

**Library Plunder in France  
by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg:  
Ten ERR Seizure Lists of Confiscated French Libraries**

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The French version of this article is available in PDF on the website of the Commission Française des Archives Juives (CFAJ) – (French Committee on Jewish Archives):

**“Les listes de saisies des bibliothèques françaises: sources de l’histoire des spoliations de l’Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg en France” at:**  
[http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/listes\\_ERR\\_France.html](http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/listes_ERR_France.html)

Together with

Digitized facsimiles of the ten extant original ERR seizure lists for French libraries and Excel charts combining names of individual and institutional victims with ERR seizure data specified in the ten lists (with French titles).

## **Library Plunder in France by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Ten ERR Seizure Lists of Confiscated French Libraries**

*Patricia Kennedy Grimsted*\*<sup>1</sup>

Considerable attention in recent years has centered on establishing German documentation relating to seizure and looting of art, which provides crucial legal backing for attestation of loss and potential restitution claims. This often includes verifying provenance, the date and Nazi agency (and sometimes agent) of seizure. It also includes verifying the prospective destination when available. For France, an Internet database now provides item-level coverage with German documents and images of over 30,000 art objects seized from over 2,400 French and a few Belgian Jewish private collections. Most of these objects were processed by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) during the German occupation in the Jeu de Paume Museum adjacent to the Louvre in the Tuileries Gardens in Paris.<sup>2</sup> Although the database covers perhaps only one-fourth of the art objects that left France during the war, it is a significant start, because it includes losses from the most important private Jewish collections – the prime ERR target.

Similar German seizure documentation has long been lacking for libraries in France. Finally, early in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, more attention is being focused on the pillage of libraries as exemplified in the studies by Martine Poulain in France. Her admirable book about French libraries during the war, first published in 2008, is now available in an updated 2013 edition.<sup>3</sup> Following publication she has compiled Excel charts with the names and data about library losses of over 2,700 individuals or institutions who submitted postwar claims to the French government Office of Private Property and Interests (Office des biens et intérêts privés, OBIP) or to the Commission de Récupération artistique (CRA). The charts likewise show the number of books that French authorities restituted after the war to those victims of seizure on the basis of official French restitution records. The 2,342 individuals listed received a total of over 350,000 books and 412 institutions or organizations received over 200,000 books. But many of the claimants listed received none. Indeed, those figures for books returned represent only a fraction of the estimated between 5 and 10 million books that were seized from their French owners during German occupation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume,” at <http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/>. Sponsored by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), the database was compiled under the direction of Marc Masurovsky, on the basis of original ERR registration cards from the U.S. National Archives at College Park, MD (NACP) and images from the ERR Fotothek in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, and additional sources.

<sup>3</sup> Martine Poulain, *Livres pillés, lectures surveillées: les bibliothèques françaises sous l'Occupation* (2nd edn: Paris: Gallimard, 2013; original edn: 2008). See also below notes 5 and 21.

<sup>4</sup> Poulain’s expanding charts of individuals and institutions whose libraries were seized and to whom books were returned can be accessed at [http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/upload/minisites/bibliotheques\\_spoliees](http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/upload/minisites/bibliotheques_spoliees); or <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/SdL/MnR-SdL.htm>, as well as [http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/livres\\_pilles.html](http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/livres_pilles.html). See also her brief survey, “Bibliothèques et archives juives spoliées (1940-1944) et tentatives de

While the French postwar restitution lists do not document seizure, identify the German agency involved, the quantity of books seized, or the location where they were found, many of the names on the ERR lists of seizures presented here overlap with the victims to whom books were returned. Although these lists cover only a total of 243 victims, they include those the ERR considered their highest priority, thus clarifying their aims and initial pattern of seizure. Documenting the actual ERR seizures is of special significance given that (1) the ERR was the primary German agency for library seizures in France; (2) many of the ERR priority seizures can now be better documented with names, addresses, dates, quantities, and often content seized; (3) destinations are sometimes provided or apparent for specific seizures; and (4) establishing the names of priority victims will assist identification of many Nazi-looted books still far from home that may be found.

A colloquium in Strasbourg in October 2010 examined German library and archival seizures and related restitution issues in a broader European perspective. The resulting published contributions provide important context and additional details. Of special relevance to present concerns, Martine Poulain's contribution defines the German 'justifications' for seizures of private libraries and related statistics in France.<sup>5</sup> Jean-Marc Dreyfus comments on the looting of libraries in Alsace (particularly Jewish ones) following German annexation, providing a more detailed example of seizures in one particular area.<sup>6</sup> My own contribution emphasizes the importance of examining the subject in a pan-European dimension, identifying the German agency that plundered specific libraries and archives, the patterns of European wartime library migration, and the major locations of the library loot at the end of the war as determining factors for the success or failure of postwar repatriation and eventual restitution.<sup>7</sup>

The presentation that follows provides a brief overview of the pattern of ERR library seizure and major destinations for the books seized, with some specific examples. It is intended to introduce the recently released Internet facsimile edition of ten original ERR German documents listing priority library seizures during the first year and a half of German occupation. The publication was first launched on the website of the French Committee on Jewish Archives (CFAJ) in December 2016 in collaboration with the committee president, Jean-Claude Kuperminc, who also heads the library and archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Sponsored by the Conference for Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), this text is now updated as part of an English-language version on the website of the ERR Project, together with the ten lists and charts combining the names of victims from those lists. A concluding section below on postwar restitution or non-restitution also provides an example of one remaining major concentration of books looted by the ERR, with resulting lost memory and unfulfilled hopes for restitution.

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restitutions à la Libération: une vue cavalière des sources présents en France," *Archives Juives*, 49, no. 1 (2016), pp. 30–35. See also below notes 5 and 21.

<sup>5</sup> Martine Poulain, "Les spoliations des bibliothèques privées par les nazis en France: des milliers de personnes victimes d'un vol de masse," in *Saisies, spoliations et logiques de restitution. Archives et bibliothèques au XXe siècle (Actes du colloque international, Strasbourg, 22-23 octobre 2010)*, ed. Alexandre Sumpf and Vincent Laniol (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), pp. 229–40.

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Marc Dreyfus, "Le pillage des bibliothèques – et particulièrement des bibliothèques juives – en Alsace annexée, 1940–1945," in *Saisies, spoliations*, pp. 241–50.

<sup>7</sup> Grimsted, "L'ERR versus le RSHA: Les formes de pillage et de migration de livres et d'archives comme facteurs intervenant dans le processus de restitution," in *Saisies, spoliations*, pp. 37–65: at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/grimstedstrasbourg12title.pdf>.

## ERR Plunder of French Libraries

The ERR, a special task force headed by Adolf Hitler's ideological henchman Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), was first organized in Paris in late June and early July 1940. Already in 1934, Hitler had appointed Rosenberg the Führer's Commissioner for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP, or DBFU (Der Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP). Rosenberg used that office to build up a vast network of ideological and cultural operations. Under his guidance, by 1937 the DBFU had special offices for art and music, along with other cultural fields that later provided staff, bureaucracy, and a cultural network for the ERR as an operational offshoot.<sup>8</sup>

Immediately following the German invasion of France Rosenberg dispatched a key DBFU staff director, Reichshauptstellenleiter Professor Georg Ebert, who already by 18 June 1940 occupied the building of the largest Masonic lodge, the Grand Orient of France (15 rue Cadet). Ebert's reports to Berlin about the great abundance of "abandoned" cultural property in Paris led Rosenberg to request (on 1 July) Hitler's authorization for "the organization, with the help from an Einsatzstab (composed of political leaders and experts) and from the Wehrmacht, of a thorough examination of items left behind by Jews and Free Masons, that would provide a basis for future intellectual study, as considered necessary for the political, ideological, and academic operations of both the NSDAP and the Hohe Schule."<sup>9</sup>

Rosenberg's projected Hohe Schule was to be the major university-level research and training facility for the postwar Nazi elite, planning for which was also the responsibility of the DBFU. The Central Library of the Hohe Schule (Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule, ZBHS) was already operative in Berlin from early 1939. Moved to Austrian Carinthia (Kärnten) in 1942, some 650,000 books intended for the ZBHS were gathered in the isolated monastery of Tanzenberg (near Klagenfurt) by the end of the war. Located in what became the British Zone of Occupation in Austria, the task of restitution fell to British specialists. Their task of identification of the provenance of the books was aided by the fact that they also captured some of the ZBHS staff, who they kept under house arrest to assist in restitution processing. Fortunately, in that case, the ZBHS librarians had not succeeded in destroying all of the files of their French seizures, as will be explained further below.

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<sup>8</sup> Regarding Rosenberg's intellectual background and his DBFU activities, see Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im Nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970); 2nd edn with bibliographic essay by Stephan Lehnstaedt (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2006). Ernst Piper's impressive biography, *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2005), fills in important background on Rosenberg's political career and varied activities but does not add significant coverage of the ERR or the Hohe Schule. See also the early study with register of related documents by Joseph Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien: Inventaire commenté de la collection de documents conservés au C.D.J.C. provenant des archives du Reichsleiter et Ministre A. Rosenberg. Les inventaires des archives du Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> This explains why Ebert is often credited with the idea of the Einsatzstab. No conclusive date for the founding of the ERR was established in the Rosenberg interrogation at Nuremberg. Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 1333–37.

