
Looted Art and Jewish Cultural Property Initiative



Salo Baron and members of the Synagogue Council of America depositing Torah scrolls in a grave at Beth El Cemetery, Paramus, New Jersey, 13 January 1952. Photograph by Fred Stein, collection of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York, USA.

HANDBOOK ON JUDAICA PROVENANCE RESEARCH: CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

By Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek,
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Foreword

Facilitating restitution of Judaica plundered during the Holocaust is a priority for the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO). Extensive efforts at identifying and returning Jewish ceremonial objects and Jewish manuscripts, archives, and libraries that were plundered by Nazi Germany, its allies and collaborators to their original owners started immediately after the end of the Shoah, but the task is far from completed, even so many decades later.

To encourage provenance research to be done on Judaica, the Claims Conference-WJRO over the years has stimulated and encouraged the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM), the Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM), and the Association of Jewish Libraries (AJL) to adopt declarations in this area, which they all have done, and to move forward with examination of their collections. And we have worked in cooperation with Hashava-The Company for the Location and Restitution of Holocaust Victims' Assets to ensure that Israeli museums, libraries, and archives do the same.

To better understand the situation in all countries, we compiled a *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica* (published online in 2009, updated in 2016 – see <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/>), which provides a worldwide snapshot of what is known concerning the fate of Judaica. The *Catalogue* presents a summary of the history of Nazi looting of Judaica and of Judaica restitution efforts after the war divided by 70 separate countries. For each country, projects to identify looted Judaica are described, if they exist, followed by discussion of objects of Judaica in the country that are known to have been looted or to have gaps in their provenance that have been identified in databases, publications, or other sources. In some instances, information exists on the individual object level, while in other cases only more general descriptions of looted collections as a whole are available. The *Catalogue* also contains a list of relevant archives and a bibliography. The compilation is based on information from existing published and unpublished literature and archives, as well as information obtained from experts in various countries.

In 2009, 47 nations, observer countries, and relevant non-governmental organizations, including the Claims Conference and the WJRO, convened for the Prague Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets. Among the reports prepared by the Claims Conference/WJRO was *Holocaust Era Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property: A World-Wide Overview* (see <http://www.claimscon.org/forms/prague/Judaica.pdf>), which recommended actions to be taken by participating nations to address the challenges in restitution of looted assets. The report was based on the *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*.

The Prague Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets resulted in the Terezin Declaration, which for the first time specifically dealt internationally with looted Judaica separately from looted art. The Prague Conference was followed by the establishment of the European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI), which as part of its Advisory Council appointed a Working Group on Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property chaired by Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek and with the following members: Inka Bertz, Julie-Marthe Cohen, Daniel Dratwa, Wesley Fisher, Karen Franklin, Rhoda Rosen, Hila Tene-Gilad, Photini Tomai-Constantopoulou, and Magda Veselská. Over the years that followed, many of the members of this Working Group held discussions among themselves – generally in conjunction with meetings of the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM) – about what would be most

helpful to the field of provenance research on Judaica and what should happen concerning the restitution or other disposition of looted Judaica.

These discussions led to the identification of two main goals. The first was the creation of a guide to how to do provenance research on Judaica – it was recognized that while some similar guides or manuals exist regarding provenance research on looted art, nothing comparable has existed for Judaica. The second was the eventual creation of an online exhibition on plundered Judaica that would provide a mechanism and opportunity for discussion of what best practices and standards should be in this field.

The present *Handbook on Judaica Provenance Research* is an attempt under the auspices of the Claims Conference-WJRO Looted Cultural Property Initiative to reach the first of these goals in regard to ceremonial objects. It constitutes a major step forward in assisting museum and synagogue curators, dealers, researchers, survivors and their heirs to be able to determine the history of the ritual items in their collections or to learn more of the fate of cherished objects that may have been lost in the Holocaust.

We have long supported databases, projects on archival sources, and training programs that are relevant to provenance research on art and cultural property generally, some of which are mentioned in the pages that follow. Among the grants that the Claims Conference has provided specifically in Judaica was one to help publish the book *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, edited by Julie-Marthe Cohen, with Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek [Crickadarn, 2011]. We are most pleased that these two specialists agreed to author this *Handbook*. They are joined by Ruth Weinberger of the Claims Conference staff, who was largely responsible for the *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*.

Julie-Marthe Cohen studied Italian language and literature at the University of Amsterdam. She is curator of cultural history at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam. In that capacity, she organizes exhibitions and publishes on topics relating to the Museum's collection and to Amsterdam Portuguese and Ashkenazi Jewish communities. Since 2000, she has taken a special interest in the wartime history of the Museum's collection and of Judaica collections of Jewish communities in the Netherlands and developed a database of missing and misplaced objects from the Museum's collection. In 2011 she co-edited with Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*.

Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek holds a Ph.D. in Jewish Studies and Art History from the University of Vienna. Since 2011 she has worked as a freelance curator, consultant to Jewish museums and university lecturer (see: <http://www.xhibit.at/heimann>). Prior to that she served as chief curator at the Jewish Museum Vienna for twenty years. Since 2013 she heads the Advanced Curatorial Education Programme for the Association of European Jewish Museums. In addition to numerous publications on Jewish cultural history, she published together with Julie-Marthe Cohen *Neglected Witnesses: The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects during the Second World War and After* in 2011.

Ruth Jolanda Weinberger holds a doctoral degree in history from the University of Vienna. She is a historian for the Looted Art and Cultural Property Initiative at the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. She co-produced the worldwide *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica* and worked on the 2014 report *Holocaust-Era Art: An Overview of Worldwide Progress*. She created a report entitled *The Looting of Jewish and Cultural Objects in Former Yugoslavia: The HLAG Südosten & the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in Belgrade, Agram (Zagreb) and Ragusa (Dubrovnik)*, and a large number of internal papers on provenance research and restitution procedures in various countries worldwide.

Previously she worked for the Swiss Refugee Program of the Swiss Bank Settlement, the Vienna-based Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria, and the Fund for Victims of Medical Experiments and Other Injuries administered by the Claims Conference, under the auspices of the German Foundation. While administering and researching applications to this compensation program, which was part of the much larger Slave and Forced Labor Program, she was able to reveal more medical experiments in additional locations than previously known.

Provenance research on Judaica is important on moral grounds. It is important for the preservation and understanding of Jewish culture. It is important for Holocaust remembrance. And it is a worldwide matter. This *Handbook* should prove a helpful step forward.

Wesley A. Fisher

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Head of Claims Conference-WJRO Looted Cultural Property Initiative

Disclaimer

While the Claims Conference and WJRO have made every effort to ensure the accuracy of the information contained in this Handbook, the Claims Conference and WJRO make no representations or warranties as to the accuracy or completeness of this Handbook. The Handbook should not be relied upon or used as proof, legal or equitable, as to current or past ownership of the items described within. The Claims Conference and WJRO assume no responsibility for any errors or omissions contained herein, and no liability is assumed for any loss or damages that may result from the use of or reliance on the information contained herein. The Claims Conference and WJRO also take no responsibility for the accuracy of the information provided on any of the websites linked to this Handbook.

This Handbook is based upon information obtained by the Claims Conference and WJRO to date and is not exhaustive. In particular, there has been less research on the looting of Jewish ceremonial objects in Central and Eastern Europe, where the looting was less organized and more differentiated than in Western Europe and where other looting organizations were involved. Revisions and updates to this Handbook may therefore be warranted in future and may be made at any time.

Please send suggested corrections and comments to Dr. Wesley A. Fisher, Director of Research, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, at wesley.fisher@claimscon.org or to Dr. Ruth Weinberger, Historian, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, at ruth.weinberger@claimscon.org.

Preface

This online *Handbook* is meant to help museum staff, researchers, auctioneers, collectors, lawyers, private persons, dealers and other interested parties to trace Judaica objects that were looted or displaced in the course of the 20th century, especially during World War II. These objects may be found

- a) in Jewish museum and non-Jewish museum collections
- b) in private collections
- c) in Jewish institutions, such as communities, synagogues, seminaries
- d) on the market.

In this *Handbook* Judaica here refers to Jewish ritual objects (for a definition, see below [2.1]). This first part does not include manuscripts, books and archival materials that relate to Jewish culture. These will be the subject of future work. Neither does this *Handbook* deal with claims and restitution issues.

The *Handbook* covers research of two different categories: 1. Classical provenance research, which deals with tracing an object at hand to its original owner, 2. Research which deals with establishing the location of a lost object.

Provenance research forms an auxiliary subdiscipline in the academic fields of history and art history. It is dedicated to the scientific research of the origin of an object in all its respects. This comprises all changes of ownership. Ideally any former ownership of an item is known. In the case of looted ritual objects, though, establishing provenance is a major challenge. With regard to Nazi looted (and nationalized) Judaica objects, provenance research aims at establishing pre-war ownership.

The developed methodology presented in this manual applies to both categories. As the term *provenance research* does not cover the second category, the neologism “*quovadience*” seems appropriate here. After World War II, pre-war owners or their heirs may have inquired into the whereabouts of their former properties but often did not meet with any results, as those properties had disappeared. A huge number of cultural assets were sold by the “aryanizing” units to private individuals for economic recovery, others were moved around Europe to be collected for “scientific” research by antisemitic institutes during and after the war. A part of these formerly Jewish owned cultural assets were –out of ignorance – mis- or displaced after the war by the Allies, others were declared heirless and entrusted to Jewish organisations that handed them over to Jewish institutions worldwide. Yet another part of these assets were and still are kept as trophy booty in Eastern European countries. Thus while the aim of provenance research is – in our case - to establish pre-war ownership, *quovadience research* presupposes that ownership is known and aims to establish present location.

To date a methodology for provenance research has been developed for fine arts only. In 2001 Nancy H. Yeide, Konstantin Akinsha and Amy L. Walsh published *The AAM* [American Association of Museums] *Guide to Provenance Research*. By and large our *Handbook* follows their principles, but the methods developed for fine arts cannot be applied to research on Judaica. The nature of *objets d’art* differs substantially from that of Judaica, and consequently so does the research to be carried out. For example, the uniqueness of individual paintings and sculptures differs from the serial character of Judaica objects; there are far more publications that help to identify a given painting than there are for identifying a Judaica piece; and while Nazi looting agencies often

registered works of art systematically, they did not do so regarding looted Judaica, and the same seems to be true of Allied postwar records.

In 2011 the publication *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After* appeared, giving an overview of the war and postwar history of a selected number of European Judaica collections.¹ The contributions in that volume showed the diverse range of situations in different national contexts and situations arising from specific historical and political events. While working on the book, the authors became aware of the need for appropriate tools to carry out consistent provenance and quovadiance research on collections and individual objects - tools that would be effective beyond national boundaries.

The present *Handbook* aims to elaborate a specific methodology regarding provenance and quovadiance research on Judaica objects, but at the same time, because of the specific problems in this field, researchers should be aware that they will still be challenged to be creative.

The complex nature of research on Judaica requires some or all of the following: historical and art historical knowledge, language skills, endurance, financial means, and individual and institutional willingness to cooperate with national and international partners. As to cooperation, institutions should put information regarding suspicious Judaica online to enable scholars, museum professionals, dealers, researchers, or private individuals to do provenance and quovadiance research.

This *Handbook* consists of four parts:

- The first part provides an overview of prewar Judaica and Jewish museum collections, an overview of Nazi agencies engaged in the looting of Jewish material culture, the looting of Judaica, the dispersion of the objects after World War II and, briefly, the nationalizations of Judaica before, during and after the war.
- The second part deals with the identification of Judaica objects and is intended especially for people who are not familiar with this kind of material culture. It gives a typology of Judaica and offers tools to identify an object (origin, age, region, material, etc.).
- Part three explains how provenance and quovadiance can be established by the use of specific documentation and where this kind of documentation may be found. Special attention is given to the online database of the Second World War documentation in the National Archives of the United States in College Park, Maryland. The given information is not exhaustive, and researchers are encouraged to turn to other publications, in particular: 1) the *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica* (<http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/>), 2) *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* (<http://errproject.org/guide.php>), and 3) *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*.
- Part four offers a listing of online databases, and the Bibliography provides a listing of Jewish museum and exhibition catalogues as well as of other relevant literature.

This *Handbook* is only the start in developing a methodology to establish provenance and quovadiance research on Judaica and will be updated with new findings. Users are invited to contact

¹ Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011.

the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany with additional information.

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Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, and Ruth Jolanda Weinberger

PART 1 – HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1.1 Pre-War Judaica and Jewish Museum Collections: An Overview²

One of the first semi-public Judaica collections was the so-called „Juden-Cabinet“ in the Dresdner Zwinger. Elector August the Strong had acquired a number of objects in 1717 stemming from the Mayer'sche „Lehrsynagoge“ of Lutheran theologian Johann Friedrich Mayer, who had assigned convert Christoph Wallich to present them in Mayer's library for educational purposes.³

Court agent Alexander David (1687-1765), factor to the Brunswick court, bequeathed his estate of Judaica objects to the community of Brunswick. He is considered the first collector of Jewish ceremonial objects.⁴ This private possession of Jewish ritual objects was evidently not the only example of the practice, however – i.e. we find a spice-container in the estate of Wolf Oppenheimer, deceased in 1730, grandson of famous court agent Samuel Oppenheimer.⁵ And his daughter-in-law, Judith, bequeathed a considerable part of valuable equipment for a prayer room in 1738.⁶

A major collection was compiled by French composer Isaac Strauss (1806-1888). It was this collection that was presented for the first time to a wider public at the Paris World Fair in 1878. With the financial support of Nathaniel Rothschild the collection was acquired by the Musée de Cluny.

In 1887 the first publicly accessible exhibition of Jewish materials took place at the Royal Albert Hall in London. The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition featured parts of the famous collection of Efraim Benguiat (1856-1932).⁷

Well known would also become – among others - the private Judaica collections of Polish grain merchant Lesser Geldzinski (1830-1910),⁸ German art collector Salli Kirschstein (1869–1935)⁹, Schachne Moses Salomon¹⁰, English banker Arthur E. Franklin (1857-1938),¹¹ Polish clerk

² See also: “Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1946; “Addenda and Corrigenda to Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 10, No.1, 1948. Available online at <http://forms.claimscon.org/Judaica/appendixA.pdf>.

³ Michael Korey, *Fragments of Memory: The Temple of Solomon in the Zwinger of Dresden. Facets of a Baroque Architectural Model and an Early Jewish Museum*, Dresden 2010, pp. 12ff.

⁴ Cecil Roth, “Ceremonial Objects,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 5, Jerusalem 1971, c. 288-312, esp. 310.

⁵ J. Taglicht (ed.), *Nachlässe der Wiener Juden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Finanz-, Wirtschafts- und Familiengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Wien und Leipzig 1917, Nr. 15, p. 75.

⁶ Idem, Nr. 13, p. 64.

⁷ Cyrus Adler, Immanuel Moses Casanowicz, *Descriptive catalogue of a collection of objects of Jewish ceremonial deposited in the U.S. National Museum by Hadji Ephraim Benguiat*, Washington 1901.

⁸ Elizabeth Cats, „Lesser Geldzinski,“ Vivian B. Mann, Joseph Gutmann (eds.), *Danzig 1939. Treasures of a Destroyed Community*, New York 1980, pp. 43-45.

⁹ *Die Judaica-Sammlung S. Kirschstein, Berlin: Kulturgefährte für Haus und Synagoge, Manuskripte, Gemälde, Miniaturen, Graphik, Urkunden, Bücher*, 12. bis 14. Juli 1932, München 1932.

¹⁰ <http://www.jta.org/1931/07/23/archive/one-of-worlds-most-rare-collections-of-jewish-art-objects-housed-in-london>

¹¹ William D. Rubinstein et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, London 2011, entry: Franklin Family.

Maksymilian Goldstein (1880-1942),¹² Polish Benjamin Mintz (d. 1940), German entrepreneur Max Hahn (1880-1942),¹³ Polish physician Marek Reichenstein (1876-1932),¹⁴ German merchant Siegmund Nauheim (1874-1935),¹⁵ Austrian wine merchant Sándor Wolf (1871-1946),¹⁶ Polish entrepreneur (Mieczysław) Michael Zagajski¹⁷, the German antiques dealer family Seligsberger,¹⁸ British politician Arthur Howitt (1885-1967)¹⁹ and German dentist Heinrich Feuchtwanger (1898-1963)²⁰.

Prior to World War II, many important and valuable collections were held by synagogues and Jewish communities. The most eminent included the following in Germany: Baden-Baden, Bad Buchau (prepared the establishment of a Jüdisches Altertums-Museum), Bonn, Braunschweig, Breslau, Cologne, Danzig, Fürth, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Kassel, Mannheim, Munich, Nürnberg, and Speyer, to name but a few. In Nazi-occupied countries they included, for example, Amsterdam (the Ashkenazi as well as the Sephardi community), Carpentras, Cracow, Opatow, Poznan, Lemberg, Livorno, Lublin, Vienna, Warsaw, Paris, Rome, Strasbourg and Thessaloniki.²¹

Pre-war Jewish museums in chronological order of foundation²²

¹² Maksymilian Goldstein, Karol Dresdner, *Kultura i sztuka ludu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich. Zbiory Maksymiliana Goldsteina*, Lwów 1935.

¹³ Lisette Ferera, Cordula Tollmien, *Das Vermächtnis des Max Raphael Hahn – Göttinger Bürger und Sammler. Eine Geschichte von Leben und Tod, mutiger Beharrlichkeit und der fortwirkenden Kraft der Familientradition*, Göttingen 2014.

¹⁴ Sergey R. Kravtsov, Marek Reichenstein, "Collector and His Collection," Vita Susak (ed.), *Jewish Marriage Contracts. Collection of Ketubbot in the Boris Voznytsky National Art Gallery of Lviv*, Lviv 2015, pp. 11-29.

¹⁵ Katharina Rauschenberger, „Das Museum Jüdischer Altertümer 1922-1938. Die Entstehung einer neuen Wissenschaft und ihr gewaltsames Ende," Georg Heuberger (ed.), *Die Pracht der Gebote. Die Judaica-Sammlung des Jüdischen Museums in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main-Köln 2006, pp. 12-23.

¹⁶ Dieter Szorger, „Sándor Wolf (1871–1946) Gründer des Landesmuseums," *Burgenland. 90 Jahre – 90 Geschichten*. = Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland (WAB) Band 137, Eisenstadt 2011, pp.190f.

¹⁷ R. Feldschuh, *Yiddisher Gezelshaftlecher Lexikon*, Warsaw 1939, p. 223.

¹⁸ Rotraud Ries (ed.), *Seligsberger - Eine jüdische Familie und ihr Möbel- und Antiquitätenhaus*, Würzburg 2015.

¹⁹ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_04111.html

²⁰ Isaiah Shachar, *Jewish Tradition in Art: The Feuchtwanger Collection of Judaica*, Jerusalem 1981.

²¹ For many more and details see: Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (ed.), *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*, partially updated edition 2016.

²² The list given refers only to independent Jewish museums and not to Jewish departments in municipal or regional museums. As examples of the latter the following may be mentioned: One of the first history museums in Germany to establish a Jewish department around 1900 was the municipal museum in Göttingen. From the time of its foundation in 1907 the Alsatian museum in Strassbourg (today: Musée Alsacien) has run a Jewish department. In 1914 another city museum, namely the Altonaer Museum founded a separate division for the history of Ashkenazi and Sephardi history in Altona in its institution. A major Jewish department in a public museum was installed in the 1920s: since 1922, the interior furnishings of the Baroque Hornburg Synagogue have been part of the Judaica collection of the Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, and since 1987, they constitute the main exhibit at the Hinter Ägidien department of Jewish religion and culture. Steinacker had not been the first to have a synagogue partially relocated: between 1907 and 1912, for instance, the Historischer Verein für Württembergisch Franken (Historic Association of Württemberg-Franconia) had already acquired the paneling of the Unterlimpurg Synagogue and had installed it in the museum in Schwäbisch Hall as early as in 1908. While in Schwäbisch Hall the Jewish department considered the paneling, the Jewish community's Aron Hakodesh from Unterlimpurg, and two candle holders to be sufficient so far as objects were concerned, the Vaterländisches Museum in Braunschweig collected further material-cultural testimonies of regional Jewish life, respectfully accepted related donations, successfully negotiated for loans from the Jewish communities of Braunschweig and Gandersheim, and took on objects from the liquidated Samson school in Wolfenbüttel. In 1928 a Jewish division was founded finally in Breslau at the Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer under the auspices of the Verein Jüisches Museum, E. V.

1895: Jewish Museum Vienna (Jüdisches Museum Wien)²³

1904: The Jewish Museum New York (then in the library and under the auspices of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America)

1906: Jewish Museum in Prague (Židovské Muzeum v Praze)²⁴

1909: Jewish Museum Budapest (Zsidó Múzeum; today: Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár)²⁵

1910: The M. Bersohn Museum of the Jewish Community Warsaw (Muzeum Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej im. Mathiasa Bersohna)²⁶

1913: The Hebrew Union College's Museum, Cincinnati

1913: S. Anski Museum of the Historical-Ethnographical Society, Vilna (Muzeum Towarzystwa Historyczno-Etnograficznego im. Sz. Anskiego).²⁷

1913: Museum for Jewish Folk Art in Hamburg (Museum für jüdische Volkskunde; in the building of the Museum für Völkerkunde)²⁸

1922: Museum of Jewish Antiquities in Frankfurt- am-Main (Museum Jüdischer Altertümer in Frankfurt am Main)²⁹

1924: Jewish Community Museum Worms (Museum der Israelitischen Gemeinde Worms)³⁰

1926: Museum of Jewish Antiquities Mainz (Museum jüdischer Altertümer Mainz)³¹

²³ As for its fate during and after WWII see: Bernhard Purin, *Beschlagnahmt. Die Sammlung des Wiener Jüdischen Museums nach 1938*, Wien 1995; Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, "Fragments of Remembrance: Viennese Judaica Collections and More," 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. 63-80.

²⁴ As for its fate during and after WWII see: Hana Volavková, *Schicksal des Jüdischen Museums in Prag*, Prag 1965; Magda Vezelská, "Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 103-128.

²⁵ As for its fate during and after WWII see: Zsuzsanna Toronyi, "The Fate of Judaica in Hungary During the Nazi and Soviet Occupation," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 285-306.

²⁶ As for its fate see: Nawojka Cieślińska-Lobkowitz, "The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 129-182.

²⁷ After the February Revolution the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society founded a respective museum to which Anski's collection was moved. After the final Soviet nationalization of the collection it was dispersed to different state institutions like the Russian Ethnography Museum and others.

²⁸ As for its fate see: Christoph Daxelmüller, „Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde," Stefanie Schüler-Springorum et al. (eds.), *Das Jüdische Hamburg. Ein historisches Nachschlagewerk*, keyword: Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.

²⁹ As for its fate see: Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, Anne-Margret Kiehl, „Zur Geschichte des Museums Jüdischer Altertümer in Frankfurt am Main," Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, Georg Heuberger (ed.), *Was übrig blieb. Das Museum Jüdischer Altertümer in Frankfurt 1922-1938*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, pp. 13-45.

³⁰ As for its fate see: Jens Hoppe, "Das Jüdische Museum in Worms. Seine Geschichte bis 1938 und die anschließenden Bemühungen um die Wiedererrichtung der Wormser Synagoge," *Der Wormsgau* 21, 2002, pp. 81-102.

³¹ As for its fate see: Andreas Lehnardt, „Was übrig blieb – Die Reste des Museums Jüdischer Altertümer in Mainz," Lehnardt (ed.), *Eine Krone für Magenza. Die Judaica-Sammlung im Landesmuseum Mainz*, Petersberg 2015, pp. 13-43.

1926: Historical and Ethnographical Society named in honor of Simon Dubnow in Kovno (Zidu Historius Etnografius Draugija namo Simon Dubnow)

1927: Ukrainian National Library and Museum for Jewish Culture named in honor of Mendeley Moicher Sforim in Odessa (Alukrainisher Bibliotek un Muzey far Yiddisher Kultur ofn Nomen fun Mendeley Moicher Sforim)

1928: Jewish Museum of the Jewish Museum Society in Presov³²

1930: Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam (Joods Historisch Museum)³³

1930: Museum of the Jewish Community Livorno (Museo della Comunità Israelitica)³⁴

1932: Jewish Museum London

1933: Jewish Museum Berlin (Jewish Museum Berlin)³⁵

1934: Museum of the Jewish Religious Community Lemberg (Muzeum Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej Lviv)³⁶

1936: Jewish Central Museum for Moravia-Silesia in Nicosburg (Jüdisches Zentralmuseum für Mähren-Schlesien in Nikolsburg)³⁷

1936: Jewish Museum in the Old Synagogue in Cracow (Museum Żydowskie w Starej Bożnicy)³⁸

³² As for its fate see: Jana Švantnerová, *The Prešov Jewish Museum (1928–1942). History, collection, ideas, personalities and places*, Dissertation thesis, Brno 2014, pp. 76-86; online available at: http://is.muni.cz/th/344586/ff_d/EN_PhD_J.Svantnerova.pdf

³³ As for its fate see: Julie-Marthe Cohen, “Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War,” Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 199-252.

³⁴ As for the fate of Italian Judaica see: Paola Bertilotti, “Italy’s Attitude Towards Jewish Cultural Property During and After the Second World War,” Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 253-284.

³⁵ As for its fate see: Chana C. Schütz und Hermann Simon (ed.), *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung: das Berliner Jüdische Museum (1933–1938)*, Berlin 2011.

³⁶ Gabriele Kohlbaumer-Fritz, „Judaicasammlungen zwischen Galizien und Wien. Das Jüdische Museum in Lemberg und die Sammlung Maximilian Goldstein,“ Julius H. Schoeps et al. (ed.), *Wiener Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen*, vol. 1, Wien 1994, pp. 133-145.

³⁷ As for its fate see: Veselská, “Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia,” note 25.

³⁸ As for its fate see: Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, “The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview,” note 27.

1.2 Nazi Agencies Engaged in the Looting of Material Culture³⁹

The spoliation of Jewish cultural and religious property was an official part of the Nazis' campaign against those labeled as "ideological enemies of the Reich." Aside from *objets d'art*, a myriad number of Jewish cultural objects were also looted from 1933 to 1945, including various kinds of Judaica, such as ritual, sacred and/or everyday objects, books, and archives. Numerous looting agencies both within the Reich, including those territories that were annexed to Nazi Germany, as well as agencies operating outside of the Reich, yet not outside of Nazi-occupied territories, were responsible for what can be called the greatest theft in the history of humanity.⁴⁰



Figure 1: "German Prewar Territorial Gains"
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_nm.php?ModuleId=10005141&MediaId=371, last accessed 14 April 2016)

The looting of Jewish cultural property was not orchestrated by a central institution, rather it was carried out by a number of Nazi organizations. Their rivalry with each other and their pursuit in gaining the biggest portion of the Jewish property led to an even more drastic situation. In the case of the Gestapo and the SD, two competitive forces in the expropriation of Jewish property within the German Reich, their antagonistic approach ended with their union within the newly founded RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) in September 1939.⁴¹ However, inter-agency rivalry continued in the occupied territories and often determined not only the outcome but also the subsequent distribution of the spoil.⁴²

³⁹ For a more in-depth presentation of the various looting agencies, see Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (ed.), *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*, partially updated edition 2016. (Online available at: <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/>); See also the online bibliography at <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/resources-bibliography/> for additional literature on Nazi looting agencies.

⁴⁰ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder: Books Still Not Home from the War," Regine Dehnel (ed.), *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut*, Zweiter Hannoverisches Symposium, Frankfurt am Main 2006, p. 143.

⁴¹ Wolfgang Dierker, "The SS Security Service and the Gestapo in the National Socialist Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1945," Gerald Feldman and Wolfgang Seibel (eds.), *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business and the Organization of the Holocaust*, New York 2005, p. 20.

⁴² See for example Martin Dean, "Seizure of Jewish Property and Inter-Agency Rivalry in the Reich and in the Occupied Soviet Territories," Gerald Feldman and Wolfgang Seibel (eds.), *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business and the Organization of the Holocaust*, New York 2005, pp. 88-117.

The following briefly outlines the main Nazi organizations that played a role in the looting of Jewish cultural property, including Judaica. It should be noted that while this chapter primarily focuses on the looting of books and manuscripts, ceremonial objects were often taken in the process.

SD (Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS)

At the initiative of Heinrich Himmler, the *Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS* (SD; German Security Service) was created in 1931 as the intelligence branch of Hitler's bodyguards.⁴³ From its inception, Reinhard Heydrich was appointed to head up the operation. After his death in 1942, and with the exception of Adolf Eichmann assuming control for a couple of months, he was succeeded by Ernst Kaltenbrunner, who not only directed the SD but also the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA).⁴⁴ One of the SD's main tasks was the so-called *Gegnerforschung* or *Gegnerbeobachtung und –bekämpfung* (Enemy Research; Enemy Observation – and Enemy Abatement). This 'enemy research' was not limited to Jews but also targeted Freemasons, the Catholic and Protestant churches, and followers of Marxism or Liberalism. As a result, literature of these 'enemy groups' was confiscated or outright looted and afterwards handed to the *SD-Referate* (SD-offices) for further analysis.

In 1935 Heinrich Himmler ordered the establishment of a central scientific library within the SD: this central library was designed to include political literature that was defined as "damaging and undesirable," including literature dealing with Judaica, Hebraica, liberalism, pacifism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, sexology, anthroposophy, occultism, Masonic literature, political churches, sects, and critiques of Nazism.⁴⁵

The pogrom of November 9-10, 1938 – commonly referred to as *Reichskristallnacht*, the Night of Broken Glass – and its eruption of violence significantly increased the collection of the soon-to-be-established central library. Among confiscations that entered the SD's collection as a result of the November pogrom were the holdings of the Berlin, Breslau, Hamburg, Dresden, Munich and Frankfurt rabbinical seminaries, amounting to about 70 collections. Soon thereafter the collection of the *Zentralverein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith) entered the library as well as collections from other Jewish organizations and individuals.⁴⁶

By 1939, the central library of 'opposition collections' became operative after the various Jewish libraries were consolidated into one unit headed by Franz Alfred Six. By the time the RSHA was established in September 1939, the SD's Jewish library had not only collected about 300,000 books,⁴⁷ but Franz Alfred Six had also proposed that existing divisions within the central library should be given a new organizational structure.⁴⁸ Six's suggestions were ultimately put into place in addition to his being put in charge of not only the RSHA's Amt VII, but also of ongoing research on opponents of the regime. Among his responsibilities was the development of a library, a museum, and scientific

⁴³ Schidorsky, *Library of Reich Security Main Office*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ For more information on the SD see: Michael Wildt, *Die Judenpolitik der SD 1935 bis 1938. Eine Dokumentation*, Munich 1995; Shlomo Aronson, *Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte von Gestapo und SD*, Stuttgart 1971; George C Browder, *Foundations of the Nazi Police State. The Formation of Sipo and SD*, Kentucky 1990.

⁴⁵ Schidorsky, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Gideon Botsch, "Raub zum Zweck der Gegnerforschung," Inka Bertz and Michael Dormann (eds.), *Raub und Restitution. Kulturgut aus Jüdischem Besitz von 1933 bis heute*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, p. 95.

⁴⁷ As Grimsted noted, "Himmler's patronage proved stronger than Rosenberg's, and none of this Judaica was transferred to the IEJ." Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19.3 (2005), p. 409.

⁴⁸ Schidorsky, p. 24.

research.⁴⁹ In this context the RSHA Amt VII may have also looted Jewish ceremonial objects, but to date evidence is lacking.

Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Head Office; RSHA)

In 1939 the RSHA was created by combining the SD, the secret police, and the criminal police, with Reinhard Heydrich heading the organization. The RSHA thus “became one of the more significant agents of the looting of Jewish public and private library collections under the Nazi regime.”⁵⁰ In total, the RSHA ‘collected’ 2-3 million books from Jews, but also from Freemasons, leftists and churches – all of which were considered ‘enemies.’⁵¹

Within the RSHA, the main department responsible for the looting of Jewish cultural treasures (predominantly libraries and archives) was Department VII⁵² “*Kultur*” (culture),⁵³ located in Berlin at Emserstrasse 12/13.⁵⁴ The other principal building in Berlin that housed the RSHA library before evacuation in 1943 was the Eisenacherstrasse 11/13 depot (a former Masonic lodge), which held approximately 100,000 volumes.⁵⁵ And it was the RSHA’s own staff, which included members of the SS, that were responsible for the looting in addition to making decisions as to what should happen to the looted material.⁵⁶

Early on officials of the RSHA planned to establish a library of looted Jewish books which was to be called simply the *Judenbibliothek*.⁵⁷ Generally speaking, most of the books looted for the RSHA library came from Jewish public and private libraries, such as books ‘secured’ from the 150 libraries of B’nai B’rith’s offices. Additional loot came from various public and private libraries in Germany, as well as from Vienna and Warsaw. Among the libraries plundered were the collections of the rabbinical seminaries in Berlin and Breslau and the libraries of Jewish organizations.⁵⁸ Another 3,600 books came from the *Leipziger Institutum Delitzschianum Judaicum*. In 1938, about 13 shipments arrived from Vienna of boxes full of books and archival material. These boxes held important collections of Austrian Jewish organizations such as the *Israelitische Allianz*, *Hebräisches Pädagogium* and the *Union Österreichischer Juden*. In that year, the collection of the RSHA already encompassed 85,000 volumes, not including books and other treasures stolen during the *Kristallnacht* (November Pogrom),⁵⁹ which

⁴⁹ Idem, p. 25.

⁵⁰ Idem, p. 21.

⁵¹ Leonidas Hill, “Nazi Attack on ‘Un-German’ Literature,” Jonathan Rose (ed.), *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation*, Amherst 2001, p. 30.

⁵² Originally Amt II (*Gegnerforschung*) was assigned to hold confiscated library collections as well as significant Judaica holdings. However, by 1941, it was Amt VII (*Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung*) that held all the confiscated libraries and other cultural property. At the same time, the Gestapo took over Amt IV and entitled it *Gegnerforschung- und bekämpfung*. see: Botsch, *Raub zum Zweck der Gegnerforschung*, p. 96.

⁵³ Klaus Dieter Lehmann, “Restitution Jüdischer Kulturgüter als Aufgabe der Deutschen Kulturpolitik,” *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Beutegut*. Eine Veranstaltung des Niedersächsischen Landtages und der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek. Symposium im Niedersächsischen Landtag am 14. November 2002. Heft 50 der Schriftenreihe des Niedersächsischen Landtages. Der Präsident des Niedersächsischen Landtages, January 2003, p. 19. For more information on Amt VII, see: Jörg Rudolph, “‘Sämtliche Sendungen sind zu richten an:...’. Das RSHA-Amt VII ‘Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung’ als Sammelstelle erbeuteter Archive und Bibliotheken,” Michael Wildt (ed.), *Nachrichtendienst, politische Elite, Mordeinheit. Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS*, Hamburg 2003, pp. 204-240.

⁵⁴ Grimsted, *Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder*, p. 147.

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Schidorsky, p. 21.

⁵⁷ Idem, p. 26.

⁵⁸ Idem, p. 21.

⁵⁹ Idem, p. 26.

undoubtedly advanced the development of the central library.⁶⁰ After the invasion of Poland, in September 1939, the collections of Polish Jews, including most of the book collections of the synagogues and the large Jewish libraries (for example the Great Synagogue on Tlomackie Street in Warsaw and the Borochoy Library) were added to the RSHA library.

Organizationally, the *Judenbibliothek* of *Amt VII* was divided into three groups, one of which was labeled 'regime opponents,' that included Jewish books or books written by Jews (in addition to, for example, Masonic collections), such as Hebraica, Jewish manuscripts and pamphlets. Excluded were books that were classified as political and ideological literature that were transferred to Rosenberg's Institute for Research of the Jewish Question (*Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, IEJ*) in Frankfurt am Main.

During heavy Allied bombings in August 1943, an effort was made to bring the collection of Department VII to safe depositories. While over a million books of the RSHA's book collection were evacuated to the Sudetenland (the library headquarters were in Niemes, now Czech Mimoň) from Berlin in the summer of 1943,⁶¹ most of the Hebraica books were shipped to the Theresienstadt (Terezin) concentration camp, where Hebrew scholars were assigned to classify and catalogue them.⁶² However, a number of books, including a number of Jewish collections, remained in various locations in Berlin. After the fall of Berlin, the Soviet Army confiscated many of the books that were looted by *Amt VII*.⁶³ In addition, due to the depository not being safely secured, a small part of the archives was looted by the city's residents and especially by book dealers. Only in July 1945, through the efforts of the U.S. Army, were the remaining books secured and transferred to the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD),⁶⁴ as were Jewish ceremonial objects that were discovered in various storages.

Overall, there are no concrete figures regarding the total number of books actually amassed by the RSHA. Estimates vary between 500,000 to one million, but also up to 2 to 3 million volumes. According to Schidorsky, the latter numbers seem more plausible, as not only Jewish collections were involved but also collections of Leftists' literature and collections from Freemason orders and church sects.⁶⁵ After the RSHA took over the collections of its predecessors (the SD and Gestapo),

⁶⁰ Idem, p. 26.

⁶¹ Please note that archives were evacuated to Silesia. Patricia Grimsted, "The Road to Minsk for Western 'Trophy' Books: Twice Plundered but not Yet 'Home from the War,'" *Libraries & Culture* 39.4 (2004), p. 370.

⁶² Grimsted, *Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder*, p. 146. According to Grimsted, "There is now evidence that most of the Breslau materials were in Berlin by the spring of 1939, as confirmed by an RSHA May 1939 list which notes 28,000 volumes from the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary, along with another 10,000 from the Synagogue and over 8,000 from several other Breslau collections. That explains why Niemes was the source of the Hebrew manuscripts and incunabula from the Saraval Collection held by the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary recently returned from Prague to Breslau."

⁶³ In addition, a significant amount of Nazi loot, mainly from two principal Nazi plundering agencies, the already mentioned *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR) and the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (Reich Security Main Office, or RSHA), reached the former Soviet Union through the work of its trophy brigades. The records of, for example, the RSHA's *Amt VII* are held in Moscow. For more information, see: Konstantin Akinsha and Grigori Kozlov, *Beautiful Loot. The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures*, New York 1995; Konstantin Akinsha, "Stalin's Decrees and Soviet Trophy Brigades: Compensation, Restitution in Kind, or 'Trophies' of War?," *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Vol. 17, Issue 02, May 2010, p. 195-216; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire. The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution*, Cambridge 2001, p. 288.

⁶⁴ Schidorsky, p. 38.

⁶⁵ Idem, p. 27; In March 1939, Six proposed that the central library make use of six to eight Jewish forced laborers in order to handle the large quantities of books. He further recommended that these six to eight laborers would be paid by

its cultural arm, RSHA *Amt VII*, specifically designated for ‘Ideological Research and Evaluation’ (*Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung*) might have amassed even more books than its competitor, the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR), Alfred Rosenberg’s Task Force.⁶⁶ But generally speaking, it was not always clear which Nazi organization would loot which collection, and to quote Patricia Grimsted Kennedy, “...on some occasions, library books and archives found in the same household or institution went to different Nazi agencies. For example, the ERR had to turn over most of the



Figure 2: German Administration of Europe, 1942;
https://www.usbmm.org/outreach/en/media_nm.php?MediaId=347, last accessed April 14, 2016.

Jewish and Masonic archives plundered by the ERR in France and the Benelux countries to the RSHA *Amt VII*. But *Amt VII* generally separated out the books from the archives. While most of the Jewish books went to the Sudetenland, most of the Jewish and Masonic archives (together with those received from the ERR) were evacuated to Silesia.”⁶⁷

At the same time the RSHA’s book collections were evacuated in the summer of 1943, its archival materials, which included objects looted by the RSHA’s predecessors, namely the SD and Gestapo, were evacuated from Berlin and stored in

the Castle Fürststein (now Polish Książ). In the beginning of May 1944, the RSHA’s archival collection was again moved, this time to Wölfelsdorf (now Polish Wilkanów), a remote Silesian village which soon thereafter “became the RSHA hideaway storage center for their vast archival plunder from all over Europe (RSHA Amt VII, C-1).”⁶⁸ The Wölfelsdorf depot, located in the region of Klodzko, was possibly also storage for objects from the Jewish Museum Berlin. After their discovery in 1945, Polish authorities transferred these objects to nearby Bozkow (Eckersdorf), which had functioned as a depot for museum and cultural goods. Among the objects were a couple of old printed books, files of the art collection of the museum, and around 150 ritual objects, as well as dozens of lamps, a washing vessel from the Old Synagogue in Berlin, synagogue textiles, Torah crowns and a yad (pointer).⁶⁹

the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (*Reichszentrale für Jüdische Auswanderung*) and supervised by an SS command labeled *Bibliothekskommando*. However, Six’s plan was not put into practice on the grounds that, among other reasons, the RSHA personnel would refuse to work with a group of Jews and it would damage the image of the SD if the matter became known. As a result, during the library’s early years, it suffered from not only insufficient storage, but also from a lack of skilled workers. In 1941 Six reintroduced his suggestion to employ skilled Jewish forced laborers to work in the RSHA’s library. The Federal Union of the Jews in Germany was subsequently tasked with providing eight skilled Jewish librarians. By October they started their work in the offices located in Eisenacher Strasse. In 1943, the group of Jewish librarians was increased, and twenty-five more were enlisted to work in the library. (Schidorsky, pp. 28-29.)

⁶⁶ Grimsted, *Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder*, p. 145. For more information on the ERR, see pp. 8-12.

⁶⁷ Idem, p. 148.

⁶⁸ Idem, p. 149.

⁶⁹ Jakob Hübner, ‘Auf der Suche nach Objekten des Berliner Jüdischen Museums in Polen. Funde und Hypothesen’, in Chana Schütz und Hermann Simon (Hg): *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Das Berliner Jüdische Museum (1933-1938)*, Berlin 2011. pp. 73-85, p. 81-83.

The RSHA's archival collection is of some significance, especially considering that while the *Hohe Schule* and other ERR destinations retained priority for the books seized by the ERR, the Rosenberg units were eventually asked to hand over their archival loot to the *Amt VII*.⁷⁰

Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei)

Similar to the *Amt VII*, the Gestapo also took part in the expropriation of Jewish property.⁷¹

Founded on 26 April 1933 by Hermann Göring, then Prussian Minister of Interior, and headed by Reinhard Heydrich beginning in April 1934, the Gestapo developed into a secret *Gesinnungspolizei* (patriotic ethos police). Its main responsibility was the systematic fight against people labeled as enemies of the NS-regime, in particular communists, socialists and Jews. Organizationally speaking, in 1941 the Gestapo took over *Amt IV* within the RSHA and entitled it *Gegnerforschung- und bekämpfung*.⁷² The Gestapo was the main operational center for anti-Jewish persecution policy, with Adolf Eichmann playing a central role in it. By 1944, it employed about 32,000 people.

Between 1938⁷³ and 1941, the Gestapo was largely responsible for the practical implementation of anti-Jewish policies. In doing so, it often dealt with Jewish communities and in the process confiscated their cultural and religious properties.⁷⁴ As a result, Adolf Eichmann's Gestapo-Referat *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung*⁷⁵ (Central Office for Jewish Emigration) decided to establish a Jewish Central Museum in Prague. This museum, which started its activities in 1942⁷⁶, was to hold cultural and religious objects from communities in Bohemia and Moravia..⁷⁷

By 1941, the Gestapo started to liquidate its inventory of cultural objects. While many of Hitler's agents were given first choice, other cultural objects were sold by an Austrian agency called the *Vugesta* (an acronym for *Vermögens-Umzugsgut von der Gestapo* or Property Removed by the Gestapo) and headed by Karl Herber. The *Vugesta*'s proceeds for the years 1941 and 1944, amounted to 14 million Reichsmarks, of which 10 million Reichsmarks came from the Dorotheum auction house.⁷⁸ The revenues of these auctions went to the Reich (or the federal government) by way of the Finance Ministry.⁷⁹

⁷⁰ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 409-410. (Grimsted pointed out that starting with 1939, Rosenberg and Himmler competed over each other's loot and authority. In July 1940, for example, "Rosenberg complained that Himmler was abusing his authority and did not appreciate Rosenberg's mission.")

⁷¹ For more information on the Gestapo, see: Rupert Butler, *The Gestapo: A History of Hitler's Secret Police 1933-45*, Barnsley 2004.

⁷² Botsch, p. 97.

⁷³ The Gestapo's launch in confiscating Jewish-owned cultural property, mostly art, began in annexed Austria following the *Anschluss* in March 1938.

⁷⁴ Botsch, p. 97.

⁷⁵ For more information on the *Zentralstelle*, specifically in Austria, see: Gabriele Anderl, Dirk Rupnow and Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Die Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung als Beraubungsinstitution*. Historikerkommission der Republik Österreich, Wien 2004.

⁷⁶ Magda Veselka, "Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 123.

⁷⁷ For more information on the Jewish Central Museum, see, for example: Dirk Rupnow, *Täter-Gedächtnis-Opfer: Das Jüdische Zentralmuseum' in Prag 1942-1945*, Wien 2000.

⁷⁸ Helen Junz, *Das Vermögen der jüdischen Bevölkerung Österreichs. NS-Raub und Restitution nach 1945*, Wien, München 2004, p. 182.

⁷⁹ Jonathan Petropolous, "For Germany and Themselves: The Motivation Behind the Nazi Leaders' Plundering and Collecting of Art". Special Reports, *Spoils of War*, No 4, August 1997.

Sonderkommando Paulsen

At the same time the RSHA was operative, the *Sonderkommando Paulsen* was tasked by the RSHA to confiscate cultural objects in Poland.⁸⁰ Peter Paulsen, the leader of this special unit, was a Gestapo *Unterscharführer* (Lieutenant). The leading force behind the *Sonderkommando* was Heinrich Himmler's *Abnenerbe*,⁸¹ which employed art historians and experts to draft lists of museums, noteworthy prehistoric material, and valuable art collections for confiscation. The research conducted by these experts was put at the disposal of Himmler's forces and more specifically at the disposal of the *Sonderkommando Paulsen*.⁸²

Between October and December 1939, the *Sonderkommando Paulsen* was able to loot numerous cultural objects,⁸³ in addition to prehistoric, ethnographic and scientific collections, as well as various special libraries, mostly from the cities of Cracow, Sandomir, Warsaw and Lublin.⁸⁴ Further looting sprees by the *Sonderkommando Paulsen* were subsequently inhibited by Hans Frank, governor-general of the General Gouvernement, who had his own looting agenda in mind. In summary, the damage caused by the *Sonderkommando Paulsen* was limited, especially in comparison with the agencies of Himmler and Göring.⁸⁵ To date little is known about Paulsen's role in the looting of Jewish ritual objects. However, it is known that in Warsaw, the *Kommando Paulsen* confiscated 'three crates containing the Masonic and Jewish ceremonial objects from the National Museum', which was used as a collecting point by *Kommando Paulsen* in Warsaw. They arrived in Berlin on 23rd December 1939.⁸⁶

Wehrmacht

Another, somewhat reluctant, player in the looting of cultural objects was the Wehrmacht, the Nazis' unified armed forces, which was active between 1935 to 1945. With the Führer's decree (*Führererlass*)⁸⁷ from 1 March 1, 1942, the Wehrmacht alongside the offices of the Nazi party and the Nazi state was authorized to officially conduct art looting sprees. But already two years earlier, on

⁸⁰ For more detailed information on the Kommando Paulsen, see for example: Andrzej Meżynski, *Kommando Paulsen. Organizierter Kunstraub in Polen 1942–45*, Köln 2000.

⁸¹ The *Abnenerbe* (*Studiengesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte, Deutsches Abnenerbe e.V.* – Study Society for Primordial Intellectual History, German Ancestral Heritage [registered society], after 1937 renamed *Forschung- und Lehrgemeinschaft des Abnenerbe e.V.* – Research and Teaching Community the Ancestral Heritage [registered society]), was founded in 1935 by Heinrich Himmler and had as its goal research on the anthropological and cultural history of the Aryan race. For more information see: Michael Kater, *Das "Abnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, Munich 2001.

⁸² Petropolous, *Art as Politics*, p. 102.

⁸³ Most cultural objects were looted in October 1939.

⁸⁴ Petropolous, p. 103.

⁸⁵ Idem, p. 103.

⁸⁶ The crates may also have contained some exhibits from the Bersohn Museum confiscated by the other special SS unit, which was led by Lothar Beutel (Einsatzgruppe IV. (Nawojka Cieślińska-Lobkowitz, "The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War. An Overview", Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 141-142) After the war, the National Museum in Warsaw handed some pieces of a wooden Torah ark, probably from one of Warsaw's small private synagogues, over to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (ZIH) (Eleonora Bergman, "The Jewish Historical Institute: History of Its Building and Collections," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 191).

⁸⁷ "(...) alle Dienststellen der Wehrmacht, der Partei und des Staates (...)" "Juden, Freimaurer und die mit ihnen verbündeten weltanschaulichen Gegner sind die Urheber des jetzigen gegen das Reich gerichteten Krieges. Die planmäßige geistige Bekämpfung dieser Mächte ist eine kriegsnotwendige Aufgabe. Ich habe daher den Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg beauftragt, diese Aufgabe im Einvernehmen mit dem Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht durchzuführen. (...) see: Bundesarchiv, NS 8/260, Bl. 110; here cited after: Hannes Hartung, *Kunstraub in Krieg und Verfolgung: die Restitution der Beute- und Raubkunst im Kollisions- und Voelkerrecht*, Berlin, 2012, p. 42.

the occasion of the Nazi invasion of France in spring 1940, the Wehrmacht set up a special unit called the *Kunstschutz* or Art Protection Unit. The *Kunstschutz* was a re-creation of the World War I era art and monument protection office.⁸⁸ Its head was the art historian Franz Wolff-Metternich.⁸⁹

The Wehrmacht – in contrast to other Nazi organizations – adhered to the 1907 Hague convention⁹⁰, which stipulated the protection of private property and respect for art objects and monuments. Yet the Wehrmacht only applied those principles to territories that were occupied and under military rule, such as France, Belgium, Greece, Serbia and at a later stage Italy. (The Netherlands, for example, was under civil administration).⁹¹ Objects owned by Jews were regarded by the Wehrmacht as “heirless” and therefore not covered by the Hague convention.⁹² Those items seized by the *Kunstschutz* in accordance with the Hague convention were placed under military control, even though up until the end of 1943, the organisation was not officially under the OKH (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*; High Command of the Armed Forces).⁹³

In France, following the Hague rules, Wolf-Metternich stipulated that historic buildings were off-limits to German troops, including 500 castles, and compiled a list of sites that he deemed worth protecting. Another task of the *Kunstschutz*, as defined by Wolf-Metternich, was the continuation of cultural life. Consequently, at the end of September 1940, the *Kunstschutz* organized the re-opening of some rooms in the Louvre. The Wehrmacht’s opposition to the outright looting of cultural property, in particular the transfer of cultural objects to Germany, and continuation of cultural life, did not always meet with approval from other Nazi organizations, and it soon found itself having to cooperate with the ERR.⁹⁴ To that effect, on September 17, 1940, Hitler directed the Army to extend all possible assistance to the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, which was entitled to not only “secure” objects deemed of cultural value, but also to transport them to Germany.⁹⁵

Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)

Because of the ERR’s importance in the looting of Judaica, “and the fact that the ERR library commandos may have been responsible for the most extensive library plunder,”⁹⁶ this overview will give emphasis to the role that Rosenberg played as well as to the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, IEJ). In addition, it should be noted that precisely because of the looting sprees of the ERR and because of its ambition to study classified enemy groups, large Judaica libraries and archives as well as Torah scrolls and ritual objects (which were often seized along with libraries) were ‘saved’ from destruction. To quote Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Ironically, many libraries and archives of the victims were ‘saved’ for the extensive ERR anti-Semitic research, library and propaganda operations.”⁹⁷

⁸⁸ Lynn Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa. The Fate of Europe’s Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War*, New York, 1994, p. 119.

⁸⁹ Anders Rydell, *Hitlers Bilder: Kunstraub der Nazis - Raubkunst in der Gegenwart*, Frankfurt/New York, 2013, p. 144.

⁹⁰ Haager Landkriegsordnung (HLKO) from 1907.

⁹¹ Günther Haase, *Kunstraub und Kunstschutz: eine Dokumentation*. Vol. I: “Kunstraub und Kunstschutz,” Norderstedt, 2008, p. 61.

⁹² Erich Wiedemann, “Die Kunsträuber.” *Der Spiegel*, Teil 7 “Jagd nach Kunst”, 18 June 2001.

⁹³ Haase, p. 68. (The art protection unit was officially part of the “Oberkommando des Heeres Generalquartiermeister.)

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 64; Rydell, p. 146.

⁹⁵ Nicholas, p. 125.

⁹⁶ Grimsted, *Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder*, p. 143.

⁹⁷ Idem, p. 144.

Research conducted by Dr. Grimsted, in cooperation and with the sponsorship of the Claims Conference, has led to the recent publication of *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*. The Guide is available online⁹⁸ and provides information on the current whereabouts of ERR records in addition to detailing their contents and providing links to records that are online available.

The ERR's looting sprees were far-reaching and extensive: ERR units investigated 375 archives, 402 museums, 531 institutions and 957 libraries in the countries the ERR was active. The ERR set up headquarters in Berlin with offices in Brussels, Amsterdam, Paris, Belgrade and Riga, as well as numerous sub-offices in other parts of Europe.⁹⁹

Alfred Rosenberg, born in Reval (Tallin, then part of the Russian Empire, today the capital of Estonia), after the Russian Revolution had a long and distinguished career with the Nazi party. Starting in 1923, he was the founding chief of the newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, in addition to serving as the editor of the antisemitic monthly *Der Weltkampf*. Furthermore, Rosenberg was instrumental in shaping the idea of a worldwide Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy, exemplified by the writing of his *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The Myth of the Twentieth Century), which was first published in 1930.

By January 1934, Hitler ordered Rosenberg to direct 'the Plenipotentiary of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Enlightenment of the Nazi Party' (*Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP*; DBFU). Following Hitler's order, Rosenberg began to create a far-reaching organization that covered all fields of art, music, culture, and science,¹⁰⁰ along with other fields of culture, which were later to provide staff, bureaucracy, and a cultural network for the ERR as an operational offshoot.¹⁰¹

Six years later, on January 29, 1940, Hitler appointed Alfred Rosenberg to head the *Hohle Schule*, which was to become the center for National Socialist ideological and educational research and an alternative to universities for Nazi elites – to be established after the war. The *Hohle Schule* was administered by the DBFU and the Rosenberg *Dienststelle* in Berlin.¹⁰²

After the invasions of France, the Netherlands and Belgium (May to June 1940), on July 17, 1940, Alfred Rosenberg created the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR). The ERR was designed to be an operational unit that had emerged from the DBFU and consisted of several individual command

⁹⁸ <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>; As of August 2017, the following chapters are available for download: Introduction to the Guide: "Alfred Rosenberg and the ERR: The Records of Plunder and the Fate of Its Loot;" Chapter 1: "Belgium;" Chapter 2: "France;" Chapter 4: "Israel;" Chapter 6 "Netherlands;" Chapter 10 "United States". A chapter on Germany is expected shortly. A previous full edition entitled "Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Culture Plunder: A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)" from 2011 may be seen at <https://socialhistory.org/en/publications/reconstructing-record-nazi-cultural-plunder>.

⁹⁹ Hill, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ Willem de Vries, "Special Reports: The 'Sonderstab Musik' of the 'Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg' 1940-1945," Special Reports, *Spoils of War*, No. 1, 19 December 1995.

¹⁰¹ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot*. Revised and Updated Edition, 2017, p. 22. (online at: <http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>)

¹⁰² Elisabeth Yavnai, "Jewish Cultural Property and Its Postwar Recovery," *Confiscation of Jewish Property in Europe, 1933-1945*. One Day Symposium at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, 22 March 2001, p. 127; Saul Friedländer called Rosenberg's *Hohle Schule* "the party university, Rosenberg's pet project". Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939-1945. The Years of Extermination*, New York 2007, p. 162; Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 403.

forces, called *Sonderstäbe*, covering a wide range of fields such as visual arts, music, theatre, folklore, prehistory, churches, archives, science and genealogy.¹⁰³ The ERR was thus authorized to ransack objects deemed of interest to its organization, including Judaica, Jewish libraries and other cultural property that would contribute to the “ideological task of the NSDAP and the later scientific research work of the Hohe Schule.”¹⁰⁴

One of the advantages held by Rosenberg’s team was the fact that it was authorized to loot in both the western and eastern spheres. The ERR’s approach differed geographically. In Western Europe and the Balkans it concentrated on private and religious organizations – including Jewish institutions, Masonic lodges, socialist organizations, East European émigré groups, and a variety of other agencies – as well as on private, primarily Jewish, individuals. But in Eastern Europe and particularly within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, the ERR’s cultural plunder was primarily directed at state repositories, since most private and religious collections in these areas had long before been nationalized.¹⁰⁵

The ERR’s Special Command Force for Occupied Western Territories started its operations in occupied France in June/July 1940 on the basis of the Führer’s authorization to seize major art collections of Jews who had fled the invasion. Its headquarters were first established in Berlin at Margarethenstrasse 17, Berlin W35. After the occupation of France, the ERR headquarters were temporarily transferred to Paris, but in 1941 they were again moved to Berlin, to the *Haus am Knie* (Bismarckstrasse 1, Berlin-Charlottenburg). Operations carried out by the ERR in Western Europe were based out of Paris and directed by Baron Kurt von Behr (who started in March 1942), who also headed the Western Office (*Dienststelle* or *Amt Westen*) of the RMbO (the *Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete*; Reichs Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories).¹⁰⁶ By 1943, with the advance of the Allies and their increased bombing, the order was given to evacuate cultural property from Berlin, and several of its “divisions and major research operations were evacuated to the isolated Silesian city of Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), south of Kattowitz (postwar Katowice, Poland).”¹⁰⁷

Following a decision by Hitler and at the time that the deportations of Jews from Western occupied lands intensified in 1942, the ERR started also to link itself closely with the so-called *Möbel Aktion* (*M-Aktion* or Furniture Action), an organization responsible for the stripping of contents from Jewish homes. The *Möbel Aktion*, technically part of the RMbO, was supervised under Rosenberg’s *Dienststelle Westen*, with its French part run by Baron Kurt von Behr. Initially the *Möbel Aktion* was designed to provide household furnishings for bombed-out homes in the Reich, in addition to the RMbO and the ERR, but through its confiscations of Jewish household goods, even more cultural and religious items fell into the hands of the ERR. *Möbel Aktion* branches came into existence in countries such as France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik. Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe*, Amsterdam 1996.

¹⁰⁴ Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal: Nuremberg 14 November 1945-1 October 1946, Vol. VI (Nuremberg, 1947), p. 85; here cited after Yavnai, *Jewish Cultural Property*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁵ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 394; see also: Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy, *Documenting the Plunder of Judaica: Perspectives from Remaining Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*, Paper presented at the Holocaust Era Assets Conference, Prague, 26-30 June 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 395.

¹⁰⁷ Grimsted, Introduction, ERR Guide, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 396.

Books looted under the supervision of the ERR were sent to Rosenberg's *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, IEJ),¹⁰⁹ which was founded in April 1939. The institute was originally located in Frankfurt but later, in the summer of 1943, was moved to Hungen.¹¹⁰ With the opening of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question in March 1941 it could claim to be the first institute to be established under the auspices of Rosenberg's *Hohe Schule*,¹¹¹ and apart from the Central Library of the *Hohe Schule* (*Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule*, ZBHS), it was also the only one of the planned *Hohe Schule* affiliates that was formally established during the war.¹¹²

The IEJ was first directed by Dr. Wilhelm Grau, and its repositories were established in eight different facilities. The IEJ's library was directed by Johannes Pohl, who earlier had studied Judaica at Jerusalem's Hebrew University from 1934 to 1936 at the Nazi Party's request.¹¹³ The library was initially based on the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt along with other Frankfurt Judaica holdings.¹¹⁴ By April 1943, the library could already claim that in theory it had a collection of about 550,000 volumes (which included books not yet received), originating from France, the Netherlands, Greece, and occupied Soviet territories. The IEJ, however, also received loot from occupied Soviet territories, such as Hebraica from eastern Ukraine and Belarus. More Judaica came from the Baltics, especially from Lithuania, but after some time, the RSHA started insisting that they needed stronger reference collections. By that time, however, many of the most important Jewish collections in the West had already been confiscated.¹¹⁵

In the end, the ERR had amassed such an enormous amount of Judaica, including Torah scrolls, that in a report by the ERR on March 18, 1944 there is a note that "(...) there are numbers of Torah rolls [sic: scrolls] lying here, in which the Frankfurt Institute no longer has an interest. Perhaps, however, the leather can still have some use for bookbinding. Please inform me whether I am to pack available Torah rolls or those which may arrive in the future for the central library."¹¹⁶

The *Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule* was first established in Berlin at Behrenstrasse 49 in early 1939 and directed by Dr. Walther Grothe. In 1942, it moved to Tyrol, Austria, to the Grand Hotel Annenheim and later on to the remote Monastery of Tanzenberg, in Austria's Carinthia. The ZBHS was designed to become the central research facility of the *Hohe Schule*. Soon after the invasion of France, ZBHS director Grothe and IEJ director Grau were sent to Paris to head up the special ERR unit "*Sonderstab Bibliothek der Hohen Schule*" (Special Unit Library of the Hohe Schule). Their mission was to target in particular Jewish institutional and private libraries, and by November 1940, the *Sonderstab* started to become active in Brussels and Amsterdam.¹¹⁷ A year later, the *Sonderstab* started its activities in the occupied Soviet lands, particularly in Ukraine. But aside from its own loot, the ERR also received books previously looted by the Künsberg Commando of the Foreign Office, totaling more than 40,000 volumes.

