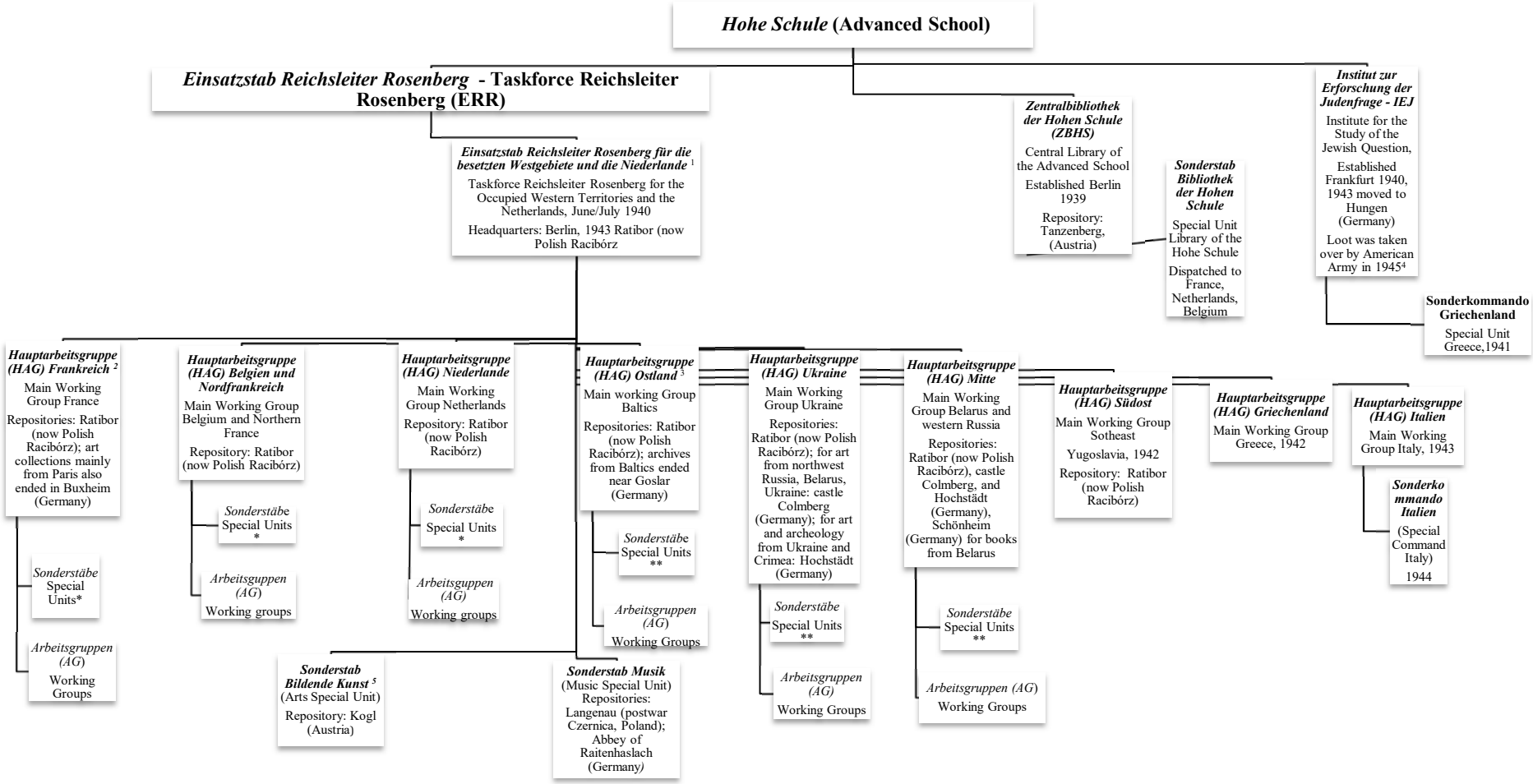
APPENDICES

APPENDICES TO PART 1

A. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS (ERR, RSHA)

Chart (I) Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg - Organizational Chart



* Special units for visual arts, music, prehistory, libraries, theater, folklore, science, genealogy, etc.
** Special units for library, archives, research, prehistory, etc.
[1] In 1941, alongside operation Barbarossa and the invasion of the Soviet lands, the ERR dropped the "western" designation and used the name "for the Occupied Territories" (für die besetzten Gebiete).
[2] From 1943 onwards, the ERR was also operational in Marseille and Nice where it established special commandos (Sonderkommando).
[3] Since 1941, Rosenberg was also the head of the Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (or RMbO) which oversaw the Reich Commissariat Ostland (Reichskommissariat Ostland, RKO) and the Reich Commissariat Ukraine (Reichskommissariat Ukraine, RKU). The ERR worked along these geographic lines, following the civil administration of the RMbO.
[4] The ERR looting sprees, first in the west (France, Belgium and the Netherlands) and later in Eastern Europe, caused the Institute's library to claim that it held the world's largest specialized library on Judaica. By the end of the war, the library held about two million books. Some books fell victim to a bomb that hit the building, while the remainder was taken over by the Americans and later distributed by the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR).
[5] In France the ERR art-looting program was run by the Sonderstab Bildende Kunst.

Chart (II) Alfred Rosenberg – Political Career

1933

Leiter des Aussenpolitischen Amt

(APA; Leader of the Foreign Policy Office) - part of NSDAP

→

1933

Reichsleiter (Reich Leader)

→

1934

Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (DBFU)

(Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP; or office Rosenberg)

- The DBFU developed special offices for art and music, and by 1938 the *Amt Wissenschaften* (Science); by 1940 the DBFU oversaw the planning for the *Hohe Schule.*

↓

1934

Reorganization of Rosenberg's office: *Kanzlei Rosenberg* (Chancellery Rosenberg)

The Kanzlei oversaw APA and DBFU.

→

1940, January

Decree for the establishment of the *Hohe Schule* with Rosenberg as its head

- The *Kanzlei Rosenberg* and *Hohe Schule*, although two separate entities, were intertwined. The *Hohe Schule* had numerous sub-offices: *Institut für die Erforschung der Judenfrage* (Frankfurt; March 1940), *Institut für Indogermanische Geistesgeschichte* (Munich) *und für Reiligionswissenschaften* (Halle), *Institut für Biologie* (Stuttgart), and *Institut für Übersee und weltanschauliche Kolonialforschung.*

→

1940, June/July

Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg

(ERR; Taskforce Rosenberg)

The ERR was part of the NSDAP and an offshoot of the DBFU;

↓

1941, April

Beauftragter für die zentrale Bearbeitung der Fragen des Osteuropäischen Raums

(Appointee for the Central Handling of Questions Relating to Eastern Europe)

→

1941, July

Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete

(Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories) RMfdbO [or RMdO]

The Reich Ministry was the central office for the Reich Commissariat Ostland *(Reichskommissariat Ostland)* as well as the Reich Commissariat Ukraine (*Reichskommissariat Ukraine)*.

Chart (III) *Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete* & Looting

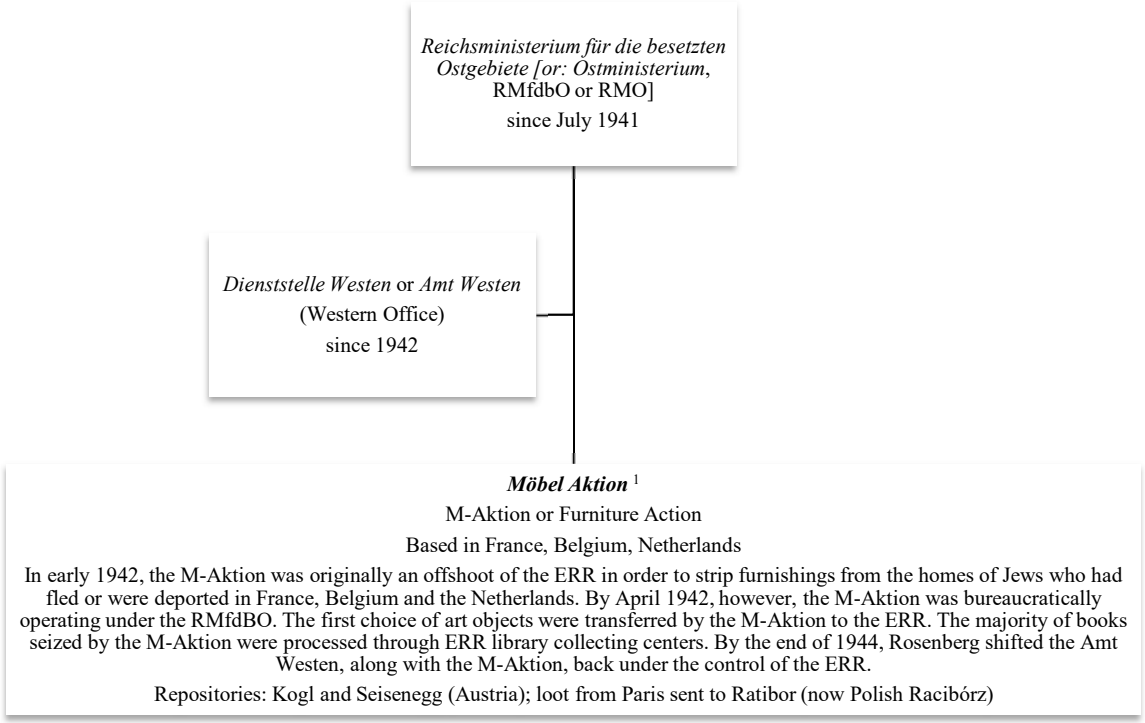


Chart (I) – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA): Organizational Relationships

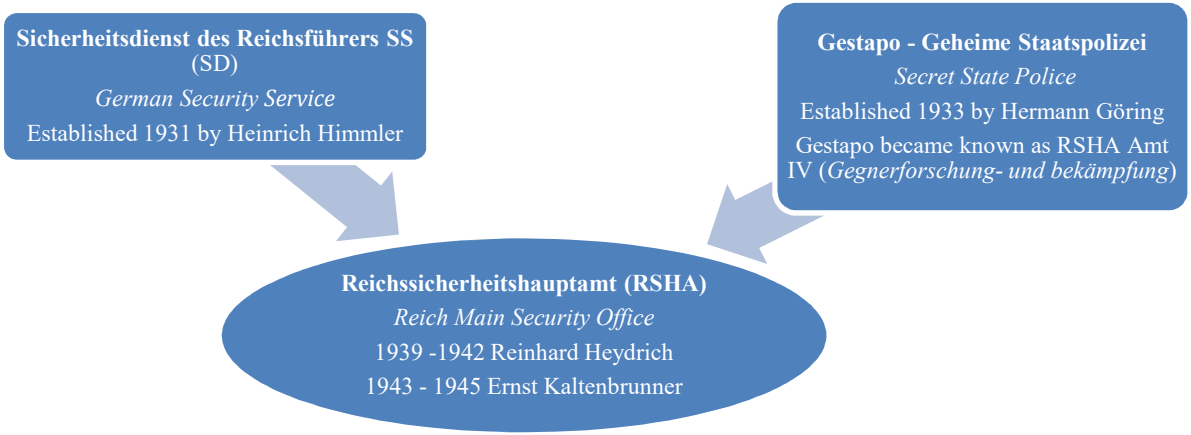


Chart (II) – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA): Organizational Structure

Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA)

Established in 1939

Headquarters: Berlin

Amt VII "Kultur" (culture)

Responsible for the looting of Jewish books and archives.

Geography of Looting

Germany itself, as well as territories annexed to the Reich: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland;

.

Repositories of Loot

Books, 1943: (1) from Berlin to Niemes, now Czech Mimoň [Sudetenland]; (2) Hebrew books were sorted in the Terezin concentration camp; (3) RSHA Masonic library material sent to castle Schlesiersee (now Polish Sława); additional book collection sites in Hauska (Czech Houska) and Schloss Neufalkenburg (now Czech Nový Falkenburk); Amt VII library storage in Schloss Neu-Puerstein (now Czech Nový Berstejn); books that remained in Berlin were confiscated by Soviet Trophy Brigades but some 77,603 were collected at the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD).

Archives, 1943: Jewish and Masonic material was sent to Schloss Fürstenstein (now Polish Książ) in Silesia; in April/May 1944 transferred onwards to castle Wölfelsdorf (now Polish Wilkanów); included loot by RSHA predecessors Gestapo and SD.