Just before the invasion of Western Europe in March 1940, Rosenberg had inaugurated the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question (Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, IEJ) in Frankfurt am Main, the only Hohe Schule institute that operated during the war, although the ERR also actively collected materials for other Hohe Schule institutes. By 1943 the IEJ library could project a total of half a million volumes, a large percentage of those from France. Later in 1943 the IEJ was largely evacuated to Hungen (70 kilometers northeast of Frankfurt), while captured Masonic materials remaining under IEJ control were deposited in a hunting lodge in Hirzenheim in the same vicinity. By the end of the war, when the U.S. Army arrived in Hungen, they found an estimated 1.5 million volumes of books and periodicals. All of that library loot, together with related IEJ stores found in Frankfurt bomb shelters, was transferred to the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), established just outside of Frankfurt by the U.S. Office of Military Government (OMGUS) as a collecting point for books and archives to be processed for restitution.

The ZBHS Book Control Office (Buchleitsstelle), jointly operated with the ERR, initially based in Berlin, served as a sorting and evaluation office for libraries and books seized by the ERR. With the start of the Allied bombing of the city in 1943, the major ERR research operations and collected library holdings, together with the Buchleitsstelle, moved to Ratibor (*postwar* Racibórz, Poland), Silesia. Ratibor at that point became the ERR library and research operation center, by then focusing on anti-Bolshevik research with extensive library and archival materials seized on the Eastern Front in addition to those seized in Western Europe.

As the operational arm of the DBFU, the ERR became the most important NSDAP agency charged with cultural plunder in the name of research on the enemies of the N-S Regime, especially the alleged “Judaic-Masonic-Bolshevik Conspiracy.”<sup>10</sup> The ERR was nonetheless frequently in competition with other German predators, especially the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA). Combining the Gestapo and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD), both of which had their own seizure operations, the RSHA looted library and archival holdings even surpassed those of the ERR by the end of the war.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, however, surviving retrospective SD and Gestapo seizure lists similar to the ERR ones presented here have not been found.

Ebert and his colleagues organized initial ERR seizures in the French capital from the most important abandoned Masonic lodges. Heinrich Himmler’s offices, however, won out over the IEJ for more serious investigation of Free Masonry and the Masonic “enemies of the Reich.” As a result, the ERR was forced to hand over to the RSHA some of the Masonic books and archives it initially seized. Later in the summer of 1940, the ERR brought to Paris German library specialists from ZBHS and IEJ who turned their covetous attention to key Jewish libraries and

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<sup>10</sup> Regarding the ERR and its cultural plunder in different countries including France, and the postwar problems in retrieving its loot, see Grimsted, “Alfred Rosenberg and the ERR: The Records of Plunder and the Fate of Its Loot” (last revised August 2015) at [http://www.errproject.org/guide/ERRguideINTRO\\_10.15.2015.pdf](http://www.errproject.org/guide/ERRguideINTRO_10.15.2015.pdf). See below for the earlier 2011 Grimsted *Survey* (note 18) and the updated Grimsted *Guide* (note 17). See also Grimsted, “Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 3 (Winter 2005), pp. 390–458; Electronic version: <http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/err-ratibor-pkg.pdf>; an updated version of the sequel “Postwar Fate of ERR Plunder...,” in *HGS* (Fall 2006), was republished as “The Postwar Fate of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg Archival and Library Plunder and the Dispersed ERR Records,” *Journal of Art Crime*, Issue 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 23–47, at: [http://www.art-crimereasearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/4-TOC-fall\\_2010.pdf](http://www.art-crimereasearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/4-TOC-fall_2010.pdf).

<sup>11</sup> For an overview, see Grimsted, “L’ERR versus le RSHA,” in *Saisies, spoliations* (above note 7), pp. 37–65. See the relevant chapters for seizures by different Nazi agencies in *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues* (Institute of Art and Law [UK], 2013 paper edn with Grimsted, “Afterword–2013”), especially for the RSHA and ERR components, pp. 33–80.

booksellers, books from major Jewish institutions, and libraries of prominent Jewish individuals. Most of these were destined for the IEJ in Frankfurt, if not in part for the ZBHS. And to be sure, a year before the planned invasion of the Soviet Union, the ERR also targeted the rich East European émigré libraries in Paris, which might serve their research aims on their “Bolshevik Enemy.” Foremost among them were the three Slavic libraries – the Turgenev Russian Library,<sup>12</sup> the Petliura Ukrainian Library,<sup>13</sup> and the Polish Library.<sup>14</sup> Even Armenian and Czech libraries were among the ERR Parisian prey. Some of those collections were immediately destined for other agencies: 130,000 books and manuscripts from the Polish Library were handed over to the Publikationsstelle, a specialized research and publications office under the Interior Ministry in Berlin. Both the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries remained with the ERR and were intact in Ratibor at the end of 1944, along with many other books from France.

Recognizing the efficient organizational infrastructure of the ERR, Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring arranged for the ERR to take over the private Jewish collections of art that had been seized and transferred to the German Embassy in Paris during the summer of 1940.<sup>15</sup> The art collected in the Embassy annex was moved to the Louvre in October 1940. Subsequently at the end of the month, the ERR set up its art-processing center in the adjacent Jeu de Paume, and seizures continued throughout the occupation. The over 22,000 art objects the ERR processed there from over 200 French and a few Belgian Jewish art collections the Germans seized are now well-covered by the object-level Internet database mentioned above.<sup>16</sup> Original ERR inventories of those art works seized from private Jewish owners, artists, and dealers, are now openly available to researchers in the German Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, or through postwar working copies in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in La Courneuve (outside Paris). A chart identifying the names of owners and related archival sources, including various inventories for

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<sup>12</sup> Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002: Books as Victims and Trophies of War* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 2003; “IISG Research Papers,” no. 42); PDF file at <http://socialhistory.org/en/publications/odyssey-turgenev-library-paris-1940-2002>.

<sup>13</sup> Grimsted, “The Odyssey of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) during World War II [part 1],” in Zvi Gitelman et al. (eds.), *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*; =*Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998), pp. 181–208; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/fest98grimsted.pdf>; “The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic [part 2],” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21 (1997), pp. 393–461; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/a2105grimsted.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Grimsted, “Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris,” *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39–76. On the Polish library see particularly the updated and expanded version in Polish based on additional documentation in Moscow and Warsaw about the Soviet seizure of the library in Germany and its transfer to Warsaw in the 1950s: “Dwukrotnie zrabowane i nadal z dala od ojczyzny. Losy trzech bibliotek słowiańskich przejętych przez nazistów w Paryżu,” *Archeion* 106 (2003 [2005]), pp. 47–84; at [https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/archeion2005pkgarticle\\_cvi.pdf](https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/archeion2005pkgarticle_cvi.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> See the helpful Introduction in French and English by Isabelle le Masne de Chermont and Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald to *À qui appartenaient ces tableaux? La politique française de recherche de provenance, de garde et de restitution des oeuvres d’art pillées durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale / Looking for Owners. French policy for provenance research, restitution and custody of art stolen in France during World War Two. Catalogue de l’exhibition Jerusalem–Paris* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008), at <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/AH/MnR-aperçu-hist.htm>. See also the earlier study by Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont and Didier Schulmann, eds., *Le Pillage de l’art en France pendant l’occupation et la situation des 2 000 oeuvres confiés aux musées nationaux* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000; Mission d’étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France; Direction des Musées de France and Centre Georges-Pompidou).

<sup>16</sup> See above note 2.

those ERR-processed private art collections will soon be available with updated references.<sup>17</sup> On occasion the ERR simultaneously found and seized libraries from some of the same victims from whom they seized works of art. In the case of art reference collections, those books may have gone to the Jeu de Paume and been shipped to ERR art repositories in Germany or Austria with the art collections or to the ERR Sonderstab Visual Arts headed by Bruno Shöltz; other books were processed by the ERR French library commando unit, together with its much more extensive library loot.

Although the ERR was hardly the only German culprit, the scale of systematic looting of art, archives, and libraries by the ERR from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Baltic and Black Seas in the east was staggering. ERR chief Alfred Rosenberg was hanged in Nuremberg on 16 October 1946, following conviction for “crimes against humanity,” at the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. However, memory of the ERR crimes against culture that he directed linger on in the hundreds of thousands of cultural prisoners of war and religious objects never returned to their owners or heirs and the hundreds of thousands of books never returned to the libraries, let alone the countries, from which they were seized.

As Allied armies advanced from East and West towards the German N-S capital in Berlin, orders went out to the ERR to destroy their operational records they were unable to evacuate. In many instances they were able to do so. Fortunately, however, Allied Army units succeeded in capturing many ERR operational files, some with specific lists of its cultural seizures, including libraries and art, and data about their destinations. Many of those captured files were crucial for the identification and repatriation of art at the U.S.-operated Munich Central Collecting Point (MCCP). Since most of the ERR wartime art repositories were located in Bavaria or near-by Austria, that was the U.S. CCP where most of the art was processed for restitution to its country of seizure. The ERR documents collected there thus later became incorporated in the records of retrieval, repatriation, and restitution. Others were used for interrogations by the Art Looting Investigatory Unit (ALIU) of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and then for war-crimes trials. Today, original ERR archival files, often together with those regarding the fate of the ERR loot, remain dispersed in ten countries. Some were opened to the public and well described in the immediate postwar period. Others, particularly on the Eastern Front, were hidden away for the next half century. Only during the last 25 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union have researchers had access to the largest batch of surviving ERR files now held in Kyiv, including several of the original ERR lists of library seizures described below. Many of the most important French archival sources with ERR and related documents became publicly available only since 2009/2010.

