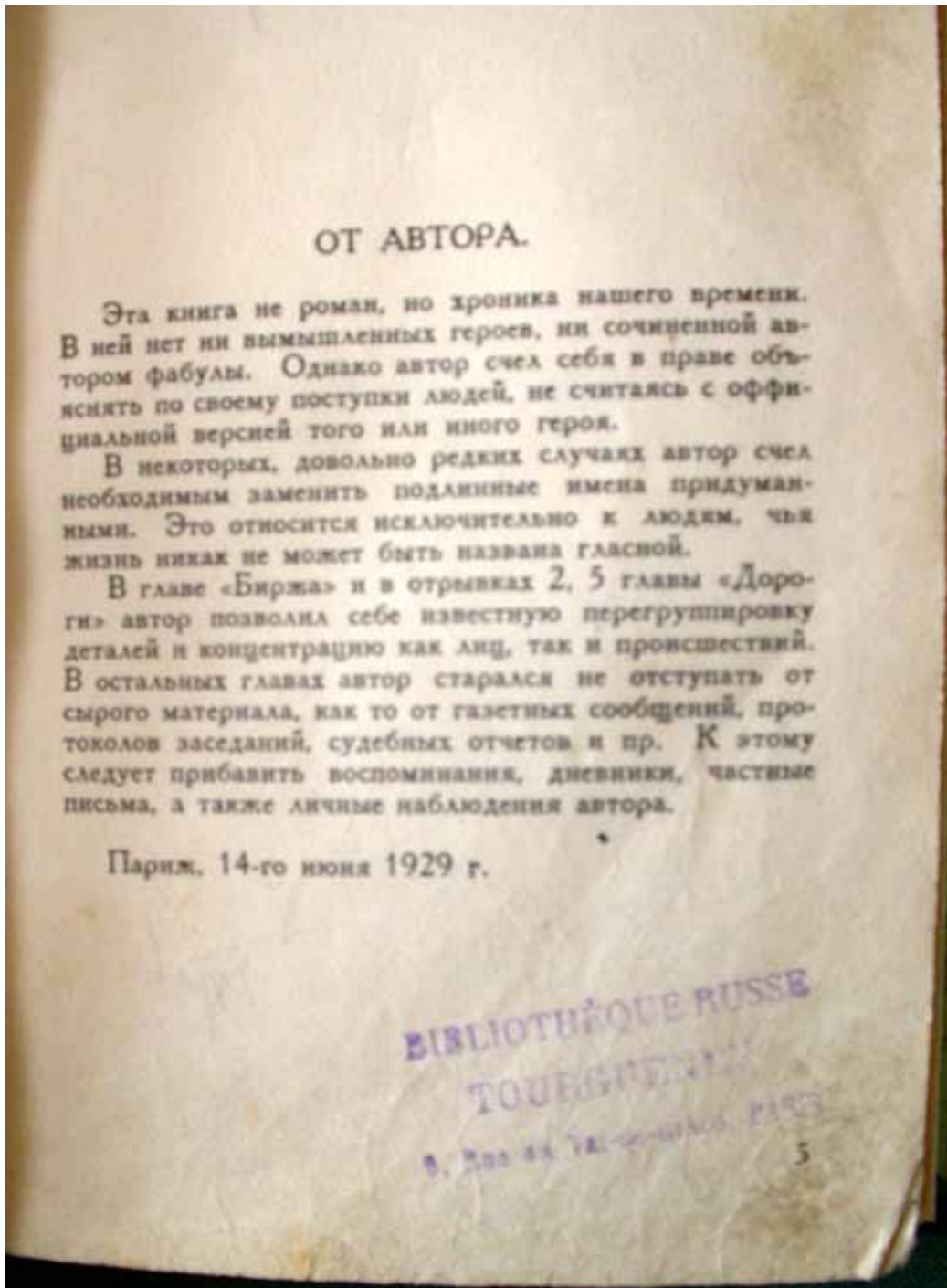
7. Il'ia Erenburg (*English often Ilya Ehrenburg*), *10 L.C. [10 loshadinykh sil]*
a. Front cover



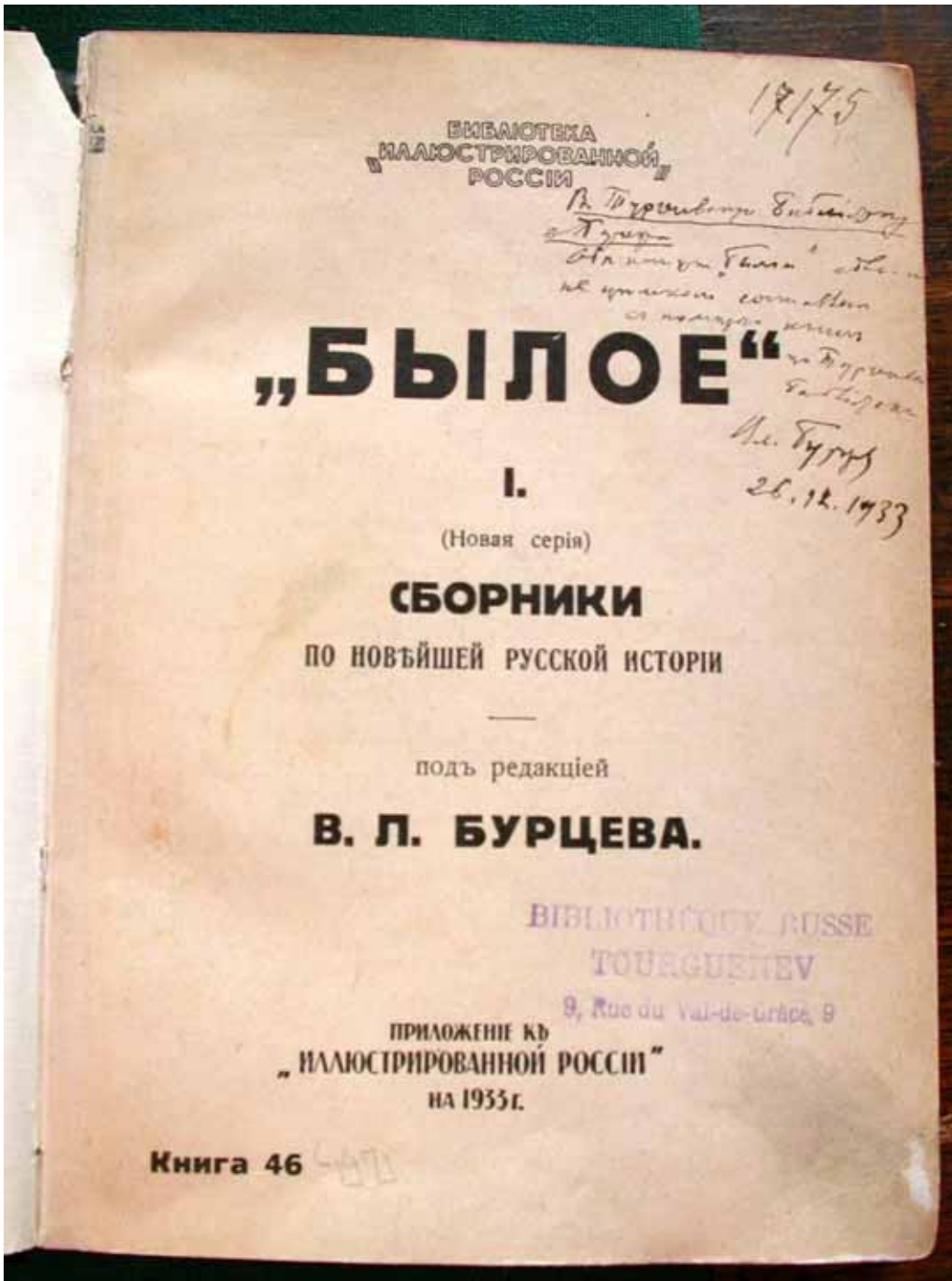
b. Title page



c. First page of the preface (with library stamp)

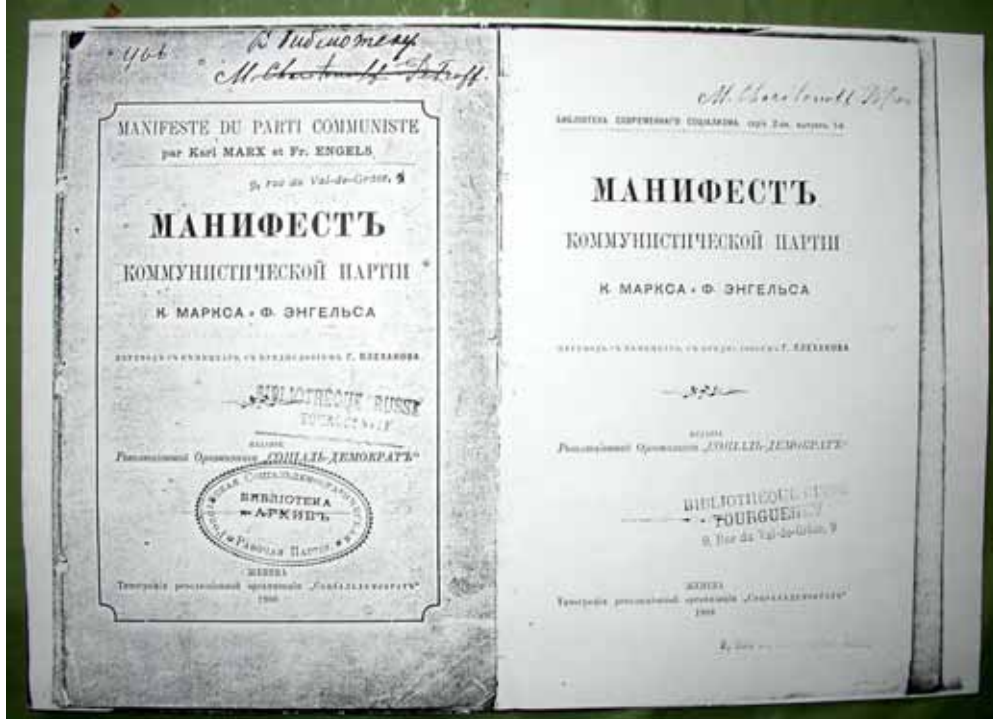


8. An issue of *BYLOE* (1933) with the dedication of the editor Vladimir Burtsev

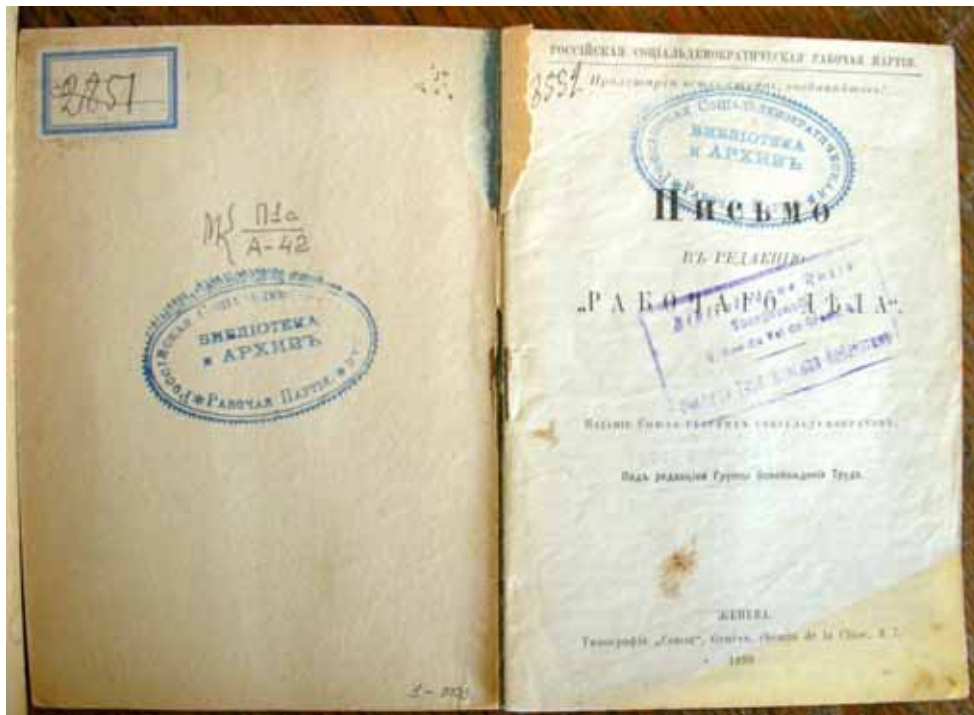


RGB—Museum of the Book (MK)
(from the “Revolutionary Literature” Section)

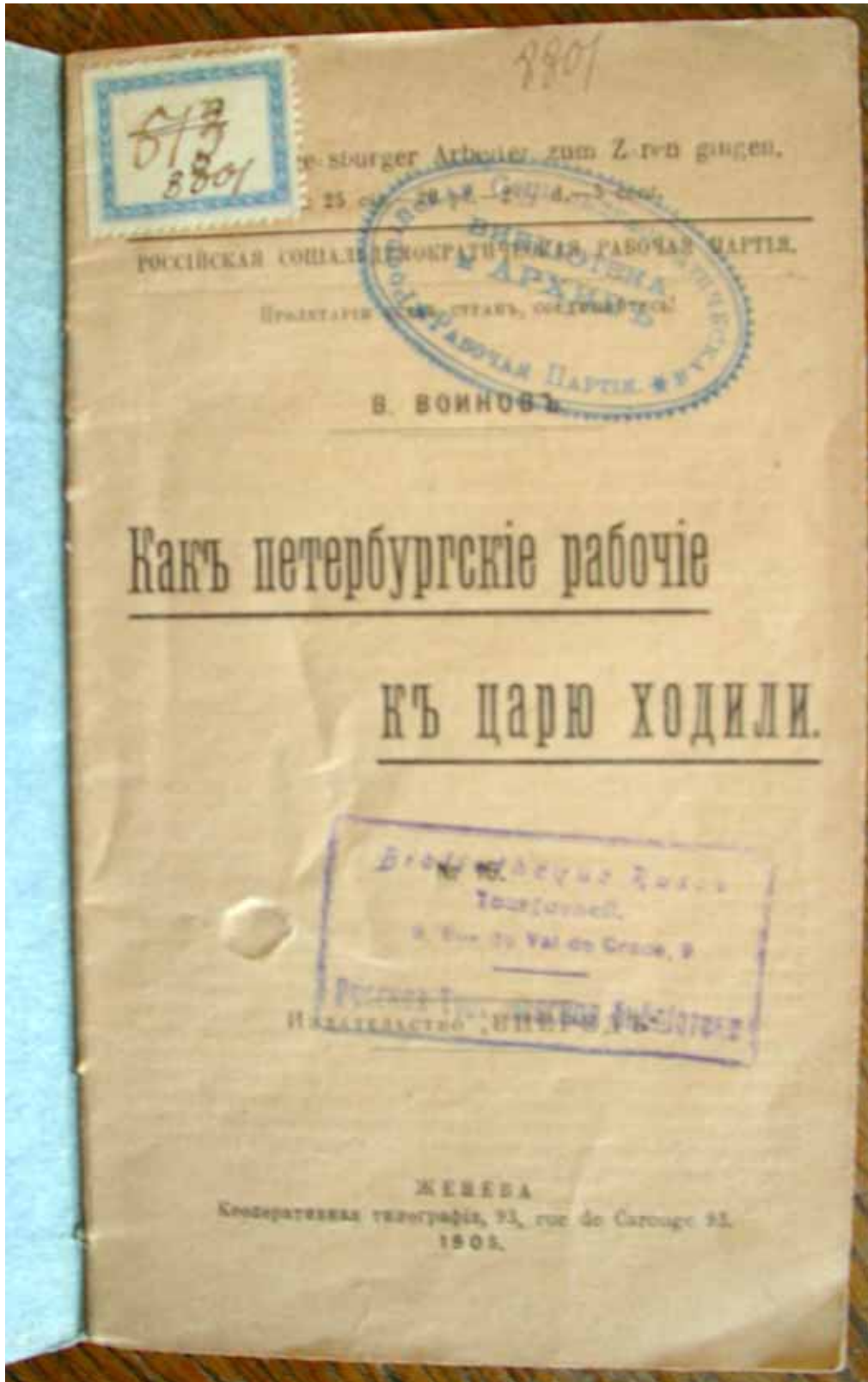
1. A Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto
Karl Marx, *Manifest Kommunisticheskoi partii* (Geneva, 1900)