B. THE FATE OF THREE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS THAT ILLUSTRATE THE IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE HOLOCAUST ON JUDAICA COLLECTIONS IN EUROPE,[584] JULIE-MARTHE COHEN

Provenance research on Judaica involves understanding and researching the migration paths of ceremonial objects during and after the Second World War. The following is intended to provide insight on possible migration paths of Jewish ceremonial objects after their confiscation. The examples try to show that, although we have less knowledge about ceremonial objects than about books and archives, in many instances the migration paths of objects more or less follow the same migration paths of books and archives as traced by Patricia Grimsted. Her findings therefore may serve researchers to establish parallels (for her publications see https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Patricia_Grimsted/publications).

The Second World War and the Holocaust had a profound and dramatic impact on Judaica collections in Europe. Both institutional and private collections were confiscated, looted, destroyed, melted down, carried off and sold. The ceremonial objects, books and archives that the Nazis looted all over Europe were shipped to one of their pseudo-scientific institutions. After the war, when the Western Allies discovered the loot, most often the objects could not be returned to their former owners. The Jews had been brutally murdered, and nothing remained of the once flourishing Jewish religious communities and Jewish cultural institutions. Heirless objects and objects that had belonged to German Jewish communities were distributed among Jewish institutions and communities outside Europe or ended up in non-Jewish institutions.[585]

In the framework of the international agreements that were made in the last two decades, museum professionals and other researchers have made a commitment to serious provenance research of their collections. They are searching for lost collections or individual items, or are trying to identify the provenance of displaced objects. A considerable number of scholars have dealt with the fate of Jewish books and archives, but ceremonial objects have had far less attention. The American historian and archival specialist Patricia Kennedy Grimsted has published influential articles on the fate of archives and book collections that were confiscated by the Nazis. She has traced their war and postwar paths and has unfolded several patterns. Grimsted points to the fact that in trying to find lost libraries, or to identify the provenance of displaced ones, it is 'most essential to know first, what Nazi agency plundered these objects and second, where these objects ended the war.' In the case of books, the two principal plundering agencies were the so called Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg or ERR and the Reichsicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office) or RSHA. The competition for the spoils between these two agencies was sometimes a determining factor for the fate of the objects.

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[584] This text is based on a lecture given by Julie-Marthe Cohen in the framework of The Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe, Keter: A Professional Training Course for Museum Experts in Ukraine, Lviv, 23-26 January 2012.

[585] Although the United States, the United Kingdom, and France generally dealt with looted moveable property according to the general principle of escheat, which implies that heirless property would be returned to the nation from which it was plundered, including Germany, Jewish groups insisted that Jewish property should not remain in Germany. Thus, JCR policy was to ensure distribution of Jewish ritual objects to countries other than Germany. See Dana Herman, Hashavat Avedah, p. 47 and Katharina Rauschenberger, "The Judaica collection of Frankfurt's Museum Jüdischer Altertümer and its worldwide dispersion after 1945," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 95. See also Constantin Goschler, "Jewish Property and the Politics of Restitution in Germany after 1945," Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, Philipp Ther, *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe*, New York 2008, pp. 113-133. See also Ayaka Takei, "'The Gemeinde Problem": The Jewish Restitution Successor Organization and the Postwar Jewish Communities in Germany," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An international Journal*, 16, 2 (2002), p. 101-102.

In this article I will focus on the fate of a number of Judaica collections that belonged to Jewish museums. In tracing their fate, we will see that, broadly speaking, the war and postwar paths of ceremonial objects and books followed the same pattern. The patterns are quite numerous, however, so for the sake of clarity we will limit ourselves here to two of the main patterns Grimsted describes. These are the following: Objects that were looted by the ERR were shipped to the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (IEJ) in Frankfurt, many of which were evacuated to Hungen and then were discovered in Germany by the Western Allies in 1945. In the following years these objects found their way to Israel, the United States and other countries

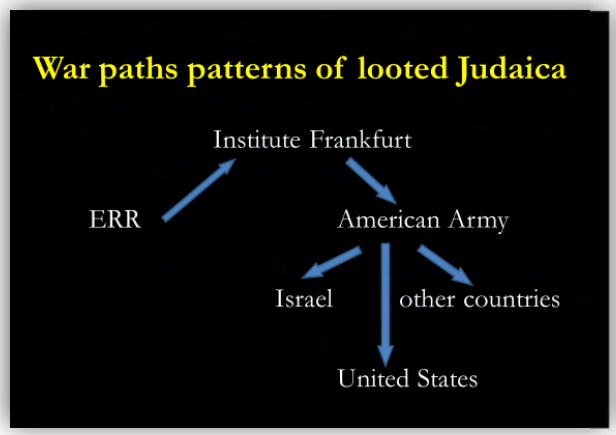


Figure 11

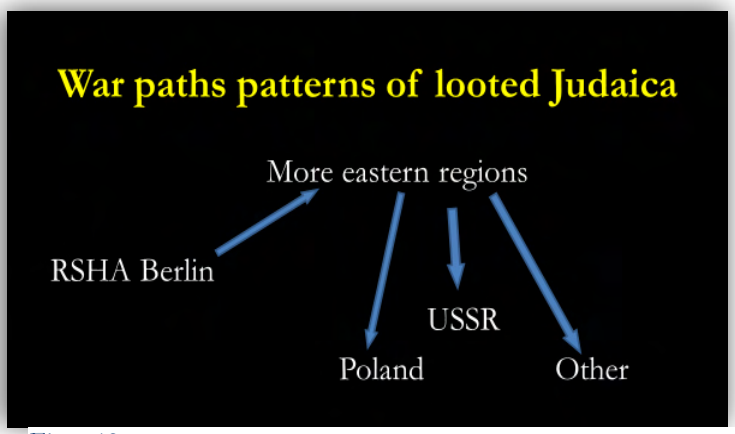


Figure 12

(fig. 11). The other plundering agency, the RSHA, had its main office in Berlin but was forced to evacuate the loot to more eastern regions when Berlin was under attack by air raids. After the war, part of these objects were discovered by the Red Army and brought to the Soviet Union as war trophies. Another part was found by the Polish authorities and remained on Polish soil. Stolen items also found their way to institutions in Czechoslovakia (fig. 12).

This article is structured as follows: With Grimsted's patterns in mind, we will first look at the fate of the collections of the Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam, of the Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (YIVO) in Vilna and of the Jewish Museum of Berlin. Thereafter we will turn to the postwar period, and will see how Judaica collections were further affected in countries under communist control, particularly in the cities of Lviv, Prague and Budapest. In my summary I include some final remarks.

Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg ERR[586]

In Western Europe, one of the the main organizations that was involved in the seizure of cultural items was the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR). This was a unit set up by Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, to collect, register and supervise cultural objects of enemies of the Reich. In March 1941, the first institute of Rosenberg's *Hohe Schule* opened in Frankfurt a/M. In this so-called *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question) the looted archives, libraries and ceremonial objects were studied on a pseudo-scientific basis to prove that Judaism was degenerate.

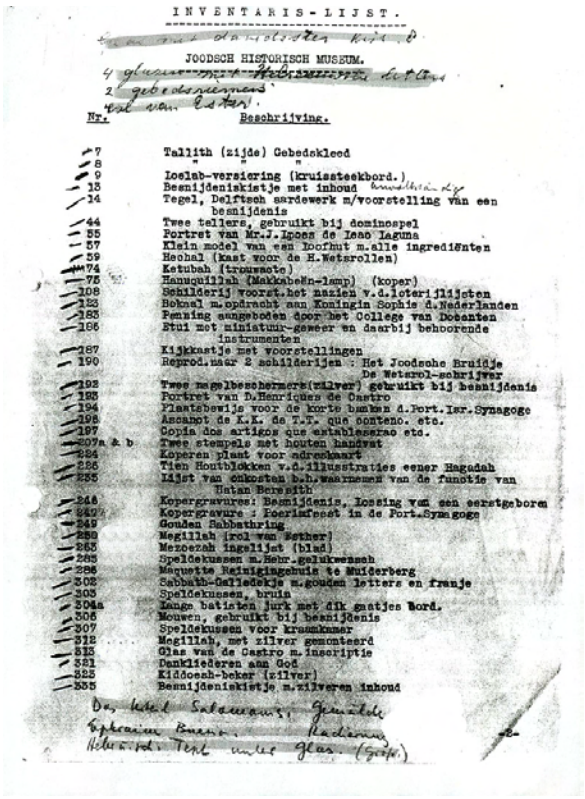
[586] Please see chapter "1.2 Nazi Agencies Engaged in the Looting of Material Culture" for more information.

Figure 13: The Amsterdam municipal air raid shelter in the dunes at Castricum with crates from the Jewish Historical Museum, on the right, c. 1941. Photo collection, Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, Netherlands.

One of the collections that fell victim to Rosenberg's unit was that of the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam.[587] The Museum was founded in 1930 and officially opened in 1932. When the Germans occupied the Netherlands in May 1940, the museum building was closed. Between October 1939 and July 1942, the Museum entrusted around 600 objects for safekeeping to Amsterdam's Municipal Museum. For security reasons, the objects were stored in a shelter 30 kilometres from Amsterdam (fig. 13).

An inventory list of the objects that were transferred has survived. In May 1943 the museum objects were confiscated by the ERR and sent to one of its main storage depots in Amsterdam. The items on the inventory list were ticked off when the boxes were inspected by a German employee, who also added some entries in German handwriting (fig. 14).

Figure 14: Inventory list Jewish Historical Museum, ca. 1941. Document collection JHM.



INVENTARIS-LIJST.

JOODSCH HISTORISCH MUSEUM.

Nr.	Beschrijving.
7	Tallith (zijde) Gebedskleed
8	" "
9	Loelab-versiering (kruissteekbord.)
13	Besnijdeniskistje met inhoud
14	Tegel, Delftsch aardewerk m/voorstelling van een besnijdenis
44	Twee tellers, gebruikt bij domenspel
55	Portret van Mr.J. Lpoez de Leao Laguna
57	Klein model van een hoofhut m.alle ingrediënten
59	Heehal (kast voor de H.Wetsrollen)
74	Ketubah (trouwacte)
75	Hanuquillah (Makkabeën-lamp) (koper)
108	Schilderij voorst.het nazien v.d.letterlijdsten
133	Boksel m.opdracht aan Koningin Sophie d.Nederlanden
183	Penning aangeboden door het College van Doctanten
186	Stui met miniatuur-geweer en daarbij behoorende instrumenten
187	Kijkkastje met voorstellingen
190	Reprod.naar 2 schilderijen : Het Joodsche Bruidje De Wetsrol-schrijver
192	Twee zegelbeschermers(zilver) gebruikt bij besnijdenis
193	Portret van D.Henriques de Castro
194	Plaatsbewijs voor de korte banken d.Port.Isr.Synagoge
198	Ascanot de K.K. de T.T. que contenc. etc.
197	Copia dos artigos que estabelecerao etc.
207a & b	Twee stempels met houten handvat
224	Koperen plant voor adreskaart
226	Tien Houtblokken v.d.illustraties eener Hagadah
235	Lijst van onkosten b.h.waarnemen van de functie van Intan Beresith
246	Kopergravures: Besnijdenis, Lossing von een eerstgeboren
247	Kopergravure : Feestmaal in de Port.Synagoge
249	Gouden Sabbathring
250	Megillah (rol van Esther)
263	Mezoezah ingelijst (blad)
285	Speldekussen m.Hebr.gelukwensch
298	Maquette Reinigingshuis te Muiderberg
302	Sabbath-Gebedekje m.gouden letters en franje
303	Speldekussen, bruin
304a	Lange batisten jurk met dik gestikte Hord.
306	Mouwen, gebruikt bij besnijdenis
307	Speldekussen voor kraamkamer
312	Megillah, met zilver gemonteerd
315	Glas van de Castro m.inscriptie
321	Dankliederen aan God
325	Kiddoesh-beker (zilver)
333	Besnijdeniskistje m.zilveren inhoud

Figure 15: Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, Otto Paul (?), acting director of the Institut (left), Johannes Pohl, the Catholic theologian and director of the Hebrew section of the Institut library (centre)), and Wilhelm Grau (probably), first director of the Institut, looking at Judaica in a showcase, 1941. Wolff & Tritschler / Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

Finally, in August 1943 nine crates with Museum items were sent to Rosenberg's Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt. Very little is known about how ceremonial objects were regarded at the Institute. Were the crates unpacked, were the objects sorted and studied? (fig. 15)

[587] For the extensive war and post-war history of the museum, see Julie-Marthe Cohen, "Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011.