¹⁰⁹ See also Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People*, New Haven 1999, pp 97-101.

¹¹⁰ Prior to that, Rosenberg had already founded the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* in Munich in 1932. Lehmann, *Restitution Jüdischer Kulturgüter*, p. 18.

¹¹¹ Grimsted, *Road to Minsk*, p. 371.

¹¹² Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 403.

¹¹³ For more information on Pohl, see: Maria Kühn-Ludewig, *Johannes Pohl (1904-1960). Judaist und Bibliothekar im Dienste Rosenbergs. Eine biographische Dokumentation*, Hannover 2000.

¹¹⁴ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, p. 162.

¹¹⁵ Idem, p. 410.

¹¹⁶ Joshua Starr, "Jewish Cultural Property under Nazi Control," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 1950, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 404. See also: Grimsted, *Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder*, p. 154.

By the time the war ended, over half a million books were collected in the monastery in Tanzenberg, which was then in British hands.¹¹⁸ An additional repository for looted books was Hitler's planned cultural center in Linz, Austria,¹¹⁹ and the ERR research and library center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz), to which the Germans transported more than two million books.¹²⁰

At the end of the war, the Allies were faced with tens of millions of books looted by various Nazi organizations, including the RSHA and the ERR. However, this did not account for the looting conducted by the allies and collaborators of the Nazis. Yet, research into the confiscations by the Italians, Croatians, Hungarians etc. is for the most part still outstanding.

*Please see also Appendices to Part I:
Organizational Charts - Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA)*

¹¹⁸ For more information on Tanzenberg, see: Evelyn Adunka, *Der Raub der Bücher. Plünderungen in der NS-Zeit und Restitution nach 1945*, Wien 2002.

¹¹⁹ For more information see Murray Hall's research on the *Führerbibliothek*: Murray Hall and Christina Köstner, ... *allerlei für die Nationalbibliothek zu ergattern. Eine österreichische Institution in der NS-Zeit*, Wien 2006; Murray Hall, Christina Köstner and Margot Werner, *Geraubte Bücher. Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek stellt sich ihrer NS-Vergangenheit*, Wien 2004.

¹²⁰ Grimsted, *Roads to Ratibor*, p. 390.

1.3 The Looting of Judaica: Museum Collections, Community Collections and Private Collections – An Overview

The *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*¹²¹, originally produced in 2009 by the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) and updated in 2016, provides information on 70 countries, including data – if available – on looted Judaica collections, research projects to identify them, and in some cases information on successful restitutions. For some countries the information is extensive, based on years of research and state-financed projects. For other countries, however – mostly states that were only marginally affected by the Holocaust and its aftermath, as well as some countries of the former eastern Bloc – the information is sparser. In a report entitled *Holocaust-Era Looted Art: A Current World-Wide Overview*¹²² published by the Claims Conference and WJRO at the end of 2014, fifty countries were reviewed in terms of their progress in conducting provenance research on looted art and subsequent restitutions (or the existence of governmental sanctioned art restitution measures). Generally speaking, provenance research on looted Judaica has only been conducted in countries that were or are involved in research on looted art. Thus the above mentioned overview and especially its finding that only four (4) countries can be labeled as having made major progress towards implementing the Washington Conference principles and the Terezin Declaration,¹²³ indicates that substantial provenance research and research projects on looted Judaica are for the most part still lacking.

The current overview is separated into three parts: while the first and main section focuses on countries that have been quite active in their research on looted Judaica (and therefore will be described in more detail), the second part focuses on countries that have marginally researched their Judaica collections. The third and last part concentrates on Judaica collections (including vanished collections) in countries that thus far have not conducted any (or insufficient) research. It is important to note that looted Judaica is often not country specific, since the re-distribution of looted Judaica during the Nazi regime and its further dispersal after the war, especially by the Soviet trophy brigades in the East and Jewish Restitution Successor Organization/Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in the west, was not necessarily bound by country borders.

Obviously the situations faced by countries vary greatly. Perhaps the most obvious divide is between countries on whose territory the killings and robbery of the Holocaust took place and those countries that may have been involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath but were not sites of the genocide as such. Whether perpetrator or victim nations, countries where the local Jewish population was robbed face greater complications and generally larger quantities of looted

¹²¹ The compilation, updated in 2016, is based on information from existing published and unpublished literature and archives, as well as information obtained from experts in various countries. (Online available at: <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/>).

¹²² Wesley Fisher, Ruth Weinberger, *Holocaust-Era Looted Art: A Current World-Wide Overview*. Paper presented at the ICOM Museum & Politics Conference, St. Petersburg, September 2014. Online at: <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/looted-art-report/>.

¹²³ More information on the 1998 Washington Conference and the 2009 Terezin Declaration can be found at: <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/additional-resources-2/>.

cultural property in their museums than do countries that were simply the recipients of looted art and Judaica. Thus the challenges facing countries such as Germany and Ukraine are far greater than those facing countries such as Portugal and Canada.

Researched Looted Judaica Collections – Countries Mentioned in the Worldwide Overview

The already mentioned *Worldwide Overview* singled out four countries that made major progress in researching and documenting looted artifacts and implementing the Principles of the 1998 Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets¹²⁴ as well as the Terezin Declaration of 2009¹²⁵: Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany and the Netherlands.

Austria:

Austria's role during the Holocaust and its active participation in the looting and eventual murder of its Jewish community has been thoroughly documented and researched.¹²⁶ The organization mainly responsible for the looting of Austria's Jews was the Vugesta (*Verwertungsstelle für jüdisches Umzugsgut der Gestapo*; Gestapo Office for the Disposal of the Property of Jewish Emigrants). Between Vugesta's creation in early autumn 1940 until the end of the war, the organization was responsible for the looting of 5,000 – 6,000 apartments, including artworks and Judaica.¹²⁷ However, Adolf Eichmann's *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung* (Central Office for Jewish Emigration), established in August 1938 to supervise the emigration and expulsion of Austria's Jews, equally played a significant role.¹²⁸

The Viennese Jewish Community Library, once one of Europe's largest, had about 33,800 volumes in 1938. The collection included numerous very valuable books, among them 41 incunabula and 625 manuscripts, of which 300 were of high monetary value. After Austria's annexation (*Anschluss*) the library was confiscated by the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) and eventually brought to the RSHA depot in Berlin.¹²⁹ As was the case with most libraries that were confiscated by the RSHA, the library of Vienna's Jewish community did not remain intact as a whole. It was partly transferred for

¹²⁴ Links to the texts of these and related documents may be found at <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/additional-resources-2/>

¹²⁵ <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/en/news-archive/detail/terezin-declaration/>; see also above.

¹²⁶ See for example the published reports by Austria's Historical Commission. All 49 volumes are searchable online: <http://www.boehrlau-verlag.com/histkom/>; In particular see: Clemens Jabloner, Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Eva Blimlinger, Georg Graf, Robert Knight, Lorenz Mikoletzky, Bertrand Perz, Roman Sandgruber, Karl Stuhlpfarrer, and Alice Teichova (eds), *Schlussbericht der Historikerkommission der Republik Österreich. Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich. Zusammenfassungen und Einschätzungen*, Wien 2004.

¹²⁷ For more information on the Vugesta, see: Sabine Loitfellner, "Die Rolle der Verwaltungsstelle für jüdisches Umzugsgut der Geheimen Staatspolizei (Vugesta) im NS-Kunstraub," Gabriele Anderl, Alexandra Caruso (eds), *NS-Kunstraub in Österreich und die Folgen*. Innsbruck 2005.

¹²⁸ See also: Gabriele Anderl, Dirk Rupnow and Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Die Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung als Beraubungsinstitution*, Wien/München 2004.

¹²⁹ According to forced laborer Ernst Grumach, RSHA's central library was initially in Berlin's Emser Strasse and later moved to Eisenacherstrasse 12 (see: CAHJP, p. 205-17, Grumach, Bericht, p. 3). Schidorsky states that it still later was moved to "a synagogue in Schöneberg", Münchener Strasse 37, without giving details (see: Dov Schidorsky, "Das Schicksal jüdischer Bibliotheken im Dritten Reich", Peter Vodosek and Manfred Komorowski (ed), *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus*, Teil II, Wiesbaden 1992, p. 194). The Münchener Strasse depot was given to RSHA after 1941 (see: Jörg Rudolph, "Sämtliche Sendungen sind zu richten an...". Das RSHA-Amt VII, Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung als Sammelstelle erbeuteter Archive und Bibliotheken," Michel Wildt (ed.), *Nachrichtendienst, politische Elite, Mordeinheit. Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS*, Hamburg 2003, p. 215).

safekeeping to Silesia and Northern Bohemia in 1943, specifically to the Niemes castle near Reichenberg, now Liberec. Other parts that remained at the RSHA's quarters located in Berlin probably burned down when the building was hit by a bomb. After the war, an attempt was made to reconstitute the library: accordingly, parts were brought back from the Niemes castle, while other book collections were restituted from the Offenbach Archival Depot as well as from the Synagogue Community of Düsseldorf. Yet other books, mostly manuscripts and incunabula, found their way into Warsaw's *Zydowski Instytut Historyczny* (Jewish Historical Institute).¹³⁰

Vienna's old Jewish Museum, founded in 1895, shut down immediately after the *Anschluss* in March 1938. In 1939, the museum's objects were sent to the Museum of Ethnology.¹³¹ Some objects were also sent to other museums, such as the Museum of Natural History or to Austria's National Library.¹³² With the reestablishment of a new Jewish Museum¹³³ by the city of Vienna in 1990, the new museum eventually received from the IKG (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*; Austria's Jewish Community) on permanent loan holdings from Viennese synagogues or prayer houses that were destroyed during the pogrom of November 1938 and the restituted remnants of the prewar Jewish Museum. Since their postwar fate was not always straightforward, with objects being placed on the market or otherwise being lost, the prewar collection is far from complete.¹³⁴

Unlike Germany, where the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) was assigned to deal with heirless Jewish property beginning in 1948, Austria's Second Restitution Claims Act,¹³⁵ enacted in February 1947, regulated all legal successions.¹³⁶ Consequently, the IKG became the legal successor to all Jewish institutions, associations, libraries and the like throughout Austria. However, the IKG's role during the Holocaust was also that of a repository for Jewish artifacts by individuals prior to their deportation. As a result of the Second Restitution Claims Act, the remainder collection of the old Jewish Museum became the legal property of the IKG. The old Jewish Museum at the time of the *Anschluss* was not only holding cultural assets that had belonged to the prewar Jewish Viennese community, and items that were on loan at the time were as much restituted to the IKG through the Second Restitution Claims Act as were objects that legally had belonged to the museum.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Werner Hanak-Lettner, "Phantombibliothek und Bücherasyl. Ein Ausstellungskonzept als Einblick in die Bibliothek des Jüdischen Museums Wien," Stephan Alker, Christina Köstner and Markus Stumpf (eds.), *Bibliotheken in der NS-Zeit. Provenienzforschung und Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Göttingen 2008, p. 202; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "From Nazi Plunder to Russian Restitution", Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (ed.), *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, United Kingdom 2007, p. 53.

¹³¹ Birgit Johler, Barbara Staudinger (eds.), *Von Dreideln, Mazzen und Beschneidungsmessern. Jüdische Dinge im Museum (= Objekte im Fokus, 1)*. Exhibition catalogue, Vienna, 2011. (In 2012 the Museum of Ethnology carried out a research project to explore its Judaica collection).

¹³² Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, "Fragments of Remembrance: Viennese Judaica Collections and More," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 75.

¹³³ For more information on the Jewish Museum's provenance research, see: <http://www.jmw.at/en/provenance-research-restitution>.

¹³⁴ Heimann-Jelinek, *Fragments of Remembrance*, p. 71.

¹³⁵ The text of the second Restitution Claims Act can be found at: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ZweitesRueckstellungsgesetz.pdf>.

¹³⁶ Heimann-Jelinek, p. 71.

¹³⁷ Idem.

In 1998 Austria passed its Art Restitution Act (*Bundesgesetz über die Rückgabe von Kunstgegenständen aus den Österreichischen Bundesmuseen und Sammlungen*).¹³⁸ Austria's Provenance Research Commission (Kommission für Provenienzforschung),¹³⁹ also founded in 1998, and the Restitution Committee (Kunstrückgabebeirat)¹⁴⁰ have dealt with a number of cases.¹⁴¹ While Judaica objects are by no means a central focus, some Judaica has already been restituted.¹⁴² However, extensive research into looted and vanished Judaica collections seems to be still lacking, in part since Austria's Historical Commission did not deal with the topic. Research that has been done on Judaica thus far has largely focused on looted books: spoliated books reached many libraries throughout Austria during World War II, having been collected by the Nazis for the so-called *Höhe Schule*, while others were acquired by the *Ahnenerbe*.¹⁴³ Some of these objects can still be found in libraries throughout Austria, including the Jewish Museum in Vienna.¹⁴⁴ However it should be noted that numerous restitutions have already taken place, in particular by Austria's National Library¹⁴⁵ as well as by university libraries.¹⁴⁶

Czech Republic:

As in Austria, much research has been conducted on Czechoslovakia's role during World War II.¹⁴⁷ Less than a year after Czechoslovakia was forced to cede the Sudetenland, in March 1938 Hitler invaded Bohemia and Moravia and declared these territories Germany's "Protectorate". The *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung in Böhmen und Mähren* (Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Bohemia and Moravia),¹⁴⁸ set up on the Viennese model, served the purpose of accelerating the expulsion of both Czech and foreign Jews. The *Zentralstelle*, together with the Office of the Protectorate of the Reich (from 1943 onwards the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia)

¹³⁸ For more information, see: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/empfehlungen-des-beirats/gesetze/kunstruckgabegesetze/>

¹³⁹ See: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/>.

¹⁴⁰ For more information, see: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/empfehlungen-des-beirats/>.

¹⁴¹ Successful restitutions are mentioned in the annual restitution reports. Online available at: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at/empfehlungen-des-beirats/restitutionsbericht/>.

¹⁴² *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 83-84.

¹⁴³ The Ahnenerbe, founded in July 1935 by Heinrich Himmler, was a research institute with the aim to study the archaeological and cultural history of the Aryan race. For more information, see Michael Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935-1945: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reichs*, Munich 2006.

¹⁴⁴ For more information, see: Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, "Fragments of Remembrance: Viennese Judaica Collections and More," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011; Richard Hacken, "The Jewish Community Library in Vienna: From Dispersion and Destruction to Partial Restoration," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 47 (2002), pp. 151-172; Werner Hanak-Lettner, "Phantombibliothek und Bücherys. Ein Ausstellungskonzept als Einblick in die Bibliothek des Jüdischen Museums Wien," Stephan Alker, Christina Köstner, Markus Stumpf (eds.), *Bibliotheken in der NS-Zeit. Provenienzforschung und Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Göttingen 2008.

¹⁴⁵ For an overview of provenance research being conducted by Austria's libraries and subsequent restitutions, in particular by Austria's National Library, see information provided by the *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 83-92. See also: <http://www.onb.ac.at/about/provenienzforschung.htm>, as well as: Murray Hall, Christina Köstner, ... *Allerlei für die Nationalbibliothek zu ergattern ...: eine österreichische Institution in der NS-Zeit*, Wien 2006.

¹⁴⁶ See: <http://bibliothek.univie.ac.at/provenienzforschung.html>.

¹⁴⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust*, Lincoln/Jerusalem 2006; Thomas Sniegón, *Vanished History. The Holocaust in Czech and Slovak Historical Culture*, New York/Oxford 2014.

¹⁴⁸ The *Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung*, the Central Bureau for Jewish Emigration, was set up on 26 July 1939. After 20 August 1942, it was renamed into the *Zentralamt zur Regelung der Judenfrage in Böhmen und Mähren*, the Central Bureau for the Regulation of the Jewish Question in Bohemia and Moravia. The bureau functioned as the Prague branch of Adolf Eichmann's Bureau IV B4 within the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA), the Reich's Main Security Office. See: Dirk Rupnow, "Jewish Museums in Europe. From Final Depository to Memorial. The History and Significance of the Jewish Museum in Prague," *European Judaism*, Vol. 37, No.1, Spring 2004, p. 144.

and the *Treubhandstelle* (founded in fall of 1941), which was a department of the *Kultusgemeinde* (the Jewish Community), were the main institutions for the looting of Jewish property, with the *Treubhandstelle* managing the assets of Czechoslovakia's Jews deported to ghettos and concentration camps.¹⁴⁹

Large numbers of Jewish ritual objects, books and other individual and communal Jewish property resulting from Nazi looting policies in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia found their way into what is now the Czech Republic.¹⁵⁰ Provenance research and restitutions have taken place, including Judaica objects. At the forefront is the Jewish Museum in Prague, which has been conducting provenance research on most of its holdings, including its library collection.¹⁵¹ The Jewish Museum in Prague itself played a unique role during the Holocaust: it remained open after the outbreak of the war in 1939, despite the fact that the Museum Association had been disbanded in 1939 and the collection had since been overseen by the Jewish Religious Community in Prague. Yet the Jewish Religious Community in Prague had been taken over by the above mentioned *Zentralsstelle*. Two years later, the Jewish Museum started to function as a repository for liturgical items from dissolved Jewish synagogues, all managed by the *Treubhandstelle*. In December 1941 the Museum was kept closed until the spring of 1942, during which time all liturgical items from Prague's synagogues were shipped from the Museum to the Pinkas Synagogue.¹⁵² Subsequently the Jewish Museum was reopened (as of August 1942), was renamed the Central Jewish Museum, and served as a repository for the assets of all Jewish communities in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia until the end of the war. It is due to the efforts of the Central Jewish Museum staff that the collection of the pre-war Jewish museum survived, together with objects from all Jewish communities in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (with the exception of the Sudeten border areas).¹⁵³

In 1998, the Czech Republic formed a Joint Working Commission aimed to mitigate property injustices inflicted on Holocaust victims. Two years later, in 2000, the Parliament passed Restitution Act No. 212/2000, which stipulates the responsibility of the director of a contacted state cultural institution to return art objects if they were looted. A year after the restitution law was passed the Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WW II Victims was founded.¹⁵⁴ Initially the Documentation Centre was set up by the government and under the auspices of the

¹⁴⁹ Pavel Jirasek, "Partnership for Restitution of Jewish Cultural Property in the Czech Republic: Principle and Reality," *Museum International*, no. 224, Vol. 56, No. 4, 2004, p. 48.

¹⁵⁰ Patricia Grimsted Kennedy, *Sudeten Crossroads for Europe's Displaced Books. The 'Mysterious Twilight' of the RSHA Amt VII Library and the Fate of A Million Victims of War*. Prepared for publication in the conference proceedings based on a shorter presentation at the international conference in Liberec organized by the Documentation Centre of Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WW II. Victims, 24–26 October 2007.

¹⁵¹ Magda Veselská, "Jewish Museum in the Former Czechoslovakia," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011; Magda Veselská, "The Selling Off of Items from the Collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague after the Second World War, with Particular Focus on the Sale of Torah Scrolls in 1963-1964," *Judaica Bohemiae*, 42, 2006; Andrea Braunová, "Origin of the Book Collection of the Library of the Jewish Museum in Prague," *Judaica Bohemiae*, 36, 2000 [2001]; Michal Bušek, "Identifying Owners of Books Held by the Jewish Museum in Prague," *Vitalizing Memory. International Perspectives on Provenance Research*. Washington: American Association of Museums, 2005, pp.138-142; Michal Bušek, *Identifying Owners of Books Held by the Jewish Museum in Prague*. The Future of the Lost Cultural Heritage: the documentation, identification and restitution of the cultural assets of WWII victims. Proceedings of the international academic conference in Český Krumlov (22.-24.11.2005), pp. 104–12;

¹⁵² Veselka, *Jewish Museums*, p. 119.

¹⁵³ Idem, pp. 121-124.

¹⁵⁴ For more information, see: <http://www.cdmp.cz/en/>.

Czech Academy of Sciences. In 2011, governmental resolution no. 683 transformed the Centre's status to that of a public benefit organization of the Ministry of Culture. The Centre conducts provenance research and provides information on objects with provenance gaps in its online listing: "The Database of Works of Art".¹⁵⁵ The database holds approximately 1,370 looted objects with a number of Judaica items, including ceremonial objects. The vast majority of objects are simply labeled as having been "Jewish property", while other objects, mostly books, are identified as having belonged to the Jewish Communities Munich, Vienna or Olomouc as well as one object identified as originally from Vienna's Jewish Museum. (The database also lists some specific pre-war owners.) In 2009, the Czech Republic was host to the Holocaust Era Assets Conference in Prague¹⁵⁶ which concluded with the Terezin Declaration. As a follow-up to the Terezin Declaration, in 2010 the European Shoah Legacy Institute,¹⁵⁷ situated in Prague, was founded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Germany

Germany's role during the Holocaust and Hitler's path to succession has been widely researched and documented, as is the case with Germany's post-war role, specifically in its role distributing reparations and individual compensation.¹⁵⁸

Germany held not only Judaica looted from its own Jewish communities, but also much of the looted artifacts, including Judaica, collected outside the Reich by Nazi organizations such as the ERR (*Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*) for its Frankfurt based *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (Institute for Research on the Jewish Question)¹⁵⁹ and the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*). When the U.S. Army arrived in Frankfurt, Rosenberg's institute held about 130,000 books as well as looted archives and ritual objects from all over Europe. Outside of Frankfurt, also the town of Hungen was the repository of much loot collected by Rosenberg. It was in Hungen where the Americans found eight storage rooms containing looted objects, including some 3 million books, 3,000 crates containing books and files, and hundreds of ritual objects such as Torah scrolls or Torah mantels.¹⁶⁰ Most of these objects were later transferred to the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD). Nonetheless, Germany was also a recipient country of 'heirless' Jewish property sent by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR)¹⁶¹ after the war, including 11,814 books and an additional 31 museum as well as 89 synagogue pieces.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ See: <http://www.cdmp.cz/db/?lang=en>.

¹⁵⁶ See: <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/>.

¹⁵⁷ See: <http://shoahlegacy.org/>; Specific information regarding the Institute's focus on Judaica can be found at: <http://shoahlegacy.org/category/what-we-do/projects/judaica-and-jewish-cultural-property/>. The Institute is closing as of the end of August 2017.

¹⁵⁸ For an overview of Germany's restitution laws and its recent developments in regard to the identification and possible restitution of looted property, see: *World-Wide Overview*, pp. 22-25. (Or, see: <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/national-organizations/#germany>).

¹⁵⁹ The Institute was founded in 1941 in order to study and portray Judaism and Jewish history. See for example: Dieter Schiefelbein, "Das Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt am Main: Vorgeschichte und Gründung 1935-1939," *Materialien des Fritz Bauer Instituts*. Vol. 9, Frankfurt am Main, Dezernat für Kultur und Freizeit, p. 42.

¹⁶⁰ Katharina Rauschenberger, "The Judaica Collection of Frankfurt's Museum Jüdischer Altertümer and Its Worldwide Dispersion After 1945," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 89.

¹⁶¹ For more information on the JCR, see chapter "1.4 The Dispersion of Jewish Ceremonial Objects after 1945: Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc."

¹⁶² For more information on the OAD, see for example: Elisabeth Gallas, *Das Leichenhaus der Bücher. Kulturrestitution und Jüdisches Geschichtsdenken nach 1945*, Schriften des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts, Vol. 19, Göttingen 2013.

While Jewish private and institutional property was systematically ransacked starting with 1938, unlike many other countries occupied by the Nazis, Jewish archives were not deliberately destroyed in Germany itself. In November 1938, the Gestapo ordered the seizure of Jewish archives throughout the Reich. Accordingly, most Jewish archives were deposited into non-Jewish archives. Some of these archives have not changed location since then.¹⁶³

An interesting sample case is Frankfurt's Jewish Museum. Frankfurt's Jewish Museum (*Museum Jüdischer Altertümer*; Museum of Jewish Antiquities) was originally one of three independent museums of Jewish art and history established in Germany before 1933. Prior to the Holocaust, the Museum held a vast collection of Jewish artifacts which included parts of the Rothschild collection and loans from the Frankfurt Historical Museum. After 1933, the collection was further enhanced by donations or objects deposited for safekeeping by rural Jewish communities throughout Germany. Today only remnants of this collection are on view at the new Jewish Museum run by the municipality of Frankfurt and established in 1988. The majority of objects that survived the war were distributed by the JCR under the assumption that Jewish cultural and religious life had – for the most part – ceased to exist in Europe. Judaica was therefore sent to centers of Jewish life: consequently objects from Frankfurt's former Jewish Museum reached the Israel Museum, totaling 172 objects, as well as 103 objects that were distributed among congregations throughout Israel. 127 pieces went to museums and synagogues in the United States, while Frankfurt's Jewish Community kept only 89 objects from its original Jewish Museum. Frankfurt's newly constituted Jewish Community tried to assert its right as the legal successor to the destroyed Jewish Community in Frankfurt and thereby wanted to limit the influence of the Jewish successor organizations such as the JRSO and the JCR.¹⁶⁴ Then again, Frankfurt was not alone in its wish to curb the JRSO's influence. While thirteen out of seventeen bigger Jewish Communities in Germany signed an agreement with the JRSO, stipulating that the JRSO is the legal successor to the properties of former Jewish communities, Nuremberg, Fürth, Augsburg as well as Frankfurt did not sign the contractual agreement. Between 1950 and 1953 this conflict culminated in a court battle between the Augsburg Jewish communities and the JRSO.¹⁶⁵ In order to avoid the Augsburg crisis, the Jewish Community in Frankfurt and the JRSO settled out of court on the distribution of land, buildings, but also ceremonial objects. The contract, signed in April 1954, and mediated by Rabbi Leo Baeck, stipulated that – among other things – the community was allowed to keep those objects that were already in its possession and were being used.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Yoram Mayorek, "The Fate of Jewish Archives During and After the Holocaust," Jean-Claude Kuperminc, Rafaële Arditti (eds.), *Preserving Jewish Archives as Part of the European Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference on Judaica Archives in Europe for Archivists and Librarians*. Potsdam, 1999, 11-13 July, Paris: Éditions du Nadir de l'Alliance israélite universelle, 2001, pp. 33-38.

¹⁶⁴ Georg Heuberger, "Zur Rolle der 'Jewish Cultural Reconstruction' nach 1945," Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (ed.), *Was übrig blieb. Das Museum jüdischer Altertümer in Frankfurt 1922 – 1938*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, p. 102.

¹⁶⁵ For more information on the legal conflict see: Ayaka Tekei, "The Gemeinde Problem: The Jewish Restitution Successor Organization and the Postwar Jewish Communities in Germany," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 16, 2, 2002.

¹⁶⁶ For more information see: Georg Heuberger, *Jewish Cultural Reconstruction*, pp. 97–103; *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. Chapter VI. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000; Katharina Rauschenberger, "The Judaica Collection of Frankfurt's Museum Jüdischer Altertümer and Its Worldwide Dispersion After 1945," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011; Georg Heuberger (ed.), *Die Pracht der Gebote. Die Judaica-Sammlung des Jüdischen Museums Frankfurt am Main*, Cologne 2006. (The catalogue offers an overview of the Judaica collection of Frankfurt's Jewish Museum.); Grace Grossman, *Jewish Museums of the World*, Westport: 2003.

Numerous provenance research projects have taken place already in Germany, but the vast majority of them have not dealt with specifically Judaica holdings. Yet there are exceptions such as, for example, the Municipal Library of Nuremberg which is researching its collection entitled *Sammlung Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (Jewish Community Collection), formerly known as the *Stürmer-Bibliothek*.¹⁶⁷ Another example is a project conducted by the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz entitled “*Beschlagnahmte Bücher: Reichstauschstelle und Preussische Staatsbibliothek zwischen 1933 und 1945. Aspekte der Literaturversorgung unter der Herrschaft des Nationalsozialismus*”. (Confiscated Books: the Reichs-Exchange-Center and Prussia’s State Library between 1933 and 1945. The Supply of Literature under National Socialism).¹⁶⁸ Additional provenance research projects with a focus on Judaica holdings are carried out by a few other German cultural institutions,¹⁶⁹ with most researched objects listed on www.lostart.de.

Netherlands:

Jewish property in the Netherlands was – as in most European countries – either stolen or destroyed. The systematic theft of Jewish property began in 1941 when the *Reichskommissar für die besetzten niederländischen Gebiete* (Reich Commissar for the Occupied Netherlands), headed by Arthur Seiss-Inquart, set up Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. (LIRO), a bank specifically for Jewish assets.¹⁷⁰ However, the theft of cultural and religious items, including Judaica, was carried out by the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR) which set up an office in Amsterdam.¹⁷¹ The Netherlands enacted a number of restitution laws after the war ended, but more than 4,000 artworks remained in the state’s possession and became known as the NK-collection, or *Nederlands Kunstbezit-collectie*.¹⁷² During the last several years, the Netherlands has initiated more research, such as the 2013 report published by the Netherlands Museum Association entitled “Museum Acquisitions from 1933 Onwards” which details provenance research in Dutch museums.¹⁷³

During the Holocaust, Dutch Museums sometimes functioned as a safekeeping place for Jewish property feared to be otherwise destroyed or misappropriated. Those objects were treated as temporary gifts or purchases to prevent art (and in some cases Judaica) belonging to Jews from being confiscated by the Nazis. In addition, research has revealed that the Ministry of Education, Culture, Education and Science purchased several collections from Jewish owners in 1943 and 1944 with the

¹⁶⁷ See: <https://www.nuernberg.de/internet/stadtbibliothek/sammlungikg.html>

¹⁶⁸ See: <http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/historische-drucke/aufgaben-profil/projekte/projekt-reichstauschstelle/>

¹⁶⁹ See: <http://www.kulturgutverluste.de/de/projektinformationen/projekte>

¹⁷⁰ Julie-Marthe Cohen, “Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War,” Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heilmann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 199.

¹⁷¹ For an overview of ERR’s archival records regarding the Netherlands see: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *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*, August 2015; online at: http://errproject.org/guide/ERR_Netherlands_12.18.2015.pdf.

¹⁷² The online database “Origins Unknown Database” (<http://www.herkomstgezocht.nl/eng>) lists among other objects four Judaica pieces in the NK collection. Partly as a result of the restitution of an eighteenth-century tin Maccabee lamp, an exhibition was launched entitled “Geroofd, maar van wie?” (Looted, But From Whom?) in Amsterdam’s Hollandsche Schouwburg (Dutch Theatre) in 2007. For more information see: <http://www.hollandscheschouwburg.nl/actueel/presentatie/archief/geroofd,-maar-van-wie>.

¹⁷³ The Netherlands Museum Association provides access to an online database of objects with provenance gaps in Dutch museums. The online listing also includes thirteen (13) Jewish ritual objects: <http://www.musealeververvingen.nl/1508/objecten/joodse-rituele-objecten/>.

aim of keeping these artworks in the Netherlands. In almost all cases the artworks were returned. The Netherlands was also the recipient country of 1,813 books from the JCR after World War II¹⁷⁴

Similar to Vienna's, Prague's or Frankfurt's Jewish museums, the Jewish Historical Museum (JHM) of Amsterdam should be mentioned. Today the museum plays an instrumental role in researching not only its own history, but also in having completed an inventory of those Jewish ritual objects in the Netherlands that existed prior to World War II.¹⁷⁵ During the Holocaust, 610 out of the 940 objects in the Museum's pre-war collection were looted by the ERR in 1943 and brought to the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* in Frankfurt. In December 1943 alone, a shipment of more than 680 boxes and packages holding Hebraica, Torah scrolls, textiles, and other objects, was sent to Rosenberg's institute. Of the looted museum objects, approximately 200 were returned in 1946, in addition to some valuable objects held in the Offenbach Depot that were from the Amsterdam Portuguese Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities.¹⁷⁶ Some items sent to the JHM turned out to be erroneous restitutions, while other objects with clear Dutch provenance went elsewhere – for example, a 1763 Torah mantle which was loaned to the JHM in 1936 by the Leiden Jewish community was erroneously turned over to the JCR which in turn sent it to what is now the Israel Museum.¹⁷⁷

Looted Judaica Collections that have Marginally been Researched – Countries Mentioned in the World-Wide Overview as Having Taken Some Steps

The *World-Wide Overview* identified five countries in which the Holocaust took place - Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia¹⁷⁸ – as having taken some steps toward the identification of looted art, including Judaica. An additional six countries were mentioned - Canada, Israel, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States – as equally having taken some steps. However, the latter group was not directly involved in the Holocaust, was rather affected by its aftermath.

Overall research into looted Judaica holdings was and is not at the forefront in any of the five countries in which the Holocaust took place. While Belgium conducted some research and ultimately

¹⁷⁴ JCR, Inc. World Distribution of Books 1 July 1949-31 January 1952, July 1952, Geneva. IV/32/1B, Archives, Jerusalem. Cited after Dana Herman, *Hasbevat Avedab: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.*, PhD diss., McGill University, 2008, pp. 225-26.

¹⁷⁵ Julie-Marthe Cohen, "Relics of the Second World War: Dealing with Missing and Misplaced Objects in the Jewish Historical Museum Collection," Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig, Mark Irvin and Emile Schrijver, *Jewish Art in Context. The Role and Meaning of Artifacts and Visual Images, Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. 45 (2014), p. 57-74; [see also Appendix 3.A – "Jewish Art in Context: The Role and Meaning of Artifacts and Visual Images"] Julie-Marthe Cohen, "Relics of the Second World War: Dealing with Missing and Misplaced Objects in Jewish Museum collections." Paper presented at the 43rd Annual AJL Convention, Cleveland Marriott East, Cleveland, Ohio. June 22-25, 2008 and read in the session on 'Dutch Jewish Library Collections since WW II: The Recuperation And Reconstruction Of Dutch Jewish Collections In Post War Europe', June 24 2008. Presentation given by Julie-Marthe Cohen at the Meetings of the Association of European Jewish Museums in Amsterdam, November 22-26, 2008.

¹⁷⁶ 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*, pp. 201- 221.

¹⁷⁷ These objects are noted in the museum's database which can be accessed at: <http://www.jhm.nl/collection/wwii-looted-judaica/search>.

¹⁷⁸ As for Slovakia see the catalogues: Švantnerová, Jana, et al., *The Shadow of the Past*. Bratislava: [editor] 2013; Borský, Maroš, *Heritage Rediscovered*. Bratislava 2016.

“sold” 656 Hebrew books assumed to have been looted to the Central Jewish Consistory in 1948,¹⁷⁹ as well as undertook some research following the country’s Historical Commission, in-depth research is still outstanding.

France’s research has thus far concentrated on looted artworks, mainly the so-called MNR collection.¹⁸⁰ Nonetheless, some restitutions of religious objects, mostly books, were made in France shortly after World War II ended. It should be noted that unlike in other countries, in France there was no particular plan by the German occupation forces to loot Jewish ceremonial objects, which is why most synagogues survived the war untouched. Exceptions were the synagogues in Alsace and Lorraine, where the main synagogue in Strasbourg was destroyed. Also in Alsace and Moselle looting of Jewish ritual objects did take place.

The one major exception to the above was Paris, where the ERR (*Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*) was looting Jewish cultural and ritual objects. Among the many Jewish institutions the ERR targeted were Jewish libraries, such as that of the *Alliance Israélite*. In addition, Rosenberg’s *Möbelaktion* (M-Aktion, furniture action) can be blamed for the looting of Judaica from Jewish households. ERR activities in France were largely supported by Hermann Göring and enabled a larger scale of looting than in some other Western countries. By the end of Germany’s occupation of France in the summer of 1944, approximately 27,788 cultural objects from about 203 Jewish collections in Paris had been “aryanized.”¹⁸¹ The database, “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume,” which brings together the remaining registration cards and photographs produced by the ERR of art objects taken from Jews in German-occupied France and, to a lesser extent, in Belgium, now lists more than 30,000 objects, of which some were specifically categorized by the Germans as Judaica objects.¹⁸²

The only exception to these five countries seems to be Slovakia, which has initiated more initial research. Specifically the Jewish Community Museum in Bratislava, as well as smaller museums and small Jewish communities throughout Slovakia recently inventoried and partially researched their Judaica holdings with the hope of identifying looted objects.¹⁸³

A number of the countries, with the exception of Norway, Slovakia, Liechtenstein and Luxembourg, received objects from the JCR after the war,¹⁸⁴ with Belgium receiving 824 books, and France receiving 8,193 books, 125 museum and 219 synagogue pieces from the JCR after World War II.

¹⁷⁹ Michel Vermote, Jacques Lust, “Belgium: Papieren Bitte! The Confiscation and Restitution of Belgian Archives and Libraries (1940-2003),” Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (ed.), *Returned from Russia. Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, United Kingdom 2007, pp. 191-240.

¹⁸⁰ See: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/pres.htm>.

¹⁸¹ For more information see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 126-127; also: Séan Hand, Steven T. Katz (eds.), *Post-Holocaust France and the Jews, 1945-1955*, New York 2015.

¹⁸² French Jewish and a number of Belgian Jewish collections from 1940 to 1944 were brought to the Jeu de Paume building in the Tuileries Gardens in Paris for processing by the ERR *Sonderstab Bildende Kunst* or “Special Staff for Pictorial Art”. The database, online accessible at <http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/>, is a joint project of the Claims Conference and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, with the cooperation of the Bundesarchiv (The German Federal Archives), Archives Diplomatiques / France Diplomatie: Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development of the Republic of France, The United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and the Commission for Art Recovery.

¹⁸³ See: <http://www.synagogue.sk/>; Maroš Borský, “Inside the Museum: When Orthodox synagogue meets museum: the New Jewish Community Museum in Bratislava,” *East European Jewish Affairs*, 2015, Vol. 45, Nos. 2–3, 261–26; Jana Švantnerová, „Here in the Holy Community ... Bratislava Synagogue Textiles,” Maroš Borský, Jana Švantnerová, *Heritage Rediscovered*, Bratislava 2016, pp. 13-33.

¹⁸⁴ See: Dana Herman, *Hashavat Avedab: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.* PhD thesis, Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, October 2008.

Specifically, the *Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme* in France, the successor museum to the *Musée d'art juif* in Paris, established in 1948 by a private association in order to pay homage to a culture that had been destroyed by the Holocaust, received Judaica objects from the JCR, and the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine* received books. Switzerland received 7,843 books from the JCR after World War II, including part of the Breslau collection that had been stored in the Wiesbaden collecting point and which was deposited into the Geneva, Zurich and Basel libraries.¹⁸⁵

More objects distributed by the JCR were received in the early 1950s by Canada: 2,031 books and 151 museum and synagogue pieces. At that time the Canadian Jewish Congress was tasked with distributing the books and ceremonial objects to synagogues throughout Canada. Most of the objects distributed were silver chanukiot, Torah ornaments, as well as old books, including prayer books. A few years ago, the Canadian Jewish Congress, encouraged by the 2001 Conference “A Matter of Justice – Canadian Symposium on Holocaust-era Cultural Property,” attempted to locate original heirs following the few leads available. However, none of the heirs were found.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, the United Kingdom received 19,082 books, 245 museum pieces, 66 synagogue pieces and 12 Torah scrolls from the JCR after World War II. In 1952, the Jewish Museum in London, the Jewish Historical Society, the Wiener Library and the Society for Jewish Studies, among other institutions, received 19,000 volumes and over 300 ceremonial objects. The Wiener Library alone received six hundred volumes from the library that had belonged to the Central Union of Jews in Germany, the *Jüdischer Zentralverein*.¹⁸⁷

The biggest portion of the JCR distribution was received by the United States and Israel: The United States alone received 160,886 books, 1,326 museum pieces, 1,824 synagogue pieces and 110 Torah scrolls (of which an unknown number had to be buried) from the JCR after World War II.¹⁸⁸ Objects distributed by the JCR entered more than 400 recipient institutions, including university and other libraries, archives, museums, and synagogues.¹⁸⁹ Similar to most recipient countries, the current location of these objects is often not only under-researched, but simply unknown.¹⁹⁰ Overall it can be said that while the JCR planned on accompanying each shipment of ceremonial objects with an

¹⁸⁵ Zsolt Keller, “Jüdische Bücher und der Schweizerische Israelitische Gemeindebund (1930-1950),” *Bulletin der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Judaistische Forschung* (Beiheft zur Judaica) 14 (2005), p. 20-34; Gallas, *Das Leichenhaus der Bücher*, p. 53.

¹⁸⁶ In January 1951 the *Congress Bulletin* reported that “A number of ceremonial objects, formerly the property of European Jews, have been received by the Canadian Jewish Congress and will be kept by the Congress as a memorial... among the articles are the appurtenances of a sefer torah, chanukah lamps, Passover seder plates, havdalah incense boxes and silver ornamentation for Taleissim ... the Congress states that the collection will be kept intact in the headquarters of the Congress in Montreal...” Only a few years later, in May 1956, the *Bulletin* reported that “many of these objects have been placed on loan in various new synagogues and new community centers across the country... Congress made available some of these objects to the newly built congregations in Canada as a permanent link between these congregations and the Jewish communities in Europe which were destroyed.” See: *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 107-108.

¹⁸⁷ Gallas, *Das Leichenhaus der Bücher*, p. 181; Herman, Dana. “‘A Band Plucked Out of the Fire’: The Distribution of Heirless Jewish Cultural Property by the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. 1947-1952,” 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. 29-61.

¹⁸⁸ JCR, Inc., *World Distribution of Ceremonial Objects and Torah Scrolls*, July 1, 1949 to January 31, 1952, S35/88, CZA, Jerusalem. Cited after Herman, p. 226.

¹⁸⁹ For more information see Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, pp. 261-263; *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 238-244. (The catalogue summarizes not only the relevant documents but presents an overview of the distribution of books and ceremonial objects in the United States).

¹⁹⁰ Research conducted by the Claims Conference in spring 2015 and documented in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 240-244; see also: 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. 307-339.

itemized list, this did not always materialize, even less so with the JCR's book transfers. The same was true for receiving institutions: While they were 'obligated' to appropriately tag the object or mark books with a special bookplate, the step was not always taken. Sixty years after the fact the lack of lists or tags poses a great challenge on behalf of the receiving institutions to adequately identify ceremonial objects but even more so books received from the JCR and consequently to preserve them as such. An exception regarding ceremonial objects is a recent research carried out and published by the Illinois Holocaust and Education Center which holds as a loan the JCR Collection of the Hebrew Theological College, Skokie.¹⁹¹ Moreover, JCR books often ended up in various library deposits within one receiving institution, including the rare book collection; yet some books were simply sent to the general stack of library books. Financial constraints on behalf of the receiving organizations additionally posed a challenge to handling some of the JCR objects. As a result, over the decades some objects were sold off or more often were not adequately preserved or maintained. Others are simply "lost".

Israel received 191,423 books, as well as 2,285 museum pieces, 976 synagogue pieces, 804 Torah scrolls and 87 Torah fragments (in addition to 127 of the scrolls that had to be buried) from the JCR after World War II.¹⁹²

Israel was therefore the largest recipient of Judaica objects, but the distribution itself was mostly conducted outside of the JCR's control. The Ministry of Religious Affairs, which assumed responsibility, was subsequently put in charge of the distribution of religious objects to various synagogues, yeshivas, and other organizations. Among those institutions that profited from this influx of objects were libraries and museums, most notably the Hebrew University, which received, for example, the *Berlin Gemeinde* Library, part of the Breslau collection (totaling up to 4,500 books), and part of the valuable Frankfurt collection. After the war the Breslau collection was stored at the Wiesbaden Collecting Point and is a remnant of the original library of the *Jüdisches Theologisches Institut*. However, the Hebrew University itself transferred about 7,000 books to the Ministry of Education for further distribution. Some of these objects were subsequently given to yeshivot. Among those museums that received objects was the Tel Aviv Museum which presumably holds part of the Frankfurt Jewish Museum collection in addition to Judaica objects that had belonged to synagogues in Frankfurt before World War II.¹⁹³ Today, a number of JCR objects can be found at the Israel Museum.¹⁹⁴

Provenance research is almost non-existent in Israel.¹⁹⁵

Looted Judaica Collections that Have Not Yet Been Researched or Are Undocumented (Countries Mentioned in the World-Wide Overview as Having Taken Some Steps or Having Made No Progress in Researching Looted Objects)

Countries such as Croatia, Denmark, Greece, Lithuania, Russian Federation – countries in which the Holocaust took place – were identified in the World-Wide Overview as having taken some steps

¹⁹¹ Grace Cohen Grossman, Arielle Weininger (eds), *Rescue & Renewal: The Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Collection of the Hebrew Theological College*, Skokie 2015.

¹⁹² For an overview, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 154-159.

¹⁹³ Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, p. 268.

¹⁹⁴ "World War II Provenance Research Online". The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; <http://www.imj.org.il/Imagine/irso/judaica.asp>; David Brinn, "The Art of Restitution," *The Jerusalem Post*, 14 February 2008.

¹⁹⁵ Schidorsky, *Salvaging of Jewish Books*, p. 209; Schidorsky, *Shunamis Suche*, pp. 339-40.

toward researching and restituting looted Judaica,¹⁹⁶ while countries such as Belarus, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Ukraine – in all of which the Holocaust took place and had a significant impact on their Jewish communities – made little or no progress towards the identification of looted objects, including Judaica.¹⁹⁷ While not all countries that have yet to conduct sufficient or any research on looted Judaica are assumed to have large amounts of it, some do, such as Belarus, the Russian Federation, Poland, and Ukraine. Initial steps were taken by countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, or Estonia by establishing Historical Commissions that not only examined the countries' roles during the Holocaust but subsequent crimes that were carried out by the Communist regime. Yet other countries, such as Poland or Belarus, with presumably large quantities of Nazi looted Judaica are still falling behind, and large-scale research has yet to take place.¹⁹⁸

Belarus was the recipient of much looted Judaica after the war. It is not clear how many books and religious objects – including Torah scrolls – actually reached the libraries, museums and archives of Belarus and their precise locations.¹⁹⁹

The pillaging of Judaica from private and communal centers in Poland was enormous. In January 1940, Hans Frank, Governor-General of occupied Poland, issued a decree clearly stating that cultural looting was also to include libraries, in particular rare manuscripts and archival holdings. At the end of the war, it was estimated that Jewish collections as a whole suffered about 70% losses, though some libraries - especially those in private schools and religious libraries - were completely destroyed. While ceremonial objects of Judaica were often destroyed, they were preserved if the objects were deemed precious or antique and of high value, inasmuch as they could be sold or otherwise used. Judaica found in ghettos was equally destroyed. In March 1941, before the ghetto in Krakow was sealed off, the Jewish Community successfully bribed Nazi officials at the Trustee Office to transfer some synagogue furniture (including Torah arks), prayer books, and about 150 Torah scrolls to the *Judenrat's* building in the ghetto. In terms of the Torah scrolls, it was ultimately decided to wall them into the building used for funeral services at the Plaszow Jewish cemetery. There they were later discovered by Amon Göth, the commander of the Plaszow concentration

¹⁹⁶ Countries such as Australia, Finland and Ireland, have equally been identified as having taken some steps. For more information on these three countries, see the *World-Wide Overview* and the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Argentina, Brazil, Holy See, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and Uruguay were mentioned, yet given that the Holocaust did not take place in these countries, they will equally only be mentioned here. For more information on these three countries, see the *World-Wide Overview* and the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

¹⁹⁸ Please note that more information, including information on additional countries, is available in chapter 1.5 Nationalizations in the East after World War II.

¹⁹⁹ There are two Torah scrolls in the State Historical Archive of Belarus, one Torah scroll is located in the Historical Museum of Mogilev, and one is located in the Historical Museum of Vitebsk. *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 97. Many of the hundreds of thousands of books seized by the ERR from France were found by a Red Army trophy brigade in 1945 in warehouses near an abandoned ERR research and library center in Silesia. That trophy brigade also found many books in the same place that the ERR had seized from the Soviet Republic of Belorussia. In the fall of 1945 a Soviet convoy of 54 railroad freight cars carried an estimated 1.2 million books directly to Minsk. While perhaps two-thirds of the books were from libraries in Belorussia and the Soviet Baltic republics, a third or more of them were books from France and other countries of Europe. The largest number of the looted books of foreign provenance are still today held by the National Library of Belarus. See the discussion of ERR looting of French libraries at <https://www.errproject.org/looted-libraries-fr.php> and “French Autographs in the Holdings of the National Library of Belarus” at <https://www.errproject.org/looted-libraries-fr-belarus.php>

camp. While some scrolls were simply burned, others were shipped off.²⁰⁰ Today, Judaica objects can be found in many Polish cultural institutions, including museums, archives and libraries. Very little research on these collections has thus far taken place.

In the Russian Federation (former Soviet Union), the country's State Historical Museum (GIM), for example, was handed 344 Torahs from the Special (*Osoby*) Archive, which is now part of the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA).²⁰¹ The Torahs are believed to have originated from foreign Jewish communities looted by various Nazi organizations and subsequently brought to the Soviet Union by its trophy brigades.²⁰² Additional Jewish holdings of the former *Osoby* Archive, now part of the RGVA, Moscow, include looted material such as a collection of historical archives of Jewish international organizations, of Jewish political organizations and parties as well as papers of Jewish intellectuals. Most material that was or is currently held in the Moscow archive was initially gathered for Rosenberg's Research Institute on the Jewish Question in Frankfurt and, to a lesser degree, for possible display in the projected *Führermuseum* in Linz.²⁰³ And while these collections were first purged by the Nazis, they were subsequently taken by the Soviet trophy brigades and seen as just compensation for the many losses suffered by the Soviet Union.²⁰⁴ Many of these objects were distributed to state museums like the State Museum of the History of Religion in St. Petersburg (formerly the State Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism) but also to various People's Republics' institutions such as the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine and the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine, both in Kiev; the Chernihiv Historical Museum named after V. Tarnovsky, the Local Lore Museum of the Cherkassy region, the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts at the Institute of Ethnology, the Museum of the History of Religions (formerly the Museum of Atheism), both in Lviv and to the Lviv Museum of History; as well as to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. For the most part the provenance of these objects has not been researched. The respective holdings comprise Torah scrolls, partly with their staves, Torah ornaments, synagogue textiles and interiors, objects for use on Sabbath and festivals.

²⁰⁰ For more information, see: Marek Sroka, "The Destruction of Jewish Libraries and Archives in Krakow during World War II," *Libraries and Culture* 38.2 (2003), pp. 148-150; Nawojka Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, "The History of Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011; Jacqueline Borin, "Embers of the Soul: The Destruction of Jewish Books and Libraries in Poland during World War II," *Libraries & Culture*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Fall 1993), pp. 445-460; David Shavit, "Jewish Libraries in the Polish Ghettos During the Nazi Era," *Library Quarterly*, Vol. 52., No. 2, April 1982.

²⁰¹ For more information on the *Osoby* Archive, see: David Fishman Mark Kupovetsky and Vladimir Kuzelenkov, editors, *Nazi-Looted Jewish Archives in Moscow: A Guide to Jewish Historical and Cultural Collections in the Russian State Military Archive*. Scranton, 2010.

²⁰² Konstantin Akinsha, Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "The Sárospatak Case: Rare Books Return to Hungary," *Art and Antiquity and Law* Vol. XI, Issue 3, September 2006, p. 223; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Sudeten Crossroads for Europe's Displaced Books. The 'Mysterious Twilight' of the RSHA Amt VII Library and the Fate of A Million Victims of War." Prepared for publication in the conference proceedings based on a shorter presentation at the international conference in Liberec organized by the Documentation Centre of Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WW II Victims, 24–26 October 2007.

²⁰³ More detailed information can be found in: *Jewish Documentary Sources Among the Trophy Collections of the Russian State Military Archives: A Guide* (in Russian), edited by David Fishman, Mark Kupovetsky and Vladimir Kuzelenkov (RSUH), 2005; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (ed), *Returned from Russia. Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, United Kingdom 2007;

²⁰⁴ See for example: Konstantin Akinsha, Grigorii Kozlow, *Beautiful Loot. The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures*, New York 1995.

Overall the Nazis had looted 3-4 million books alone from the entire USSR (in particular Belarus and Ukraine) and destroyed many more.²⁰⁵ In contrast to that, between 1945 and 1946, it is estimated that 10 million trophy books, including Judaica and Hebraica, were brought back to the USSR²⁰⁶. In-depth research, especially into Judaica holdings in the countries of the former Soviet Union, is therefore still lacking.²⁰⁷

Please see also Appendices to Part 1, in particular “The Fate of Three Museum Collections that Illustrate the Impact of the Second World War and the Holocaust on Judaica Collections in Europe,” as well as “Lviv 1944 – 2009: Jewish Cultural Objects and Property. Some Cases and Tendencies.”

²⁰⁵ Hill, pp. 29-31.

²⁰⁶ Grimsted, *The Road to Minsk*, p. 354.

²⁰⁷ In regard to Belarus some important first steps into the identification of looted books were taken in late 2016. For more information see the following articles: *Return of Belarus’ Lost Values*, 7 September 2016 (<http://nn.by/?c=ar&i=176764>); *International Seminar: Lost and Displaced Cultural Values: The Belorussian Context*, National Institute of Higher Education 7 September 2016 (<http://www.nihe.bsu.by/index.php/ru/novosti-instituta/1259-mezhdunarodnyj-nauchno-prakticheskij-seminar-utrachennye-i-peremeshchennye-kulturnye-tsennosti-belorusskij-kontekst-5-7-sentyabrya-2016-goda>); as well as *Lost and displaced cultural values: the Belorussian context*, Presidential Library of the Republic of Belarus, 7 September 2016 (<http://www.preslib.org.by/news/type1/utrachennye-i-peremeshchennye-kulturnye-tsennosti-belorusskij-kontekst>) See also the references given above in footnote 191.

1.4 The Dispersion of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in the West after 1945: Jewish Cultural Reconstruction



Figure 3: JCR bookplate on inside cover of book ;
<http://tawson.libguides.com/c.php?g=442107&p=303189&>

The formation of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR), Inc., the focus of this chapter, was not only a historical milestone but also a political one. For the first time in Jewish history was the emphasis not on the creation of Jewish cultural and ritual objects, or of centers for doing so – as the name would imply – but instead on the redistribution of Jewish cultural objects. The Jewish world faced a new geopolitical reality after World War II ended. The centers of Jewish learning and their scholars and students had disappeared. Jewish life was no longer at that point in time - as understood by the JCR – a realistic scenario in Western and Eastern Europe. Rather world Jewry had moved to the United States and to the new state of Israel, and these should be the main destinations of heirless Jewish cultural and religious objects distributed by the JCR.

While this chapter focuses on the activities of the JCR carried out by scholars such as Salo W. Baron, Judah Magnes, Gershom Scholem, Max Weinreich and Hannah Arendt, to name a few, its establishment, mandate and the

implementation of its mission can only be properly explained and understood by briefly outlining what preceded the JCR. Weight will also be given to the historical and political framework surrounding the organization, all of which ultimately determined its success.

Even prior to the end of World War II, in 1943 and in anticipation of the huge amount of Nazi war loot, the United States appointed the Roberts Commission, which established the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (MFA&A) program. The MFA&A, also known as the *Monuments Men*, was subsequently charged with protecting cultural treasures in Europe,²⁰⁸ dealing with the handling of

²⁰⁸ The Roberts Commission, named after its chairman, Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, was charged with promoting the preservation of cultural properties in war areas. Its headquarters were located in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. For more information on the Roberts Commission and the MFA&A see: “The Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas Report of the American Commission. United States Government. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016 (originally published in 1946). The records of the Roberts Commission can also be found online at: https://www.fold3.com/title_759/roberts_commission_protection_of_historical_monuments#overview [M 1944 - Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historical Monuments in War Areas (The Roberts Commission), 1943-1946]

See also: Lynn Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa*, New York 1994; Kathy Preiss, “Cultural Policy in a Time of War: The American Response to Endangered Books in World War II,” *Library Trends* 55.3 (2007), p. 372; and Michael Kurtz, *America and the Return of Nazi Contraband*, Cambridge 2006.

incoming claims from individuals, and with managing so-called lost-and-found warehouses of stolen European cultural property. These temporary collecting points in Munich, Wiesbaden, Marburg and Offenbach soon became known as the Allied collecting points or depots.²⁰⁹

The Wiesbaden²¹⁰ and Munich collecting points have been researched in more detail, mostly due to the fact that they were the largest collecting points in the American zone and because they held valuable looted art. But it is the Offenbach Archival Depot that is of most interest to this historical overview in regard to Judaica and the activities of the JCR.

The Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), located in a five-story building that had formerly housed the I.G. Farben factory, “served a unique role in postwar American efforts of book and archival restitution, not just with regard to Jewish property, but to important state and institutional libraries that were successfully returned to the European countries from which they came.”²¹¹ Officially established on 2 March 1946 under an order by the director of the office of military government for greater Hessen (OMGGH),²¹² it ceased to exist about three years later when it was closed in April of 1949.

Because of the sheer number of objects held at the OAD, identifiable or not, with more than 3,000,000 looted cultural items²¹³, among them books, it was commonly called “the biggest book restitution operation in library history.”²¹⁴

Colonel Seymour J. Pomrenze served as the OAD’s first director (March-May 1946), followed by Captain Isaac Bencowitz (May-November, 1946); Theodore Heinrich (November 1946-January 1947); Joseph Horne (1947-48); and James Kimball (February-April 1949).²¹⁵ By 1947, members of the Offenbach archival depot had distributed 1,300,000 books of which 650,000 were of Jewish origin,²¹⁶ most commonly to the country from which they had been taken. Yet 628,259 items remained at Offenbach; again mostly books. Of these, 328,903 were classified as identifiable and 299,356 were unidentifiable. Of the identifiable books, 123,641 were non-Jewish and needed to be returned to their countries of origin. 126,137 were Jewish books identified as belonging to YIVO and other owners. 51,414 were Jewish books once owned by German Jewish communities now

²⁰⁹ Anne Rothfeld, “Returning Looted European Library Collections: An Historical Analysis of the Offenbach Archival Depot, 1945-1948,” *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 2005, p. 17; see also: Iris Lauterbach, *Der Central Collecting Point in München*, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Vol. 34, Munich 2015. Please note that collecting points also existed in the British as well as in the French occupation zones, for example in Celle.

²¹⁰ The Wiesbaden collecting point was located in the *Landesmuseum* Wiesbaden. By 1948 it took over the tasks originally carried out in the OAD. See: Katharina Rauschenberger, “The Restitution of Jewish Cultural Objects and the Activities of Jewish Cultural Objects and the Activities of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 53, 2008, p. 205.

²¹¹ Dana Herman, *Hashavat Avedab: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.* PhD thesis, Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, October 2008, p. 153.

²¹² Colonel S.J. Pomrenze, *The Restitution of Jewish Cultural Treasures after the Holocaust: The Offenbach Archival Depot’s Role in the Fulfillment of U.S. International and Moral Obligations* (A First Hand Account). Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish libraries (Denver, CO – June 23-26, 2002), p. 2. For more information on Offenbach, see: Fritz J. Hoogewould, “The Nazi Looting of Books and its American ‘Antithesis’,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 26, 1992, pp. 158-192.

²¹³ Herman, pp. 4-5.

²¹⁴ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “The Postwar Fate of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg Archival and Library Plunder, and the Dispersal of ERR Records,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20.2, 2006, p. 279.