Details about the dispersed documentation of and relating to the ERR and its loot that remains today in some 37 archival repositories in 10 countries are revealed in the Internet publication by this author now available on the Internet in free PDF downloadable files. The initial 2011 Grimsted *Survey* was issued online by the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, in cooperation with the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, sponsored by

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<sup>17</sup> Grimsted, “Art Collections Processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume, 1940–1944, Seized from French and Belgian Jewish Owners: A Correlation Table for Sources,” Appendix 1, forthcoming with the updated French chapter, in *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot* (published online with support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, in association with IISH, and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, at <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>).

the Claims Conference.<sup>18</sup> A considerably updated and expanded *Guide* is now in progress. As of the end of 2016, the new Introduction (August 2015), expanded Belgian, Dutch and U.S. chapters, as well as an added Israeli chapter, are already available in PDF files at the ERR Project website.<sup>19</sup> The updated and expanded French chapter with descriptions of newly opened archives (available March 2017) will provide current archival locations for more reports of individual library seizures and French library restitution records.

Martine Poulain's book on French libraries during the occupation and her Excel charts on restituted books mentioned at the outset have already made their mark as pioneering studies of the long-neglected subject. But copies of only two of the ten ERR library seizures lists described below were available to Poulain in French archives, with the victims' names transcribed in one of her appendices.<sup>20</sup> In her fourth appendix, Poulain lists many hundreds more individual and institutional victims of library seizures and indicated those to whom books were returned after the war. Her lists are based on French government claims and restitution records, now presented in Excel charts on the Internet. Recently Poulain has published more data about the libraries in France in which recuperated books were deposited when owners could not be identified.<sup>21</sup>

The claims and restitution lists utilized by Poulain provide many hundreds more names of victims than those appearing on the ERR seizure lists below, because they also include seizures by other German agencies, and the even more extensive library seizures by the Möbel-Aktion, or M-Aktion, starting in 1942. That program, administratively paralleling the ERR and directed by some of the ERR staff, was officially run by the Western Office (Dienststelle, or sometimes Amt Westen) of the Rosenberg Ministry (RMbO). The M-Aktion stripped furnishings, including many books, from the lodgings of Jews who had fled or were deported.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike the French claims and restitution lists from which Poulain has created her online charts, the ERR library seizure lists in our project establish the initial priority seizures by the most important Nazi library plunder agency in France. When linked to other available sources, the data presented may often help determine migration routes, and in some cases, where specific looted collections ended the war.<sup>23</sup> In fact, as has already been shown, those ERR confiscation lists include many of the "twice-plundered" books and archives that ended up in the Soviet Union after the war.

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<sup>18</sup> Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*, online edition (Amsterdam: International Institute for Social History, 2011; IISH Research Paper no. 47), in association with the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam; complete text and/or individual chapters available in complementary pdf files at: <https://socialhistory.org/en/publications/reconstructing-record-nazi-cultural-plunder>.

<sup>19</sup> Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record* (updated *Guide* above note 17).

<sup>20</sup> See more details about the ERR lists #3 and #4 (spring 1941) below.

<sup>21</sup> See Martine Poulain, "De Mémoire de livres: Des livres spoliés durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale déposés dans les bibliothèques: une histoire à connaître et à honorer," *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, January 2015; pp. 176–90; full text at [http://www.cfaj.fr/BBF\\_2015-4.pdf](http://www.cfaj.fr/BBF_2015-4.pdf). See her *Livres pillés*, above note 3, and charts of victims to whom books were returned, above note 4.

<sup>22</sup> Regarding books seized by the Möbel-Aktion, see Sem C. Sutter, "The Fate of Books Confiscated in the Möbel-Aktion," in *Restitution of Confiscated Art Works – Wish or Reality? Documentation, Identification and Restitution of Cultural Property of the Victims of World War II. Proceedings of the international academic conference held in Liberec, 24-26 October 2007*, ed. Mečislav Borák (Prague: Tilia, 2008), pp. 102–13. See also Sutter's "Looting of Jewish Collections in France by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg," in *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut. Zweites Hannoversches Symposium*, ed. Regine Dehnel (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann 2006; =*Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, Sonderheft 88), pp. 120–34.

<sup>23</sup> See for example Grimsted, "L'ERR versus le RSHA," above note 7, *passim*.

For example, when this author first visited the Rare Book Department in the National Library of Belarus in 2003, a preliminary check of provenance card catalogues turned up rare books with *ex libris* or other markings from over 100 libraries coinciding with names on the ERR French seizure lists below – 90 individual libraries and 10 institutional libraries. Those figures are only for books from France that had been deposited and catalogued in the Rare Book Department. Additional books from France are now found in other libraries in Minsk as well, as verified during a recent seminar in Minsk, as will be mentioned below. Books on ERR lists of library and archival seizures from Belgium and the Netherlands are also still held in Minsk, including many from the IISH (and its predecessors or component libraries) in Amsterdam, many of which were seized from its Paris Branch operating in the 1930s.<sup>24</sup>

Surviving lists of private libraries confiscated by the ERR, now dispersed in many countries, are of key importance for identifying library plunder under the ERR auspices in France. The present article identifies ten such lists found in six different countries with digitized facsimile versions now launched on the Internet. Several versions of the ERR lists of the libraries confiscated in Paris remain dispersed in fragmentary ERR files now held in National Archives in College Park, MD, Koblenz, Berlin, and London (Kew), while the most extensive retrospective lists are now found in Kyiv.<sup>25</sup> Covering as they do some 250 libraries of prominent individuals and organizations in Paris alone, most of which were seized between August 1940 and the end of 1941, their publication also serves to memorialize the libraries victimized. In many cases, personal or institutional archives were seized at the same time as the libraries, and a number of victims whose art was seized by the ERR in France were also victims of library seizures. Yet the dispersed archival whereabouts of these seizure lists has meant they have been hitherto hardly known to specialists. Nor were they available to those processing books for return to their countries of origin at the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), or those French agencies trying to reconstitute to owners the books repatriated to France.

The accompanying website chart, combining listings of those c. 250 victimized French libraries (59 institutional and 184 individuals), supplements Martine Poulain compilations of library spoliation victims. Six ERR seizure lists have been found for Belgium, and others for the Netherlands, with parallel analysis underway for Internet posting soon.<sup>26</sup> ERR lists that survive from Greece also deserve analysis. Noticeably however, we do not find the same kind of lists for occupied Soviet lands: the extensive ERR library plunder came mostly from state institutions. Many of the ERR library seizures in the USSR are covered by more specific surviving ERR reports, but those still await more detailed study. Regrettably, none of those reports were utilized in postwar restitution.

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<sup>24</sup> Some of these were named in my reports and subsequent lectures, and in Grimsted, “The Road to Minsk for Western Trophy Books,” *Libraries and Culture*, 30, no. 4 (Fall 2004), especially pp. 364–69; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/libcult.pdf>. See more details about the Minsk holdings below.

<sup>25</sup> An earlier discussion of a few of these lists was presented in Grimsted, “Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 3 (Winter 2005), pp. 390–458; electronic version: <http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/err-ratibor-pkg.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> See the forthcoming article by Michel Vermote (with assistance of Patricia Grimsted), “Library Plunder in Belgium by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Six ERR Seizure Lists of Confiscated Belgian Library and Archival Materials,” forthcoming 2017, an original publication at [www.errproject.org/libraries.php](http://www.errproject.org/libraries.php).

## Ten ERR Lists of Libraries seized in France

### List #1.

#### **(#1). Bericht: Beschlagnahme Judaica-Bibliotheken in Frankreich, Belgien und in den Niederlanden (Frankfurt on Main, 26 August 1940)**

[Report: Seizure of Judaica Libraries in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands]  
*(Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Magistratsakten 8.614, folios 426–428).*<sup>27</sup>

The director of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (IEJ) in Frankfurt, Dr Wilhelm Grau, was the leader of the first ERR library brigade in Paris in the summer of 1940. Dr Grau signed the first two available ERR library seizure reports from Paris for materials that were being sent to Frankfurt intended to supply IEJ. He addressed his first report to Frankfurt Oberbürgermeister Dr Krebs, listing ten of the highest priority Jewish and Masonic institutions in Paris whose books had already been seized by 26 August 1940. Precise seizure dates are not given, but those same libraries appear with dates and more details in later lists.

The victims included the Lipschutz bookstore (ca. 20,000 vols.), the École Rabbinique (ca. 30,000 vols.), and the three largest Masonic lodges – the Grand Orient de France, the Grande Loge de France, and the Grande Loge indépendante et régulière. The Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU, ca. 50,000 vols.) was the largest Jewish library on that first hit list, and many important manuscript treasures were seized, along with some works of art (not mentioned) that had been deposited for safekeeping with the AIU.<sup>28</sup> Books from libraries of three different members of the Rothschild family were also included, with a total of 1,400 crates of books already packed for shipment to Frankfurt. Although seizures in Belgium and the Netherlands are mentioned, no identifying details are given.