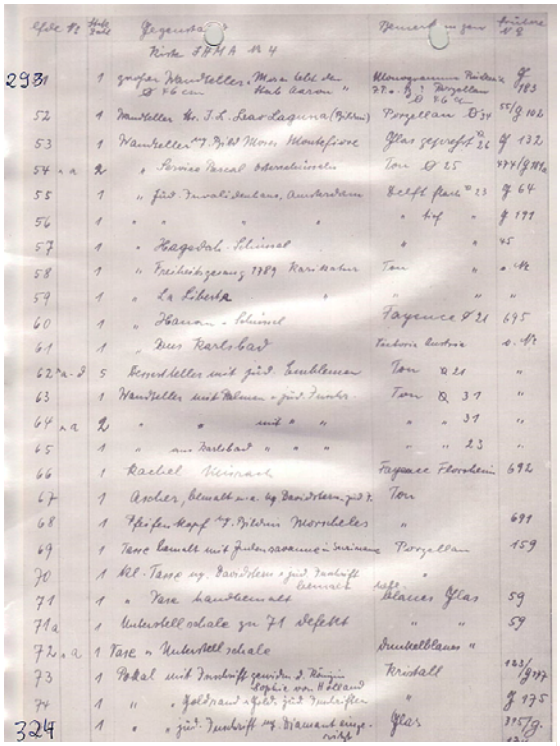


Figure 16: Inventory list made by the Nazis, November 1943. NACP, see Fold3 database, WW II, Holocaust Collection, OMGUS – Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives, Cultural Property Claim Applications, L35 Netherlands, Joodsch Historisch Museum Bav., p. 12.

The ceremonial objects of the Jewish Historical Museum did not remain in Frankfurt. Towards the end of 1943, air raids on Frankfurt forced the Nazis to evacuate the Institute. It was relocated to Hungen, a small town about 60 kilometers north of Frankfurt. It may have been on this occasion that another inventory, in German handwriting, was made that includes measurements for some of the items (fig. 16).

In early April 1945, with Nazi Germany on the brink of defeat, US Army units found the store of stolen material. In a US report we read that the loot, which included items from many collections, was distributed over eight buildings. The sixteenth-century Hungen Castle had been used to house part of the collection of the *Museum Jüdischer Altertümer*, Jewish Museum of Frankfurt and numerous other materials. Objects were also stored in a modern single-story building that contained numerous cases of books, ritual furnishings, objects, family portraits, photographs, card-index boxes and other records from the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam and the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum. In addition, there was Jewish property from Thessaloniki, Lodz, Kiev, Minsk, Norway and other occupied cities and countries. A brickyard on the outskirts of Hungen held books, ceremonial hangings and some art-historical archives from French, Russian, Scandinavian and Dutch collections under a damaged roof. Numerous ceremonial items, unpacked and poorly protected, were also kept in the Protestant church, the Finance Office and two other locations. Finally, Spar-und Leihkasse Hungen's bank vault was also used as a depot. The US report states that it included one sack containing two fine eighteenth-century silver crowns of David, possibly belonging to the Portuguese-Jewish Community of Amsterdam, Holland;[588] a wooden box containing a silver oil-lamp, a circumcision knife, bronze and silver medals, mezuzot, and ritual spoons and other objects (fig. 17). A case contained family commemorative medals, massive eighteenth-century solid silver Torah handles, and circumcision knives. According to the inventory list, certain objects were broken, such as a glass with an inscription dated 1851. This object corresponds with inventory number 313 of the Jewish Historical Museum collection.

Figure 17: Objects from the Jewish Historical Museum and Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish Community, found by US soldiers in the Spar- und Leihkasse zu Hungen's bank vault. April 1945. Lincoln Kirstein collection, in the possession of Lynn H. Nicolas, Washington, DC, USA.

According to the US report, most of the buildings in Hungen were in a very poor state. For example, the items stored in the brickyard are reported to have been in poor condition and partially exposed to weather

[588] FOLD3, World War II, Holocaust Collection, Ardelia Hall Collection: Omgus Records, Activity Reports, 1945, Third U.S. Army Reports – January thru May 1945, pp. 31-40, esp. 34-36.

and vermin. Boxes and safes containing valuable items and incunabula were broken into and their contents ransacked during the first few days after the US Army arrived. The maltreatment and theft was also reported by a Hohe Schule curator who was interrogated in late July 1947. He stated that 'books were handled very carelessly; valuable material as silverware was better taken care of, draperies if not burnt already in Frankfurt were used to wrap private furniture of people who worked at the Hohe Schule.'[589]

Offenbach Archival Depot

Figure 13: Major D.P.M. Graswinckel by his car, on the left, in front of the Offenbach Central Collecting Point, 1946. Photo collection JHM.

Early in 1946, objects found in Hungen were transferred to a huge storage building in the nearby town of Offenbach that became known as the Offenbach Archival Depot or OAD (fig. 18). It was one of the four Central Collecting Points (CCP) the American army had established to secure recovered cultural assets and arrange for their quick and orderly return to their countries of origin. Offenbach became the depot for more than 3,000,000 books and other looted cultural items that were discovered in Hungen and in other locations in the American zone. Approximately one third of these cultural items were identifiably Jewish, most of which had been left heirless as a result of Nazi atrocities.

After arrival in the Offenbach depot, the crates were unpacked and the objects sorted. As for the ceremonial objects, these were neatly arranged in cabinets according to type and barred with iron bars in different rooms (figs. 19, 20, 21).

Figures 19, 20, 21: Storage of ceremonial objects at the Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946. A number of objects were identified as belonging to the Jewish Historical Museum and Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam. Photo collection JHM and NACP.

[589] M 1947 - Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records: Series: Status of Monuments, Museums, and Archives; Category: Hungen Investigation, Hohe Schule (online available at: https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232897750)

Figure 20

Figure 21

Restitution

How did the restitution of the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum come about? Thanks to efficient wartime documentation of art stolen from the Netherlands and close cooperation with the US Army, the return of items via the collecting points soon gathered pace. In June 1945, the Dutch government established the so called Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (SNK, Dutch Art Foundation) that was to track down and manage stolen works of art and restore them to their original owners. Two Dutch officers working for the SNK visited the Offenbach Depot where they identified and selected the Jewish cultural items of Dutch origin. In the course of 1946 objects of the Jewish Historical Museum and of Dutch Jewish communities were restituted in five shipments to the Netherlands.[590] There the crates were handed over to the Dutch Art Foundation. According to an inventory list with poor descriptions, around 300 objects were returned to the Museum, mainly ceremonial objects for domestic and synagogue use, as well as some engravings. The objects were stored until some time before the reopening of the museum in 1955. Today, we estimate that around 400 items remain missing, among which are many documents. What happened to

[590] M 1942 - Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946-1951: Offenbach Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Object Restitution and Custody Records; Category: Netherlands OAD 13, pp. 68-75, 77; (online available at: https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232163020) The 30/31 October 1946 shipping contained the largest number of Jewish ceremonial objects; pages 65 and 66 include packing lists (in German) of boxed objects; pages 78-80 refer to the shipment on 5 October 1946, which included 6 coins; pages 89-90, and page 93, refer to the shipment of 3 boxes, with i.e.. glasses, hanukah lamp (‘*macabeeenlamp*’), three silver rimonim and one silver [Torah] crown on 30 August 1946; pages 124-126 refer to shipment on 31 May 1946 of 13 coins; pages 146-147, refer to shipment on 9 March 1946 of ‘Various Dutch Collections. Contains also pictures and objects belonging to the Jewish Historial Museum, Amsterdam’; For an overview of all the Dutch shipments, see page 151. For Jewish ceremonial objects, not identified as belonging to the Jewish Historical Museum, see pages 113-115 dated 26 June 1946, with 2 boxes DIV, containing Toroth cloth covers. Described as “Contents in fair condition”.

these items is a matter of speculation. They may have been lost, damaged, stolen or destroyed and eventually may resurface in auctions or in institutions that have started provenance research on their collections.[591]

Like the Jewish Historical Museum collection, other collections that could be identified were returned from the Offenbach Archival Depot to their countries of origin. Such was the case with the renowned Jewish library Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana that was restituted to Amsterdam almost complete and some of the books looted from the rabbinical college library in Rome that returned to Italy in 1948.[592]

YIVO

The Central Collecting Point in Offenbach (OAD) not only included objects from Western European countries. Rosenberg had also been active in the Baltic States in Eastern Europe and the objects he had confiscated there were also shipped to the Frankfurt Institute. In 1941 the Nazis marched into Lithuania. Soon after, the ERR arrived in Vilna, that was one of the cities with a flourishing Jewish culture. Its most renowned cultural institute was the Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (YIVO) that conducted the interdisciplinary study of all aspects of the culture of East European Jews. It became active in 1925 and had an important archive and library. In the 1930s it established its own art museum and its collection included religious art and liturgical objects and works by contemporary Jewish artists. In Vilna, Jewish collections were also held by the Jewish Museum that belonged to the Ansky Historical and Ethnographic Society.[593] Founded by the Association of Enthusiasts of Ancient Jewish History it was opened officially in March 1913, on the premises of the Vilnius Jewish community building at St. Ignatius lane 1–3a (today: Vincas Kudirka square).
Its collection consisted mainly of artefacts collected from the territory of the Polish Commonwealth and Russia and works of art by contemporary Jewish artists, as well as Jewish folk art.[594] Another, small museum that had Judaica objects belonged to the Society of Jewish Historical Art Lovers and was opened in 1927.[595] In 1942 the ERR confiscated the rich YIVO collections and the collections of the other Jewish cultural institutions and Vilna's synagogues. The most valuable objects were selected and shipped to Rosenberg´s Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt. YIVO´s library survived almost in its entirety. After the war part of the collection was discovered in Frankfurt, part in Hungen.[596] Later, part of the YIVO collection was identified in the Offenbach Archival Depot. In the summer of 1947, 420 crates with about 80,000 items were shipped from Offenbach to the YIVO headquarters in New York, re-established in 1940. But what happened to the other cultural valuables from Vilna that had become heirless objects?[597]

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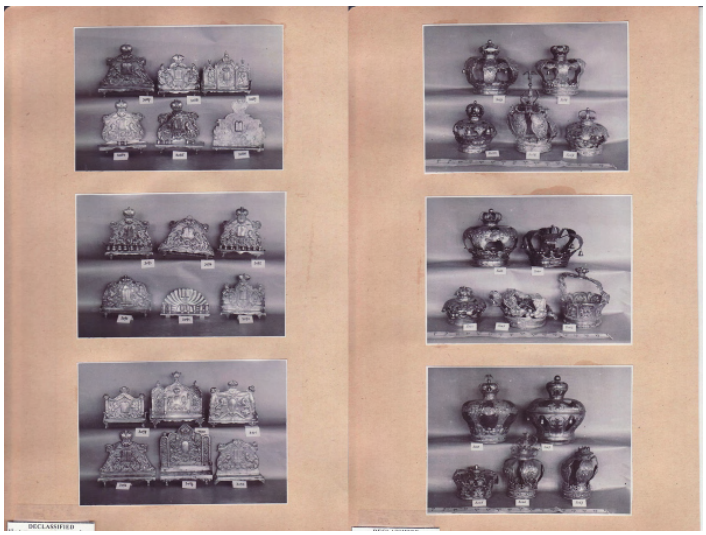
[591] In 2015-2017 several objects of the prewar Jewish Historical Museum were discovered. A painting by Benjamin Prins, prewar inventory number 108, is in a private collection. The Israel Museum in Jerusalem holds several objects of the prewar Jewish Historical Museum that can be viewed in the Israel Museum World War II provenance research online database, see, for instance, s.v. amulet, amuletic jewelry, Persia 18th c., Wiesbaden CCP number V4.
[592] For the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, see F.J. Hoogewoud, 'The Nazi Looting of Books and its American "Antithesis"', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 26 (1992), pp. 158-192. For the Rabbinical College Library in Rome, see Final report of the Commission for the Recovery of the Bibliographic Heritage of the Jewish Community in Rome, looted in 1943: http://www.governo.it/Presidenza/USRI/confessioni/rapporto/rapporto_fi nale_attivita_Commissione2.pdf.
[593] Vilma Gradinskaite, "History of Art Collection in Vilnius Jewish Museums: from the Time of the Russian Empire to the Present," Art in Jewish Society, Vol. XV, 2016, pp. 263-270.
[594] Nawojka Cieslinska-Lobkowicz, 'The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overwiew', Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 133-134.
[595] Ibid, p. 134.
[596] Ibid, p. 153.
[597] So far as the books are concerned, they were kept in secret for 40 years in a church under the Lithuanian Book Chamber and then the National Library. See the Edward Blank YIVO Collections Project (partly financed by the Claims Conference) at https://www.yivo.org/Vilna-Collections-Project.