²¹⁵ Herman, pp. 152-3.

²¹⁶ Either Hebrew or Yiddish books, or their content was Jewish.

extinct, and 27,711 were Jewish books identified as coming from the Baltic States, Poland, and former Czechoslovakia. Of the unidentifiable books 222,768 were Jewish and 76,588 were non-Jewish.²¹⁷

While a large number of objects held at the OAD were books, it also served as a repository for manuscripts, ceremonial and ritual silver²¹⁸, as well as 600 Torah scrolls in addition to Torah pointers and, for example, Torah curtains.²¹⁹ Captain Isaac Bencowitz called the OAD the antithesis to the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg,²²⁰ and between April and December 1946 created an album entitled *The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) of which the Offenbach Archival Depot has Become the Antithesis*.²²¹

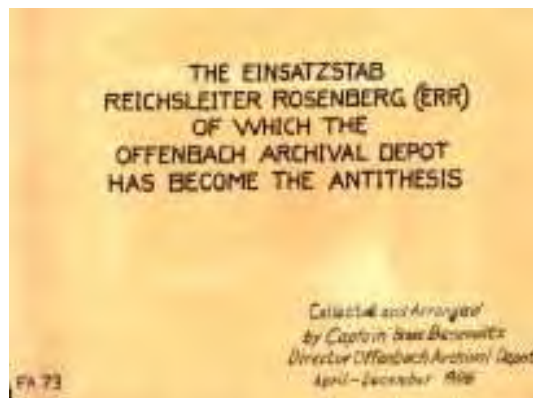


Figure 4: Isaac Bencowitz, “An album that documents the confiscation of cultural property by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)”. *Yad Vashem: Album: Nr. FA1 73/0, Archival Signature: 368, Item Nr.: 75060*; online available at: <http://collections1.yadvashem.org/>

In addition to the Offenbach Archival Depot, the Wiesbaden Collecting Point also served as a depository for Jewish cultural and religious property, including books and ceremonial objects as well as artworks. However, compared to Offenbach, most objects stored at Wiesbaden proved to be identifiable, such as artworks and Judaica that had belonged to German-Jewish institutions (i.e. the Hermann Cohen Collection or the so-called “Baltic collection”). Nonetheless, about 1,000 rare volumes whose Jewish ownership was questionable and a handful of reference books were stored in Wiesbaden, in addition to some ceremonial objects that were originally placed in Offenbach but later transferred to the Wiesbaden depot.²²² It is also within the Wiesbaden archival records held at the National Archives and Records Administration, online available

at Fold3, that the activities of the JCR are recorded.²²³

²¹⁷ Jerome Michael to Salo Baron, 15 February 1947, P3/2058, CAHJP, Jerusalem, p. 153-4; information taken from Herman, p. 154; see also: Robert Waite, “Returning Jewish Cultural Property: The Handling of Books Looted by the Nazis in the American Zone of Occupation, 1945 to 1952,” *Libraries and Culture* Vol. 37, No. 3, Summer 2002, p. 215.

²¹⁸ Grimsted, p. 279.

²¹⁹ About 1,000 Torah scrolls and 17,000 ceremonial objects are mentioned in Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report. “Chapter VI. Heirless Assets and the Role of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.” Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000. Online available at: <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/pcha/PlunderRestitution.html/html/StaffChapter5.html>. For all of these objects, no claims had been received, and “no identification of prior ownership (could) be reasonably established.” See also: Rauschenberger, p. 198.

²²⁰ Gabriele Hauschke-Wicklaus, Angelika Amborn-Morgenstern, and Erika Jacobs, *Fast vergessen: Das amerikanische Bücherdepot in Offenbach am Main von 1945 bis 1949*, Offenbach am Main 2011, p. 23.

²²¹ The album can be accessed at Yad Vashem’s online photo archive: <http://collections.yadvashem.org/photosarchive/en-us/75060-container.html>

²²² Herman, p 195. See also Michael Kurtz, *America and the Return of Nazi-Contraband. The Recovery of Europe’s Cultural Treasures*, Cambridge 2006, p. 162.

²²³ M 1947 – Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Objects Movement and Control Records; Series: Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties: 1949. [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 1-11, 1-18]; Receipt For Jewish Cultural Properties: 1950 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 19-62]; Receipt For Jewish Cultural Properties: 1951 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 1-4];

Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) and the Commission on European Jewish Reconstruction

The foundations for what later was to become the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) emerged in the summer of 1945, when five American-based Jewish groups formed a committee to represent Jewish interests in reparations and restitution negotiations. The JRSO was originally called the Jewish Restitution Commission, but it changed its name to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization at the request of the Military Government.²²⁴ Another impetus for the creation of the JRSO was the founding of the Commission on European Jewish Reconstruction, also in 1945. And similarly to the JRSO, the Commission on European Jewish Reconstruction was incorporated two years later, in 1947.²²⁵ The driving force behind the Commission were American Jewish religious leaders, scholars, and teachers,²²⁶ headed by Professor Salo Baron of Columbia University.



Figure 5: Group portrait of members of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) at a staff conference in Nuremberg, Germany, ca. 1949. [United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photograph #41624]

One of the Commission's most important publications was entitled, "Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries".²²⁷ The Tentative List provides information on institutions, books, and documents looted by the Nazis. It was originally prepared by the staff of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (JNUL), under the directorship of Hannah Arendt. The List covered fifteen Nazi institutions, most of which had absorbed parts of what had been taken by the Nazi looting; 430 Jewish institutions, among them libraries, archives, and museums located in 20 countries, in addition to 264 non-Jewish institutions; and 474 Jewish publishers: 3.5 million books are noted, as well as 5,000 manuscripts.²²⁸ The tremendous amount of research that went into this list came largely from archival material within the Institute of Jewish Affairs, records that surfaced through the Nuremberg trial, in addition to the evaluation of hundreds of questionnaires that had been addressed to Jewish scholars in exile, journalists, rabbis, social workers, artists and members of American-Jewish organizations.²²⁹

²²⁴ Ayaka Takei, "The Gemeinde Problem?: The Jewish Restitution Successor Organization and the Postwar Jewish Communities in Germany, 1947-1954," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 16, Nr. 2, Fall 2002, p. 271.

²²⁵ Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report. "Chapter V. Restitution of Victims' Assets." Inc. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000. Online available at: http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/pcha/PlunderRestitution.html/html/Home_Content.html

²²⁶ Idem.

²²⁷ The list was originally published in 1946 as a supplement to *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1; See also: "Addenda and Corrigenda to Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries", Vol. 10, Nr. 1, 1948. [The list appears as an Appendix to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*, online available at: <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/>]

²²⁸ Natan Sznajder, "Die Rettung der Bücher, Hannah Arendt in München (1949/1950)," *Mittelweg* 36, Nr. 2, 2009, p. 71.

²²⁹ Elisabeth Gallas, "Kulturelles Erbe und rechtliche Anerkennung. Die Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 22, 2013, p. 39.

The list functioned as a roadmap for Jewish culture and reflected the wide geographical dispersal of Jewish cultural assets and the often strong involvement of Jews in their communal life.²³⁰ But the list was also witness to the loss of Jewish cultural and communal assets as a result of the Holocaust. Moreover, the list had served, and to some extent still serves, as the basis for the submission of claims for damage and for restitution.²³¹ The first initial list “Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries” was followed by two more: “Tentative List of Jewish Periodicals in Axis-Occupied Countries” again published in *Jewish Social Studies* (1947) and “Addenda and Corrigenda to Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries” in *Jewish Social Studies* (1948).

Though initially not intended as such, the lists led to a fundamental new understanding on behalf of its creators: While the emphasis had previously been on “reconstruction” – as in the Commission on European Jewish Reconstruction – the lists made it abundantly clear that reconstruction, given the magnitude of destruction, was simply impossible. Rather, according to Salo Baron, the Commission’s aim would be to distribute the remainder of Jewish cultural treasures and therefore act in accordance with the new geographical and political situation Jews faced around the world.²³²

In the fall of 1946, General Clay met with representatives of the JRSO and the Commission on European Jewish Reconstruction and agreed to support their idea of creating an organization that had as its aim the claiming of heirless Jewish property and assets.²³³ Consequently, in May 1947, “The Jewish Restitution Commission” – serving as an umbrella for seven organizations – was incorporated as a charitable organization in New York.²³⁴ The group of seven organizations was soon expanded by including the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany and the Agudat Israel World Organization, in an attempt to broaden its representation.²³⁵

After plans for a quadripartite restitution law and later a British-American bi-zonal law both failed, the Jewish Restitution Commission’s operations were confined to the U.S. Zone. Following many consultations and negotiations among the Jewish leaders, the U.S. Military Government, and the State Department, the U.S. restitution law was enacted on November 10, 1947, as Military Government Law 59.²³⁶ Law 59 provided for property restitution of identifiable property confiscated

²³⁰ Dov Schidorsky, “Hannah Arendt’s Dedication to Salvaging Jewish Culture,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, Vol. 59, 2014, p. 181.

²³¹ Schidorsky, p. 190.

²³² “In view of the wholesale destruction of Jewish life and property by the Nazis reconstruction of Jewish cultural institutions cannot possibly mean mechanical restoration in their original form or, in all cases, to their previous location. The Commission intends, in collaboration with other agencies of good will, to devise if necessary some new forms better accommodated to the emergent patterns of postwar Europe. Ultimately it may also seek to help redistribute the Jewish cultural treasures in accordance with the new needs created by the new situation of world Jewry.” Salo W. Baron, “Introductory Statement. Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries. Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 8, Nr. 1, p. 6.

²³³ Constantin Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten der Nationalsozialismus 1945 – 1954*, Munich 1992, p. 111.

²³⁴ These seven organizations were the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction. For more information see: *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. “Chapter V. Restitution of Victims’ Assets.”

²³⁵ Goschler, p. 172.

²³⁶ A copy of the Military Government Law Nr.59 can be found online at the Clinton Presidential Library & Museum, see: <https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/30179>

by the Nazis within Germany between 1933 and 1945²³⁷, with articles 8, 9, 10 and 11 outlining the creation of a Jewish successor organization.²³⁸

Due to the objection of Major General Daniel Noce, the Chief of Civil Administration of the War Department, to accepting the JRSO request for appointment in 1947, its official recognition only followed on June 23, 1948, when OMGUS appointed the JRSO.²³⁹

“THE TASK of locating heirless properties left by Jews who died in Germany under Nazi oppression, and of turning the proceeds from these properties into charity use has been delegated by OMGUS directive AG 010.6 (PD) of Aug. 18 and attached Authorization No. 1 to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, (JRSO), a New York corporation.”²⁴⁰

Two months after the June directive, in August 1948, the JRSO commenced its work from its German headquarters in Nuremberg under the directorship of Benjamin Ferencz, who had previously been the chief prosecutor of the Einsatzgruppen case at the Nuremberg Military Tribunal.²⁴¹

One major difficulty for the JRSO was the fact that it only had three months to discover more than a hundred thousand unclaimed properties and to comb through land registers, notaries' files, tax rolls, patent rosters and several other types of records due to the fact that the law of indemnity had made December 31, 1948 the deadline to register all property. In order to meet the deadline, the JRSO increased its staff to about 300 people who worked in eight-hour shifts. That way, about 2,000 applications a day could be filed. In doing so, the JRSO operated out of the belief that heirless Jewish property should not be restituted to those countries that had lost their Jewish communities due to state terror but should be made available to world Jewry. Consequently the decision was made to transfer these heirless cultural and religious Jewish objects to private organizations by applying Law No. 59 rather than leave them in the respective European country.

Part III of Law No. 59 addressed the issue of heirless property by stating that:

“A successor organization to be appointed by Military Government shall, instead of the State, be entitled to the entire estate of any persecuted person in the case provided... Neither the state nor any of its subdivisions nor a political self-governing body will be appointed as successor organization.”²⁴²

As a practical matter, this law meant that the JRSO would represent the victims and act on their behalf.

²³⁷ As Michael Kurtz has noted, “The law was designed to provide for restitution of identifiable property confiscated by the Nazis within Germany between 1933 and 1945.” (Michael Kurtz, *America and the Return of Nazi Contraband: The Recovery of Europe's Cultural Treasures*, Cambridge 2006, p 149.)

²³⁸ Takei, p. 270.

²³⁹ Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, Princeton 1997, p 62; see also: *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*.“ Chapter V. Restitution of Victims' Assets.”

²⁴⁰ “OMGUS gives JRSO the go-ahead,” *Information Bulletin*, Nr. 144, September 1948, p 26. Online available at: <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=div&did=HISTORY.OMG1948N144.I0015&size=text>.

²⁴¹ Takei, p. 271.

²⁴² Military Government – Germany United States Area of Control, Law No. 59, Restitution of Identifiable Property. Here cited after: Rena Lipman, “Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Reconsidered,” Ulf Bischof (ed.), *Kunst und Recht. Journal für Kunstrecht, Urheberrecht und Kulturpolitik*, No. 4, 2006, p. 90.

A few years later, in 1950, the British Occupation Authorities followed suit and founded the Jewish Trust Cooperation (JTC) under the chairmanship of Mr. Barnett Janner,²⁴³ and the French established the *Branche Française*, which likewise functioned as the legal heir to heirless and public Jewish property. In December 1951, the JTC took over the French zone.²⁴⁴

In sharp contrast to the archival depots managed by the American Occupation Authorities, the number of cultural and religious objects discovered in the British zone of Germany was small. This was largely due to the fact that the bulk of such objects were stored in the U.S. zone.²⁴⁵

Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR):

Until Jewish Cultural Reconstruction was formally established on 25 April 1947, with its headquarters in New York, there were competing Jewish organizations working to salvage heirless Jewish cultural property in Europe. They were not succeeding, in large part due to the fact that they could not agree on a best way how to proceed. At the same time, the American military forces insisted that they would only deal with unified organizations and only those that would also include Jewish groups from Austria and Germany.²⁴⁶

Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, or JCR for short, grew out of the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, which had been founded in order to serve as a central research and coordinating body for all American activities concerning European Jewish cultural reconstruction. For a while the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, the JRSO and the JCR all operated at the same time, despite pursuing very similar agendas. But with the creation of the JCR the JRSO was able to slowly wind down until the JCR was firmly in place.²⁴⁷

As a matter of distinction between the JRSO and the JCR, it should be noted that while the JRSO served as a trustee for recovering property of economic value – and was in fact only established three weeks after the JCR itself, on 15 May 1947²⁴⁸ – the JCR set its sights on recovering property of cultural value. The JCR was in short the cultural arm of the JRSO. However, this distinction was not always obvious given that not only their work overlapped, but also their members. In August 1947, in an attempt to clarify matters, the relationship between the JRSO and the JCR was defined by signing an agreement in which the JCR agreed to act as an agent of the JRSO in tracing, restituting and allocating Jewish books, Jewish ceremonial objects, and other Jewish cultural property found in the U.S. Zone in Germany.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ Charles I. Kapralik, *Reclaiming the Nazi Loot: The History of the Work of the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany*, London 1962, p. 10.

²⁴⁴ For more information, see, for example, Michael Kurtz, “Resolving a Dilemma: The Inheritance of Jewish Property,” *Cardozo Law Review*, Vol. 20, Nr. 2, 1998/99, p. 64.

The French implemented their own restitution law, ordinance 120, but according to experts, it proved to be rather useless. One particular problem was that the law did not provide for heirless property to go to the surviving Jewish victims. The British military authority did not pass a restitution law. However, compared to the French, the British at least completed the first draft of a restitution law in 1949. Herman, p. 151.

²⁴⁵ Kapralik, p. 88.

²⁴⁶ Herman, p. 32.

²⁴⁷ Idem, p. 130.

²⁴⁸ Mark Glickman, *Stolen Words. The Nazi Plunder of Jewish Books*, Nebraska 2016, p. 254.

²⁴⁹ *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. “Chapter V. Restitution of Victims’ Assets.”

A certificate of incorporation, filed on 30 April 1947, not only marked the official start of the JCR but also laid out its five main principles:

- “1. To locate, identify, salvage, acquire by gift or purchase or any other lawful means, hold, preserve, repair, protect, catalogue and determine the disposition of, Jewish books and manuscripts and, generally, Jewish religious and cultural objects and property of every sort whatsoever anywhere in the world.
2. As successor organization, to institute and prosecute claims for the recovery of, or compensation for, Jewish religious and cultural objects and property of every sort.
3. To distribute the property in such a way as to best serve and promote the spiritual and cultural needs and interests of the Jewish people in particular and of mankind in general, and especially the spiritual and cultural needs of the victims of Nazi or Fascist persecution.
4. To abide by the law in accomplishing such functions.
5. The Corporation shall operate in accordance with those policies established by the United States.”²⁵⁰

The JCR was comprised of nine organizations: the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Conference, the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, the Council for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Jews from Germany, the Hebrew University, the Synagogue Council of America, the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The latter two provided its operating funds.²⁵¹

In May 1947, at its first meeting, Professor Salo Baron became President. Members of the JCR also included Joshua Starr, who served as Executive Secretary from January 1948 until his death in 1949. He was followed by Bernhard Heller, the Field Director at Wiesbaden and a distinguished rabbi, educator, and author²⁵², as well as Hannah Arendt who worked as the Executive Secretary of the JCR until 1952. Rabbi Leo Baeck and Professor Gershon Scholem both served as Vice Presidents.²⁵³ It was due to Ms. Arendt’s efforts that the JCR was able to secure and recover some 440,000 books and countless ritual objects.²⁵⁴

After some initial hurdles, the JCR was eventually recognized as the trustee of heirless cultural property, both within the Jewish communities and organizations as well as within the United States government and occupation authorities.²⁵⁵ Consequently, by April 1947, it started to work out of the Offenbach and Wiesbaden collecting points,²⁵⁶ and began requesting Judaica from German museums.

²⁵⁰ Idem.

²⁵¹ Idem.

²⁵² Idem.

²⁵³ Idem.

²⁵⁴ Schidorsky, p.195.

²⁵⁵ *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. “Chapter V. Restitution of Victims’ Assets.”

²⁵⁶ Pomrenze, p. 7.

On 15 February 1949, Orren McJunkins, in his capacity as head of the U.S. Allied restitution branch, and Benjamin Ferencz as well as Joshua Starr signed the so-called Frankfurt Agreement in the former I.G. Farben headquarters that stipulated the JCR's legal right to act as the guardian of heirless Jewish property.²⁵⁷ And although the historical and political significance of the Frankfurt Agreement is often not stressed enough, it should be noted that it marked a milestone in Jewish geopolitics: with its implementation the JCR, as a union of various Jewish interest groups, ensured that the interests of world Jews were met, in the Diaspora as well as in Israel.

On 8 March 1949, the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives section of the U.S. Military government for Germany, (Reparations and Restitutions Branch, Property Division) handed over its first batch of Judaica in the form of 22 cases containing 4,743 prayer books.²⁵⁸ This official transfer contract referred to the Frankfurt agreement between the Office of Military Government (U.S.) for Germany and the JCR by pointing out that the JCR would herewith act as the trustee for the Jewish people in the distribution of these items when heirs could no longer be located. The objects would be used "for the maintenance of the cultural heritage of the Jewish people (...)". Furthermore it stated that under Law 59 the following categories were to be transferred:

- a. Jewish books, archives and miscellaneous documents in various languages.
- b. Torah scrolls and miscellaneous synagogue vestments, prayer shawls, etc.
- c. Jewish ritual objects or precious metal and including precious stones.
- d. Paintings and furnishings of previous but specifically unidentifiable Jewish ownership.
- e. Other Jewish cultural properties which the Military Government agreed to transfer to JCR, and which would be transferred in accordance with special conditions.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Gallas, p. 35.

²⁵⁸ M 1947: Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Objects Movement and Control Records; Category: Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties: 1949 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 1-11, 1-18; online available at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232018747>

²⁵⁹ Idem; Online available at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232018747>

JCR 1

RECEIPT FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES
OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT (U.S.) FOR GERMANY
MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS AND ARCHIVES SECTION
REPARATIONS AND RESTITUTIONS BRANCH, PROPERTY DIVISION

PLACE: .Offenbach a.M.,.....

DATE: .8 March 1949.....

1. The undersignedMr. Joshua S. T. A. R. R....., authorized representative of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc., hereby acknowledges on behalf of JCR Inc. from the U.S. Commander in Chief in Germany receipt for the items described in Schedule A, attached hereto, which have this day been delivered to JCR from the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point / Offenbach Archival Depot.
2. The scheduled Jewish cultural properties transferred herewith to JCR Inc., in accordance with the Frankfurt agreement of 15 February 1949 between the Office of Military Government (U.S.) for Germany and Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc., were wrongfully separated from owning individuals and organizations in Europe during the period of Nazi rule and were subsequently taken into protective custody by Military Government.
3. JCR. Inc., in accepting custody therefor, certifies that individual ownership of subject items cannot be determined and undertakes to act as trustee for the Jewish people in the distribution of said property to such public or quasi-public religious, cultural or educational institutions as it sees fit, to be used in the interest of perpetuating Jewish art and culture, or to utilize them for the maintenance of the cultural heritage of the Jewish people, and to this end further undertakes to maintain the physical integrity of all such properties which had not been so damaged as to prevent normal use.
4. Properties transferred in the present receipt, unidentifiable and hence not the proper subjects of claims under Law 59, fall under one or more of the categories checked below:
 - a. Jewish books, archives and miscellaneous documents in various languages.
 - b. Torah scrolls and miscellaneous synagogue vestments, prayer shawls, etc.
 - c. Jewish ritual objects of precious metals and including precious stones.
 - d. Paintings and furnishings of previous but specifically unidentifiable Jewish ownership.
 - e. Such other Jewish cultural properties as Military Government shall agree to transfer to JCR, and which shall be transferred in accordance with special conditions.
5. The receiving agency undertakes to restore to Military Government for proper disposition any object which has been delivered to it by mistake and is not covered by the special provisions.
6. The receiving agency agrees that the occupying power and all its agents and representatives shall be saved harmless from any claim for loss,

P.T.O.

Figures 6, 7, 8: M 1947 – Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Objects Movement and Control Records; Category: Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties: 1949 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 1-11, 1-18]; Online available at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232018747>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232018756>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232018762>;

damage or deterioration suffered by any item from the time of its removal from the original owner to its transfer into custody of JCR Inc.

James Kimball
.....
Witness

Joshua Starr
.....
Signature

James Kimball
.....

Joshua Starr
.....
Signature typed

.. Administrative Superintendent OAD
Signature & Office typed

OFFENBACH ARCHIVAL DEPOT
OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT
FOR HESSE
Place PROPERTY DIVISION
APO 757 US Army

Authorized Representative JCR
.....
Title or Capacity of Signer

... 6 April 1949
Date

Distribution:

Original and one copy - OMGUS (Prop Div)
2 - OMGH
2 - JCR Inc

Figure 7

SCHEDULE A	
ITEM	DESCRIPTION (Including Statement of Condition of Object)
22 cases	containing 4743 Prayer-Books in fair condition ////////// LAST ITEM //////////

Figure 8

By the end of May 1949, only three months after the JCR distribution process had begun, the Offenbach Archival Depot was basically empty of its books. There was still more material at the collecting points in Wiesbaden²⁶⁰ and Munich, as well as at numerous German libraries and museums throughout the country, but the JCR had nevertheless reached an important milestone.²⁶¹



Figure 9: Torah Shield (19th century), Yeshiva University Museum, JCR Collection, Call Nr. 1977.113

<http://access.gjib.org/query.php?term=jewish+cultural+reconstruction&qtype=basic&stype=contains&paging=25&dtype=any&repo=all&go=#1>

With the JCR's distribution process in full swing, it not only had to face up to the newly emerged Jewish geopolitical reality but it had to start discussing what should be done with heirless property, such as the thousands of ceremonial or ritual objects or the thousands of unidentified books. It was agreed upon – consistent with its agreement with OMGUS – that heirless property should be used to “benefit the Jewish people,” and therefore to distribute objects to existing Jewish communities and to institutions that could best use and care for them. Particular Jewish institutions, such as the Bezalel Museum and Hebrew University in Israel, were given first selection rights.²⁶² Within the United States, the Jewish Museum in New York and the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati were given first priority in choosing cultural and ceremonial objects, followed by Yeshiva University and, after 1950, other colleges and institutions. Most objects distributed were spice boxes, Torah shields, Hanukkah lamps, and pointers.²⁶³

Because Torah scrolls require a different kind of treatment than other cultural and religious objects, in that according to Jewish law destroyed scrolls have to be buried, the JCR's initial task was to carefully examine them. The preliminary sorting was carried out by the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). Of the 1,151 Torah scrolls distributed by 1952, the overwhelming majority went to Israel (931), followed by the United States (110), Western Europe (98) and Great Britain (12). 127 Torah scrolls were sent to Israel to be buried.²⁶⁴

In addition to Torah scrolls, the Offenbach Archival Depot also held about 17,000 other religious objects in its “Torah Room.” The JCR and JRSO in addition to OMGUS agreed for these objects to be utilized, as they all originated from synagogues and homes ransacked during the Holocaust. While the majority of objects were sent to synagogues, some objects, if considered suitable, were sent to

²⁶⁰ The National Archives and Records Administration holds documents detailing the transfer of objects from the Offenbach archival depot to the Wiesbaden depot. These were presumably objects that were still awaiting restitution but could not have been handled in Offenbach. See: “List of Various Objects of Jewish Interest sent from Offenbach Archival Depot to Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point.” M 1947 – Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Objects Movement and Control Records; Category: Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties: 1949 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: 1-11, 1-18]; Online available at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/114/232019085>

²⁶¹ Glickman, p. 261.

²⁶² *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report.* “Chapter V. Restitution of Victims' Assets.”

²⁶³ Idem.

²⁶⁴ Idem; see also: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, “JCR” (online edition, accessed through the New York Public Library);

museums. Between 1949 and 1952, 7,867 ceremonial objects were distributed, with most of these objects going to Israel and the United States.²⁶⁵

This distribution scheme followed a decision by the JCR Board of Directors, which agreed in October 1949 to a 40:40:20 split of Jewish cultural and religious objects, whereby 40 percent would go to Israel, 40 percent to the Western Hemisphere, which included the United States, and 20 percent would go to all other countries.²⁶⁶

In Israel, the JCR decided to give priority to the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem. All told, 61 cases worth of museum material were sent to Israel. The Bezalel Museum, like all other museums that received objects, was asked to clearly label these items and to furnish itemized receipts.²⁶⁷ In addition, all institutions were asked to return any objects at the request of the JCR.²⁶⁸ Responsible for the distribution in Israel was the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in the Americas the JCR, and everywhere else the JDC. However, the Synagogue Council of America soon took over the JCR's responsibilities in the Americas.²⁶⁹

According to a JCR document labeled "World Distribution of Ceremonial Objects and Torah Scrolls" dated July 1949, the following countries were recipients²⁷⁰:

²⁶⁵ Idem.

²⁶⁶ Idem. This agreement was preceeded by various discussions at which the United States was first envisioned to receive the vast majority of objects, together with Israel. In March 1949, the allocations would be 40 percent to Israel, 40 percent to other countries, and 20 percent to the United States. In June yet another instruction was issued that would allocate the ceremonial objects according to yet another formula (Israel, 40 percent; Western Europe, 25 percent; Western Hemisphere, 25 percent; Great Britain, 5 percent; South Africa and other countries, 5 percent). However, by October 1949, an agreement was reached at which the decision was to adhere to the following ratio: 40:40:20 (40 percent of all items should go to Israel, 40 percent to the Western Hemisphere, including the United States, and 20 percent to other countries).

²⁶⁷ Objects that the Bezalel museum refused to take were split between other established Jewish Museums such as the museums in Tel Aviv, Prague, Budapest, London, New York and Cincinnati. see: Dana Herman, "A Brand Plucked Out of Fire": The Distribution of Heirless Jewish Cultural Property by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., 1947-1952," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 36.

²⁶⁸ Idem; See also: Lipman, p. 91.

²⁶⁹ Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, p. 252.

²⁷⁰ JCR, Inc., World Distribution of Ceremonial Objects and Torah Scrolls, July 1, 1949 to January 31, 1952, S35/88, CZA, Jerusalem; quoted after: Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, p. 226.

World Distribution of Ceremonial Objects and Torah Scrolls:

Country	Museum Pieces	Synagogue Pieces	Scrolls
Israel	2,285	976	804 (including 87 fragments and 127 buried scrolls)
United States	1,326	1,824	110 (including an unknown number of scrolls that had to be buried)
Great Britain	245	66	12
France	125	219	
Germany	31	89	
Western Europe (excluding France and Germany)	129		
Western Europe (including France and Germany)	98		
South Africa	150	66	
Canada	151 (Museum and Synagogue pieces)		
Argentina	150 (Museum and Synagogue pieces)		
Peru	35 (Museum and Synagogue pieces)		

The restitution of books, similar to the restitution of ceremonial objects, was more difficult than the restitution of looted paintings and sculptures. Only in very rare cases did a looted book or a collection of specific books carry significant markings that indicated by which Nazi agency they had been initially spoliated.²⁷¹

Generally speaking, the books transferred to the JCR were placed into various categories, including those that were unidentifiable and of Jewish content in the German language; books that were identifiable and other archival materials belonging to private owners and Jewish institutions in Germany; unidentifiable books and partially identifiable books in languages other than German; identifiable books from the Baltic states.²⁷² After some difficulties sorting through these book collections, the JCR decided to adopt the same principle for distribution with books as they did with ceremonial objects: the 40:40:20 model.²⁷³ In Israel, the Hebrew University was given first priority. However, books were also sent to Jewish institutions in Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Teheran, Rome,

²⁷¹ Lehmann, p. 23.

²⁷² *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. "Chapter V. Restitution of Victims' Assets."

²⁷³ Already in 1949, an allocations committee was formed which decided on a place for book distribution: 1) books would go to the Jewish National and University Library, 2) to major Jewish communities remaining in Western Germany (for immediate use consisting primarily of German Judaica, 3) to European institutions outside of Germany subsidized by the JDC, and 4) to countries to be determined. While the JCR oversaw the book distribution in a number of places, the JDC was responsible for the book distribution in Western Europe. Herman, p. 137.

Strasbourg, Algiers and Amsterdam, with each receiving between 4 and 528 books. About 10,000 books went to survivors of Jewish communities in Germany.²⁷⁴ OAD officials also gave the JDC permission to distribute some 25,000 books in Displaced Persons camps (DP-camps) between 1946 and 1947. However, since the JDC was soon unable to reconcile how many books had been borrowed and where, a second and similar request for book distribution by the JDC was denied.²⁷⁵

According to the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, heirless books were distributed as follows²⁷⁶:

World Distribution of Books 1 July 1949 to 31 January 1952:

Country	Number of Books
Israel	191,423
United States	160,886
Canada	2,031
Belgium	824
France	8,193
Germany	11,814
Great Britain	19,082
Holland	1,813
Sweden	696
Switzerland	7,843
South Africa	7,269
Morocco	378
Australia	3,307
Argentina	5,053
Bolivia	1,281
Brazil	2,463
Chile	1,219
Costa Rica	442
Ecuador	225
Mexico	804
Peru	529
Uruguay	1,670
Venezuela	456
Others	2,044
TOTAL	431,745

Within the United States, as mentioned previously, 160,886 books were distributed. The distribution favored Jewish institutions, such as the Jewish Theological Seminary (which received 13,320 books and periodicals), Brandeis University (which received 11,288 books and periodicals), and the Yiddish

²⁷⁴ Herman, *Hashavat Avedab*, pp. 274, 276.

²⁷⁵ Idem, pp. 164, 167.

²⁷⁶ "Introductory Statement," Tentative List, p. 5; Herman, *Hashavat Avedab*, p. 225.

Scientific Institute (YIVO, which received 12,360 books and periodicals), especially in regard to rare books.²⁷⁷

But the decision was soon made to also send books, including rare volumes, to the Library of Congress, Harvard University, the New York Public Library, Columbia University, Yale University, and others. By the time book distribution ended in 1952, the JCR had distributed 160,886 books to 48 libraries and institutions in the United States.²⁷⁸

Each receiving institution was required to sign an agreement with the JCR that stated, “Each library is asked to adhere to the following procedure, so that all books will be treated as part of the cultural heritage of European Jewry.” The terms of the agreement were:

- “1. No books received may be sold, nor may any be exchanged for other books without the permission of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction obtained prior to the exchange.
2. The recipient will furnish Jewish Cultural Reconstruction with an itemized receipt, listing authors and their titles, within six months after the delivery of each shipment.
3. The recipient places at the disposal of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction all duplicates of publications already in its library unless Jewish Cultural Reconstruction authorizes the recipient in writing to retain them specifically.
4. Any books identified by a claimant as his property to the satisfaction of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction within two years of its delivery to the recipient shall be returned promptly to the claimant or to Jewish Cultural Reconstruction upon the latter’s request.
5. Any book which Jewish Cultural Reconstruction may desire to re-allocate to another library within two years of its delivery to the recipient shall likewise be promptly returned to Jewish Cultural Reconstruction upon its request. However, the total number of items requested for re-allocation shall not exceed 10% of the number of items allocated to the recipient.”²⁷⁹

After the institutions agreed to these terms and signed the agreement letter, they received special bookplates and the following request:

“In view of the extraordinary history of the books which are now being distributed by the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. to Jewish libraries and institutions of higher learning throughout the world, we feel that it will be of great importance to have each volume marked, so that present and future readers may be reminded of those who once cherished them before they became victims of the great Jewish catastrophe.

Without such distinctive mark it will also be impossible for present and future scholars to retrace the history and the whereabouts of the great cultural treasures of European Jewry which once were the pride of scholars, institutions and private collections.

²⁷⁷ Herman, *Hashavat Avedab*, pp. 164, 167.

²⁷⁸ Idem.

²⁷⁹ Direct quote from “JCR, Inc., “Memorandum to Libraries Co-operating with JCR,” June 20, 1949, Dept. of Special Collections and Univ. Archives, Stanford Univ. Libs., Salo Baron Papers, Box 232, Folder 10 [123234]; “Agreement Between Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., and Recipient Libraries,” NACP, RG 260, Ardelia Hall Collection, Box 66, JRSO [311758]. See also, memo from JCR, “Memorandum to Libraries Co-operating with JCR,” June 20, 1949, Dept. of Special Collections & Univ. Archives, Stanford Univ. Libs., Salo Baron Papers, Box 32, Folder 10 [123234].” quoted after: *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims’ Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. “Chapter V. Restitution of Victims’ Assets.”

We therefore are sending you today bookplates which should be pasted into each of the volumes which you received from us. We trust that you will understand the historic significance of this request and will gladly comply with it.”²⁸⁰

While most books remained at the libraries to which they were sent to, the JCR was also able to reconstitute some 9,000 volumes from the Brooklyn-based depot to their original owners.²⁸¹ Further restitutions were rare, and as time progressed not only did many JCR bookplates disappear, but numerous books were often simply integrated into already existing library collections without specifically marking them or were simply sold off. In many cases the book’s journey from its original murdered owner, followed by its redistribution by the JCR, is no longer traceable.²⁸²

Aside from religious objects and books, the JCR was also faced with spoliated archival collections for which it equally assumed responsibility.²⁸³ If after the war the origin of the archives, or the appropriate heirs, were known, these archival records were restituted. In cases where the archival records were deemed heirless, which often meant that they originated from German Jewish communities, the decision was made to send them to Jewish organizations in New York and Jerusalem, particularly to the Israel Historical Society.²⁸⁴

By the time that the JCR operation closed in Germany on 31 January 1951, JCR had asked that all pending claims, shipments, and incoming information be handled through the JRSO office in Nuremberg.²⁸⁵ And while the JCR ceased its active operations in the early 1950s, it officially closed only on November 9, 1977. Jewish Cultural Reconstruction therefore existed for nearly 30 years.²⁸⁶

While its name was misleading, since the JCR ultimately did not strive to rebuild destroyed shtetl libraries or yeshivot, nor to restore European Jewish life, it insisted that Jewish objects – books, archives and religious as well as ceremonial objects – ought to stay in Jewish hands, wherever Jews may live. Their new geopolitical understanding, after facing up to a decimated and shattered European Jewry that emerged after the Holocaust, helped Jews around the world to maintain their ties with the culture and literature of the world the Nazis had aimed to destroy.

At the same time, Hannah Arendt instinctively knew that without real cooperation from German libraries and other German institutions²⁸⁷ it would not be possible to fully discover and locate surviving cultural assets.²⁸⁸ In her mind, the Jewish cultural objects found in the various archival

²⁸⁰ Letter from Hannah Arendt, Exe. Secy., JCR, to "Dear Friends", Sept. 1949, Harvard Univ. Lib., Correspondence between the Harvard Lib. & the JCR Org. [122325]. quoted after: *Plunder and Restitution: The U.S. and Holocaust Victims' Assets: Findings and Recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the U.S. and Staff Report*. "Chapter V. Restitution of Victims' Assets." Glickman, p. 271.

²⁸¹ Glickman, p. 275.

²⁸² For an analysis of the fate of JCR books distributed to the United States, please see the United States chapter within the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

²⁸³ Yoram Mayorek, "The Fate of Jewish Archives During and After the Holocaust," Jean-Claude Kuperminc, Rafaële Arditti (eds.), *Preserving Jewish Archives as Part of the European Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference on Judaica Archives in Europe for Archivists and Librarians*. Potsdam, 1999, 11-13 July, Paris 2001, p. 33.

²⁸⁴ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, "JCR" (online edition, accessed through the New York Public Library).

²⁸⁵ Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, p. 222.

²⁸⁶ Idem, p. 276.

²⁸⁷ Arendt reflected on this situation in her report for the Commentary Journal: Hannah Arendt, "The Aftermath of Nazi Rule. Report from Germany," *Commentary*, 10, 1959, pp. 342-353.

²⁸⁸ In 1950 Arendt concluded that "bei dem wahrscheinlichen Aussterben der deutschen Gemeinden in den nächsten Jahren [das] kulturelle Eigentum der jüdischen Gemeinden automatisch an den deutschen Staat fallen würde." UI.

depots within the U.S. zone of occupation were only the tip of the iceberg. In an article in the 1950s, Arendt referred to the fragments of what once were the great German Jewish collections that surfaced after the war. She stressed that especially Judaica and Hebraica had to be researched,²⁸⁹ since without any proper examination within German institutions, the problem of spoliated Jewish artifacts could not be properly addressed, and these objects would remain in the wrong hands. Arendt repeated her plea in 1952, but to little avail.

In her efforts to convince German bureaucrats at libraries, archives or within the post-war German government, she often referred to the “Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries” as evidence of the vast German Jewish heritage.²⁹⁰ But despite her pleas for voluntary help from German libraries, it would take more than 50 years, until the convening of a 1998 international conference in Washington, for wide-ranging provenance research to be conducted into the holdings of state institutions.²⁹¹

Stamford, Baron Papers, M0580, Box 232, Folder 5, Hannah Arendt, Memorandum an Dr. Weis, JRSO von der Sitzung des Bayrischen Landesverbandes am 22 Januar 1950. here cited after Elisabeth Gallas, “In der Lücke der Zeit,” in: Nicolas Berg, *Konstellationen, Über Geschichte, Erfahrung und Erkenntnis*, Festschrift für Dan Diner zum 65. Geburtstag, Göttingen 2011, p. 270. See also Sznajder, pp. 66-67.

²⁸⁹ “In Frage kommen vor allem Judaica und Hebraica aller Art (Bücher, Inkunablen, Manuskripte, Archivalien) [...]“ here quoted after Sznajder, Natan. „Hannah Arendt in München (1949/50)“. *Hannah.Arendt.net. Zeitschrift für politisches Denken*. Vol. 4, Nr. 1, 2008; online available at: <http://www.hannaharendt.net/index.php/han/article/view/136/238>

²⁹⁰ Sznajder, *Die Rettung der Bücher*, p. 69.

²⁹¹ Schidorsky, p. 191-192.

1.5 The Dispersion of Ceremonial Objects in the East: The Soviet Trophy Brigades and Nationalizations in the East after World War II

The Soviet Trophy Brigades

The trophy brigades set up by the Soviet government to collect reparations mainly from Germany, began their work in territories occupied by the Red Army as soon as the war ended. Yet decrees issued by Josef Stalin for the Soviet removal of cultural property from Eastern Europe and German territories so occupied were few.²⁹² Shortly after returning from the conference in Yalta, on 21 February 1945, Stalin signed a decree of the State Committee of Defense on the establishment of permanent commissions ordering the Soviet military to remove industrial equipment and materials from Poland and Germany. This set in motion the creation of the trophy brigades. A couple of months later, in June 1945, Stalin issued another decree that dealt specifically with the removal of art collections.²⁹³

At least five or six different types of trophy brigades representing various Soviet institutions were involved in the removal of cultural property. The main role in the search and confiscation of cultural property belonged to the trophy brigades of the Committee on Arts. The Committee on Scientific-Educational Organizations, for example, was involved in the removal of a broad variety of cultural goods, from library collections to pianos, but they were also removing art works. Archival collections and manuscripts were targeted by yet another unit (SMERSH) which was directly responsible to the Communist Party.²⁹⁴

While the trophy brigades' original intent was to search for cultural objects thought to be 'eventual equivalents', this approach was soon replaced by a much broader looting spree: trophy experts started to load entire collections on trains heading to the Soviet Union.²⁹⁵ The first area affected by the trophy brigades was the eastern territory of Germany,²⁹⁶ Silesia, which later was to become part of Poland, followed by more territories in Poland and eventually Germany, with major looting in Berlin and Dresden, in addition to parts of Hungary and Yugoslavia. The first major removal took place in March 1945 from the village of Hohenwalde (now Polish Wysoka). Between 1945 and 1946,²⁹⁷ objects were removed indiscriminately, no matter if they were Nazi loot from Jews or other

²⁹² Konstantin Akinsha, "Stalin's Decrees and Soviet Trophy Brigades: Compensation, Restitution in Kind, or "Trophies" of War?," *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Vol. 17, Issue 02, May 2010, p. 195.

²⁹³ Idem, p. 196.

²⁹⁴ Idem, p. 202.

²⁹⁵ Idem, p. 203.

²⁹⁶ Soviet trophy brigades claimed more than 2.6 million works of art, over 6 million books, and kilometers of archival materials from Germany alone. In the 1950s until the beginning of the 1960s, the Soviet Union returned about 1.5 million works to the GDR. For more information, see: <https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/en/priorities/provenance-research-and-issues-of-ownership/wartime-losses/cultural-assets-relocated-to-russia-as-a-result-of-the-war.html>.

²⁹⁷ "Tracking the Trophy Brigades," *ArtNews*, November 1, 2007. (Online available at: <http://www.artnews.com/2007/11/01/top-ten-artnews-stories-tracking-the-trophy-brigade/>).

‘enemies’ of the Nazi regime. But the Soviet trophy brigades were not alone: also the Ukrainian Soviet Republic dispatched its own trophy brigades from Kyiv accompanying various army units, competing with those sent from Moscow.²⁹⁸

In the majority of cases the masterpieces and cultural objects removed from Europe to the Soviet Union by the Soviet trophy brigades with the aim to compensate for the enormous losses never reached those museums or other cultural institutions that had suffered major losses during the Nazi occupation;²⁹⁹ rather they were concentrated in cultural centers such as Moscow and Leningrad.³⁰⁰ It should also be mentioned that among the artworks removed or destroyed by the Nazis were generally no masterpieces, with the exception of the Dürer drawings looted from Lviv and the Amber Room. Stalin’s secret sales at the end of the 1920s and early 1930s damaged Soviet museums infinitely more than the looting sprees by the Nazis. Countries that suffered the most from the Nazis were Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic states. Major museums in Russia itself were for the most part never occupied by the Nazis.

Among the loot were also a considerable number of Nazi-looted Jewish cultural and religious artifacts; they were as much removed by the Soviet trophy brigades as artworks from famous museums.³⁰¹ The subject of “trophy books,” which included confiscated Jewish archives and collections, was taboo during the Soviet period. A semi-open discussion only emerged in the 1990s.³⁰² Today spoils in cultural institutions of the former Soviet Union can generally be divided into three categories, with the first and third being of significant relevance to this Handbook: 1. property taken from victims of racial and religious persecution; 2. objects taken from museums, libraries, and archives of countries that were allies of the Soviet Union or that fought against Germany, or within Germany against the Nazis; and 3. postwar seizures from wartime enemies of the Soviet Union, especially Hungary, Romania and Germany.³⁰³

Much of the Judaica that the Nazis had looted in other countries was subsequently brought to the Soviet Union and distributed among its territories, with priority given to countries that had suffered major losses during their Nazi occupation, such as Belarus. Consequently Belarus and its capital Minsk became an important repository for Nazi looted Judaica. In the summer of 1944, when Belarus was liberated, virtually no synagogues or prayer houses had remained intact. Buildings had been destroyed and looted of their ritual objects, interior decorations and furniture, and old Torah

²⁹⁸ The Kyiv trophy brigades centered around Dresden and succeeded in airlifting to Kyiv a substantial part of the collection of the Dresden Gallery. Idem, pp. 203 – 204. For more information on Ukraine’s trophy brigades see: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire. The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution*, Cambridge 2001.

²⁹⁹ Idem, p. 211. Akinsha further mentions that the number of objects removed by the Trophy Brigades was four and half times higher than the quantity of the museum objects lost by Soviet Museums.

³⁰⁰ Idem, p. 211. [Akinsha notes that “The whole content of museums of Dresden, Leipzig, Weimar, and Gotha, along with hundreds of thousands of art works from public and private collections were crowded in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Hermitage in Leningrad.” The one exception to this was in the Ukraine, where the damaged museum of Kyiv was the main repository of cultural objects removed from European countries, specifically by Ukraine’s own trophy brigades.]

³⁰¹ Grimsted, “Tracing ‘Trophy’ Books in Russia,” *Solanus*, 2005, p. 133. (Online available at: <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/solanus.pdf>).

³⁰² Idem, p.134.

³⁰³ Charles Goldstein, “Foreword,” *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Vol. 17, Issue 02, May 2010, p. 136. (online available at: [http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/SCAN%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/SCAN%20(1).pdf)).

scrolls and precious libraries had been ravaged by the Nazis and their collaborators.³⁰⁴ In autumn of 1945 an estimated 1,200,000 books were shipped to Minsk. Half a million of those books had been looted from their owners in France, the Benelux countries, and former Yugoslavia and found by Red Army trophy brigades in the spring of 1945 in warehouses in a Kattowitz (now Polish Katowice) suburb. Books that arrived in Minsk were, as mentioned, regarded as compensation for the enormous library losses that had taken place there. These volumes are now primarily in the new building of the National Library of Belarus, but also in the Library of the Academy of Sciences of Belarus and the Presidential Library.³⁰⁵ Collections known to be in Belarus include collections from the Serbian Jewish Community and parts of the valuable Julius Genss collection from Estonia.³⁰⁶ However, Judaica in Belarus can also be found in for example the State Historical Archive. Throughout Belarus' Communist rule numerous Judaica objects found their way into archival holdings, with the State Historical Archive being only one example of many. Other repositories are the Historical Museum of Mogilev, as well as the Historical Museum of Vitebsk.³⁰⁷

While the Soviet Union also encompassed countries such as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, very little can be said about them. Yet it is known that 100,000 German books entered the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi, Georgia, in the 1950s via the Soviet trophy brigades, most of which were returned from Georgia to Germany in 1996.³⁰⁸ More research on this topic in these countries remains to be done.³⁰⁹

The situation is vastly different for the Russian Federation itself: Aside from the Soviet trophy brigades, which brought Nazi spoliated objects into Russia, the country's own nationalization measures took a toll on private and communal Jewish property. Stalin's rule after World War II, labeled as the dark years of Soviet Jewry, greatly undermined Russia's Jewish community. Jews were placed in the Gulag or were otherwise faced with oppression. During the 'Night of the Murdered Poets' in 1952, on Stalin's order a number of leading Russian Jewish intellectuals were murdered.³¹⁰ Jewish property was nationalized and Yiddish publishing houses were closed. However, nationalizations already had taken place during the early years of the Bolshevik regime. A prominent example is the Schneerson Collection which consisted of some 381 religious transcripts, 12,000 books and 50,000 rare documents that were maintained by the first of five Lubavitcher Rebbes

³⁰⁴ Leonid Smilovitsky, "Jews under Soviet Rule. Attempts by religious communities to renew Jewish life during the postwar reconstruction period. The case of Belorussia, 1944-1953," *Cahiers du monde russe*. 2008/2, Vol. 49, pp. 475-514.

³⁰⁵ In 2011 the Belarus Library published a CD ROM entitled (in Russian) French Autographs in the Holdings of the National Library of Belarus, displaying the title pages of 66 books from Paris with autograph dedications by and/or to famous French politicians, writers, and other cultural leaders, together with photographs of the individuals named. Almost all the names appear on ERR seizure lists. For further information, see: "French Autographs in the Holdings of the National Library of Belarus," online available at: <https://www.errproject.org/looted-libraries-fr-belarus.php>; See also: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "The Postwar Fate of ERR Archival and Library Plunder," *Journal of Art Crime*, 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 23-47. See also Grimsted, "Silesian Crossroads for Europe's Displaced Books: Compensation or Prisoners of War?," *The Future of the Lost Cultural Heritage: The documentation, identification and restitution of the cultural assets of WW II victims*. Proceedings of the international academic conference in Český Krumlov (22.-24.11. 2005), ed. Mečislav Borák (Prague: Tilia Publishers, 2006), p. 133-69; and Grimsted, "The Road to Minsk for Western 'Trophy' Books: Twice Plundered but Not Yet Home from the War," *Libraries & Culture*, 39, no. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 351-404.

³⁰⁶ Julius Genss was a book collector in pre-war Estonia who amassed a collection of about 20,000 volumes, mostly art history books.

³⁰⁷ *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 97.

³⁰⁸ Grimsted, *Tracing 'Trophy' Books in Russia*, p. 142.

³⁰⁹ Georgia is the only country with a sizeable Jewish community numbering approximately 13,000. Second is Azerbaijan's Jewish Community which numbers about 6,400 Jews.

³¹⁰ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/russia.html>, last accessed 2 March 2016.

dating to 1772. After the October Revolution, the collection was seized, and parts were stored in the Russian State Library (former Lenin Library). The Russian State Military Archive holds another part of the collection that consists of archival documents confiscated by the Nazis in Poland during the Holocaust. More recently parts of the collection have been transferred to the newly established Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center, yet they remain part of the Russian State Library.³¹¹

The *Osoby* Archive (TsGOA)³¹², now part of the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA), was the repository of much of the trophy Jewish archives that were brought to the country after the end of World War II. It received more than 1,350 archival fonds, in addition to looted material from Jewish organizations and parties, including religious and ceremonial objects, as well as material from Jewish intellectuals.³¹³ Other archives and museums in Russia equally received looted art and Judaica. Some restitutions of archives have taken place, but many more are unresolved.³¹⁴ A handful of archival research projects have taken place, among them the projects by Heritage Revealed,³¹⁵ a project designed to research and uncover assets displaced to the Soviet Union after World War II through the works of its trophy brigades. Three catalogues emerged from this research project: The “Catalogue of Manuscripts and Archival Materials of Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau held in Russian Depositories,”³¹⁶ “Catalogue of Art Objects from Hungarian Private Collections,”³¹⁷ and lastly “Manuscripts and Archival Documents of the Vienna Jewish Community held in Russian Collections.”³¹⁸ Yet, many more research projects remain to be done, and looted Judaica, including important archival records, as well as book collections are believed to be still in Russian repositories.

³¹¹ For more information on the Schneerson Collection, see: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Beyond Cold War Over a Restitution Claim?,” *Art Antiquity and Law*, Vol. XVIII, Issue 4, December 2013; Talya Levi, “Russia and the Solen Chabad Archive,” *Georgetown Journal of International Law*, 2015. Online available at: <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/academics/law-journals/gjil/recent/upload/zsx00315000915.PDF>; Paul Berger, “Russian and American Chabad Arms Split Over Schneerson Library,” *Forward*, 3 March 2014; Ellen Barry, “In Big New Museum, Russia has a Message for Jews: We like You,” *New York Times*, 8 November 2012; Olga Gershenson, “The Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center in Moscow: Judaism for the masses,” *Journal of East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 45, Nos. 2-3, pp. 158-173.

³¹² The Special Archive (Osobyi Arkhiv) was officially established in 1946 to house the archival materials of foreign origin, mainly from European countries. Most of these archival records were captured by the Red Army at the end of World War II and brought back to Moscow. For more information, see: <http://www.iisg.nl/abb/rep/B-8.tab1.php>.

³¹³ For a more in-depth overview, see the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

³¹⁴ For more information on restitutions that already took place, see: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud, Eric Ketelaar (eds.), *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, Crickadarn 2007. See also section on Russian Federation in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder. A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*, IISH Research Papers, 2011. Online available at: https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/publications/errsuryey_total-111019.pdf.

³¹⁵ <http://www.commartrecovery.org/projects/heritage-revealed>.

³¹⁶ Online accessible at: http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/catalog1_1.pdf.

³¹⁷ Online accessible at: http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/catalog2_0.pdf.

³¹⁸ Online accessible at: http://www.commartrecovery.org/docs/catalog3_0.pdf.

Nationalizations in the East after World War II



Figure 10: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iron_Curtain

The following briefly examines the fate of Judaica in the countries of the East after World War II ended. While much has been and may be written about the fate and suppression of Jewish communities and Jewish life in general during Communism, here the focus is only on the journey and losses of Jewish ritual objects as a result of communist rule. The following overview, divided into two political spheres – examples of countries that were aligned through the Warsaw Pact,³¹⁹ as well as an overview of countries that were part of the former Soviet Union – aims to outline the journey of communal and private property during Communism, as well as developments since 1989 and the official fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

As pointed out in previous chapters, compulsory changes in property ownership and Soviet nationalization measures took place already during the first Soviet Occupation between 1939 and 1941. In some cases, these property transfers were only interrupted by the German invasion in June 1941. Between the end of the German occupation and 1948, a considerable portion of the local economies in East-Central Europe were

nationalized, and the property of former wartime enemies and occupiers was seized by the states. For obvious reasons, the vastly different political approach in the East had a large impact on restitutions that took place immediately after the war,³²⁰ and was in stark contrast to restitution procedures in the West.

After World War II, the political landscape changed with the Soviet Union being firmly established and numerous areas and countries added to it such as western Ukraine and Belarus, Moldova, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia. Other countries, such as Poland, the former Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary were not officially part of the USSR, but their governments were loyal Stalinists and aligned themselves with the Soviet Union politically and militarily via the Warsaw Pact. Yugoslavia, while being Communist, did not align itself with the Soviet Union.

Generally speaking, Communist policies in Eastern Europe had a dramatic impact on Judaica objects: Jewish cultural institutions suffered considerable losses,³²¹ and private Jewish property and communal property was nationalized. In the case of Jewish museums, their only chance of survival

³¹⁹ The Warsaw Pact was formed on 14 May 1955 as a military alliance. The following countries were members: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union and Albania. The pact was dissolved in 1991.

³²⁰ Constantin Goschler, Philipp Thier, “A History without Boundaries. Jewish property in Europe,” Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, Philipp Thier (eds.), *Robbery and Restitution. The Conflict Over Jewish Property in Europe*, New York 2008, p. 5.

³²¹ For an overview of Judaica looted during World War II and its current whereabouts, as well as to a lesser degree Judaica that fell victim to nationalization measures, see the Claims Conference’s *Descriptive Catalogue*.

was if they were state-run or otherwise had the support of the relevant regime. Most Jewish museums, however, were situated in disused synagogues,³²² some of which were in dire need of repairs. The Stalinist state doctrine of atheism and antisemitism resulted in local Jewish life being portrayed as something in the past with no place existing for any present-day Jewish communal life.

Today, more than 25 years after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Jewish landscape is quite different: While historical research and consequently restitutions are still necessary for a number of countries, some countries in former Eastern Europe have seen an increase in Jewish public culture. During the last couple of years a number of new Jewish museums – some of them large, some of them small – have been created in former communist countries, including in Moscow (Russian Federation), Dnipropetrovsk (Ukraine), Czernowitz (Ukraine), Krakow (Poland), Warsaw (Poland), Bratislava (Slovakia), Vilnius (Lithuania), Riga (Latvia), the Bukharan-Jewish Museum in Samarkand (Uzbekistan) and the Jewish Museum of Chişinău (Kishinev) in Moldova.³²³

What follows is a brief overview of some countries within the post-war communist sphere in regard to their compulsory property changes as experienced by the local Jewish population.³²⁴ Emphasis has been given to countries that not only aligned themselves with the Warsaw Pact such as Hungary, the former Czechoslovakia, and Poland, but also to countries that have conducted historical research and for which information is readily available. Some countries that were part of the Soviet Union, namely Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, initiated state-run historical commissions examining not only their role regarding the crimes during the Holocaust, but also during the communist regime.³²⁵ Other countries such as Romania³²⁶ and Bulgaria³²⁷ are only mentioned here since detailed research

³²² Ruth Ellen Gruber, “Post-trauma. ‘Precious Legacies’: Jewish Museums in Eastern Europe after the Holocaust and before the Fall of Communism,” Richard Cohen (ed.), *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, Studies in Contemporary Jewry. Institute of Contemporary Jewry. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Vol. XXVI, Oxford 2012, p. 127.

³²³ See the special issue “New Jewish Museums in Post-Communist Europe,” *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 45, Issue 2-3, 2015.

³²⁴ For in-depth articles on Poland, the Czech Republic or Hungary, please see: Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011.

³²⁵ The “Commission of Historians of Latvia” was established in November 1998 on the initiative of former president Guntis Ulmanis and examined the “Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia under Two Occupations, 1940 – 1956”. Equally Lithuania and Estonia initiated Historical Commissions entitled the “International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania” and the “International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity” respectively (For more information, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 124, 169 and 171.)

³²⁶ For more initial information on Romania, see: Francesca Gori, “Transilvania rossa: Il comunismo romeno e la questione nazionale (1944–1965),” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 11, Number 2, Spring 2009, pp. 131-133; Radu Ioanid, *The Ransom of the Jews: The Story of the Extraordinary Secret Bargain Between Romania and Israel*, Chicago 2005.

³²⁷ Information on Bulgaria is mostly limited to the foundation of a Jewish Research Institute at the Central Consistory of Jews in 1947. However, by 1951 as a result of insufficient money for maintenance purposes, the Council of Ministers decided to move the institute into the system of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, first to the Institute of Bulgarian History and, from January 1964 onwards, to the Institute of Balkan Studies. Religious objects, on the other hand, were kept at the Central Sofia Synagogue. Today most of these pieces may be found at the General Religious Council of Israelites and at the Jewish Museum of History in Sofia, founded in 1993 (under the guidance of the National Museum Centre at the Ministry of Culture). During the 1960s and 1970s, as a result of death, departure, but also defection, some of the Hebraica was moved from the Ashkenazi synagogue to the library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and in 1980, the collection became part of the Central Record Office. See also Vladimir Paunovsky, “The Bulgarian Archives and the Jewish Cultural and Historical Heritage: A Brief Survey,” Jean-Claude Kuperminc, Rafaële Arditti (eds.), *Preserving Jewish Archives as Part of the European Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference on Judaica Archives in Europe for Archivists and Librarians*, Potsdam, 1999, 11-13 July, Paris 2001, pp. 114-118.

into their Judaica losses during the communist regime is for the most part still lacking. The same is even more true for countries of the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) that were originally part of the Soviet Union and countries of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). It can be assumed that the Soviet Trophy Brigades distributed objects also to the Caucasus or to Central Asia, but it is not known if Judaica is among these objects. Comprehensive research is still lacking.

Czechoslovakia

Country Facts: Czechoslovakia, founded in 1918 after it declared its independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, existed until 1993 when it peacefully separated into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Between 1939 and 1945, the country was incorporated into Nazi Germany. After the war Czechoslovakia aligned itself with the Warsaw Pact. A period of political liberalization, known as the Prague Spring, in 1968 ended forcefully when several other Warsaw Pact countries invaded.³²⁸

Several Jewish museums and Judaica collections existed in the former Czechoslovakia before World War II, with Judaica holdings in many local Bohemian and Moravian museums. Compared to other European countries, Czechoslovakia's institutional Judaica collections were largely preserved due to the Nazis' own wishes.³²⁹ The Jewish Museum in Prague, founded in 1906, is one of Europe's oldest Jewish museums, and the oldest one in what was to become communist Eastern Europe.³³⁰ During the Holocaust, the Jewish Museum functioned as the Central Jewish Museum,³³¹ with its collection largely being expanded with ceremonial objects, books, manuscripts and archival documents of former Jewish religious communities in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Museum's collection encompassed artifacts from 153 Jewish communities that were destroyed during the Holocaust.³³² After the war, it was soon reinstated under Jewish administration and reopened to the public in 1946, although the state had already assumed control of the Museum's assets. This resulted in the fact that the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia – as the legal successor to the disbanded Jewish communities – was unable to take effective control of the Museum before the communist coup of February 1948.³³³ By 1950, two years after the

³²⁸ For a more in-depth analysis of the Jewish Community during Communism, see: Alena Heitlinger, *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945*, New Brunswick 2006. A review of the book is available in: Lynn Rapaport, "In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945 (review)," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 22, Number 1, Spring 2008, pp. 120 – 122.