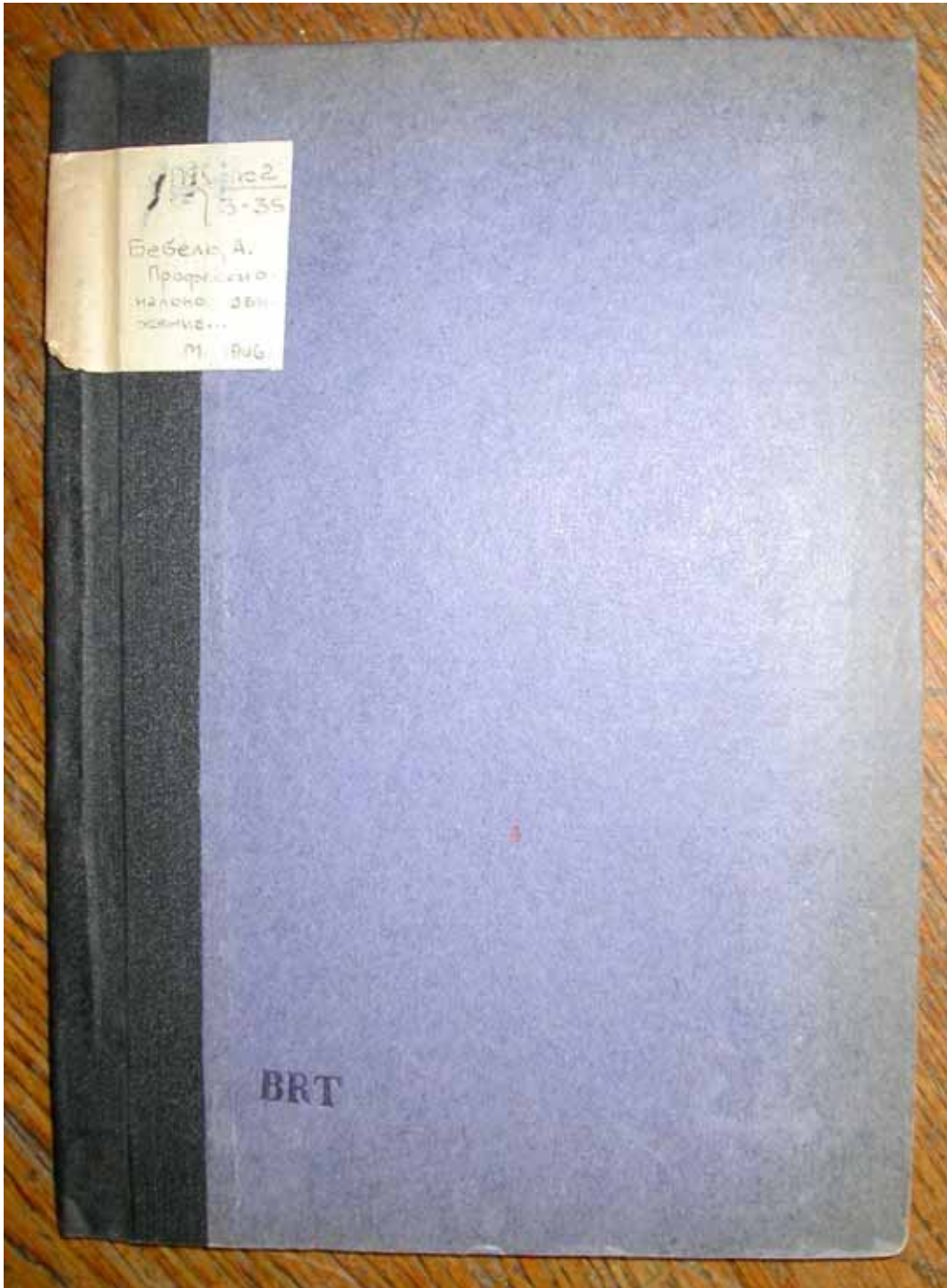
2. *Pi'smo v redaktsiiu "Rabochego dela"* (Geneva, 1899)



3. Anatolii Lunacharskii (pseud. V. Voinov), *Kak peterburgskie rabochie k tsariu khodili* (Geneva, 1905)



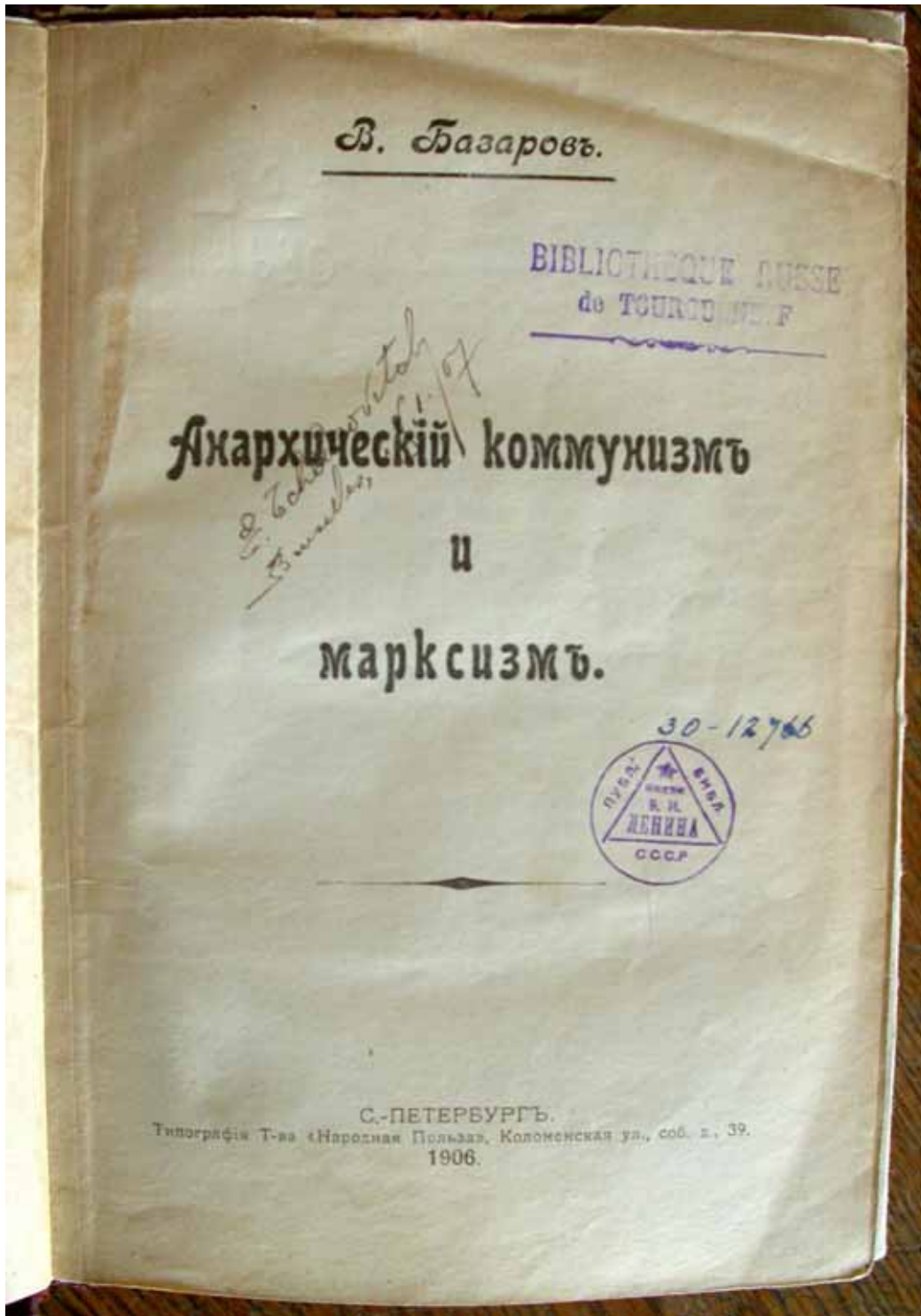
4. Avgust Bebel, *Professional'noe dvizhenie* (Moscow 1906)



The characteristic blue paper cover with stamp BRT and also a GBL label



5. Bazarov, *Anarkhicheskii kommunizm i marksizm* (SPb, 1906)



Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka (GOPB)

[State Socio-Political Library], Moscow, *before 1992*, Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML) under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

7 issues of *Iskra* identified in May 2002.

Reportedly GPOB has other books bearing stamps of the Turgenev Library that have been integrated into its holdings, but further information or figures are not available.

N. B. 118 books surviving from the Officers' Club in Legnica, which in 1984 were presented to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IMEL, *later* IML pri TsK KPSS) in Moscow by the Institute of Party History in Warsaw. In December 2001, these books were transferred to the "Russia Abroad" Library–Collection (Biblioteka-fond "Russkoe zarubezh'e") in Moscow for exhibition in preparation for their return to Paris. They were officially presented to representatives of the Turgenev Library (Paris) at a ceremony in Moscow, 12 February 2002, and arrived in Paris at the end of 2002.

Unpublished descriptions:

Dvorkina, Maiia. "Proiskhozhdenie knig iz Turgenevskoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki."

Illustrations —GOPB

ISKRA, nos. 52 (1903), 28 (1902), 67 (1904)



ISKRA, no. 67 (1904)

ИСКРА

BIBLIOTHÈQUE RUSSE
de TOUBOUCHEFF

Пролетарии всех стран,
соединитесь!

Центральный Органъ Российской Соціалдемократической Рабочей Партии.

№ 67. 1-го июня 1904 г. Годъ IV.

<p style="text-align: center;">РЕФОРМАТОРСКИЕ ПОТУГИ.</p> <p>Историческое значение Искры в развитии русской социал-демократической мысли. Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России. Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России.</p>	<p>Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России. Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России.</p>	<p>Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России. Искра была органом партии, которая стремилась к созданию единой рабочей партии, объединившей все революционные течения в России.</p>
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**Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii
(RGASPI)**

[Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History], Moscow

Fond 2. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin (1870–1924)

Opis' 1—, no. 26073. Book entitled *Fabrichno-zavodskaia i remeslennaia promyshlennost' Odesskogo gradonachal'stva Khersonskoi Gubernii*, compiled by A. A. Mikulin (Odessa, 1897).

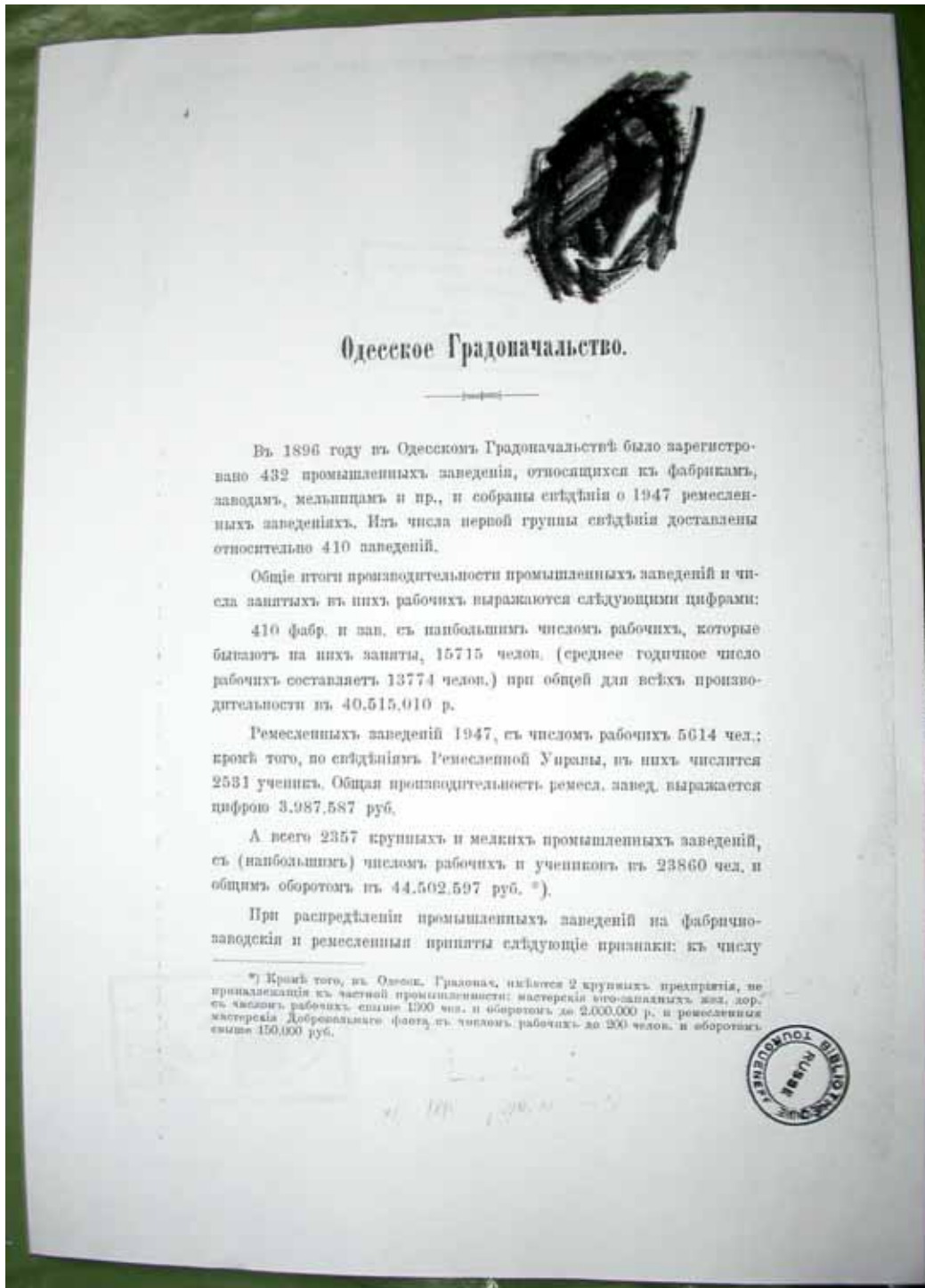
The book bears marginal notes and underscoring in the hand of Lenin. In addition to a stamp of the Turgenev Library, the book also bears a stamp of the Library and Archive of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party ('Biblioteka i arkhiv TsK RSDRP'), although that stamp had been cancelled out. A stamp of the State Lenin Library (GBL) had been added in Moscow, indicating that the book had been registered there before being transferred to IMEL.