The American Zone in Germany: JRSO and JCR (fig. 22)

Like the ceremonial objects from the Jewish cultural institutions in Vilna, the majority of objects that were found in the American zone and were collected in the Offenbach Archival Depot had become heirless objects that could not be returned to their former owners. The question of what should be done with these objects arose in the American occupied zone as early as 1945 and was a political issue from the outset. To whom did these heirless objects belong? According to traditions of escheat, heirless property would be returned to the nation from which it was plundered — even Germany.[598] However, for international Jewish groups it was unthinkable that this property should escheat to the very state that had tried to annihilate the Jews. To prevent this, the creation of a Jewish successor organization was imperative. Thus, in May 1947, a general Jewish trusteeship was formed, which was called the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO). It was recognized by the American Military Government in Germany as the agency authorized to assume control of ownerless private and communal Jewish property. JRSO would act as representative of the Jewish people and would make a collective claim to the ownerless properties. The cultural arm of JRSO, also established in 1947, was the so-called Jewish Cultural Reconstruction that was responsible for the distribution of heirless Jewish cultural, religious, and historical objects. At the basis of its distribution policy stood the principle that the greatest possible number of Jews should benefit from the material. Israel and the U.S.A. were to benefit most.[599]



Figures 23, 24: These photographs are only a small selection from approximately 200 pages, with three photos per page, showing unidentified and unclaimed ceremonial objects that were eventually distributed by JCR. NACP, see Fold3 database, WW II, Holocaust Collection, Ardelia Hall Collection: Wiesbaden Administrative Records, Cultural Object Movement and Control Records, Jewish Devotional Silver.

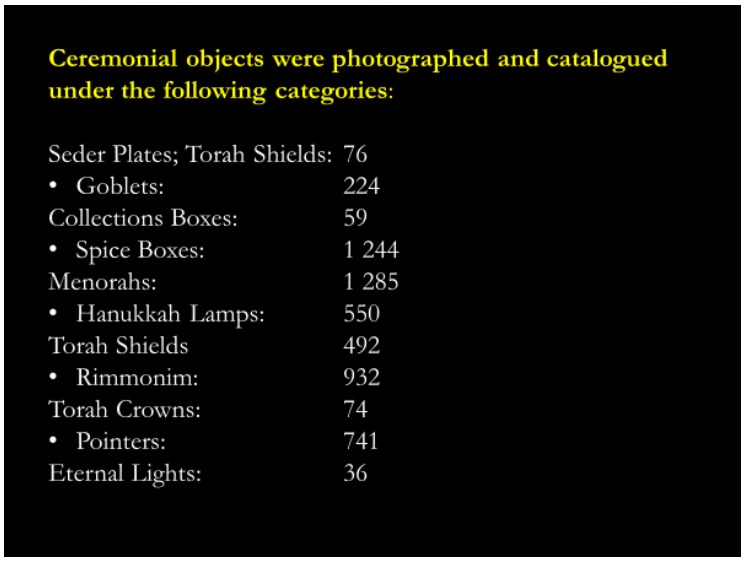


Figure 22

JCR operated from the American Central Collecting Point in Wiesbaden, one of the other American collecting points in Germany. It had received the unclaimed, heirless cultural objects that had remained in the Offenbach Archival Depot after its closure in 1949. In Wiesbaden 5,700 objects were classified and numbered, the majority coming from synagogues with visible

[598] Dana Herman, *Hashevat Avedah: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.*, PhD diss., McGill University, 2008, p. 5. There is no international law of escheat as such. Rather it is the case that most or all states have escheat laws, with various procedures.
[599] "Eighty-one percent of the cultural property was sent to Israel and the United States; nine percent was allocated to West European countries (with half going to Britain), and the remaining ten percent was distributed to more than fifteen other countries including South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and Canada." See: Herman, p. 7.

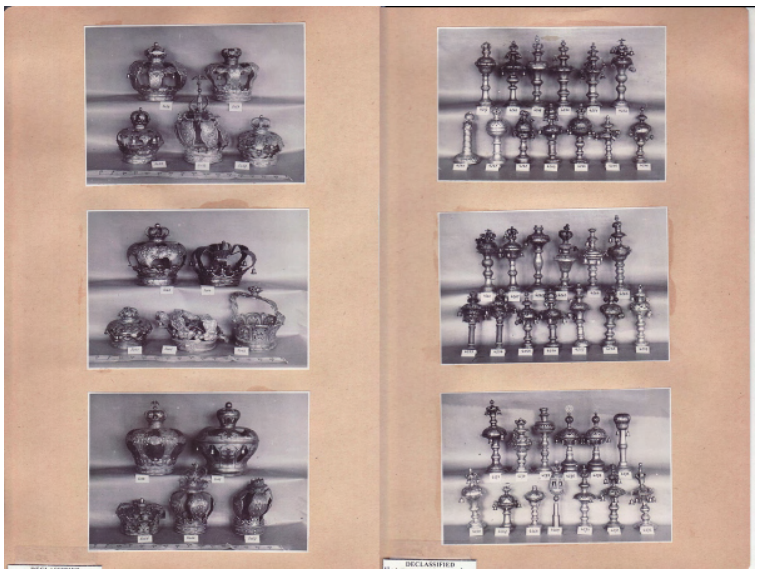


Figure 24

marks of willful destruction. Almost 85% of the recovered ceremonial objects originated in Eastern European countries (figs. 23-24).[600]

Under the leadership of Salo Baron, renowned professor of Jewish history at Columbia University in NY, a distribution committee met in February 1949 to establish how the silver and other ceremonial objects were to be shared. Among its members were museum professionals working in the United States who had previously been working in Jewish museums in Europe.[601] Mordecai Narkiss, director of the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, came to Wiesbaden to examine the objects. He divided the objects into two categories: those suitable as museum pieces and those appropriate for synagogue use. Narkiss was entitled the right of first refusal for museum objects. The remainder of these were to be shared among other established Jewish Museums in Tel Aviv, London, New York and Cincinnati. As for synagogue material, the committee recommended that one third should go to synagogues in Israel and one third to the United States, with the remaining third to be shared by other countries (fig. 25).

World distribution of ceremonial objects and Torah scrolls

Country	Museum pieces	Synagogue pieces	Scrolls
Israel	2,285	976	804 + 87 fragments
United States	1,326	1,824	110
Great Britain	245	66	12 (*s.* below)
France	125	219	*s.* below
Germany	31	89	
Western Europe (excl. France & Germany)		129	
Western Europe (incl. France & Great Britain)			98
South Africa	150	66	
Canada	151 (museum + synagogue)		
Argentina	150 (museum + synagogue)		
Peru	35 (museum + synagogue)		
Total	7,867		1,024

Figure 25

The Jewish Museum Berlin

Among the items that were distributed by JCR, were objects that had belonged to the Jewish Museum Berlin. The Jewish Museum was opened in 1933. After the November pogroms of 1938 (*Kristallnacht;* November pogrom) the museum was closed, its doors were sealed, and its collection was confiscated by the Nazis. What happened to the collection afterwards is not exactly known.[602] In 1945 a large part of the paintings collection was discovered in

[600] Ibid, p. 230.

[601] Stephen Kayser and Guido Schoenberger of the Jewish Museum in New York, Franz Landsberger of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and former curator of the Jewish Museum Berlin, and Rachel Wischnitzer of New York, who was a former scientific advisor at the Jewish Museum Berlin.

[602] Hermann Simon, „Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Was geschah nach dem 10. November 1938 mit den Beständen des Berliner Jüdischen Museums," Chana Schütz, Hermann Simon (eds), *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Das Berliner Jüdische Museum (1933-1938)*, Berlin 2011, pp. 17-46.

the American zone of Berlin, in a building that had housed the former Reichskulturkammer.[603] In 1949 the American Military Government passed the collection over to the Berlin branch office of JRSO that was then to deal with its restitution. The Jewish Community of Berlin took part in the negotiations and agreed that over 80% of the paintings be sent to Israel, stating that the transfer of these objects for them expressed "a visible sign to commemorate the murdered Jews of Berlin".[604] Only a few paintings, masterpieces, that were found by the British Military Authorities and were released into the hands of the JCR, found their way to the United States and are today in the Skirball Museum in Los Angeles.[605]

Figure 26

The RSHA and the repositories in Lower Silesia

Other parts of the collection of the Berlin Jewish Museum had a different fate. After confiscation, most of the collection was eventually evacuated from Berlin to Lower Silesia, where the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reichs Security Main Office, RSHA), that amalgamated the SD (Security Service of the SS), the Criminal Police (Kriminalpolizei) and the Gestapo, stored much of its loot. One of its departments, Amt VII, was responsible for the creation of antisemitic propaganda and was the major destination repository for books and archives. The RSHA transferred lots of their own cultural treasures along with those plundered from many countries to Lower Silesia when Allied bombing of Berlin intensified in 1943. Objects from the Berlin Jewish Museum were evacuated to one of the RSHA depots in the Klodzko region, possibly to a depot in Wilkanow (Wölfelsdorf) (fig. 26).

After discovery in 1945, the Polish authorities transferred these objects to nearby Bozkow (Eckersdorf), where they had established a depot for museum and cultural goods.[606]Among the objects were a couple of old printed books, files of the art collection of the Museum, and around 150 ritual objects, among which were dozens of lamps, a washing vessel from the Old Synagogue in Berlin, synagogue textiles, Torah crowns and a yad (pointer). In addition there were almost 4.000 graphics (water colours, drawings, lithos, etchings), reproductions and photographs.[607] Prior to the war these photographs had been used for lectures to disseminate knowledge about the collections of the Museum. They showed images of, for example, ritual objects, of synagogues and cemeteries in Central and Eastern Europe, of portraits and art works, and of

[603] Hermann Simon, *Auf der Suche*, op. cit. pp. 32-33.
[604] Ibid, pp. 35-36: „dass die jüdische Gemeinde in Berlin bereit ist, ein sichtbares Zeichen zum Andenken an die ermordeten Juden Berlins zu errichten".
[605] Grace Cohen Grossman, "The Scirball Museum JCR Research Project: Records and Recollections," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, pp. 323, 335. See also Dana Herman, *Hashava Avedat*, p. 216.
[606] Jakob Hübner, „Auf der Suche nach Objecten des Berliner Jüdischen Museums in Polen. Funde und Hypothesen," pp. 73-85, p. 80-81, in Chana Schütz und Hermann Simon (Hg): *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Das Berliner Jüdische Museum (1933-1938),* Berlin 2011.
[607] Jakob Hübner, *Auf der Suche*, p. 81-82.

modern architecture in Palestine. By 1935, with a collection of more than 3.600 images, the Berlin Jewish Museum had become the center for Jewish photographs.[608]

In September 1951, the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art transferred the Berlin objects to the so-called Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw – see below.[609]
The collection of the Berlin Jewish Museum was split up even more. Archival and other documents of the Museum that were stored in Lower Silesia were found by the Red Army and taken to Moscow. A box with silver and other cultural objects, also from the Berlin Museum, ended up in Moscow too. It is not known if the objects were taken there directly from Berlin or arrived via the Nazi storage depots in Lower Silesia. They were handed over to the Moscow Historical Museum and then transferred to the Museum of Religion and Atheism in Leningrad in 1954. Some of these objects may have been returned to Berlin in 1958 as part of a restitution of paintings.[610]

Figure 27: Top part of the Holy Ark from an unknown Warsaw (?) synagogue, first half of the 19th century. It was found at the German collecting point in the National Museum in Warsaw and given to the Jewish Historical Institute in 1951. Collection of the JHI, Warsaw, Poland.