³²⁹ Magda Veselká, "Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia," Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heiman-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 103.

³³⁰ The earliest Jewish museum was established in Vienna in 1896, followed by the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt in 1897. Worms' Jewish Museum followed in 1912, the one in Budapest in 1916 and the one in Berlin in 1933. Only Prague's and Budapest's Jewish Museums can claim to have had a direct relationship to the respective prewar Jewish museum. Under communism these museums were run by state or civic authorities and as such were aligned with the official communist propaganda at the time. In places such as Belgrade, Sofia and Bucharest, the museums functioned mainly as memorial places and were sponsored by Jewish communal institutions. Gruber, p. 115.

³³¹ For more background information on the role of the Jewish Museum during the Holocaust, see: Björn Potthast, *Das Jüdische Zentralmuseum der SS in Prag. Gegnerforschung und Völkermord im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2002; Dirk Rupnow, *Täter Gedächtnis Opfer: Das "Jüdische Zentralmuseum" in Prag, 1942-1945*, Vienna 2000; Dirk Rupnow, "The Jewish Central Museum in Prague and Holocaust Memory in the Third Reich," *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, 16, Spring 2002, pp. 23-53.

³³² Gruber, p. 120

³³³ "History of the Museum", <http://www.jewishmuseum.cz/en/info/about-us/history-of-the-museum/>.

communist take-over, the state seized control over the entire Museum.³³⁴ Only 46 years later, in 1994, was the Museum officially returned to the Jewish community.³³⁵

During those 46 years, the Jewish Museum in Prague suffered tremendous losses. Expert estimates are that perhaps as many as 158,000 books were removed from the Jewish Museum collections by 1950.³³⁶ In 1964, 1,500 Torah scrolls out of 1,800 and 400 Torah binders out of 2,200³³⁷ of the former State Jewish Museum were sold off to foreign trade companies such as Artia. These scrolls are now partially located at the Czech Memorial Scrolls Centre at the Westminster Synagogue in London.³³⁸

Poland

Country Facts: Poland had a long history of independence wars to counter the numerous attacks on its sovereignty even before the onset of World War II. The invasion of Poland by Nazi troops on September 1, 1939 also marked the start of World War II. Following the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Poland was divided into German and Soviet spheres of influence. The pact remained in force until the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. About 90% of the Polish pre-war Jewish population was murdered under the Nazi regime. After the war, the Soviet Union instituted a communist government in Poland, and in 1952 the People's Republic of Poland was officially declared. In 1989, with the end of communism in Poland, the country changed back to the Polish Republic. Two years later, in 1991, the Warsaw Pact was formally dissolved.

Recovering property in post-war Poland that had belonged to Jews, including Judaica, was difficult, in part because many locals combed ghettos and camps as soon as the Germans left in order to enrich themselves. However, there were also instances in which Poles or Polish institutions returned Judaica to their original owners or to organizations, such as the Warsaw National Museum.³³⁹

Poland was home to much Nazi-plundered Jewish property that was found in the country after the war.³⁴⁰ German and Jewish cultural assets were regarded as a form of reparations for the losses the

³³⁴ "(...) this complex and chaotic post-war period culminated in the 1950 takeover of the Museum, including its collections and buildings, by the Czechoslovak State." Veselka, *Jewish Museums in the Former Czechoslovakia*, p. 126.

³³⁵ Gruber, p. 121; Veselka, pp. 126-127.

³³⁶ Michal Bušek, "Identifying Owners of Books Held by the Jewish Museum in Prague," *Vitalizing Memory. International Perspectives on Provenance Research*. Washington: American Association of Museums, 2005, pp. 138-142; Andrea Braunova, "Origin of the Jewish Museum Library Holdings: Origin of the Jewish Museum in Prague," *Newsletter of the Jewish Museum in Prague*, No. 3, 4, 1999.

³³⁷ Veselka, p. 127.

³³⁸ For more information, see: <http://www.memorialscrollstrust.org/>.

³³⁹ Nawojka Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, "The History of Judaica and Judaica Collections in Poland Before, During and After the Second World War: An Overview," in: Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 164-165.

³⁴⁰ On the question of looted books, see: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Sudeten Crossroads for Europe's Displaced Books. The 'Mysterious Twilight' of the RSHA Amt VII Library and the Fate of A Million Victims of War". Prepared for publication in the conference proceedings based on a shorter presentation at the international conference in Liberec organized by the Documentation Centre of Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WW II. Victims, 24-26 October 2007; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Silesian Crossroads for Europe's Displaced Books: Compensation or Prisoners of War?," *The Future of the Lost Cultural Heritage: The Documentation, Identification and Restitution of the Cultural Assets of WW II Victims*. Proceedings of the International Academic Conference in Český Krumlov (22.-24. 11. 2005), pp. 133-69.

Polish state had endured.³⁴¹ These assets included parts of the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) collection which was found in Lower Silesia and Moravia.³⁴²

This situation was aggravated by a flourishing private antique trade that existed in Poland until 1950 and a black market for so-called ownerless property. In March 1946 legislation was established by the communist regime that prohibited the export of artistic, historical or cultural valuables. In effect that meant that most of the remaining “post-Jewish” private property ended up in the hands of the Polish state.³⁴³ This included both individual property and the property of numerous pre-war communities, institutions and societies.³⁴⁴ A legal basis for this appropriation was provided by legislation of 1945 and 1946 pertaining to so-called abandoned property and former German assets that came under state control. The term ‘abandoned’ was predominantly used for Jewish property. This situation worsened in March 1946 with the imposition of a deadline that was set for individuals to file for restitution of private property: 31 December 1947 (later extended by a year). In addition, restrictive inheritance laws (announced October 1947) stipulated that only next of kin could inherit. Given the tremendous human loss during the Holocaust and the chaotic aftermath, this resulted in only a very few restitutions. As Cieślińska-Lobkowitz has pointed out, “there is no denying that the state derived considerable profit from the ‘heirless’ private property of Polish Jewry.”³⁴⁵ In 1997, new legislation restored the legal status of the Jewish communities in Poland, however movable property is still not covered by this legislation.³⁴⁶

Most of the loot found on Polish soil after the war, or Judaica that was not granted an export license, was eventually brought to the Jewish Historical Institute (*Żydowski Instytut Historyczny*; ŻIH). The Institute grew out of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland, established in 1944 in Lublin to supervise the organized search for looted assets. The Committee immediately formed the Central Jewish Historical Commission to salvage cultural heritage and to establish archives, a library, a museum, and a photographic collection. In 1947, the Commission was renamed the Jewish Historical Institute. It presented its first exhibition on April 19, 1948.³⁴⁷ In that same year, the Institute’s museum had received a significant collection of Judaica found in the Kunzendorf castle in Lower Silesia, among which were three parochot. A year later, in 1949, the Ministry of Culture and Art instructed the Municipal Museum in Toruń to transfer 89 Judaica objects to the Institute. Other museums followed suit: the National Museum transferred objects it had originally stored while it was being used as a depot by the *Einsatzkommando Paulsen*, the special unit that had been established by order of the SS and Gestapo headed by Heinrich Himmler to secure artistic and historic objects in Poland. In the following years, even more loot found its way into the Institute’s collection, including Judaica that had belonged to Greek Jews.³⁴⁸

Although ŻIH definitely functioned and functions as the main depository of looted Judaica located in Poland, a considerable number of looted objects remained in other museums used by the Nazis as

³⁴¹ Julie-Marthe Cohen, “The Impact of the Second World War and the Holocaust on Judaica Collections in Europe.” Lecture held 24 January 2012 in the framework of The Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv), Keter: a Professional Training Course for Museum Experts in Ukraine, Lviv, 23-26 January 2012.

³⁴² Cieślińska-Lobkowitz, p. 162.

³⁴³ Idem, p. 167.

³⁴⁴ Idem.

³⁴⁵ Idem, p. 168.

³⁴⁶ Idem, p. 173.

³⁴⁷ Gruber, p. 115.

³⁴⁸ For more information on the Jewish Historical Institute, see also: Eleonora Bergman, “The Jewish Historical Institute: History of Its Building and Collections,” Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 183-198; and the online *Descriptive Catalogue*.

storage. In addition, museum collections may include Jewish ceremonial objects that circulated in abundance after the war. Some professionally managed museums took advantage of the post-war chaotic situation and purposefully enriched themselves by recovering a good deal of silver Judaica from 'silver scrap metal' that was kept in special depots. The Warsaw National Museum has the largest such collection - of its 340 Judaica objects, over 250 were recovered from scrap.³⁴⁹

Poland's pre-war Jewish Museum, situated in Cracow's City Historical Museum, was completely looted by the Nazis. By order of the governmental Monuments Preservation Fund, in 1959 the building was restored in order to house a permanent exhibition of the Judaica collection owned by Cracow's City Historical Museum. And while the synagogue technically remained the property of the Jewish Community, in fact it was rented out for 99 years for the sum of 1 zloty a year.³⁵⁰

Hungary

Country Facts: Hungary's current borders were established after World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During World War II, Hungary joined the Axis Powers. However, in 1944 the country was occupied by Nazi Germany. Hungary's Jews suffered significant losses during the Holocaust, particularly during the German occupation. Aligned with the Warsaw Pact, Hungary was under firm communist rule until 1989.

Budapest was the only city in post-war communist Eastern Europe with a sizeable Jewish community (90,000). Yet, many of the main centers of Hungary's Jewish life had disappeared or were left to their own demise, including the Dohány Street Synagogue, the largest in Europe and a symbol of Hungarian Jewry.³⁵¹ During the Hungarian Stalinist oppression (1949-1956), Jews were not allowed to restructure their institutions, and all Jewish communities were unified under the centralized, state-controlled organization *Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete* (Representation of Hungarian Israelites, MIOK), established in 1950.³⁵²

Budapest's Jewish Museum, founded in 1916, was forced to close during the Nazi occupation. Its collection was boxed and hidden. In 1947, the Jewish Museum reopened to the public in the presence of the Minister of Culture. Following the destruction of many Jewish communities, the museum curators collected items from congregations that had perished, which resulted in an approximate doubling of the number of items in the Jewish Museum's collection between 1945 and 1963.³⁵³ In 1963, the communist regime appointed a new director who was an agent of the communist secret police. Under her leadership, the collection was re-inventoried in accordance with statutory regulations: as a result, the original order of the collection vanished, with 4,600 objects losing their original inventory numbers, in addition to omitting any provenance information such as from which community the objects had come or when they were acquired.³⁵⁴ Without these records the objects lost their symbolic, historical, social and cultural meaning and their value was reduced to a merely material one.³⁵⁵ Likewise, Judaica objects that were considered unimportant and/or of little

³⁴⁹ Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, p. 172.

³⁵⁰ Gruber, p. 115, 119.

³⁵¹ Idem, pp. 117-118.

³⁵² Idem.

³⁵³ Zsuzsanna Toronyi, "The Fate of Judaica in Hungary During the Nazi and Soviet Occupations," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 292 - 294.

³⁵⁴ Cohen lecture.

³⁵⁵ Idem.

material value were simply not preserved. In the end, throughout Hungary's communist regime, Budapest's Jewish Museum lost much of its own unique history. Lately the institution has merged with the archives under the title "Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives," and the museum staff tries to reconstruct this history. Besides the Jewish Museum, the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest and the Hungarian National Museum hold Judaica objects.³⁵⁶

The Non-Aligned Country - Yugoslavia

Country Facts: Yugoslavia came into existence after World War I originally as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1941, Yugoslavia was invaded by the Axis powers. In 1946, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was formed under Josip Broz Tito's rule. After the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s, the countries Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia emerged, and later Montenegro and a declaration of independence by Kosovo.

Josip Broz Tito's handling of Yugoslavia's Jewish community was largely different from that of other Communist countries at the time: not only did Tito recognize Jews as a national community, but also as a religious one. Thus Jews were allowed to conduct their affairs freely.³⁵⁷ Consequently, although the regime in Yugoslavia was authoritarian, it was also the most liberal of all Eastern European countries, and its Jewish community enjoyed freedom both with regard to the organization of communal life and the conduct of religious and cultural activities.

There is not a lot of information available on Judaica that was nationalized from the Jewish Community, its post-war journey or its current whereabouts in the countries that succeeded Yugoslavia. Research thus far has focused on the confiscations conducted by the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR),³⁵⁸ the main Nazi looting agency to ransack Jewish communal and private property in Yugoslavia. The ERR's emphasis in Yugoslavia was mostly on the looting of libraries and archival records if they did not duplicate items already taken in France.³⁵⁹ In addition, Croatia's (then part of Yugoslavia) own Ustashi regime, including its extensive plundering of Jewish-owned property, still requires further research.³⁶⁰ Likewise, research is still lacking on the PONOVA state agency which was responsible for disposing cultural objects seized by the Ustashi regime. The remainder of those Ustashi-ordered seizures fell into the hands of post liberation Yugoslav authorities and eventually ended up in State collections, government offices, and private hands. Zagreb's Museum of Arts and Crafts, for example, holds many Judaica objects that were looted by the Ustashi regime.³⁶¹ Post-war restitutions were rare, with the exception of the Dr. Lavoslav Šik library from Croatia, which was returned in 1959 to the Jewish Community in Zagreb, and since

³⁵⁶ The Ethnographic Museum published a small catalogue: Zsuzsa Szarvas (ed.), *Kö kövön. Picking up the Pieces. Fragments of Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture*, Budapest 2015.

³⁵⁷ On the other hand, Tito ceased all contact with Israel after the Six-Day War; see: Gruber, p. 126.

³⁵⁸ Report prepared by the Claims Conference "The Looting of Jewish and Cultural Objects in Former Yugoslavia: The HAG Südosten & the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg in Belgrade, Agram (Zagreb) and Ragusa (Dubrovnik)", June 2012. Online available at: <http://forms.claimscon.org/art/ERR-Looting-Yugoslavia-Oct2013.pdf>.

³⁵⁹ "The Looting of Jewish and Cultural Objects in Former Yugoslavia," pp. 7-8; see also: Wesley Andrew Fisher, "Restitution of Art, Judaica, and Other Cultural Property Plundered in Serbia During World War II," *Godina XI*, 2014, p. 58.

³⁶⁰ A fairly recent publication sheds light on the plundering of Jewish property by the Ustashi regime. See: Ivo Goldstein, Slavko Goldstein, *The Holocaust in Croatia*, Pittsburgh 2016.

³⁶¹ For more information on Yugoslavia's role during and after the war, see also: Provenance Research Training Program of the European Shoah Legacy Institute Workshop, March 10-15, 2013, Zagreb, Croatia (http://provenanceresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/PRTP-Zagreb-Report_list-of-attendees_final_07052013_bb.pdf)

1989 some 7,000 books mostly in Hebrew and other Jewish languages, no further private libraries are known to have been returned.³⁶² Fairly recent restitutions involved the Geca Kon collection, with parts of the collection being transferred to Serbia's National Library, albeit without consultation of Serbia's Jewish Community.³⁶³

The Jewish Museum of Yugoslavia, originally founded in Zagreb in 1948, was moved in 1952 to the Jewish Federation building in Belgrade. By 1959 the museum was renamed the Museum of the Federation of the Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia.³⁶⁴ The museum was filled with artifacts from all over Yugoslavia and already in 1951 the Jewish Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as some individuals, were coerced into handing over Judaica pieces to the new-to-be established Jewish Museum in Belgrade. Consequently, the Jewish Museum located in Sarajevo, established in 1965, never owned any valuable Judaica objects and its collection consisted mainly of "third class Judaica".³⁶⁵ A small Judaica collection is owned by the Synagogue and Jewish Museum in Dubrovnik, Croatia.³⁶⁶

Countries of the Former Soviet Union³⁶⁷

³⁶² Books, manuscripts and codices written in Hebrew and other Jewish languages which are preserved in Croatian archives and libraries will be registered as part of an ongoing project organized by the Croatian Ministry of Culture, the National and University Library in Zagreb, the National Library of Israel and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, with participation by the Jewish communities of Croatia. An agreement between the National Library of Israel and the National and University Library in Zagreb was signed in October 2013. The vast majority of these books and manuscripts were plundered by the Ustashi and the Nazis during World War II. Along with review of relevant German and other historical documentation, activities under this agreement are part of a pilot study to try to determine what was taken during the Holocaust, what was returned, and what is still missing for an entire country. See *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 112. The National Library of Israel has recently completed the cataloging of the 7,000 books transferred to the Jewish Community of Zagreb, and an announcement is forthcoming shortly.

³⁶³ Geca Kon was the owner of Yugoslavia's biggest inter-war publishing house, and presumably murdered in 1941. The books of the Geca Kon Publishing House were confiscated and brought to the National Library of Austria, from where they were forwarded to four other major libraries in the Reich: the Prussian Federal Library (*Preussische Staatsbibliothek*) in Berlin, the Bavarian State Library (*Bayrische Staatsbibliothek*) in Munich, the City and University Library of Breslau (Wrocław), and the University Library of Leipzig (Christina Köstner, "Das Schicksal des Belgrader Verlegers Geca Kon," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich*, 1: 7–19, 2005). All of these libraries have conducted provenance research on their collections and were able to identify many of the books from the GecaKon Publishing House. In 2011, the University Library of Leipzig transferred 796 books from the GecaKon collection to the National Library of Serbia, and in April 2016, the Bavarian State Library restituted its collection to Serbia (see: <https://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/kon>).

³⁶⁴ Gruber, p. 126.

³⁶⁵ Julia Koš, "Lavoslav Šik i njegova knjižnica. Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj." *ŽOZ*, 1998, pp. 78-83; Croatia Delegation Statement in Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets, November 30-December 3, 1998: Proceedings. Washington, DC, 1999, pp. 231-240.

³⁶⁶ see: <http://www.jhom.com/bookshelf/synagogues/dubrovnik.htm>

³⁶⁷ Much research has been done on the impact of Stalin's antisemitism and anti-Zionism on Jewish life in the Soviet Union, as well as that of his successors. Jewish life generally came to a standstill and Jewish emigration was not granted. By the early 1970s the situation eased slightly with Jews being allowed to leave. However, only with Mikhail Gorbachev's ascent to power in 1984 did the restrictions gradually loosen and Jews were not only allowed to emigrate, but the Soviet Union began to crumble. The dissolution of the Soviet Union was formally enacted on December 26, 1991. See: Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence. The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to present*, Bloomington 2011; Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Government and the Jews, 1948-1967: A Documented Study*, Cambridge 2008; Benjamin Pinkus, *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority*, Cambridge 1988; Yaakov Ro'i, *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union*, The Cummings Center Series, Portland 1995; Mordechai Altschuler, *Religion and Jewish Identity in the Soviet Union, 1941-1964*, Tauber Institute Series for the Study of European Jewry, Waltham 2012. For an overview of the Soviet

With the Soviet Union's annexation of the Baltic States and areas of Poland and Romania in 1941 and again in 1944, the Jewish population significantly increased by about two million. Jews were present in these areas in almost every aspect of life, culturally, politically and militarily. While Jewish life continued for a while after the end of World War II, it all came to an end by 1948 as a result of Stalin's increasingly anti-Jewish policies. In Vilnius, Lithuania, for example, immediately after the city's liberation from German troops in July 1944, the Museum for Jewish Arts and Culture was founded by two surviving partisans. During the occupation they had been members of the *Papierkommando* which had managed to hide parts of the renowned YIVO collection.³⁶⁸ In order to avoid a Communist takeover of this collection, they were able to ship some of the Museum's objects abroad, mainly to New York where YIVO was relocated. In late 1948, however, the Vilnius Jewish Museum was disbanded, and its collection was stored in warehouses of the Lithuanian National Library, where it remained inaccessible for over 40 years.³⁶⁹ More than 60 years later, and numerous political changes, the Lithuanian government returned more than 309 Torah scrolls and megillot that had been hidden during World War II to the Jewish community.³⁷⁰

In 2014, the Lithuanian Central State Archives, the National Library of Lithuania and YIVO announced a project to scan and make accessible over the internet not only all YIVO documents and books – both those in Lithuania and those in New York – but also the remaining books of the Strashun Library and other pre-war Lithuanian Jewish collections.³⁷¹

Lviv (Ukraine), like Vilnius, was another important center for Jewish life: After 1918, Lviv (or Lwów or German Lemberg), situated in Galicia, was part of a reestablished and independent Poland.³⁷² During that time Lviv transformed into one of the most important Jewish centers, and by 1939 Jews constituted 33 percent of the urban population. In September 1939, Lviv became part of Soviet Ukraine, and private property, including Jewish property, was nationalized, as was the case with the

Union and the Holocaust see for example: "Soviet Jewry and Soviet History in the Time of War and Holocaust," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol. 15, Number 3, Summer 2014.

³⁶⁸ The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research was founded by scholars and intellectuals in Vilna, Poland, in 1925 to document and study Jewish life in all its aspects: language, history, religion, folkways, and material culture. With the Soviet's annexation YIVO was absorbed into the Institute of Lithuanian Studies and by 1941, Vilna was occupied by the Nazis. Mainly responsible for the theft was the ERR (*Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*) which plundered YIVO's holdings for them to be used at the 'Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question' based in Frankfurt. Books that were deemed unimportant were shredded to paper mills. At the onset of World War II, Max Weinreich, YIVO's director at that time, had been on a trip outside of Poland, and therefore managed to temporarily reestablish YIVO in new headquarters in New York. Aside from books, YIVO also had its own art museum, which included hundreds of artefacts, as well as religious art and liturgical objects and works by contemporary Jewish artists. After the war, YIVO's printed Judaica fell under the direct military jurisdiction of the American Allies and was brought to the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD). It was in large part due to Lucy Davidowicz's role as an educational worker for the JDC that the remnants of the YIVO library and archives were restituted from the OAD and shipped to YIVO's new location in New York in June of 1947. For more information, see: <https://www.yivo.org/History-of-YIVO>; Nancy Sinkoff, "From the Archives. Lucy S. Davidowicz and the Restitution of Jewish Cultural Property," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 100, Number 1, January 2016, p. 97; see also: Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959. Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*. Prepared in collaboration with the National Archives of the United States, Washington 2001, p. 46. (Online available at: <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/intro.pdf>)

³⁶⁹ The collection was not destroyed during Stalinism and in 1988, it was made public. See: Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, pp. 162–163.

³⁷⁰ For more information on restitutions by the Lithuanian government, see the online *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 170.

³⁷¹ For more information, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 171 and The Edward Blank YIVO Vilna Collections Project at <https://vilnacollections.yivo.org/>; see also: David E. Fishman, *The Book Smugglers: Partisans, Poets, and the Race to Save Jewish Treasures from the Nazis. The True Story of the Paper Brigade of Vilna*. Lebanon, NH, forthcoming 2017.

³⁷² For an historical overview of Lviv, see: <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Lviv>.

property of Lviv's Jewish Community. This resulted in the closure of two of the most important Jewish cultural institutions, the community's library and its museum. The library holdings, which constituted around 18,000 volumes, were incorporated into the newly established Lviv branch of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The community's museum, which had opened in 1934, had about 5,000 exhibits that were handed over to Lviv's Museum of Arts and Crafts. The collection included various ceremonial objects from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, deposits from synagogues in Lviv, contributions from private donors and other acquisitions.³⁷³ The Judaica collection of Maksymilian Goldstein was handed over to the same institution.³⁷⁴ Between July 1941 and July 1944, Lviv, was part of the *Generalgouvernement* and therefore essentially a part of Nazi Germany. When Soviet troops reconquered Lviv in July 1944, Judaica was transferred again to the same institutions that had received objects during the first Soviet occupation.

Today, parts of the collection of the Jewish Community Museum, liquidated in 1940, the collection of Maksymilian Goldstein, given by the owner to the museum for safe-keeping in 1941, the collection of the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society as well as the Museum of Artistic Crafts are kept by the Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts. Comprising over 1500 objects, it is the largest Judaica collection in Ukraine and reflects the cultural heritage of Jewish Galicia from the 1600s to the 1930s. The Museum of Religions (formerly the Museum of Religion and Atheism) holds nearly 1000 Judaica objects. They entered the collection from the Lviv Historic Museum, from the Lviv Jewish Religious community and from Synagogues nationalized 1939-1941 in Western Ukraine. 30 objects were added to the collection from the Lviv synagogue that closed in 1962. A coincidental find in Zhuravno in the Lviv region was handed over to the museum in the 1970s as well as the discovery of a Jewish family treasure in Lviv from the World War II era during construction works. The Lviv Art Gallery holds a number of portraits and objects that were described as 'ownerless,' but originated from the Jewish Community Museum, as well as a number of pictures from the former Goldstein collection.³⁷⁵ A collection of Jewish marriage contracts is also held in the Lviv Art Gallery.³⁷⁶ The Lviv Historical Museum keeps close to 100 Judaica objects which stem from the collection of Wladyslaw Lozinski and different museums, re-organized under Soviet rule.

The Chernivtsi Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews holds around 150 Judaica objects. Most of them entered the collection as acquisitions from private individuals. A small Judaica collection is to be found in the Chernihiv Historical Museum. The objects entered the collection via the former Chernihiv Museum of Worship (established in 1921), which received them from local prayer houses and synagogues closed down by Soviet authorities. A small Judaica collection is also kept in the Cherkassy Local History Museum. Its basis is formed by objects which were transferred from local synagogues to the museum. The Museum of the Culture of the Jewish People and Holocaust History "Mikhail Marmer Museum" in Kryvyi Rih (established in 2010) holds a collection of around 600 Judaica objects which - to a considerable part - stem from various doubtful sources. A number of them might not prove to be authentic. The State Historical Cultural Park "Mezhybizh", holds 20 Judaica objects the provenance of which is still unclear. The Museum of Jewish Life of the Community Center "Thiya" in Khmelnytskyi keeps more than 100 ritual objects, most of which were donated by regional family members.

³⁷³ Cohen lecture.

³⁷⁴ Sarah Harel-Hoshen et al. (ed.), *Treasures of Jewish Galicia: Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine*, Tel Aviv 1996.

³⁷⁵ Idem.

³⁷⁶ Vita Susak (ed.), *Jewish Marriage Contracts: Collection of Ketubbot in the Borys Voznytsky National Art of Lviv*, Lviv 2015.

The Vinnytsa Regional Art Museum holds a number of Judaica objects which are mostly neither on display nor researched, whereas the Vinnitsa Nature and History Museum presents a selection of artifacts from the Jewish community of Vinnytsa.

The Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine holds a Judaica collection of nearly 400 objects. A majority of the objects had been removed from Ukrainian synagogues and prayer houses in the 1920s and 1930s and transferred to the Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum (today the National Museum of the History of Ukraine). Another part stems from the Mendeleyev All-Ukrainian Museum of Jewish Proletarian Culture in Odessa (1927-1941). During World War II objects were partly sent to Moscow and Ufa for safekeeping and came back in the late 1950s. Most of them entered the collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine (a department of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine) in 1964. Further, Judaica objects that had been seized by Kyiv Customs were added to the collection in the 1980s.

PART 2 – JUDAICA OBJECTS

2.1 On the Definition of Judaica Objects

In a broader sense, the term Judaica denotes material cultural assets relating to Judaism. In a narrower sense, Judaica refers, on the one hand, to objects of an inherently holy quality such as the Torah itself and, on the other hand, to objects necessary to perform Jewish rituals.

In the field of art history, Judaica objects fall into the category of religious art. They are objects that are used in Jewish ritual, both in the synagogue and at home. They would lack usefulness in any non-Jewish ritual; rather, they make sense only in the context of Jewish tradition. Their character is above all functional, but decorative and aesthetic as well. The closer their manufacturing date approaches the modern era, the more the importance of decoration increases.

Synagogal Judaica objects are usually set in a hierarchical order according to their sacred character:

The most sacred item of all is the Torah scroll containing the Five Books of Moses. As the core of Jewish religion revealed by God, it endows materials that touch it with a degree of its sacredness: the staves it is attached to on both ends, the binders that fasten it, and the mantle that envelops it, the decorating crown and finials, the shield that indicates its time of use in the annual cycle, and the pointer with which one follows the holy text while reading, as well as the ark with curtain where the Torah is kept, the Eternal Flame that hangs in front of the ark, and finally the desk and its cover on which the Torah is placed for reading. Further objects used in religious practice are the *Shofar* horn blown on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur, the Levite pitcher and bowl for the ritual priestly cleansing, the *Kiddush* cup and *Besamim* container for a holiday's starting and concluding ceremonies, the Hanukkah candelabrum for the Feast of Dedication as well as the Esther Scroll read during Purim and donation boxes for the support of the indigents.

The *Kiddush* cup and *Besamim* container, Hannukah candelabrum and Esther Scroll are also among those objects used in the private household. Also used at home are all objects needed for Shabbat, Passover, and Sukkoth as well as phylacteries and prayer shawls, the *Mezuzah* on the doorpost, calligraphies indicating the direction of prayer toward Jerusalem, marriage contracts, and *Yahrzeit* plaques for the commemoration of the dead. The more prosperous a society, the more elaborate these objects become.

Jewish cult objects are signs of identification. They symbolize affiliation with the Jewish religion. But beyond that, they can also signify identification with the majority society. The closer an object's manufacturing date to the era of emancipation, the more likely that its design will signify identification with the majority society.

2.2 Identification of Judaica Objects

Identification of Judaica objects is the first step or steps in provenance research. Inscriptions, dates, material, style, size, hallmarks, and old labels are indicators of the origin of Judaica objects and therefore have to be thoroughly examined.

2.2.1 Inscriptions

The most obvious evidence indicating an object to be an object of Jewish ritual use is an inscription. In general inscriptions on Judaica feature Hebrew letters. This does not necessarily mean that the language of the inscription is Hebrew, however. In Ashkenazi communities it can be Yiddish, in Germany also German, especially from the era of the emancipation onwards; in Sephardi communities Ladino or Judeo-Espagnol; in regions of Italy the Judeo-Italian dialect Italkian; in Romaniote communities a Greek dialect called Yevanic; in Arabic countries Judeo-Arabic; in Iranian communities Judeo-Persian or Dzhidi; in eastern Caucasus communities Judeo-Tat or Yuhuri; as well as Judeo-Marathi in Indian communities, Judeo-Tajik in Bukharan communities, the neo-Aramaic Hulaulá in Kurdish communities. All of these are written in Hebrew letters. But there are also Judaica objects which have inscriptions in Latin letters. Inscriptions referring to a donation are mostly set into cartouches or on hanging plates.

Inscriptions may hide different meanings, larger dimensions of letters, a dot or a small dash upon it may be an indication of a year or an owner's name. Emphasized letters may also form an acrostic bearing relevant information. The inscriptions to be found on Judaica objects may indicate their purpose (e.g., this beaker is „for the sanctification of the Shabbat“), the specific community it was used in (e.g., this object was given „here, in the holy community of Vienna“), the donors (e.g., this is a donation „by the humble man N.N. and his wife N.N.“) or a private owner (e.g., „this belongs to N.N.“). Donations sometimes commemorate an individual life-cycle event or a special occurrence crucial to a community.

2.2.1.1 Names of Individuals

Prior to the 20th century numerous spellings could be used for the same name. Be aware that names of individuals may appear in their Hebrew version as well as Yiddish or other form: e.g., a person with the first name in Hebrew of „Yitzhak“, may have been known in Yiddish or German as Isak, Eisik, Segel or Sekkel. A person by the Hebrew name of „Ariel“ may have been called Löw in German (because „Ariel“ means „lion“). The latter might be transliterated in different forms, either on the object in question or on documents to be researched: Loebh, Lebh, Löbh, Loew, Lew. The Hebrew name Sara may have been Serle or Serel in Yiddish.³⁷⁷ In many cases publications have to be consulted for ideas.³⁷⁸ The transliteration dilemma is true for last names, too: i.e. the last name Heimann can be transliterated as Heyman, Heymann, Haiman, Haimann, Hayman.

³⁷⁷ For German names the following website might be helpful:

<http://spurensuche.steinheim-institut.org/inallgemein.html>

³⁷⁸ Alexander Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names. Their Origins, Structure, Pronunciation, and Migrations*, Bergenfield 2001.

Sephardic first names may be written in their Aramaic rather than in their Hebrew version. For example the common Hebrew name Malka will be spelled with an „heh“ (ה) at the end in Ashkenazi lands, but with an „Aleph“ (א) in Sephardi communities. As Malka means queen, the civic name may have been Regina in Ashkenazi communities and Reyna or Reina in Sephardi ones.

In both Ashkenazi and Sephardi tradition, the last name may provide hints as to the origin of the family: e.g., the famous Oppenheimer family has its origin in the Upper Rhine town of Oppenheim, the Morpurgo family Italianized their hometown Marburg (today Slovenian Maribor), whereas Elias Canetti's family originated in Spanish Cañeto. For the longest period of time though, family names were not common, rather people called themselves „N.N. son/daughter of N.N.“ In Ashkenaz this would read N.N. ben David, in Sephardi and Arab communities N.N. ibn Daoud, both meaning son of David.

In case there are traces to an emigration of individuals they may have naturalized/Anglicized their names, i.e. the female name of Raisel may have been changed into Rose, the last name Austerlitz into Astaire to give a more complicated example. In case of emigration/flight to Palestine/Israel, German names may have changed into Hebrew ones, i.e. Gerhard to Gershon, Hermann to Zvi, Susanne to Shoshana or the last name Eskeles to Eshkol. The genealogy website <http://www.jewishgen.org/> features thousands of databases, research tools, and other resources which may be of help.

For a case in which genealogical research resulted rather easily in establishing provenance see Appendix 2.A

2.2.1.2 Names of Communities/Towns

Many Judaica objects donated for community purposes give the name of the respective community preceded by the abbreviation for „kehillah kedushah“, i.e. „holy community“. These names are very valuable sources to trace the provenance of objects but are often highly complicated to identify.

There are different reasons for this:

The name given on an object may refer to a town which was called differently in Yiddish than in the national language – e.g., the Yiddish „Bumsla“ referred to the Bohemian city of Jungbunzlau, „Tselem“ to the Austrian town of Deutschkreuz, and „AMokum“ to Amsterdam. Some towns were given in Yiddish in an abbreviated form - i.e. „Asch“ for Austrian „Eisenstadt“. Others may go back to their Latin origin – i.e., „Spira“ and „Magenza“ for the German cities Speyer and Mainz.

The name given on an object may also refer to a former national name, but the different shifts of national borders in the course of the 20th century have caused name changes – i.e. what was once called Klausenburg in German and Yiddish was called Kolozsvár in Hungarian and is today Romanian Cluj. Another example: Yiddish Shtanislav or Shtanisle was Stanislau in German Galicia, Iwano-Frankowsk in Polish and is today Ukrainian Iwano-Frankivsk.

There can be also a combination of difficulties, the Yiddish name having differed from the German one and the German one differs from today's national one – i.e. the town of Stampfen was called Stampe in Yiddish and is today called Stupava in Slovak.

A first finding aid might be: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_city_name_changes. Extremely useful is: Gary Mokotoff and Sallyann Sack with Alexander Sharon, *Where Once We Walked: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust*. Revised Edition, New Haven 2002.

In cases where the community name is given, further steps would be to research the specific community and its history. Where not, the inscription might tell the special occasion on which the object was donated – e.g., „for the inauguration of this synagogue, May 18th 1858“. If you have been able to characterize the object as an Austro-Hungarian one, Google could help to find out which synagogues in the empire were inaugurated on this specific date. In this case, it was the so-called Leopoldstädter Tempel in Vienna.

To draw as much information as possible from an inscription, it needs to be examined very carefully. For an example, see Appendix 2.B.

Make sure that the Hebrew characters match the overall style of the object. A Hebrew inscription might have been added to „Judaize“ an object and increase its market value.

2.2.1.3 Dates

Albeit written in Hebrew characters, some Judaica objects show the date of their donation not in Hebrew but in Arabic numerals. Still, the date given will be according to the Jewish calendar, which counts from the assumed creation of the world in 3761 B.C. E.– e.g., „5. Sivan (a Hebrew month) 5618“ equals the civil date of May 18, 1858. May 1, 2016 equals the 23rd of Nissan (another Hebrew month), 5776. Especially in Ashkenazi communities the thousand digits are often omitted (which can be a hint to the provenance on its own) and an abbreviation for the term „according to the minor reckoning“ is added. A number of online date converters are comfortable aids. You could use

<https://www.hebcal.com/converter/>.



Make sure that the date given on an object matches its overall style. An earlier date may have been added to increase the object's value and might be a fake date.

2.2.1.4 Crests

Especially Italian objects and those of Sephardi provenance may feature crests at pretty early times, namely from the 17th century, which does not always mean that people were ennobled. In the Ashkenazi world, Jews were ennobled only beginning in the 19th century with peaks in the middle and the end of the century. Their crests were as proudly integrated in some Judaica objects as the Sephardi ones. Crests are highly valuable leads for research if you have established the regional origin of the object. You may find Jewish crests in publications on heraldry of the country in question. If

you do not find the crest, this may indicate that it was not a sign of official nobilitation.

For an example of an unofficial crest integrated into an Ashkenazi Judaica object see figure 1.

Figure 1: Ashkenazi Torah shield with crest
Nürnberg, 18th century
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Switzerland, Basel,
inv.no. JMS 1177

2.2.2 Sizes

The size of a ritual object can give hints as to its provenance - i.e. a Torah ark curtain which has a width of 2.5 meters and a length of 4.5 meters can only stem from a significant, big synagogue in a metropolis. One can figure out the dimensions of Torah arks of important synagogues in online or printed publications.³⁷⁹ In contrast, a curtain which measures 90 cm wide and 80 cm high will probably have been used in a small shtibl or in a private prayer room.

The same is to be assumed for a Torah set consisting of a Torah shield and a pair of Torah finials of which the shield is 37 cm high and 30 cm wide, weighs 3 kg and the finials 1.5. A set like this must have been located in a wealthy, upperclass community that wanted to demonstrate its self-awareness with representative objects. In contrast, a shield with dimensions of less than 20 x 18 cm will have had its origin in a small, perhaps rural community or in a private shtibl. A very small shield covered with a Hebrew inscription might, by the way, not be a Torah shield but a so-called Shaddayah, a dedicatory plate unique to Romaniote communities. Tiny shields, engraved with the abbreviations for the Ten Commandments were also used in Kurdish communities. Here it was custom for the warden to present it to the participant in the service who was called up to the Torah. After the reading this plaque was returned.



Figure 2: Austrian Torah Mantle; *Habsburg Monarchy*, 1892; <http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=4581>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

2.2.3 Material



Figure 3: Sefardi Torah mantle; Izmir 1932
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18258>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 4: Torah curtain dedicated 1774/75 to a Berlin synagogue by Moses Mendelssohn
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Berlin, inv.-no. KGT 97/1/0

The majority of Judaica textile objects which have survived up until the present are made of precious materials like brocade, silk, damask, and velvet, and of Torah ornaments and other ritual objects silver, often gilded, sometimes even gold.

2.2.3.1 Textiles

In general Torah textiles reflect the regional tradition in which they were produced. Thus an Austrian Torah mantle or desk cover from the end of the 19th century will be made in a secessionist style (figure 2), whereas covers from the Ottoman Empire often were reworked textiles originally used in a domestic context like bedspreads and cushions and feature traditional Ottoman thick gold thread embroidery (figure 3). Torah curtains were – especially in the upper classes – often reworked wedding dresses dedicated to a synagogue in honor

³⁷⁹ i.e. for Germany http://www.tu-darmstadt.de/universitaet/selbstverstaendnis/profil_geschichte/verantwortung/thema_verantwortung_k04.en.jsp; for Vienna: Bob Martens, Herbert Peter, *Die zerstörten Synagogen Wiens. Virtuelle Stadtpaziergänge*, Wien 2009; for Hungary: Rudolf Klein, *Zsinagógák Magyarországon 1782–1918: fejlődéstörténet, tipológia és építészeti jelentőség*. Synagogues in Hungary 1782–1918. Genealogy, Typology and Architectural Significance, Budapest 2011.

of the festive event (figure 4). The more elegant and extravagant a Torah textile is, the more likely is its origin to have been a wedding dress. This can be verified by examining the backside under the lining material and revealing the seams.



Figure 5: Kashan rug with Hebrew inscription and depiction of Solomon and the queen of Sheba
Courtesy of Anton Felton, Herzlia Pituach

A unique type of textile was developed around 1830 in Galician Sasow, namely a lace incorporating silver and gold threads, called *shpanyer arbet* in Yiddish which was apparently made exclusively for a Jewish clientele:

http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Shpanyer_Arbet.

Different clothes were decorated with *shpanyer arbet*, such as mens' kippot, cuffs of their festival clothes and collars of their prayer shawls (Hebrew: *atarot*), as well as women's *brusstikhl* (kerchief) and caps. Depending on ideological orientation, Jewish groups ordered specific patterns - i.e., Zionists commissioned *shpanyer arbet* with integrated stars of David. Although *shpanyer arbet*, which saw its heyday from the end of the 19th century until the 1930s, was not only produced in Sasow, the origin of such an object is Galician.

Another textile type was produced in the first quarter of the 20th century in Kashan style, namely a knotted tapestry with Hebrew inscriptions and traditional Jewish motifs (Fig. 5). At least one of them was definitely produced in Jerusalem, others may have been produced in Persia. The Jerusalem Bezalel School of Art also produced Jugendstil rugs with motifs of the Menorah and Jerusalem. Also in Palestine wall hangings with Zionist motifs were produced.

2.2.3.2 Metal

Silver was and still is the most popular material for Judaica production all over the Jewish world. It is easy to process, to work, to polish and it can be easily combined with other precious metals and stones. Especially European Torah ornaments were – sometimes completely but mostly partly - gilded for aesthetic reasons and to fulfill the requirement of the „adornment of the commandment“. It is self-evident that gilt and partially gilded objects hint at a Jewish community with wealthy members. Gilding techniques might provide hints to the date of production: Mercurial gilding was the most common gilding technique up until the beginning of the 19th century, when galvanic techniques began to replace the traditional mechanical techniques of gilding with gold leaf or fire-gilding.

A Torah ornament made of (plated) copper or brass might indicate a region where Jews were restricted from possessing precious metal. Pewter was used, especially for ritual objects in private households, to replace more costly silver - i.e., in Germany, Austro-Hungary and the Alsace. But pewter plates for different occasions may come from all over Europe.

Other copper objects, especially Hanukkah lamps, may hint at a Dutch origin, in some cases also to a Greek one. Brass lamps and candlesticks may attest to an East European one, mainly to what is today Poland and Ukraine, but can have been made also in the Nuremberg region. Copper reflectors in the synagogue were popular in Eastern and Central Europe.

Cast bronze was popular in Eastern Europe too, as it was also in Italy. A Niello work, i.e. an inlay of a black coloured alloy on silver, often was made in the Russian town of Tula. The related damascene work, which means inlaying different metals into one another, may stem from Syria, Persia or Spain, and from the early 20th century onwards also from Eretz Israel.

Popular at different points in time and in different regions was (and still is) silver or gold filigree. A filigree Torah finial type was developed in Amsterdam at the end of the 17th century. Elaborate silver-filigree spice towers with enamel plates are especially known from 18th century Schwäbisch Gmünd, but also - without enamel work - in Austro-Hungary, especially in Galicia, but filigree spice containers of different forms were greatly appreciated also in Vienna, Brno and elsewhere in central Europe. Small silver filigree boxes were made also in Italy, Russia and Hungary as souvenirs and utilized as spice boxes, bigger ones to store objects needed for ritual circumcision. Filigree caskets to store the etrog fruit are known from Italy, as are filigree containers for amulets. Besides for spice towers, in Galicia and Poland filigree was used especially on so-called Baal shem tov Hanukkah lamps and on bookbindings. Objects of filigree, sometimes gold-filigree, were also made in the Ottoman Empire from where filigree then spread to the Balkans. Gold filigree containers for Esther scrolls are known from Turkey, and a distinct filigree decor was developed in 19th-century Greek Ioannina. The elaborate, often partly gilded cases for Esther scrolls produced here feature attached leaves and rosettes and often terminate in a cone, knob and bead, sometimes integrating colorful glass stones.

Filigree or silver wire combined with enamel work, so-called Cloisonné, is known in Italian finials and wedding rings.

There are rare extremely precious jewelled gold Judaica objects produced in Austria or in Poland for Hassidic courts in Galicia.

2.2.3.3 Wood

Wooden objects, especially carved Torah pointers and mezuzot (small containers put on doorposts) may hint to an Eastern European provenance, whereas Esther scrolls mounted on a wooden handle in general imply a North African origin. Wooden Torah ark tops and wooden omer boards may come from all over Europe, whereas carved wooden plaques and panels indicating the direction of prayer hint to a Central or Eastern European provenance. Spice- and etrog- boxes, finials and kiddush cups carved from olive, sometimes from sandalwood, probably have their origin in the Land of Israel. Inlaid containers may have been produced in Syria or Egypt. Wooden Torah cases stem from the Near East, North Africa and Inner Asia as well as from Romaniote Greek communities where they were adorned also with painted wooden finials. In many Italian synagogues, the interior furnishing was made entirely of wood, including the Torah ark.

2.2.3.4 Paper

Decorated works of paper are mainly to be found as so-called shiviti plaques, marriage contracts, sukkah booth decorations, omer calendars and amulets. A most popular craft is the art of papercutting. In Eastern Europe mizrah papercuts were made indicating the direction of prayer and using traditional folkloristic elements, as were shiviti plaques, meditative representations of the seven-branched Menorah to contemplate over God's name. Smaller, round papercuts called roisele in Yiddish were used as ornaments for special holidays such as the Feast of Tabernacles and the Feast of Weeks. Shiviti papercuts with a foiled background refer to a North African provenance.

2.2.3.5 Other

There have of course been glass objects in private Jewish ritual use. Due to the fragility of the material, the alleged old age of a Judaica glass object should be questioned. However, exceptions confirm the rule - for example, contemporary Hebrew inscriptions and illustrations were put on many Biedermeier glasses to raise their value.

The same must be said about works of ceramics and porcelain. But some pieces of folkloristic Judaica ceramics from around 1900 were collected in the Lemberg region and survived, as did

Pesach plates from that time made in Bohemia. A quantity of porcelain Judaica from the late 19th century onwards, which were produced in Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and England are known, too.

Ivory was used for handles of Torah scroll staves and to top them in Turkey, as well as in Greece and other Sephardi communities. Ivory inlays decorated Torah scroll handles in Eastern Europe and ivory integrated in bookcovers was used in the whole of Central Europe.

Carved objects made from soapstone, mainly souvenir objects like beakers, were produced around 1900 in Jerusalem.

2.2.4 Style

2.2.4.1 Art-Historical Considerations

The ability to identify the regional provenance of a Judaica object requires some fundamental knowledge of art history, aesthetic styles and traditions. While major European eras and their specific features may be known, specific regional characteristics and non-European styles may not. So the first stylistic question to an object should be: Does it look familiar? Can it be roughly classified as an object featuring Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Neo-Classical/Empire, Neo-Renaissance, -Roman, -Gothic, Art Nouveau/Secession/Jugendstil, or Art Deco elements? The next one: Does it look European at all, or does its style and ornamentation hint at the Near or Far East, the Ottoman Empire, Central Asia? Does it look like a folkloric piece from a rural region? Or does it feature elements of a specific folkloric tradition? Does it look like it was made by a learned craftsman or by a layman?

2.2.4.2 Inner-Jewish Differences

As important as art-historical criteria are for identification, similarly important are references to customs, traditions, and languages specific to the different Jewish ethnic divisions. The variety of parts of the world and countries in which Jews have been and are still living implies an enormous variety of styles found in Jewish ceremonial objects. Through migrations, economic crises, lootings, redistributions, and military conflicts, objects with remote origins may have found their ways into European and/or American collections or popped up on the market. To trace their provenance, you should familiarize yourself with at least the main Jewish divisions and their material culture. Be aware that there exist many further differences within the divergent Jewish life worlds: mainly between capitals, smaller towns and rural regions; rich and poor; enlightened, reformed, orthodox, political and mystical-oriented groups; North and South; West and East.

The different groups can be defined by and large as follows:

2.2.4.2.1 *Ashkenazi Jewry*

Ashkenazi Jews: Ashkenaz designates the lands of Western, Central and Eastern Europe; Jews living in this common cultural region are called Ashkenazim. Their traditional areas of settlement are France, the Lowlands, the historic German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Switzerland, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Moldova, Romania, and Slovakia. Ashkenazi culture mirrors Western, Central, and Eastern European culture with a Jewish fashioning.

2.2.4.2.2 *Sephardi Jewry*

Sephardi Jews: Sepharad designates the land of Spain, in a broader sense the Iberian peninsula. After their expulsion around 1500 they settled in the Ottoman Empire from where they reached the Balkans and Austria, North Africa, Italy, Northwest Europe, Malta and eventually the Americas.

They are called Sephardim. For different reasons, European Sephardim were generally socially better off than Ashkenazim, and their material cultural heritage - which is influenced by Dutch, English, Italian and North-German aesthetics, though in keeping with old Sephardi traditions - reflects their economical success. Sephardi Ottoman and North African culture mirrors the Islamic molded culture in these countries.

2.2.4.2.3 Oriental Jewry

Another group is formed by Oriental Jewry, which is subdivided further into another two groups: Those of North Africa (if they are not Sephardim), namely Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia (including Djerba), and Libya, where they have partly settled since before the Christian era.

The second group are Middle Eastern Jews living in Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Palestine, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Yemen. Oriental Jewish culture mirrors the Islamic-molded culture in these countries, with Italian influences in North African objects and Indian influences in some Middle Eastern objects.

2.2.4.2.4 Caucasian and Crimean Jewry

Jews from the Caucasus and the Crimea are considered a further group: They comprise Georgian Jews, mountain Jews from Daghestan and Azerbaijan and Krymchaks whose material culture reflects majority culture, while there are typical Jewish costume traditions.

2.2.4.2.5 South-, East- and Central-Asian Jewry

South-, East- and Inner-Asian Jews used to live in different areas of India, in Bukhara, Pakistan, Afghanistan and China, mainly in Kaifeng. Their material culture also mirrors majority culture.

2.2.4.2.6 Others

Further non-Ashkenazi groups in Europe are the Bne Roma or Italkim who have been living in Italy since late antiquity (NB: there are also Ashkenazi and Sephardi Italian communities) and the Romaniotes who stem from the late antique Greek world in the lands of the Balkans.

2.2.5 Symbols

Many Judaica objects are identifiable because they feature symbols specific to Judaism. The most common ones are the following:

Crown - The crown symbolizes the „Crown of the Torah.“ It is set on a multitude of ritual objects and stresses the Torah’s claim to authority. As many of the illustrated crowns are characteristic for different European dynasties, their form is often a lead to establish provenance.

(A first finding aid is:

https://www.google.at/search?biw=1600&bih=712&noj=1&site=webhp&tbm=isch&sa=1&q=european+crowns&oq=european+crowns&gs_l=img.3..0i19.43851.47214.0.47493.15.14.0.1.1.0.162.94.9.11j2.13.0....0...1c.1.64.img.1.14.951...0j0j0i30i19j0i8i30i19.1z-R3rCEMoc)

Tablets of the Law – Often showing the Hebrew beginning of the Ten Commandments, these in the middle of many ritual objects not only refer to the central element in the Five Books of Moses but also to where they were originally kept, the Temple in Jerusalem.

Drawn Back Curtain - The European heraldic tabard served as the basis of modern national and aristocratic coats of arms, which in turn were used for the design of a lot of Torah shields,

Hanukkah lamps etc., the edges of which imitate cloth. In this way, it obviously refers to the royal status of what it adorns, namely the Torah, and turns the object itself into a symbol of power. At the same time, the cloth conjures up the association with the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple. The leaned-on form of the heraldic tabards used may help to establish provenance.

(A first finding aid is:

<https://www.google.at/search?q=european+heraldry++coat+of+arms&client=safari&rls=en&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiEw7P70eHNAhXJNxQKHUzyCdwQsAQILw&biw=1600&bih=712>)

Torah Shrine – The Torah shrine belongs to the Temple symbols. Being integrated into Torah shields or Hanukkah lamps, its doors may be opened. All Temple symbols are not only commemorative links to the past but also links to a believed future reconstruction of the Temple in the world to come.

Ark of the Covenant – With two guarding cherubs as known from depictions of reconstruction of the sanctuary during the wandering in the wilderness, this symbolizes the essence of the Torah.

Table with Show-Breads - This is another symbol for the sacrificial service in the time the Temple in Jerusalem existed.

Altar – Two different altars may be seen on an object, the incense altar and the fire altar. They both refer to Jewish cult in the era preceding the destruction of the Temple.

Aaron's Priestly Garment – The garment, which is decorated with small bells at the lower seam, may be featured. It also refers to the Temple and the priestly service.

Hoshen - The High Priest's breastplate was sacred. The symbol again commemorates the time of the Temple and expresses the hope of a Messianic era to come.

Headgear – The headgear of the High Priest, commonly in the shape of a tiara, belongs to the Temple symbols.

Censer – Without the censer and its fragrant incense, Aaron could not complete his priestly work.

Menorah - The lighted seven-branched candelabra is one of the best known Temple symbols. It is often to be seen on Hanukkah lamps, as it is linked to the historical events on which the festival is based. But it also appears on many shiviti- and mizrach- plaques and other objects.

Flames – Flames leaping out of amphoras symbolize that light in the Temple, which according to tradition was never extinguished and which lives on in the “small sanctuary,” as the synagogue is also called, in the Ner Tamid, the Eternal Light.

Columns – In front of the Jerusalem Temple stood the columns Jachin and Boaz. Remembering those, columns frame the Tablets of the Law or the ark on ritual objects.

Tree - Equating the Torah with the “Tree of Life,” sprouting trees are often to be seen.

Moses and Aaron – With their specific attributes - i.e. Moses with the rod and the Tablets of

the Law and Aaron with the censer wearing his priestly garment – these go back to the time of and prescriptions concerning the building of the tabernacle.

Lions – Lions were associated with the Tribes of Israel, Judah and Dan, at an early date. In numerous depictions from late antiquity, the “Lion of Judah” is already shown guarding the Torah shrine. They often come as escutcheon holders as in coats of arms. The appearance of lions on Jewish ritual objects may possibly come from a popular saying in the Mishnah, Pirkei Avot, V:20: “Judah the son of Teima would say: Be bold as a leopard, light as an eagle, fleeting as a deer and mighty as a lion to do the will of your Father in Heaven.”

The appearance of the lions is often typical for the region in which the object was made.

(A first finding aid is:

https://www.google.at/search?q=Lion+Europe&client=safari&rls=en&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiVzdX20uHNAhVFzRQKHY3gC8EQ_AUICCB&biw=1600&bih=712#tbn=isch&q=Lion+european+iconography)

A lion may also symbolize the name of the owner of the object in question: Löw/Ariel. A Lion, an Eagle and a Deer - may feature on an object to illustrate the above mentioned quotation more completely.

Griffins - instead of lions, griffins are often placed on Eastern European objects.

Deer – may replace lions as an indication of the donor’s or owner’s name: Zvi (Hebrew), Hirsch (German), Herschl (Yiddish)

Magen (מגן - Hebrew: shield) David – The Shield or Star of David is a symbol of modern Judaism. As such it became representative of Zionism. In the early modern period the hexagram is known only to have been used as a Jewish symbol by the Jewish community in Prague. Please note: Not every six-pointed star has to be a Star of David. Hexagrams were used in Christian Kabbalah, served as fire protection symbols and also as beer or brewing stars in tapping signs.

Shofar – A ram’s horn symbolizes the High Holidays.

The Priestly Blessing – The priestly blessing is often featured on objects by two raised hands. The symbol expresses that the donor or owner of the object is a Cohen (priest), a descendant from Aaron, the first High Priest.

Pitcher (and Basin) – A pitcher (and basin) is/are shown on objects to hint to the Levite (descendants of the Tribe of Levi) status of the donor or owner. It refers to the Levites' traditional duty of cleaning the hands of the Temple Priest prior to a religious service.

People Leaving a City – The Israelites leaving a city symbolizing Egypt is to be seen on objects related to Pesach.

Lamb – The Paschal lamb may be found on a number of Pesach-related objects, alone or lying on a table with girdled Israelites circling it.

People Passing through a Sea – This refers to the parting of the Red Sea through which the Israelites passed and the Egyptians drowned. The scene is depicted on objects related to Pesach.

Women Dancing and Playing Instruments – Miriam, joined by other women, played the tambourine after the Israelites safely crossed the Red Sea. The scene may be depicted on objects related to Pesach.

Sacrifice of Isaac – Abraham nearly sacrificing Isaac but being stopped by an angel or a heavenly hand may be seen on objects related to male circumcision.

Judgment of Solomon – Solomon's judgment is mainly depicted on plates used in the ceremony of the redemption of the first-born son.

Men with Grapes – Depiction of the two scouts bringing back a big bunch of grapes as proof of the fertility of the Promised Land is to be found on different Judaica objects.

Harpist – King David is often depicted playing the harp, especially in connection with psalms, since according to tradition he is the author of the Psalms, which were to be sung with musical accompaniment.

Pelican Feeding its Brood – The pelican ripping open its breast to feed its children with its own blood is especially to be found on Sephardic objects and symbolizes the Jewish mother.

Phoenix – The mythological bird is a symbol of rebirth and immortality.

Unicorn – The unicorn is a hunted animal, but in contrast to Christian folklore never captured.

Elephant – The elephant is a symbol of the Torah, wisdom and lovingkindness.

Squirrel – The squirrel is a symbol of wise foresight.

Bear - The bear is a symbol of strength; the male name of Baer/Ber/Dov (Hebrew)

The Temple Mount – This may symbolize the place of the actual sanctuary of the past, the place of the heavenly sanctuary of the future, or the place where the binding of Isaac took place.

The Temple - In modern times the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount is often represented as symbolizing the site of the First and the Second Temple. The Dome of the Rock served also as depiction of the Temple on the printer's mark of Marco Antonio Gustiniani in Venice.

Western Wall – Mostly in combination with David's Tower or Citadel, the Dome of the Rock, and cypresses, the Western Wall has become an iconic symbol for the city of Jerusalem.

Zodiac Signs – These symbolize constellations - called „Mazalot“ in Hebrew, the singular meaning „luck“ - the cycle of the year with its established cyclic holydays according to the Jewish calendar. In a number of cases, especially on wimpels, the zodiac sign designates the constellation under which the child was born. In other cases, i.e. on calendars, the zodiac sign accompanies the illustration of the monthly agricultural activity.

Some of the symbols enumerated above are far from being Jewish symbols only. Non-Jewish religious objects may feature identical/comparable symbols and images and refer generally to the Old Testament; some of them may also refer to Islamic content and some to mythological narratives.

2.2.6 Colors

The color white symbolizes purity. White or cream-colored textiles are used in the synagogue on the High Holidays Rosh HaShanah and Yom Kippur.

Black or dark Torah textiles are related to death and mourning.

Purple is a popular color for Torah textiles because it was used extensively in the decoration of the Tabernacle and for the priestly garments.

As crimson symbolizes blood, special Torah curtains for the circumcision ceremony may be of a red color.

2.2.7 Hallmarks

Silver is too soft to be used in its “fine” or “pure” form but has to be alloyed with copper. For centuries in Europe the fineness of silver ranged from about 70% to 95.8 % (700, 800, 925). In former times guilds regulated and controlled standards, then governments took over. They approved and still approve the stated fineness by use of hallmarks.

A hallmark is an official mark or series of marks struck on items made of precious metals. It serves as a guarantee of a certain purity or fineness of the metal as determined by formal metal testing by an independent body or authority. In general, it is made up of several elements such as a mark denoting the type of metal, the maker’s or workshop’s mark, and the city and year of the marking. To test the metal purity a small sample of it is taken by the assayer and subdued to a chemical process to verify the fineness. Thus, the assay mark is often a zigzag line, but it can also be the assayer’s initials or the date. Tax free census marks were introduced after the invalidation of Napoleonic hallmarks in countries formerly under French occupation. A re-hallmarking from 1806 confirmed tax payments in relation to the metal value of objects in Austro-Hungary which otherwise would have been seized by the state and melted down. National regulations could and still can vary considerably.