### List #2.

#### **(#2). Betrifft: Beschlagnahme von Bibliotheken und Archiven (Paris, 16 September 1940)**

[Report: Seizure of Libraries and Archives]  
*(NACP, RG 260, Ardelia Hall Collection [MCCP], formerly box 452; NARA Microfilm Publication M1946; fold3.com).*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> A facsimile is published in the well-illustrated OAD memorial volume by Gabriele Hauschke-Wicklaus, Angelika Amborn-Morgenstern, and Erika Jacobs, *Fast vergessen: Das amerikanische Bücherdepot in Offenbach am Main von 1945 bis 1949* (Offenbach am Main: Offenbacher Editionen, 2011), pp. 29–31.

<sup>28</sup> For example, several works by the painter Francis Harburger, deposited in a basement vault in the AIU building at 45 rue La Bruyère, were seized by the ERR and taken to the IEJ. See Sylvie Harburger, *Francis Harburger : Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint, 1929–1998* (Paris : Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2015).

<sup>29</sup> A facsimile was published as an illustration in Jean-Claude Kuperminc, “The Return of Looted French Archives: The Case of the Library and Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle,” in *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, ed. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud, and Eric Ketelaar (Institute of Art and Law, UK, 2007; paper edn, 2013), p. 138. An online version of the list is now available with the entire *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, roll 122, at [Fold3.com](http://Fold3.com). A series of documents confirm the arrival of the convoy of ten train wagons of books in Frankfurt am Main for the IEJ with some delivery complications, *Mémorial de la Shoah-CDJC*, CXXXIX-15.

Grau's August list was expanded to 15 libraries in his 16 September report addressed to the Military Commandant in France (Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, MBF), which he signed as Leader of the ERR Working Group Paris (Arbeitsgruppe Paris). An original copy of this list is now held in the Archives Nationales site de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.<sup>30</sup>

### **Lists #3 and #4.**

**With a covering Memorandum addressed by Dr Gerd Wunder, ERR  
HAG Frankreich, to the Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich  
(Paris, 2 May 1941)**

*(NACP, NARA Microfilm Publication, T-501, roll 362 [earlier foliation  
295k–306k at bottom right [lacking or not legible on some pages]])*

**(#3). “Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris  
verpackten Büchereien” (Paris, 23 March 1941)**

[Complete List of Libraries Already Packed by the Paris Working Group]

**(#4). “Nachtrag zu den in Paris verpackten [Büchereien]” (Paris,  
24 April 1941) [Addendum to the Paris Libraries Packed]**

The following two more extensive lists of ERR lists of library seizures in France, as indicated in headings with “Dr Wu,” were prepared under the direction of Dr Gerd (sometimes Gerhard) Wunder. They were transmitted together with Wunder's covering memorandum of 2 May 1940 to the German Military Commandant in France (MBF), with headquarters in the Hotel Majestic in Paris. Wunder, having taken over from Grau, was then in charge of library confiscations as head of the ERR Hauptarbeiter Gruppe Frankreich (HAG France).<sup>31</sup> The March report (no. 3) was followed a month later with a supplemental list (no. 4) of an additional 29 libraries seized, the last reported on 26 April 1941. Wunder in the memorandum referred to his lists of “Jewish libraries”, although some Masonic, East-European émigré, and socialist collections were also listed. Both the March and April lists provide the name and address of the individual or institution, the date(s) of seizure, the number of crates seized, and the ERR code assigned to the crates in most cases. In most instances there is a short biographic identification of the individual victims, and in some cases a short characterization of the holdings.

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<sup>30</sup> AN-site Pierrefitte, AJ/40 (Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (MBF)/ Commandant militaire en France), AJ/40/569/folder 6.

<sup>31</sup> Dr Gerd (sometimes Gerhard) Wunder (1908–1988) – a key ERR leader in library confiscation – was first in charge of the Paris library group and then HAG-Ostland. Later he headed ERR research and propaganda operations on Eastern Europe and anti-Bolshevism in Berlin and Ratibor. According to Berlin Document Center (BDC) records he joined the Nazi Party 1 May 1930: “PK Wunder, Gerd, Personalkarte,” BDC 1210011129, BArch-Berlin-Lichterfelde. Before he was involved with the ERR, Wunder taught in Chile (1933–1934) and, starting in 1935, directed the Düsseldorf Public Library (Düsseldorfer Volksbücherei). Wunder was interrogated in connection with the Alfred Rosenberg trial in Nüremberg (18 and 26 August 1947); transcripts are available on *NARA Microfilm Publication M1019*, roll 81, frames 102–121. He was also questioned with Dr Brethauer by the Bundesamt für äussere Restititionen (Bad Homburg, 5 January 1960), most specifically in connection with French claims, but his replies do not add to our data about the fate of any of the collections in question.

The memorandum (signed by Wunder, in what appears to be the original) – with appended photostatic copies of the two lists attached – was included in that portion of the MBF records transported to the United States after the war and returned to West Germany in the 1960s. Complete microfilm copies were prepared in the United States before the original files were returned to Germany in the 1960s; however, it would appear that only a photostatic copy of the lists was included in the microfilmed records. It thus appears in the U.S. microfilms of that series.<sup>32</sup> One would accordingly expect to find the original document among the MBF records in the German Federal Military Archive (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, BArch-MA) in Freiburg. However, no copy has been located there, nor has the original been found elsewhere.

Indicative of the dispersal of such key sources, these are the only two ERR lists of Paris library seizures found today in a French archive – they were received in photocopy in 1946 from the British in Tanzenberg. That French copy in the Archives Nationales, however, lacks the covering Wunder memorandum with which they were submitted to the MBF. The French copy was first cited in detail in a dissertation and article by Nicholas Reymes, published in 2000.<sup>33</sup> In her second appendix (both 2008 and 2013 editions), Poulain extracts the 90 named individual and institutional libraries, with dates and number of crates seized, and shortened biographic identification.<sup>34</sup>

Two other less legible photostatic copies of those two lists are found among OMGUS restitution files from the Munich Central Collecting Point (MCCP) in the NACP (RG 260), but in the process of archival reprocessing they have not both been kept together with the covering memorandum.<sup>35</sup> Two similar photocopies (poorly legible) are held in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz in the German restitution files (TVK – BArch B 323) likewise from MCCP. The covering memorandum is with them, and it is apparent that they were both filmed from the same original as those in NACP.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The memorandum (apparently filmed from the original) is on NSDAP-DBFU letterhead, with the ERR name at that time stamped below the full DBFU printed name – Einsatzstab der Dienststellen des Reichsleiters Rosenberg für die westlichsten besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande. The memorandum (together with copies of the two lists) is found on the *NARA Microfilm Publication T501*, “Records of German Field Commands: Rear Areas, Occupied Territories, and Others” (Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich), roll 362, item 85621 (earlier foliation 294K–306K). I have not yet located the original document; not even the photocopies returned from the United States are currently found with the MBF records and appear to be missing from that record group in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg.

<sup>33</sup> Nicolas Reymes, “Le pillage des bibliothèques appartenant à des Juifs pendant l’occupation,” *Revue d’histoire de la Shoah le monde juif*, no. 163 (January–April 2000): 38–41, although the author was not aware of its source or anything about its author.

<sup>34</sup> See the extracted names from both March and April lists in Poulain, *Livres pillés*, 2008 edn, Appendix II, pp. 421–23; 2013 edn, pp. 537–40.

<sup>35</sup> NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC) from the MCCP, former boxes 468 and 452; both are now available to researchers as part of *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*, rolls 121 and 122, digitized copies can be accessed for free on the Internet at Fold3.com.

<sup>36</sup> A copy of the 23 March list, together with the 24 April supplement, in small-size (4 per page) printout copy from a U.S. HICOG microfilm is preserved in BArch-Koblenz, B 323/261, fols. 48–60, with the covering letter from Wunder (2 May 1941); another less legible copy is in BArch, B 323/258, fols. 471–483. The NACP copies are similar printouts from the HICOG microfilms and are now included in *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946* (MCCP), available free of charge at Fold3.com.

**List #5.****(#5). “Paris Libraries of Jewish Ownership Confiscated by the ERR, March/June 1941” (16 August 1945)***(The National Archives (TNA), Kew, Foreign Office, FO 1020/2793, #9A)*

After the war, the British found an estimated 650,000 books the ERR had collected from all over Europe for the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (ZBHS) in the remote Monastery (Stift) of Tanzenberg in Austrian Carinthia, not far from Klagenfurt, located in the British Zone of Occupation in Austria. They likewise found many of Wunder’s reports and lists of seized libraries. The estimated 650,000 books for the ZBHS found in Tanzenberg, in many cases, included parts of the same libraries that were sent to the Frankfurt Institute (IEJ). The British captured some of the ZBHS staff who were kept under house arrest in Tanzenberg and required them to assist in preparing the books for restitution to their countries of origin. Although the ERR staff had succeeded in destroying many of their records, the British found some of Dr Wunder’s Paris HAG files. Unfortunately, as far as is known, those remnants have not been preserved, and the fate of the remaining original ERR documents is unknown.<sup>37</sup>

The British restitution staff in Tanzenberg, with ZBHS staff assistance, compiled a chart listing seizures through June 1941. It lists a total of 91 seizures (87 individuals and 4 institutions), with an additional 64 libraries not previously listed. However, they may not have had copies of Wunder’s lists 3 and 4, because 19 of the seizures listed there are not included.<sup>38</sup> The British added the handwritten name of the ERR staff member in charge of each seizure (in column 1) and the coded crate markings the ERR used for the specific collection (in column 5). According to those indications, Wunder had been in charge of most of the confiscations, although in a few cases Herbert Lommatzsch headed the operation. The original ERR files from which that list was prepared have not surfaced.