The Jewish Historical Institute (ZIH) in Warsaw

Poland succeeded to the looted property that was discovered on Polish soil and considered German and Jewish cultural assets that were found in Poland a form of reparations for the losses the Polish state had endured. The majority of Judaica objects that were found in Nazi depots found their way to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (*Żydowski Instytut Historyczny* or ŻIH), such as the collection of the Berlin Jewish Museum referred to above. The Institute grew out of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland that was established in 1944 to supervise the organized search for looted assets. The Committee had immediately formed the Central Jewish Historical Commission that was to salvage cultural heritage and established archives, a library, a museum, and a photographic collection. In 1947 it was renamed the Jewish Historical Institute, also known as ZIH.

The Institute tried to secure as many looted Judaica objects as possible. In 1948 it received a significant collection that was discovered in the Kunzendorf (now Trzebieszowice) castle, in Lower Silesia. Among the objects were thousands of books, several hundred manuscripts and old prints, and three *parochot* and 11 Esther scrolls of unknown origin. Beside castles, museums were also used as collecting points by the Nazis. In 1949 the Ministry of Culture and Art instructed the Municipal Museum in Torun to transfer 89 artefacts to the Institute. These had been looted from synagogues in Chelmno Province, including the synagogue of Chelmza, one of the largest Jewish communities in the region. Objects also arrived from the National Museum in Warsaw, such as some pieces of a wooden Torah ark that probably originated from one of the many small private synagogues in Warsaw (fig. 27).

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[608] Ibid, p. 77.
[609] About 35 glass slides belonging to the collection of the Berlin Jewish Museum were discovered in an eighteenth-century castle in Schlesiersee (Slawa), about 80 km southwest of Poznan. These show images of works by mostly contemporary artists like Hermann Struck (1876-1944), Max Fabian (1873-1923) and the Polish artist Henryk Glicentstein (1870-1942). Eventually, these glass slides found their way to the State museum Wojewodschaft Lubuskie in Góra (Grünberg) in Poland. Most probably they were stored in the Selisian city Slawa (Schlesiersee), an 'Ausweichstelle' organized in the local Castle by the Amt VII of the RHSA in August 1943. See Jakob Hübner, *Auf der Suche*, p. 77.
[610] Ibid, p. 45.

The National Museum had been used as a depot by the *Einsatzkommando Paulsen*, a special unit that was established on the order of the SS and Gestapo head Heinrich Himmler to secure artistic and historic objects in Poland. Most of the objects it confiscated, including Jewish libraries and Jewish ceremonial objects, were sent off to the RSHA in Berlin. In 1950 the Jewish Historical Institute's collection was expanded by more than 100 artefacts assembled by the Polish branch of the American humanitarian organization the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Among the objects were sixty-six ceremonial objects of unknown provenance, such as Torah crowns, yadot, menorot, spice boxes and Torah shields. Private ritual objects that are believed partly to have been stolen from Greek Jews from Thessaloniki on their way to Auschwitz, were passed on to the Institute by the Ministry of Culture and Art in 1951. These objects, mostly *rimonim* and Torah mantles, had been discovered in another German depot, in the Eckersdorf (now Polish Bożków) castle. Finally, in 1952 the State Museum at Majdanek in Lublin contributed approximately 1,100 objects to the Institute, among which were ceremonial objects that had belonged to the destroyed Jewish communities of the Lublin region (fig. 28).

Not all looted Judaica found its way to the Jewish Historical Institute. A considerable number of looted objects has remained in museums used for storage by the Nazis. In addition, museum collections may include Jewish ceremonial objects that circulated in abundance after the war. They were stolen during the war by the non-Jewish local population or found in the ruins of ghettos before appearing on the black market or at antique markets. Finally, some professionally managed museums were able to enrich their Judaica collections by recovering a good deal of silver Judaica from so called silver scrap metal that was kept in special depots, thus saving these objects from being melted down. The National Museum in Warsaw has the largest such collection: of its 340 Judaica objects, over 250 were recovered from scrap.[611]

Figure 28: Showcase with objects of the Institute's permanent exhibition. The second shelf from the top holds some of the rimmonim of the Jews of Thessalonika. All the Judaica in the showcase were found at the German collecting point in Bozkow (formerly Eckersdorf), Lower Silesia and given to the JHI by the Ministry of Culture and Art in 1951. Collection of the JHI, Warsaw, Poland.

Judaica Collections under Communist Control

After the war, communist policies in the Eastern European countries had a dramatic impact on Judaica objects, and Jewish cultural institutions suffered further considerable losses. Expropriation went hand in hand with the incorporation of Jewish collections in state-owned institutions. Again collections were split up, illegally seized or sold (often on a flourishing black market).

In several regions that were connected to the USSR in 1939, Soviet occupation had already severely affected the status of Jewish cultural assets even before the German invasion. In Lviv, for example, already during the Soviet Occupation between 1939 and 1941, compulsory changes in property ownership occurred. Lviv´s Jewish Community was dissolved and its property confiscated, entailing the closure of two of prewar Lviv's

[611] Nawojka Lobkowicz, "The History of Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 172.

most important Jewish cultural institutions, the Community´s library and its museum. The library holdings that constituted about 18,000 volumes were incorporated in the newly established Lviv branch of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The Community´s museum that was opened in 1934 had about 5,000 exhibits that were handed over to Lviv's Museum of Arts and Crafts.[612] The collection included various ceremonial objects from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, deposits from synagogues in Lviv, contributions from private donors and other acquisitions, and objects from the private collection of Marek Reichenstein comprising marriage contracts, graphic works and part of his library. Shortly after the German occupation, in July 1941, apparently to protect it from German seizure, Maximilian Goldstein added his personal collection to the former holdings of the Jewish community at the Museum of Arts and Crafts.[613]

When Soviet troops reconquered Lviv in July 1944, Judaica found its way, again, to the same institutions that had received objects during the first Soviet Occupation. Today, a significant part of the collection of the Jewish Community Museum as well as the Goldstein collection is kept by the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts. The numismatic parts of Goldstein´s collection were transferred from the Ethnography Museum to the History Museum at the end of the 1940s. The Museum of Religions also obtained objects from these two former Jewish collections and received 30 objects from the Lviv Synagogue that closed in 1962, as well as further acquisitions. In addition, the Lviv Art Gallery holds portraits of rabbis and wealthy people and objects that were described as 'ownerless things', that originally were part of the Jewish Community Museum, along with pictures from the former Goldstein collection.[614]

Expropriation of Jewish property by the communist state sometimes resulted in the loss of museum holdings, as happened with the Jewish Museum in Prague. During the Second World War, when the Nazis renamed it the Central Jewish Museum, its collection was largely expanded when almost all the ceremonial objects, books, manuscripts, and archival documents of the former Jewish religious communities in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were gathered in its repositories. After the communist takeover of the Museum in 1950 the collection suffered considerably. The most dramatic event took place in 1963, when the Museum lost almost its entire collection of more than 1,500 Torah scrolls and 400 Torah binders. The scrolls were sold in pursuit of foreign currency to enrich the state budget and were placed in trust with the Westminster Synagogue in London. There they were restored and their origins researched. Many of these scrolls have since been sent as loans to be used in synagogues throughout the United States, Israel and other countries.[615]

In Hungary, communist administration and control over the Jewish Museum of Budapest had a tremendous impact on the cultural historical significance of the collection. In 1963 a new director was appointed who was an agent of the communist secret service. Under her leadership, the collection was re-inventoried in accordance with the statutory regulations: the original order of the collection was lost when around 4,600 objects lost their original inventory numbers. Data about the provenance of the individual objects, about where they were used, about which community or association owned the objects and how they had been

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[612] Tarik Cyril Amar, *Lviv 1944 – 2009: Jewish Cultural Objects and Property. Some Cases and Tendencies* (unpublished paper). See Appendices to Part 1, C.

[613] Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz, „Judaicasammlungen zwischen Galizien und Wien: Das Jüdische Museum in Lemberg und die Sammlung Maximilian Goldstein," *Wiener Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen*, 1, 1994-95, p. 133. See also Sarah Harel Hoshen, "Research and Collection of Judaica in Lvov: 1874-1942," Sarah Harel Hoshen (ed.), *Treasures of Jewish Galicia. Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov*, Ukraine, catalogue of the exhibition Rediscovered Treasures: Judaica Collections from Galicia From the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine, Beth Hatefutsoth, Tel Aviv, July 1994-January 1995, p. 51.

[614] Amar, *Lviv 1944 – 2009*.

[615] Magda Veselská, "Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses,* pp. 103-128.

Figure 29: JCR tags. Photo, courtesy of Dr. Ira Rezak, New York, USA.

acquired, were also omitted. Names and occupations or social status of the donors were also obliterated, as was the cultural context of the objects and their owners. Without these data the objects lost their symbolic, historical, social and cultural meaning, and their value was reduced to a merely material one. Even worse, historical objects and memorabilia that were regarded as possessing relatively little aesthetic or material value were not considered worthy of preservation. Today, scholars are trying to reconstruct what was lost, using Jewish newspapers and magazines that published information on the objects of the Museum collection.[616]

Conclusion

By following the war path of several museum collections, we have shown that these more or less followed the same routes Patricia Grimsted has identified for books and archives. Judaica objects that were looted by the ERR and shipped to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage were discovered in 1945 by the American Military (Monuments, Fine Art & Archives Section of the U.S. Army - MFA&A) and collected for restitution processing at the Archival Depot in Offenbach. The collections of the Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam and of YIVO that were identified and claimed were returned from Offenbach to Amsterdam and New York respectively. On the other hand, heirless objects found in the American zone, such as the portraits of the Jewish Museum Berlin, were distributed by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, mainly to Israel and the US.

The second main plundering agency, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, Amt VII (dealing with 'Ideological Research and Evaluation'), evacuated the majority of its loot from Berlin to one of its repositories in Lower Silesia, as happened with the majority of the Berlin Jewish Museum collection. The final destination of these objects depended on the finder. Objects found by the Polish authorities were, for the most part, handed over to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Those discovered by the Red Army Trophy Brigades were taken to the Soviet Union. We do not know the present location of these objects.

In the postwar communist era, expropriation of Jewish property in countries behind the Iron Curtain led to further losses. Collections were split up once again, as was the case in Lviv; objects were sold, as happened with the Torah scrolls of the Jewish Museum in Prague; and an entire collection, of the Jewish Museum in Budapest, was deprived of its historical, cultural, social and emotional meaning, thereby often creating insurmountable problems for provenance research.

One remark should be made about the fate of Judaica objects that were distributed by JCR in the US and Israel. To remind prosperity of the history and provenance of these objects, the items were provided with a JCR tag (fig. 29). According to a recent survey done among American institutions that received these objects, fewer than two-thirds of the around 1,000 items can still be identified. In Israel, the Israel Museum Jerusalem has an online database with more than 700 ceremonial objects it received from JCR. We have, however, no information about the location of JCR objects that were distributed among Jewish communities in Israel.

[616] Zsuzsanna Toronyi, "The Fate of Judaica in Hungary During the Nazi and Soviet Occupations," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesse*, pp. 285-306.

When tracing the fate of Judaica collections or individual objects, or when trying to determine the provenance of dislocated Judaica, we must bear in mind the warpath patterns Grimsted identified for books and archives, as described in her many books and articles. If we can establish what Nazi agency plundered the objects, we can also consult the relevant archives hoping these will help us to reconstruct the fate or provenance of these objects. A major source for the dispersed ERR archives is Patricia Kennedy Grimsted's online publication *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder. A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot*, revised and updated, 2015-2017. This publication and the methodology and information in this *Handbook* are two important sources for professionals who deal with provenance research of Jewish ceremonial objects. Although Grimsted's numerous articles provide us with information on the present locations of the archives of the RSHA, an overview of this and other plundering agencies remains a desideratum.