Hallmarks are struck onto the objects with a steel punch. Most punches are stamps with letters, numbers, symbols, or ornaments executed reversed and raised. Their sizes may differ depending on the object size. By holding the stamp on to the object and hammering it, its image is transferred to the workpiece. As the striking often displaces material, the workpiece has to be refinished afterwards. Today laser markings are available.

The presence of a hallmark on a silver object is not only an official sign of approval. Hallmarks are also an invaluable aid for identifying the date, the regional provenance, and the maker of a silver object.

Unfortunately, not every metal object is hallmarked. In particular, filigree objects often lack hallmarks, as do objects from Galicia, the Ottoman Empire, Inner Asian and Oriental countries. The identification of a hallmark is not always easy, but there are a lot of finding aids.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ <http://www.925-1000.com/index.html>; Tardy-Lengellé (ed.), *Les Poinçons de Garantie Internationaux pour l'Argent*, 222 édition, Mayenne 2004; Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 4 Bde, Frankfurt am Main 1922.

Pewter is hallmarked, too. Special finding aids exist.³⁸¹ As they were not as tightly controlled as precious metal objects, many pewter pieces were never marked.

Marks on porcelain are also common.³⁸²

Be aware that from the date there was a market for Judaica objects - i.e. from the early exhibitions of Judaica objects at world fairs, the beginning of private collecting, and the founding of Jewish museums around 1900 - fakes came also into being. One should differentiate between historical remakes, which did not pretend to be older than they were in fact (i.e. pseudo-hallmarks from the 17/18th century combined with a known Hanau trademark from around 1900)³⁸³ and faked hallmarks which pretend to be historical ones. Faked Judaica especially with faked Russian hallmarks emerged in the 1970s when private collectors in the US and in Europe showed new interest in Judaica and boomed in the 1980s when post-war Jewish museums in Europe were established. To date counterfeiting Judaica makes for good business.

2.2.8 Labels/Stamps

Every trace on an object must be examined thoroughly and kept, as it might hint to the provenance. Labels, stamps, stickers, engravings, and numbers may indicate:

(Former) Museums' inventory numbers

Former Jewish community inventory numbers

Numbers from auction houses

Numbers from galleries

Vugesta numbers (Verwaltungsstelle für jüdisches Umzugsgut der Gestapo - Gestapo Administration Point for Jewish Removal)

JCR-tags: As explained in Part 1 of this *Handbook*, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction was founded in 1947 to function as the agent of the JRSO, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization for heirless Jewish cultural property. It collected heirless cultural assets at designated collection points for redistribution mainly in the United States and Israel. As previously noted each object and book collected by the JCR received a JCR metal tag respectively a JCR bookplate.

Numbers for which no (immediate) explanation can be found may refer to an internal Nazi system, to a nationalization system, or to a system set up by a department of monuments/national heritage agency.

In the framework of the Holocaust, when objects were moved to central points of administration - not only to Nazi bodies but also to Jewish communities for safekeeping - they were often marked with labels containing a private or institutional name.

Every possibility to store a hint must be explored - i.e., an old note might be found in a charity or any other box or object that can be opened. Another example would be the clearance for the holiday plaques on Torah shields, which can be opened to change the plaques. Preventing the plaques from falling around in the clearance after a plaque was lost, they sometimes were stabilized by a small

³⁸¹ <http://www.pewtersociety.org/collecting/european-pewter>, Stará, Dagmar, *Zinnmarken aus aller Welt*. Aus dem Tschechischen übersetzt von Kurt Lauscher, Hanau/M. 1987. Erwin Hintze, *Die deutschen Zinngießer*, Vols 1-7, 1921-1927, Reprint Aalen 1965; the last volume includes Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and Alsace. Howard Herschel Cotterell: *Old Pewter. Its Makers and Marks*, London 1929.

³⁸² <http://www.ceramic-link.de/icd/pages/marks/marksindex.htm>;
<http://www.haberey.info/gold/keram-mk.htm>.

³⁸³ http://www.925-1000.com/Egerman_hanau_marks_01.html.

object or often by a piece of paper. This paper may shed light on the time and the locality the object was used when the paper was inserted.

You might find traces of attempts to erase former engraved numbers or letters.

2.3. Types of Objects

2.3.1 Synagogue and Communal Objects

Torah Scroll



Figure 6: Etz chayim/Torah scroll staves
Poland, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=16325>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The term Torah (תּוֹרָה - Hebrew, literally „teaching“) refers to the Five Books of Moses (also known as „Chumash“ in Hebrew). The Torah scroll or „Sefer Torah“ in Hebrew refers to a handwritten copy of the Five Books of Moses on parchment or vellum (figure 6).

It is written entirely in Hebrew without vowels or punctuation by a quill dipped in ink and contains 304,805 letters, generally with forty-two lines of text per column (50 lines according to the Yemenite tradition). Decorative crowns, called tagin, on special letters are characteristic for first appearance. The pages of the parchment are sewn together by hair or sinew of a kosher animal. The Torah scroll is mounted on two wooden rollers, called Etz Chayim (Hebrew „Tree of Life“), each of which has handles to scroll the text according to the portion which is read.

The Torah scroll is used on Shabbat and festivals in the synagogue service.

Torah Ornaments

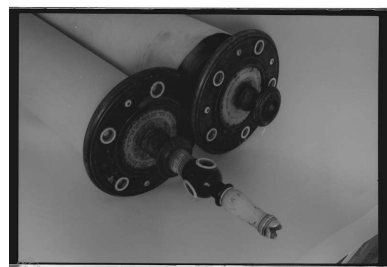


Figure 7: Eastern European Etz chayim/Tora scroll staves
Lithuania, Panevėžys, 1908
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=116>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 8: Silver etz chayim
Italy, Piedmont, 1775-1799?
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=5316>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Atzei Etz Chayim (עֵץ חַיִּים) are needed to mount the Torah scroll. In general they are turned wooden poles with discs on the upper and lower ends to keep the scroll in place (see figure 6). Especially in Eastern Europe they can be decorated with inlays of different types of wood or ivory (figure 7). In rich communities, the handles might have been made of or covered with silver (figure 8). In cases of

luck they bear a Hebrew inscription providing information about the congregation to which they belonged.



Figure 9: Wooden Tik
1908, Georgia, Raja
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=11424>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 10: Carved + painted Tik
Tunisia, Djerba, Hara al Kabira,
19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=159570>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 11: Baghdad Tik
1885/86
Courtesy of the Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv, inv. no. 048.001.001_001



Figure 12: Egyptian Tik
Late 19th century
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum London, inv.no. C 1980.3.10.1

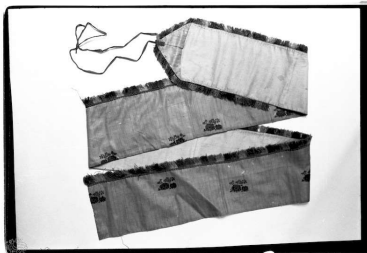


Figure 13: Torah binder
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=15055>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 15: Torah Wimpel
Germany, 1780
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=1154>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Tik (תיק - Hebrew „case“) means a hinged round or polygonal container in which the Torah scroll is placed and read from in Oriental, Greek, Inner Asian, and Indian communities. Its interior is covered with cloth.

The casing can be a simple wooden structure (figure 9) or an ornate carved and painted one (figure 10). Oriental and Indian Tikkim (plural) are often covered with

decorated silver sheet, sometimes partly gilded, and coral beads (figure 11).

Egyptian Tikkim may feature mother-of-pearl insets (figure 12). Some Tikkim bear Hebrew

inscriptions referring to Biblical psalms, they sometimes also indicate a donor and/or year.

A Mappah (מפה, Hebrew, Torah binder; Yiddish, Gartel) is a kind of belt which ties the two halves of the Torah scroll together. It is often very simple (figure 13) but can



Figure 14: Torah binder with inscription
Italy, Piedmont, c. 1800
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=5293>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

feature a Hebrew year or the name of a donor or community (figure 14). Among German Jews it was customary to use a linen Torah wimpel for this purpose. A standard benediction is written on a wimpel, giving the date of birth and the name of the boy (figure 15). The name noted down is the Hebrew name. As time progresses the civil name of the boy is given in German too on the textile. A wimpel is often embroidered or painted and beautifully decorated. In general it is only around 17 cm high, but its length varies from two to four meters. The German custom of using the swaddling cloth upon which the boy had been circumcised as a binder spread to the Czech lands, Switzerland and Austro-Hungary, as well as to Denmark. In Italian and Sephardi communities the binder, mainly made of costly material like silk, is known as a „fascia“.



Figure 16: Yeriah

Not dated

Courtesy of the Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente Amsterdam, inv. no. T 10

A Yeriah (יְרִיעָה - Hebrew: wrapper) is used in Italian, Greek or communities of the Sephardi Diaspora. Its height equals the height of a Torah scroll and it is rolled up together with the scroll (figure 16).

A Meil (מַעֲלִיל - Hebrew: mantle) covers the Torah scroll (in addition to those kept in Tikkim). Italian and



Figure 17: Sephardi Me'il
Portuguese mantle, 1715

(with Teixeira de Mattos monogram)

Courtesy of the Joods
Historical Museum, inv. no.
JHM B00105



Figure 18: Ashkenazi Me'il
1867

Courtesy of the Joods Historical
Museum, inv.no. JHM 000467



Figure 19: Rural
Ashkenazi Me'il
1800-1900

Courtesy of the Jewish
Museum Switzerland,
Basel, JMS 1085



Figure 20: Ashkenazi Torah crown
Austria 1872

Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

Sephardi Me'ilim (plural) are mostly made of precious textiles such as brocade, they are wide and open at the front. At their upper end they have an interior reinforcement to keep the mantle's shape (figure 17). Ashkenazi mantles are sewn together out of two rectangular pieces of cloth, often velvet, but often also of a not costly textile (figure 18). They have two openings at the upper end to pull them over the Torah poles. They often bear Hebrew inscriptions indicating the date of a donation, the names of the donor, sometimes even the name of the community. The least inscription on a Torah mantle is the Hebrew letters kaph כ and tav ת, the abbreviation for „Keter Torah“, i.e. „Crown of the Torah“ (figure 19).



Figure 21: Eastern European silver gilt Torah crown
Galicia, early 19th century
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum London, inv. no. C 2001.5.5



Figure 22: Italian Torah crown
Venice, 18th century
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Venice

The Keter (כֵּתֶר - Hebrew: crown) adorns the Torah. It is mounted on the Torah staves. In general its shape reflects regional aristocratic traditions (figure 20). In Eastern Europe a distinctive two- or three-tiered form developed (figure 21), whereas in Italy a coronet form prevailed, known as „Atarah“ (figure 22). A Torah crown may but does not have to bear Hebrew inscriptions indicating the date of a donation, the names of donors, sometimes even the name of the community.

A pair of Rimmonim (רִמּוֹנִים - Hebrew: pomegranates) mounted with their cylindrical shafts on the upper poles of the Torah staves add to the adornment of the Torah. Because of their original fruit form they are called „Tappuchim“ - i.e. „apples“ - by Sephardim. The fruit-like form survived mainly



Figure 23: Central Asian Finials
<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=14463>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 24: Dutch Torah Finials
Amsterdam, ca. 1700
Courtesy of the Jewish Historical Museum, inv. no. JHM B00075



Figure 25: Italian crown and finials
Jewish Museum Venice

in Oriental, Inner Asian and Austro-Hungarian communities, where the main body was ornated with bells (figure 23). In the greater part of Europe their form was influenced by church objects, thus architectural Rimmonim were developed, many of which reflect more or less specific towers (figure 24). Bells were added to them, too. Rimmonim may or may not bear Hebrew inscriptions.

There are also combinations of a Crown and Rimmonim (figure 25).

A Tass (טס - Hebrew: Torah-shield) hangs in front of the dressed Torah in Turkish, Italian and



Figure 26: Interchangeable plaques for Torah shield
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

Ashkenazi communities. It features the name of a holiday, indicating which scroll is used for the portion of the Torah read on specific occasions. It often has a rectangular recess with interchangeable holiday plaques (figure 26). At the back there are hinges for a chain to be hung around the Torah staves. Torah shields vary stylistically depending on the place of their origin. Middle and Western European Torah shields often feature motifs which are linked to the Temple in Jerusalem such as



Figure 27: Torah shield with Moses and Aaron
Breslau, second half of 18th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=2429>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

architectural elements, the Menorah and the altar or the table for the showbread. Also Aaron and Moses may appear (figure 27).

Eastern European shields mainly feature motifs inspired by flora and fauna, partly symbolic, namely in their folkloristic variants (figure 28). Many Tassim (plural) bear Hebrew inscriptions indicating the date of a donation, the names of donors, sometimes even the name of the community (figure 29).



Figure 28: Ukrainian Torah shield
Last quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=632>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 29: Torah shield with donor's inscription
Nürnberg 1763
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=4067&sort=DESC&many=20&start=20>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

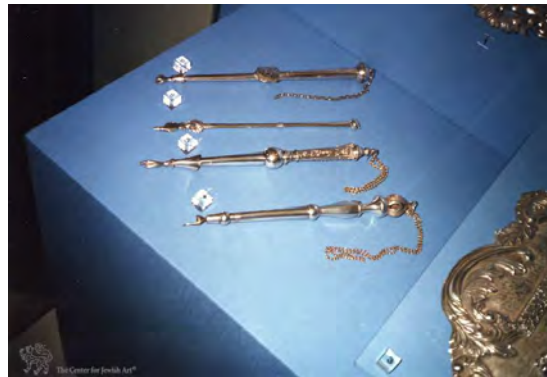


Figure 30: Torah pointers
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=246680>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A Yad (יָד - Hebrew: hand), a longer or shorter rod with a pointing hand at its lower end, serves the Torah reader as a pointer to keep track of the the line he is reading (figure 30). It is often made from silver, but in Eastern Europe wooden pointers, sometimes artifiically carved, were also very common (figure 31). At its upper end the Yad has a hinge or hole for a chain to hang it in front of the Torah shield. In Sephardi communities, the Yad is held by the Torah binder beneath the mantle and therefore has no need for a ring and chain (figure 32), and is known as a „moreh“ (Hebrew: pointer). In Oriental communities, it is known as a „Kulmus“ (Latin/Arabic: quill). The majority of Torah pointers do not have inscriptions.



Figure 31: Ukrainian Torah pointer
Zakarpatska obl.
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=204>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 32: Sephardi Torah pointer
Israel, 20th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=19692>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Aron Kodesh (אָרוֹן קֹדֶשׁ - Hebrew: Holy Ark) is the shrine in which the Torah scrolls are kept in the synagogue (figure 33). Among Sephardim it is known as „Ehal“. It can be a stone structure but also a wooden cabinet. In the latter case it often is a two-part construction, the upper part taking in the scrolls, the lower and smaller one for keeping Torah ornaments. Most Torah arks are topped with the Tablets of the Law but can often be additionally decorated. Italian

arks with Renaissance decorations are known, German ones with Temple motifs and Eastern European ones with deer, lions, eagles and so on. Also small Torah arks for private use or for travelling are known from the Baroque era onwards (figure 34). Some of them are even made from silver.



Figure 33: Holy shrine
Wood, 17th century Piedmont, Italy
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum London,
inv.no. 14



34: Holy shrine for travelling



Figure 35: Parokhet
Zagreb, Croatia, 1895
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17310>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss
Index of Jewish Art, the Center for
Jewish Art at the Hebrew
University of Jerusalem



Figure 36: Parokhet for High Holidays
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Vienna,
Inv. No. 7445

The Parokhet (פרוכת - Hebrew), a textile curtain, hangs in front of the Torah shrine, going back to the partition between the Holy of Holies in the Temple sanctuary (figure 35). It can but does not have to be decorated. It can but does not have to show a dedication inscription. But it

mostly features at least two Hebrew characters, the abbreviation for „Keter Torah“, „Crown of the Torah“. On the High Holidays and Hoshana Rabbah, the last day of the Festival of Sukkoth, the Parokhet is of white or cream color. For use on the High Holidays it may also feature Shofar horns (figure 36). In Central and Western European communities special Torah curtains for the Brit Milah, the ritual circumcision ceremony, were common, with an inscription of the blessing for the occasion. They also may feature the Akedah, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (figure 37). In Western Sephardic synagogues there is no outer but rather an inner Parokhet except on the holiday of Tisha B'Av, commemorating the destruction of the Temple, when a black mourning Parokhet is installed.

In Romaniote communities Shaddayot, also called Takhshitim (תכשיטים - Hebrew: ornaments), small silver votive plaques, are fastened to the Parokhet.

The Kapporeth (כפרת - Hebrew: mercy seat), a short valance, is often placed above the curtain. It seems to have its origin around 1700 in Eastern Europe from where it spread to the West. As it refers to the gold lid with two cherubim coming out of the ends of it to form a covering over the Ark of the Covenant, it often shows the Hebrew inscription "He made a cover of pure gold" (Exodus 37:6) and/or features the Temple symbols (figure 38).



Figure 37: Parokhet with Akedah
Silesia 1792
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=460>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss
Index of Jewish Art, the Center for
Jewish Art at the Hebrew
University of Jerusalem



Figure 38: Kapporeth

Germany, 1796

<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=158>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A Ner Tamid (נֵר תָּמִיד - Hebrew: Eternal light) hangs above the Holy Ark in every synagogue in use (figure 39). It represents God's presence with the presence of the Torah. Its form depends on the regional style and time it was made in. Some bear Hebrew inscriptions. Without an inscription, it is hard to determine whether it is a Judaica object as it resembles respective church objects.

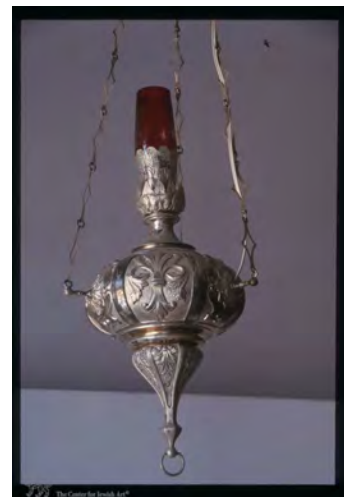


Figure 39: Ner Tamid

Croatia, c. 1900

<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17309>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

On the Bimah (בִּימָה - Hebrew: elevated place) stands the desk from which the Torah is read. The desk is covered by a textile, called a reader's desk cover or Bimah cover, in Sephardic communities Tevah cover, in Western and Central Ashkenazic communities Almemor cover (figure 40). It can be as decorated as the Torah ark curtain and the mantle and often bears comparable inscriptions. The desk may also feature decorative endings of different materials at its corners.

The Amud (עַמּוּד), the lectern (Yiddish: shtender) in front of the Bimah from which the cantor leads the prayers, may also be covered by a textile which can bear inscriptions (figure 41). Often a Menorah, a seven-branched candelabra, is placed on or near the Amud.

A Shiviti (שִׁוִּיתִי - "I have placed [the Lord always before me]", Psalms 16:8) plaque is often placed above the Amud. The meditative Shiviti is usually made of paper and displays the Tetragrammaton and Hebrew Psalms forming the seven-branched Menorah (figure 43). Shiviti plaques can be rather



Figure 40: Bimah cover

Piedmont, Italy, last quarter of 18th century

<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=5340>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 41: Reader's desk cover

Hungary 1912

<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=7089>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 42: Shiviti

Eretz Israel, first half of 20th century

<http://cja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=10590>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 43: Shiviti
Hungary (?) 1930
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=7077>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

simple but also highly decorative and elaborate, depending of the writer's skills. Artistic Shiviti plaques may give the scribe's name (figure 43), the date and even the name of the community to which it belonged. There are also Shiviti plaques in the form of reverse glass paintings or inscribed wood panels.

The Circumcision Bench in Ashkenazi communities traditionally consists of two seats, one for the Sandek, the godfather on whose lap the baby boy is circumcised, the other one is reserved for the prophet Elijah (figure 44). These benches may be carved and often bear inscriptions referring to their purpose. In other communities two separate chairs are used, and Elijah's chair is designated as such. These special benches and chairs are not known from earlier than the 18th century. In Sephardic communities

Elijah's chair is designated as such by covering it with purple and gold braided materials.



Figure 44: Circumcision bench
Iasi, Romania, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=15638>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 45: Circumcision cushion
Germany, c. 1700
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Frankfurt, inv. no. JMF 96-2

A circumcision cushion or cushion cover on which the baby is placed is usually beautifully decorated. In East, West and Central Europe, embroidered inscriptions relate to the occasion by quoting the biblical narration of the covenant between God and Abraham and referring to Elijah as the guarding angel of the covenant (figure 45).

Elijah's rods are known from Afghanistan, the Caucasus, Uzbekistan, and Iran from the 19th century (figure 46). They bear Biblical inscriptions invoking the



Figure 46: Elijah's rod
Afghanistan, c. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=23332>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



The Chuppah (חופה - Hebrew: nuptial chamber) is beginning in the 16th century the portable bridal canopy under which a couple is married (figure 47). It is attached to four poles and often shows the Hebrew text: „A sound of joy, a sound of gladness, a sound of the bridegroom, a sound of the bride,“ Jeremiah 33:11. It also may depict the sun, moon, and stars.

Figure 47: Chuppah
Poland, last quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17767>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Chuppah stones (German: Traustein) are known from Germany after it became common in Ashkenazi countries in the 16th century to have the wedding ceremony take place in the courtyard of the synagogue. They were set in the northern wall of the synagogue and carved with the Hebrew abbreviational letters for the verse Jeremiah 33:11, often also with a star. They are usually made of sandstone (figure 48).



Figure 48: Chuppah stone
Jochsberg, Frankonia, Germany, 1804
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Franconia in Schnaittach,
inv. no. 2013-002

Ceremonial marriage rings, known from Germany, Italy and the Near East, show the Hebrew words: „Mazal Tov“, „Good Fortune“ or its abbreviatonal letters. They may feature a roof or an architectural structure. The Italian ones are of gold filigree, and some are enameled. The very few authentic German and



Figure 49: Alms box
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

Italian rings date from the 14th to the 17th century.

Alms boxes are found in every synagogue. They are usually shaped like tankards with a slot in the lid and a handle (figure 49). They may be of silver, but more often they are made of copper, tin, iron, pewter, or wood. But bowls and dishes are also common. They are often inscribed revealing the society they belonged to (very often to burial societies) or designating the specific area of charity (i.e., for poor brides or the Jewish National Fund). Many charity containers feature the Hebrew inscription: „Charity averts Death“. In Italy fabric bags were used to collect money. In Sephardi congregations collection plates are known which are extremely prestigious, their decoration not necessarily linked to their purpose.



Figure 50: Laver and Basin
Prague, Czech Republic, 19th century
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

Laver and basin for priestly and ceremonial washing are common symbols on objects belonging to a family of Levites. As sets for liturgical use they are hard to distinguish from baptism jugs and basins unless there is a specific inscription (figure 50). In the Sephardi world, they may be engraved with a coat-of-arms.



Figure 51: Kiddush cup
Hungary, c. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=2573>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Kiddush (קידוש - Hebrew: sanctification) is the blessing over a cup of wine preceding the meal of every holiday including the Shabbat (figure 51). In synagogue, Kiddush is made, too, in case somebody is not able to recite Kiddush at home. Traditionally silver cups are used as Kiddush cups and are dedicated to the congregation, which means that they bear a dedication inscription. Many of them also feature the Hebrew inscription „Remember the Shabbath day, to keep it holy“.



Figure 52: Omer board
Bordeaux, France, 1882
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=33260>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Omer (first sheaf of barley harvested) boards are hung in the synagogue as a reminder of the number of days counting the Omer from the second night of Pesach for seven weeks. They feature numbers, often in Arabic, and some Hebrew text. They are often handwritten on paper and some are beautifully decorated. They may be mounted in a wooden box (figure 52), or the text may be written on plaques made originally as commemorative plaques for churches. They also may come as simpler rolls.

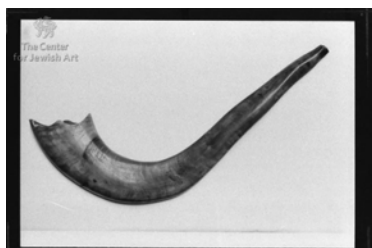


Figure 53: Shofar
Poland, c.1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=2447>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A Shofar (שופר), an ancient wind instrument, is made of a ram's horn (figure 53). It is blown on different occasions in the synagogue. Shofar horns may come in various forms and sizes. They are sometimes decorated with carvings and inscriptions.

Pidyon HaBen (פדיון הבן- Hebr.: redemption of the first-born son) plates are mainly known from Galicia. They are linked to the ceremony of symbolically redeeming the first-born male from priestly duty. In most cases, they feature a representation of Solomon's judgment or the sacrifice of Isaac and the signs of the Zodiac (figure 54).



Figure 54: Pidyon HaBen plate
Lviv, Ukraine, first quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=145>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Hanukkah lamps serve for the celebration which commemorates the victory of the Maccabean rebels against the Greek rulers in the 4th century BCE. The



Figure 55: Synagogue Hanukkah lamp
Transylvania, Romania, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17413>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

holiday is celebrated in the synagogue as well as at home for eight days, and the lamps respectively show eight lights with an additional separated ninth which serves as a servant light to light the other eight (figure 55). Hanukkah lamps in the synagogue are often large candelabrum types of lamps. They feature a central stem flanked by four arms on both sides and showing the servant in front of the stem. They may be simple iron lamps but also decorated silver ones, especially in rich West European communities. In Eastern Europe, gigantic Hanukkah lamps with classical, floral, branching arms topped with an eagle from cast bronze on lion feet were popular.



Figure 56: Washbasin and faucet

Czech Republic, Prague

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=13474>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Washbasins serve ritual as well as practical purposes at the entrance of the synagogue. Sometimes they come with a faucet (figure 56). Some of them bear inscriptions. They are mostly made of copper, brass, or ceramics.

2.3.2 Objects of Private Use

The Mezuzah (מְזוּזָה - Hebrew: doorpost) is a piece of parchment on which the beginning of the Shema-prayer (Jewish Credo) is written. It is rolled up tightly and placed inside a small oblong case with a little opening through which the word „Shaddai“ (Hebrew: Almighty) is to be seen. The case is affixed to the right doorpost of a space designated for a Jewish purpose as well as of a Jewish home. Mezuzah cases can be made of any material. Most Eastern European cases are made of carved



Figure 57: Wooden Mezuzah

Galicia, first half 19th century

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=1538>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 58: Mezuzot

Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague



Figure 59: Moroccan mezuzah pouch

Morocco, second half 19th century

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18060>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

wood (figure 57) or simple sheet metal (figure 58). Few old silver ones exist from East, West, and Central Europe. But also in the latter region simpler materials were chosen

such as tin and sheet iron. A specific object was developed in North Africa, namely in Morocco: Here flat embroidered pouches are used to fix the Mezuzah at the doorpost (figure 59), sometimes a decorated silver cover is used for the same purpose. These pouches and covers are much bigger than the Mezuzah cases.



The European Shabbat lamps (so-called Judenstern) developed from a hanging bowl with originally four, later six, sometimes eight, radiating nozzles. Below the star shape a pan hangs to catch oil drips. The lamp is suspended from a rod, which is in Germany saw-shaped to raise and lower it according to its use (figure 60). Most of them are made of brass or bronze. Decorated silver Shabbat lamps with a baluster stem were produced in Frankfurt/Main. Italian, Dutch and British silver Shabbat lamps are not ornamented, do not feature a stem, and are suspended from chains.

Figure 60: Hanging Shabbat lamp

Germany, 18th century

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=23447>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Kiddush (קידוש - Hebrew: sanctification) is the blessing over a cup of wine preceding the meal of every holiday including the Shabbat. Any glass, beaker, cup, or goblet may serve for Kiddush, but traditionally silver cups are used as Kiddush cups. They do not necessarily have to have been made as Judaica objects per se; they may possibly have been put to use at a later date as Kiddush cups and an inscription added at that time. Most of them feature the Hebrew inscription „Remember the Shabbath day, to keep it holy“, if added later. It often is the only indicator that the piece was used in a Jewish ritual context.



Figure 61: Kiddush cup (wedding present)

Tüchersfeld, Fränkische Schweiz Museum, Inv. Nr. E 1708



Figure 62: Shemira Cup;

Courtesy of the Jewish Museum, Vienna;

Inv. No. 7760



Figure 63: Double cup

Nürnberg 1769-73, silver gilt, 12 x 6,6 cm

Courtesy of the Ariel Muzicant Collection, Vienna, inv.no. 869

As Kiddush cups were (and still are) popular wedding presents, they may have an additional commemorative inscription (figure 61).

Shmira (שמירה - Hebrew: protection) cups stem from the Hasidic world. They are made of a coin blessed by a Tsaddik, a leader of the Hasidic world. The inscription tells this. Especially in the Eastern European centers of Hasidism the bowl of these beakers were shaped in the form of three quarters of an egg, a Talmudic measurement (figure 62).

Double cups, two identical bowls joined at the rim, may be used for ceremonies during which two people drink from the same vessel. This is the case during wedding and circumcision ceremonies (figure 63). Identifying them as Jewish ritual objects demands a Hebrew inscription or abbreviation, otherwise they are friendship cups.

Hevrah Kaddisha (קדישאַ קהילה - Hebrew: Holy society) cups are specific for burial societies. They may come as goblets or tankards and can be of rather representational appearance as they serve annually for a society's banquet commemorating the death of Moses. They show inscriptions telling to which burial society they belonged, often by whom they were dedicated, sometimes even the names of the members (figure 64). In general, they are made of silver, though from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary ceramic and glass objects are known.



Figure 64: Hevrah kaddishah cup
Frankfurt/Main, 18th century
Private collection, Munich



Figure 65: Hallah plate
Frankfurt am Main/Berlin (?), c. 1900
Courtesy of the Ariel Muzicant Collection, Vienna

A Challah (חלה) is a plaited loaf, two of which are blessed before the Shabbat and/or festival meal. In modern times, specific plates were produced for them. They may feature a pair of plaited loaves and bear an inscription alluding to the ceremony (figure 65).



Figure 66: Hallah cover
Courtesy of the Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv,
inv. no. 004.027.001

A Challah textile is used to cover the two plaited loaves before the blessing. It also often features the pair of loaves and bears the respective inscription or a Kiddush cup and the text for the wine blessing (figure 66).

Special knives to cut the Challah are known from Central Europe. They bear the inscription „Holy Shabbat“ or “for Shabbat” (figure 67).



Figure 67: Shabbat and Holiday pocket knife
Poland, first quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=170037>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Besamim (בְּשָׁמִים - Hebrew: spices) boxes are used for the Havdalah (Hebrew: distinction) ceremony which separates the ending holiday including Shabbat from the newly beginning secular period. It includes the sniffing of and blessing over spices. In many Sephardi and Oriental communities, branches of aromatic plants are used. In Ashkenazi communities, predominantly cloves are used for

this purpose, in Italy also mace. They are kept in special spice boxes. The simplest form, a small rectangular box with a sliding lid made of silver or pewter (figure 68), has its origin in Frankfurt/Main. The most popular form, developed in Germany, is a turret with a door-like opening to insert the spices. Filigree spice towers come from Eastern Europe, especially from Galicia (figure 69), but also from central Europe, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. Bells often are added to Polish spice towers which frequently are a combination of filigree, if of rather thick wire, and sheet metal. Solid metal Polish spice towers may be waisted and come with bells (figure 70). Filigree spice urn-shaped boxes have been produced in Russia, in Hungary and in Italy. Romaniote spice containers are mainly plain cylindrical boxes which are pierced and have a lid. Objects produced as sugar casters may have been used as spice containers all over Europe as well as egg- or pear-shaped perfume containers. Without specific abbreviations or symbols, they cannot be identified for sure as Judaica objects



Figure 68: *Spice box*
Pewter, Germany, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=7263>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 69: *Filigree spice tower*
Galicia, c. 1780
Courtesy of the Gross family Collection, Tel Aviv, inv.no. 015.001.001

A spice box combined with a Havdalah candle holder, thus forming a Havdalah compendium, has been produced mainly in Germany in the 18th and 19th century. It consists of a flat drawer-spicebox



Figure 70: *Polish spice tower*
Warsaw, last quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=2263>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 71: *Havdalah compendium*
Frankfurt/Main, Germany, c. 1775
Courtesy of the Gross family Collection, Tel Aviv, inv. no. 015.001.053.A

which is topped by a simple movable candle socket set into four bars (figure 71). Sometimes a small figure lifting a cup and designating the final blessing over wine at the end of Shabbat serves as a stem between the spice box and the candle holder.

As the most important family-based festivity of the religious year, a variety of ritual objects have been developed for Pesach. The celebrations in private homes are called the seder evenings. Seder (סדר - Hebrew: order, sequence) refers to the fixed order in which the ritual evening is held and is written in the Pesach Haggadah (הגדה - Hebrew: narration). During the ceremonial meal, the head of the table has a plate before him surrounded by five symbolic dishes. The plate is for the three Matzot (מצה - Hebrew: unleavened bread) being a reminder of how hurriedly the Exodus from Egypt took place, not allowing enough time for the dough to rise before being baked. The material of the seder plate is often pewter, but wooden and ceramic plates also exist. They are large and often



Figure 72: Seder plate
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

feature complex ornamentations derived from scenes of the illustrated Haggadah. Thus one may find an illustration of the questioning four sons (figure 72) or the festival meal from the Pesach Haggadah. A naturalistically depicted matza can be found too or a lamb marked with the title of the song “A little lamb” sung at Pesach. Often quotations from the Haggadah are found on seder plates, i.e.: “And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs, and with wonders”, or “This is the bread of poverty“. They were produced in Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Bohemia,

Moravia and in Switzerland. Be aware that the date of the production of a pewter plate and the date of its engraving may not be identical; often illustrations or quotations were added at a much later time.



Figure 73: Matzah cover
Romania, c. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17586>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Matzot are covered by a matzah cloth or put into a three-tiered



matza bag, usually embroidered and featuring a Paschal symbol like the lamb or an inscription hinting to the Paschal liturgy. Often three flaps are to be seen bearing the names of the three Matzot: „Cohen“, „Levi“ and „Israel“ (figure 73).

Figure 74: Center piece for Pesach
Hungary, c. 1940
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=7074>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A table centerpiece, a three-tiered rack, is frequently used instead of a seder plate or platter (figure 74). Inside, there are three tiers for the three matzot, with bowls for the other symbolic dishes on top. They may have doors or a movable textile on rings to close away the Matzot when the ceremony requires doing so. They may be made of pewter, silver or of

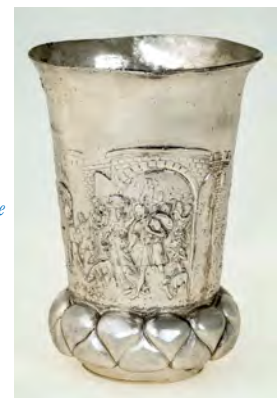


Figure 75: Pesach cup
Galicia, 1880
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague

olivewood. The last ones stem from the Holy Land. The silver ones may feature figurines at the top, dressed in traditional Ashkenazi costumes. These originate mainly in Germany.

Pesach cups may be any cups, but the festival's relevance caused the production of specific cups for the Seder in some regions. In Europe silver cups may come with illustrations taken from the Haggadah, i.e. the Exodus from Egypt (figure 75) and/or with a festival-related inscription.

The Cup of Elijah is in general bigger in size than other cups (figure 76). The prophet who will announce the coming of the Messiah is expected during the Seder night, and a special cup is poured for him. The custom is an Ashkenazi one. Elijah cups made from silver or glass may be engraved with a scene from the life of the



*Figure 76: Elijah's cup
Bremen, Germany, after 1888;
photo: Martin Adam
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum
Berlin, inv.-no. 2005/178/0*



*Figure 77: Seder towel
Germany, Nürnberg (?), c. 1900
<http://gja.buji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=7345>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index
of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish
Art at the Hebrew University of
Jerusalem*



Figure 78: Etrog container

prophet, a family celebrating the Seder or an inscription relating to Elijah. Especially the glass cups were modified to serve as Elijah cups at a much later date than they were produced.

Cushion covers for the Passover ceremony may have a festival-related decoration but in general do not have inscriptions.

Ceremonial Seder towels are known from German-speaking countries (figure 77). They often feature the order of the Seder evening or the abbreviations for it, Pesach-related symbols, and sometimes the family name and a date.

Etrog boxes keep the citron fruit during the Sukkoth festival, the Feast of Tabernacles, because its blossom appendage and its skin have to be intact until it is used in the ceremony.



Figure 79: Hanukkah candelabra
Croatia, first quarter of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=4548>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In Eastern and Western Europe, often sugar boxes were used as Etrog boxes and were labeled with a corresponding inscription. The genuine Ashkenazi silver Etrog box, though, is an oval container set on a stem which is formed as a branch and rests on a leaf, or the branch is leafy (figure 78). Near Eastern Etrog boxes are typical inlaid containers distinguished from domestic objects only by an inscription. Palestinian Etrog boxes became popular around 1900. They are mainly made of olive wood and painted with clear references to the festival, but carved stone examples also exist.

The eight-armed Hanukkah (הַנּוֹצֵה - Hebrew: dedication, rededication [of the Temple])

lamps are used during the Hanukkah festival. During this eight-day period, one additional candle is lighted every evening from the first day to the last. The ninth light, the so-called shamash (שַׁמָּשׁ - Hebrew: servant), is used solely to light the other candles. They are divided into two principal types: a freestanding candelabra (figure 79) and a bench type (figure 80). Freestanding candelabras in general come with candle holders, whereas bench types mostly feature oilpans or oil jugs. The freestanding candelabra has the servant light in front of the central stem. The bench type has a slot near the top of the backplate to take in the pan of the servant light. Candelabras as well as bench types may come decorated with figurines of the Maccabean fighters and/or with Judith with the decapitated head of Holofernes. The backplates of the benchtype Hanukkah lamps are



Figure 80 Bench type Hanukkah lamp
Poland, c. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=9934>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 81: Pewter Hanukkah lamp
Germany, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18071>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

often decorated: with a jug from which oil is poured, with a seven-armed Menorah which is sometimes lighted by a man, with the lions of Judah, a burning heart, a flourishing tree, Moses and Aaron, fruit baskets, palm trees, an inscription quoting a Hanukkah song or the Hanukkah blessing. In some cases, these quotations are written on paper and set behind glass in the center of the backplate. Often the backplates are topped with an imperial crown. Hanukkah lamps may come in a variety of materials: Early Italian and French pieces are of bronze, later ones of silver, Austrian ones are usually made of silver, German ones of pewter (figure 81), or silver, Dutch ones are commonly of hammered sheet brass, whereas Eastern European ones are of cast brass or silver filigree. A specific filigree lamp was designed in Galicia, known as the Baal Shem Tov type which is exceedingly decorated with flowers, lions, griffins,



Figure 82: Baal Shem Tov Hanukkah lamp
Eastern Europe, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=731>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

columns and a small door (often to be opened) representing the Torah ark (figure 82). In the Near East, glass containers for oil are set into brass rings –often in a semicircle – and the backplate

features a hamsa and/or crescents, though in Morocco Hanukkah lamps of brass often feature Mihrab openings in their backplates. Some North-, West- and Central European bench type Hanukkah lamps borrowed their form from tableclocks.



Figure 83: Esther scroll case

Europe, 19th century

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=109192>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Esther scroll cases are of cylindrical shape. The Book of Esther is read on the annual festival of Purim. It is traditionally in the form of a megillah (מגילה), i. e. as a scroll, mounted on a roller and often encased in a silver or ivory shell. A handle at the bottom of the case allows the scroll to be rolled back into the case after reading (figure 83). Austro-Hungarian Esther scroll cases are commonly decorated

with clovers, palmettes or marguerites and topped by a crown and a final flower bouquet - influenced by Turkish and Greek Esther scroll endings (figure 84). Eastern European Esther scroll cases feature rich floral and animal decoration and are often topped by a bird. British pieces are commonly of elegantly plain silver, whereas Italian cases are often made in cut-out work or in filigree, as are Turkish cases. Ornately fashioned and crafted filigree cases for Esther scrolls may stem from Greek Ioannina.

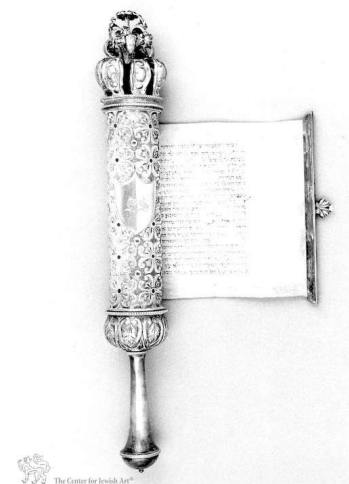


Figure 84: Austrian Esther scroll case
Vienna, 1856

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18039>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 85: Purim plate

Germany, pewter, ca. 1800

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=892>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Purim plates to serve special cookies are mainly known from German-speaking countries. They are mostly made of pewter and may feature the wicked Haman leading Mordechai on a horse (figure 85) and/or fish, because Purim is celebrated in the month of Adar, the zodiac sign of which is pisces.



Figure 86: Purim gragger

The Gragger is a rattle used for making noise each time the wicked Haman's name is mentioned during reading the Esther story. They are in general of very simple material like tin or wood and are not decorated (figure 86). Today they are mainly made from plastic.

The Chevra Kaddisha (חֶבְרַה קַדִּיִּשָּׁא - Hebr.: Holy Brotherhood), the burial society, existed and exists in every Jewish community. For its yearly held festive banquet, special beakers or goblets are known from the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi world. They may remind one of goblets from guilds, though less pompous, although made of silver. In general, they give the name of the community, often also the names of its members (see above).

From the Czech lands Chevra-Kaddisha jugs made from ceramic are also known.



Figure 87: Hevrah Kaddishah comb
Austria-Hungary
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in
Prague

A few silver combs, also a few sets of combs and cleaning tools for the cleansing of the deceased exist from some Central European Jewish communities in the 19th century, giving the community's name (figure 87).

The deathday of a beloved person is commemorated during the Yahrzeit. The Yahrzeit candle burns for 24 hours. Specific Yahrzeit candle holders may be found. Typical are in any case Yahrzeit-plaques giving the Hebrew date of the death (figure 88). Since modern times, panels are created calculating the civil date in accordance with the Hebrew one.³⁸⁴



Figure 88: Yahrzeit plaque
Croatia, ca. 1930
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=148139>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art,
the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of
Jerusalem



Figure 89 Greek amulet against Lilith
Ioannina, Greece, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=5823>

Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of
Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art
at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 90: Childbed amulet
Courtesy of the Gross Family
Collection, Tel Aviv, inv. no.
027.011.426

Talismans for adults and amulets to safeguard newborns against demons, especially against Lilith, Kimpetzetl in Yiddish, Kamea in Hebrew, Shaddai in Italy, Shadaia in Greece (figure 89) exist in a variety of forms through ages and regions. They may be from precious or less precious metal or from paper which is put in cases/capsules that may be

decorated or in simple textile sachets worn around the neck. Amulets to safeguard mother and child



Figure 91: Italian amulet container
Italy, 19th century

<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=5210>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish
Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

³⁸⁴ <http://www.ojm.at/artikel/jahrzeit/>

may have been framed and hung in the rooms of women in childbirth (figure 90). They may feature simple, short or longer inscriptions, but also signs, symbols, or graphic drawings. Elaborate silver and gold cases in cartouche forms to keep amulets were popular in Italy. They often have typical symbols like the Menorah or other Temple motifs attached (figure 91). Near Eastern amulets are often silver pendants giving repetitive names of guarding angels, whereas German talismans are often made of a simple base metal and feature only the Hebrew letter „Heh“ (ה).

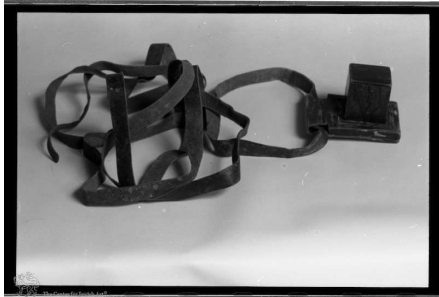


Figure 92: Tefillin
Poland, first quarter of 20th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=alone&id=169624>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Tefillin (תפלין), phylacteries, are small black leather cases containing a Hebrew text and are tied to the arm and head of the person praying (figure 92). There are some representative silver containers for the cases stemming from Eastern Europe from around 1800 onwards (figure 93).



Figure 93: Pair of Tefillin cases
Poland, first half of 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=se&id=248>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The phylacteries are kept in Tefillin bags often bearing the owner's initials (figure 94), sometimes flowry embroidering and/or a Magen David. But the

majority are very simple and impossible to trace back.

The Tallit (טלית), a prayer shawl, is a rectangular, mostly white cloth (figure 95). In Ashkenazi communities it is mainly made from wool and features black stripes, whereas in Sephardi and Mediterranean communities it comes regularly in silk and features blue stripes; colored threads are woven into the woolen prayer shawls from Yemen. A Tallit's corners hold the Tsitsit, knotted fringes. Sephardi prayer shawls may



Figure 95: Tallit
Poland, ca. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17971>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 96: Tallit bag
Europe 1904
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=4660>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem



Figure 94: Tefillin bag
Serbia, ca. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=4639>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

feature reinforcements at the four corners often decorated with the family's coat of arms (see above), Italian ones with embroideries. The collar, called Atarah, may come in

shpanyer work (see above) in Ashkenazi examples, especially in Eastern Europe, or it may come as a brocade trimming.



Figure 97: Shpanyer work Kippah
Galicia, ca. 1900
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=17973>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Tallit bags to keep the prayer shawl are mainly made from velvet or silk, sometimes beautifully embroidered and giving the owner's initials (figure 96). It is not very likely that their provenance can be traced.

The traditional male headcovering, the Kippah (כִּיפָּה - Hebrew: skullcap) (Russian/Polish: Yarmulke), is usually a very simple and small one. For holidays more decorated ones may be used. Festive skull-caps from Eastern Europe (figure 97) are often made from shpanyer work (see above).³⁸⁵

Some silver or gilt Sivlonot belts or Gürtels are known from Germany from the 17th and 18th century (figure 98). They were worn by both the bride and the groom, who were interlinked by them during the wedding ceremony. If they do not bear a Hebrew inscription, it is impossible to identify them as objects of Jewish ritual usage.



Figure 98: Wedding belt
Jewish Museum London, inv. no. C 1999.2.71

The Brustekh, Brusttukh or Brustikhl is a distinctive piece of Eastern European women's clothing related to a kind of bodice (figure 99). The bandshaped Brustikhl covered the fastening of the festive bodice and became popular in 17th century Poland where it was called *złóźka*. It may come richly embroidered using the shpanyer arbet (see above) technique, but simpler ones are also known.³⁸⁶



Figure 99: Brusttukh
Galicia, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18365>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Shterntikhl is another specifically Eastern European part of Jewish women's dresses. In Lithuania known as Binda, the Shterntikhl is a fancy



Figure 100: Shterntikhl
Poland, 19th century
<http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=18572>
Courtesy of the Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

headgear worn on special occasions only. It is composed of an upper and a lower part, the latter encircling the face and decorated with embroideries or even pearls (figure 100). As they also covered the ears, they may come with attached earrings.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London 1981.

³⁸⁶ Giza Frankel, "Notes on the Costume of the Jewish Woman in Eastern Europe," *Journal of Jewish Art* 7 (1980), pp. 50–58; Tamar Somogyi, *Die Schejnen und die Prosten: Untersuchungen zum Schönheitsideal der Ostjuden in Bezug auf Körper und Kleidung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Chassidismus*, Berlin, 1982.

³⁸⁷ See above.

PART 3 – Primary Sources

Primary Sources

3.1 Resources

Provenance and quovadiance research aims at reconstructing the migration path of an object in all its details in order to establish ownership and location respectively. This chapter gives practical information on how to conduct archival research on Jewish ceremonial objects. In general, research on Jewish ceremonial objects may be hindered by at least two factors: 1. Often, the scarce object description in archives or publications does not permit (clear) identification and 2. contrary to fine art, books and archives, the looting of ritual objects was not systematically organized, documented or catalogued by the Nazis, which has resulted in a lack of documentation in war and post-war archives.³⁸⁸ These complications define the problematic and capricious character of research. The researcher, therefore, needs perseverance, patience, and luck. At the same time, the researcher should always be aware that, while an archival document may not help to identify a specific object, it may include information that increases our understanding and completes our overview of the looting and migration paths of Judaica.

This chapter provides guidelines for practical quovadiance and provenance research. In the first case one is looking for a lost object from a pre-war museum/community/other institutional/private collection. A precondition would be the reconstruction of a (partially) lost pre-war/community/other institutional/private collection. In this case collecting as many details about the object as possible in a pre-war inventory, a pre-war catalogue, guide, or any other description, is crucial. Obviously one lacks clues that can be derived from the examination of the actual object (for instance a silver mark or label), and when a photograph of the object is missing, identification is even more complicated and sometimes impossible. In the second case one wants to determine the provenance of an object in a post-war museum/community/other institution/private collection or on the market. Sometimes the provenance of the object is already known. In this case, the researcher knows the beginning and current location and should try to reconstruct the migratory history of the object by searching for documents that unfold each individual step of that history, working from the side of the pre-war owner and from the side of the post-war holder. Reconstructing the migration history of an object without known provenance is often even more complicated and time-consuming because one first has to establish useful leads.

When starting work, you are advised to make a separate folder for each object you are going to research. Every step in the research and the findings of these steps is noted down and added to the folder. You should make copies of relevant documents and put them into the folder. A photograph of the object, should be included too, if available. If any of the collected information is speculative, identify it as such in your notes. Do not forget to document your sources. If you did not find any information, note that down too.

³⁸⁸ The ERR, one of the main plundering agencies was divided into seven special commandos covering practically every area of cultural activity. These were, for instance, *Sonderstab Bildende Kunst*, *Sonderstab Kirchen*, *Sonderstab Musik* and *Sonderstab Bibliotheken*, dealing with fine arts, Christian objects, music and libraries respectively. A separate *Sonderstab* for Jewish ritual objects did not exist. There is reason to believe that the looting of this category of objects had a low priority for ERR. 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, pp. 199-252.

This chapter is structured as seven paragraphs on resources (archives and publications) that are arranged in a logical order. As such they can be used as guideline for your research. In the annexes to this chapter, you will find concrete examples of how these resources can be used.

3.2 The Museum Archive

First assemble information from files within your institution as indicated below. Together with the basic object information (material, date, dimensions, etc., see previous chapter) it will give you the basis for identifying and exploring additional resources. Information may be found in:

- Inventory book(s)/list(s)/card system(s): note down all available information: object name, description, dimensions, registered files, acquisition, and date of acquisition – was the object donated, given on loan, or purchased and from whom (note all previous owners and original provenance), etc.
- Condition reports of the object.
- Correspondence about the donation, about the loan, about the purchase (from a private or institutional collector, dealers, or auction house).
- Conservation files: sometimes during conservation, information becomes available about former use of (parts of) the object even prior to its accession by your institution.
- Minutes of board/curatorial meetings that discuss the collection and individual artifacts that were donated, loaned, or offered for purchase.
- Insurance of the collection or of individual objects. The insurance document may prove that an object was in the museum after a certain date. For instance, in Austria an object that came on the market was returned to its original owner because an insurance document was found that showed the object was still in the owner's possession in 1938.
- The present museum database.

3.3 The Community Archive

- Inventories of synagogues and of Jewish communities.
- Board minutes may mention the donation of an object or the loan of an object to an exhibition.
- Loan agreements to exhibitions or other communities may be listed.
- Insurance documents.

3.4 Museum Publications

Secondary sources (see 1.2) such as museum publications or other publications related to your institution often include clues that help to identify an object. Although descriptions of objects are often brief - especially in 19th and early 20th century publications – object descriptions may vary from publication to publication. Therefore note down details from the following publications, while keeping in mind it is important to check each edition:

- Museum guides: these may include descriptions of individual objects, photographs of the objects, and information on provenance.
- Museum catalogues: these were sometimes published several times. Descriptions may vary and sometimes give new information.
- Exhibition catalogues, such as of World Fair exhibitions, War metal exhibitions, national exhibitions, as well as internet exhibitions. Sometimes catalogues appeared in a luxury and commercial edition, the content of which may differ, therefore check both.
- Yearbooks and annual reports: these include new acquisitions, donations, loans, and purchases.

3.5 Publications of Jewish Communities

Jewish communities may have published

- Newsletters and journals
- Yearbooks
- Anniversary publications
- Annual reports

3.6 Other Resources

- Jewish and non-Jewish academic journals
- Jewish and non-Jewish magazines
- Jewish and non-Jewish Encyclopedias
- Auction catalogues
- Newspapers

3.7 Archives and Databases

- National archives consisting of documents relating to the seizure of Jewish assets, like the *Vermögensverkehrsstelle* (Property Transactions Office) in Austria or the LIRO in the Netherlands.
- Vugesta (*Verwaltungsstelle für jüdisches Umzugsgut der Geheimen Staatspolizei* = Gestapo Office for the Disposal of the Property of Jewish Emigrants) archives, only in Austria.
- Photo archives. A photo may include an individual object or be part of a larger image, i.e. a photograph of an exhibition space or installation. A blow-up of a detail of an object may yield identification. It is recommended to look at the physical photograph and at its back as well, for it may include further information and clues.
- One should always check lost & found databases online, i.e.
<http://www.imj.org.il/Imagine/irso/>, database of the Israel Museum Jerusalem;
<http://www.lostart.de/Web/DE/LostArt/Index.html>.
- The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. (USHMM):
<http://collections.ushmm.org/search>.

- Yad Vashem. World Center for Holocaust Research, Documentation, Education and Commemoration in Jerusalem: <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/resources/index.asp>.
- Mémorial de la Shoah. Centre de documentation, Paris: http://bdi.memorialdelashoah.org/internet/jsp/core/MmsGlobalSearch.jsp?PEGA_HREF_499230533_0_0_setEnglishLocale=setEnglishLocale.
- NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam: <http://www.niod.nl/en/collections>.

For further databases including Jewish ceremonial objects search ‘database’ in the Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica: <http://art.claimscon.org/our-work/judaica/descriptive-catalogue-of-looted-judaica/> and below, Part 4. General Resources, “Judaica and Online Databases – An Overview”.

3.7.1 ARCHIVAL RESOURCES OF PLUNDERING AGENCIES, THE ALLIES AND JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

To use archival materials effectively in the research of World War II provenance and quovadience, a basic knowledge of the history of looting and restitution of Jewish ceremonial objects is important. An overview of this history was published in 2011 in the book *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After* with contributions on Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Netherlands, Italy, Hungary, and on JCR that relocated orphaned objects all over the world.³⁸⁹ See also chapters 1.2 “Nazi Agencies Engaged in the Looting of Material Culture;” 1.3 “The Looting of Judaica: Museum Collections, Community Collections and Private Collections - An Overview;” and 1.4 “The Dispersion of Jewish Ceremonial Objects after 1945: Jewish Cultural Reconstruction.”

This *Handbook* includes archival resources of the two principal plundering agencies and the main Jewish and non-Jewish bodies involved in the restitution or new allocation of looted objects, namely:³⁹⁰

Plundering Agencies:

- *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR)
- *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo) and *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA). (Both the SD and the Gestapo became part of the RSHA in 1939.)
- Additional information regarding confiscation or plundering of Judaica in specific countries will be found in various trust agencies that took on confiscated Judaica, especially from individuals.

Restitution Agencies:

- Allied military forces – SHAEF and OMGUS, as well as related intelligence agencies.

³⁸⁹ Julie-Marthe Cohen, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011.

³⁹⁰ Archival sources of other less prominent organizations involved may be added to this manual in due course, such as the looting body Ahnenerbe or the restituting Jewish Agency, as well as national governments in Eastern European countries, where the nationalization of collections further complicates research.

- Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR), which served as cultural agent of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation (JRSO), dealing specifically with heirless Jewish cultural property.
- American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).
- Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC).

War-documentation of Nazi origin:

Nazi-archives include different kinds of documents that may yield information on the looting of Jewish ceremonial objects. Sometimes documents refer to actual objects or crates they were packed, but they may also describe, for instance, the circumstances in which the action of the looting took place. You could look for:

- Monthly and weekly reports, among other documents
- Inventories
- Photos of plunder and loot
- Shipping lists
- Travel accounts
- Evacuation lists
- Shipping papers
- Correspondence

Post-war documentation of the restituting bodies that may include information on (collections of) Jewish ceremonial objects:

- Interrogation reports
- Field reports
- Monthly and weekly reports
- Activity reports
- Inventory lists
- Correspondence
- Restitution forms
- Receipts of in- and out-shipments from Nazi repositories and Allied collecting points
- Transfer receipts
- Claims files
- Property cards from Allied collecting points or other card files
- Photographs
- Memoirs by survivors

In general, one is likely to find less documentation regarding ceremonial objects than regarding art, books and archives. Furthermore, relatively few documents include detailed descriptions with which objects can be identified. Nevertheless, documents often include details that sometimes gain more relevance and become clues at a later stage of the research. It is important to read documents very carefully, to pay attention to numbers that often refer to other documents. In addition, details may become a piece of the puzzle that will give us a better overall picture of the looting or post-war restitution policy concerning Jewish ceremonial objects.

The following paragraphs elaborate on the use of the most important archives for the agencies that were involved in the looting and restitution of Jewish ceremonial objects.

3.7.1.1 *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*

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 edition, 2015-2017. The Guide documents over 30 repositories in which all remaining ERR records are kept, details their contents, and provides links to those records that are online and to sources. It also includes considerable documentation regarding the subsequent fate, post-war retrieval, and restitution of the ERR loot, including key records of post-war U.S., French, British and Soviet agencies seeking to retrieve the ERR loot, particularly those components that incorporated wartime ERR documents or reports on key ERR repositories and staff, including war-crimes trials. In addition, the Guide provides new links to many related sources available on the internet: National Archives College Park (NACP), Maryland; German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) in Koblenz, Freiburg, and Berlin-Lichterfelde; The National Archives (TNA) of the United Kingdom, London; the State Archives of Ukraine (TsDAVO) in Kyiv; the Netherlands Institute of War Documentation (NIOD), Amsterdam; and other repositories, with additional digital listings.

If you need to research ERR archives, see Grimsted's Guide

<http://www.errproject.org/guide.php>.³⁹¹

3.7.1.2 *Sicherheitsdienst (SD), Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), and Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Amt VII)*

The RSHA was formed in September 1939 as a centralized umbrella administration combining the Gestapo with the SD, the Security Police (SiPo), Foreign Intelligence and Criminal Police (Kri-po). Already in the mid-1930s both the Gestapo and especially the Security Service (SD) Main Office (SD Hauptamt) began their library and archival plunder.³⁹² RSHA consisted of seven different offices. Amt VII for Ideological Research and Evaluation (*Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung*), serving a collecting function aimed at eventual propaganda research and intellectual analysis of different groups of declared enemies,³⁹³ aimed at looting Jewish book collections and Jewish archives. Grimsted has revealed much documentation of this looting agency in German and Russian

³⁹¹ Grimsted lists only files that 'contain significant ERR or ERR-related documentation regarding cultural plunder, related Rosenberg operations, and plunder by or for the M-Aktion, the Hohe Schule (Rosenberg's would-be institution of higher learning for the Nazi party), its library and institutes, as well as documents relevant to tracing the fate and restitution of the cultural loot seized by the ERR'. Thus, the Guide does not necessarily include files relevant regarding Jewish ceremonial objects.

³⁹² Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud, Eric Ketelaar (eds.), *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, Bultth Wells 2007, p. 33. SD Hauptamt prioritised the collection of books and archives for research and propaganda publications relating to the declared enemies of the Reich. First they confiscated collections in the Reich itself, and then in 1938-1939, in annexed territories such as Austria, Silesia and the Sudetenland.

³⁹³ The Amt VII was organised at the end of 1941 by Dr Franz Alfred Six for Ideological Research and Evaluation, emphasising collection of libraries and archives for research about the enemies of the Reich. Dr. Paul Dittel took over Amt VII in March 1943. Grimsted, *Returned from Russia*, p. 48.

archives.³⁹⁴ However, to date we know very little about the active engagement of the SD, Gestapo and RSHA in the looting of Jewish ceremonial objects. Some concrete information is given below.