The cover sheet for the British copy explains that data in the chart was “extracted from a file of reports by Dr Gerhard Wunder found at Tanzenberg [...]. A copy has been sent to the French.” The incoming copy “to the French” has not yet been found in Paris, although a partial copy of a similar typescript has surfaced among French library restitution files in the Archives Nationales, Site de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.<sup>39</sup> The partial copy lacks the names of the ERR staff who seized the library and crate codes; these names are handwritten additions on the British Foreign Office copy (crate markings have been very helpful in a number of cases in analysis of remaining photographs where crates are pictured with ERR codes).

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<sup>37</sup> A few additional German ZBHS registers and related documentation are now located in the Vienna University Library. The British had turned over remaining books from the Tanzenberg library collections that could not be restituted at the time to that Vienna Library. A few early ZBHS library registers have been found there, but if the British transfer included any of the German card files or additional ERR documents, those have not been preserved. I am grateful to Evelyn Adunka in Vienna for arranging my visit with university librarians, who have been since conducting extensive provenance research on remaining books from Tanzenberg. Adunka also kindly arranged and accompanied my visit to Tanzenberg, and also to the hotel on the lake closer to Villach, where ZBHS books had been housed starting in 1942 before the move to Tanzenberg in early 1944.

<sup>38</sup> The copy in the FO 1020/2793 file cited is a carbon copy, but the original has not been located.

<sup>39</sup> The copy was found in the Archives Nationales, site de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, AJ/38/5937. This copy repeats data in the British original but lacks some of the data and corrections found in the British original in TNA, FO 1020/2793.

The copy presented here is from British restitution processing files from Tanzenberg among the British occupation records from Austria, in one of the series of Foreign Office records (FO 1020) in The National Archives in Kew. Many detailed reports of the sorting and restitution processing in Tanzenberg are preserved in the British FO 1020 files. Detailed lists of the French libraries from which books were identified are included, for example, in one early weekly report from September 1945; among those listed are books belonging to Leo Poldès (ca. 700 vols.), Jean Zay (170 vols.), Leon Blum (5,356 vols.), Georges Mandel (66 vols.), and many others.<sup>40</sup>

### **Lists #6, #7, and #8.**

**With a covering Memorandum by Dr Karl Brethauer (21 January 1942),  
ERR Stabsführung (Headquarters), Berlin, addressed to  
Parteigenosse (Party Comrade) Kurt von Behr, Paris**  
(*TsDAVO, fond 3676, opys 1, file 172, folio 324*)

#### **(#6). “I. Positive Einsatzstellen Paris”**

[Positive Operational Sites in Paris]

(*TsDAVO, fond 3676, series [opys]1, file 172, folios 277–282*)

– with 135 mostly individual names but also a few institutions, with addresses, and a third column with the ERR code and number of crates; the latest date of seizure was 24 June 1941, and accordingly many names overlap with the Wunder lists above. Some entries have additional penciled notations as to destination (such as ‘Ffm’ [Frankfurt am Main], ‘Musik’ [Sonderstab Musik], or “Rest” [miscellaneous]).

#### **(#7). “II. Sonderakte Paris”**

[Special Actions in Paris]

(*TsDAVO, fond 3676, file 172, folio 273*)

–with 17 individual names and addresses of seizures in Paris and Neuilly by the end August 1940, and a third column with the ERR code and number of crates; a few entries have additional penciled notations, two of them as to destinations (such as ‘Ffm’ [Frankfurt am Main]).

#### **(#8). “III. Sonderstab ‘Kirchen’ Paris”**

[Special unit ‘Churches’ in Paris]

(*TsDAVO, fond 3676, file 172, folio 283*)

– with five entries, indication dates of seizure, addresses (all but one) and a third column with the ERR code and number of crates.

The most extensive original ERR Paris library confiscation lists are found in a file within the largest extant group of ERR records now held in Kyiv in the Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of Power and Administration of Ukraine (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh

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<sup>40</sup> “Stift Tanzenberg, Report for week ending 8.9.1945,” TNA, FO 1020/2793.

orhaniv vladu ta upravlinnia, TsDAVO, fond 3676).<sup>41</sup> Three separate retrospective typed confiscation lists, detailing seizures through the end of 1941, belong together with a covering memorandum signed by Dr Karl Brethauer (dated 21 January 1942) at the ERR Stabsführung addressed to Parteigenosse (Party Comrade) Kurt von Behr, who headed the ERR Paris office and then the Western Office (Amt or Dienststelle Westen) of Rosenberg's Ministry (RMbO). The lists themselves are not dated, but all of the seizures were earlier in 1940 and 1941. In TsDAVO fond 3676 the memorandum is incorrectly bound much later in the same file. In that memorandum, Brethauer explains that these lists are more complete and have "numerous positive inserts" not covered in the earlier Berlin files.

### **List #9.**

#### **(#9). "Pariser Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek"**

[Paris Operational Sites from the Schilde Cardfile]

*(TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, folios 274–276; cc. folios 294–296)*

Apparently the ERR maintained a card catalogue to keep track of its library seizures in Paris, because one of the same group of retrospective Paris confiscation lists (dating from early 1942) found in the same TsDAVO file references a card file under the direction of Professor Dr [Gerhard] Schilde.

This list has 71 names (without addresses), including Masonic Lodges in Bordeaux, Caen, Cherbourg, Nancy, Nantes, Rouen, Tours, and Versailles. It provides ERR code numbers and in most cases the number of crates seized. A few names overlap other seizure lists. Professor Dr Schilde was an ERR library specialist in Paris and later in the Baltic. The referenced ERR Paris card file prepared by Schilde has not been found.<sup>42</sup>

### **List #10.**

#### **(#10). "Aufstellung der Namen der Pariser Akten" (Ratibor, 3 April 1944)**

[List of Names from Paris Documents]

*(BArch-Berlin-Lichterfelde, NS 30/56)*

As a document providing a retrospective summary of library and archival seizures, a spring 1944 list of 161 names represents predominantly Jewish individuals whose library books and archival papers were seized by the ERR from Paris. The list remains among ERR records (NS 30) in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde, in a file with other materials being prepared for an exhibition of ERR achievements to be held in Ratibor later that month. Many of the names on the typed list have added penciled notes giving biographic data or the institution

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<sup>41</sup> The three separate fonds in the Kyiv collection of Rosenberg records are now on the TsDAVO website: <http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua>. See the explanation in the Ukrainian chapter of the Grimsted ERR archival guide, *Reconstructing the Record*.

<sup>42</sup> Prof. Dr Gerhard Schilde was active in ERR Paris operations but was also sent to the Baltic in October 1941, heading a special Kommando Schilde. The fate of Schilde's Paris card file is not known.

or firm the individuals represent. This list of names was apparently incomplete, because a note at the end suggests that others will be found in files held by another ERR staff member.

That list, which provides only names and in some cases biographical data, is signed by [Bruno] Helfrich, whose name also appears on an ERR staff list in Ratibor. The list gives no indication of dates, addresses, or quantities of seized books and archives in each case. It mostly repeats names of individuals on earlier lists of seized libraries, with only a few additions.

### **Additional ERR lists of designated victims (TsDAVO, fond 3676/1, file 172)**

Four other address lists (in duplicate) in the same file, three of them dated 12 February 1942 and signed by Brethauer, provide additional names of possible seizure victims, but there are no indications if in fact seizures were carried out. (These names do not appear in Poulain's published restitution lists.) Hence they are not being posted in facsimile with the other ten lists on the CFAJ website.<sup>43</sup>

#### **“Pariser Anschriften” (undated)**

*(TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, folios 290–291; cc 292–293)*

– Lists 29 names of mostly Jewish individuals and institutions.

#### **“Jüdische Anschriften I – Paris” (12 February 1942)**

*(TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, folios 297–300; cc folios 301–304)*

– Lists 99 names of mostly Jewish individuals and a few institutions, with identification of many of them, but lacking data on seizures.

#### **“Jüdische Anschriften II – Frankreich (ausser Paris)” (12 February 1942)**

*(TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, folios 305–306; cc folios 307–308)*

– Lists 24 names of Jewish individuals in various cities outside of Paris, including Algiers, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Calais, Grenoble, Lille, Marseilles, Metz, Strasbourg, and Tunis.

#### **“Jüdische Anschriften III” (12 February 1942)**

*(TsDAVO, 3676/1/172, folio 271; cc folio 272)*

– Lists 14 names of individuals with addresses in Paris and Neuilly.