C. LVIV 1944 – C. 2009: JEWISH CULTURAL OBJECTS AND PROPERTY. SOME CASES AND TENDENCIES, TARIK CYRIL AMAR[617]

Lviv is the Ukrainian name of the now western Ukrainian city also known as Lwów (in Polish), Lemberik (Yiddish), Lemberg (in German or Yiddish), or Lvov (in Russian). Long inhabited by a multi-ethnic population, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the city was the capital of the Habsburg province of Galicia and generally called Lwów or Lemberg. On the eve of the Second World War, it was home to a politically dominant Polish and mostly Roman Catholic majority population and several minorities, with about a third of all inhabitants Jewish and about a sixth Ukrainian, who were usually Greek Catholics.[618]

From the Middle Ages on, and in spite of varying antisemitic constraints and persecutions, Lviv was also a major and often thriving center of Jewish religious, cultural, and political life. From the later nineteenth century, its Jewish community made important contributions to collecting and preserving Judaica and Jewish art; in the first third of the twentieth century these efforts converged in the Kuratorium Board for the Protection of Monuments of Jewish Art and its successor organization, the Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv.[619]

The collapse and dissolution of the Habsburg Empire under the strain of defeat in the First World War led to an escalation of the conflict between competing Polish and Ukrainian national/ist projects, both claiming Lwów/Lviv. After Polish victory (accompanied by a pogrom), the city became a major regional center in an increasingly authoritarian interwar Poland, while militant Ukrainian nationalists turned toward terrorism as well as authoritarian and fascist models. Lwów's Jewish population suffered severely from the First World War but kept growing after it. Its Jewish Gmina community was the third-largest in interwar Poland and very active.

In 1939, as a consequence of collusion between Nazi Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Union, the city was occupied and annexed by the latter, officially renamed Lviv (in Ukrainian) and incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet republic. After the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, it came under German occupation until 1944, when it was reconquered by Soviet forces. During the German occupation, virtually its whole Jewish population was murdered in the Holocaust.

From 1944, with its Polish majority population expelled, Lviv was a part of Soviet Ukraine again. From 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it has been a city in independent Ukraine. As of 2001, an official census that is not perfectly reliable showed a total population of about 725,000 registered inhabitants. Nearly ninety percent of them were identified as ethnically Ukrainian, about nine percent as Russian, about one

[617] Part of the research used for this article was done at and funded by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, for which I would like to express my gratitude. Finished before 2009, this article does not systematically reflect subsequent developments or publications.
[618] For Lviv's twentieth-century history, see also Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015) and the literature referenced therein.
[619] Zofia Borzymińska, "Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej we Lwowie," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, No.2 (2005), 155-173, Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen zwischen Galizien und Wien. Das Jüdische Museum in Lemberg und die Sammlung Maximilian Goldsteins," Wiener Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen, Bd.1 (1994/95), 133-145, and Faina Petriakova, "Iudaika v muzeinom landshafte Lvova: konets XIX-XX st," in *Dolia evreiskoi dukhovnoi ta materialnoi spadshchyny XX st.* (Kyiv, 2002), 272f.

percent as Polish and 0.3 percent as Jewish.[620] With virtually all of the very few survivors of the Holocaust – some paradoxically saved by a brutal Soviet deportation in 1940 – having left immediately after the war, Lviv's small post-Soviet Jewish community has little direct continuity with its pre-Holocaust predecessor.

In wartime Lviv, the Holocaust was the decisive factor in determining the fate not only of its Jewish victims but also of their property, including cultural objects. Abuse and murder in many forms went hand in hand with plunder in multiple ways and by various German as well as non-German individuals and institutions. At the same time, the effect of the Holocaust on cultural objects would remain beyond reconstruction without a more precise sense of what happened in Lviv before 1941 and after 1944.

Several key features delineated this context: Lviv experienced radical ruptures of political regime three times between the fall of 1939 and the summer of 1944. While only the German occupation brought policies of antisemitism and genocide to the city, both new regimes initiated massive and violent changes, including large-scale and pervasive property shifts involving official as well as informal practices of expropriation. Secondly, between 1939 and 1946, Lviv's population was changed fundamentally. By the later 1940s, no more than a tenth of its inhabitants were *not* newcomers. Thirdly, since the Soviet reconquest of Lviv in 1944, the city has been part of two different states, a Soviet Ukrainian Republic and then an independent Ukraine since 1991.

The Soviet Occupation 1939-1941

Lviv's first Sovietization between 1939 and 1941 brought with it massive repression, including expropriations, so that generally speaking, large-scale compulsory changes in property started before the German occupation, as Dieter Pohl and Martin Dean have pointed out for the parts of Eastern Europe under Soviet occupation between 1939 and 1941 as a whole.[621] As a consequence, after the German attack of 1941, some Jewish property fell into German hands via, as it were, intermediary Soviet expropriations. In Lviv, the latter affected not only virtually all types of commercial property and public institutions, but also scientific, academic, educational, and cultural institutions (such as museums, theaters, libraries, etc).[622]

Adding the general effects of war as well as currency manipulations and massive tributes in the shape of punitive taxes or state loans, Soviet rule over Lviv impoverished the city substantially, also leading to the mobilization of additional resources by selling or bartering personal property – often, at the beginning of the occupation at least, to members of the Red Army and the new Soviet elite. While it is impossible to say how many things remained in Lviv and how many were taken further East by their new owners – either at once or during the flight of the Soviet forces and elite in June 1941 – this category may need additional research. Again, there is as yet no information on the specific extent to which this phenomenon affected property owned by Jews in general or cultural objects in particular.

Regarding individual institutions, there is a clearer picture, at least in some cases. Thus, the city's Gmina was dissolved and its property confiscated, entailing the closure of two of prewar Lviv's most important Jewish

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[620] According to the Ukrainian national census of 2001. http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/lviv/ (accessed on 10 June 2009). As all census data, the 2001 Ukrainian census should be treated carefully. The general impression that Lviv is now a predominantly ethnically Ukrainian city with only small or very small minority communities, however, is at any rate correct.
[621] Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews, The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and USHMM, 2008), 191 and Dieter Pohl, "The Robbery of Jewish Property in Eastern Europe under German Occupation, 1939-1942," in Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, Philipp Ther, *Robbery and Restitution. The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 69f.
[622] Bonusiak, Andrzej, "Sowietyzacja Kultury Lwowa w Latach 1939-1941," in *Lviv. Misto, Suspilstvo, Kultura*, tom 3, VLU, Spetsialny Vypusk (1999), 563f.

cultural institutions, the Gmina's library and its museum. In 1940, the Gmina library holdings were taken over by the newly established Lviv branch of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. The new branch consisted of the possessions of six major libraries, all formally dissolved. Three quarters of the new branch's holdings were derived from the Ossolineum, a key library and symbol of Polish culture. From the Gmina library the branch received about 18,000 volumes.[623]

The Gmina library had been founded in 1900. According to a recent official publication by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art, in 1930 it held 16,479 items. They included early printed books, periodicals, and an archive containing manuscripts of scholarly works, Kahal documents from Lviv as well as other towns in Galicia, as well as the Gmina's own archive from 1925 and a chronicle covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the spring of 1940, the archival holdings were mostly transferred to archives in Lviv, while the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Science took over the books.

The about 5,000 exhibits of the Gmina's museum, opened in 1934, were given to Lviv's Museum of Arts and Crafts.[624] In Lviv, the Gmina museum's holdings were clearly the most significant Judaica collection, as the collector and private scholar Maximilian (Maksymilian) Goldstein pointed out in 1942.[625] Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz has characterized them as among "the most interesting and diverse worldwide." They included various sacral objects, deposits from synagogues in Lviv, contributions from private donors, and acquisitions made through the Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv. Their main component was Marek Reichenstein's collection of Ketubot and graphic works as well as parts of his library.[626]

Maximilian Goldstein, a key initiator of the Gmina museum as well as an early contributor to its collection, was employed by the Soviet authorities to catalogue the transferred objects.[627] Regarding his own collection, he received permission to keep it at home. It mainly consisted of ethnographic objects from Galicia as well as contemporary objects, such as posters or postcards and materials from the period of the First World War.[628]

Smaller but not to be overlooked were several other Judaica collections also affected by Soviet decisions. Thus, the Soviet Museum of Arts and Crafts itself was based on the former City Arts and Craft Museum. The latter had started acquiring Judaica in 1895, as did the museum of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Society, the Historical Museum of the City of Lviv and the National Jan Kazimir III Museum. The Soviet authorities merged the latter two, creating the new "Lviv Historical Museum."[629]

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[623] Maciej Matwijów, *Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich w latach 1939-1946* (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2003), 74, 76.
[624] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 274.
[625] Derzahvnyi Arkhiv Lvivskoi Oblasti, *fond* 35, *opis* 13, *sprava* 146: 20, hereafter abbreviated as DALO 35,13,146:20
[626] Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 133, 140, Petriakova, "Iudaika," 273, Borzymińska, "Kuratorium," 158.
[627] Zofia Borzymińska, "Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej we Lwowie," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, No.2 (2005), 153-165.
Biblioteki na wschodnich ziemiach II Rzeczypospolitej . Informator (Poznań: Wspólne Dziedzictwo, Ministerstwo Kultury I Sztuki, 1998), 328.
Jens Hoppe, *Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Museen. Zur nichtjüdischen Museologie des Jüdischen in Deutschland* (Münster: Waxmann, 2002), 275.
[628] Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 143.
[629] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 272.

German Occupation and Holocaust 1941-1944

In the summer of 1941, Lviv was occupied by German troops and subsequently turned into the administrative center of a new district Galizien of the German Generalgouvernement regime in central and eastern Poland.[630] The German occupation of Lviv began with two massive pogroms that involved local perpetrators, especially Ukrainian nationalists, at the beginning and end of July – the so-called "Prison Aktsia" and the "Petliura Days." It then led quickly to ghettoization, forced labor, "contribution" forced levies for Lviv's Jews, the establishment of the Yanivska (or Janowska) camp, and mass deportations to the Belzec death camp. The number of Jews in Lviv in early October 1941, i.e. after the first pogroms and Einsatzgruppen killings, yet before the peak of the Holocaust, has been estimated at between 111,000 and 160,000.[631] In 1942 and 1943, nearly all of them were murdered, in most cases either in the city's ghetto, the Yanivska camp, or in the Belzec camp.[632]

German looting in eastern Europe was generally more ad hoc and less formalized than in the West.[633] In Lviv as well, a formalistic "confiscation decree" went together with several German agencies seizing large quantities of loot while various perpetrators engaged in "spontaneous expropriations."[634]
Regarding cultural property, the outcome of an earlier bureaucratic turf war meant that, by the time Lviv was added to the Generalgouvernement, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg played a reduced role there, unlike in the occupied territories in general. The Dutch businessman and war criminal Pieter Menten, who worked for the Nazi SD and participated in massacres, however, came to specialize on looting art in Lviv, taking large amounts of objects to the Netherlands and even provoking a special SS investigation.[635]

Lviv's quickly imposed Judenrat was made to transmit a constant stream of demands for specific things to be stolen from Lviv's Jews and handed over to its new German inhabitants. According to David Kahane, who witnessed these events, the objects taken in this manner included not only furniture, clothing, or jewelry, but also antiques.[636]
As elsewhere, substantial pickings went to some of those who were also under occupation, but not subjected to genocide, forming a bond of mutual interest between the occupiers and some of their subjects, involving some of the latter to one degree or another in the Holocaust.[637] German agencies made efforts to monopolize the robbing of the victims, as reflected in German official documentation. Yet in everyday Jewish experience, as reflected in diaries or testimonies, the looting by the Germans, more or less systematic, occurred together with that carried out by unknown but significant numbers of local non-Jews. Thus, it is impossible to

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630 In terms of international law, it should be pointed out, the German *Generalgouvernemen*t was not an ordinary occupation regime but an undefinable monstrosity, as in other respects as well.
631 Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienn*e (Warsaw, 2000), 50. See for slightly higher minimun estimates Frank Golczewski's contribution on Poland in Wolfgang Benz (ed), *Die Dimension des Völkermords. Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (München: Oldenbourg, 1991), 445: According to the Lwów *Judenrat's* estimate, there were 119,000 Jews in the city in October 1941 and their number decreased to 103,000 by January 1942. Jones, *Żydzi*, 122.
632 Dieter Pohl, "Schlachtfeld zweier totalitärer Diktaturen – die Ukraine im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Österreichische Osthefte*, Jahrgang 42 (2000), Heft 3-4, 349 and idem, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941 - 1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (München: Oldenbourg, 1996), 139-151. Especially for the extremely low number of Jewish survivors in the city in 1944 Hryciuk, *Polacy*, 50, Wolfgang Benz (ed), *Die Dimension des Völkermords. Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (München: Oldenbourg, 1991), 484, 491, Eliyahu Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939-1945* (Łodź, 1999),123.
633 Pohl, "Robbery," 72f.
634 For surveys of German looting and ubiquitous corruption Pohl, *Judenverfolgung*, 299-304 and Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941-1944* (Bonn, 1996), 198.
635 Pohl, *Judenverfolgung*, 303.
636 David Kahane, *Shchodennyk lvivskoho hetto* (Kyiv: Dukh i Litera, 2003), 39.
637 For this phenomenon in the occupied East in general, Martin Dean, *Robbing*, 210ff.

understand what happened to Jews and their belongings during the German occupation without paying attention to the attitudes and behavior of non-Jewish local inhabitants.