Records of the SD, Gestapo and RSHA are kept in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch-Lichterfelde), in the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA) in Moscow, and in the National Archives in College Park (NACP).³⁹⁵ According to Patricia Grimsted, ‘when fleeing at the end of the war the RSHA destroyed many of its most compromising office records’. However, RSHA did not manage to destroy all of the files that could reveal the archival operations of Amt VII.³⁹⁶ Future research of archival material of the SD, Gestapo and/or RSHA may therefore possibly reveal information that attests that Jewish ceremonial objects were indeed seized by these agencies. Archival material found by the Russians in two RSHA evacuation research centers, may include information relevant for us:

- A large part of RSHA administrative files, including many from the predecessor SD *Hauptamt*, ended the war in Wölfelsdorf (now Polish Wilkanów), a remote Silesian village about 6 km southeast of Habelschwerdt (now Polish Bystrzyca Kłodzka), across what is now the Polish-Czech border. These files were all transferred to Moscow.³⁹⁷
- One large group of original SD *Hauptamt* administrative records, many of them involving archival and library confiscations were found in the castle of Schlesiersee (now Polish Slawa). The entire group of original RSHA files was transferred from Russia to Germany in an archival exchange in 1997, and has subsequently been incorporated into Bestand R 58 in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch-Lichterfelde).³⁹⁸

Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde

Finckensteinallee 63, 12205 Berlin, Germany
Tel. +49 30 1877700

The archival finding aid is available online through the research tool Invenio. It permits access to all of the available descriptive information about the Federal Archives' holdings (many on microfilms). The original SD/RSHA documents are not yet digitized and need to be ordered for the reading room in advance. To prepare your visit, use <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/basys2-invenio/login.xhtml>.

Go to BESTÄNDE and then click NORDDEUTSCHER BUND UND DEUTSCHES REICH (1867/1871-1945). Then go to INNERES, GESUNDHEIT, POLIZEI UND SS, VOLKSTUM and

³⁹⁴ Grimsted, Hoogewoud, Ketelaar (eds.), *Returned from Russia*, esp. chapter 2; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Twice Plundered or ‘Twice Saved’? Identifying Russia’s ‘Trophy’ Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 15, issue 2, pp. 191-244.

³⁹⁵ For the latter, see <https://www.archives.gov/iwg/declassified-records/rg-242-seized-foreign-records/>.

³⁹⁶ Grimsted found that RSHA records found by the Americans after the war in Zell-am-See (near Salzburg) and returned to Germany in the 1960s contain scant documentation from or relating to Amt VII. This is apparent in the Bundesarchiv finding aid: Reichssicherheitshauptamt: Bestand R 58, comp. Heinz Boberach (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1992 = Findbücher zu Beständen des Bundesarchivs, vol. 22; reprinted from the 1st edn [Koblenz, 1982], covering files still retaining signature nos. 1-1591.

³⁹⁷ Two large fonds with many SD Hauptamt and Amt VII files still remain in the Russian State Military Archive in Moscow (RGVA, fonds 500k and 501k), these have not been satisfactorily processed and described. (still anno 2016, check Grimsted). For copies of the Russian-language *opisi* for fond 500 and German-language translations see: BArch-Lichterfelde, Bestand R 58, Findbuch Nr. 1-Bundesarchiv Abteilungen Potsdam, translated by G. Weber, Oct.-Dec. 1993.

³⁹⁸ Bestand R 58 (folders 7001-777), see finding aid available in the reading room of the BArch-Lichterfelde, entitled Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung Nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen in Polen. Institut für Nationales Gedenken.

find R 58 REICHSSICHERHEITSHAUPTAMT. Choose from the file description what documents you are interested in seeing and consult the finding aids in the reading room. You will probably need help.

Grimsted refers to the group in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde when she writes that 'Recently reprocessed RSHA records in Berlin also provide much more hitherto unknown information about other archival confiscation and transports from Austria. For example, as early as April 1938, the SD set up a special Aussenstelle in Eisenstadt (not far from Vienna), where they seized the card files and archival materials of the proto-Nazi Vaterland [sic! Vaterländische, eds] Front, as well as materials from the Jewish Museum, a Masonic lodge (Schlaraffialoge Eisenstadt), and several Jewish individuals. Packing and shipping papers survive for many of their shipments to Berlin.'³⁹⁹

The 'Eisenstadt Jewish Museum' collection is referred to in BArch-Lichterfelde R 58, archival number 7151, p. 1, 4 and 12:

File number 7151 (p. 1) is a letter from the SD Sonderkommando, Vienna, dated 9 April 1938, regarding the inspection and packing activities in Eisenstadt. The file dates from before the formation of the RSHA in 1939. The letter refers to different collections, among which is a 'Jewish Museum' in Eisenstadt, that was believed to be of 'exceptional value'.⁴⁰⁰ A decision had to be made if the 'Museum' was to remain sealed or if the head of the *Sicherheitshauptamt* was going to decide about transfer.⁴⁰¹ Some days later it had been decided that the 'Jewish Museum' in Eisenstadt should be taken into custody and seized being the property of the Reich and should be administered temporarily.⁴⁰²

This example might shed some light on a certain interest of the SD in a private Judaica collection that was mistaken as a Jewish Museum. Although no further details are given here and so far no details about what happened to the collection after confiscation are known (more details may be found in other files), it is a known fact that the seized objects were transferred into the custody of the *Burgenländisches Landesmuseum* (then *Landschaftsmuseum*) in Eisenstadt where they remained till after the war and were eventually restituted to pre-war owner Sandor Wolf's heiress and auctioned off.⁴⁰³

As mentioned above, very little is known about the RSHA Amt VII activities regarding the seizure of Jewish ceremonial objects. For example, while preparing an exhibition and catalogue on the fate of the collection of the pre-war Jewish Museum in Berlin, historian and former director of the *Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin – Centrum Judaicum*, Hermann Simon, did not find any documentation that indicates that the RSHA looted ritual objects from the museum.⁴⁰⁴ Only one ritual object of the old museum collection has surfaced so far, namely a washing vessel that is today in the collection of

³⁹⁹ See: SD Hauptamt Sonderkommando reports and inventories (Vienna, Eisenstadt and Innsbruck, 9 April 1938; Eisenstadt, 13 April 1938, BArch-Lichterfelde R 58 (Polen)/7151). Here cited after Grimsted, *Returned from Russia*, p. 50. See also BArch-Lichterfelde, R 58/7151, „Unterlagen über die Tätigkeit des SD-Sonderkommandos Wien bez. des Raubs von Kulturgütern in Staaten, die dem Reich angegliedert wurden.“

⁴⁰⁰ It is supposed that the 'Jewish Museum Eisenstadt' refers to the private Judaica (books and/or objects) collection of Sandor Wolf. On Wolf, see: Dieter Szorger: *Sándor Wolf (1871–1946) Gründer des Landesmuseums*. In: *Burgenland. 90 Jahre – 90 Geschichten*. Begleitband zur Ausstellung, Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland (WAB) Band 137, Landesmuseum Burgenland, Eisenstadt 2011.

⁴⁰¹ „Jüdisches Museum in Eisenstadt: Hierbei [sic!] soll es sich um ein ausserordentlich wertvolles Institut handeln. Es ist zu entscheiden ob es vorläufig versiegelt bleiben soll oder ob durch den Chef des Sicherheitshauptamtes eine Entscheidung über Überführung oder Verbleib des Museums getroffen werden muß.“

⁴⁰² Letter from the SD Subsection Wien, Aussenstelle Burgenland an den SD Oberabschnitt Donau, 13 April 1938, re: packing, transfer of the seized material. „Das jüdische Museum in Eisenstadt wurde beschlagnahmt und eingezogen und ist Eigentum des Reiches, und wird vorläufig kommissarisch verwaltet.“ BArch-Lichterfelde, R 58 (Polen)/7151, p. 12.

⁴⁰³ https://www.univie.ac.at/geschichte/geschichtesicht/2010/s_wolf.html.

⁴⁰⁴ Chana Schütz and Hermann Simon (eds.), *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung: das Berliner Jüdische Museum*, Berlin 2011.

the ZIH (see below).

Instead, items other than ritual objects from the pre-war Jewish museum Berlin were discovered after the war. Both Simon and Jacob Hübner, who contributed to the research for the catalogue, assume that these were looted by the RSHA: after the war, paintings of small dimensions (*kleinformartige Bilder*) were found in the basement of the *Reichskulturkammer* in the Schlüterstrasse in Berlin.⁴⁰⁵ Simon doesn't rule out the possibility that these had first been brought to the Eisenacherstrasse 11/13, one of the two sequestered Masonic buildings in Berlin, where the SD *Hauptamt* and RSHA amassed archives and books.⁴⁰⁶ After the war these paintings of small dimensions were eventually handed over to the JRSO.⁴⁰⁷

In 1951 a convolute of 3,926 engravings, reproductions, and photos and a copper washing vessel were handed over to the ZIH by the Polish Ministry of Art and Culture from the museum storage in Schloss Narozno in Bozkow (Eckersdorf).⁴⁰⁸ Hübner suggests that the washing vessel may have arrived there from Wilkanof (Wölfelsdorf), the RSHA's (Amt VII C 1) archival facility that was taken into use when evacuation started from Berlin in 1943. However, Hübner's assumption cannot be verified as there have not been found any Nazi inventories of the Wölfelsdorf archival cache.⁴⁰⁹ Most of the archives, books and objects found at the Wölfelsdorf storage was taken by the Red Army Trophy Brigades.⁴¹⁰ It is not known if these transports included Jewish ceremonial objects.

The Jewish Museum Berlin positives (*Diapositive*) after the war found their way to the collection of the Lebusser Landesmuseum (Muzeum Ziemi Lubuskiej) in the West Polish Zielona Góra (Grünberg). According to an employee of the Bezirksmuseum in Lezno, they were most probably discovered in the RSHA Amt VII evacuation research center in the castle of Schlesiersee (now Polish Slawa).⁴¹¹ Again, there are no verifying documents.

3.7.1.3 The Office of Military Government for Germany, U.S.

OMGUS and SHAEF records are held by the National Archives at College Park (NACP)

8601 Adelphi Road

College Park, MD 20740-6001

<http://www.archives.gov/dc-metro/college-park/>

Archives of the Allied Forces that deal with the looting and restitution of Jewish cultural objects, in particular the U.S. Army, are kept in the National Archives at College Park (NACP). Today, these

⁴⁰⁵ The large paintings (*grossformatigen Bilder*) were probably stored separately from the small paintings after November 1938 and were lost (with the exception of a Steinhardt painting). See Schütz, Simon, *Auf der Suche*, p. 29.

⁴⁰⁶ Gestapo and SD Hauptamt amassed significant archives along with books in the basements of their two sequestered Masonic buildings in Berlin, starting in 1936 at Emserstrasse 12/13 and starting in 1938 at Eisenacherstrasse 11/13. Grimsted, *Returned from Russia*, p. 47.

⁴⁰⁷ Hermann Simon, „Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Was geschah nach dem 10. November 1938 mit den Beständen des Berliner Jüdischen Museums?“, in *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung*, op. cit., p. 17-46, p. 37.

⁴⁰⁸ The transfer protocol (*Übergabeprotokoll*) is published in Jacob Hübner, „Auf der Suche nach Objekten des Berliner Jüdischen Museums in Polen“, Chana Schütz and Hermann Simon, *Auf der Suche nach einer verlorenen Sammlung. Das Berliner Jüdische Museum (1933-1938)*, p. 82. For an image of a photocopy of a drawing from the Berlin collection, see Eleonora Bergman, „The Jewish Historical Institute: History of Its Building and Collections,“ Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 192). For an image of ritual objects coming from Bozkow, see *ibid*, p. 184.

⁴⁰⁹ Grimsted, *Returned from Russia*, p. 57.

⁴¹⁰ Torah scrolls were brought to Moscow with presumably the RSHA Wölfelsdorf archives, but then transferred to the State Historical Museum (GIM) in Moscow in 1946. Their subsequent fate is unknown.

⁴¹¹ Hübner, *Auf der Suche*, p. 77, note 14.

documents can be accessed online by searching Fold3, a database including documents, images, and other material covering American military history. Access to Fold3 is free for the entire series listed as 'Holocaust Era Assets'. See <https://www.fold3.com/browse/251/>.

The following instructions aim at facilitating the use of the database. It is recommended to use the instructions in conjunction with the database. Headers and titles in Fold3 are given in capitals.

SEARCHING THE DATABASE FOLD3

Upon accessing the database the user can select between ALL TITLES or WORLD WAR II. In the first case choose HOLOCAUST-ERA ASSETS, in the latter HOLOCAUST COLLECTION. The resulting files are the same.

The HOLOCAUST COLLECTION consists of 37 PUBLICATIONS that are further hierarchically arranged in SERIES, CATEGORIES and PAGES.⁴¹² Among the 37 PUBLICATIONS, only those relevant for provenance/quovadiance research of Jewish ceremonial objects are discussed below.

- Following the given order of the PUBLICATIONS (starting with - the not relevant - ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT REPORTS), the first PUBLICATION with relevant records on Jewish ceremonial objects is the ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION, which includes the most important records concerning the looting and restitution of Jewish ceremonial objects.⁴¹³

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

These records are arranged in the following SERIES:

- SERIES: ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, 1946-1949: these include correspondence, memorandums, procedures, and reports relating to the administration of the Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A) program at the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), records from the Office Military Governor outlining the OAD responsibilities concerning restitution. The material is very diverse. The following CATEGORIES are relevant in relation to our research.
- CATEGORY: 1949 CORRESPONDENCE OAD
Example: PAGE 54: letter of 13 May 1949 about 100 cases of books belonging to Jewish institutions and 5 cases of Jewish textiles being handed over to the Central Collecting Point in Wiesbaden.⁴¹⁴
- CATEGORY: OAD FILES 1946
Example: PAGE 8 is a letter of the Office of Military Government for Greater Hesse to the Commanding Officer of the Liaison & Security Office in Biedenkopf, dated 18 December 1946, about the release of a 'menorah' (candelabrum), 'any Torah scrolls or other Jewish

⁴¹² You can SEARCH or BROWSE the database as indicated in the red strip at the top of your screen. You can SEARCH the complete database by keyword on every level. Because this way produces probably numerous results, it is recommended to narrow down your domain by BROWSING the database, choosing a SERIE or CATEGORY, and then search for keywords in PAGES. Please note that searching by keyword is no guarantee that you will find every document that in fact includes that keyword.

⁴¹³ This collection is named after State Department Officer Ardelia Hall, who was responsible for the transfer of the records from Germany to the U.S. It includes records of the American Central Collecting Points (CCP) in Marburg (closed in June 1946), in Munich (that specialized largely in materials subject to restitution to foreign countries), in Offenbach and Wiesbaden, of which only the latter two are relevant for your research.

⁴¹⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232179275>.

ritual objects originally the property of the Jewish community of Cologne' to be deposited at the OAD with 'the other displaced Jewish religious and cultural objects.'⁴¹⁵

Example: PAGE 77, letter accompanying the transference of papers, namely receipts for removal of library and religious objects from the OAD.⁴¹⁶

Example: PAGE 179, hand receipt dated 24 July 1946 of objects turned over from MFA&A Section Wiesbaden to the OAD on the 24th of July 1946, among which: 9 Torah scrolls, 2 Torah coats, 4 complete covers for Torah cupboards, 1 Torah top, 1 Torah cloth velvet memorial label (and Masonic objects).⁴¹⁷

Example: PAGE 303, 29 March 1946: request for investigation of Torah Scrolls. It is requested that an investigation be made regarding some 30 Holy scrolls reported to be located near Regensburg.⁴¹⁸

- CATEGORIES: S [SEYMOUR] J POMRENZE

Example: PAGES 7 AND 8: This is a list entitled 'packing-list' and 'silver sets' with includes box numbers 1-11, containing objects and referring to photographs ('plate numbers') showing silver objects that are numbered. For these photographs, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS, PPHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH, ALBUM IV, SECTION 1 [PAGES 1-21].

- SERIES: CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO RESTITUTION CLAIMS [1946-1950].

- CATEGORIES: CORRESPONDENCE: no documents referring to Jewish ceremonial objects were found.

- SERIES: CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951.

- CATEGORY: AJDC [AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE], OAD 1. Much, if not most, correspondence in this category relates to books, such as the distribution of books to Displaced Persons (DP) camps. Ceremonial objects were given on loan, though, to communities in the American Zone for use during the Jewish holidays to be returned to the OAD at the end of the holiday season.⁴¹⁹

Example: PAGE 152: In a letter dated August 5 1946 Prof. Koppel S. Pinson, educational director of AJDC informs Capt. Isaac Bencowitz, director of the OAD that the Jewish Community of Nürnberg turned over to him the 'collection of Jewish books and religious articles belonging to that community' and that he should like to turn over this entire collection to the OAD. The entire Jewish community was emigrating in the following weeks and the transportation of the materials to the OAD should therefore be carried out.⁴²⁰

- CATEGORY: AUSTRIA OAD 2
- CATEGORY: BELGIUM OAD 3
- CATEGORY: CZECHOSLOVAKIA OAD 4
- CATEGORY: DANISH OAD 5

⁴¹⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232178218>.

⁴¹⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232178287>.

⁴¹⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232178389>.

⁴¹⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232178514>.

⁴¹⁹ Series: Monthly Report OAD, September 1946, p. 6 (<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232711713>)

⁴²⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232161241>.

- CATEGORY: DIVISION CORRESPONDENCE OAD 6
- CATEGORY: FRANCE OAD 7
- CATEGORY: GREAT BRITAIN OAD 8
- CATEGORY: GREECE OAD 9
- CATEGORY: HUNGARY OAD 10
- CATEGORY: ITALY OAD 12
- NETHERLANDS OAD 13

Example: PAGES 113-115: Receipt⁴²¹ with an accompanying list, dated 26 June 1946, signed by Isaac Bencowitz, director of the OAD and the Dutch liaison officer, Major Graswinckel. The materials include, for instance, 2 boxes marked with the abbreviation NIRO [= Niederlande Rosenthaliana], 'containing library and archival material from the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam', and 2 boxes, marked with DIV, 'containing Toroth cloth covers'.⁴²²

Example: PAGES 124-126: A receipt dated 31 May 1946 included a list of coins with short descriptions. See for instance '1 gold coin Asscher', These coins have been identified in the meantime as objects of the Jewish Historical Museum collection.⁴²³

- CATEGORY: NORWAY OAD 14
- CATEGORY: POLAND OAD 15
- CATEGORY: USSR OAD 17
- CATEGORY: YUGOSLAVIA OAD 19
- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT⁴²⁴ A-E [1 of 4]

Example: IN-SHIPMENT A-E, PAGES 10, 11 AND 13:⁴²⁵ In a letter of 27 February 1947 is written that 4 or 5 cases of Jewish ceremonial objects that were found in a cellar at Backnang, a town in the Bundesland of Baden-Württemberg were to be delivered at the OAD. A letter of 14 August 1947 from the MFA&A of OMGUS Land Württemberg-Baden to OMGUS for Hesse, again referred to this discovery and the removal of 'two wooden boxes [...] without tops, of Jewish religious objects, some silver, mostly broken or otherwise damaged, unwrapped' to the OAD.⁴²⁶ On 6 April 1948 the Office of Civilian Agency for Property Control of OMGUS in Backnang was authorized to move these objects to the OAD (IN-SHIPMENT A-E, PAGE 10). On the same day the Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg requested the return of these objects (435 pieces), explaining that in summer of 1944 the Gestapo had confiscated the ritual objects that the Kultusvereinigung had to have assemble from all Jewish communities in Württemberg.⁴²⁷

⁴²¹ When cultural objects were returned to the country of origin, the Americans and the receiving party signed a receipt. The receipt was accompanied by a list (called schedule A) describing in general terms the items included in the transfer.

⁴²² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163132>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163133>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163134>.

⁴²³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163143>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163144>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232163145>.

⁴²⁴ These CATEGORIES consist of receipts of incoming cultural objects, between 1946-1949 - arranged alphabetically by place of origin of the shipment, although information may be scattered - including correspondence on the looting and discovery of Jewish ritual objects that are to be shipped-in at the OAD. Information is not object specific, but can be revealing in regard to the looting of Jewish ritual objects of Jewish communities in Germany. Records in this CATEGORY are not complete (an incoming transport mentioned in a monthly report was not found).

⁴²⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536047>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536047>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536050>.

⁴²⁶ See "in-shipment F-K", p.96, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536274>.

⁴²⁷ Page 10, 6 April 1948, Stuttgart, "Movement of cultural objects is authorized as stated below: 2 wooden boxes, [dimensions], without tops, of Jewish religious objects, some silver, mostly broken or otherwise damaged, unwrapped." From Office of Civilian Agency for Property Control, Backnang to OAD Offenbach, APO 633 US Army. Letter from

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT F-K [2 of 4]
Example: PAGES 44-46:⁴²⁸ On 26 April 1948 the OAD received 5 cases of religious objects from the Foreign Exchange Depository Eucom [=European Command].⁴²⁹ These included 8 lots, for instance, ‘1 lot of cloth bands woven with silver and gold plated metal weight about 10.850 kilograms coming from synagogues.
- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT L-T [3 of 4]
- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT U-Z [4 of 4]
Example: PAGE 155:⁴³⁰ Letter, dated 12 June 1947, in which the OAD reports that the OAD director inspected ‘seven large crates’ of unidentified ‘miscellaneous vestments, silver articles’ and two large bronze candelabra’ and ‘about seventy-five Torah Rolls which are not crated’, all of these objects ‘held in a special store-room at Festung Marienberg in Würzburg’.⁴³¹
- CATEGORY: JRSO [Jewish Restitution Successor Organization].⁴³²
- CATEGORY: MOVEMENT TO WIESBADEN⁴³³
- CATEGORY: OUT-SHIPMENT OFFENBACH⁴³⁴
Example 1: PAGE 19 is a hand-receipt dated 15 May 1949: ‘Today the following material was turned over to CCP Wiesbaden: 100 cases of books belonging to Jewish Institutions Germany; 5 cases Jewish textiles’.⁴³⁵

Chief Restitution Branch Economics Division. (p. 11), letter from the Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg, to Property Center Office Backnang, 6 April 1948. [...] We request herewith release of the Synagogue relics – 435 pieces declared by you. By order of the Gestapo these religious objects had to be assembled here from all communities in Württemberg. Summer 1944 the Gestapo took these objects over from us and it seems because of the air raids they were brought to Rudersberg. (p. 13) From Headquarters OMG Württemberg-Baden, 27 February 1947 to Office of Military Government for Greater Hesse. The following information has been received from the Land Property Control Chief, this headquarters: ‘We are this day issuing instructions to the Civilian Agency for Property Control to direct the delivery of a collection of Jewish religious ornaments to the Archival Depot in Offenbach, Main, following instructions to this effect received from Property Control Branch, OMGUS, which has coordinated the subject with Education & Religious Affairs Branch, OMGUS’. It is understood that there are four of five cases of subjects ornaments in a cellar at Backnang and that delivery to Offenbach will probably not be effected in the near future.

⁴²⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536222>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536223>,
<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536224>.

⁴²⁹ On the Foreign Exchange Depository Group of the Office of the Finance Adviser, OMGUS, 1944-1950, see <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/dn1924.pdf>

⁴³⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536712>.

⁴³¹ For more information, see also pages 150-154 and the Overview.

⁴³² These pages include out-shipment receipts of Jewish cultural properties, i.e. the transference of books from the OAD to JRSO when it closed down in 1949 and date from May/June 1949. Thus, when the OAD closed down in 1949, not all the objects stored there were transferred to the CCP Wiesbaden. This category does not include receipts of Jewish ceremonial objects. It does include some correspondence, i.e. about the kind of action to be taken regarding several hundred Torah scrolls (page 63), see: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232162850>.

⁴³³ This category consists of letters of recommendation of employees whose work is terminated due to completion of operations and transfer of depot to Wiesbaden, see pages 2-26, and receipts for final shipments of furniture, equipment and other contents to the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point in 1949.

⁴³⁴ This category includes invoices of expenses and receipts of equipment used in the OAD and returned to the institutes it was borrowed from, dating from 1948 and 1949 when the OAD was in the process of closing down. In this category the information on Jewish ceremonial objects is general and scarce of details. Out-shipments are dated but not numbered. The category does not include out-shipments of restitutions of Jewish ceremonial objects to the countries of origin in 1946 and 1947. For more information on those restitutions, one should turn to “Monthly Reports” or “[Series] Cultural Objects Restitution and Custody Records 1946-1951”.

⁴³⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536735>.

Example: PAGE 87 is a hand-receipt of 5 October 1948 for 2 candlesticks handed over to the CCP Wiesbaden.⁴³⁶

Example: PAGE 88 is a hand-receipt of 4 October 1948 for 36 cases containing silver ware handed over to the CCP Wiesbaden.⁴³⁷

Example: PAGE 95 is a hand-receipt of 20 9 1948 of 93 cases containing silver ware handed over to the CCP Wiesbaden.⁴³⁸

Example: PAGE 96 is a hand-receipt of 20 9 1948 of 14 cases with silver ware handed over to the CCP Wiesbaden.⁴³⁹

■ SERIES: MONTHLY REPORTS

These include the period from March 1946 till August 1947. The reports consist of reports providing detailed information on the administration of the OAD and the progress of the restitution of objects in the Depot's custody. The reports are arranged chronologically by date.⁴⁴⁰ The information regarding Jewish ceremonial objects is general, for instance, the number and type of transferred objects without further details. Information in the monthly reports can sometimes be linked to more detailed information in other SERIES (see below).

○ CATEGORY: MONTHLY REPORT OF THE OAD MARCH 1946

Example: PAGE 3 mentions the receipt of 'Holy scrolls (Toroth) and other religious ceremonial articles stored temporarily at the Fine Arts Collecting Point, Wiesbaden', which were returned to the OAD on 20 March 1946. After their return they were neatly arranged in cabinets, barred with iron bars and the room itself was partitioned off from other rooms and the doors were locked.⁴⁴¹

Example: PAGES 7-8 list items that were shipped out from the OAD as of 25 March, among which '10 medals Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam' (PAGE 8).⁴⁴²

Example: PAGE 22 is a list of religious objects and other valuables that on 31 March 1946 were in the OAD. It gives the type (27) and numbers of objects, for instance: 'Crowns (Kisre Torah), Torah: 38', 'Covers, plush and others 293' and 'Curtains, Torah, Ark: 7'.⁴⁴³

PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS⁴⁴⁴

This PUBLICATION consists of 4 SERIES of which only the third PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH is relevant in the framework of our manual. This SERIES includes four albums, ca. 1945.⁴⁴⁵ For Jewish ceremonial objects see following paragraphs.

⁴³⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536803>.

⁴³⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536804>.

⁴³⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536811>.

⁴³⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232536812>.

⁴⁴⁰ <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m1942.pdf>, p. 4.

⁴⁴¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232711382>. There are no records in the "In-Shipments" categories that refer to this in-shipment from Wiesbaden.

⁴⁴² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232711387>.

⁴⁴³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232711401>.

⁴⁴⁴ M 1942 - Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946-1951.

⁴⁴⁵ The photo albums are also found in the "Publication: OMGUS-Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives", in "Series: Photographic History of the Offenbach Archival Depot". For further copies see the personal papers of Colonel Seymour Pomrenze, first director of the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD), in the American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) based at the Center for Jewish History (CJH) in New York, <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=1463157#serIIsubser1>, Series II: Offenbach Archival Depot, Subseries 1, original materials, 1809, 1945-1949, box 2, folder 7 ("Photographic

ALBUM 1 consists of 7 SECTIONS. SECTION I, PAGE 7 shows a photograph of Torah scrolls ('desecrated by the Nazis') and 'Religious articles piled in cases, unsorted'.⁴⁴⁶ It shows a crate with the initials JPIS, which refers to the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam. SECTION V, PAGE 9-11 and 13, shows Jewish ceremonial objects, such as Hanukkah lamps and candelabra, 'religious covers, plush and others', and rimonim, in the Torah Room on the second floor.⁴⁴⁷ ALBUM II consists of 7 SECTIONS. SECTION VI, PAGE 9-12 shows Jewish ceremonial textiles, such as parochot and Shabbat cloths.⁴⁴⁸ ALBUM III consists of 1 SECTION of 69 PAGES and is entitled 'The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) of which the Offenbach Archival Depot has become the Antithesis'. ALBUM IV, SECTION 1 [PAGES 1-21] includes photos of 'unidentifiable' loot from Jewish synagogues in the OAD.⁴⁴⁹

PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS⁴⁵⁰

- SERIES: ACTIVITY REPORTS [all from 1945], are subdivided in 22 CATEGORIES, arranged by Army unit and thereunder chronologically by month. This SERIES consists of (semi-) monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A).
- CATEGORY: MONTHLY REPORT ON MONUMENTS FINE ARTS AND ARCHIVES WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICT – SEVENTH UNITED STATES ARMY JULY (GREATER HESSE) 1945
Example: PAGE 5: Together with books, Torah scrolls and manuscripts, ceremonial objects were discovered in the sub-cellars in the Bockenheimer Landstrasse 70, the former premises of the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* (IEJ) and, between 10-19 July, were removed to the Central Collecting Point in the former Rothschild Library, Untermainkai 15 in Frankfurt a/Main. There the ceremonial objects were 'locked up in director's room with the more valuable objects in the safe there'. The report also gives information about the discovery of the loot in Hungen, stating that 'Comprehensive investigation was made of the previously reported deposits of the same institution at Hungen, Oberhessen, which is still under local military guard as a G-2 intelligence target. There are approximately 1,200,000 additional volumes and various other cultural objects which it is the intention to transport to the other Collecting Point in Frankfurt a/Main, the University, already requisitioned, but not yet

History', vol. I), p. 15-18 and box 3, folder 4 (Unidentifiable loot from Jewish synagogues collected at the Offenbach Archival Depot'), see: Patricia Grimsted, *Guide*, USA, section 10.6.1, page 192. Individual photographs of the OAD Album are also available at the Yad Vashem photo database, see Grimsted, *Guide*, section 4.1.

⁴⁴⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232549888>.

⁴⁴⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550002>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550005>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550009>.

⁴⁴⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550535>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550539>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550543>.

⁴⁴⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550584> (and following pages). Many objects have been identified as coming from Dutch collections, i.e. the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam and of the Portuguese-Jewish and Ashkenazi Amsterdam communities. The photographs are published in *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 209-217.

⁴⁵⁰ OMGUS is an abbreviation for the Office of Military Government for Germany, United States. It was established in October 1945 and was responsible for administering the U.S. zone of Germany and the U.S. sector of Berlin, and served as the U.S. element of the four-power Allied occupation of Germany. It took control of identifiable works of art or cultural materials of value discovered in its zone, regardless of their ownership, and returned them to the governments of the countries from which they had been stolen. OMGUS records in fact include the Ardelia Hall Collections. Together these collections are rich in the documentation of recovered and restituted cultural objects.

repaired.⁴⁵¹ There was the intention to remove the ceremonial objects from Hungen to the Collecting Point in the Frankfurt University building.

- CATEGORY: THIRD U.S. ARMY REPORTS - JANUARY THRU MAY 1945 Example: PAGES 31-40: these pages are a 'Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Semi-Monthly Report for the period ending 15 April 1945', which reports on interrogations and discoveries of loot described in detail. Among the discovered loot is the one in Hungen, which was inspected on 9 April (see esp. PAGES 34-36).⁴⁵²
- SERIES: GENERAL RECORDS, 1938-1948. They consist of 342 CATEGORIES
The most prominent subjects include general information on the German fine arts programs, the status of German monuments and museums, the planning of the monuments and fine arts program in the occupation zone, and German art looting activities during the war.⁴⁵³
- CATEGORY: MUSEUM FRANKFURT: HISTORISCHE MUSEUM
Example: PAGES 137-139: list of objects from the Jewish Community in Frankfurt that were kept in the Historical Museum of Frankfurt.⁴⁵⁴
- SERIES: RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS, 1945-1951, consists of correspondence and receipts for cultural objects restituted to countries, for the return of cultural objects to German institutions, for interzonal exchange of cultural objects, and for the change of custody of cultural objects in the U.S. zone. The 90 CATEGORIES are arranged in the RECEIPTS – GENERAL, subdivided in CATEGORIES of individual countries (nos. 58.1-58.18). What follows are RESTITUTION RECEIPTS, arranged by year and by the number of the receipts, CUSTODY RECEIPTS that regard the return of cultural objects to German institutions. Only in very few cases it concerns the transference of Jewish ceremonial objects to Jewish communities in Germany. Annexed to the receipts is a shipping list ("Schedule A") that sometimes includes details on the objects.
- CATEGORY: 58.5 HOLLAND (GREATER HESSE)
Example: PAGES 44-48. The receipt with number 245 is dated 31 October 1946 and signed by the Dutch Liaison Officer Major Graswinckel for loot to be restituted from OAD to the Netherlands. The shipping list (PAGES 46-48) includes Jewish ceremonial objects and some

⁴⁵¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295560668>.

⁴⁵² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295525779>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295525780>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295525781>; The same report is also found in "Ardelia Hall Collection: Wiesbaden Administrative Records, Activity Reports, Monthly Report: Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, April 1945", and in [category] "World War II, [publication] World War II European Theatre Army Records, 1-Subject File, 147-G-5, Internal Affairs, Field Reports, p. 20-21". See also: Julie-Marthe Cohen, "Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 199-252, esp. pp. 204-208.

⁴⁵³ https://www.fold3.com/title_755/ardelia_hall_collection_omgus_records#description. Among the 342 categories in this serie, several may include information about Jewish ceremonial objects. The examples here are from a selected group of categories.

⁴⁵⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343459>, p. 137 (English). <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343470> p. 138 (English).

<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343477> p. 139 (English).

<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343573> p. 147 (German).

<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343582> p. 148 (German).

<https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293343590> p. 149 (German).

masonic objects that were received by civil officer Lion Morpurgo on 30 October 1946.⁴⁵⁵ At the end of the list with plate numbers and object nos. that refer to ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS, ALBUM IV, SECTION 1.⁴⁵⁶

Example: PAGE 58-62, esp. PAGE 62.⁴⁵⁷ The receipt with number 233 is dated 30 August 1946 and signed by the Dutch Liaison Officer Major Graswinckel for loot to be restituted from OAD to the Netherlands.⁴⁵⁸ The shipping list includes Jewish ceremonial objects with short descriptions, i.e. '1 glas David Montezinos'.⁴⁵⁹

- CATEGORY: LOG – CUSTODY RECEIPTS

The logbook gives the following information: number of the custody receipt, date, place, owner and signature.

Example: PAGE 2: custody receipts in Bavaria, see i.e. [number] 1, [date] 5 September 1945. [place] Munich, [owner] Israelitic Congregation, [signature] Siegfried Neuland.⁴⁶⁰ To

understand how the logbook works, you can turn from here to the CATEGORY: CUSTODY RECEIPTS BAVARIA I (the custody receipts are ordered according to region and within each region chronologically). On PAGE 6-8 you will find the custody receipt with the list of Jewish ceremonial objects (Torah mantles, parochot, Torah shields, etc.) that were kept in the Oberfinanzpraesidium (the financial headquarters built from 1938 till 1941 by the National Socialists) and were given into the custody of the Munich Jewish community.⁴⁶¹

- CATEGORY: LOG-RESTITUTION – SHIPMENTS

This CATEGORY provides lists of shipments according to country in alphabetical order, giving date of shipment, number of receipt, place from where the shipment took place, the number of items included in that shipment (sometimes with specification on shipment). The term 'Jewish ritual objects' does not appear in the list as such, but may be included in the term 'miscellaneous'.

Example: PAGE 15, receipt no. 233 is a transport of 36 items from Offenbach on 30 August 1946.⁴⁶² With this information go to CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR CULTURAL OBJECTS JANUARY – DECEMBER 1946, PAGE 119-123, especially PAGE 123, which is a list enumerating ceremonial and other objects (some were identified as belonging to the Jewish Historical Museum).⁴⁶³ Thus 'miscellaneous' can refer to Jewish ceremonial objects. One can also search for the restitution receipt in the CATEGORY: 58.5 (HOLLAND GREATER HESSE), see PAGES 58-62.

- CATEGORY: LOG-RESTITUTION RECEIPTS

The LOG-RESTITUTION RECEIPTS is a register with specific information on restitutions from the U.S. zones in Germany: Württemberg-Baden (1-24/100), Miscellaneous (including Berlin, nrs. 1-130/200), Greater Hesse (201-298/600) and Bavaria (601-777). Restitution receipts are numbered, but the list is incomplete, since many numbers are missing. In addition the date of the receipt is given, as is the location where the restitution took place,

⁴⁵⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293427399>.

⁴⁵⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232550584>.

⁴⁵⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293427476>.

⁴⁵⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293427457>.

⁴⁵⁹ Some of the objects in the list have been identified as objects of the prewar collection of the Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam. Identical copies of these receipts are also found in Ardelia Hall Collection: Offenbach Administrative Records, Cultural Object Restitution and Custody Records.

⁴⁶⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293339461>.

⁴⁶¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293340175>.

⁴⁶² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293434478>.

⁴⁶³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293342227>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293342239>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/293342282>.

the country that received the items and the name of the person of the receiving country who signed the receipt. With these data one can proceed as indicated in the previous LOG CATEGORIES.

PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

This SERIES consists of shipment files, location registers, control cards, custody receipts and other kinds of records documenting the custody and movement of cultural objects. A one-volume summary of incoming shipments and outgoing shipments of cultural objects, which includes the destination, and other information concerning each shipment, is located at the beginning of the series. The volume serves as an index to the individual shipment folder files that follow it. Also included are some Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point inventory control records, such as location registers, property control cards, and custody receipts for cultural objects received by the collecting point. It is arranged by type of record.⁴⁶⁴

- SERIES: ACTIVITY REPORTS: This series consists of monthly and consolidated reports from monuments and fine arts offices in Land Hesse and Bavaria to higher head-quarters, including reports on the status of the collecting points, consolidated and district summaries of monuments and fine arts activities. Some early reports on the status of the collecting points (in Greater Hesse) include information on the movement of Jewish ceremonial objects. There is no detailed information on individual objects. The SERIES is arranged alphabetically by subject and thereunder chronologically by month or date.⁴⁶⁵ It comprises 67 CATEGORIES, including:
 - CATEGORY: MONTHLY REPORTS of OMGUS for HESSE, FEBRUARY 1946
Example: PAGES 21-23 are a MFA&A report on the status of the collecting points of the OAD and of the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt in the month of February 1946 (date of the report is 1 March 1946). According to the report the total of the collections of the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage was transferred to the OAD. On 21 February 1946 two truckloads of paintings, cult articles [9 boxes], textiles and robes [8 boxes], a candelabrum, vases [3], megillot [2 boxes] and Torah scrolls [appr. 500] were removed [from the Rothschild Library] to the Central Collecting Point at Wiesbaden.⁴⁶⁶
Example: PAGES 55-56 report on the status of the Collecting Points and OAD, dated 10 March 1946. On PAGE 56 is written that:
1) Restitution work to the Netherlands has begun, including material from Bibl Ros, PIG, JHM, NISeminarium 2) the entire collection of books and archives was being transferred from the Rothschild Library Collecting Point to the OAD and two truckloads of cult objects and paintings have been taken to the Wiesbaden CCP.⁴⁶⁷
 - CATEGORY: MONTHLY REPORT: UNITED STATES FORCES EUROPEAN THEATER, OCTOBER 1945 – NOVEMBER 1946

⁴⁶⁴ M 1947 – Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points (“Ardelia Hall Collection”): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952, see: <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/art/key-series-descriptions/key-series-descriptions-09.html>.

⁴⁶⁵ <https://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/art/key-series-descriptions/key-series-descriptions-09.html>, see (c).

⁴⁶⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232023303>.

⁴⁶⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232023519>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232023524>.

Example: PAGES 165-167: This is a report about the status of the Collecting Point of the Rothschild Library, dated 5 December 1945.⁴⁶⁸ At the time the following Jewish ceremonial objects were on hand: 299 Torah scrolls, 130.000 books (Judaica and Hebraica), archives (no numbers given), religious objects (no numbers given): tapestries, carpets, candlesticks, glasses, tabernacles, Torah crowns.

- CATEGORY: [ILLEGIBLE]: the name of this CATEGORY is misleading. It comprises (weekly) reports of the MFA&A from July 1945 till 7 May 1946, including relevant information on the Collecting Point in the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt a/M and the removal of Jewish ceremonial objects that were discovered in the IEJ in Frankfurt a/M.

Example: PAGES 4-5 are a MFA&A report for July 1945, dated 7 August 1945,⁴⁶⁹ according to which ‘After securing the requisition and approval for necessary repairs of the former ROTHSCHILD Library,⁴⁷⁰ Unternmainkai 15, Frankfurt a/Main, the removal of approximately 130.000 volumes, which had been discovered in the sub-cellar at 70 Bockenheimer Landstrasse (the former premises of the INSTITUT ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER JUDENFAGE, founded by DR. ALFRED ROSENBERG) were removed during the period of 10-19 July 1945 to this Collecting Point [Rothschild Library] [...] Thora-scrolls and manuscripts, stored in a special room set aside for that purpose. Ceremonial objects, locked up in director’s room with the more valuable objects in the safe there [...]

Example: PAGE 16, Weekly report dated 15 August 1945, and signed by J.H. Buchman, Capt. FA, MFAA Officer: ‘On Friday, 10 August 45, the deposits of the “Rosenberg Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage” at HUNGEN, Oberhessen, was again visited, and pictures were made by an official army photographer with a purpose of documenting the present physical condition of these collections.’⁴⁷¹

Example: PAGE 22, Weekly report, dated 12 September 1945: [At the Rothschild Library Collecting Point] ‘the disinfection of books has now reached 8600 and the recommendation to further preserve the thora-scrolls by wrapping each in cloth or placing them in separate boxes was taken under advisement. During the week also various items were released in conjunction with Property Control to be used in the Jewish religious services by military units in the American and British zone as well as by local civilians.’⁴⁷²

Example: PAGE 24, Weekly report, dated 20 September 1945: ‘Plans were made at a meeting of the Monuments and Fine Arts Officer of Darmstadt (M 6642) and of USFET to evacuate the collections at Hungen (H 822092) into the Central Collecting Point at Offenbach (M 7367) [...]’.⁴⁷³

Example: PAGE 26, Weekly report, dated 26 September 1945: ‘The present staff [of the Rothschild Library Collecting Point] continues to increase with a number of Hebrew experts totaling nine and others being selected to go to Hungen (H 822092) to supervise the packing of the collections there.’⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/231969701>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/231969711>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/231969722>.

⁴⁶⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979790>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979800>.

⁴⁷⁰ This was the original collecting point in 1945 before the I. G. Farben building in Offenbach was put into use.

⁴⁷¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979898>.

⁴⁷² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979954>.

⁴⁷³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979975>.

⁴⁷⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231979999>.

Example: PAGES 47-49 are a Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Status of Collecting Point Report of the Rothschild Library , dated 5 October 1945.⁴⁷⁵ PAGE 48: at the time there are approximately 299 Thora scrolls: 299, 130.000 books (Judaica & Hebraica).⁴⁷⁶

Example: PAGE 52: In this weekly report, dated 8 October, it is stated that ‘Labor has been provided for clearing the Offenbach (M 7367) building which is to be used as a Collecting Point’ [...] ‘Arrangements are completed for sending ten (10) men to Hungen (H 822092) for packing books and cultural objects of the Research Institute on the Jewish Question.’⁴⁷⁷

Example: PAGE 60, Monthly Report of MFA&A, dated 1 November 1945: ‘The second [activity] was the expansion of Collecting Point work to include packing and dispatch of collections at Hungen (H 822092) to Frankfurt a/Main and Offenbach (M 7367) for salvage, sorting, identification and storage against the day of restitution of the loot gathered by Rosenberg’s Research Institute on the Jewish Question. The Rothschild Library Collecting Point work was assured for the winter by a monthly allocation of [?] from civilian supply. Gradually the cataloguing activity will be transferred from this (Rothschild Library Collecting Point) to Offenbach where the main staff will be at work, and the former will then become the repository for the more valuable objects, i.e. the religious articles, incunabula, etc.’⁴⁷⁸

Example: PAGE 64, Weekly report, dated 6 November 1945: ‘The Collecting Point activities this week were marked by [...] the dispatch of sixteen (16) box cars to Hungen to speed up the loading of the collections which are marked for Offenbach, several truck loads were also dispatched from Hungen, their contents being mainly the Italian Jewish Library of Florence, and manuscripts collections of the Alliance Israelite, Paris. Part of the Rothschild Library Collecting Point staff has already been transferred to Offenbach to commence the activities of salvaging, sorting and identifying the various collections’.⁴⁷⁹

Example: PAGE 67: Weekly report dated 20 November 1945: ‘The reports of progress in loading the collections at Hungen (H 822092) for the Collecting Point at Offenbach (M 7367) indicate that that [sic!] operation will be concluded by the end of the month or at the latest in the first week of December. [...] During the week a documentary record in motion picture film was made of the earlier work of the Section which led to the establishment of the Collecting Points, both of which were also visited by archivists from the higher echelons.’⁴⁸⁰

Example: PAGE 72: Monthly report MFAA dated 1 December 1945: ‘During the month of November the most important work accomplished was the evacuation of the collections at Hungen (H 822092). In all, thirty (30) car loads of books were dispatched from Hungen to the Collecting Point at Offenbach (M 7367) and in addition, approximately fifty (50) truck loads of books, church ornaments and cultural objects were deposited in the Offenbach Collecting Point’.⁴⁸¹

Example: PAGE 77: Weekly report dated 4 December 1945: ‘The major event of the week was the completion of the collection stored there. The second train of thirteen (13) loaded freight cars has left Hungen for the Offenbach (M 7367) Collecting Point. [...] Oil paintings,

⁴⁷⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980208>.

⁴⁷⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980216>.

⁴⁷⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980259>.

⁴⁷⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980332>.

⁴⁷⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980372>.

⁴⁸⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980398>.

⁴⁸¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980451>.

silver church ornaments and sets of table were brought from Hungen and stored at the Rothschild Library Collecting Point.’⁴⁸²

Example: PAGE 98: Weekly report dated 29 January 1946: ‘It has been decided to remove the collections of the Rothschild Library, Untermainkai 15, to the Collecting Point at Offenbach as soon as transportation and labor can be allocated.’⁴⁸³

Example: PAGE 103: Weekly report dated 26 February 1946: ‘Evacuation of the Rothschild Library Collecting Point to the Offenbach Archival Depot continues, and should be completed within another week. [...] Two truckloads of Judaic cult objects and objects of art were removed from the Rothschild Library and sent to the Central Collecting Point, WIESBADEN, for cataloguing and safe-keeping.’⁴⁸⁴

In order to find out what kind of Judaic cult objects were involved, one would have to go to PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS / SERIES: CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS / CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 26 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 31 (DECEMBER 24, 1945-FEBRUARY 21, 1946), IN-SHIPMENT 31, PAGE 27-31. The in-shipment is dated 21 February 1946. On PAGE 27 a ‘House No.’ 3165 is given that refers to this shipment. Each art object (mostly paintings) has its own number (i.e. 3165/12 painting by M. Oppenheim, Moses praying, oil on canvas, 14 x 10). The ceremonial objects were not individually listed.⁴⁸⁵ See also below, CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT LOG: RECORDS 1-69 (20 VIII 1945 - 5 VIII 1946).⁴⁸⁶

- SERIES: CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, including 273 CATEGORIES.⁴⁸⁷
 - CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENTS, nos.: 0-283 (July 10, 1945 – May 7, 1952).⁴⁸⁸ Please note that:
 - IN-SHIPMENT 32 includes in-shipment 33 as well.
 - IN-SHIPMENT 103 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 110 (MARCH 20, 1947 – APRIL 17, 1947) also includes in-shipments 111 and 112 as well.
 - IN-SHIPMENT 113 (APRIL 18, 1947) also includes in-shipments 114-119.
 - IN-SHIPMENT 120 (MAY 17, 1947) also includes in-shipments 121-127.
 - IN-SHIPMENT 128 (JULY 4, 1947) also includes in-shipments 129-135.

⁴⁸² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980499>.

⁴⁸³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980710>.

⁴⁸⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980764>.

⁴⁸⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061568> (page 27) <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061589> (page 28)

⁴⁸⁶ See: “Category: In-Shipment Log: Records 1-69 [20 VIII 1945 - 5 VIII 1946]”, in-shipment no. 31, refers that the in-shipment arrived at the CCP Wiesbaden on 21 February 1946 and includes “Jewish things from Frankfurt, 2 trucks, House Nr. 3165/1-90 = pictures. Rollen und übrige Kisten durch Offenbach – out-shipment abgeholt den 20.3.46.”, see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231942355>.

⁴⁸⁷ This series consists of consists of shipment files, location registers, control cards, custody receipts, and other kinds of records documenting the custody and movement of cultural objects. A one-volume summary of incoming shipments and outgoing shipments of cultural objects, which includes the shipment number, the date received or shipped, the number of objects included, places of origin or destination, and other information concerning each shipment, is located at the beginning of the series. This volume serves as an index to the individual shipment folder files that follow it. Also included are some Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point inventory control records, such as location registers, property control cards, and custody receipts for cultural objects received by the collecting point. This series is arranged by type of record. <https://www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/m1947.pdf>.

⁴⁸⁸ For an overview of in-shipments see: “Category: In-Shipment Log: Records 1-69 [20 VIII 1945 - 5 VIII 1946] and Records 160-276 [16 January 1948 – 23 January 1951]”. Records 70-159 are missing.

These in-shipment files, including letters and lists with specification of the objects, refer for the most part to art objects, but also include important information on Jewish ceremonial objects (and books and archives), in particular during the period when JCR became involved in the distribution of Jewish cultural objects. JCR handed over Jewish ceremonial objects to the CCP Wiesbaden it had received after discovery in a location. In-shipments files include a reference to out-shipment number, and may include, for instance, correspondence relating to found objects and declarations.

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 236 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 244 (AUGUST 12 1949 TO FEBRUARY 23 1950), IN-SHIPMENT 243

Example: PAGE 59:⁴⁸⁹ letter in German, dated 13 February 1950, from JCR Wiesbaden to CCP Wiesbaden about two candlesticks (numbered WIE 6623/1-2) and two shofar horns (numbered WIE 6624/1-2) that are believed to have been in the possession of the Jewish community of Ziegenhein [Ziegenhain] (Hessen) and were given to JCR Wiesbaden (the letter does not say who handed the objects over to JCR).⁴⁹⁰ The file includes a note referring to the Wiesbaden out-shipment number 257. For further tracking down the destination of these objects, go to the CATEGORY OF OUT-SHIPMENTS.⁴⁹¹

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 246 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 257 (APRIL 11, 1950 – JUNE 26, 1950), IN-SHIPMENT NO. 254.⁴⁹²

Example: PAGES 48-50. The date of this in-shipment is 6 June 1950. It concerns a singular object: a Torah curtain, with no. WIE 6636. Out-shipment, given in the file, is no. 195. The file also includes a letter of 6 June 1950, from E.G. Lowenthal of JCR to the CCP Wiesbaden, in which is stated that the Torah curtain was received by JCR from JRSO in Kassel and that it will be ‘disposed of ... together with the shipment of Torah scrolls within the next fourteen days.’ For further information you turn to CATEGORY OUT-SHIPMENT 191 THROUGH OUT-SHIPMENT 196 (MAY 17, 1950 – 15 JUNE, 1950), OUT-SHIPMENT 195, PAGES 58-62 where you will find the matching information.⁴⁹³

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 246 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 257 (APRIL 11, 1950 – JUNE 26, 1950), IN-SHIPMENT 256, dated June 16, 1950.

Example: PAGE 57:⁴⁹⁴ This is a memo from JCR to notify the CCP Wiesbaden that it received 48 wimples ‘probably originating from the 18th and 19th century’ that were safekept

⁴⁸⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231919204>.

⁴⁹⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231919176>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231919187>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231919204>. See also “Category: In-Shipment Log: Records 160-276, p. 24”; The in-shipment is recorded on 14 February 1950. The objects came from JRSO, Kassel, through Lowenthal, probably originating from the Jewish Community Ziegenhain, Hesse. It is mentioned here that the candlesticks are iron. See <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231942895>.

⁴⁹¹ See “Out-Shipment 255 through Out-Shipment 263 (January 18 1951 – February 1, 1951), Out-Shipment 257”, pp. 23-28. According to a list in the out-shipment file (dated January 1951) the objects were shipped, together with 68 other Jewish ceremonial objects, of which in-shipment numbers were given too, to Israel via HUL. See: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231970241>, and following pages.

⁴⁹² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920354>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920365>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920373>.

⁴⁹³ See <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231916663> and following pages. Objects were out-shipped on 7 June 1950 and handed over to JCR Paris, together with 15 Torah scrolls (WIE 6627 and 6631) and 41 Torah wimples (‘penants’) (WIE 6625). The file includes a “Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties”, which is dated May 29, 1950 and an accompanying list (schedule A), of the objects (15 Torah Scrolls, 41 Torah Wimples and one Torah Curtain were shipped in one case). A further step in tracking down the destination of these objects would be searching the JCR archives, headquarters in Paris.

⁴⁹⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920461>.

by the Kassel Jewish community'. These objects are numbered WIE 6638, the out-shipment number given is 231.⁴⁹⁵

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 268 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 275 (SEPTEMBER 5, 1950 – DECEMBER 20 1950)

Example: PAGES 2-3, is a letter dated 5 September 1950 from E.G. Lowenthal⁴⁹⁶ to the CCP Wiesbaden about an in-shipment from Weinheim a.d. Bergstrasse (North Baden, US Zone):⁴⁹⁷ 'This is to advise you that today we have received from the Heimatmuseum at Weinheim a.d. Bergstrasse 7 Jewish ceremonial objects and one book as per enclosed list.' On the following page, dated 1 September 1950 and entitled: 'Jüdische Kultus-Gegenstände aus Weinheim/Bergstrasse', these objects are described as follows: first the Wiesbaden numbers are given, then the number of objects, the dimensions, name of object. Note that dimensions can be important data for identifying an object. The objects are: 'Wie 6660, 1 [piece], 36 cm. hoch, Synagoge-Hängeleuchter, Messing – mit Anhänge-Tellerchen und 2-Stäbchen (28 und 45 cm. lang)', etc.⁴⁹⁸ On a separate note one finds the out-shipment number for the objects: 257 (for WIE 6660-6663).⁴⁹⁹

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 246 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 258 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 267 (JULY 21 1950 – AUGUST 25 1950), IN-SHIPMENT 258, dated 21 July 1950.

Example: PAGE 2-5:⁵⁰⁰ Lowenthal declares to have collected from the Jewish Community in Karlsruhe and handed over to the CCP Wiesbaden, three silver cups, a book and 2 complete and 9 incomplete Torah scrolls. The file includes an enclosure with details of the silver cups (i.e. Silberner Weinbechter, gehämmert, mit hebräische Aufschrift: 'Geschenk von Meir Wilmersdorf und seine Frau Meitla, aus Bareit, für die Synagoge der Stadt Kielsheim, den 18. Ijar 5566' (1806)). Out-shipment numbers for the cups are WIE 6640 (2 cups) and 6641 (1 cup).

- CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 268 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 275 (SEPTEMBER 5, 1950 – DECEMBER 20 1950), IN-SHIPMENT 269

⁴⁹⁵ For "Out-Shipment 231", see: Category Out-Shipment 226 through Out-Shipment 236 (October 6, 1950 – October 26, 1950), pp. 64-71, see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967668> and following pages. The out-shipment, dated 9 October 1950 and including books as well were sent to New York and Peru.

⁴⁹⁶ Dr. E.G. Lowenthal was the authorized representative of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc. working in Europe. He received the objects from the CCP Wiesbaden that were to be distributed to Jewish "public or quasipublic religious, cultural or educational institutions". The transfer of Jewish cultural properties to JCR was agreed in Frankfurt on 15 February 1949 between the Office of Military Government (US) for Germany and JCR. It concerned those Jewish cultural properties that were "wrongfully separated from owning individuals and organizations in Europe during the period of Nazi rule and were subsequently taken into protective custody by Military Government." [quotes from a standardized "Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties"].

⁴⁹⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921277> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921286>.

⁴⁹⁸ Wie 6660, height: 1.36 cm, 1 synagogue lamp, messing, with an additional small plate and two rods (28 and 45 cm long); [Wie 6660] height: 1, 32.5 cm synagogue lamp, messing; Wie 6661, height: 1, 40 cm, 1 Hanukkah lamp, brass, corroded; Wie 6662, 21 cm, d-mess. [?] 2 plates, pewter, engraved in Hebrew letters "M D" and d. [?] word: "Bassar"-meat; Wie 6663, 2, 7.5 x 8, 8.5 x 9, 2 "Mezuzot" parchment; Wie 6664, 1 Hebrew book: "Menorat Hamaor", Fürth – 1767."⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231970241> and following pages: "Out-Shipment 255 through Out-Shipment 263 (18 January 1951 – 1 February 1951)", Out-Shipments, pp. 23-28, dated 23 January 1951. The objects were part of a transport of 72 Jewish ceremonial objects that were transferred to Israel via the HUL (Hebrew University Library).

⁵⁰⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920534>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920547>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920558>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231920570>

Example: PAGES 5-7, dated 8 September 1950:⁵⁰¹ Lowenthal (working for JCR at the CCP Wiesbaden, Landesmuseum) notified the property officer of the CCP Wiesbaden, that they collected from Düsseldorf one complete Torah scroll with wimple (binder) and mantle. The Torah scroll is marked: “JCR, No. 51”. Wie 6665”. The objects came from the Jewish Community in Kommern. The Torah scroll is 69 cm., it was a manuscript on parchment and in good condition. The mantle was made of red velvet with in gold embroidery ‘ausgenähte’ [sic! aufgenähte] sewn on Hebrew letters K. T. [= Keter Torah]. The out-shipment number is 229’.⁵⁰²

○ CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENTS LOG: RECORDS 1-69

These are books with handwritten registration of in-shipments, giving the in-shipment number, the date of in-shipment, objects brought in (i.e. painting, sculpture), the name of the person who brought the object in, and the WIE number (initially called House numbers, sometimes abbreviated H. numbers).

Example: PAGE 19:⁵⁰³ ‘Shipment no. 31, came in: 21.2.46, Jewish things from Frankfurt, 2 trucks, H. Nr. 3165/i-90 = pictures. There is an additional remark: ‘Rollen und übrige Kisten durch Offenbach – out-shipment abgeholt den 20.3.46’ (Scrolls and the other crates through Offenbach – out-shipment collected 20.3.46).⁵⁰⁴ The content of this shipment can be found in PUBLICATION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS / SERIES: CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS / CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENT 26 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 31 (DECEMBER 24, 1945 – 21 FEBRUARY 21, 1946, PAGES 28-31 (Short descriptions of 90 paintings).⁵⁰⁵ There is no further information on the scrolls and crates.

○ CATEGORY: IN-SHIPMENTS LOG: RECORDS 160-276

Example: PAGE 28:⁵⁰⁶ ‘In-shipment 259, dated 24.7.50, from JRSO, Kassel, originating from Ziegenhain, Hesse, by mail, for processing and transfer to JCR, 1 complete Torah scroll with velvet mantle, embroidered/ slightly damaged, no. JCR 45, 1 complete Torah scroll, slightly damaged, no. JCR 46, 1 complete torah scroll/ slightly damaged No. JCR 47, 3 Torah fragments, WIE 6644’.⁵⁰⁷

○ CATEGORY: INVENTORY LOCATIONS WITHIN WIESBADEN CENTRAL COLLECTING POINT [2 of 2]

Example: PAGE 122: This is a receipt, dated 21 May 1946, from the OAD, for objects coming from 2 safes from the Rothschild Library, Frankfurt. The items include: 1 bundle

⁵⁰¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921304>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921312>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921327>.

⁵⁰² Out-Shipment 226 through Out-Shipment 236 (October 6, 1950 – October 26, 1950), Out-Shipment 229, pp. 240-241 and 245-247. <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967443>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967454>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967486>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967495>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231967503>. The scroll, binder and mantle were transferred to the American Joint Distribution Committee headquarters in Paris.

⁵⁰³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231942355>.

⁵⁰⁴ This is the same in-shipment mentioned in the weekly report of 26 February 1946 (see: M 1947- Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Category: Activity Reports; Series: [illegible]; p. 103; online available at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231980764>).