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<sup>43</sup> These documents are all available in the same fond PDF file the “Rosenberg Collection,” available for free download on the TsDAVO website, fond 3676/1/172, at <http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua/>.

## Combined Chart of ERR French Library Seizure Victims

As a final feature of the French component of the ERR Looted Library Documentation project, we include two Excel charts (also available in French on the CFAJ website), combining the names of individual and institutional ERR library seizure victims on the ten ERR lists of seizures. These Excel charts, with separate lists for 184 individuals and 59 institutional libraries, should make it easier to locate available data and compare the names and addresses on the ten extant ERR priority seizure lists presented. Furthermore, the charts make it possible to relate the ERR seizures of a given library with the names of individuals and institutions represented in the lists of book restitutions presented in the adjacent website lists compiled by Martine Poulain.

### Excel Charts Combining the Names of 184 Individual and 59 Institutional Victims of Priority ERR Library Seizure in France

## Additional Sources on ERR Seized French Libraries

### ERR French Library Evaluation Reports

Yet another source for ERR library operations are the evaluation reports prepared by the ERR/ZBHS Buchleitsstelle in Berlin and Ratibor. Copies of 29 such appraisals containing more detailed data about specific looted French private libraries have been identified among surviving ERR files in the YIVO Archive in New York City. Four of the library appraisals were prepared in Berlin in 1942 and the rest in Ratibor. The four reports in YIVO from Berlin are duplicated with one additional appraisal in an ERR file now in Kyiv. Those were prepared by Ulrich Cruse, who later became deputy director of ZBHS in Austrian Carinthia.<sup>44</sup> Nine of the named libraries were in fact listed as being processed in Ratibor in a second quarter report from Ratibor dated 7 July 1944. Five of the named libraries described do not appear on any of the above ten ERR lists described above. Additional ERR working group reports detailing specific library confiscations in France, including those that went to the ERR Sonderstab Musik, remain scattered in many groups of the now dispersed ERR documents.

### Other Wartime Sources

Lists collected to date, while extensive, provide only initial coverage of priority ERR confiscations, mainly through the end of 1941. As authentic ERR seizure documents they can be helpful to verify confiscation and, where appropriate, in legal claims for the return or restitution of the books contained therein. The extant Paris lists cover only a few of the many ERR library seizures in other parts of France. They do not cover all the libraries seized from owners whose art collections were also seized, nor all of the library seizures by the Sonderstab Musik, although some of both of those categories are included.<sup>45</sup> Nor do they cover any of the numerous book seizures by

<sup>44</sup> See the full list of available evaluations in Appendix 1.

<sup>45</sup> See additional listings for seizures of musical instruments and musicalia, with which libraries were also often included, as indicated by Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter*

the Möbel-Aktion.<sup>46</sup> Available sources, however, suggest that name lists of the families from whose lodgings furnishings were seized by the Möbel-Aktion were not compiled, although a few scattered documents with addresses have surfaced from different parts of France.

While some ERR French lists speak of ‘Jewish libraries’ confiscated, the ERR also looted Masonic lodges and Eastern European émigré individuals and organizations as mentioned above. For example, the ERR seized the vast library and socialist archival collections of the Paris Branch of the IISH – headed by the Russian émigré Menshevik Boris Nicolaevsky – that were transferred to Paris from Amsterdam in 1934. On the eve of German invasion, Nicolaevsky arranged to hide much of the Paris part of the collection in suburban wine cellars. But the ERR found them, and some of the names of individuals associated with the Institute appear on the lists noted above. Many of the IISH books from Amsterdam were returned from Tanzenberg. Many more of the IISH books and archives from the Paris Branch now remain in Moscow, along with a Lenin autograph letter and other books and archives from the Turgenev Library in Paris, which Russia has refused to restitute. Even though Nicolaevsky was a foreign national by the time those documents from his papers were created, and all of them were created outside of the Soviet Union, because of his Russian birth and his considerable high-level importance in Communist Party circles, Russian officials today consider his papers as belonging to the Russian Federation.

In France, where the ERR usually required signatures of attestation or receipt on seizure, the ERR or those operating as its agents often compiled separate reports for individual seizures, such as those by the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) or other agents in charge. One original register of extensive inspections and seizures in Parisian suburbs by the GFP on behalf of the ERR has surfaced in the French Foreign Ministry Archives in La Courneuve.<sup>47</sup>

Many other individual seizure reports are preserved in the Mémorial de la Shoah (in the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine [CDJC] collection) in Paris and in the Archives nationales-Site Pierrefitte (AJ/38 and AN/40). Some remaining files in French wartime records contain letters of complaint or protests to the Germans over the seizures filed by French authorities, who proved helpless in face of the Nazi onslaught. Some of these nonetheless relate additional seizure details and first-hand lists or reports from victimized families and/or institutions. These not only provide additional documentation of the losses, but also often coincide with or supplement the German reports.<sup>48</sup>

## Postwar Claims Files

After the war, the French government Office of Private Property and Interests (Office des biens et intérêts privés, OBIP) collected data from claims submitted for libraries looted during the German occupation in France. The extensive printed series OBIP issued reporting war losses includes a separate volume with details of victimized libraries:

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*Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam University Press, 1996), passim, with a list of some specific Paris music-related seizures, pp. 130–31.

<sup>46</sup> See the articles by Sem C. Sutter, above note 22.

<sup>47</sup> “Recherche de la Police Secrète allemande sur des loges maçonniques et les archives israélites de la France” (31 July–12 November 1940), AMAE, 209SUP, carton 105/36.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, a letter with list of addresses and property plundered from different members of the Rothschild family from President de Boisanger of the French Delegation for Economic Affairs to the Minister-President Hemmen of the German Delegation for the Economy (10 February 1942), Mémorial de la Shoah (CDJC), CXVII-38.

*Répertoire des bien spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939–1945*, Vol. 7: *Archives, manuscrits et livres rares* ([Berlin], 1948) + Supplement 3, at: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-rbs.htm>.<sup>49</sup>

Card files prepared in connection with that publication remain in La Courneuve.<sup>50</sup> Some claims for cultural property were also submitted to the Commission for the Recovery of Art (Commission de récupération artistique, CRA), 1944–1950. Copies of the ERR lists of confiscated libraries were not available to OBIP when they prepared the lists including in that printed volume; hence, they could not be coordinated with the ERR seizures. Nor was such coordination ever made by the French postwar Subcommittee on Libraries (SCL) under the Commission for Recuperation of Art (Commission de récupération artistique, CRA), which was responsible for restitution. A copy of only one of the ERR Paris lists of seized libraries (23 March 1941) is found in declassified SCL files in the Archives Nationales, now held in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.<sup>51</sup> Most of the French claim files and postwar restitution records, including receipts from French occupation authorities in Germany and Austria, are now open for public research in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FRMAE) in La Courneuve, and these also list many library seizures.

Both the CRA and OBIP claims files for personal and institutional claims (held in La Courneuve) provide additional sources about library losses. Claims from named owners are now listed in AMAE Internet finding aids, and online within the archive, while the files themselves are available to researchers in the Reading Room.<sup>52</sup> Copies of many of the actual claims submitted by the French to American authorities in occupied western Germany are openly available at NACP (and online at Fold3). Indexes available on the NARA website will help researchers locate original claims for many collections, including those from some plundered libraries.<sup>53</sup>

## Possible Future Expansion

Given the extent of reliable data provided by the various Paris library seizure lists, the present article and the website presentation of facsimile ERR documents and Excel compendia of the

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<sup>49</sup> Issued by the Commandement en chef français en Allemagne, Groupe français du conseil de contrôle, Division des réparations et restitutions, Bureau central des restitutions, Vol. 7: *Archives, manuscrits et livres rares* ([Berlin], 1948); at [http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/RBS/T\\_7.pdf](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/RBS/T_7.pdf); the third Supplement 3 also supplements volume 7, at [http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/RBS/T\\_2-3-4-7\\_S3.pdf](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/RBS/T_2-3-4-7_S3.pdf). That version on the French Ministry of Culture website is searchable in full text.

<sup>50</sup> AMAE, 209SUP, cartons 882–887.

<sup>51</sup> AN-Pierrefitte, Series F/17 (17994–17996), “Bibliothèques pillées sous l’occupation, 1945–1953,” contains the records of the Sous-Commission des Livres (SCL) (1945–1949), under the Commission de récupération artistique (CRA) du Ministère de l’Education Nationale. An additional segment of the SCL files are now held among the CRA records in the FRMAE Archives in La Courneuve. These include many intermixed among the 209SUP Cartons 520/P217–544/P253; and Cartons 921–927, 1061–1065, 1100–1145. Details about these and related files appear in the newly updated French chapter of Grimsted’s *Reconstructing the Record ERR Archival Guide*, scheduled for release in early 2017 at <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>.

<sup>52</sup> See more details in the updated French chapter of the Grimsted *Guide* to ERR archives mentioned above.