Illustrations


1. The title page with the RSDRP stamp blacked out and a stamp of the Turgenev Library



2. The opening page with the RSDRP stamp blacked out



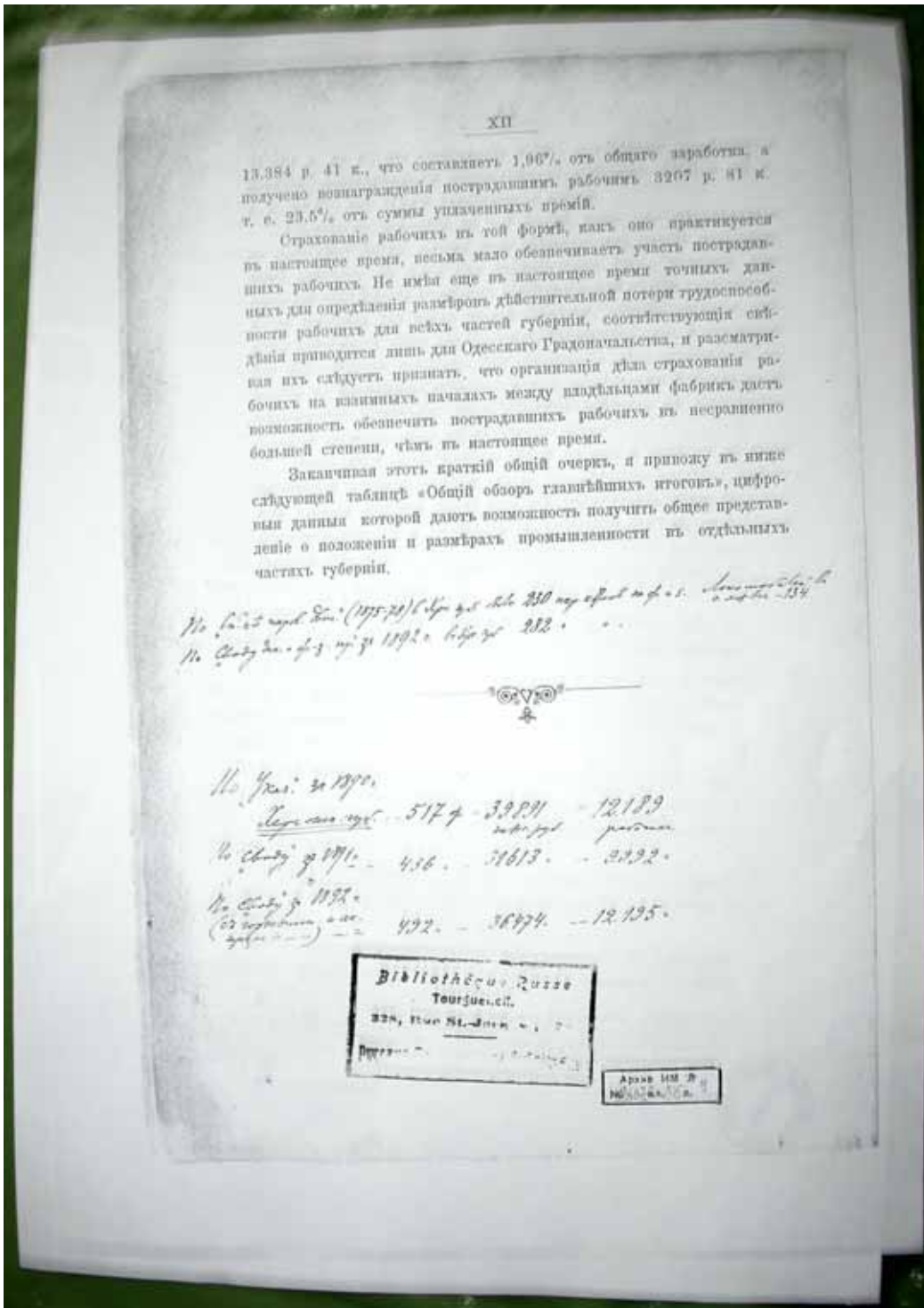
3. Table of Contents
(with the Turgenev Library stamp crossed out and the GBL stamp added)



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4. A page with handwritten notes by Vladimir Lenin



Gosudarstvennyi muzei V. V. Maiakovskogo

[State V. V. Maiakovskii Museum], Moscow

Four books reported.

Published descriptions:

Grikanova, Galina. “Moskva—Parizh—Moskva,” *V mire knig*, no. 3 (March 1975), pp. 81–83.

— — “‘Zemlianka’ Vasiliia Kamenskogo.” *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 29 (19 July 1985), p. 16.

Kazan**Kazanskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. Nauchnaia biblioteka im. N. I.**

[N. I. Lobachevskii Library, Kazan State University]

Several books were acquired with the personal library and papers of Dmitrii Odintsev, the President of the Turgenev Library Association in 1940, who was assigned to Kazan after he reemigrated to the USSR after World War II. Others were found in a Kazan antiquarian bookshop.

Published descriptions:

Aristov, Viacheslav V. “Kniga vernulas' na rodinu.” In *Podarok dekabristsa (Po stranitsam neizvestnykh rukopisei i zabytykh knig)* (Kazan, 1970), pp. 52–56.

Konstantinov-na-Donu

One book —L. N. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina*—brought home by a returning Soviet Army officer was reportedly presented to local library. Later, however, the book was transferred to the I. S. Turgenev State Literary Museum in Orel (see below).

Published descriptions:

Novosel'tsev, I. “Iz biblioteki I. S. Turgeneva.” *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 32 (9 August 1985), p. 14.

Orel

Gosudarstvennyi literaturnyi muzei I. S. Turgeneva

[I. S. Turgenev State Literary Museum], 302028 Orel, ul. Turgeneva, 11

Gosudarstvennyi memorial'nyi i prirodnyi muzei-zapovednik I. S. Turgeneva “Spasskoe-Lutovinovo”

[I. S. Turgenev State Memorial and Spasskoe-Lutovinovo Nature Museum-Preserve], Spasskoe-Lutovinovo (near Orel)

The Orel museum holds a total of seven books with stamps of the Turgenev Library in Paris. Five books and the Paris building plaque from the Turgenev Library were already described in an article by the museum director, Leonid Afonin, in 1966.

One book—L. N. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina*—was donated by the Soviet Army military command in Konstantinov-na-Donu (see under Konstantinov-na-Donu above).

One book—A. N. Maikov, *Polnoe Sobranie sochinenii* (8th ed. in 4 vols.), vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Izd. T-va Marksa, n.d.)—was received from Ivano-Frankivsk (Ukraine).

According to information from the Ministry of Culture RF, four books from Minsk were presented to President Yeltsin in 1998 by Belarus President Lukashenko. Although the Ministry of Culture explained to the Presidential Administration that the books came from Paris, not Orel, Duma leader Egor Stroev insisted they came from and should be given to the Turgenev Museum in Spasskoe-Lutovinovo. However, the Orel museum director affirms that these were never received.

The Orel Literary Museum holds several thousand books from Turgenev's personal library, some of which he had had in Paris, but the first volume of the catalogue mentions only one that possibly came from Turgenev's personal library in Paris.

The Turgenev estate museum in Spasskoe-Lutovinovo was earlier a branch of the State Literary Museum in Orel, but is now independent. None of the books from Paris are currently held there.

Descriptions:

Afonin, Leonid [Nikolaevich]. “Russkoi suti ne vyvesti: Sud'ba Turgenevskoi russkoi biblioteki v Parizhe.” *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, no. 48(204) (25 November 1966), pp. 16–17.

[Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation]. “Kratkaia spravka o Turgenevskoi biblioteke v Parizhe” (1997).

Biblioteka Ivana Sergeevicha Turgeneva. Comp. and ed. L. M. Aleksandrova et al. Introduction by L.A. Balykova. Vol. 1: Orel: Izd-vo OGTRK, 1994. (Gosudarstvennyi literaturnyi myzei I.S. Turgeneva).

Letter from the museum director Valentina Viktorovna Safronova to P. K. Grimsted, Orel, 11 April 2003.

Museum websites: http://www.museum.ru/museum/lit_oryol/1.htm and http://www.valley.ru/~art/lit_main3.htm

Sakhalin

Sakhalinskaia universal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka

[Sakhalin Universal Scientific Library]

Several books identified with stamps of the Paris library include works by Ivan Turgenev, Aleksandr Pushkin, Lev Tolstoi, William Shakespeare, and Frederich Schiller, from the nineteenth-century series “Library of Great Writers” (*Biblioteka velikikh pisatelei*). Also held in the Sakhalin library is a study of the “Eastern Question in the Eighteenth Century” by Albert Sorel and a French translation of the correspondence of German Social Democrats Karl and Louisa Kautsky with Rosa Luxemburg. Reportedly the books had been received after World War II from the “Exchange Fund” of the Lenin Library.

Description:

Paichadze, S. A. “Knigi iz Turgenevskoi Biblioteki v Parizhe na ostrove Sakhalin.” In *Tret'i Grodekovskie chteniia: Materialy regional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Dal'nii Vostok Rossii: Istoricheskii opyt i sovremennye problemy zaseleniia i osvoeniia territorii. Khabarovsk 4–5 oktiabria 2001 g.* (Khabarovsk: Khabarovskii kraevoi kraevedcheskii muzei im. N. I. Grodekova, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 172–75.

Sakhalin Library website: <http://www.gpntb.ru/win/elbib/putevod2/Doc30.HTML>.

Voronezh

Voronezhskii gosudarstvennyi universitet.

Zonal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka

[Voronezh State University, Zonal Scientific Library]

Librarians have identified 26 books, as catalogued in a published brochure and reported in a VGBIL conference in Moscow in 1990.

Published descriptions:

Voronezhskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. *Universitetskaia biblioteka v litsakh, sobytiakh, knigakh*, no. 3: “Knigi iz Russkoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe, khраниashchiesia v NB VGU.”

UKRAINE

Derzhavna istorychna biblioteka Ukraïny

[State Historical Library], Kyiv

Several books from the Turgenev Library were destroyed in a library “cleansing” operation in 1984, as reported to Patricia Grimsted by a retired librarian who headed the Special Collection of foreign books.

Luhans'kyi derzhavnyi pedahohichnyi universitet imeni Tarasa Shevchenka, Biblioteka

[Luhansk Taras Shevchenko State Pedogical University, Library]

One book from the Turgenev Library reported.

BELARUS

Natsyianal'naia Bibliiateka Belarusi

[National Library of Belarus], Minsk, *formerly* Lenin State Library of the Belorussian SSR

An estimated several hundred books from the Turgenev Library remain in the National Library in Minsk, together with a few unprocessed files from the library's archive. Higher estimates ranging to 3,000 volumes were reported earlier in Moscow, but in terms of current holdings, that appears to be an exaggeration. Since many of the trophy books were subsequently integrated into general library holdings, the Rare Book Department, or other divisions, and not all of them have been identified correctly as to provenance, and since possibly more have not been fully processed, it is difficult to determine the exact number. Some were earlier sent to Moscow, including, for example, the Dutch New Testament accessioned by VGBIL in 1984 that was returned to Amsterdam in 1992 and subsequently returned to Paris.

A considerable number of books from the Turgenev Library were reportedly destroyed in library "cleansing" operation during the Soviet period.

A small number books from the Turgenev Library remain in a private collection. in Minsk.

Published descriptions:

[Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation]. "Kratkaia spravka o Turgenevskoi biblioteke v Parizhe" (1997).

Makarov, Vladimir. "Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk." *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999), pp. 25–27.

Kotrelev, Nikolai V. "Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki." In *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: Izuchenie i opisanie (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh otdelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek vuzov. Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), pp. 107–109.

English translation: "Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library," *Kul'turologiia: The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 3 (1993), pp. 147–50.

Prezidentskaia Bibliiateka Respubliki Belarus'

[Presidential Library of the Republic of Belarus], Minsk, *formerly* the Gor'kii Library of the Government of the Belarusian SSR (Uradovaia bibliiateka im. A. M. Horkaho BSSR)

The Presidential Library holds an estimated 500–600 books the Turgenev Library. The Rare Book Department has compiled a provisional card catalogue of books and brochures bearing book stamps of the library, presently totaling 363 volumes and 88 journal issues. Many of these holdings are socialist literature and also bear stamps of the RSDRP and the Herzen Library in Nice. Librarians estimate there are probably an additional 50–100 volumes elsewhere in the library that have not yet been identified.

POLAND

Former Dom Ofitserov, Biblioteka [Officers' Club, Library], Legnica, under Northern Group of the Soviet [earlier Red] Army, 1945–1955(?)

Approximately 60,000 books from the Turgenev Library were transferred to the Officers' Club in late 1945, but subsequently dispersed. Some of them were sent to Moscow in 1946–1948(?). Some of the remaining books with Russian émigré imprints were destroyed in 1951 or 1955. After the Officers' Club was closed, 118 were transferred to Warsaw and thence to GPOB (Moscow).

Published descriptions:

Sashonko, Vladimir. "Knigi s ulitsy Val-de-Gras." *Neva*, 1994, no. 10, pp. 301–305.

E-mail report from daughter of former librarian to Mikhail Afanas'ev, Director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow.

"Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol'sha)" (no. 31). In "Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul'tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda," GA RF, A-534/2/1, fol. 182–182v (original ribbon copy; cc in A-534/2/10, fol. 137–137v). German translation in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Arme*, p. 141. (See Appendix II for facsimile of Russian original and English translation.)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Stanford University Library (or Hoover Institution), Palo Alto, California

Two books with stamps of the Turgenev Library have been identified, but no further details are available.

Published descriptions:

Studemeister, Marguerite. *Bookplates and their Owners in Imperial Russia: An Illustrated Survey of Holdings at Stanford University* (Tenafly, NJ: Hermitage Publishers, 1991), p. 200.

FRANCE

**Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva/
Bibliothèque russe Tourguénev**

[Turgenev Russian Library], Paris, 11, rue de Valence

As of the end of 2002, only one book from the prewar holdings of the library had been returned from Russia, namely the Dutch Bible mentioned in the text above that arrived via Amsterdam in 1992.

As of early 2003, 118 books that were restituted to the Paris library by GOPB in Moscow (February 2002) were returned to Paris.

The Paris library also holds a number of prewar library catalogues, namely:

“Belletristika”—parts II–VII (covering nos. 4993–10,785)

“Istoriia,” 3 vols.

“Geografiia”—I–II

“Iuridicheskii otdel”

“Filosofia”—I–II;

“Publitsistika”

“Obshchestvennaia i ekonomicheskaia nauka”

“Estestvoznanie”

“Sel'skoe khoziaistvo”

“Katalog broshur”

“Rossica”

There are also a few notebook lists of readers holding books, a collection of cards for library subscribers, some library correspondence (1928–1939), and a notebook with requests from readers for books to be purchased (1939).

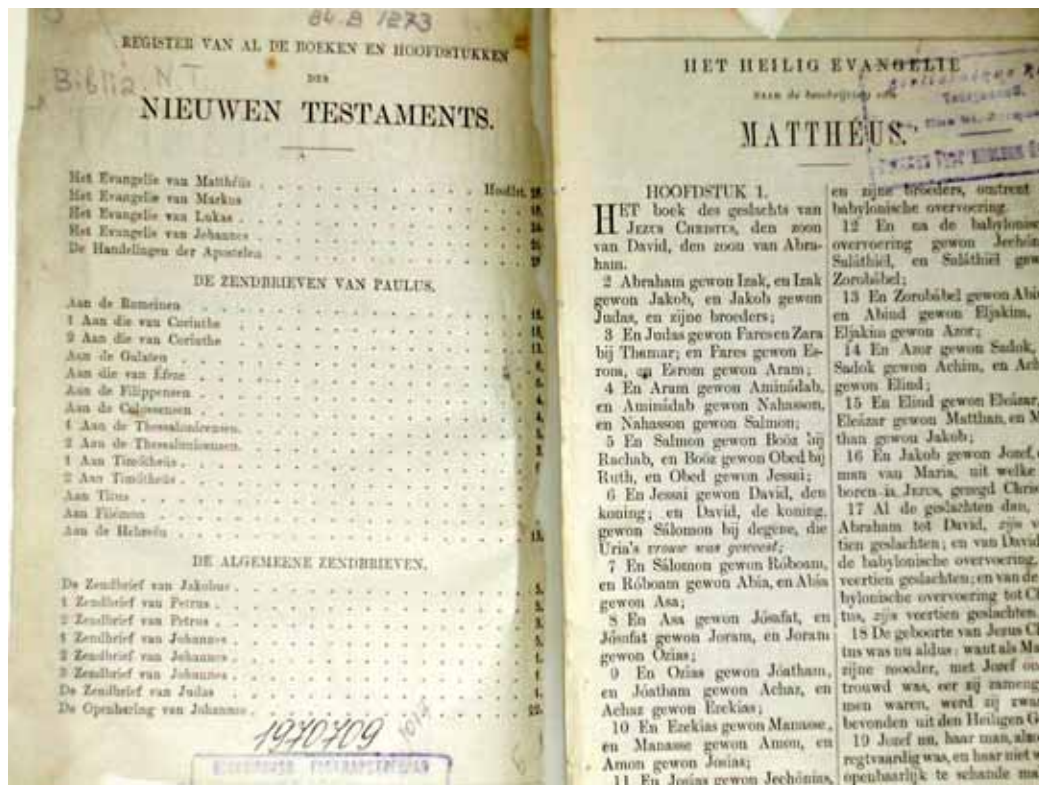
Illustrations:

1. The Dutch New Testament (1895) returned from Moscow, bearing a stamp of the Turgenev Library

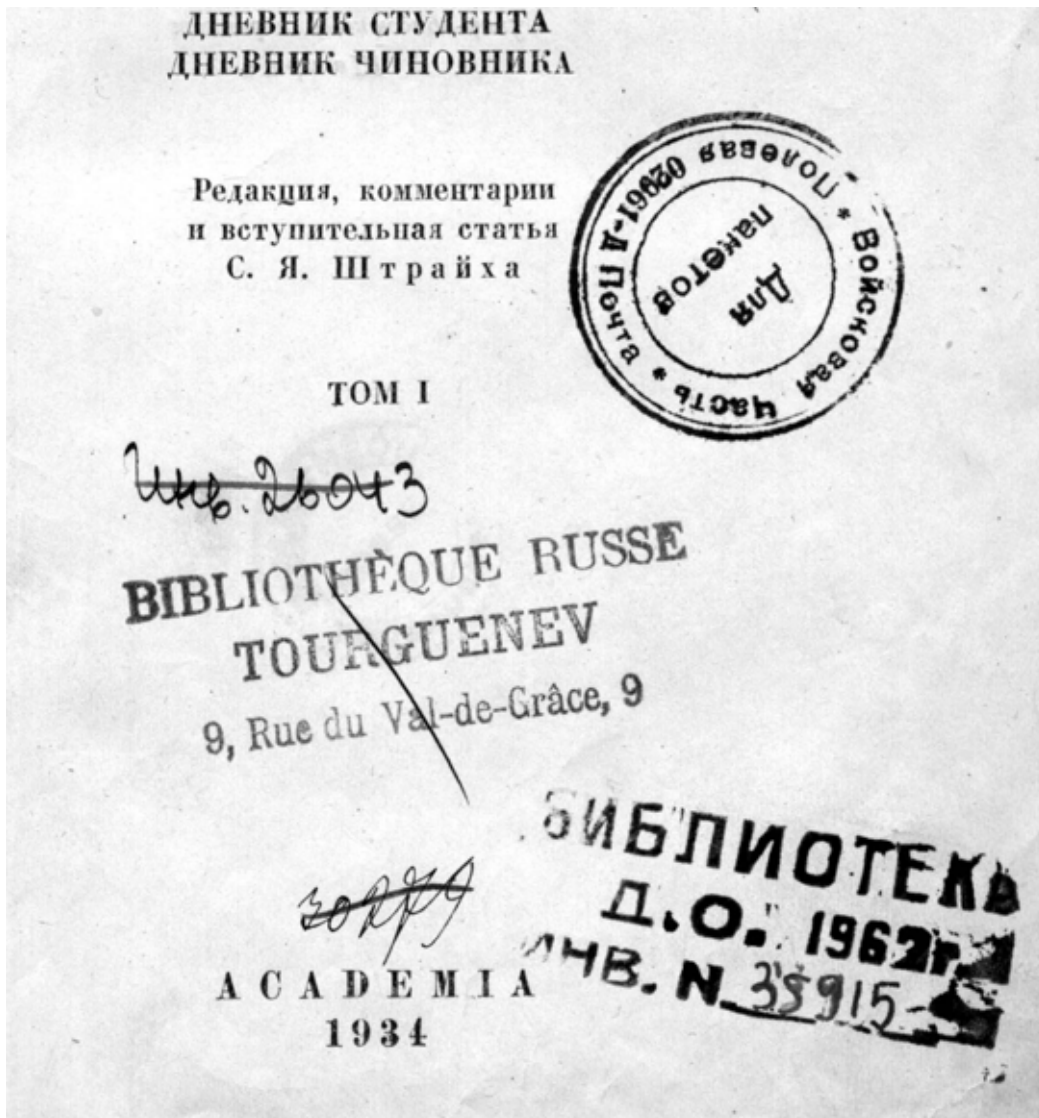
a. Title page



b. Table of Contents and opening Gospel of St. Mathew, with a stamp and registration number of VGBIL (left bottom) and the Turgenev Library (right)

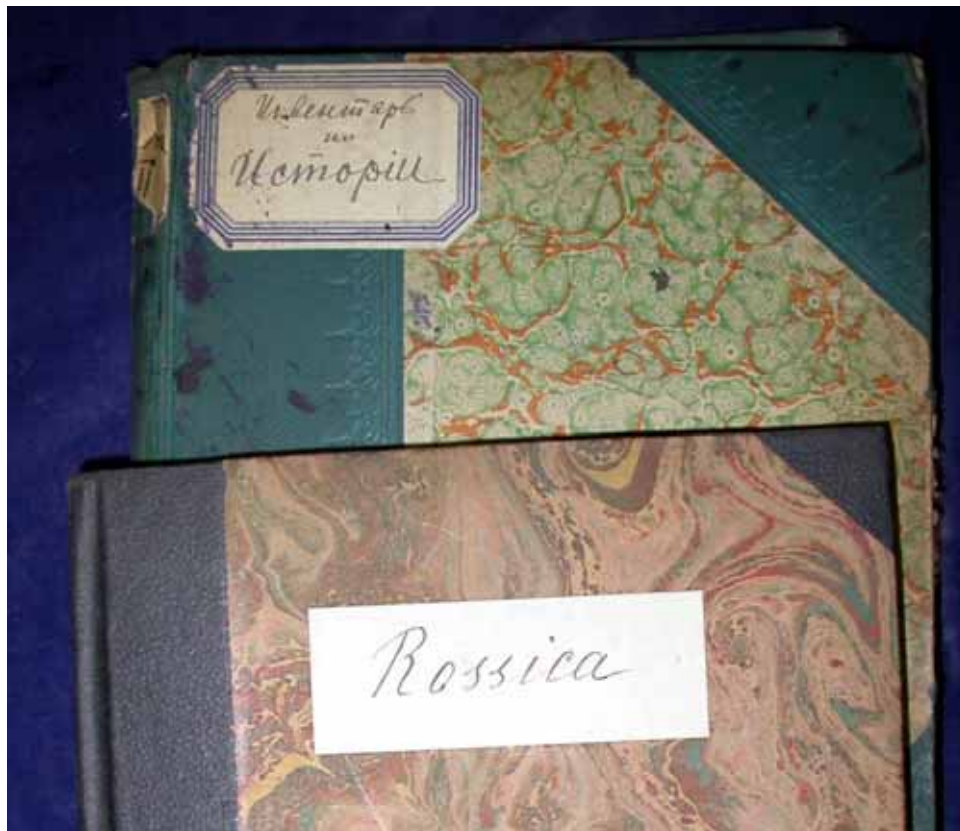


2. Two sample title pages from the collection of 118 books returned by the State Socio-Political Library (GOPB), showing stamps of the Turgenev Library, the Soviet Army Military Unit (*Voiskovaia chast'*) Field Post no. 02961-D, and 1962 stamps and inventory numbers of the Officers' Club in Legnica. The first image is from a 1934 Soviet publication. The second is from a 1937 Soviet edition and already the Turgenev Library stamp bears the address "13, Rue de la Bucherie."

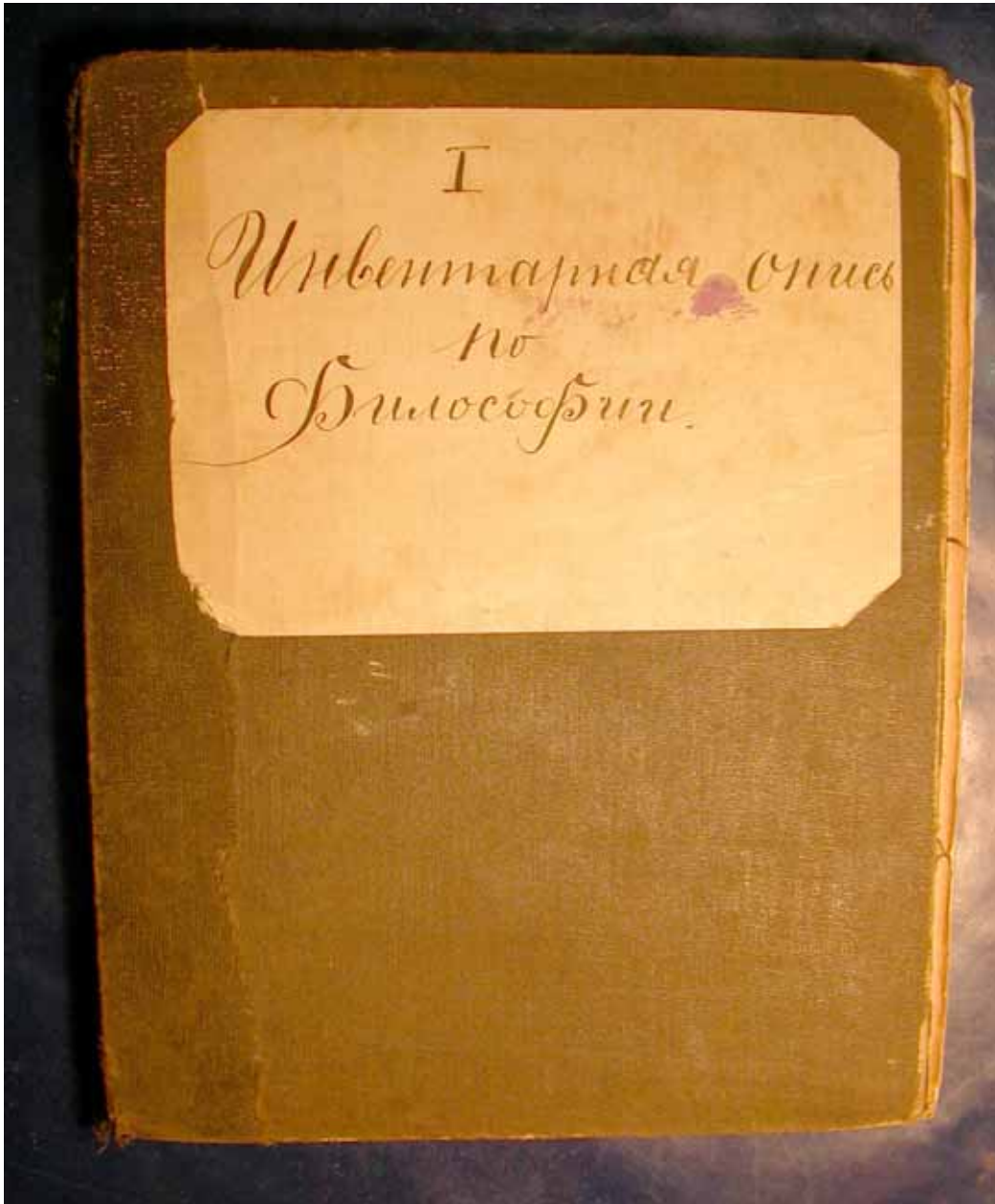




3. Prewar Turgenev Library catalogues remaining in Paris:



4. A prewar library catalogue (*Inventarnaia opis'*) for Philosophy



6. A page from the prewar BRT catalogue (no. 5) showing the entry (*) for Aldanov's *Portrety*

(The book itself is now in Moscow as shown in the image above under RGB.)

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О Т Д Е Л Ъ У.

НАУЧНЫЙ, ФИЛОСОФСКИЙ, ПУБЛИЦИСТИЧЕСКИЙ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ

		# книги
АБРАМОВЪ	Современное учение объ иммунитатѣ	# 3501
АВДИЕВЪ П.	Исторія Древняго Востока	365
АГАСОНОВЪ В.	Настоящее и прошлое земли ч. I	# 3502
"	то же ч. II	# 3502 1/2
"	Индивидуализмъ и Соціализмъ	# 3504 -
<i>Ардановъ М. Я.</i>	<i>Послѣдніе дни императоровъ. Парижъ. 1919.</i>	<i>№ 3504</i>
АЛДАНОВЪ М.	Огонь и дымъ - УЛЬМСКАЯ НОЧЬ	# 3505
"	Безвременныя	# 3505 1/2
"	Портреты	# 3506 1/2
"	Земли, Люди	# 3510
"	<i>Послѣдніе дни императоровъ - Парижъ. 1919.</i>	<i>№ 3510 1/2</i>
АЛЕКСАНДРОВЪ Я.	Вѣные дни ч. I	# 3507. 3517 1/2
АРХЕНВАЛЬДЪ В.	Силуэты русскихъ писателей	# 3508 -
"	Дѣятели: Толстая и Достоевская	# 3740
АНГЕЛОВЪ В.	Новая русская поэзія	# 3509
АРБАТСКІИ, Ю.	Этюды по исторіи РУССКОИ МУЗЫКИ	3774
АРКИНЪ В.	Поэты и душа	# 3510
<i>Архиповъ Я.</i>	<i>Между двумя бомбами</i>	<i>3511</i>
АРОНОВЪ Гр.	На зарѣ краснаго террора	# 3511 1/2
<i>Н. Я. Архиповъ</i>	<i>Примеры изъ жизни террора. Парижъ. 1919.</i>	<i>№ 3511 1/2</i>

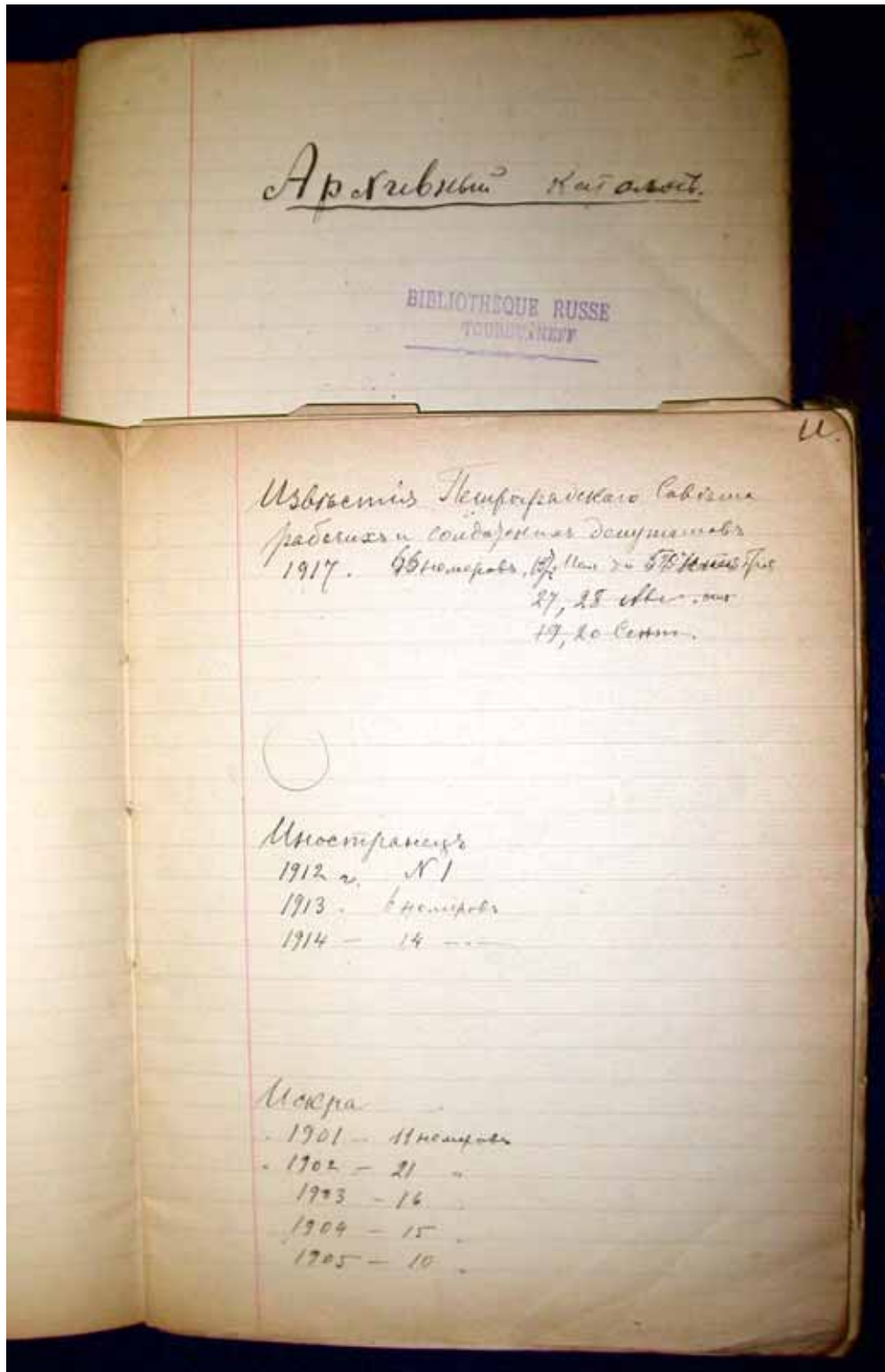
8. A page from the prewar BRT "History" catalogue showing the entry (*) for Miliukov, *Ocherki po istorii*

(The book itself is now in Moscow as shown in the image above under RGB.)