Major German operations as well as pogroms were accompanied by both German formalized seizures and multiple small and large opportunities for non-Germans and Germans to add their individual ingenuity and violence. Signally, it was on 28 July 1941, during the Petliura Days pogrom, accompanied by widespread plunder by non-Germans, that the German authorities extorted their first, large "contribution" from Lwów's Jews.[638] For the victims, raising this money often meant selling off their property at highly depreciated prices or handing over objects, such as jewelry or heirlooms instead of cash.[639] Jewish survivors would also remember local non-Jews taking advantage of this. David Kahane recalled that the news of the "contribution" spread quickly and that "peasants from the villages around Lviv" arrived in town in large numbers to buy up Jewish property, such as furniture.[640] The line between formalized expropriation, corruption and face-to-face robbery was fluid. By July 1943, the German bureaucracy attempted to trace what exactly had happened to the "contribution" of July 1941 once it had been collected and found that its scant records, in essence, indicated that the district governor, the Stadthauptmann, and the Stadtbaudirektor had refurbished their residences by plundering Lviv's Jews.[641] While this may seem counter-intuitive, only the victims of these centralized as well as decentralized activities saw anything resembling a whole, if still incomplete, picture and even for this simple reason alone their voices, where available, are of special significance.

The segregation, oppression and finally annihilation of Lviv's Jewish population, also led to large shifts in the possession of residential space, which, in turn, entailed the loss of thousands of households full of various objects to their owners. To David Kahane, observing the initial ghettoization process from a victim's perspective, it could even seem as if its main purpose was to "deprive the Jews, moving from one place to the other, of their property."[642] Having already forced thousands of Jewish families to move, at the beginning of November 1941, the German authorities ordered about 80,000 Jews to move into the area, designated for the ghetto, largely identical with the generally poorer Zamarstynów or Zamarstyniv quarter in the north of the city.[643]

Suspended in December, when 20,000 Jews had not yet moved to this ghetto, this first ghettoization was also accompanied by face-to-face looting of the victims, while several thousand of them were murdered in what became known as the "Bridge Aktsiia."[644] The city's German bureaucracy drew up long lists of spoils, including cash, furniture, jewelry, furs, clothes and bedlinen, with the Stadthauptmann office taking the money, while some of the things went to its employees as well as German policemen and the SS.[645] There were also "no objections" to releasing furniture and clothes at low prices to the rural population as a reward for complying with agricultural delivery quotas.[646] According to the famous scholar of jurisprudence Mauricy Allerhand, who lost his large library and art collection when he was forced into the ghetto, this first wave of ghettoization led to an "unheard of exploitation [wyzysku] from the … Ukrainian population and, in

[638] Jones, *Żydzi*, 52f.
[639] Khonigsman, *Katastrofa,* 158.
[640] Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 51.
[641] Jones, *Żydzi*, 52f and AAN 362/224: 94ff (USHMM RG-15.007M, Reel 16)
[642] Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 65.
[643] On the thousands of forced relocations before the ghetto began to be set up see the Judenrat's letter of 10 November 1941, DALO R-35,2,155: 4 (USHMM Acc.1995.A.1086, Reel 6)
[644] Pohl, Judenverfolgung, 160.
[645] DALO R-37,4,941: 31, 37-39 (USHMM Acc.1995.A.1086, Reel 26)
[646] DALO R-35,12,69: pagination illegible (USHMM Acc.1995.A.1086, Reel 25)

exceptional cases, also from the Polish [one]."[647] David Kahane remembered that at the beginning of the German occupation, Lviv's streets had been crowded by carts stacked high with Jewish property.[648]

The German occupation thus brought ubiquitous and multifarious seizures of Jewish belongings – specifically targeted and singled out, unlike under the preceding Soviet occupation, as Jewish – official and unofficial, from above and from below, by the occupiers and by locals. Moreover, the massive impoverishment produced by antisemitic persecution, combined with a status of extreme disenfranchisement and segregation, also produced constant pressures to sell or barter – under highly unequal conditions – what was not seized. Regarding the possibility to reconstruct the fate of individual objects, this plethora of depredation, added another layer of complexity and opacity to the preceding effects of the less extensive Soviet expropriations.

While the despoliation of more than 100,000 victims and tens of thousands of households was a constant background to the peak pogroms and "Aktionen" of the Holocaust in Lviv, various German agencies were busy looting specific institutions or despoiling and destroying specific objects, buildings, and sites. Jewish genealogical records were looted and there are, as Patricia Grimsted has pointed out, German shipping lists for them in Lviv archives, but they have not yet been systematically investigated.[649] Almost all of Lviv's nearly fifty synagogues and prayer houses were destroyed, together with much of their furnishings, objects, books, and documents.[650]
Yet some objects did survive this first wave of destruction and plunder. The Religious Department of Lviv's Judenrat established a special "Collection Group" to salvage them. As David Kahane described its members task, they collected "Torah Scrolls, sacral vessels and other objects – candle holders, lamps, and books, not yet stolen by 'aryans.' All of this was stored in … the basement of [a building of the Judenrat]," which gradually turned into a "kind of a museum, which could have been proud of its rare holy books as well as extraordinary samples of decorative art, many of which had been used in synagogues. There you could have found examples of all holy objects, which the Jews of Lviv had […] collected over the preceding six hundred years of their history."[651]

In the end, however, all contents of the basement were seized by the Germans and disappeared without a trace. On the eve of the "August Aktion" of 1942, the basement still contained hundreds of Torah Scrolls. David Kahane's plan to save them by hiding them at Lviv's Greek-Catholic St. George Cathedral, however, was not realized.[652] Some of the objects from the basement were delivered to a "factory for recycling raw materials," i.e. probably the Rohstofferfassung works in Lviv.[653]
According to the so-called Katzmann report, named after its author Friedrich Katzmann, one of the key perpetrators of the Holocaust in Lviv, the loot from the victims included 4.3 tons of silver.[654] Martin Dean has found that "hundreds of kilos of silver" from plundered Jewish property and ritual objects arrived at the Reich Treasury in Berlin in 1942, with "much of this loot … not rapidly sold off," but stored at least for some time.[655] The possibility that some objects from Lviv, too, shared this fate, may be worth further investigation.

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[647] ŻIH 229/3: 1f and 229/22: 3 (USHMM RG-15.069) and Adam Redzik, "W Sprawie Okoliczności śmierci Profesora Maurycego Allerhanda," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no.2 (2005), 178.
[648] Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 52.
[649] Patricia Grimsted, Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution (Cambridge, Mass.: HURI, 2001), 205f
[650] Khonigsman, *Katastrofa*, 125.
[651] Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 67.
[652] Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 88.
[653] DALO R-35,13,146: 20 and Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 67.
[654] Thomas *Sandkühler*, "Endlösung" *in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz, 1941- 1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 198.
[655] Dean, *Robbery*, 194f.

Lviv's two major Jewish cemeteries were destroyed. The old Jewish cemetery, stemming from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, had been the object of research as well as preservation and restoration efforts by the Kuratorium. It had been closed in 1855, when the new Jewish cemetery was opened. It was razed during the German occupation, when Jewish workers were forced to demolish and crush its gravestones.[656] At least part of its matsevot were used as building material. David Kahane reported that the Religious Department of the Judenrat had set up a group of young people to take pictures of the cemetery and record the inscriptions on the gravestones, but that the results of their efforts were lost. When Kahane was imprisoned in the Yanivska camp in November 1942, he found that some gravestones had been used as pavement material there, too. In December 1942, he himself was part of a group taken to the old cemetery and forced to remove more of its gravestones, this time to be used as paving material for a street.[657] Friedrich Katzmann included in his report a picture of a Jewish cemetery near Lviv and added the caption that "2000 cubic meters of road building material" had been extracted from it.[658] The new cemetery was also severely damaged but continued to exist after the war. According to David Kahane and Yosif Helston, some of its most valuable matzevot were taken to Germany, but there seems to be no information on their further fate.[659]

In July 1941, apparently to protect it from German seizure, Maximilian Goldstein added his personal collection to the former holdings of the Gmina at the Ethnography Museum.[660] Initially it remained in his apartment but subsequently it was transferred to the Museum, while Goldstein was forced into Lviv's ghetto. He continued to work at the Museum and survived the major deportation and killing operations of March and August 1942 but was dead by 1943.

In early 1942, the Generalgouvernement Main Department of Science and Teaching (Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht) ordered the creation of a "Staatsbibliothek Lemberg," consisting of two departments, one to contain all university libraries and another one for all other major libraries, including the library of the Gmina. In October 1942, another Hauptabteilung document clearly identified the Gmina library as part of the Staatsbibliothek.[661] Yet this status was not uncontested. In December, the Hauptabteilung produced a draft letter to Wilhelm Friedrich Krüger, the head of the SS and police (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement. In this document the head of the sub-department for research libraries at the Hauptabteilung, Professor Gustav Abb, reported information from Lviv indicating that the SD security service of the SS had made a decision to take the Gmina library to the Reich. According to Abb the library had been sealed in August 1941 and should not be removed from the Generalgouvernement but taken to Cracow for the "Sektion für Judenforschung" at the "Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit."[662] Such tensions were typical for a larger conflict in which Generalgouvernement ruler Hans Frank sought to keep major book holdings out of reach of competing agencies such as the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg or the Reichssicherheitshauptamt. As late as March 1943, conflicts over books in Warsaw made the Generalgouvernement administration re-state its position to Krüger that the SD should put at the disposal of

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656 Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 83 and Yosif Helston, "Evreiskyi nekropol u Lvovi," Halytska Brama, Січень (January) 1998, no. 1 (37), 14f.
657 Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 123, 140.
658 Friedrich Katzmann, *Lösung der Judenfrage im Distrikt Galizien* (edited by Andrzej Żbikowski, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw, 2001), 23d.
659 Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 83 and Helston, "Evreiskyi nekropol," 14f.
660 Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 133.
661 Andrzej Mężyński (ed), *Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* w latach 1939 – 1945. Wybór dokumentów źródłowych (2003), 93f.
662 Mężyński (ed), *Biblioteki*, 135ff.

the Hauptverwaltung all, private as well as public Jewish libraries.[663] By March 1943, the Staatsbibliothek Lemberg had four departments instead of two and it is unclear if any of these four officially included the Gmina library.[664]

1944-1991

In July 1944, Lviv was reconquered by Soviet troops. There is, unfortunately, only little and fragmentary evidence or research regarding the Soviet authorities' specific actions concerning objects, which had been the property of Jewish individuals or institutions before the German attack. Unsurprisingly, they did not question the validity of their own expropriations, made between 1939 and 1941, which meant that large amounts of objects – even if they were still in Lviv or could be recovered and identified – were not considered for any kind of restitution except to the public or state bodies that had received them during the first Soviet occupation.