<sup>53</sup> Some copies from French postwar claims files that were forwarded to U.S. restitution authorities in Germany are now available in *NARA Microfilm Publication, M-1949*, freely available on the website Fold3.com; indexes for the claims are also available on the NARA website, as described in the updated U.S. chapter of the Grimsted guide, *Reconstructing the Record*, Chapter 10, at <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>.

names and data from the ten lists should provide a helpful start. Eventually it would also be helpful to expand those charts with indication of archival locations of related extant ERR confiscation and library appraisals from other ERR or French sources. This could assist owners or heirs, as well as other researchers in finding more details about a particular library seizure. This could also assist comparison with the data Poulain has already compiled in charts from available French restitution records, in case when at least part of the library was returned to the owner after the war.

Present locations of remaining dispersed books from the seized library could then also be indicated where known, even if there is scant hope for restitution, as in the case of several Eastern European countries. And to be sure, it would be helpful to add *ex libris*, book stamps, and other known ownership markings that could help identify those libraries seized. Such data could further assist librarians in the several German and Austrian libraries that have recently been trying to identify plundered books in their collections. It could alert librarians concerned about the provenance of looted books dispersed in libraries or private collections in Eastern Europe. And to be sure, such an expanded project would also assist in the identification and provenance of rare books and manuscripts that frequently turn up in bookseller catalogues and auction houses.

## **Library Restitution to France from Abroad – Summary**

A large percentage of the books returned to France came from the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD) and neighboring castle in Fulda. Located just outside of Frankfurt am Main, OAD was the central collecting point for books and archives in the U.S. Zone of Occupation in Germany. It has often been referred to as “the Antithesis to the ERR” in that it returned over three million books to the countries from which they had been looted by the ERR and other German agencies during the war. While the staff at OAD did not have access to the ERR library seizure lists presented here, they nonetheless prepared a series of albums of *ex libris* and book markings to aid in the sorting process. These albums are all preserved within the OAD records in the U.S. National Archives in College Park, MD, and several copies are located in other repositories. Copies of the bookplates from some of the albums have recently been assembled in a website map.<sup>54</sup> Among the OAD records are also to be found official claims from French authorities and official transfer papers for the books being restituted, and in some cases there is correspondence or special reports about specific looted collections.

Many other books returned to France came from the monastery of Tanzenberg in the British Zone of Occupation in Austria, where the ERR amassed over half a million books intended for ZBHS. As mentioned earlier, the British captured some of the ZBHS library staff, who had not succeeded in destroying all of the ERR seizure lists that remained in Tanzenberg, and kept them

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<sup>54</sup> The complete OAD records are now openly available at Fold3.com, based on files preserved in the U.S. National Archives, College Park (NACP), MD; see the detailed description of these records, including links to those on line, in Grimsted’s revised U.S. chapter (2015) at <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>. The project mapping the books processed at OAD project is described in that chapter with hyperlinks on p. 193. See also the OAD memorial volume, above note 27.

under house arrest to assist in processing the books for return. They could use those lists to identify owners in restitution processing, many of the records from which are preserved in the British National Archives in Kew.<sup>55</sup>

Additional postwar convoys with a much smaller number of books came home to Paris from Czechoslovakia and Poland, while many others remained behind, far from their prewar homes.

## **Non-Restitution to France: The Soviet Union and Western Books in Minsk**

The Soviet Union only symbolically participated in Western Allied cultural restitution efforts after the war: Soviet authorities practiced what they now call “compensatory restitution,” although that was never agreed upon by the Quadripartite Allied Occupation authorities. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the opening of many (although still not all) archives, including Soviet-period library records, details came to light about the estimated 12 million books that were transported to Soviet lands from Germany and Eastern Europe after the war.<sup>56</sup> To be sure, many of those transports East included books from throughout Western Europe that had previously been seized by Nazi agencies in occupied countries during the war.

One blatant example from France is the large French component in one of the first Soviet convoys of books from Silesia in the fall of 1945: 54 railway freight cars carried 1,200,000 books from the estimated horde of two or three million that the ERR had brought together at its library and research center in Ratibor (today Racibórz, Poland), Silesia. That shipment directed to Minsk contained over half a million books looted from Soviet libraries that the ERR had seized from state libraries in Belarus and the Baltic countries. But it also contained an estimated half a million books from Western Europe, including many that the ERR had looted from libraries in France.

The full story of that convoy to Minsk of ERR-looted books from libraries throughout Europe was first revealed twelve years ago.<sup>57</sup> Most of those books, including many autographed volumes from illustrious French private libraries, today remain in several different libraries in Minsk, most of them held in restricted collections throughout the Soviet period. The largest number are still today held by the National Library of Belarus in Minsk. Even those from pre-1939 private libraries in the Baltic countries or from former Russian imperial libraries seized from the imperial palace museums in suburban Leningrad were never returned to their homes within the Soviet Union. 600 books in Armenian from the Armenian Library in Paris were transferred to Erevan, because there was no Armenian censor to approve them for library acquisition in the Belorussian SSR.

Likewise, some of the Dutch-language books were transferred to the Library for Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow and the Library of the Academy of Science (BAN) in Leningrad,

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<sup>55</sup> See above regarding ERR List #5. More details about the files from Tanzenberg in the Foreign Office records FO 1020 are described in the forthcoming British chapter of Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record*.

<sup>56</sup> See Grimsted, “Tracing ‘Trophy’ Books in Russia,” *Solanus* 19 (2005), pp. 131–45; at <http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/solanus.pdf>; see also more details about the transports from Silesia in Grimsted, *Odyssey of the Turgenev Library*, chapter 5. See also Mikhail D. Afans’ev, “Les livres voyageurs. Le destin des livres emportés d’Allemagne par les Soviétiques entre 1945 et 1946,” in *Saisies, spoliations* (above note 5), pp. 135–45.

<sup>57</sup> See Grimsted, “The Road to Minsk,” above note 24; the original conference report was published in Russian (shorter and without illustrations): “Trofeinye knigi iz Zapadnoi Evropy: Doroga v Minsk cherez Ratibor (Ratsibuzh). Ograblenie bibliotek ERR (Operativnym shtabom Reikhsliaitera Rozenberga),” in *Matieryaly trietskikh mizhnarodnykh knihaznuchykh chytanniaiu “Kniha Belarusi: Poviaz’ chasoi” (Minsk, 16–17 verasnia 2003 g.)* (Minsk: Natsyianal’naia bibliatiieka Belarusi, 2005), pp. 39–90.

because there was no censor in Minsk who read Dutch. A small portion of those sent to Moscow – namely 608 Dutch-language books – were returned from VGBIL to the Netherlands in 1992. This was the first act of restitution to the West of the books seized in Silesia that arrived in Minsk in 1945, even though thousands more Dutch books still remain today in the capital of Belarus, and others remain in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Coincidentally, this return from Moscow to the Netherlands also included the first book seized by the ERR in 1940 that was returned to the Turgenyev Library in Paris; Dutch librarians identified the library stamp in a Dutch-language Bible, which they passed on to colleagues in Paris. In the late 1990s, by contrast, 264 books in that same Minsk Library identified from the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris were presented to a major state library in Kyiv, while many more remain in Minsk!<sup>58</sup>

In 2011 the Belarus National Library published a CD ROM entitled (in Russian) *French Autographs in the Holdings of the National Library of Belarus*, displaying the title pages of 65 books from Paris with autographed dedications by and/or to famous French politicians, writers, and other cultural leaders; images are also included of all those individuals whose dedications appear.<sup>59</sup> Full texts are presented for four notable books: *La ville radieuse* (Paris 1933) by Le Corbusier dedicated to Jean-Maurice Lahy, a psychology professor and Masonic leader; a specially printed volume of poetic vignettes by Paul Fort, *Naufrage sous l'Arc-en-ciel* (Paris, 1937), with a poetic dedication to the art-dealer Paul Rosenberg; and a volume of 100 political satirical cartoons by Jean Effel, *Deuxième Ritournelle* (1939), dedicated to the eminent French publicist Emmanuel Berl. A moving introduction to the CD by retired Professor Vladimir V. Makarov, a knowledgeable Belarus specialist on French culture, suggests the intriguing interrelationships revealed in dedicatory remarks of many of the authors, and with remarks about some of the individuals to whom the books were dedicated, noting those who were Holocaust victims, including Georges Mandel and Jean Zay, and survivor Léon Blum. Makarov's introduction does not explain that these books were seized by the ERR from famous French private Jewish libraries. But in fact all but a few names to whom the dedications pictured on the CD ROM are addressed appear on the ERR seizure lists described above now posted with our project on the Internet. Similarly, thanks to many surviving ERR files in Kyiv and some documents in Paris, we have reports of the ERR seizure of millions of books from state and Academy of Science libraries in Minsk. Professor Makarov also does not mention about the books' 'involuntary journey' in the convoy from Silesia, although he used those words in the title of an article about those French books published in the *Spoils of War Newsletter* in 1999.<sup>60</sup> A full copy of this CD ROM edition with an English-language translation of Makarov's Introduction is now displayed on the ERR Project website together with this article and the ERR lists and charts.

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<sup>58</sup> From uncatalogued documents examined by the author in the National Library of Belarus. The transfer to the State Library of the Ukrainian SSR is also confirmed in a letter to this author from Galina N. Oleinik, Director of the National Library of Belarus, 17 November 1999, and by the library in Kyiv.