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		№ книги
МЕЛЬНИКОВ С.П.	Дети и люди Александровского времени	№ 3626
*	Красный террор в России	№ 3629
*	Как? Большевики захватили власть то же	3623/1 3623/2
*	Чайковский Н.В. в годы гражданской войны	№ 3628/1
*	Трагедия Адмирала Колчака т. I	№ 3629/1
*	то же т. II	№ 3629/2
*	то же т. III	№ 3629/3
*	На путях к дворцовому перевороту <i>См. также: Меликянц Н.В. См. также: Меликянц Н.В.</i>	№ 3628/2 3628/3
МЕЛЬНИКОВ	Два мира	№ 3630
<i>Меликянц Н.В.</i>	<i>Два мира в России, 1917-1918</i>	<i>№ 3631</i>
МЕРКУНОВСКИЙ Д.С.	I. Предушанская война II. Чеховы и Горький <i>Воспоминания Меликянц Н.В.</i>	№ 3797 3798/1 3798/2
МЕТАЛЬНИКОВ С.	Проблемы социализма в оккупированной на оккупированной территории	№ 3631/1
МИКЛЕВСКИЙ И.	Экономическое	№ 3632
МИЛЮКОВ П.И.	Очерки по истории русской культуры т. I	№ 3633
*	то же т. III <i>на 100 стр. 1917/18, 1919/20</i>	№ 3634
*	то же т. II ч. I	№ 3634-1
*	то же т. II ч. II <i>Милуков П.И. 1917/18, 1919/20</i>	№ 3634-2
МИЛЮКОВ П.	Французская эмиграция в России <i>См. также: Милуков П.И. 1917/18, 1919/20</i>	№ 3796

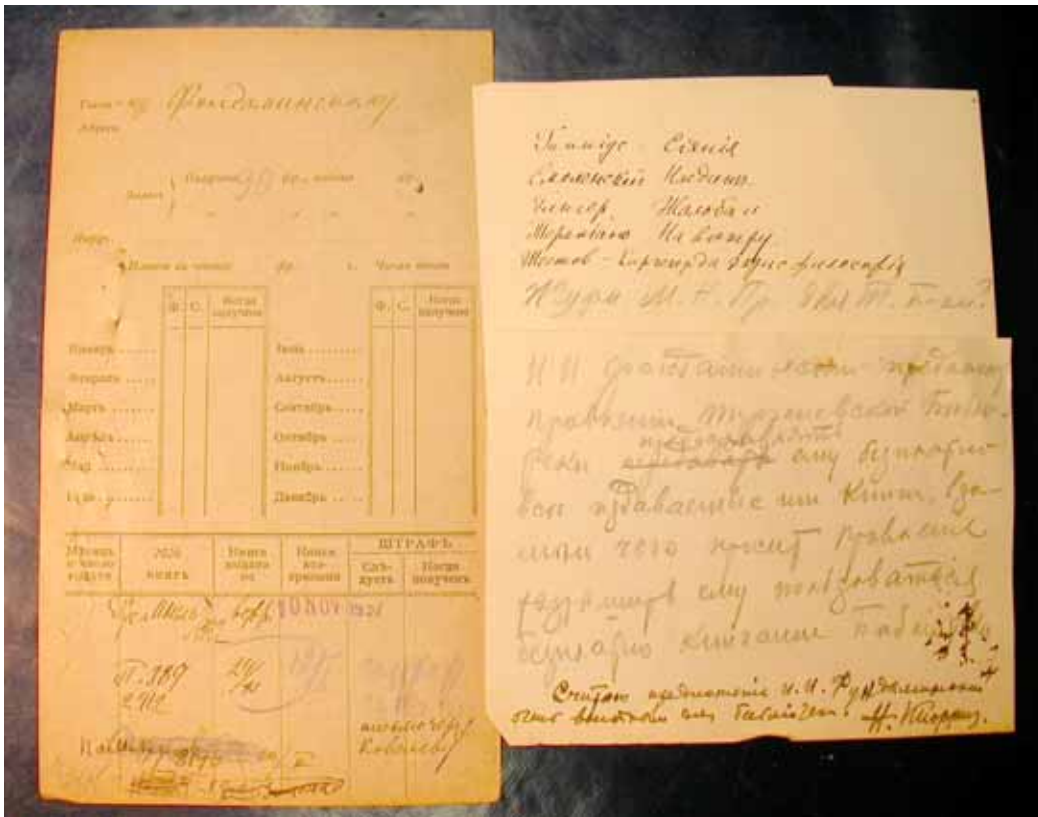
9. A page from the prewar serials catalogue showing BRT holdings for *Iskra* (*)
 (Some of the issues are now in Moscow; see images above under GOPB.)



10. a. Turgenev Library readers' library record cards from the 1930s–1940



b. Library reader's card and notes about Il'ia I. Fundaminskii



c. Library reader's card of Konstantin K. Parchevskii

Госпо **ПАРЧЕВСКИЙ К. К.**
 Адрес **88, B. Port-Royal, Paris V**

Залого ^{Получено} **Зем. Пр. вленин** ^{Фр., выдано} ^{Фр.}

Поруч.

Начало за чтение ^{Фр.} с ^{Число книг}

	Ф. С.	Когда получено		Ф. С.	Когда получено
Январь			Июль		
Февраль			Августь		
Мартъ			Сентябрь		
Апрѣль			Октябрь		
Май			Ноябрь		
Июнь			Декабрь		

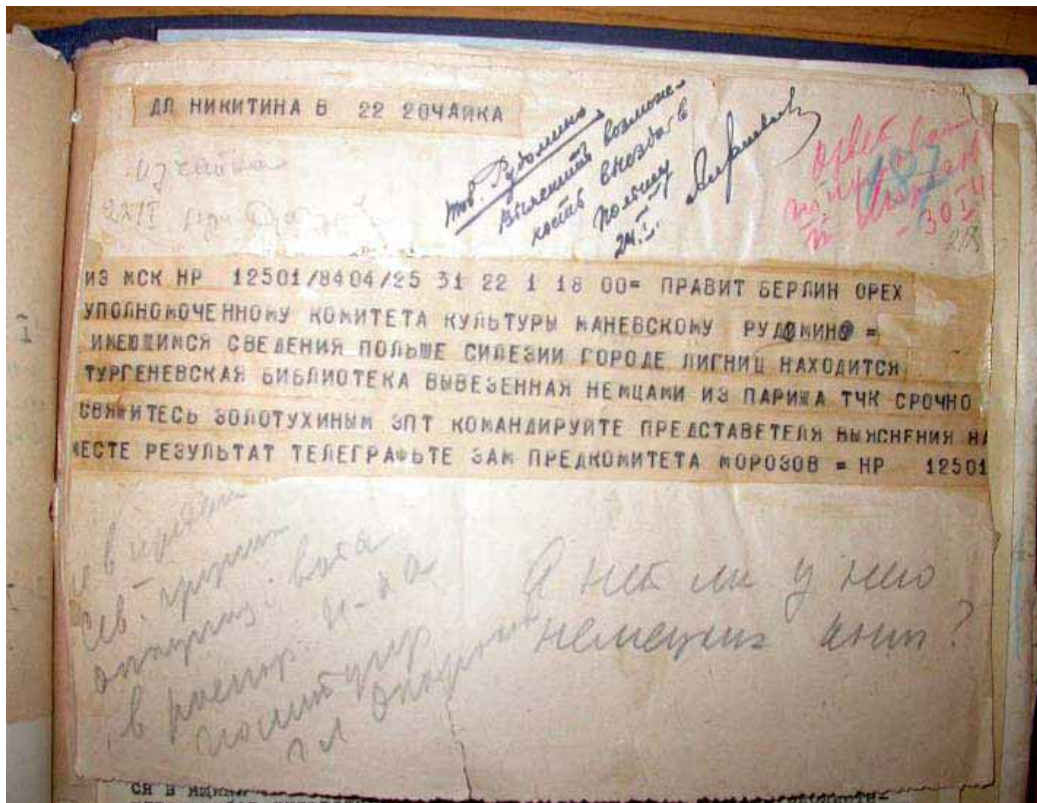
Мѣсяцъ и число выдачи	№№ книгъ	Книга выдана по	Книга возвращена	ШТРАФЪ	
				Слѣдуетъ	Когда полученъ
10-11-11	112	103	875		7688
20-11-11	2044 II	Кораллов			11-11-11
	1113	2107	Таблицы		11-11-11
16-11-11	2585	311	90-12-11		11-11-11
	2185 I	555	11-11-11		11-11-11
11-11-11	16 II	1111	11-11-11		11-11-11

Appendix II

Soviet Telegram to the Trophy Brigade in Berlin Reporting the Location of the Turgenev Library in Legnica (Poland), January 1946

The original telegram (22 January 1946) from Deputy Chairman Morozov addressed to Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, director of the Scientific-Research Institute for Museum and Regional Studies (Moscow), and Margarita Rudomino, with handwritten resolutions regarding their removal from Poland.

GA RF, A-534/2/8, fol. 218



English Translation:

DL V. Nikitina 22 20Chaika

From Moscow NR 12501/8404/25 31 22 1 18 00= Send to Berlin to the official representatives of the Committee on Culture, Manevskii [and] Rudomino = We have information that Turgenev Library, taken by Germans from Paris, is located in Legnica in Polish Silesia [.] Contact Zolotukhin urgently send representative to clarify on spot [.] Telegraph results Dep[uty] Committee Chairman Morozov = NR 12501.

Resolutions (handwritten orders on the original telegram):

(above text, left): iz Chaika
(dated) 22 January (22.I) by [signature illegible]

(above text, center):
Com[rade] Rudomino
Ascertain the possibility of going to Poland.
24 January (24.I). (signed) [A. Manevskii]

(above text, right):
Reply to Comrade Morozov in code.
–30 January 1946 (30.I.4[6])

(below text, left):
[illegible] Nor[thern] Group under the control of the chief of the Polit[ical]
Com[mand], Gen[eral] Okorokov

(below text, right):
And doesn't he have some German books there?

Translated text of Rudomino's reply [31 January 1946] (handwritten draft)
GA RF, A-534/2/8. fol. 216.

In code, 31 (crossed out)

Moscow, Sofiiskaia naberezhnaia, Vice-Chairman of Committee on Culture of the
Council of People's Commissars Morozov

Paris Turgenev Library is held in the Officers' Club in Lignits Poland under the
authority of the Chief of the Political Command of the Northern Military Group
Lieutenant General Okorokov who categorically refused to General Bokov the
transfer of the library to the USSR.

Desirable to send [*komandirovat*] specialist from Moscow to determine the actual
value of that library and decide with respect to its future measure. Our going to
Poland at the present time is not possible.

Rudomino

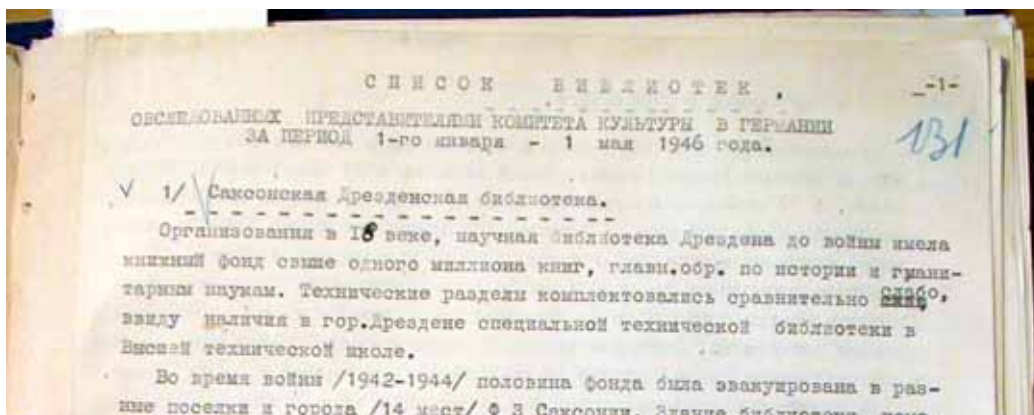
Appendix III

Soviet Trophy Library Brigade Report “The Turgenev Library in Legnica (Poland),” 1946

31) “Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits. (Pol'sha),” in “Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul'tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria—1 maia 1946 goda” [List of Libraries Surveyed by Representatives of the Committee on Culture in Germany, for the period 1 January—1 May 1946].

An original ribbon copy is held in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), fond A-534, opis' 2, file 1, folio 137–137v (The report begins on folio 131). The report is not signed, although other library reports in the same folder incorporating parts of this draft are signed by Margarita Rudomino, director of the All-Union Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow, who headed the Library Group in the trophy brigade headed by Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, Director of the Scientific-Research Institute for Museum and Regional Studies. We can safely assume that Rudomino prepared this report as well.

A carbon copy in file 10, folio 182–182v. A German translation of the entire draft is published in Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee, p. 141. A Russian-language copy found in the administrative files of the former Spetskhran of the Lenin Library (now ORZ RGB) is published verbatim in the article by Nadezhda Ryzhak and Valeriia Miasishcheva, “Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud'ba izdaniia parizhskoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB,” Bibliotekovedenie, 2002, no. 5, p. 105. That version corresponds to the original although it is missing the third from last paragraph.



30/ Библиотека Вейского Университета. ✓ 137

Организована библиотека в 1559 г. и ее развитие и расцвет связаны с жизнью Гете.

Общий фонд библиотеки - 1 миллион томов по всем отраслям знания. Старое здание библиотеки разрушено бомбардировкой в 1944 г., осталось только книгохранилище. Часть фонда примерно в 120.000 т. сгорела: библиотечное, математика, физика, химия, география, путешествия, искусство, часть журналов и энциклопедии - весь первый этаж в хранилище.

В настоящее время после открытия Университета для библиотеки отремонтировано новое здание, недалеко от Университета. Часть книжного фонда уже возвращена из мест эвакуации и стоит на полках. 50% книжного фонда в переплетах. Расстановка систематическая. Читателей - мало.

Директор библиотеки - д-р Бурр, один из составителей "Хандбук дер Библиотеквиссenschaft" под ред. Мильхау.

По разрешению отдела Народного Образования США Германия - Комитет Культуры получил возможность произвести обмен литературы на советские издания. "Дезидерата" Комитета: книги по философии и психологии на иностранных языках 18-19 в.в., около 300 томов по спискам.

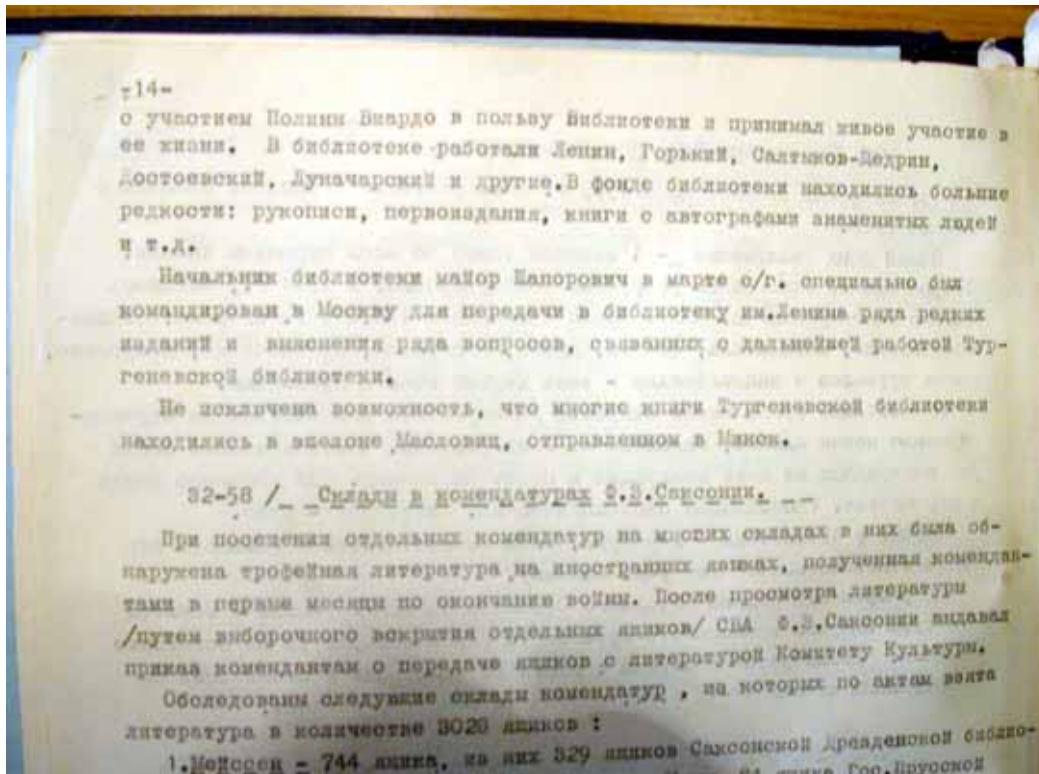
31/ Тургеневская библиотека в Лигниц./Польша/

Бесхозная литература в Польше еще с начала 1945 г. свозилась профсоюзными частями в г. Мясловици. Охрану вел ТУ Украинский фронт. Общее количество книжных коллекций достигло 4-х-5-ти тысяч ящиков. С июля 1945 г. охрана была снята и книги стали расхищаться, особенно на русском языке брали все, кто хотел. Указ об этом, Политуправление северной группы войск, по распоряжению генерала Окорокова, послало свою бригаду в 15 чех., и в течение 2 1/2 месяцев была произведена разборка литературы.