⁵⁰⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061589>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061599>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061614>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232061627>.

⁵⁰⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231942938>.

⁵⁰⁷ For JCR numbers, see “Publications: Wiesbaden Administrative Records, Series: Cultural Object Movement and Control Records, Category: Receipts for Jewish Cultural Properties, 1949 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, 1-11, 1-18].

documents, 11 books, 1 wooden casket, 12 candlesticks (8 candelabra and 3 menoroth), 4 plates 33 'Thora-tops' [rimonim], 4 pieces permanent light holders, 8 pointers, 11 candleholders for candlestick, 9 candleholders for permanent light, 31 wine cups, 3 cartons with coins, 2 big crowns, 5 menorah pieces, 1 small Thora-ornament, 1 coffee pot, 1 bread basket, 2 big cups, 1 big plate, 1 cover to large cup, 1 mesusa, 34 bundles paper (from Hungen), 36 boxes with manuscripts, 5 bundles paper, 2 documents, 121 books, 1 hammer.⁵⁰⁸

You could now look for further information in PUBLICATIONS: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS / MONTHLY REPORTS / MONTHLY REPORTS OF THE OAD, MAY 1946, PAGE 6:⁵⁰⁹ '21 May 1946: The two safes in the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt were opened. Two cases of religious articles and 7 cases (70x53x50 cm) of manuscripts were removed and brought to the OAD.'

- CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER, INDEX, 1-1143. N.B. This category also includes the numbers 1144-2388.
- CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 2389-3383
- CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 3384-4468
- CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 4469-5813
- CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 5814-6331

These CATEGORIES consist of photographs of Jewish ceremonial objects, each object with its own number. The first CATEGORY begins with a three pages index (PAGES 2-4)⁵¹⁰ with numbers that correspond to the objects (numbers run from 1-6331);⁵¹¹ There are WIE numbers that are higher than 6331. These objects do not appear among the photographs, probably because these objects were brought in after the objects here were photographed. Objects are classified according to type. Photos include metal objects only.

- CATEGORY: OUT-SHIPMENTS 1-403 (NOVEMBER 19, 1945 – AUGUST, 21, 1952). The first out-shipment took place on 19 November 1945, the last (number 403) on 21 August 1952. Each out-shipment is numbered and forms part of a file, which includes: 1) in-shipment number(s), which refers to the place the shipment came from, i.e. the OAD; 2) a 'Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties', signed by OMGUS (Cultural Affairs Advisor Property Division) and JCR, 3) a 'Memorandum of Agreement' on Jewish Cultural Property between OMGUS and JCR, dated 29 January 1949 and a list ('Schedule') with the received items.
- CATEGORY: OUT-SHIPMENT 134 (JULY 11 1949)

⁵⁰⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232018103>. For more documents (no Jewish ceremonial objects) turned over to the OAD from Frankfurt (dated 30.9.46), see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232018066>

⁵⁰⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232711451>.

⁵¹⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232031440>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232031448>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232031454>.

⁵¹¹ For illustrations of an index page and a number of photographs, see *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 57-61. According to Dana Herman, Mordecai Narkiss, then director of the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem arrived in Wiesbaden towards the end of April 1949 and found 5,713 classified and numbered objects, photographed and catalogued as follows: Seder Plates (including Torah Shields found among boxes of Seder plates): 76; Goblets: 224; Collections Boxes: 59; Spice Boxes: 1,244; Menorahs: 1,285; Hanukkah Lamps: 550; Torah Shields: 492; Rimmonim: 932; Torah Crowns: 74; Pointers: 741; Eternal Lights: 36; Atarot: approx. 2000. In addition there were 3,177 unnumbered objects, namely: 1,421 ribbons with mounted silver plates; 1,351 silver in scrap condition; 320 candleholders for Hanukkah in fair condition and 85 pieces of jewelry (Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, p. 188-189). In a field report Joshua Starr writes about the circumstances under which the inventory was prepared (Field Report #7, 11 April 1949, JRSO 923a, Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem; see *ibid.*, p. 188, n. 136).

Example: PAGES 1-129;⁵¹²

This is the out-shipment file of the largest number of unidentified or unclaimed Jewish ceremonial objects. They arrived in the CCP Wiesbaden from the OAD in two shipments, IN-SHIPMENT numbers 197 and 218. The objects were handed over to JCR and the AJDC for further distribution. Through its unique WIE number the destination country of each item can be tracked down. The file includes:

PAGE 1: File cover.

PAGE 2: Out-shipment number, date (11.VII.1949) and description of objects: 'silver JCR'.

PAGE 3: In-shipment numbers: 197 and 218, objects coming from Offenbach.⁵¹³

PAGES 4-5: Memorandum of Agreement.⁵¹⁴

PAGES 6-26: these pages include a number of 'Receipts for Jewish Cultural Properties' and a list (Schedule) of ceremonial objects (material) that were transferred from the OAD to the CCP Wiesbaden. On every receipt (top right), the destination was later added by hand.

PAGES 27-29: WIE-numbers of pairs of rimonim (each single rimon is numbered) and single pieces;

PAGE 30:⁵¹⁵ this is an index of Jewish ceremonial objects that corresponds (although more comprised) with the index in the CATEGORY: JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER, INDEX, 1-1143. The list here is headed by the following text: DEVOTIONAL SILVER FROM OAD, Offenbach. The objects were given a 'General House number: WIE 5572' (the total amount of objects was grouped under one number).⁵¹⁶

PAGES 31-33:⁵¹⁷ classification of marked objects according to language or otherwise: Hebrew, German, France, Poland, Greece, Austria, Holland, Yugoslavia.⁵¹⁸

PAGE 34: marked objects from Hungary and marked objects of unknown provenance.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231909878> and following pages.

⁵¹³ In-shipment 197 refers to in-shipment 201, see: In-Shipment 200 through In-Shipment 209 (September 29, 1948 - 30 October 1948), in-shipment (4.10.1948), pp. 6-17 (only silver objects), see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231941750> and following pages. It included 36 cases of silverware (WIE [house number] 5572). In the in-shipment 201 file the following information on in-shipment 197 is found: 14 cases with silverware (dated September 20, 1948), 93 cases with silverware (dated September 20, 1948) Included is an identical index list that was also found in "Category: Jewish Devotional Silver, index 1-1143, pp. 2-4, see above. For in-shipment 218, see: "In-Shipment 216 through In-Shipment 219" (February 11, 1949 – April 14, 1949), pp. 41-43. Also this in-shipment (March 30, 1949) includes only silver. Neither of these in-shipment numbers include textiles. According to the Series: directory of property received: Summary of Out-Shipments, p. 16, out-shipment no. 134 includes in-shipment number 222 as well, see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232048071>: 'Out-shipment 134, July 11, 1949, in-shipment numbers 197, 201, 218, 222, to USA, Gr. Britain, South Africa, Israel, Dr. B. Heller on behalf of JCR, special receipt, 209 boxes = 10710 objects, silver plus textiles, see: "Report Figures", CCP counting: 7 [?] textiles, 13 [?] silver / mounted / ? prayer shawls, 9821 + 22 single items.' For in-shipment 222, see pp. 1-39, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231944243> and following pages. For 5 cases of textiles, see 4th transport (May 13, 1949) <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231944404>, p. 30, and 16th transport (June 7, 1949) 2 [?] textiles, see: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231944556>

⁵¹⁴ The memorandum confirms the transfer to JCR of "a. Jewish books, archives and miscellaneous documents in various languages. b. Torah Scrolls and miscellaneous church and synagogue vestments, altar covers, prayer shawls, etc. c. Jewish ritual objects of precious metals and including precious stones. d. Miscellaneous Jewish paintings and furnishings. e. Such other Jewish cultural properties as JCR and Military Government shall agree to transfer. Such properties shall be transferred upon a custody receipt, which shall contain a statement as set forth in Appendix A hereto." For the complete text of the memorandum, see pp. 4-5.

⁵¹⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910076>.

⁵¹⁶ See <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910076>.

⁵¹⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910103>.

⁵¹⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910083>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910090>; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910096>.

⁵¹⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910103>.

PAGES 86-89: WIE numbers (objects) designated for synagogues in Europe sent to the AJDC, Paris, for distribution.

PAGES 90-93: WIE numbers – silver objects – sent to England.

PAGES 94-98: WIE numbers - scrap - other than silver

PAGE 99: WIE numbers – demolished textiles

PAGES 100-115:⁵²⁰ WIE numbers – ceremonial textiles from OAD – according to WIE number (number starts with T: T 1 – T 976). This is an important list. It gives more or less detailed information on the physical appearance of the objects. For instance T 1 is a Torah curtain, green velvet with silver embroidery ‘Mirl, d[laughter of] David’, 1854.

PAGES 116-117:⁵²¹ This is a ‘List of various objects of Jewish interest’. These WIE numbers start with the letter V (Varia). Objects may have some distinctive descriptions, for instance, V 56, bronze Hevra kadisha token for Moses Leuwarden (PAGE 117).⁵²²

PAGES 120-129: correspondence about the transport of these objects from the CCP.

- CATEGORY: OUT-SHIPMENT 255 THROUGH OUT-SHIPMENT 263 (JANUARY 18 1951 – FEBRUARY 1, 1951), OUT-SHIPMENT 257
Example: PAGES 23-28.⁵²³ This file includes a list of 72 objects out-shipped in January 1951, giving the following details: Curr[ent] No., date of in-shipment, Wiesbaden JCR number, Wiesbaden CCP number, origin i.e. in-shipment from, type of ceremonial object. 82 objects were shipped to Israel via the Hebrew University Library. For instance, 57 ceremonial objects came from Mainstockheim.⁵²⁴
- CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949-1951. These are receipts for Jewish cultural objects (ceremonial objects, books), transferred from the Central Collection Points to JCR.⁵²⁵
- CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949 [JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, 1-11, 1-18]. These are standardized receipts for the transference of objects to JCR. The receipts are signed by a representative of the CCP Wiesbaden or of the Offenbach Archival Depot and a representative of JCR. Annexed is the list of items, described in general terms. The receipts are numbered by hand in the right upper corner. Receipts 1-9 refer to books. JCR 10 - JCR 16, all dated 7 July 1949, refer to Jewish ceremonial objects.⁵²⁶ The annex with general description is followed by more detailed lists, which include the country of destination, whether the objects are for use in synagogues or for museums, crate numbers, signature (=abbreviation of country or institutions), number of items included in the case and the WIE numbers of the object involved.
PAGES 2-4: receipt no. JCR 1.

⁵²⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910537> and following pages.

⁵²¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910675> and following pages.

⁵²² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231910684>, pp. 118-119 are copies.

⁵²³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231970262>. The list includes a Wiesbaden CCP number, and two more ‘new’ numbers: a ‘current’ number and a Wiesbaden JCR number. The objects were destined for Israel via HUL = Hebrew University Library. All the objects originate from German Jewish communities.

⁵²⁴ Other objects came from Tauberbischofsheim, Dittlofsroda, Karlsruhe (Wertheim), Kassel (Ziegenhain), Weinheim and Cologne. For more detailed information, go to Wiesbaden Administrative Records, Cultural Object Movement and Control Records, In-Shipment 258 through In-Shipment 267, In-Shipment 264, pp. 53-59, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921100>, and following pages; <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231921122>, and In-Shipment 265, pp. 60-61.

⁵²⁵ An illustration of a Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties is published in *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 317. The “Categories: Receipt for Cultural Objects” refer to art objects.

⁵²⁶ See pp. 91-144: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019362> and following pages. Receipt no. 10 in fact also included three cases with 60 objects for South Africa.

PAGES 5-48:⁵²⁷ lists with WIE-numbers destined for different countries and institutions.
 PAGES 5-7: Synagogues in USA, case numbers signed with JRSO;
 PAGE 8-16: for synagogues in Israel, case numbers signed MRI (Ministry of religions, through the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem); PAGES 16 includes A-numbers, which indicate parchments with sacred texts (phylacteries and Torah scroll fragments).⁵²⁸
 PAGES 17-20: list of damaged ceremonial (silver) objects sent to England, cases indicated by SC (scrap silver);
 PAGES 21-24: for designated synagogues in Europe to be sent for purpose of distribution to American Joint Distribution Committee, Paris, cases signature AJDC;
 PAGES 25-27: List of scrap other than silver, 5 cases containing 495 items.
 PAGE 28: list of demolished ecclesiastical textiles (not included items, destroyed by moths).
 PAGE 29-48: list of ceremonial objects ecclesiastical art, with case numbers signed with JCR, and with JCR number and destination in handwriting (top right): JNMB (Jewish National Museum of Bezalel).
 PAGES 49-66: List of various objects of Jewish interest sent from Offenbach Archival Depot to Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point. These PAGES contain WIE numbers preceded by a letter: V for Varia (PAGES 49-50) and T for textiles (PAGES 51-66). Contrary to objects of silver or brass, these objects were not photographed in Wiesbaden CCP. In these lists each item has a description. A number of objects feature names and/or descriptive information that may help you to establish identification of the object and former ownership. For each WIE number you can establish country or institution of destination by searching the number in the loading lists.
 PAGES 49-50:⁵²⁹ 'List of Various Objects of Jewish Interest sent from Offenbach Archival Depot to Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point'. These objects are marked V-numbers, nos. 1-122, including plaques, medals, chevra kadisha tokens, amulets, coins, mizrachim, miniature bust, wood sculpture, collecting boxes, (Passover) plates.
Example: PAGE 50:⁵³⁰ 'V 56, Hevra Kadisha token for Moses Leuwarden, bronze'. You will find V 56 in case nr. 56 signed: JNMB (=Jewish National Museum Bezalel), see PAGE 118.⁵³¹
Example: PAGE 50:⁵³² V 63, hevra kadisha token for unnamed member, found on IMJ provenance research database online.
 PAGE 51-66: list of T-numbers, Jewish ritual textiles, nos. 1-976.⁵³³
Example: T87 described as: 'Torah cover red velvet, silv. embroid 20 c'.⁵³⁴ In 2007, this Torah mantle was identified as a Dutch Torah mantle, dated 1763, that before the war belonged to the Jewish Community of Leiden. The Leiden Jewish community had given the

⁵²⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232018767> and following pages.

⁵²⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232018851>. Objects with A-numbers were not photographed in CCP Wiesbaden.

⁵²⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019085>

⁵³⁰ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019090>

⁵³¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019520>. See the World War II Provenance Research Online: <http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/irso/en/showsearch?search=token>; The object belonged to the prewar Jewish Historical Museum collection.

⁵³² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019090>

⁵³³ For an identical list, see "Wiesbaden Administrative Records, Cultural Object Movement and Control Records, Out-shipment 134 (July 11, 1949), pp. 100-115.

⁵³⁴ p. 52, see <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019109>

object on loan to the Jewish Historical Museum in 1936.⁵³⁵ When the museum collection was confiscated by the ERR in 1943, the mantle was among the looted objects. After the war, the mantle found its way to the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem through the CCP Wiesbaden. In fact, one can find the mantle in the Israel Museum World War II Provenance Research Online Database – the database includes a WIE number for each object.⁵³⁶ The description given in the list here is scarce and the date is not correct. The mantle has rich imagery (Jacob's dream and the binding of Isaac) and Hebrew texts. Thus, one should be aware that descriptions are scarce and information may not be accurate.

Example: PAGE 54: T222 is a Torah mantle described as 'brocade, torn, silk and silver embroidery, Chaim Binger, 19th c.'⁵³⁷ The WIE number T222 found its way to the Jewish National Museum of Bezalel.⁵³⁸ Indeed, the mantle is found on the Israel Museum WW II Provenance Research Database. There, the origin of the mantle is attributed to Poland, which is a mistake.⁵³⁹ It bears the Hebrew name of Chaim Mordechai Binger, who was a renowned copier and illustrator of Hebrew manuscripts. He was born in 1756 in Amsterdam and died in Amsterdam on 28 December 1830. There are indications that strongly imply a match with an object in the prewar Jewish Historical Museum collection.⁵⁴⁰ First, the prewar JHM catalogue includes a 'Torah scroll, complete, with mantle' ('wetsrol, volledig, met mantel), donated by the Ladies Binger, the donors of several other objects bearing the name of Chaim Mordechai Binger. Second, on an inventory of the Jewish Historical Museum collection in German handwriting made by the Nazi's at the end of 1943, probably when the loot in the IEJ in Frankfurt was moved to Hungen, one finds the following description: [no.] 110 'Thora doppel Rolle, 65 cm lang Hülle roter Brokat, mit Wappen, ohne no.', which in fact matches the T1222 description and dimension.⁵⁴¹

Example: PAGE 52: T111 is described as: red velvet miniature, 19th c.⁵⁴² The object appears on the list with items destined for the Bezalel Museum.⁵⁴³ The Israel Museum Database describes the object as a small Torah mantle, Poland, late 18th, early 19th century, with Hebrew inscription 'Chaim son of Mordechai Binger'. The object matches JHM prewar inv. no. 411, with description: 'Morning prayers written by Chaim ben Mordechai Binger for his grandson who bears the same name, 28 Adar II 5584 (28 March 1824), with mantle.'⁵⁴⁴ An inventory list made by the Nazis at the end of 1943 also gives the dimensions of the object: 20 cm.⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁵ See Appendix 3A "Relics of the Second World War: Dealing with Missing and Misplaced Objects in the Jewish Historical Museum Collection, p. 207ff

⁵³⁶ <http://www.imj.org.il/Imagine/irso/judaica/vdeju.asp?case=Torah%20mantles>, see "Torah mantle with depictions of Jacob's Dream and the Binding of Isaac, Netherlands 1763."

⁵³⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019123>

⁵³⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019524>

⁵³⁹ <http://www.imj.org.il/Imagine/irso/en/item?id=255705>

⁵⁴⁰ There is a third object bearing the name of Chaim son of Mordechai Binger. This is T942, described as "mappa yellow silk, 20th c." JCR handed the object over to the Jewish National Museum of Bezalel. On the Israel Museum WWII Provenance Research Online Database it is attributed to Poland, 1778. The object is described in the prewar Jewish Historical Museum as silk mappa embroidered with [in Hebrew] Chaim som of Mordechai Binger ('zijden mappa waarop geborduurd [H], prewar inv. no. 541b).

⁵⁴¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295527348>

⁵⁴² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019109>

⁵⁴³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019524> (case no. 57).

⁵⁴⁴ 'Ochtendlofzeggingen geschreven door Chaim Ben Mordechai Binger ten behoeve van zijn gelijknamige kleinzoon, 28 adar II 5584 (28 maart 1824) met manteltje'.

⁵⁴⁵ See: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/295527349>, p. 15.

Example: PAGE 61, 'no. T645, Mappa, painting on linen, Naphtali s. David (Heinz Gruenebaum), 1923'. The binder found its way to the collection of the Bezalel Museum and is published on the Israel Museum WW II Provenance Research Online Database.⁵⁴⁶ We may have identified this person, see <http://www.zentralratjuden.de/de/article/4684.aus-den-gemeinden-juedisches-leben.html>: 'Im Alter von 90 Jahren ist Henry Gruen, Vorstandsmitglied der Jüdischen Liberalen Gemeinde Köln, verstorben. 1923 in Köln geboren, kam Gruen, ursprünglich Heinz Grünebaum, 1938 mit einem Kindertransport nach Großbritannien und lebte ab 1947 in den USA. 1971 zog er erneut nach Köln und engagierte sich maßgeblich in der liberalen Gemeinde Gescher LaMassoret.' With this information you could try to trace Heinz Gruen's heirs.

PAGES 67-90: receipt numbers JCR 2-9

PAGES 91-96, JCR 10: three cases signed BDSA (Board of Deputies South Africa) with 60 objects for synagogues in South Africa. With list of WIE numbers;

PAGE 97: 3 cases signed CRJM (Committee on Restoration of Continental Jewish Museums, Libraries and Archives, London, England) with 66 objects (silver, brass) destined for England. With list of WIE numbers. See also PAGES 17-20: list of WIE numbers, cases signed SC 1-25, containing scrap silver, 3713 items destined for England.

PAGES 98-100: receipt number 9.

PAGES 101-121, JCR 11:⁵⁴⁷ standardized receipts with annexed list: '61 cases containing 2053 Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass, textiles)', cases signed JNMB (Jewish National Museum of Bezalel). With list of WIE numbers. See also PAGES 29-48, JCR 11, 72 cases signed JCR, ceremonial objects ecclesiastical art, for JNMB,

PAGES 122-124, JCR 12, standardized receipts with annexed list: '24 cases containing 668 Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass, textiles)', cases signed MRI (Ministry of Religion Israel). No list of WIE numbers. For list of WIE numbers, see PAGES 8-16: 26 cases are signed MRI, for synagogues. Objects to be sent to the Ministry of Religions through the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem.

JCR 13, PAGES 127-129, for AJDC: standardized receipts with annexed list: '10 cases containing 303 Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass).' No list of WIE numbers. For list of WIE numbers, see PAGES 21-24, 11 cases signed AJDC, for synagogues in Europe to be sent for Purpose of Distribution to American Joint Distribution Committee, Paris. JCR 14, PAGES 132-134, for ??? [illegible]: standardized receipts with annexed list: '25 cases containing 3713 irreparably damaged Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass).' No list of WIE numbers.

JCR 15, PAGES 137-139, for US: standardized receipts with annexed list: '83 cases containing 3841 non-commercial damaged and undamaged Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass, textiles).' No list of WIE numbers. For list of WIE numbers, see PAGES 5-7: 11 cases are signed JCRS, for synagogues.

JCR 16, PAGE 142-144, for South Africa: standardized receipts with annexed list: '3 cases containing 66 Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass).' No list of WIE numbers.

- CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1950 [JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION]. These include 62 JCR receipts, most referring to books. Only two receipts include Jewish ceremonial objects.

⁵⁴⁶ <http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/irso/en/judaica?cat=Binders>, see description: Torah binder (*nimpel*) Germany 1923.

⁵⁴⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019422>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019429>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232019436>

Example: PAGE 41-43: receipt number JCR 32, dated 29 May 1950, include 15 Torah scrolls, 41 Torah wimples and 1 Torah Curtain, sent to Paris.⁵⁴⁸ In Paris the main office of the American Joint Distribution Committee was located. The AJDC was responsible for the distribution of 'heirless' objects in countries other than the U.S. and Israel.

Example: PAGE 80-82: receipt number JCR 45, includes 7115 Jewish books and 48 Torah wimples, sent to JCR New York.

- CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1951-[JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION].

Example: PAGE 2-4, receipt no. 1, dated 19 January 1951, includes 4 cases containing '72 Jewish ceremonial objects' that are sent to Israel, via the HUL (Hebrew University Library).⁵⁴⁹

- SERIES: DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED.⁵⁵⁰

- CATEGORY SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENTS.

The summary, with an overview of out-shipments, gives information on: shipment no./ date of out-shipment/ in-shipment no. / place to which shipped / persons accepting custody / type of receipt [i.e. custody, special, restitution] / Amount and class of objects / Type (i.e. safekeeping, restitution, transfer within US-zone, international transfer, return to German Museum) Restitution Law 59) / Remarks.

Most out-shipments refer to art. Jewish ceremonial objects are included too. With the out-shipment number one can turn to CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS / OUT-SHIPMENTS for more details.

- SERIES: GENERAL RECORDS.⁵⁵¹ Most CATEGORIES in this SERIES refer to art objects. Relevant CATEGORIES are:

- CATEGORY: JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTY

Correspondence deals with the question of the disposition of unidentified Jewish cultural objects by OMGUS to Jewish institutions such as the Jewish Agency to the benefit of the Jewish people.

- CATEGORY: JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, INC.

This CATEGORY includes:

Example: PAGE 16-21: (correspondence about) the agreement between OMGUS and JCR.

⁵⁴⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232020064>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232020068>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232020076>

⁵⁴⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232020788>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232020796>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/23202080>

⁵⁵⁰ This series consists of out-shipments summary lists from CCP Wiesbaden, pages 1-41 and property shipments received at the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point (In-shipments), pages 42-86. The series further includes types of properties shipped, repository from which the property was shipped, and the disposition of the property; it is arranged numerically by shipment number and thereunder by date.

⁵⁵¹ This series consists of correspondence, memorandums, reports, press clippings, and custody receipts. The most prominent subjects are art loans, art exhibitions, Jewish cultural objects, and monuments and fine arts policy planning. The records also include a draft monograph on war damage to German monuments (300 pages, 1950), records relating to the history of the Offenbach Archival Depot (1946-1947), and photographs of the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen. Arranged alphabetically by subject or by type of record. See: <https://www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/m1947.pdf>, p. 3.

Example: PAGES 46, 48, 49: Letter dated 8 July 1949 from the OMG for Hesse, Property Division to the Director OMG for Germany (US) about receipts for Jewish Cultural Properties: 16 receipts of properties [books and ceremonial objects] in OAD and Wiesbaden transferred to JCR in accordance with the Frankfurt Agreement of 15 Feb 1949 between the OMG (US) for Germany and JCR: overview of JCR numbers, date and number and type of items.⁵⁵²

Example: PAGE 107: List of devotional silver from OAD, Offenbach, General House no. WIE 5572.⁵⁵³

‘Nos. 1-153: various objects, such as: goblets, besamim boxes, trumpets, chanukka, candle sticks.

Nos. 154-229: seder plates & Torah shields

Nos. 230-453: goblets (havdala, Shabbat, pesach, seder)

Nos. 454-512: collecting boxes

Nos. 513-1756 besamim boxes

Nos. 1757-3041: Shabbat – Chanukka

Nos. 3042-3591: chanukka candlesticks

Nos. 3592-4083: Torah shields

Nos. 4084-5015 rimonim

Nos. 5016-5089: Torah crowns (keter Torah)

Nos. 5090-5830 Torah hands (jad)

Nos. 5831-5866 eternal lights (ner tamid)

Nos. 5867-6326 various objects, incl. table silver & plates

Nos. 6327-6646 various objects

Not numbered objects:

1421 pieces ribbons with mounted silver plates

1351 pieces of demolished silver objects

320 parts of candlesticks belonging to the numbers 3042-3591

85 pieces of jewelry i/a silver box No. 6069.

3177 items not numbered

6644 items numbered

9821 items

+ 13 boxes small pieces of silver plates, such as are mounted on the girdles (uncountable)

two pieces missing: no. 89 + 1887 / not received from OAD’.

Example: PAGES 108 and 109: devotional silver (from OAD) numbers marked: Hebrew.⁵⁵⁴

Example: PAGE 110: Devotional silver (from OAD) numbers marked: Hungary and unknown.⁵⁵⁵

Example: PAGE 111: Devotional silver (from OAD) numbers marked:

German, France, Poland, Greece, Austria, Holland, Yugoslavia; and summary of number of items per country/language.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989073>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989090>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989099>. For the content of these JCR shipments, see: M 1947 - Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, 1945-1952: Wiesbaden Administrative Records; Series: Cultural Object Movement and Control Records; Category: Receipts for Jewish Cultural Properties, 1949, pp. 5-48 and 97-144.

⁵⁵³ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989605>

⁵⁵⁴ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989614>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989624>

⁵⁵⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989631>

⁵⁵⁶ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231989640>

- SERIES: STATUS OF MONUMENTS, MUSEUMS, AND ARCHIVES
- CATEGORY: HUNGEN INVESTIGATION HOHE SCHULE
Example: PAGES 2-9 is a report of an investigation trip to Hungen, where the storages of the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage were, 2 August 1947.⁵⁵⁷

PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS

- SERIES: PROPERTY ACCESSIONS
- ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION: LIGHTING APPLIANCES
- PROPERTY CARD NUMBER⁵⁵⁸
Example: WIE 6660/1-2: with 2 photos: 2 chandeliers, brass, H: 36,0 cm, B. 32.5 cm, depot possessor: Heimatmuseum Weinheim a.d. Bergstr., arrival condition: good. Description: one with appending plate and two rods. Eight-armed. The 2nd with six arms. Arrival date: 5.9.1950, exit 23 Jan. 1951. History and ownership: sent to Wiesbaden CCP by mail from the Heimatmuseum Weinheim, a.d. Bergstr. for processing and transfer into the custody of the JCR Inc.⁵⁵⁹
Example: WIE 6649/1-9 (with photo), WIE 6650 (with photo), WIE 6651 (with photo), WIE 6653, WIE 6654/1-5.⁵⁶⁰
- ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION: RELIGIOUS OBJECTS (TEXTILES)
- PROPERTY CARD NUMBER: WIE 6655/1-38: these are 38 pieces of ceremonial textiles, namely: '5 curtains = parochet, velvet-silk; 14 thoral [sic!] mantels, velvet-silk, 4 table cloths "Schulchan", velvet-silk, 1 small cloth f. prayer-desk "Amud", 11 torah penants, 1 small talis bag, velvet, 1 prayer cap, velvet, 1 talis, depot possessor: Mainstockheim, in-shipment 264, out-shipment 257, 'the items were discovered at Mainstockheim by representatives of the JCR Inc., sent to WCCP for processing and transfer to the custody of JCR Inc., arrival date: 1.8.50, exit: 23 Jan. 1951.'⁵⁶¹

PUBLICATION: OMGUS – MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES

- CULTURAL PROPERTY CLAIM APPLICATIONS
- L35 NETHERLANDS, JOODSCH HISTORISCH MUSEUM BAV.

⁵⁵⁷ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/232897751> and following pages.

⁵⁵⁸ Property card numbers include the following entries (not all information is provided): WIE number, classification, author, measurements, depot possessor, depot cat., identifying marks, bibliography, subject, material, arrival condition, description, presumed owner, inv. no., cat. no., (for office use: claim no., other photos (yes, no), Neg. no., out-shipment, in-shipment, file no., movements), arrival date, exit, history of ownership, condition and repair record, location (house, floor, room) and photograph.

⁵⁵⁹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922534> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922546>

⁵⁶⁰ WIE 6649/1-9: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922476> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922480>

WIE 6650: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922485>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922493>

WIE 6651: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922499>, <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922505>

WIE 6653: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922512> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922517>

WIE 6654/1-5: <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922524> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231922528>

⁵⁶¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231941538> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/115/231941546>

Example: PAGES 1-19: Inventory of the Jewish Historical Museum in German handwriting, made by the Nazis at the end of 1943, with crate numbers, descriptions of the objects, dimensions and inventory numbers.
PAGES 21-28: inventory in Dutch.

3.7.1.4 Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.

Initially the work of JRSO, serving as ‘a trustee for recovering property of economic value’ and that of JCR, which ‘set its sights on recovering property of cultural value’ overlapped. In 1947 therefore JRSO and JCR signed an agreement ‘in which the JCR agreed to act as an agent of the JRSO in tracing, restituting and allocating Jewish books, Jewish ceremonial objects, and other Jewish cultural property found in the U.S. zone in Germany’.⁵⁶²

The most important source for the history of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. is Dana Herman’s thesis *Hashavat Avedah. A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.*⁵⁶³

JCR materials are not kept centralized but can be found in various archives and among JRSO fonds. As JCR worked with several other organisations and agencies, such as the Office of the Military Government of the U.S.A (OMGUS), the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC), you should also consult the finding aids of the respective archives of these organisations and agencies to look for relevant material.

Other important JCR files can be found in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) in Jerusalem,⁵⁶⁴ and in a number of other archives in Israel and in the U.S.A. and Canada.⁵⁶⁵

The following lists archival sources containing JCR and JRSO records, which are accessible online in the National Archives College Park and in the archives of the American Joint Distribution Committee, but not so in the Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. Information may be contained in the personal archives of people involved in JCR.

The National Archives in College Park (NACP), Maryland, U.S.A.

The NACP includes a huge amount of documentation on the distribution of heirless Jewish ceremonial objects, especially in the ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS and the ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS. Original documents are accessible online in the FOLD3 database. JCR worked closely with OMGUS on the recovery and distribution of Jewish ceremonial objects. IN-SHIPMENTS and OUT-SHIPMENT files in the WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS may be particularly helpful in tracing the provenance of objects.⁵⁶⁶ See 3.7.1.3 Office of the Military Government for Germany, U.S.

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

On the use of the website <http://archives.jdc.org>, see 3.7.1.5 American Jewish Distribution Committee

⁵⁶² <http://art.claimscon.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Descriptive-Catalogue-of-Looted-Judaica-3-February-2016.pdf>, p. 28.

⁵⁶³ Dana Herman, *Hashavat Avedah. A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.* Department of History McGill University, Montreal, October 2008.

⁵⁶⁴ For records of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, New York-Administrative Files 1946-1975, see: Grimsted’s *ERR Guide*, chapter 4, paragraph 4.3.3.

⁵⁶⁵ Herman, *Hashavat Avedah*, reference list of primary sources, pp. 338-340.

⁵⁶⁶ Generally JRSO records relate to the relocation of art.

When you go to SEARCH THE ARCHIVES (top right), then to SEARCH OUR TEXT COLLECTIONS and type keyword 'Jewish Cultural Reconstruction', you will find 1125 hits. Hits may refer to files, which include a number of documents, or to a singular document. When you enter a file, the titles of the documents will give you an idea of relevance for your research. The following folder numbers include relevant documents.

Example: Folder number 1744 entitled: JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION 1949-1950. There are nearly 100 documents in this folder, which are ordered alphabetically. Go to 'MEMORANDUM FROM HANNAH ARENDT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE, RE: DISTRIBUTION OF CEREMONIAL OBJECTS, NEW YORK DEPOT'. This Memorandum of 18 August 1950 includes a list of the distribution of 'museum pieces' from the New York Depot of JCR that had been allocated and were ready for shipment. It concerned 1,698 out of a total of 3,800 ceremonial objects defined as 'museum pieces'. In addition, a list of object categories of distributed items was given, i.e. 4 eternal lights, 212 Torah shields.⁵⁶⁷ The numbers given here may be useful to institutions that received objects through Jewish Cultural Reconstruction and try to determine the provenance of their collections.

Example: In Folder number 1744, scroll down to the document 'Letter from Education Department - AJDC, Paris to Mr. Solomon Tarshansky - AJDC, New York, Re: Ceremonial Objects', from Judah J. Shapiro (director of Education) and dated February 09 1950 (Item ID 612346).⁵⁶⁸ The document is a letter in which Shapiro informs the NY AJDC office about the completion of the distribution of the ceremonial objects that 'were recovered from the Nazi loot in Germany'. The following countries had received objects: Austria (9 pieces), Belgium (14 pieces), Greece (3 pieces), Italy (19 pieces), Denmark (1 piece), France (219 pieces), Holland (6 pieces), Sweden (5 pieces) and Norway (3 pieces). As for France, objects were distributed among the Jewish communities of Rouen, Le Havre, Epinal, Fontainebleau, Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, Colmar, Strasbourg, and Metz. Four pieces were given to the Jewish Museum in Paris and ten pieces to the Rabbinical School. As for the Netherlands, all six pieces were given to the *Nidche Israel Jechanes* synagogue in Amsterdam.⁵⁶⁹ The Norway pieces were given to the Jewish community of Oslo. Although the objects in this letter are not identified as such, further documentation may be found in the AJDC archives (or among AJDC papers in other archives) and archives of other organisations, which may shed light on the provenance or quovadience of the objects. Significant hints for further research could be the names of the two persons dealing with this case (searching for their names may help you to find follow-up documents), the date and the handwritten annotation on the letter 'Jewish Cult. Recon.' Having retrieved the information on the Amsterdam synagogue, you turn to them to find out if the objects can still be identified.

The Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP)

Hi Tech Village 3/4

Edmond J. Safra Campus of the Hebrew University on Giv'at Ram, Jerusalem.

Tel.: +972-2-6586249

E-mail address: cahjp@nli.org.il

⁵⁶⁷ http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/NY_AR_45-54/NY_AR45-54_Orgs/NY_AR45-54_00163/NY_AR45-54_00163_00703.pdf#search='ceremonial%20objects'

⁵⁶⁸ http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/NY_AR_45-54/NY_AR45-54_Orgs/NY_AR45-54_00163/NY_AR45-54_00163_00762.pdf#search='ceremonial%20objects'

⁵⁶⁹ *Nidche Israël Jechanes* is a small synagogue in the old Jewish quarter of Amsterdam. It was founded by Russian Jews from St. Petersburg in 1884 and is still in function anno 2016.

The CAHJP, now under the National Library, hold administration files from the JRSO New York, Frankfurt and Berlin offices, as well as personal and community files from the various offices. The files were shipped from Frankfurt, Berlin and New York to Jerusalem between 1975 and 1979. The administration and community files in the CAHJP are open to the public, though the CAHJP website does not provide online access to the original documents. Finding aids will support you in ordering relevant material during your visit.

To search the database (<http://cahjp.huji.ac.il>) go to SEARCH HOLDINGS in the red strip at the top of the page. The SEARCH TERM 'Jewish Cultural Reconstruction' gives no hits, however JCR files can be found among JRSO fonds. Enter the SEARCH TERM 'Jewish Restitution Successor Organization'.

The database offers finding aids for the following JRSO entries:

FINDING AID: The Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) – New York - Administration Files

See <http://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/jewish-restitution-successor-organization-jrso—new-york-administration-files>. Scroll down the page and open the pdf.

The finding aid is organized according to RECORD NUMBER (JRSO/NY, no. ...), CATEGORY, DESCRIPTION, DATE and REMARKS.

Relevant documents may, for instance, be found in:

RECORD NUMBER 615, CATEGORY: COMMUNITIES, DESCRIPTION: FRANKFURT: JEWISH MUSEUM, DATE: MAY 1955-MAY 1956.

RECORD NUMBER: 923a-d, CATEGORY: JCR, DESCRIPTION: JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, DATE: 1949-1950

RECORD NUMBER 877a-t, CATEGORY: RESTITUTION, DESCRIPTION: RESTITUTION OF JEWISH PROPERTY, GENERAL, AJDC, 1944-1958.

FINDING AID: Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) - Hessen - Community property

See <http://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/jewish-restitution-successor-organization-jrso-hessen-community-property>.

There is only one file relating to ritual objects: RECORD NUMBER JRSO/Hes 209, Frankfurt/M, list of ritual objects in the main synagogue Hauptsynagoge, Börneplatz 18 – Allerheiligenstr. 78 (Dominikanerplatz) ('Liste des [sic!] von Kultusgegenständen in der Synagoge'), dated 16.9.1953.

FINDING AID: Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) - Berlin - Restitution of Jewish institutional property in Berlin

See <http://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/jewish-restitution-successor-organization-jrso-berlin-restitution-jewish-institutional-prope>

There is one file relating to ritual objects, see SIGNATUR: JRSO/Blh 650.

Personal archives of individual JCR members in public archives

Salo Baron (executive director of JCR) Papers are kept in Stanford University, Special Collections (M580)

Hannah Arendt (executive secretary of JCR) Papers, Manuscript Division (MSS11056) can be found in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Gershom Scholem (working in conjunction with JCR in Europe) Archives (Arc. 4° 1599/23) are kept in the National Library of Israel. Gershom Scholem was. [Check this again and find it].

Mordechai Narkiss (working in conjunction with JCR in Europe): his correspondence is filed in the Israel Museum archive according to different dates and subjects. Some of his files are kept in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem. Some of his correspondence can be found in the Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People.

3.7.1.5 The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC)

The AJDC Archives are located in two centers, namely in:

- AJDC's NY headquarters, 711 Third Ave, 10th Floor, New York, New York, tel.: +1 212-687-6200; email: archives@jdc.org
- Beit HaDefus Street 11, Lobby 2, Floor 3, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem, Israel, tel.: +972 (0)2-653-6403; email: Archives@jdc.org.il

The American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) was established in 1914 as the first Jewish organization in the United States to dispense large-scale funding for international Jewish relief. In the immediate post-Second World War period, it worked largely on behalf of the surviving remnant of European Jewry, the *She'erit Hapletah*. It was also one of the five umbrella organisations that oversaw and financed the work of the JRSO and thus also of JCR.⁵⁷⁰

AJDC was responsible for the distribution of heirless objects in all countries with the exception of Israel and the Americas.⁵⁷¹ The AJDC was among the first Jewish organisations to send representatives to Offenbach in order to secure rights for heirless Jewish cultural property. This was long before JCR arrived on the European scene.⁵⁷² The Holocaust Collection of the NACP includes correspondence between AJDC and the U.S. Army Central Collecting Points (CCP), about the loan of books and Jewish ritual objects intended for the DP camps.

In the aftermath of the Second World War AJDC's European Headquarters office was located in Paris, to be moved to Geneva in 1958 (in 1977 the archives were moved to the AJDC archives in Jerusalem, see <http://archives.jdc.org/explore-the-archives/finding-aids/geneva-office/1945-1954/>).

The AJDC offices in Paris and Antwerp were used by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction as storages for heirless Jewish property for shipments to Israel or other cities in Europe.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ Dana Herman, "A Brand Plucked Out of Fire": The Distribution of Heirless Jewish Cultural Property by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., 1947-1952," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 37, note 27. For more on the history of the JDC in the post-war period, see Yehuda Bauer's *Out of the Ashes: The Impact of American Jews on Post-Holocaust European Jewry*, Oxford 1989.

⁵⁷¹ *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 34. Synagogue objects for Western Europe were distributed by the JDC offices in Paris. This is indicated on the July 1952 world distribution list, Geneva IV, Box 32, File 1B, JDC Archives, Jerusalem. See Herman, *Brand Plucked out of the Fire*, p. 38, note 29. On the distribution of ceremonial objects to several Italian communities, see for instance http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/NY_AR_45-54/NY_AR45-54_Orgs/NY_AR45-54_00163/NY_AR45-54_00163_00641.pdf#search=ceremonial%20objects. Between 1946 and 1947, AJDC distributed some 25.000 books that were collected in the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD) in Displaced Persons camps (DP-Camps). See Herman, *Hashavat Avedab*, pp. 164-167.

⁵⁷² Herman, *Hashavat Avedab*, p. 167.

⁵⁷³ Herman, *Brand Plucked Out of the Fire*, p. 46.

According to Dana Herman there are limited extant records describing the allocation of books and ceremonial objects by the AJDC office in Paris to Jewish communities throughout Europe, and to Jewish communities in Persia and North Africa, who had also requested material.⁵⁷⁴

In Poland AJDC resumed its work after the Second World War but was not allowed to continue to work between 1950 and 1957 and between 1967 and 1981 because of the Soviet policy.⁵⁷⁵ The AJDC supported the activity of the Central Jewish Historical Commission, established in 1944, whose major task was to collect materials that were related to the Holocaust.⁵⁷⁶ The Polish branch of AJDC assembled a small collection of Judaica that was transferred to the Jewish Historical Institute (ZIH, which in 1947 grew out of the Central Jewish Historical Commission) in Warsaw in 1950. The ZIH archive includes AJDC documents on this transference that are not mentioned on the AJDC website.

Relevant Finding Aids for the AJDC archives can be found at: <http://archives.jdc.org/explore-the-archives/using-the-archives.html>. The archives are arranged by AJDC office, i.e. where the archival records were created (although the Geneva records were at least partly created in the AJDC head office in Paris). Most records in these collection have been digitized and are searchable online through the textual collections portal of the AJDC Archives database.

The following records may include relevant information:

Records of the New York office of the AJDC, 1945-1954

Records of the Istanbul office of the AJDC, 1937-1949

Records of the Geneva office of the AJDC, 1945-1954 (see below, 'searching the AJDC database')

Records of the Warsaw office of the AJDC, 1945-1949⁵⁷⁷

Records of the Stockholm office of the AJDC, 1941-1967

You can search the AJDC database by keyword and by AJDC office. When you enter a file, the titles of the documents will give you an idea of relevance for your research. The following examples include relevant documents.

By keyword

Example: You can research the database by going to the ONLINE COLLECTIONS DATABASE, then go to SEARCH THE ARCHIVES, and search for any keyword in SEARCH OUR TEXT COLLECTIONS. If you look for keyword 'religious objects', you will find 635 hits. Most records that appear are part of the RECORDS OF THE GENEVA OFFICE OF THE AJDC, 1945-1954. By clicking on a document title you can access the digitized document (or click on the digitized document directly). File titles include folders (in which case you won't see a pdf-file). Then click on the file title, go to the tab LOOK INSIDE to view the records within the file, including full PDFs of the original documents.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 47. Figures from one list indicate that while the number of books the JDC distributed to these areas was not large in comparison to Israel or that of the United States, it covered a large geographical area. Jewish institutions in Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Amsterdam, Rome, Strasbourg and even cities outside continental Europe, such as Algiers and Tehran, were all listed as recipients of between four and 528 books (pp. 47-48).

⁵⁷⁵ Eleonora Bergman, "The Jewish Historical Institute: History of Its Building and Collections," Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek (eds), *Neglected Witnesses*, p. 189.

⁵⁷⁶ Separately, the AJDC financed the work associated with the preservation and arrangement of the Ringelblum Archives (the first parts of which were excavated in 1946) and the search for the second part of these archives (excavated not earlier than 1950).

⁵⁷⁷ In 1950 the ZIH received more than 100 artefacts, mostly ritual objects, from the Joint. According to an uninventoried list in the Institute's Art Department, these artefacts included sixty-six Judaica objects, such as Torah crowns, pointers, hanukkah lamps, spice boxes and Torah shields. The list does not give provenance information for these objects. See: Bergman, *Jewish Historical Institute*, p. 192. On p. 189, note 18 Bergman writes: "The role of the Joint in relation to the looting and restitution of objects in Poland has never been investigated."

Continue by clicking on the third document on the first page: 'Minutes of the first meeting of the Advisory council on Jewish cultural and religious objects in the British zone of Germany Held on the 14th November 1951'.

These minutes include a report of Dr. E.G. Lowenthal, the head of the department for Jewish cultural and religious objects in the British Zone of Germany with the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC), of the work undertaken during the nine month period that he had been with the JTC. In his report Lowenthal wrote that the work had begun only almost six years after the end of the war and that material found in the British Zone was widely scattered. Up to that point, the objects that were traced had been claimed. The findings so far had been mostly archival material, secondly books, and only very few ceremonial objects, but no effort had been made to start with collecting material.⁵⁷⁸

The above information could be useful, or even include clues, for somebody who is looking for the provenance of an object that is known to have come from the British zone. Further research into these files may lead to more details and provenance of the object.

B. By AJDC office

After choosing an AJDC office, for instance RECORDS OF THE GENEVA OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE 1945-1954,⁵⁷⁹ scroll down the page and click on ARRANGEMENT if you want to search the database by ADMINISTRATION, ORGANIZATIONS, SUBJECT MATTER, or COUNTRIES AND REGIONS.

YIVO⁵⁸⁰

The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research is located at 15 West 16th Street, New York, NY 10011-6301, phone: 212-246-6080, and can also be contacted through: archives@yivo.cjh.org.

The AJDC papers in YIVO are grouped under Record Group (RG) no. 335. There is no finding aid available online. For a full description, see:

<http://yivoarchives.org/index.php?p=collections/controlcard&id=33169&q=american+joint+distribution+committee>.

The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research: Leo W. Schwarz (Director of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for the U.S. Occupation Zone in Germany during the years 1946-1947) Papers, 1946-1947, RG 294.1.

A finding aid is available online:

<http://yivoarchives.org/index.php?p=collections/findingaid&id=34406&q=american+joint+distribution+committee>

Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP)

- The CAHJP are located in the Hi Tech Village 3/4 at the Edmond J. Safra Campus of the
- Hebrew University on Giv'at Ram, Jerusalem. Tel.: +972-2-6586249, e-mail address:

⁵⁷⁸ http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/Geneva45-54/G45-54_SM/USHMM-GENEVA_00020/USHMM-GENEVA_00020_00637.pdf#search=religious+objects

⁵⁷⁹ The Geneva files of 1945-1954 constitute the documentary record of JDC's global overseas operations in the immediate post-World War II (WWII) period and demonstrate the international scope of JDC's relief activities: documenting heirless Jewish properties and facilitating reparations payments and restitution proceedings. The materials in this collection include: correspondence; committee and board meeting minutes; field reports from worldwide staff; cables; supply lists; restitution laws and statutes; summaries of statistical reports; case files.

⁵⁸⁰ Yiddish acronym for Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (known in English as the Yiddish Scientific Institute).

cahjp@nli.org.il.

For the finding aid: <http://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/american-jewish-joint-distribution-committee-joint-jdc-or-ajjdc-0> (open pdf at the bottom of the webpage). Original documents are not accessible online.

3.7.1.6. The Jewish Trust Cooperation

In 1950 the British Occupation Authorities founded the Jewish Trust Corporation in the former British zone of occupation in northwest Germany as a Jewish body to pursue claims for the restitution of heirless property.⁵⁸¹ It was based on the model of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, which had been established in the American zone in 1948. By 1980 it closed down its operations.⁵⁸²

Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem

Many of the JTC's records are held by the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People.⁵⁸³ Documents are not accessible online, but finding aids are available.

See for instance the finding aid of the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC) – London (Main Office) – Administration Files, <http://cahjp.huji.ac.il/content/jewish-trust-corporation-jtc—london-main-office—administration-files>

The following files may, for example, include relevant information:

No. 444 a-b (Communities, Institutions & Organizations)

Berlin: Jewish Community, File I [Administration B.3], 1950 - 1957

No. 445 (Communities, Institutions & Organizations)

Berlin: Jewish Community, File II [Administration B.3] 1957 - 1970

No. 093 (Communities, Institutions & Organizations)

Berlin (Jewish Community): Indemnification claims against the city of Berlin re the community property [original binder no. 5] 1956 - 1961

No. 457 Communities, (Communities, Institutions & Organizations)

Berlin: Jewish Museum, incl.: paintings [Administration B.12] 1952 - 1960

⁵⁸¹ The French founded the Branche Francaise, which too functioned as the legal heir to heirless and public Jewish property. In December 1951 the JCR took over the French zone. (see: *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 30).

⁵⁸² Dana Herman writes: "An insider has already written a history of the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC), but an objective analysis of its activities in the British and French zones using the available archival sources should be undertaken." (*Hasavat Avedah*, p. 330.). She is referring to Charles I. Kapralik, *Reclaiming the Nazi loot: the history of the work of the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany*, Jewish Trust Corporation, London 1962 and idem, *The History of the Work of the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany*. Vol. II, Jewish Trust Corporation, 1971.

⁵⁸³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jewish_Trust_Corporation.

PART 4 – General Resources

Judaica and Online Databases – An Overview

The art website of the Claims Conference (<http://art.claimscon.org>), specifically the section “Resources for Research,” provides the following information:

- An overview of organizations involved in provenance research, both on an international as well as on a national level (<http://art.claimscon.org/resources/international-organizations/>; <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/national-organizations/>).
- An overview of online databases, including archival, international and national databases (<http://art.claimscon.org/resources/overview-of-worldwide-looted-art-and-provenance-research-databases/>).
- An overview on the provenance and acquisition process (<http://art.claimscon.org/resources/additional-resources/>).
- An overview of relevant conferences, declarations and resolutions with full-text copies (<http://art.claimscon.org/resources/additional-resources-2/>).
- An extensive bibliography and suggested reading list (<http://art.claimscon.org/resources/resources-bibliography/>).

Judaica objects can be found in various online looted art databases. Below is a brief overview of Judaica objects in online available databases. This overview can of course be extended and only reflects an analysis dated as of the end of 2016.

The following overview does not include individual museums, especially Jewish museums, that conduct(ed) provenance research on their Judaica collection.

Country	Name of Museum/ Database	Type of Database	Information	Website	Orig. Nazi records	Orig. Owner/s (Loss of Life)	Restitution Information	Judaica mentioned
Austria	Wien Museum	Provenance Research Database	Four electronic listings: 1. Vugesta purchases (1940-1945); 2. Dorotheum (auction house) purchases (1940-1945), 3. Dedications (donations) from public places, 4. Purchases and contributions by Julius Fargel (1938-1945);	http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/sammlungen/restitution.html	Original Nazi records (Vugesta) used for compilation of pdf file; documents not viewable	No	Restitution reports (annual report: 2002 – 2012/13)	No
	Art Database of the National Fund of the Republic of Austria	National Provenance Research Database	The Art Database of the National Fund provides information on art and cultural objects presently in museums and collections in Austria that may have been seized under the Nazis.	http://www.kunstrestituton.at/	No	Some original owners are mentioned; (no further information)	Yes (when available); Restitution reports are available online;	Yes
	Findbuch for Victims of National Socialism	Research Database	The Findbuch provides access to files held at the Austrian State Archive as well as other cooperating Austrian archives in regard to property seizure and compensation proceedings.	https://www.findbuch.at/en/	Yes	Yes	No overview, but restitution files held in archives can be reviewed;	N/A
	Art Stolen from Fritz Gruenbaum	Research Project/ Private Database	Website/database dedicated to the Fritz Gruenbaum art collection.	https://artstolenfromfritzgrunbaum.wordpress.com/the-collection/	No	Yes	N/A	no

Canada	The Max Stern Art Restitution Report	Research Project/Private Database	Website includes: (1) List of missing works, which includes objects from the 1937 Lempertz sale and missing works from the Galerie Stern Inventory 1936-38; and (2) a list of recovered works, including works that were recovered and restituted to Max Stern and a list of works recovered by the Max Stern Estate.	http://www.concordia.ca/arts/max-stern.html	No	Yes	Yes (section: recovered works)	no
Czech Republic	Restitution-Art	National Provenance Research Database	The database prepared by the Czech Ministry of Culture in cooperation with the Moravian Museums provides a list of artworks identified as confiscated by the Nazis and held in public collections in the Czech Republic.	http://www.restitution-art.cz/	No	No	No	Yes
	Database of Works of Art	National Provenance Research Database	The database of the Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims provides information on looted cultural property, or property with provenance gaps in cultural institutions in the Czech Republic.	http://www.cdmp.cz/db/?lang=en	No	Yes		Yes
Finland	Provenance Research in Finnish Museums	National Provenance Research Database	The Finnish National Board of Antiquities provides provenance information for three museums: National Museum of Finland, Ateneum Art Museum, and Sinebrychoff Museum;	http://www.nba.fi/en/information_services/the_historical_collections/provenance	No	No	No	No
France	Site Rose-Valland (Musées Nationaux Récupération)	National Provenance Research Database	The French Ministry of Culture (Directorate of Museums) maintains a database of approximately 2,000 MNR (Site Rose-Valland – Musées Nationaux Récupération) artworks, stolen from French Jews by the Nazis that remain to date in the custody of French museums	http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/pres.htm	No	No	No	no (site includes mostly paintings and some furniture)

	“Livres pillés, lectures surveillées. Les bibliothèques françaises sous l’occupation” by Martine Poulain	Research Database	Database of seized French libraries.	http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/livres_pilles.html (http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/SdL/MnR-SdL.htm)	No			[Judaica is presumably part of the looted books mentioned; however, there are no specific details]
	Schloss Collection	Research Project/ (Private) Database [maintained by French Ministry]	Catalogue provides information on Adolphe Schloss’ collection which was seized by the Nazis; restored and non-restituted works are listed;	http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/sites/archives_diplo/schloss/sommaire_ang.html	No	Yes	Yes	No (only paintings)
German y/Claims Conference	Art Claims in Former East Germany	Research Database	A list of unresolved claims as of September 28, 2006 for art and cultural property filed by the Claims Conference with the German restitution authorities regarding the former East Germany. In almost all cases applications have been filed by heirs with the Claims Conference.	http://www.artinformeraustgermany.org/	No	<i>website not functional</i>	No	<i>website not functional</i>
German y	Lost-Art Database	National (part international) Provenance Research Database	The Lost-Art Database registers cultural objects which as a result of persecution under the Nazi dictatorship and the Second World War were relocated, moved or seized, especially from Jewish owners.	http://www.lostart.de	No	Yes (in some cases: “Suchmeldungen”)	Yes (noted in some cases)	Yes

	Database of the Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen	National Provenance Research Database	Online database of the Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues (BADV), including objects still in the possession of the Finance Ministry. The database consists of paintings and other artworks collected for the Hitler-Museum in Linz, or that were part of Hermann Göring's collection.	http://www.badv.bund.de/DE/OffeneVermoege/sfragen/Provenienzsrecherche/Provenienzen/start.html	No	No	Yes	no (Judaica not searchable and obvious categories don't seem to hold Judaica objects)
	Database Central Collecting Point (CCP) München	Research Database	The database of the German Historical Museum (DHM) provides online access to the files of the Munich Central Collecting Point.	http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/ccp/dhm_ccp.php	Yes	Yes (when available)	Yes	"Judaica" in Object search: 0 results; search categories: Buch/ERR - 10 results (Paris confiscation s; Wildenstein or Rothschild); search term: "Jewish Claims" - 669 results (not specifically Judaica; various objects); cateory: "ERR" - 4,421 objects

	Database „Sammlung des Sonderauftrages Linz“	Research Database	The German Historical Museum (DHM), in cooperation with the Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues (BADV), provides access to an image database on the Sonderauftrag Linz (Special Commission: Linz).	http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/linzdb/	Yes	Yes (when available)		No
	Database „Kunstsammlung Hermann Goering“	Research Database	The German Historical Museum (DHM), in cooperation with the Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues (BADV), provides an image database of Hermann Goering's art collection.	http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering/dhm_goering.php?seite=9	Yes	Yes (when available)	No	No
	Art – Auctions – Provenances. The German Art Trade as Reflected in Auction Catalogues from 1901 to 1929	Research Database	Database provides access to auction catalogues published between 1901 and 1929 in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.	http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/en/sammlungen/artsales.html	No	No	No	yes - although majority of search results (for Judaica/and Hebraica) does not qualify as ritual or ceremonial objects;
	Looted Cultural Assets	Provenance Research Database	Four institutions, the Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin – Centrum Judaicum Library, the Freie Universität Berlin University Library, Potsdam University Library, and the Berlin Central and Regional Library posted over 27,000 objects (mostly books).	http://lootedculturalassets.de/	No	Yes (when available)	No	Yes (only books)

	Aktion "Entartete Kunst"	Research Database	Complete Index of „Degenerate Art“ works confiscated in 1937 in German museums;	http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst/index.html	Yes		No	No
	Galerie Heinemann	Research Project/ Private Database	Database provides information on the Munich art dealer Galerie Heinemann with a focus on the period between 1890 and 1938.	http://heinemann.gnm.de/	N/A	Yes		No
	Adolf Weinmueller Auction House	Research Project/ Private Database	The database provides access to the records of the Adolf Weinmueller auction houses, based in Berlin and Vienna.	http://www.lostart.de ; http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/weinmueller1941_12_04/0057	N/A	Yes		No
	Berlin State Archives	Research Database	The database provides information on digitized files of the "Wiedergutmachungsämter" in Berlin (B Rep. 025). The archive holds up to 800,000 files from these restitution offices.	http://wga-datenbank.de/de/startseite.html	N/A	Yes	Yes	N/A
	Database of Jewish Businesses in Berlin 1930-1945	Research Database	Database was launched by Humboldt University for a study on the "Final Sale in Berlin: The destruction of Jewish commercial activity 1930 – 1945"	http://www2.hu-berlin.de/digb/www/find?language=en_US	No	No	N/A	N/A
	"Entartete Kunst"	Research Database	Database provides overview of art objects that were declared as "Degenerated Art" by the Nazis.	http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst/datenbank/	No	No	N/A	N/A

Hungary	Hungary on Trial: Herzog Family Sues for the Return of Art Collection, the Last Hostage of the Holocaust	Research Project/Private Database	Database lists more than 40 artworks from the Herzog collection that are currently in the possession of three museums in Budapest.	http://www.hungarylootedart.com	No	Yes		No
Netherlands	NK Collection: Nederlands Kunstbezit collection	National Provenance Research Database	Database provides information on about 4,000 objects that were recuperated from Germany and are managed by the Dutch State;	http://www.herkomstgezocht.nl/ ; http://www.originsunknown.org	No	if available, name of original owner (no loss of life mentioned)	N/A	Yes
	Museum Acquisitions From 1933 Onwards	National Provenance Research Database	The Netherlands Museum Association provides an online database entitled “Museum Acquisitions From 1933 Onwards” which lists objects with provenance gaps held at Dutch museums.	http://www.musealeverwervingen.nl/	No	No	No	Yes
	Archief Kunsthandel Goudstikker	Research Project/Private Database	The Netherlands Art Institute provides access to the digitized Goudstikker-Miedl archive which comprises of over 1,500 index cards. These index cards originally belonged to Jacques Goudstikker but in September 1940 were acquired by banker Alois Miedl.	https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/archives/details/NL-HaRKD-0374	No	Yes	Yes	no (did not seem to collect Judaica)