<sup>59</sup> *Frantsuzskie avtografiy v fonde Natsional'noi biblioteki Belarusi*, compiled by S.G. Pakhomenkova and A.N. Steburako; edited with an introduction by V.V. Makarov; CD Rom (Minsk: Natsionalnaia biblioteka Belarusi, 2011). Earlier publications by Professor Makarov about the French books in Minsk are cited by Grimsted in "The Road to Minsk" (above note 24). I am grateful to Sophie Coeuré for alerting me to this publication and to Anatole Steburaka for presenting me a copy.

<sup>60</sup> Vladimir Makarov, "Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk," *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999), pp. 25–27 (also published in Russian). Makarov was earlier rector of the Institute of Foreign Languages in Minsk (now a university); he also served as Belorussian SSR representative to UNESCO in Paris.

In September 2015 a colloquium sponsored by the Turgenev Russian Library Association at the city hall (*mairie*) of the Fifth Arrondissement in Paris – “Les livres spoliés et leur destin depuis 1940” – heard a report on French books and manuscripts in Minsk by Belarus specialist Anatolii Steburaka. His report discussed books and manuscripts from the Reinach family, some fragmentary manuscripts from the Napoleonic period, and books from the Turgenev Library. He gave particular attention to the fragmentary eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century manuscripts he had been studying, and which he has now linked as of provenance in key French Masonic archives in Paris and Bordeaux.<sup>61</sup> My own report to the colloquium on the fate of the Turgenev Library in the context of books the ERR seized from Paris is likewise now available in the same French journal issue and on the journal website.<sup>62</sup>

In September 2016, the Kafedra on the Historico-Cultural Heritage of Belarus of the Republican Institute for Higher Education hosted a weeklong workshop and seminar entitled “Lost and Displaced Cultural Valuables: the Belarusian Context” organized by Anatolii Steburaka. Our special delegation led by Wesley A. Fisher, Research Director of the Claims Conference, consisted of the present author together with Martine Poulain and our Belgian colleague Michel Vermote. We spent a week in Minsk learning more about the foreign holdings in three Minsk libraries – the Kolasa Central Scientific Library of the Belarus Academy of Sciences, the Presidential Library of the Belarus Republic (PBRB) and the National Library of Belarus (NBB). We were openly received by Belarus librarians, who made all of the books and manuscripts requested available for our examination. We were able to compare our provisional charts of ERR seizures from France and Belgium with relevant catalogues, and especially the card catalogue of provenance for rare books in the National Library; we were astounded at how many victims’ names we were able to match with NBB holdings. We took part in several working sessions in the three libraries and a daylong seminar in our host academic institute.<sup>63</sup> A full report about our findings has yet to appear in print, but we all came away with a better understanding and concern about the extensive number of Nazi-looted books and a few important manuscripts remaining in the Belarus capital. Almost all of the foreign library materials involved had been seized by the ERR in Western Europe, as well as a few books the ERR had seized from Greece, the former Yugoslavia, and Estonia. We were extremely well received by Belarus librarians, and we now hope the present publication of ERR seizure lists from France and the forthcoming ones from Belgium will assist in the further identification of provenance of the many ERR-looted books remaining in Minsk.

The Belarus National Library, to be sure, is proud to have such a valuable collection of autographed volumes by such famous French writers and statesmen as Marcel Proust, Louise Weiss, Georges Clemenceau, and Léon Blum, among many others – including numerous members of the

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<sup>61</sup> Anatole Steburaka, “Les fonds français de Minsk: Les archives confisquées par les nazis durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et conservées en Biélorussie,” *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, no. 10 (November 2016), at [http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/les-fonds-francais-de-minsk\\_67072](http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/les-fonds-francais-de-minsk_67072). See also Steburaka’s earlier presentation in Paris, at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, “Livres et archives des Reinach spoliés sous l’occupation et retrouvés à Minsk (Belarus) par M. Anatole Stébouraka” in *Comptes rendus de l’Académie de Juillet à Octobre 2015*, Fascicule 2015-3 (CRAI 2015-3-StébourakaReinach.pdf), available in video at <http://www.aibl.fr/seances-et-manifestations/les-seances-du-vendredi/seances-2015/juillet-2015/article/seance-du-3-juillet?lang=fr>.

<sup>62</sup> P.K. Grimsted, “Livres et archives pillés en France par l’Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): La Bibliothèque Tourguéniev et les fonds français déplacés à Minsk,” *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, no. 10 (November 2016), at [http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/livres-et-archives-pilles-en-france-par-l-einsatzstab-reichsleiter-rosenberg-err\\_67074](http://bbf.enssib.fr/matieres-a-penser/livres-et-archives-pilles-en-france-par-l-einsatzstab-reichsleiter-rosenberg-err_67074). (The online version lacks the images in the printed journal.)

<sup>63</sup> See the NBB website report of our opening meeting with seminar presentations at that library at [http://www.nlb.by/portal/page/portal/index/detailed\\_news?param0=147792&lang=ru&rubricId=424](http://www.nlb.by/portal/page/portal/index/detailed_news?param0=147792&lang=ru&rubricId=424).

Rothschild clan. Librarians in Minsk today consider them ‘compensation’ for Belarus’ wartime losses, with no possible thought of return to their homeland. Yet the books themselves remain separated from their home, having endured the two seizures that brought them to Minsk. When we match those autographed images with the ERR seizure lists described above, the story of their first wartime seizure and their wartime odyssey becomes clearer. More books from the private libraries of Louise Weiss and Léon Blum, among thousands of others, were returned to France from OAD by U.S. Allies and/or from Tanzenberg by the British after the war, as apparent in Martine Poulain’s charts. Some of the personal archives of Louise Weiss, Léon Blum, and Paul Rosenberg came home from Russia more recently. The books with dedications to those same individuals in Minsk, along with those belonging to the hundred or more other prominent French individuals, have remained lost memory in France for 70 years. Today they are lost memory for their heirs and home libraries. One can only wonder about the moral justice to treat all such volumes with illustrious French autograph dedications and book stamps from looted private libraries as ‘compensation’ for the millions of books lost from Belarus state libraries in the course of the war.

Today we know more about the books in Minsk, but little is known today about the hundreds of thousands of other books looted from France, still not returned from the war and now scattered in other lands. Those too remain lost memory for the many public and private libraries that were once their home.

## Appendix 1: ERR Buchleitsstelle Reports on Paris Private Libraries

One- to six-page reports on 28 confiscated Jewish libraries from Paris (some with archival materials) are held with ERR files in YIVO (New York, NY), and one additional one was found among the ERR files in Kyiv, along with copies of the four others prepared in Berlin (1942). The five prepared in Berlin (1942) were compiled by Ulrich Cruse (later ZBHS deputy director), the rest by ERR staff members in Ratibor (1944). Many of the reports indicate if the books were intended for the ZBHS (Tanzenberg) or other destinations, and whether parts of the collection were destroyed. The 1944 reports prepared in Ratibor would suggest that at least part of those libraries ended the war there, from where many of the books were taken to Minsk.

A quarterly report from Ratibor (dated 7 July 1944) lists nine of the names below with libraries being processed. In some cases fewer crates were indicated in Ratibor than were seized in Paris, suggesting part were transferred elsewhere, or else possibly destroyed. Five of the names (+) do not appear on the compendium chart of victims from the ten ERR lists.

+C. Abenheimer;

Hans Arnhold, *German emigrant banker*;

+Corneille Bernheim;

Léon Braunschweig (Brunschwicg), *professor in the Sorbonne*;

Willy Braunschweig (Brunschwicg);

Jean-Georges Cahen-Salvador, *secretary-general, French Council of National Economy*;

Benjamin Crémieux, *writer and literary critic, secretary of the French PEN club*;

Martin Domke, *attorney*;

Edouard Esmond;

Edmond Fleg (Flegenheimer), *playwright*;

W[ilhelm] Friedmann, *professor from Leipzig*;

Georges Godchaux, *Luxembourg born journalist and critic*;

Ivan and Claire Goll, *writers, poets and translators*;

\*Mme Fernand Halphen [*Alice*], *widow of composer Fernand Halphen* (Berlin 1942);

\*Henri Hauser, *Algerian-born economics professor* (Berlin 1942);

\*Léon Kochnitzky, *Belgian-born poet and editor* (Berlin 1942);

\*Robert Lambert (Lichtschein), *Viennese-born banker* (Berlin 1942);

Gabriel Leven;

Henri Levy-Ullmann, *attorney and law professor*;

+A. Levy-Villard;

Georges (Géo) London, *journalist*;

+George Löw;

Anatole Muhlstein, *Polish diplomat in exile* (married to Diane de Rothschild);

\*Israel William Oualid, *Algerian born professor of Political Economy* (Berlin 1942)

+Ludolf Rosenheim;

Victor Schiff, *German emigrant*;

Jacques Schiffrin, *Baku-born editor and publisher Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*;;

Paul Winkler, *director of the Jewish "Opera Mundi"*;

Hélène van Zuylen de Nyefelt de Harr (*née* Rothschild), *writer*.

Copies of these reports (except for Oualid) are now held by the YIVO archives in New York City, RG 1215: Berlin Collection, Series I: Germany, G1223, also listed in Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record*, Chapter 10: USA, p. 174.

\* Copies also in TsDAVO, 3676/2/1 (free download available on the TsDAVO website).