Были отобраны книги на русском языке, гл.обр. советские издания, оставшиеся книгами Тургеневской библиотеки. Остальная литература была отправлена в СССР в адрес Публичной библиотеки ВСОУР, в связи с тем, что большое количество литературы, находившейся в Польше, принадлежало Велорусской библиотеке.

Таким образом большая часть Тургеневской библиотеки была перевезена в офицерский клуб Лигниц и в настоящее время широко обслуживает книгу на русском языке наших командиров. Примерное количество книг из Тургеневской библиотеки в Лигниц - 60.000.

Тургеневская библиотека была вывезена немцами в 1941 г. из Парижа. Организована была библиотека в 1873 г. для русских, живущих на границе. Организации этой библиотеки связана с именем Тургенева, который неоднократно помогал материально этой библиотеке, организовывая концерты



English Translation:

31) The Turgenev Library in Legnica (Poland)

Already in early 1945, ownerless literature in Poland was collected by army trophy units in the city of Myslowice (Masłowice[sic] *in Cyrillic*, Maslovitsa). The guard was under the command of the Fourth Ukrainian Front. The estimated size of the book collections was four to five thousand crates. Starting in July 1945 when the guard was removed, the books were subjected to looting, especially those in Russian—people took what they wanted. When the Political Command of the Northern Forces (under General [Andrei] Okorokov) heard about the situation a brigade of fifteen men was ordered in and worked for two and a half months sorting the books.

They separated out the Russian-language books, predominantly Soviet publications, which turned out to be books from the Turgenev Library. The remaining literature was shipped to the USSR, addressed to the Public Library of the Belorussian SSR, since the largest amount of literature found in Poland belonged to the Belorussian library.

In this manner, a large part of the Turgenev Library was transferred to the officer's club in Lignits (Legnica) and is currently serving our commanders by providing them with books in Russian. The estimated number of books from the Turgenev Library in Legnica—60,000.

The Turgenev Library was shipped out of Paris by the Germans in 1941. The library was organized in 1873 for Russians living abroad. The establishment of this library is associated with the name Turgenev, who continuously helped the library

materially, organized benefit concerts with the participation of Pauline Viardot, and actively participated in the life of the library. Among those who worked in the Library were Lenin, Gorkii, Salytkov-Shchedrin, Dostoevskii, Lunacharskii, and others. The library holdings contained many rarities: manuscripts, first editions, and autographed books by famous authors, among others.

In March [of this year], the head of the library, Major Shaporovich [(sic) Shiperovich], was specially ordered to Moscow to transfer to the Lenin Library a series of rare editions and to discuss a series of questions relating to the further function of the Turgenev Library.

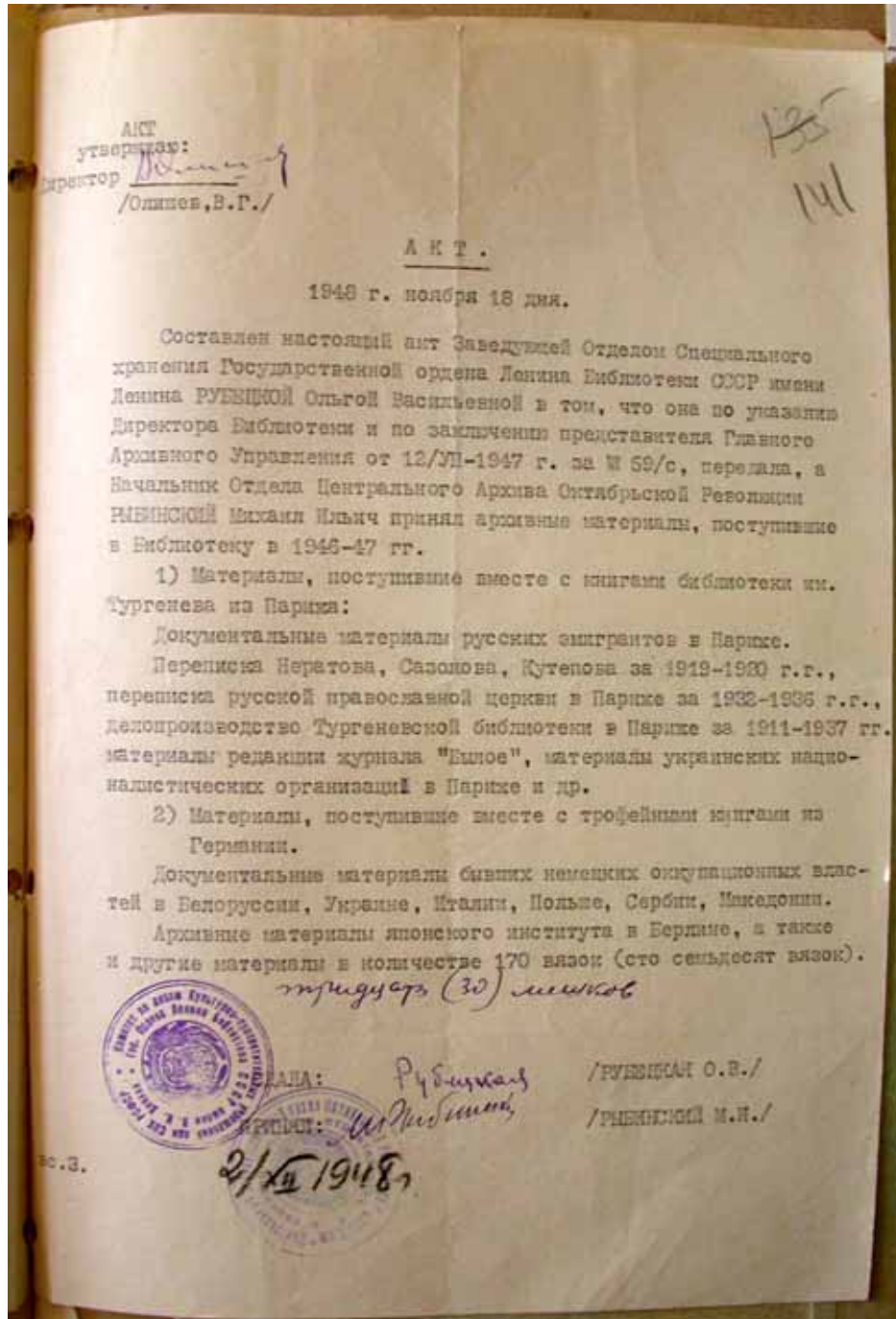
Quite possibly many of the books of the Turgenev Library were among the echelon from Mysłowice that had been shipped to Minsk.

Appendix IV

Act of Transfer of Administrative Records of the Turgenev Library from the Lenin Library to TsGAOR SSSR (18 November 1948)

The original ribbon copy signed and sealed document is held in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF), fond 5142/1/423, fol. 141.

A copy held in the files of the former Division of Special Storage (RGB) is transcribed by Nadezhda Ryzhak, in her article in Bibliotekovedenie, 2002, no. 5.



English translation:

Act verified

Director signed

(Olishev, V.G.)

AKT1948 18th day of November

This act is executed by the Head of the Division of Special Storage [Otdel Spetsial'nogo khraneniia] Ol'ga Vasil'evna RUBETSKAIA of the State Lenin Library of the USSR with the Order of Lenin, by the order of the Director of the Library and by the agreement of the Main Archival Administration (12.XII.1947, No. 59s) who rendered, and Chief of the Division of the Central Archive of the October Revolution Mikhail Il'ich Rybinskii who received the archival materials acquired by the Library in 1946–47.

(1) Materials acquired together with books from the Turgenev Library from Paris:

Documentary materials of Russian emigrants in Paris

Correspondence of Neratov, Sazonov, Kutepov from 1919–1920, administrative correspondence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Paris from 1932–1936, administrative records (*deloproizvodstvo*) of the Turgenev Library in Paris from 1911–1937, editorial materials of the journal 'Byloe', materials of Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Paris, and others.

(2) Materials acquired together with trophy books from Germany.

Documentary materials of former German occupying authorities in Belarus, Ukraine, Italy, Poland, Serbia, and Macedonia.

Archival materials of the Japanese Institute in Berlin, and also other materials consisting of 170 bundles (one hundred and seventy *sviazok*).

(*added in pen*: thirty (30) sacks [*meshkov*])

Rendered: *signed* (Rubetskaia O.V.)

Received: *signed* (Rybinskii M.I.)

English translation:

To the Chief of TsGAOR Major Tov. Prokopenko, N.P.
From Chief of RZIA Rybinskii

Report

On 9 November this year in the Secret Division of the V.I. Lenin Library, I became acquainted with documentary materials received by the Library together with books from Berlin and designated them for transfer to TsGAOR. Those documentary materials in the quantity of 170 packages [*sviazok*] (120–140 boxes), consist of parts of records of Russian émigré organizations—Ukrainian Nationalist Committee in Paris, Orthodox Church in Paris, Turgenev library in Paris, and others. The largest part of the said documentary materials in content relates to the holdings of fonds of the Russian Foreign Historical Archive.

I request Your decision on the acquisition of the materials by RZIA.

9 November 1948

Chief of RZIA

(*signed*) M. Rybinskii

Resolution (across the top left corner):

To Comrade Rybinskii

Take all of the documentary materials by 25 November 1948

(*signed*) N. Prokopenko

10 November 1948

Appendix V

Books from the Turgenev Library sent by the Library of the Officers' Club in Legnica (Poland) to the Lenin Library, January 1949

“Opis' knig parizhskoi biblioteki im. Turgeneva, otravlennykh biblioteki Chernovitskogo garnizonnogo Doma Ofitserov v biblioteku im. Lenina,” facsimile of the typescript, [January 1949]

Signed at the end by the Chief of the Officers' Club, Lt. Colonel Chertkov and the head of the Library of the Officers' Club Lieutenant Vakhnov.

The original with an “act of receipt” (dated 29 January 1949) is retained in the RGB Archive, op. 25, d. 93, fols. 1–4.

О П И С Ь				
Книг парижской библиотеки им. Тургенева отправленных библиотекой Черновитского гарнизонного Дома Офицеров в библиотеку им. Ленина.				
№	Автор и название книги	Издательство	Место издания	Год изд. Цена
1	СЕРГЕЕВ А. — ЭРИ	“Пламя	г. Прага	1926 12-22
2	МОИСЕЙ “Романтические повести”	“Прибой”	Ленинград	1929 10-00
3	А. САНС “Публицистический очерк”			
4	АНДАНОВ С. Т. Избранные сочинения	“Слово”	Петербург	1909 9-50
5	Собр. соч. ЗДГАРА / рассказы, статьи /	“Скорпион”	Москва	1906 6-00
6	В. В. В. — 10-й. — / — — — — — / — — — — — / — — — — — / — — — — — /	“Петрополис”	Берлин	1929 1-50
7	С. ОБРАЗЦОВА “У холодного моря”	“Госиздат”	М-Л	1926 1-75
8	С. ОБРАЗЦОВА “У холодного моря”	“Грунт”	Москва	1927
9	РУВО, ДУИ “Дети Аяяна”	“Мысль”	Ленинград	1926 0-50
10	ПОДОКОВ М. “Поднятая целина”			1938
11	СНЕГИРЕВ В. “Похождения Вергилия Шварца”	Земля и фабр.	Москва Ленинград	3-40
12	ГРИГОРОВИЧ Д. Полное собр. соч.	Изд. А. Ф. Маркса	Петербург	1896
13	Сочинения ТУРГЕНЕВА И. С.			1898 2-75
14	САВИЧ О. “Воображаемые собеседники”	“Прибой”	Ленинград	1928 5-00
15	Мерме “МАКБЕТ”	“Возрожден.”	Лондон	1922 2-50
16	М. КОПОВИЧ “Сочинения”	“Госиздат”	Москва Ленинград	1929 2-50
17	КОРОЛЕНКО В. Т. “Полное собр. соч.”	А. Ф. Маркса	Петербург	1914
18	СВЕННИКО-КУДИНОВСКИЙ “История русской интеллигенции”	Русского тов-во	Москва	1907
19	ПОЛЬ БУЖЕ “АНРЕ Корнедист”	“Дентель”	Петербург	4-00
20	ТОЛСТОЙ Л. Н. Собр. сочин. т. 3			
21	СУРМАНОВ Д. “Митра”	Госиздат	Москва Ленинград	1925 2-00
22	ВОРОНИН А. “За живой и мертвой водой”	“Федерация”	Москва	1929 1-70
23	ТУРГЕНЕВ И. С. “Поли. собр. соч.”	А. Ф. Маркса	Петербург	1898 2-50
24	ГОЗМАН Э. Т. “Надежда Скюдери, канцлер Глоа, Дон-Луан”	Аргоньянты	Берлин	
25	В. В. В. “Доказательство”	“Литература”	Рига	1927 7-50
26	Григорьев “Собрание сочинений”	“Илига”	Берлин	1927
27	ГРИГОРОВИЧ Д. В. Полн. собр. соч.	А. Ф. Маркса	Петербург	1896 3-50
28	Писатели Крыму лит. альманах		Москва	1928 2-00
29	ЛЕОНОВ Л. “Скитальская”	“Федерация”	Москва	1928 5-00
30	ВЕНАТЕРИ Н. “Античная революция”	—	—	2-15

1	2	3	4	5	6
31. БЕЛИН К. "Города и годы"		Госиздат	Ленинград	1924	
32. Итальянские сборники			С-Петербург	1909	
33. ГЕРШЕЛЬМЕР "Баласагд"		"Пучина"	Ленинград Москва		
34. КИМ И. В. "Последний свидетель"		Т-во Н. П. Марксизм	Париж	1926	4-00
35. ЧУКОВСКИЙ И. НЕКРАСОВ, или художник		"Эпоха"	Петербург	1922	3-00
36. ПРОСОВ В. Избранные стихи		Госиздат	Москва		
37. СЕРАФИМОВИЧ А. "Снежная пустыня"		Госиздат	Ленинград	1928	2-75
38. БЕЛОС Сандра "Золото"			"--"	1925	1-00
39. МЕЛЕНКОВСКИЙ "14 декабря"			"--"	1926	3-00
40. Мартин Андресон НЕМСО "Пассажеры пустых мест"		"Земгора"	Париж	1921	
41. Брет-Гарта Собрание соч.		"Госиздат Общественная польза"	Москва Петроград	1923	
42. АСАТЯН А. "Лесная Билья"		Госиздат	Москва Петроград	1923	
43. ДОСТОВСКИЙ Избр. соч. / бедн. люди /			Париж	1927	10-00
44. Григорьевич Д. "Поля. собр. соч."					
45. А. ФРАНС "Сад Эпикура"		изд. Маркса	С-Петербург	1896	
46. ИМЛИНГ Р. Избран. рассказы		"Свобода"	Москва	1908	1-50
47. ИМЛИНГ Р. Избран. рассказы		Моск. книгоизд.	Москва	1908	1-50
48. Л. Н. ТОЛСТОЙ "Декабристы" и др. рассказы			Москва	1903	0-40
49. НИКИТАН Н. "Обоянские новости"		"Пролетарий"			1-90
50. ЛАВИН В. "Норд"		"Госиздат"	Ленинград		3-50
51. ВОЛОДОВ "Поднятая колесня"			Париж	1933	1-50
52. ТИВЯНОВ "Смерть Вазир-Мухтара"		"Петрополис"	Берлин	1929	1-50
53. БЕРДОКШИМОВ И. "Гнездо"		"Земля и ф-ка"	Москва Ленинград	1928	3-75
Байбэк Собрание сочинений		изд. Пандеева	С-Петербург	1896	
55. Сочинения А. А. ПОТЕКИНА		"Просвещение"	"--"	1896	10-50
56. Шкелс "Давид кооператив"				1918	15-20
57. Сочинения А. А. ПОТЕКИНА					10-50
58. ДОСТОВСКИЙ "Лесная промышленность"		"Слово"	Берлин	1921	11-50
59. ПАНЧ П. "Голубые эвалон"		Федерация	Москва	1929	2-50
60. Мангерат В. "Дети Моник Лерье"		Современные проблемы	"--"	1927	1-20
61. КОРОЛЕНКО В. "Очерки и рассказы"		тип. Вольфа	Петербург	1899	7-50
62. ИВАНОВ В. "Гариф и Марам"		Круг	Москва Ленинград	1925	7-00
63. СИНДЕР "Нефть"					
64. ГАНСУН А. "Мария Тамара"		Яповник	Ленинград	1910	7-00