Moreover, the Soviet authorities were generally reluctant to accommodate the needs even of the few survivors, who managed to return and make claims. At the same time, some of those Soviet officials, who had come to Lviv during the first Soviet occupation of 1939 to 1941, also returned and claimed apartments by dint of the fact that they had occupied them then. Significantly, there is evidence that claims by survivors were treated worse. Thus, when one of them demanded the return of her property she was turned down, ostensibly for lack of documentation.[665] A decorated Soviet war veteran and party member, who had been in Lviv before 1941, did obtain an apartment and his requests for furniture were satisfied quickly.[666]

Throughout the Soviet Union the staggering loss of life and material damage inflicted by the German occupation was investigated by local branches of the "Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of the Crimes of the Fascist German Invaders and their Accomplices, and of the Damage They Caused to Citizens, Collective Farms, Public Organizations, State Enterprises, and Institutions of the USSR." Its brief was comprehensive. It was all the more telling that it did not include any reference to the special and large-scale violence against Jews.[667] Rather, Soviet policy and discourse in general was already strongly deemphasizing the genocide committed against them.

In Lviv, Extraordinary Commission materials clearly followed this trend, marginalizing the Jewish identity of many victims, which also meant that the issue of their belongings was not raised. There is, however, an exception. In June 1945, the Commission for Lviv's Shevchenko Raion quarter submitted a special internal report on the "damage" inflicted on the quarter's Jews. Putting their total number at "40,000 Jewish families" before the German occupation, the report described their ghettoization, continual mass executions, and deportation to the "death camp of Belzec." Stating clearly that all Jews had been "exterminated," the report

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[663] Andrzej Mężyński, "Die Judaistische Bibliothek bei der Großen Synagoge in Warschau und das Schicksal der Bücher aus dem Warschauer Ghetto," in: Regine Dehnel (Hrg.) *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 2006), 92.
[664] Mężyński, *Biblioteki*, 233f (endnote 249).
[665] DALO R-6,2,44: 125.
[666] DALO R-6,2,44: 126, 128.
[667] Marian R. Sanders, *Extraordinary Crimes in Ukraine: An Examination of Evidence Collection by the Extraordinary State Commission of the USSR, 1942-1946* (unpublished dissertation, Ohio University, 1995), 71f and Marina Sorokina, "People and Procedures. Toward a History of the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in the USSR," *Kritika* 6,4 (Fall 2005), 801. For more detail on the Commission's large structure, staff, large number of local contributors, the propaganda, legal, and historiographical use of its materials, and the contiuning history of their secrecy Sorokina, "People," 801ff, 824.

emphasized the concomitant plunder and provided estimates for the total value of the spoils as well as a twenty-page list of victims.[668]

The Lviv branch library of the Ukrainian Academy of Science established a separate Kabinet sub-department of Jewish literature, renamed in 1947 as Department of Jewish Literature. According to Yakov Khonigsman's recollections, it is possible that it still contained at least some of the former Gmina library holdings. He worked at the Kabinet from the spring of 1945 and found himself employed cataloguing incunabula and other old printed books from Venice, Prague, Florence and Germany.[669]
The staff of the Kabinet also looked for and gathered books from private libraries, whose owners had been killed in the Holocaust, as well as remains of libraries, which had formerly belonged to synagogues or other institutions of Jewish life. In 1949, however, during the escalating Stalinist "anticosmopolitan" campaign, with its central antisemitic tendency, the Department of Jewish Literature was closed down. Some of its holdings were destroyed. According to Khonigsman, others, perhaps including the more valuable and historic objects, were stored at two sites in Lviv – the basement of the Academy of Science branch library and a former Jesuit church used as a warehouse – or taken to the central Academy of Science library in Kyiv, which, according to Khonigsman, received nineteen crates from Lviv.[670]

After the Soviet reconquest of Lviv, one synagogue was allowed to re-open and in the summer of 1947, its official board was petitioning the regional oblast administration about the area of the old Jewish cemetery, unsuccessfully trying to stop it being turned into a market.[671] When the synagogue was closed down in 1962, it also lost control over the area of the new cemetery, which was then merged with a neighboring Christian one. During the Soviet period, the sites of two smaller Jewish cemeteries, stemming from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were turned into a car park and the premises of a construction enterprise respectively.[672]

1991 – c. 2009

As of 2009, in general restitution of Jewish property in post-Soviet independent Ukraine remained restricted to some buildings as well as a limited number of religious objects: without legislation providing for the restitution of private property, the available possibility of communal restitution led to several hundred buildings and small numbers of religious objects being claimed for Jewish communities.[673] Even in this limited area, progress was extremely slow. By the beginning of 2004, about forty synagogue buildings out of an estimated 2,000 potential objects of communal restitution had been returned to communities.[674] By July 2005, the share of restituted objects was estimated at ten percent. The process, if it was one, was clearly massively incomplete.[675]

668 DALO R-221, 2, 76: 5f (USHMM Acc.1995.A.1086, Reel 30)
669 Khonigsman, "Neskolko slov," 41-43.
670 Khonigsman, "Neskolko slov," 41-43.
671 DALO-P 3,2,256: 33-34
672 Helston, ""Evreiskyi nekropol," 14f.
673 Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 155f. See also Laurence Weinbaum, "Defrosting History: The Restitution of Jewish Property in Eastern Europe," in Avi Beker (ed.), *The Plunder of Jewish Property during the Holocaust. Confronting European History* (Palgrave: 2001), 107.
674 "Country Page Ukraine," http://www.ncsj.org/Ukraine.shtml#Jewish (accessed 8 January 2009)
675 Vladimir Matveyev, "Trade, Property Restitution on Table as President of Ukraine Visits US," JTA, 4 July, http://www.ujc.org/page.aspx?id=101277 (accessed on 9 January 2009)

Regarding those objects that have remained in Lviv in particular, there were two main collections. The Ethnography Museum, successor of the Museum of Arts and Craft, had about one thousand objects, which include significant parts of the Gmina Museum and the Goldstein collections. Most of these objects were not displayed.[676] The Ethnography Museum also kept a large part of the photo archive created in the interwar period by the Kuratorium.[677]

Moreover, in the 1950s to 1970s, the Museum's collections were expanded to an unknown extent by the efforts of one of its employees, art historian Pavel Zholtovskyi, who searched through scrap heaps and metal recycling sites for Jewish objects, with finds, however, frequently consisting only of fragments.[678]
Lviv's post-Soviet Museum of Religions, the successor of a Soviet Museum of Religion and Atheism founded in 1973, had a major collection of Judaica, derived in part from other postwar Lviv museums, which, in turn, handed over objects traceable to several prewar collections, as the late local researcher Faina Petriakova found. Thus, according to Petriakova, via the postwar Ethnography and History Museums as well as the Lviv Art Gallery the Museum of Religions obtained holdings ultimately stemming from the Gmina's museum, the Jan Kazimir III Museum, and the Goldstein collection. Moreover, the Museum of Religions also received 30 objects from the Lviv synagogue, which was closed in 1962 as well as further acquisitions, including "presents" as well as "confiscations" and an undefined "treasure" found in 1977 in a village near Lviv.[679]

Altogether the collection of the Museum of Religions had about one thousand objects, including, according to available information, 420 Torah scrolls or fragments of scrolls from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. 76 objects were on display. Since 1999 the museum organized or took part in a number of temporary exhibitions. As of 2002, it was the only museum in Ukraine with a separate, if extremely modest part of its exhibition reserved for Judaica.[680] There were some plans to open a larger separate exhibition space for the Judaica collection in an additional building. There also were a number of publications and catalogues with more detailed but by no means comprehensive information on the holdings of the Museum of Religions. A full catalogue was said to have been prepared by Faina Petriakova but was not published.

Apart from the Ethnography Museum and the Museum of Religions, the Lviv Art Gallery had two smaller relevant collections: First, there were more than three hundred pictures, categorized as Judaica. Unsurprisingly, these pictures had diverse and complicated histories bringing together works from private as well as public collections.[681] Thus, 35 objects were transferred to the Art Gallery in 1949 from the Ethnography Museum as "portraits of …rabbis and wealthy Jews" and "ownerless things [beshospodarchi rechi]," but originally they had been part of the Gmina Museum's collections.

Importantly and unfortunately, it seems that nobody had been able to find any more or less comprehensive lists of transferred objects, whether from the Gmina Museum to the Ethnography Museum or, as in the case of these pictures, from the latter to the Art Gallery.[682] Documentation remained fragmentary. In 1967, the Art

[676] Vladimir Matveev, "Evrei Lvova, 'Vernite nashu Iudaiku'," *Vinnitska Ierusalimka*, no. 15-18 (2006/5767), 1.
[677] Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 140.
[678] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 275.
[679] Faina Petriakova, "Iudaika v muzeinom landshafte Lvova: konets XIX-XX st," in *Dolia evreiskoi dukhovnoi ta materialnoi spadshchyny XX st.* (Kyiv, 2002), 276.
[680] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 276.
[681] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 277.
[682] Halyna Hlembotska, "Kollektsiia zhivopisi iz Muzei evreiskoi obshchiny Lvova v sobranii lvovskoi Galerei iskusstv," Lviv Hesed Arieh Bulletin, 2008, no.3, 4.

Gallery acquired a number of pictures from the former Goldstein collection. In the year 2000, it staged the first exhibition especially dedicated to its Judaica holdings.[683]
Secondly, there are about thirty sacral objects, the majority of which were acquired from the personal collection of the Ukrainian artist Yaroslava Muzyka. The exact fate of these objects is unknown. Muzyka became a victim of Stalinist repression after the war, which may have led to their confiscation. Faina Petriakova suggested that Muzyka may have obtained the objects as a present from the fellow artist and first curator of the Gmina Museum Ludwik Lille, when he left for Paris in 1937.[684]

Maximilian Goldstein was an accomplished numismatist and the numismatic parts of his collection were transferred from the Ethnography Museum to the History Museum at the end of the 1940s. The History Museum's Judaica collection was small, consisting of ritual objects, clothes, photographs of buildings and pictures showing Jewish subject matters.[685] The Lviv branch of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Science published information that it had a collection of about 180 Jewish old printed publications [staropechatni vydannia] from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, produced in places as diverse Venice, Amsterdam, Istanbul, Prague, Brno, Halle, and Frankfurt.[686]

By the end of 2006, different positions were taken among the Jewish communities of Lviv and Ukraine. There were demands to return some of the objects in Lviv's museums, especially Torah scrolls for religious purposes as well as an alternative project of establishing a Jewish Museum and transfer objects to it, which is also one of the chief aims of Lviv's Sholem Aleichem Cultural Society.[687] A representative of Lviv's municipal authorities as well as an adviser of then President Viktor Yushchenko both declared that some objects could be handed over but exclusively for religious use. [688]

In sum, concerning Jewish cultural property in Lviv as of 2009 neither restitution nor research had long or very productive histories. In spite of the efforts of some researchers, very little was known, especially if juxtaposed with Lviv's historic significance as a center of Jewish life in Europe. There were some signs that local public interest in Lviv's Jewish heritage was growing, if from an extremely low base. While the results of that development were hard to predict, they quickly included some deplorable elements of commercialization and stereotyping, such as at the restaurant "Under the Golden Rose" in the city center. At the same time, Lviv's museums and public authorities were showing some limited signs of a more serious and adequate interest.

As of 2017, these have led to some results which this article cannot address. At the same time, the current state-supported policy of glorifying the far-right Ukrainian ethno-nationalists of the Second World War – begun under former president Yushchenko and taken up again with a vengeance under president Poroshenko – despite their strong fascist leanings and antisemitism as well as records of Holocaust participation and mass killings and ethnic cleansing of Polish civilians will inhibit and distort this rediscovery, since remembering

[683] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 277.
[684] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 276.
[685] Petriakova, "Iudaika," 275.
[686] Olga Kolosovska, "Kollektsiia evreiskikh staropechatnykh izdanii v fondakh Otdela pedkoi knigi Lvovskoi nauchnoi biblioteky im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy," Knigopechatanie.
[687] Boris Orach, "Po sledam galitskikh evreev. Vo Lvove vozrozhdaietsa evreiskii muzei," Shofar, no.8 (167).
[688] Vladimir Matveev, "Evrei Lvova, 'Vernite nashu Iudaiku'," *Vinnitska Ierusalimka*, no. 15-18 (2006/5767), 1f.

Ukraine's Jews honestly and respectfully would require remembering their deaths, which would entail facing the brutal criminal record of Ukrainian nationalism with respect to Jews and the Holocaust.[689]

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[689] Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Jared McBride, Per Rudling, Tarik Amar, "Ukraine's Struggle with the Past is ours too," https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/per-rudling-tarik-amar-jared-mcbride/ukraine-s-struggle-with-past-is-ours-too.