- 3 -

1	2	3	4	5	6
65.	ЗОНВИЗИН, Д. Сочинения	А. Ф. Маркса	С-Петербург	1893	
66.	ШАГИНИН "Перемена"	Госиздат	Ленинград		1-50
67.	ВОРИСОВ, Л. "Анвариум"	Писателей	--	1928	5-00
68.	ЛЕОНОВ, Л. "Скутаревский"	Сов. Лит-ра	Москва	1933	1-50
69.	ПРИШВИН, М. "Родники Берендея"	Госиздат	Москва Ленинград	1928	3-20
70.	Мирбо, О. "Деревенские рассказы"	тип. Попковского	Москва		
71.	ЗОЛА, Э. Собрание сочинений	" Пантелеевых	С-Петербург	1896	7-50
72.	ФРОЛОВ, А. "Мятежные годы"		Москва	1928	2-00
73.	САРЕ, Д. "Человек земли"	"Недра"	--	1926	1-00
74.	МОЛОДОВ М. "Тихий дождь"	Моск. раб.	Ленинград	1929	5-00
75.	МИЛАЛДОВСКИЙ, Н. "Поли. соб. р. сочин." "Наши дни" Худ. альманах	тип. Стасюлевича	Петербург Москва Ленинград	1909	8-00
77.	"Смутное время Моск. государства"	тип. Вульфа	С-Петербург	1868	7-50
78.	"Герои нездорового творчества"	"Писем"	Петербург	1908	2-50
79.	БУНИН, И. "Матиня любовь"		Париж	1925	
80.	Д. ЭРЕНБУРГ "Тринадцать трубок"	Госиздат		1925	
81.	ТУРГЕНЕВ И. О. "Полное собр. сочин."	Маркса А. Ф.	С-Петербург	1898	
82.	КАСАТКИН И. "Деревенские рассказы"	Госиздат	Ленинград	1925	1-40
83.	"Наполеон и Александр I"	"Знание"	С-Петербург	1911	7-50
84.	Материалы для истории пугачевск. бунта		--	1892	
85.	Н. Г. ЧЕРНЫШЕВСКИЙ	Мосполиграф	Москва	1928	2-00
ЖУРНАЛЫ: "Русское богатство" № 7		тип. Якоб укова	С-Петербург	1903	
"Русское богатство" № 3		--	--	1904	
"Русское богатство" № 8		--	--	1901	
"Русское богатство" № 9		--	--	1906	
"Русское богатство" № 6		--	--	1904	
"Русское богатство" № 5		--	--	1901	
"Русское богатство" № 4		--	--	1898	
"Русское богатство" № 12		--	--	1898	
"Русское богатство" № 8		--	--	1898	
"Русское богатство" № 6		--	--	1898	
"Альманах" литер. худож. альманахи		Госиздат	Ленинград	1925	
"Русское богатство" № 5		ти. Якоб укова	Петербург	1902	
"Русское богатство" № 10		--	--	1907	
"Собрание писем" № 5			Париж	1881	

НАЧАЛЬНИК ЧЕРНОВИЦКОГО ГАРНИЗОННОГО
ДОМА ОФИЦЕРОВ СОВЕТСКОЙ АРМИИ
ПОДПОЛКОВНИК:

/ЧЕРТКОВ/

НАЧАЛЬНИК БИБЛИОТЕКИ ЧЕРНОВИЦКОГО
ГАРНИЗОННОГО ДОМА ОФИЦЕРОВ-ЛЕЙТЕНАНТ:

/ВАХНОВ/

List of books from 1949 list verified by Russian State Library

A report about this list with RGB call numbers added was prepared by the Russian State Library (RGB) Division of Literature of Russia Abroad (ORZ), under the direction of Nadezhda Ryzhak:

“Rezultaty raboty s ‘Opis’iu knig parizhskoi biblioteki im. Turgeneva, otpravlennykh bibliotekoi Chernovitskogo garnizonnogo Doma Ofitserov v biblioteku im. Lenina’.” [Results of the work with the ‘Inventory of books from the Turgenev Library, sent by the library of the Chernovtsy Border Zone Officers’ Club (Dom Ofitserov) to the Lenin Library’]

Результаты работы с «Описью книг парижской библиотеки им. Тургенева, отправленных библиотекой Черновицкого гарнизонного Дома Офицеров в библиотеку им. Ленина».

Из имеющегося списка были найдены и просмотрены следующие книги:

- R 75/200. Снегирев В. Похождения Бернарда Шварца. - М.-Л.: Земля и фабрика.
- R 80/943. Панч П. Голубые эшелоны. - М.: Федерация, 1929.
- R 80/945. Одоевский В.Ф. Романтические повести. - Ленинград: Прибой, 1929.
- W 51/453. Мериме. Жакелия. - Лондон: Возрождение, 1922.
- Кл 66/113. Блэз С. Золото. - М.-Л.: Госиздат, 1926.
- Кл 66/123. Шагинян М. Перемена. -Л.: Госиздат, 1924.
- Кл 66/128. Брег Гарт. Собрание сочинений. Т. 1. - СПб: Общественная польза, 1895.
- Кл 66/147. Гамсун К. Царица Тамара. - СПб: Шиповник, 1910.
- Кл 66/164. Писатели Крыму. - М. 1928.
- Кл 66/180. Шолохов М. Тихий Дон. Кн. 2. - М.-Л.: Московский рабочий, 1929.
- Кл 66/204. Касаткин И. Лесная быль. - М.-Петроград: Госиздат, 1923.
- Кл 66/206. Фролов А. Мятежные годы. - М.: Московское товарищество писателей, 1928.
- Кл 66/207. Никитин Н. Обоянские повести. - Харьков: Пролетарий, 1928.
- Кл 66/214. Венкстерн Н. Аничкина революция. - М.: Федерация, 1928.
- Кл 66/267. Мирбо О. Деревенские рассказы. - М.: 1928.
- Кл 66/307. Лидин В. Норд. - Л.: Госиздат, 1925.
- Кл 66/319. Леонов Л. Скутаревский, - М.: Федерация, 1932.
- Кл 66/334. Серафимович. Снежная пустыня. - М.-Л. Госиздат, 1925.
- Кл 66/334. Серафимович. У холодного моря. - М.-Л. Госиздат, 1925.
- Кл 66/359. Коцюбинский М. Сочинения. Т.2. - М.-Л. Госиздат, 1929.
- Кл 66/432. Борисов Л. Аквариум. - Л., 1928
- Кл 66/576. Рубо Луи. Дети Каина. - Л.: Мысль, 1926.
- Кл 67/139. Короленко В. Полное собрание сочинений. Т. 1. - СПб: А.Ф. Маркс, 1914.
- Кл 67/741. Чуковский К. Некрасов как художник. - Петербург: Эпоха, 1922.
- Кл 67/865. Овсяников-Куликовский. История русской интеллигенции. - М.: Русское товарищество, 1907.

Все просмотренные книги имеют только печати Тургеневской библиотеки. Черновицкая библиотека своих штампов на эти книги не ставила. Есть только написанный от руки чернилами четырехзначный порядковый номер книги.

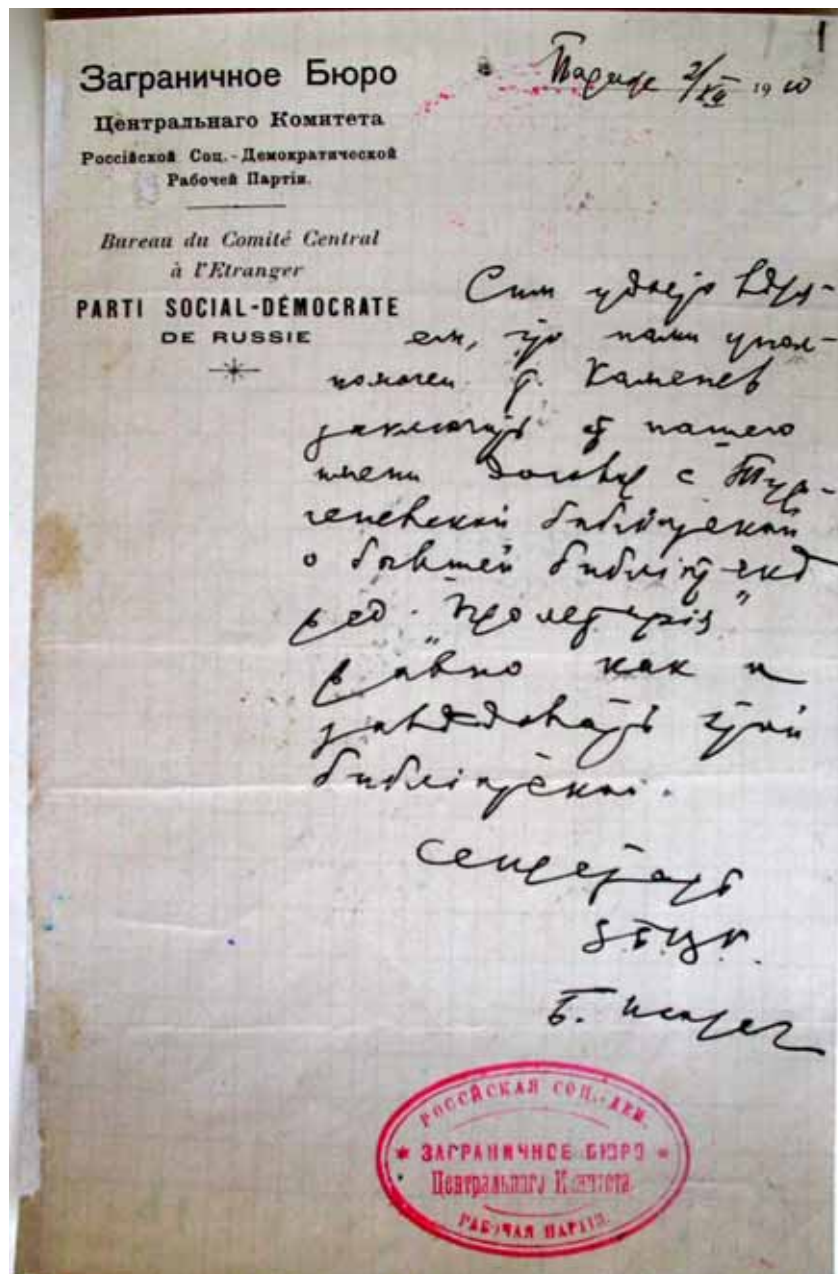
Appendix VI

Agreement for Transfer of the RSDRP Library to the Turgenev Library (Paris, December 1910) and Related Letter of Vladimir Lenin (from the archive of the Turgenev Library)

1. Letter of the RSDRP Foreign Bureau proposing transfer of their library to the Turgenev Library (2 December 1910), signed by the Bureau Secretary, B[oris] Igorev (*pseud. of B. I. Gol'man*)

RGASPI, fond 17/1(pt.2)/936, folio 1

photocopy in GA RF, fond 6848/1/144



**2. Transcribed Russian text of the “Agreement” (10 December 1910)
between the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-
Democratic Workers’ Party (RSDRP) and the Turgenev Library Association**

*RGASPI, fond 17/1(pt.2)/936, folios 2–3
photocopy in GA RF, fond 6848/1/144*

Договор

1910 года 10^{го} декабря Общество Тургеневской библиотеки в Париже и Заграничное Бюро Центрального Комитета Российской социал-демократической партии в лице своих уполномоченных членов правления библиотеки Сазонова и Золотарева с одной стороны и Ю. Каменева с другой стороны заключили настоящий договор о нижеследующем.

I. Заграничное Бюро передает Об[щест]ву Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки бывшую библиотеку ред[акции] «Пролетария», находящуюся в его распоряжении, численностью около 12000 номеров, приблизительно по прилагаемому каталогу, на следующих основаниях

1. Из названной библиотеки поступают в полную собственность Общества Тургеневской библиотеки:

все без исключения книги беллетристического содержания, как русских, так и иностранных авторов, как в оригинале, так и в переводах;
все книги по естественным наукам, языковедению и искусству;
(книги по истории русской литературы по особому соглашению)
все книги иностранных авторов на иностранных языках о России;
все дубликаты сочинений научного содержания;
двойные экземпляры общелитературных журналов и разрозненные единичные книжки таковых, не составляющие годовых комплектов;
все дубликаты социально-политической и революционной литературы.

2. Остальные книги, журналы и издания по особой описи, поступают лишь во временное пользование Об[щест]ва Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки с исключительной целью выдачи их для чтения подписчиков Тургеневской библиотеки. Распоряжение библиотекой, передаваемой Заграничным Бюро (пополнение, продажа, обмен книг и т.д.) остается целиком в руках вышеупомянутого представителя Заграничного Бюро.

а. Об[щест]во Тургеневской библиотеки является ответственным перед Заграничным Бюро только за книги, не возвращенные подписчиками Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки, выдача которых зарегистрирована в абонементной книге Тур[геневской] биб[лиоте]ки.

б. Об[щест]во Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки обязано сдать библиотеку при расторжении договора по описи, по количеству номеров, независимо от внешнего состояния книг.

в. Абоненты Заграничного Бюро имеют преимущественное перед подписчиками Тургеневской би[блиоте]ки право на книги из би[блиоте]ки, передаваемой Заграничным Бюро. В случае требования со стороны первых на книгу из би[блиоте]ки, передаваемой Загр[аничным] Бюро, выданную подписчику Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки, последняя обязуется доставить таковую в течение 3^х дней.

3. Перевозка, установка и оборудование шкафов и полок, разборка книг и составление каталога, а также страхование би[блиоте]ки Заграничного Бюро лежит на его обязанности.

а. Об[щест]во Тургеневской би[блиоте]ки обязуется сделать полки для би[блиоте]ки Загр[аничного] Бюро с тем, чтобы расход этот, по представленному счету, был возмещен Загр[аничным] Бюро ежемесячными взносами в течение полугода.

б. Приведение в порядок би[блиоте]ки (разборка, установка, составление каталога и пр.) должно быть выполнено Заграничным Бюро в течение одного месяца со дня получения библиотеки в Париже.

II. 1. Об[щест]во Тургеневской би[блиоте]ки обязуется предоставить помещение в отдельной комнате как для размещения би[блиоте]ки Загр[аничного] Бюро, так и для занятий в библиотеке. Зал для работы должен быть предоставлен в исключительное пользование Заграничного Бюро ежедневно в течение двух часов. Часы определяются по взаимному соглашению.

2. Об[щест]во Тур[геновской] би[блиоте]ки обязуется передать в собственность библиотеки, передаваемой Заграничным Бюро, часть из своих дубликатов социально-политической и революционной литературы, а также общелитературных журналов, которые потребуются Загран[ичному] Бюро для пополнения его комплектов. Дубликаты книг по социологии передаются по особому соглашению.

3. Об[щест]во Тур[геновской] би[блиоте]ки обязывается предоставить Заграничному Бюро Ц.К. не более 15 бесплатных абонементов на право пользования одной книгой из Тургеневской би[блиоте]ки. Абоненты Загр[аничного] Бюро состоят подписчиками на общем основании с соблюдением всех правил би[блиоте]ки.

III. Загр[аничное] Бюро обязуется за содержание своей библиотеки уплачивать Об[щест]ву Тург[еневской] би[блиоте]ки по тридцать франков в месяц и принять на свой счет освещение в течение тех 2 часов, когда зал для занятий будет предоставлен в его распоряжение.

IV. Каждая из договаривающихся сторон может расторгнуть настоящий договор с предупреждением о том не менее как за 6 месяцев.

V. Настоящий договор заключается на три года, с 1 января 1911 по 31 декабря 1913 года.

Исправленному верить.

По уполномочию З.Б.Ц.К.РСДРП.

Ю.Каменев

По уполномочию правления Тургеневской биб[лиоте]ки

Н.Золотарев

Н.Сазонов

4. English translation of the “Agreement,” 10 December 1910

Agreement

On the 10th of December 1910 the Turgenev Library Association in Paris on the one side, represented by the authorized library board members [N. A.] Sazonov and [Nikolai] Zolotarev, and the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic [Workers’] Party [RSDRP] on the other side, represented by Iu. Kamenev [*pseud. of* Lev Rozenfel’d], concluded the present agreement with the following terms:

I. The Foreign Bureau transfers to Turgenev Library Association the former library of the editorial office of *Proletarii* [Worker], presently in its possession, consisting of approximately 12,000 units roughly according to the accompanying catalogue, under the conditions:

1. From the given library the following are to be received into full ownership of the Turgenev Library Association:

- all (without exception) works of belle-lettristic content by both Russian and foreign authors, in the original and in translation;
- all books on natural sciences, linguistics, and art; (books on the history of Russian literature – by special agreement);
- all books about Russia in foreign languages by foreign authors;
- all duplicate books of scholarly [scientific] content;
- duplicate copies of literary journals as well as individual volumes thereof, which are not part of annual complexes;
- all duplicates of socio-political and revolutionary literature.

2. The rest of the books, magazines, and other publications, inventoried in a special list, are transferred only for temporary use of the Turgenev Library Association with the sole aim to be issued on loan for reading by Turgenev Library subscribers. Disposition of the transferred library of the Foreign Bureau (acquisitions, sales, book exchanges, etc.) remains the sole responsibility of the above-mentioned representative of the Foreign Bureau.

- a) The Turgenev Library Association is held responsible by the Foreign Bureau only for any non-returned books by Turgenev Library subscribers that are registered in the Turgenev Library borrowers’ register book.
- b) On the termination of this agreement, Turgenev Library Association pledges to hand over the library according to the inventory list and unit quantity, irrespective of the condition of the books.
- c) Foreign Bureau’s borrowers have priority over other Turgenev Library readers for the books from the transferred library of the Foreign Bureau. In case of request from the former for a specific book from the collection transferred by the Foreign Bureau, which has been checked out by a Turgenev Library borrower, the latter pledges to deliver the book within three days.

3. The Foreign Bureau is responsible for transportation, installation and arrangement of bookcases and shelves, sorting out the books, and creation of a catalogue, as well as insuring the Bureau's transferred library.

- a) The Turgenev Library Association pledges to build shelves for the library of the Foreign Bureau, for which the Bureau will pay in monthly installments over six months, in accordance with the invoice presented.
- b) The Foreign Bureau is obliged, within one month after the receipt of the library in Paris, to put the library in order (sorting out, installation, creating a catalogue, etc.)

II.

1. The Turgenev Library Association pledges to supply space in a separate room both for housing the library of the Foreign Bureau and for studying in the library. The room must be reserved for the exclusive use of the Foreign Bureau every day for two hours. The hours are to be determined by mutual agreement.

2. The Turgenev Library Association pledges to transfer to the property of the transferred library of the Foreign Bureau part of its duplicates of socio-political and revolutionary literature, and also of general literary journals, which are needed by the Foreign Bureau to complete its collections. Duplicate books on sociology will be transferred according to a special agreement.

3. The Turgenev Library Association obliged to furnish the For[eign] Bureau of the C[entral] Committee no more than 15 free borrowers' subscriptions with the right to use one book from the Turgenev Library. Borrowers from the Foreign Bureau are to be treated as ordinary subscribers of the library and must observe all the library's rules.

III. The Foreign Bureau pledges to pay the Turgenev Library Association thirty francs a month for maintenance of its library and to pay for the illumination of the library during those two hours in which it will dispose of the study room.

IV. Either party to this agreement has the right to annul this agreement after giving no less than six months notice.

V. The present agreement is concluded for three years, from 1 January 1911 to 31 December 1913.

All corrections are valid.

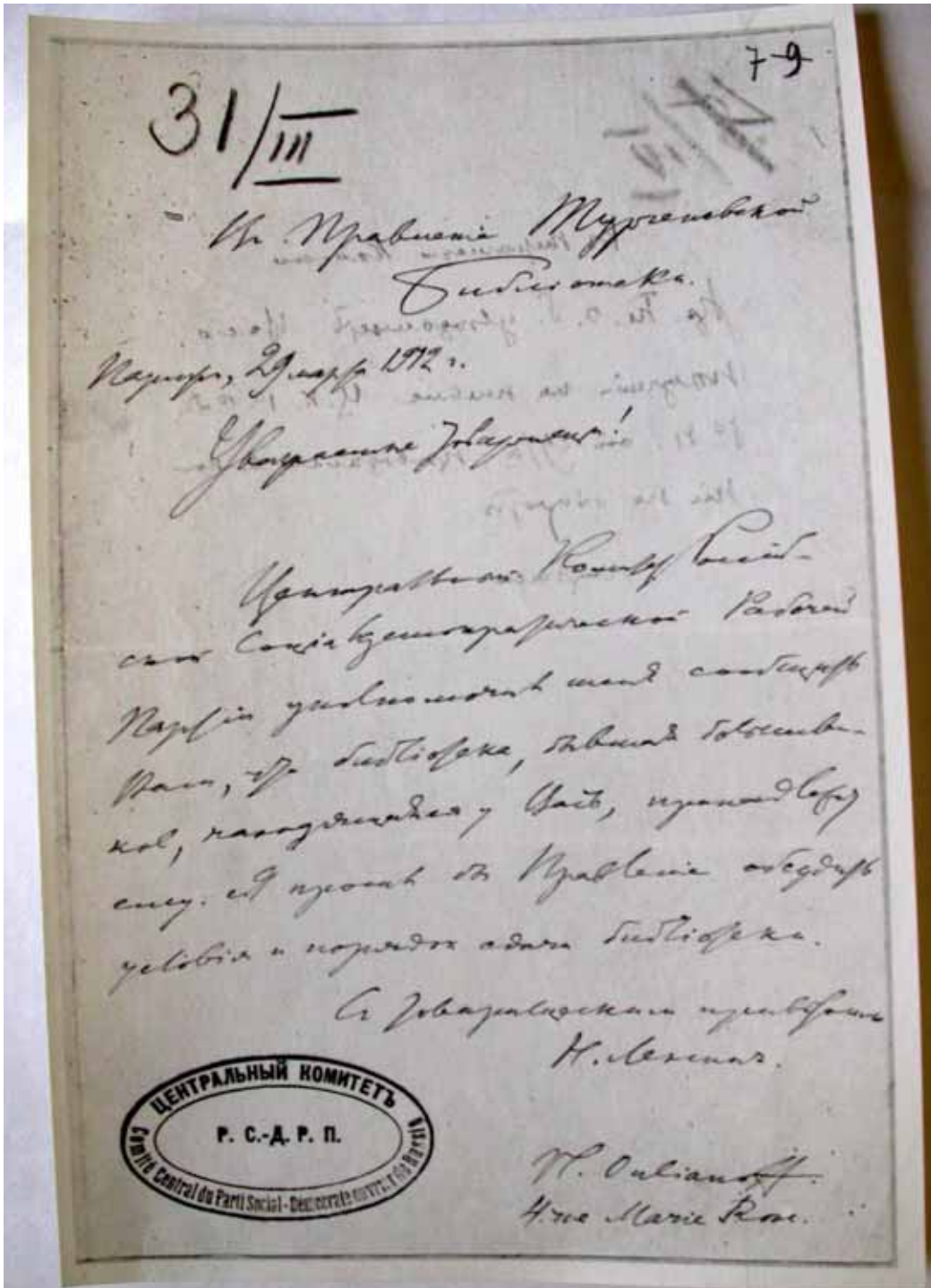
By authority of the Foreign Bureau of the RSDRP Central Committee
(*signed*) Iu. [Lev Borisovich] Kamenev

By authority of the board of the Turgenev Library,
(*signed*) N[ikolai Alekseevich] Zolotarev
N. [A.] Sazonov

5. Letter of Vladimir Lenin regarding the RSDRP library transfer (29 March 1912), facsimile

RGASPI, fond 17/1(pt.2)/936, folios 2-3

photocopy in GA RF, fond 6848/1/144



English translation:

To the Administration of the Turgenev Library

Paris, 29 March 1912

Honored Comrades!

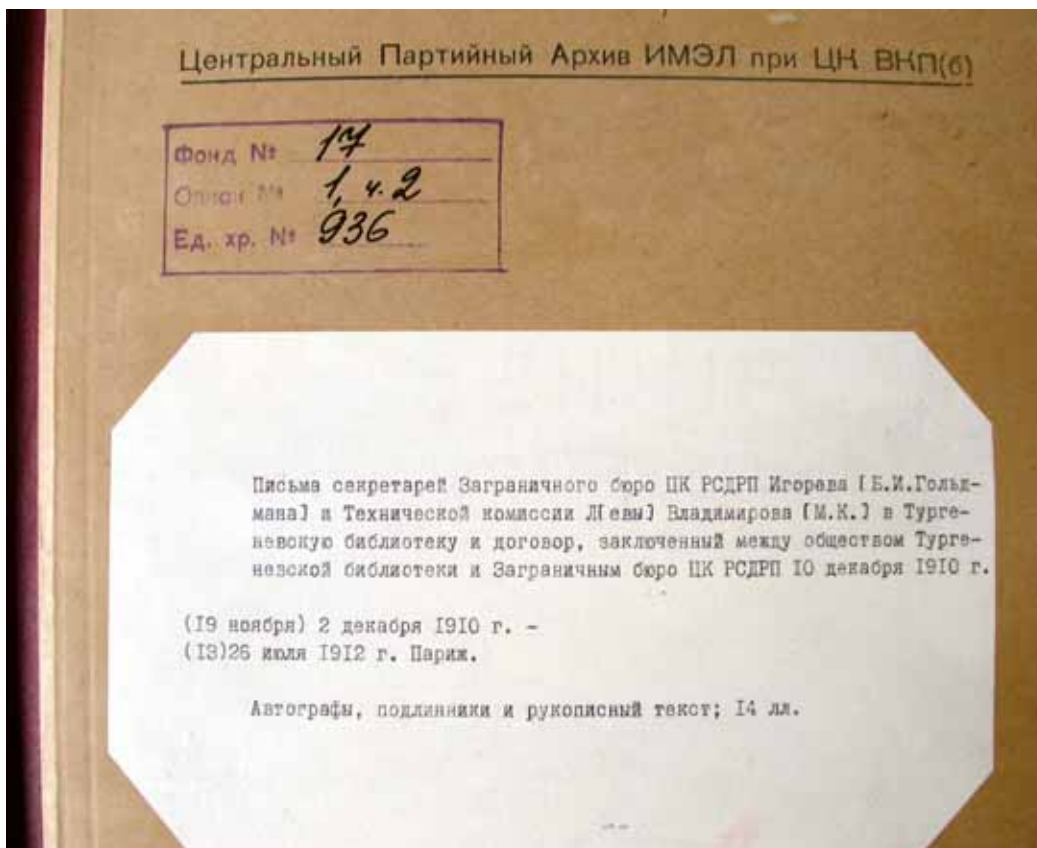
The Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party authorized me to inform you that the library, formerly the property of the Bolsheviks now held by you, actually belongs to [the Central Committee]. I would like to request the Administration to consider the terms and conditions for the transfer of the library.

With comradely greetings,
(signed) N. Lenin

VI[adimir] Oulianoff
4, rue Marie Rose

(With a stamp in Russian as well as French of the Central Committee of the RSDRP Foreign Bureau)

6. The RGASPI folder (fond 17/1 [pt.2], no. 936) containing the above documents



Appendix VII

Book Stamps of the Turgenev Library, with pre-1940 Paris Addresses, Component Collections, and Other Postwar Stamps Added

N.B.: Most of the stamps reproduced below come from books now held in the Russian State Library (RGB), prepared with the kind assistance of librarians there. See also Appendix I.

Early Library Addresses:

1875	100, rue Monge
1876–1880	4, rue Victor Cousin
1881–1882	7, rue Berthollet
1882–1884	Boulevard de Port Royal (coin de rue Flatters)

Early Library Book Stamps:



(N.B. This stamp had an elaborate frame which is not preserved here or many other copies.)

1883–1900 20, rue de la Glacière:

Library Book Stamps (without address):

BIBLIOTHÈQUE RUSSE
de TOURGUËNEFF



BIBLIOTHÈQUE RUSSE
TOURGUËNEFF

Super Ex Libris:

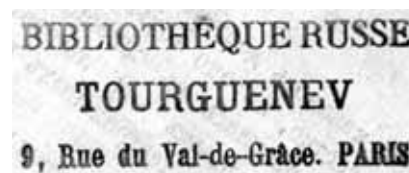
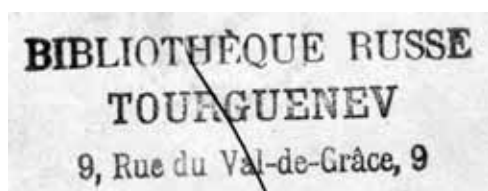


1900–1913 **328, rue Saint-Jacques:**
 (first ten years in former apartment of Peter Lavrov)



1914–1937 **9, rue du Val-de-Grâce:**

9, rue du Val-de-Grâce, 9



*Cover stamp (on blue-grey cardboard cover):
 (or super ex libris)*

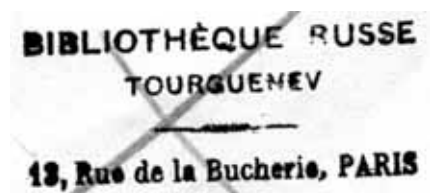


Ex libris:



1937–1940

13, rue de la Bucherie:



*Additional Stamps on Library Books Acquired by
the Turgenev Library*

E. N. Skarzhinskaia Russian House of Hard Workers, Lausanne
(Russkii Dom Trudoliub E. N. Skarzhinskoi), Russian Library in Paris



Lavrov-Gotz Russian Library (Bibliothèque russe Lavroff-Gotz), Paris

(A major part of this library, including many books from the library of Karl Marx, is now held by the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.)



Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP), Archive and Library

(A large part was transferred to the Turgenev Library in Paris, 1910–1911—see Appendix V.)

**Paris Social-Democratic Club (Parizhskii Sots[ial']-Demokrat[icheski] Klub)**

(workers from Russia [rabochikh iz Rossii])

**Paris Assistance Group RSDRP (Parizhskaia gruppy sodeistviia)**

Reading Room and Library (Salle de Lecture et bibliothèque), Paris

**Russian Reading Room (Salle de lecture russe),**

81, Rue Pascal



Russian Library (Bibliothèque russe), Montpellier
Russian Student Library (Bibliothèque des étudiants russes)



Reading Room–Library in Nice

A. I. Herzen Library-Reading Room, Nice

(founded 1912 to honor Aleksandr Gertsen [Herzen], transferred to Turgenev Library, 1938)



***Other Library Stamps Added on Books Confiscated from
the Turgenev Library***

**Officers' Club (Dom Ofitserov) Library, Legnica (German Leignitz), Poland, Army
Field Post (Polevaia Pochta), no. 02961-D, Military Group (Voiskovaia chast')
(ca. 60,000 Turgenev Library Books transferred from Myslowice, Fall, 1945)**



**Border Zone Officers' Club (Dom Ofitserov) Library, Pechi Military Base
(near Borisov), Minsk Oblast, Belarus**



**Library of Military Group (Biblioteka V/Ch [Voiskovaia chast']),
Army Field Post (P.P. [Polevaia Pochta]), 64473:**



Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina (GBL)

[V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR], Moscow (1945–1992)

earlier **Publichnaia biblioteka im. V. I. Lenina**[V. I. Lenin Public Library] (1925–1945; *stamp used until 1948*)*now* **Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (RGB)** [Russian State Library]

(an estimated ca. 10,000 Turgenev Library books transferred, 1945–1949)

**Stamps of the RGB Special [Secret] Storage Division—“Spetskhran”***now* **Otdel literaturny russkogo zarubez'ia (ORZ)**

[Division of Literature of Russia Abroad]