Poland	Objects Lost Due to the World War II	Lost Object Database	The Internet Catalogue of Polish wartime losses is a project of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland. (Internet Catalogue https://kolekcje.mkidn.gov.pl is only available through secure password)	http://www.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/strona-glowna/dziennikarze/newsletter/wartime-losses.php	No	Yes	Yes (some recovered works listed)	N/A
	Central Judaica Database	(National) Provenance Research Database	The Central Judaica Database aims to digitize Judaica collections from Polish museums, archives and private collections;	http://judaika.polin.pl/dmuseion	No	No	No	Yes
Russian Federation	Project Heritage Revealed	Research Database	Project Heritage Revealed was designed to research and uncover cultural assets displaced in the aftermath of World War II and brought to the former Soviet Union; 1. Catalogue of Manuscripts and Archival Materials of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau held in Russian Depositories	http://www.commartrec.org/projects/heritage-revealed	No	Yes	No	archival records
	Project Heritage Revealed	Research Database	2. Catalogue of Art Objects from Hungarian Private Collections;	http://www.commartrec.org/projects/heritage-revealed	No	N/A	N/A	archival records
	Project Heritage Revealed	Research Database	3. Manuscripts and Archival Documents of the Vienna Jewish Community held in Russian Collections;	http://www.commartrec.org/projects/heritage-revealed	no	N/A	N/A	archival records

	The Cultural Values – The Victims of the War	Lost Object Database	The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation provides information on “Lost Cultural Values (The Central Catalogue of the Lost Cultural Values of the Russian Federation),” “Returned Cultural Values,” and “Moved Cultural Values”;	http://lostart.ru/en/index.php	No	No		No
Serbia	Erich Slomovic	Research Project/ Private Database	Website/database dedicated to the collection of Erich Slomovic held in Serbia’s cultural institutions.	http://www.erich-slomovic.com/	No	Yes (and loss of life)	No	No
Switzerland	The Gurlitt Collection	Research Project/ Private Database	The Kunstmuseum Bern published two electronic listings of the works in Gurlitt’s possession found in Munich and Salzburg.	http://www.kunstmuseumbern.ch/en/service/media/the-gurlitt-collection/27-11-14-lists-of-the-artworks-1289.html	No	No	No	No
	Taskforce Schwabinger Kunstfund	Research Project/ (Private) Database	Documentation of the Taskforce Findings for the works found in Munich.	http://www.taskforce-kunstfund.de/en/nc/materialien/object_record_excerpts.htm	No	Yes (if available and applicable)		N/A
	Stiftung Sammlung I.E. Buehrle	Research Project/ Private Database	The Foundation I.E. Buehrle Collection provides online access to its collection, which includes provenance research.	http://www.buehrle.ch/painters.php?lang=de	No	Yes	No	No
	Swiss Looted Art Portal	National Provenance Research Database	State- run online database with general information on NS looted art as well as provenance research.	http://www.bak.admin.ch/kulturerbe/04402/04711/04756/index.html?lang=de	No	No	N/A	No

United Kingdom	Spoliation Research Reports	National Provenance Research Database	The website of the Collections Trust provides online spoliation research reports for 22 National and 24 Non-National Institutions in the UK.	http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/collections-link/cultural-property-advice/spoliation	No	No	N/A	Yes
	‘Entartete Kunst’	Research Database	The Victoria and Albert Museum provides online access to a complete inventory of ‘Entartete Kunst’ confiscated by the Nazi regime from public institutions in Germany, mostly between 1937 and 1938.	http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/e/entartete-kunst/	Yes		No	No
United States / Claims Conference, USHM	Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg – Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume	Research Database	The database brings together in searchable illustrated form the remaining registration cards and photographs produced by the ERR covering more than 40,000 art objects taken from Jews in German-occupied France and, to a lesser extent, in Belgium.	http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
United States	Nazi-Era Provenance Internet Portal Project	(National) Provenance Research Database	NEPIP is a searchable registry of objects in U.S. museum collections that changed hands in Continental Europe during 1933-1945.	http://www.nepip.org	No	No	Yes (in few cases)	Yes
	The Holocaust Collection, Fold 3	Research Database	Fold 3 provides online access to archival documents pertaining to looted cultural property.	https://go.fold3.com/holocaust_art/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, Judaica is noted on archival documents;

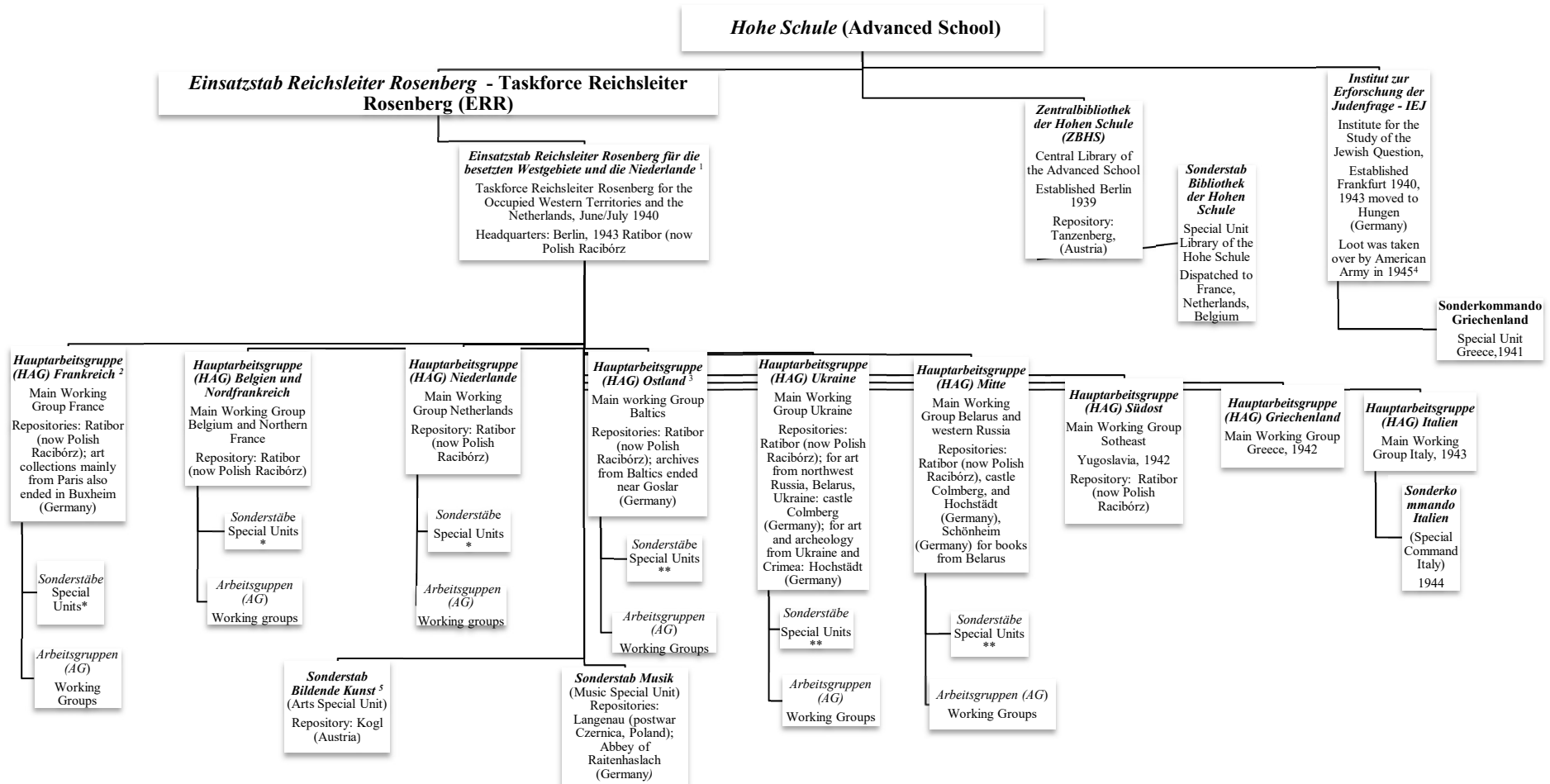
	Getty Provenance Index Database	Research Database	The Getty Provenance Index Databases contain indexed transcriptions of material from auction catalogs and archival inventories of Western European works of art. They contain nearly 1,000,000 records that cover the period from the late 16th century to the early 20th century.	http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/search.html	No	N/A	N/A	No
International	International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property	Research Database	The International Research Portal is a collaboration of national and other archival institutions with records that pertain to Nazi-Era cultural property.	https://irp2.ehri-project.eu/	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	European Holocaust Research Infrastructure Portal	Research Database	The EHRI portal offers access to information on Holocaust-related archival material held in institutions across Europe and beyond.	http://ehri-project.eu	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

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

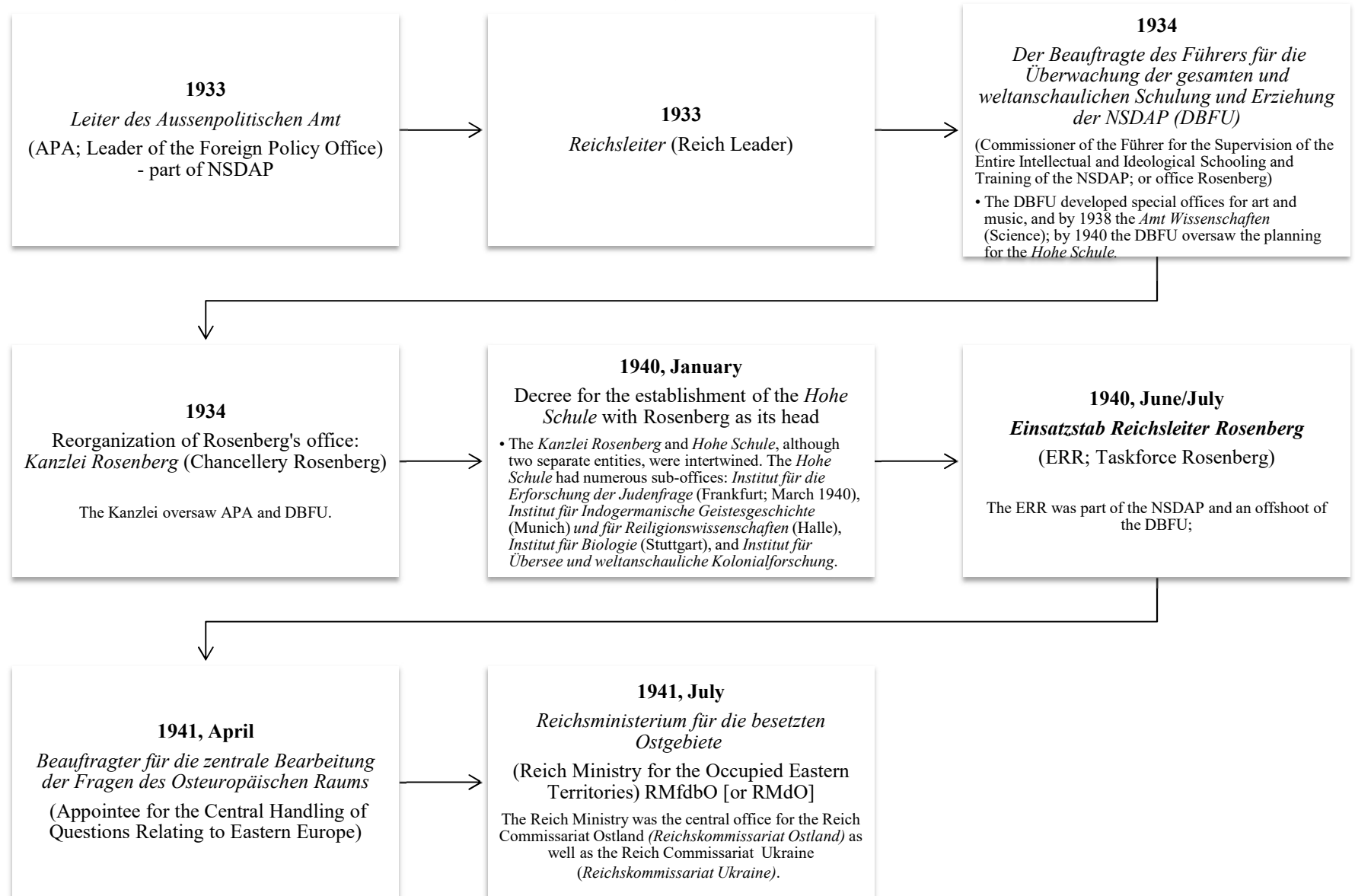


Chart (III) Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete & Looting



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

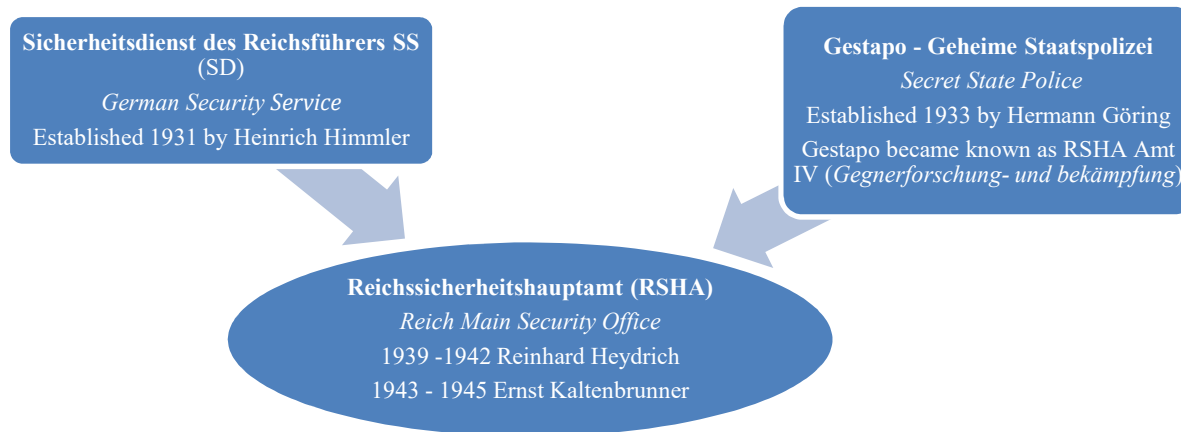
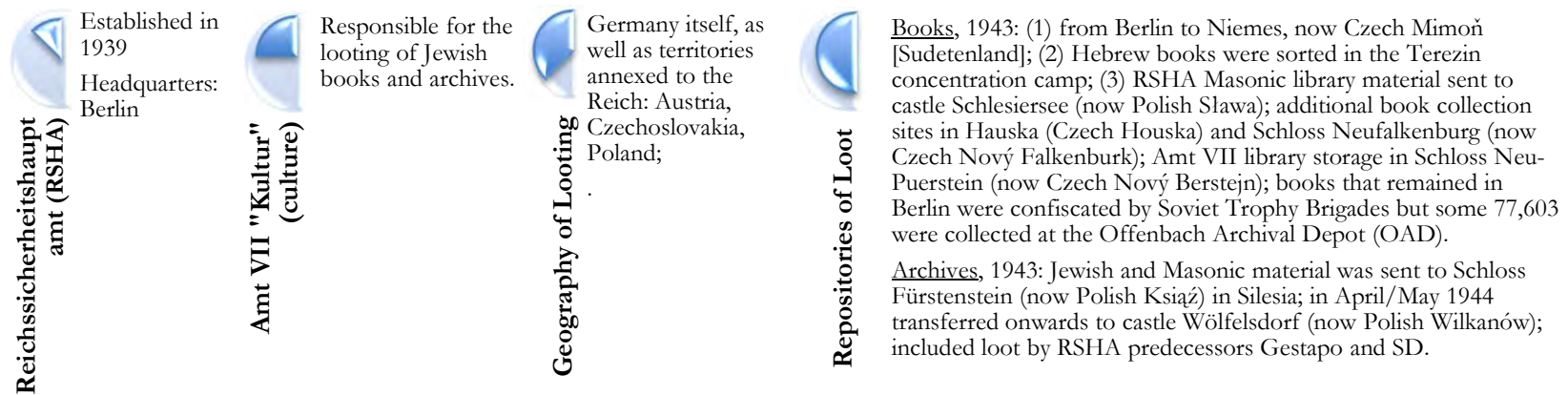


Chart (II) – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA): Organizational Structure



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.

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 Heilmann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After*, Crickadarn 2011, p. 95. See also Constantin Goshler, "Jewish Property and the Politics of Restitution in Germany after 1945," Martin Dean, Constantin Goshler, 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

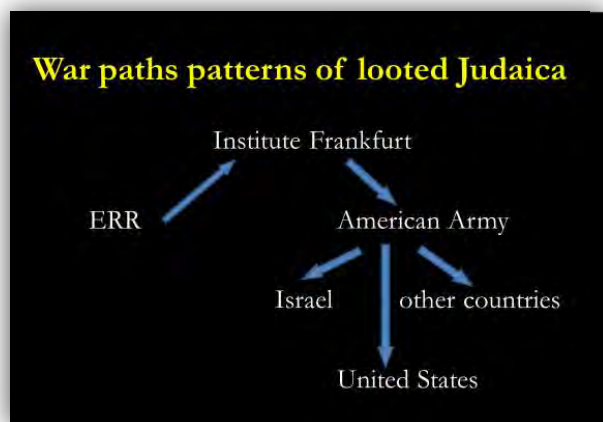


Figure 11

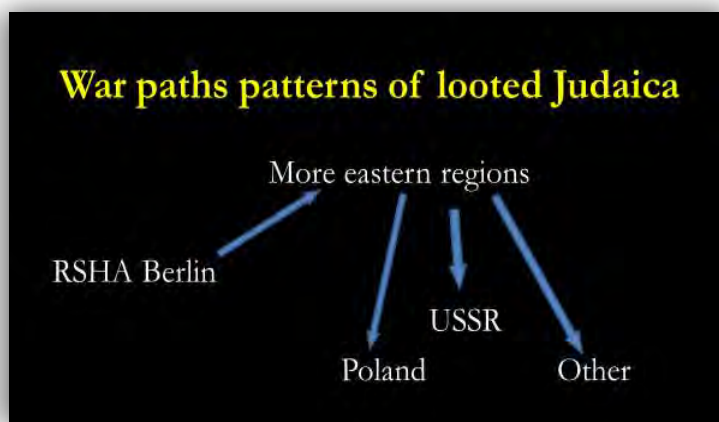


Figure 12

(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 ERR⁵⁸⁶

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 *Hohle 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.

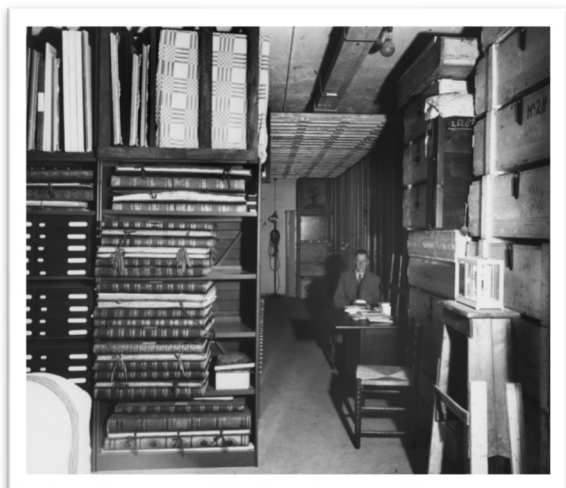


Figure 13: The Amsterdam municipal air raid shelter in the dunes at Castricum with crates from the Jewish Historical Museum, on the right, c. 1941. Photo collection, Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, Netherlands.

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.	
17	Tallith (zijde) Gebedekleed
18	"
19	Isolat-versiering (kruissteekbord.)
20	Besnijdeniskistje met inhoud <i>bevestigings</i>
21	Tegel, Delftsch aardewerk m/voorstelling van een besnijdenis
44	Twee tellers, gebruikt bij dominospel
55	Portret van Mr. J. Boes de Leeuw (Laguna)
57	Klein model van een Doortut malle ingrediënten
59	Rechaal (kast voor de H. Netserollen)
74	Ketubah (trouwvoto)
75	Manuscript (Makabeën-lamp) (koper)
108	Beeldje van voorst. met nazien v.d. loterijlijsten
123	Rechaal m. opdracht van Koningin Sophie d. Nederlanden
183	Penning aangeboden door het College van Dotsanen
196	Stal met miniatur-geweer en daarbij behorende instrumenten
197	Kijkkastje met voorstellingen
199	Repro. naar 2 schildertjes: Het Joodsche Bruidje
199	De Netserol-schrijver
199	Twee m. g. bezetters (zilver) gebruikt bij besnijdenis
199	Portret van D. H. H. van de Castro
199	Wantschertje voor de korte hantel d. Port. ier. Synagoge
199	Aschant de K. L. de T. T. que conteno. etc.
199	Copie des articles que etablissent etc.
199	Twee steentjes met houten handvat
199	Koperen plaat voor adreboek
199	Tien houtblokken v.d. illustraties eener Hagadah
199	Lijst van kinderen beh. waarmaken van de functie van
199	Hutan Bezegelt
199	Kopergravure: Besnijdenis, lossing van een eerstgeboren
199	Kopergravure: Eerbetoon in de Port. Synagoge
199	Gouden Sabbatring
199	Megillah (rollen) (zilver)
199	Mazoezah ingewijst (blad)
199	Speldkussen m. hem. gelukswaard
199	Bevestigingsbevestiging te wisterters
199	Kabuth-Geliedekje m. gouden letters en franje
199	Speldkussen, bruin
199	Lange batisten jurk met dik gastjes Bord.
199	Kousen, gebruikt bij besnijdenis
199	Speldkussen voor Kramkamar
199	Megillah, met zilver gemonteerd
199	Ole van de Castro m. inscriptie
199	Dankliederen aan God
199	Kiddosch-beker (zilver)
199	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 & Tritzschler / 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.

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



2nd Floor, South Side
Holy Scrolls (Toroth) desecrated by Nazis.
Religious articles piled in cases, unsorted.

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 Historical 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

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_finale_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 Overview", Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 133–134.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 134.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 153.

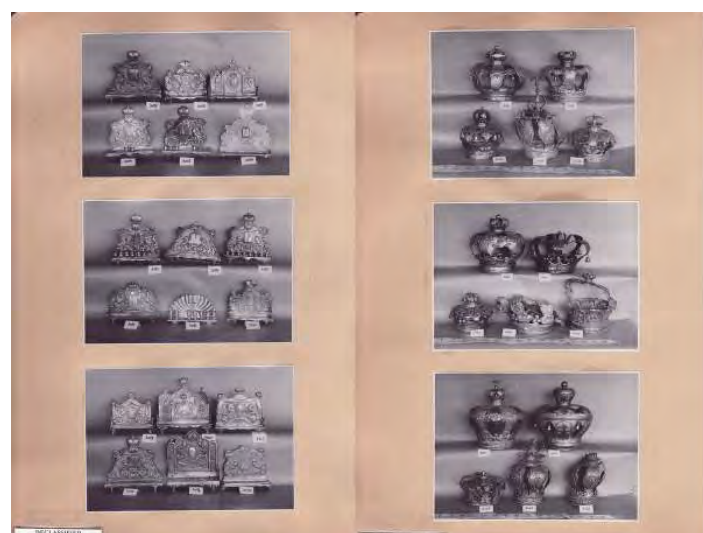
⁵⁹⁷ So far as the books are concerned, they were kept in secret for 40 years in a church under the Lithuanian Book Chamber and then the National Library. See the Edward Blank YIVO Collections Project (partly financed by the Claims Conference) at <https://www.yivo.org/Vilna-Collections-Project>.

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



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.

Ceremonial objects were photographed and catalogued under the following categories:

Seder Plates; Torah Shields:	76
• Goblets:	224
Collections Boxes:	59
• Spice Boxes:	1 244
Menorahs:	1 285
• Hanukkah Lamps:	550
Torah Shields	492
• Rimmonim:	932
Torah Crowns:	74
• Pointers:	741
Eternal Lights:	36

Figure 22

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

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 Avedab: 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.

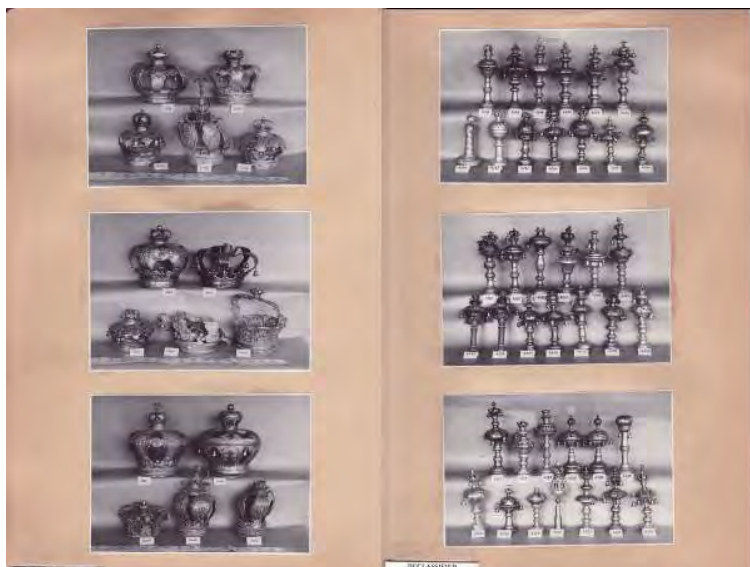


Figure 24

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).

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

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

<i>World distribution of ceremonial objects and Torah scrolls</i>			
<i>Country</i>	<i>Museum pieces</i>	<i>Synagogue pieces</i>	<i>Scrolls</i>
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

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 (Reich 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 Kłodzko region, possibly to a depot in Wilkanów (Wölfelsdorf) (fig. 26).

After discovery in 1945, the Polish authorities transferred these objects to nearby Bożków (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, Felicita 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 Trzebiezowice) 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 Toruń to transfer 89 artefacts to the Institute. These had been looted from synagogues in Chełmno Province, including the synagogue of Chełmża, 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).

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 Poznań. 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 Województwo Lubuskie in Góra (Grünberg) in Poland. Most probably they were stored in the Silesian 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 Bożków (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

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 Witness*, 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 AMAR⁶¹⁷

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, "Judaika 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

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 Gosciler, 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 Kazimierz III Museum. The Soviet authorities merged the latter two, creating the new "Lviv Historical Museum."⁶²⁹

⁶²³ Maciej Matwijów, *Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich w latach 1939-1946* (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2003), 74, 76.

⁶²⁴ Petriakova, "Judaika," 274.

⁶²⁵ Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Lviivskoi Oblasti, *fond 35, opis 13, sprava 146*: 20, hereafter abbreviated as DALO 35,13,146:20

⁶²⁶ Kohlbauer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 133, 140, Petriakova, "Judaika," 273, Borzumińska, "Kuratorium," 158.

⁶²⁷ Zofia Borzumińska, "Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej we Lwowie," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, No.2 (2005), 153-165.

Bibliotekei 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, "Judaika," 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

⁶³⁰ In terms of international law, it should be pointed out, the German *Generalgouvernement* 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 codzienne* (Warsaw, 2000), 50. See for slightly higher minimum 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* (Łódź, 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, *Shehodennyk lwivskoho betto* (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 Stadtbauinspektor 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 Maurycy 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 Rohstoffverwertung 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.

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 matsevot 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

⁶⁵⁶ Kahane, *Shchodennyk*, 83 and Yosif Helston, "Evreyskyi 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, "Evreyskyi nekropol," 14f.

⁶⁶⁰ Kohlbaumer-Fritz, "Judaicasammlungen," 133.

⁶⁶¹ Andrzej Mężynski (ed), *Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* w latach 1939 – 1945. Wybór dokumentów źródłowych (2003), 93f.

⁶⁶² Mężynski (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

⁶⁶³ Andrzej Mężynski, “Die Judaistische Bibliothek bei der Großen Synagoge in Warschau und das Schicksal der Bücher aus dem Warschauer Ghetto,” in: Regine Dehnel (Hrsg.) *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 2006), 92.

⁶⁶⁴ Mężynski, *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 continuing 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 Zholtovskiy, 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 muzeinomu landshafti 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 obshchyny Lvova v sobranii Lvovskoi Galerei iskusstv," *Lviv Hesed Ariei 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, "Judaika," 277.

⁶⁸⁴ Petriakova, "Judaika," 276.

⁶⁸⁵ Petriakova, "Judaika," 275.

⁶⁸⁶ Olga Kolosovska, "Kollektsiia evreiskikh staropechatnykh izdaniï v fondakh Otdela pedkoi knigi Lvovskoi nauchnoi biblioteki im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy," *Knigopечatanie*.

⁶⁸⁷ Boris Orach, "Po sledam galitskikh evreev. Vo Lvove vozrozhdaetsia 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>.

APPENDICES TO PART 2

A. THE WERTHEIMER HANUKKAH LAMP, BERNHARD PURIN



Figure 30: Hanukkah Lamp / Hanukkah
Halberstadt, 1713; Silver, parcel gilt;
Maker: Thomas Tübner
H: 24; W: 30.7; D: 8 cm
Courtesy of Dr. David and Jemima Jeselsohn, Switzerland

The history of ownership over several generations can be established for few Judaica objects. Undoubtedly, this lamp, which became the property of Austrian court factor Samson Wertheimer (1658-1724) in 1713 shortly after its creation, counts among them. Moreover, its history reveals much about Jewish family networks that stretch far beyond the era of the court factors.⁶⁹⁰ At the same time, it is an example of Judaica that disappeared following looting during the Shoah but the history of which could be reconstructed decades later.

This Hanukkah lamp is part of a small group of very similar lamps that were manufactured around 1710-1715 in the workshop of the Halberstadt silversmith Thomas Tübner. Apart from this example three others have been preserved in the Jewish Museum New York and in the Israel Museum.⁶⁹¹ In the center of its backplate, which is divided into three parts, is the depiction of a Hanukkah lamp based on the Temple menorah, flanked by two

mermaids bearing crossbows and two columns crowned with flowers. The lamp is topped by an Austrian double-headed eagle. This double-headed eagle was probably added only after the acquisition of the lamp by Samson Wertheimer. It is of lesser quality than the other parts of the lamp, and unlike other mounted elements, it is not assembled with screws but with rivets. Its later addition might be connected to the privilege that Emperor Charles VI granted Samson Wertheimer to use the imperial coat of arms.⁶⁹² The mermaids can be interpreted as the zodiac sign of Sagittarius, which can be frequently found on Judaica objects.⁶⁹³ Wertheimer was not born under this sign, but in Jewish tradition Sagittarius stands for the month of Kislev, in which the Hanukkah celebration takes place. To the left, the Hanukkah song “Hanerot Halalu” (We light these lights), sung during the candle lighting ceremony, is engraved in Hebrew in an arc-shaped field crowned with shells. In front of the column on the far left is the sculpted figure of a Maccabean holding in his left hand the movable shamash, the extra light used to light the candles. Three of the four figures are probably recent recasts as there was only one figure on the lamp in a photograph published in

⁶⁹⁰ Subsequent information on ownership until 1929 is based on a letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger of February 19, 1929 (Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection [AR 4136], Series F sub dato) as well as on: Bernhard Purin, *Samsons Leuchter. Ein Chanukka-Leuchter aus dem Besitz der Familie Wertheimer*, Munich 2013.

⁶⁹¹ Susan L. Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps from the Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Haven – London 2005, cat. nos. 14 and 163. As well as: *The Jewish World: 365 Days – From the Collections of the Israel Museum*, Jerusalem 2004, p. 670f, (erroneously described here as Leipzig 1799).

⁶⁹² Battenberg, J. Friedrich, „... Gleich anderen dero Diener einen Degen zu tragen...“: Reflexionen zum sozialen Rang der Hofjudenschaft in vormoderner Zeit,“ *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 13/1 (2003), p. 101.

⁶⁹³ Iris Fishof, *Written in the Stars: Art and Symbolism of the Zodiac*, Jerusalem 2001, pp. 130-131.

1931.⁶⁹⁴ The structure of the left side is reflected in the right part of the backplate. In the field, the Hebrew blessing is engraved that is spoken when the candles are lighted. Four lions with a breast shield support the lamp's base. The eight bowl-shaped individual candlesticks are surrounded by a ribbon with floral ornamentation. Probably shortly after its creation in 1713, the lamp came into the ownership of Samson Wertheimer. The circumstances of the acquisition remain unclear; however, it might have been a gift from the Halberstadt court Jew Issachar Behrend Lehmann (1661-1730).⁶⁹⁵ Wertheimer was chief rabbi of the Jews of Hungary and Moravia as well as rabbi of the then important Jewish Community Eisenstadt/Kismarton, at the time western Hungary, today capital of the Austrian federal state of Burgenland. He was active as a financier of various European courts and as shtadlan, intercessor, for the Central-European Jews at the imperial courts of Leopold I and Charles VI.⁶⁹⁶ After Wertheimer's death in 1724, the lamp went to his son Wolf Simon Wertheimer (1681-1765), who besides his residence in Vienna also owned a residence in Munich as he was the, albeit unlucky, financier of the Bavarian court.⁶⁹⁷ After his death, his grandson Josef Wertheimer, who had settled in Bayreuth, inherited the lamp and in turn bequeathed it to his son Philipp (around 1747-1810) who also lived in Bayreuth. The latter's wife, Ella Esther Fränkel (1751-1817), was a direct descendant of the same Bermann Fränkel (around 1645-1708) who, in the wake of the expulsion of the Viennese Jews in 1670, had brought the Viennese Memorbuch to the Klaus-Synagogue in Fürth.⁶⁹⁸ After the death of Philipp Wertheimer, the lamp reached Regensburg together with his daughter Reha (around 1776-1834) who was married there to Löb Gleisdorfer (1770-1835). These court Jews' family networks continued also throughout the 19th century through the couple's daughters: Mathilde (1801-1877) was married to Wolf Raphael Kaulla (1800-1860) in Munich, a grandson of the legendary Chaile "Madame" Kaulla (1739-1809) from Hechingen. The latter's sister, Nanette Kaula (1812-1876), was portrayed for the Gallery of Beauties of the Bavarian King Ludwig I and married the banker Salomon Heine (1803-1863). With Sophie (1810 -1862), the second daughter of Reha and Samuel Löb Gleisdorfer, who married Dr. Hermann Cohen (d. 1869), the lamp arrived in Hanover around 1835. Their daughter Ella (1843-1912) was married there to the architect Edwin Oppler (1831-1880), who designed, among other things, the synagogues of Hanover and Hamelin. In the following generation, the lamp passed to the lawyer and notary Sigmund Oppler (1873-1942) in Hanover. When in the late 1920s, Dr. Michael Berolzheimer (1866-1942), a lawyer and researcher of family history born in Fürth and living in Untergrainau near Garmisch, investigated his own family history, which is closely linked to that of the Wertheimers, he got in touch with his distant relative Sigmund Oppler, who mentioned the lamp in his possession, which according to family lore went back to Samson Wertheimer. In a 1929 letter to the Munich art historian Theodor Harburger (1887-1949), Berolzheimer called his attention to this Hanukkah lamp and reported that he had received from the family a photograph of it and the permission to publish the photograph; he inquired whether Harburger would be interested in publishing an article about the object.⁶⁹⁹ By then, Berolzheimer had already compiled a genealogy of the Oppler family that confirmed

⁶⁹⁴ Elisabeth Moses, *Jüdische Kunst und Kulturdenkmäler in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf 1931, p. 161.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf.: Notes on this group of lamps and on the gift-giving practice among Jewish court factors in Vivian B. Mann, "A Court Jew's Silver Cup," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 43 (2008), p. 31-140, p. 137-138. The assumption already held by Berolzheimer and adopted by Mann that this could be a gift from Lehmann to Wertheimer on the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Charles VI in December 1711 can, however, not be sustained by the date letter for 1713 (cf. fn. 1).

⁶⁹⁶ Vivian B. Mann, Richard I. Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, New York 1997, cat. no. 129.

⁶⁹⁷ Bernhard Purin, „Juden als geduldete Geldgeber im 18. Jahrhundert,“ idem (ed), *Stadt ohne Juden. Die Nachtseite der Münchner Stadtgeschichte*, Munich 2008, p. 30f.

⁶⁹⁸ Bernhard Purin, "Wiener Memorbuch der Früher Klaus-Synagoge," Bernhard Purin (ed.), *Buch der Erinnerung. Das Wiener Memorbuch der Früher Klaus-Synagoge*, Fürth 1999, pp. 47-54.

⁶⁹⁹ Letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger, January 23, 1929, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (AR 4136), Series F sub dato.

Samson Wertheimer as a direct ancestor.⁷⁰⁰ This genealogical research made it not only possible to reconstruct in 1929 an unbroken ownership history of the lamp: More than eighty years later, this work would become critical for the resolution of a case of looted art. During the Nazi period, part of the family managed to emigrate to the USA; Sigmund Oppler and his wife Lily failed to continue their journey from Amsterdam, their place of exile, to the USA. Ahead of their imminent deportation, they committed suicide in Amsterdam in September 1942.⁷⁰¹

There is no trace of the lamp in the wake of 1938. Whether it was confiscated as “Jews’ silver” or taken from the family in any other way can no longer be determined.

Yet, in the 1950s, it arrived together with 37 other Judaica objects at the New York Central Synagogue as a gift from Morris Troper (1892-1963).⁷⁰² Morris Troper, a lawyer in New York, had been involved with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) since the 1920s and became its European representative.⁷⁰³ It remains unclear how the Wertheimer-Oppler Hanukkah lamp came into his possession. When in 2006, the Central Synagogue took the lamp to a Judaica auction in New York,⁷⁰⁴ it could be identified as belonging to the Oppler family thanks to the documents in the estate of Michael Berolzheimer. The lamp was withdrawn from the auction and restituted in 2007 to the Oppler heirs in Washington DC. They in turn again brought it to a Sotheby’s Judaica auction in 2010; from there it entered the Dr. David and Jemima Jeselsohn Collection, Switzerland.⁷⁰⁵

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⁷⁰⁰ The ancestral line can be found in a letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger, February 19, 1929, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (AR 4136), Series F sub dato.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. <http://www.joodsmonument.nl/page/559930> (retrieved February 18, 2014).

⁷⁰² “War and Remembrance,” *The New York Times*, 7 February 1997.

⁷⁰³ *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 65 (1964), p. 438.

⁷⁰⁴ Sotheby’s New York, *Important Judaica*, December 13, 2006, Lot 53.

⁷⁰⁵ Sotheby’s New York, *Important Judaica*, December 15, 2010, Lot 26. S. See also Bernhard Purin, „Im Zeichen des Schützen. Ein Chanukka-Leuchter aus Halberstadt bei Sotheby’s, New York,“ *Kunst und Auktionen*, 38/ 23 (3 December 010), pp. 5-6.



*Figure 1: Parokhet for High Holidays
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum Vienna, Inv.
No. 7445*

B. THE GRUNWALD PAROCHET, FELICITAS HEIMAN-JELLINEK

How many characteristics or dimensions can an object contain? In how many different ways can we define an object? How many of its contexts past and present are we able and prepared to discover? Are we able to recognize a historical object in all its momentousness?

The relevance of these questions will be demonstrated with an object purchased by the Jewish Museum Vienna. This is about a Parokhet, a Torah curtain of Viennese provenance. The dimensions immanent in this curtain are of the most varied as well as complex nature.

First of all, there is the material dimension: this is a well-preserved textile of remarkable dimensions. Velvet is the chosen material; the restrained decoration is executed in couching and laid work. For a Judaica object, the curtain is rather modern, after all, the appliquéd golden embroidery cautiously, yet perceptibly reflects the Art Deco style. The rear lining material is made from cotton. Metal rings sewn on top make it possible to hang it on a round rod.

As already the name implies, a Torah curtain's place is in front of the Torah ark, meaning that its functional place is in the synagogue or in the private prayer house. However, the symbolic content of a Torah curtain points far beyond the individual synagogue, since its use in the Ashkenazi realm is derived from the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple in Jerusalem. After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, the most important destroyed or looted symbols were transposed to the developing synagogues to highlight that the loss of the central sanctuary would not mean the loss of its most essential content – i.e., God's word – and that religious services were not bound to any single place. Now, in one and the same synagogue, various curtains are used in the course of a year since individual pieces are hung only on very specific occasions.

The Torah curtain described here is deliberately made from light cream-colored velvet and displays two embroidered Shofar horns in the upper center, which points to its specific religious application: This is a curtain that is used on one of the highest Jewish holidays, namely, on Rosh Hashanah, the New Year. Thanks to the Hebrew endowment inscription, we know that this curtain was dedicated on the occasion of a specific New Year holiday, namely, of the year 5682, which corresponds to October 3, 1921 according to the civil calendar.

This brings us to the historical dimension of the curtain. The endowment inscription attributes it to the Leopoldstädter Tempel. The notion to build—after the Stadttempel (City Temple) on Seitenstettengasse, inaugurated in 1828—a second prayer house for the Viennese community had become compelling as a result of the altered demographic situation in the wake of the Revolution of 1848. Already in late 1849, there was consensus among the community's functionaries—then still “representatives”—that new synagogue space had to be created. Yet, they were divided over the choice of location. It was the later ennobled Heinrich Sichrowsky who through his purchase of the plot on former Wällischgasse 569 destined the Leopoldstadt to become the seat of a new prayer house. The location was an unfortunate choice not just in the eyes of several community representatives: The imperial-royal police authority, too, who in 1852 had been asked for permission to build a second prayer house, openly expressed its fear of an increasing

“Judaization” of Vienna and of the Leopoldstadt district in particular. In its report of October 31 of that year, the request was commented on as follows: “...naturally, it must be feared that the establishment of a new large prayer house will have a special pull for new immigrants to the imperial city; and more particularly, the Leopoldstadt district, where baptisms and other Christian rites are significantly decreasing as it is, will attract the old name ‘Jew town’.”⁷⁰⁶ With unconcealed regret, however, the letter further stated that one could hardly decline the request any longer in view of the meanwhile effected official recognition of Viennese Jewry: “... yet, if unrestricted toleration of the Israelites is to continue in this place, it is consequently impossible to deny them the requisite opportunity to exercise their religion.”⁷⁰⁷ The ministry for religious affairs, as represented by Count Thun, was much more favorably inclined in this matter than the police, yet it had to leave the decision to the emperor himself. This was because the chief of the Supreme Police Authority was able to demand “to adjourn all further decisions until the question of the Israelites’ property and domicile capacity has been resolved.”⁷⁰⁸ In October 1853, the property capacity of Jews had been restored to the status of January 1848. However, the emperor was gracious and permitted as of May 2, 1854 construction of the temple in Leopoldstadt. The house of God, designed by the renowned architect Ludwig Förster, was inaugurated on May 18, 1858.⁷⁰⁹ The designated preacher, Adolf Jellinek, eventually second chief rabbi of Vienna and founder of the Viennese Bet Hamidrash, took up his office that day. Viennese Jewry was proud of its Leopoldstädter Tempel and demonstrated its pride openly. In contrast to the Stadttempel, which still had to hide behind an inconspicuous row of houses as a result of the restrictive regulations, the Leopoldstädter Tempel was an evident sign of Jewish existence in Vienna. All the harder thus were Viennese Jews hit by what the dedication inscription on the Torah curtain further reveals. The Parokhet had been endowed by the “committee for the restoration of the Leopoldstädter Tempel.” By “restoration” was meant the reconstruction of the left wing of the synagogue, where on August 17, 1917 a fire had erupted after a morning service for Jewish soldiers on the occasion of the birthday of Emperor Charles I. “Like a bird whose nest was robbed, our soul is mourning,” moaned then rabbi of the Leopoldstädter Tempel, Dr. Max Grunwald. “The feast for our eyes is a smoking heap of rubble! Our pride, a tangle of charred wood, molten metal, bent iron rods!”⁷¹⁰ Only after the war ended did it become possible to start raising funds for reconstruction, which was only completed as late as in summer 1921. When as of October 1921—in time for the Jewish New Year 5682—the operating permit for the renovated temple was issued by the authorities, the Parokhet was donated as well.

Naturally, the curtain was dedicated, first and foremost, to “the honor of the Torah,” but beyond this also, as it says, “to our teacher and rabbi, Meir, son of Rav Abraham Grunwald,” which brings the personal dimension of this textile object to the fore.

The already mentioned Max Meir Grunwald had been called from Hamburg to Vienna in 1903 as rabbi, initially to the synagogue in Vienna-Fünfhaus (15th district), then to the Leopoldstädter Tempel. Grunwald was married to the daughter of the combative Floridsdorf Rabbi Joseph Samuel Bloch,⁷¹¹ who publicly exposed as preposterous the antisemitic concoctions both of the Prague theologian August Rohling as well as those of the Viennese priest Deckert. Margarete Grunwald née Bloch significantly supported her husband

⁷⁰⁶ Quoted from: „Aus der Geschichte des Leopoldstädter Tempels,” *Dr. Bloch’s Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, vol. XXXIV, no. 33 (August 14, 1917), p. 535.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ For details see: Ruth Burstyn, „Die Geschichte des Leopoldstädter Tempels in Wien – 1858-1938,” *Kairos* 28 (3-4), 1986, pp. 228-249

⁷¹⁰ Max Grunwald, Unserem Tempel!, in: note 429, p. 533.

⁷¹¹ Christoph Daxelmüller, “Dr. Max Meir Grunwald, Rabbiner, Volkskundler, Vergessener,” Bernhard Purin (ed.), *Wiener Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen*, vol. 1, (Vienna 1994/95), p. 94.

in his tireless and sweeping charitable efforts that grew beyond all measure especially in the wake of World War I. Their daughter Hilde, in turn, married Leon Kolb, art collector and chronicler of the Viennese Jewish Museum.⁷¹² Thus, the cultural-historical relevance of the curtain becomes now comprehensible in another dimension as well.

Max Grunwald's connections to the Viennese Jewish Museum were longstanding and close; after all, he was founder of the "Society for Jewish Folklore" whose organ, *Newsletter for Jewish Folklore*, he published from its establishment in 1897 until 1922 and also largely penned himself. Until 1925, the *Newsletter* was followed by the *Yearbooks for Jewish Folklore* for another three years. Apart from that, he published numerous studies in the field of Jewish history and folklore. Special significance in connection with the Viennese Jewish Museum can be attributed to his *Hygiene of the Jews*, which appeared in 1912. Grunwald had drafted for the 1911 International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden the—not undisputed—concept for the Jewish section. Realization of the project had only been possible in cooperation with the Viennese Museum that extended considerable support conceptually and financially, as well as the objects to be exhibited.⁷¹³ The exhibition's success turned out to be unexpectedly great: Overnight Grunwald became internationally renowned and recognized in professional circles—and with him the Viennese Jewish Museum. Several exhibits from this hygiene exhibition, including specially prepared models, have survived National Socialist confiscation in 1938 and are today at the Jewish Museum Vienna. Thus, we have reached the contemporary historical dimension of the curtain.

On the morning of November 10, 1938, the Leopoldstädter Tempel burned down completely. As with all other synagogues (with the exception of the Stadttempel on Seitenstettengasse), a raiding squad of the Verfügungstruppe (SS Special Purpose Troops) had thrown hand grenades. Twenty-one years earlier, Grunwald had expressed his satisfaction that city and government representatives had visited him in the wake of the fire of 1917 to demonstrate their sympathy. Deeply moved, he reminded that the cornerstones of both the Leopoldstädter Tempel and the Votive Church had been brought from Jerusalem by the first "secretary" of the Jewish Community, Ludwig August Frankl: "Adversity builds many a bridge. Does anybody remember that this temple of the Jews is standing on Viennese soil as an appeal to reconciliation? That the cornerstone of this emblem of a golden age long vanished since is hewn off one and the same piece as the stone placed into the ground beneath the Votive Church? That both originate from the Mount of Olives, both were shaped then and there by the same Jewish artist and were brought by the same Jewish envoy from the Holy City to Vienna?"⁷¹⁴ Vienna, too, mourns with our soul!⁷¹⁵ In 1938, Max Grunwald had to escape to Jerusalem where he lived until his death in 1953. Of the Leopoldstädter Tempel remained only the northern wing of the building. Cult objects also survived partially; today they are at the Jewish Museum Vienna. They were transferred to the Museum on permanent loan by the Jewish Community Vienna (IKG), which had been able to save a major part of the synagogal objects ahead of the pogrom of November 9 and (mostly) 10. No satisfactory explanation has been found to date for the fact that individual objects such as this Parokhet were not in the holdings when transferred but appeared bit by bit on the market. Here the issue of provenance research arises in the sense of questioning the ways the object went from the Leopoldstädter Temple to the market.

⁷¹² Ibid.

⁷¹³ Ibid, 102.

⁷¹⁴ For a revised view on this account see: *Gerhard Milchram*, "Jerusalem 1856. Ludwig August Frankl und die Gründung der Lämle-Schule," Hanno Loewy, Hannes Sulzenbacher (ed.), *Endstation Sehnsucht. Eine Reise durch Jeruschalajim – Jerusalem – Al Quds*, Berlin 2015, p. 127.

⁷¹⁵ Max Grunwald, *Unserem Tempel*, in: note 429, p. 534.

Finally, with the acquisition of such an item, the issue of its economic dimension arises as well. It should be pointed out, though, that with the acquisition of an object, its economic aspect is by no means exhausted: It must be insured, inventoried, restored, exhibited, stored, and preserved. Therefore it entails follow-up costs that are more or less calculable depending on its properties and condition. Yet the primary question always is what one buys for what reason and for what price. Moralizing about the dynamics of the market system in which we have to operate would be, in this context, out of touch with reality. All one can do is asking oneself rather pragmatically how much is history "worth?". And if one determines that it is worth the price demanded, then one has not only "brought home" a piece of history but also removed the object from the market and from speculation.

The seventy-year young Parokhet has told a long story that shows that a ceremonial object must not be just "another object" in a museum's or collection's holdings. The story is meant to make clear that an historical object does not necessarily have to be a mere illustration of an event or a situation. History provides the object with a "character" of its own. The latter becomes apparent only after closer examination of its material, functional, spiritual, historical, personal, and economic essence. Only after capturing these individual dimensions does this object become nearly whole and thus a museum piece in the sense of an object that should be preserved for the future also because it is meaningful. An object is meaningful that does not get neutralized⁷¹⁶ in the museum but positioned - an object for which clear positions are assumed precisely through the deliberate disclosure of as many of its inherent dimensions as possible. To be sure, complete access to an object will be hardly possible because its "seat in life" is in history, in a specific situation of the past that was determined by specific people of the past. Hence, its context cannot be reconstructed to the last detail. Nonetheless, an object need not simply be a messenger from the past that transmits the message to the recipient, only to then retire back into the past. And the message should not be reduced to its ostensible content - rather it wants to be read also in-between the lines and wants its codes deciphered. And finally, the recipient, i.e. today's viewer, must render himself account whether he wishes to accept the messenger's message altogether or whether it is to be sent back into oblivion—with the comment "recipient unknown", because today's owner and/or viewer is not interested in the message anymore.

Uncovering the different layers of the curtain and reconstructing a complex history by its inscription are not enough to establish the concrete provenance of an object. Further questions are not answered and should be examined during next steps:

As this object stems from a Viennese synagogue, it has to be clarified if the curtain was part of the amassed holdings of Viennese synagogues and prayer houses extant after the pogrom of November 1938 and stored away by the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the Jewish community (IKG). Verification of this is nearly impossible as no lists of the rescued objects were made.

A possible step is to turn to the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP),⁷¹⁷ in Jerusalem, established in 1939. They hold the archives of hundreds of Jewish communities, of Jewish organizations and of the private collections of many individuals. You may search their holdings choosing a "Collection Type", a "Country" and a "Search Term". As for the "Collection Type" there are the options "Communities", "Private Collections" and "Organizations". As in the present case we are dealing with Austria, we are choosing this country, the collection type "communities", and "Vienna" as search item because the Parokhet was dedicated – as we have reconstructed above - there. You will come up with two

⁷¹⁶ Already in 1953, Adorno deplored that museums pursued "the neutralization of culture." Comp. Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Rolf Tiedemann (ed.), vol. 10/1, Frankfurt/Main 1997, p. 188.

⁷¹⁷ <http://cahjp.nli.org.il>

hits and choose “Inventories of the Jewish Community of Vienna, Part I (1626-1938)“. In these files you will find under “VI. D. 4” (Kultus und rituelle Angelegenheiten/Bethausverwaltung/Verzeichnisse der Bethäuser; Inventare) a list of Viennese synagogues and inventories.⁷¹⁸ It is likely that the inventories are very cursory but one might find a lead.

Another search option is to use our knowledge about the history of Max Grunwald and the parokhet dedicated to him. Choose as a collection type the private ones and for the search term his name. You will see that an estate of Max Grunwald forms part of the holdings: “Nachlass Rabbiner Max Grunwald – P 97”.⁷¹⁹ From the material listed it would sound promising to go through his autobiography, which exists only as a manuscript: “Achtzig Jahre meines Lebens”.⁷²⁰ It might well be here that a hint to the curtain and its destiny may be found.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁸ http://cahip.nli.org.il/webfm_send/589: Nos.: 933-936, p. 102.

⁷¹⁹ http://cahip.nli.org.il/webfm_send/675

⁷²⁰ <http://cahip.nli.org.il/content/grunwald-max>: record number: P 97, 3.

⁷²¹ To explore the community files as well as the individual files you must visit the archive.

APPENDICES TO PART 3

3. RELICS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR: DEALING WITH MISSING AND MISPLACED OBJECTS IN THE JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM COLLECTION, JULIE-MARTHE COHEN

Julie-Marthe Cohen, “Relics of the Second World War: Dealing with Missing and Misplaced Objects in the Jewish Historical Museum Collection,” *Studia Rosenthalia* 45 (2014), pp. 57-74.

During the Second World War, countless ceremonial objects and other Jewish artefacts that were kept in Jewish museums in Europe, or used by Jewish communities were looted by the Nazis. They were destroyed or taken to Germany where they were stored as relics and objects of study. After the war they were discovered by the Allies and in collaboration with the governments concerned a number of identified objects was returned to their legal owners or handed over to other substitute (Jewish) institutions.⁷²² The majority, consisting of unidentified and now ownerless objects, were dispersed by the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction⁷²³ and entered Jewish museum collections, mostly in the U.S.A., and Israel. Objects were also distributed to Jewish communities, to be used in synagogue services. More than sixty years after the war, Jewish museums in Europe, the United States and Israel have become aware of their responsibility to deal with the consequences of the seizure of these Jewish assets by Nazi Germany. Provenance research of items has become a serious concern, while museums that were robbed are also searching for objects that were never returned.

One of the many Jewish Museums that suffered severely under Nazi occupation was Amsterdam’s Jewish Historical Museum. This article will focus on my research into the history of its collection during the war and post-war period.⁷²⁴ The aim of this research is threefold: first, to reconstruct the exact fate of the collection after confiscation; second, to determine the objects from the pre-war collection that returned, that are still missing and those items with unknown provenance that entered the collections after the war; third, to make this data publically available in a database on our museum website.⁷²⁵

Museum History

Amsterdam’s Jewish Historical Museum was founded in 1930 as an initiative by the Society of Jewish Studies in the Netherlands.⁷²⁶ The museum was officially opened in the former Weigh House in the centre of Amsterdam in 1932 (Fig. 1). In 1931, the first museum guide appeared with brief descriptions of 175 objects. By November 1941, the collection had grown to 738 numbers, consisting of around 940 items. Objects were loaned or donated by individuals and institutions. Especially during the last years the financial position of the museum allowed purchases on a more regular basis. Brief descriptions of the objects, and information on how they were acquired were written down in an inventory book.⁷²⁷ Its existence was forgotten till 1987, when the book was anonymously handed over to the museum director during the opening of the museum at its present location.⁷²⁸

After the German invasion in May 1940 the museum was ordered to close its doors. Between 1939-1942, museum staff managed to return some loans to the owners and to entrust 610 objects for safekeeping to

⁷²² For example, after the war the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw received eighty ritual objects from the Jews of Saloniki that were transferred from the death camps by the Ministry of Culture. The Institute also holds objects from the Vienna and Berlin Jewish communities. Communicated by Eleonora Bergman of the JHI, November 2008.

⁷²³ On the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, see Dana Herman, *Hashavat Avedab: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction*, Inc., McGill University, Montreal (Canada), 2008.

⁷²⁴ For a more extended description of the history of the museum, see Julie-Marthe Cohen, ‘A Jewish Museum Gained, Lost and Regained’, in Julie-Marthe Cohen, Jelka Kröger and Emile Schrijver (eds.), *Gifts from the Heart. Ceremonial Objects from the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam* (Zwolle, Amsterdam 2004), p. 12-30.

⁷²⁵ The database has gone live in 2010 and is accessible via www.jhm.nl.

⁷²⁶ On the foundation of the Society (Genootschap voor de Joodse Wetenschap in Nederland), and its relation with the Jewish Historical Museum, see *ibid.*, p. 16-18. See also S. Seeligmann, ‘De voorgeschiedenis van ons genootschap’, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Genootschap voor Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland* (1925), p. 12-21.

⁷²⁷ JHM, document collection inv.no.00003317.

⁷²⁸ The museum moved from the Weigh House to the complex of four former Ashkenazi synagogues dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on Jonas Daniël Meijerplein.

Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum (Fig. 2).⁷²⁹ However, in April 1943, the collection was confiscated by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and brought to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt.⁷³⁰ Late in 1943, following the Frankfurt air raids, the Institute was evacuated to Hungen, 60 km north of Frankfurt. There the objects were stored at the castle and in private premises.⁷³¹ Valuable silver objects, including objects belonging to Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish community and of the Jewish Historical Museum, were kept in the Spar- und Leihkasse where they were found by the American Army (Fig. 3). These and other items, also discovered in Hungen, were transferred to the nearby American Central Collecting Point in Offenbach, established by the US Army department of Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives to secure cultural assets found by the Americans and to arrange for their quick and orderly return to their rightful owners (Fig. 4).

In 1946 the Dutch Art Heritage Foundation (Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit), established to recover stolen Dutch cultural property, commissioned Lion Morpurgo, a Jewish antiquarian from Amsterdam, to recover the museum objects and objects belonging to Amsterdam's Portuguese and Ashkenazi communities. During the same year these objects came back in three shipments. According to a list of the Dutch Art Heritage Foundation, dated January 1947, 300 museum objects were returned to the Netherlands.⁷³² The short descriptions on this list do not allow identification and thus the establishment of the exact number of pre-war museum objects. However, the list does contain other than museum objects only: the collection did not contain wooden and silver Torah crowns and had only one pair of zinc finials, rather than the three mentioned in the list.

Once the objects were returned in Amsterdam, they were stored in Morpurgo's depot. In 1947 some more objects that were found not to have been taken by Alfred Rosenberg, arrived there from the Stedelijk Museum. More pre-war museum objects returned almost thirty years after the re-opening of the museum, as late as 1983, when a remarkable discovery of 40 items, including some bearing museum labels, was made at De Haar Castle in Haarzuilens near Utrecht.

Reconstructing the Pre-War Collection

The key source for the reconstruction of the pre-war collection is the inventory book that reappeared in 1987. My first step was to copy the information on the 738 numbers, a total of around 940 items, into a table, which included the following information, from row to row (Fig. 5): (1) pre-war inventory number; (2) the description in the pre-war inventory book; (3) the provenance of the object (lender, donor or purchase details); (4) a note when a loan was returned to its owner; in case of a positive match, (5) the current inventory number; (6) reference to the list compiled for the insurance of objects in the museum building in late 1940; (7-8) reference to inventories (or other documents) that relate to the safekeeping (objects handed over to the Stedelijk Museum), looting (by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg) or return to the Netherlands (as appears from bills of lading drawn up by the Offenbach Collecting Point personnel and from the 1947 list of the Dutch Art Heritage Foundation); followed by (9) bibliographical references to museum catalogues and published articles, as well as additional descriptions and remarks; and finally 10) an indication of extant pre-war photographs.

To itemise the recovered objects as well as the missing items, the collected data was then tested against the present collection. Our focus was on the inventory numbers from 1 to 536: these were the items that

⁷²⁹ For the war history of the Stedelijk Museum collection, see Margreeth Soeting, 'Het Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Een reconstructie aan de hand van archiefstukken die bewaard worden in het museum', *Jong Holland. Tijdschrift voor kunst en vormgeving na 1850*, n. 2/01, p. 11-24. For the list of objects that were entrusted for safekeeping, see JHM, document collection aanwD364.

⁷³⁰ JHM, document collection 00000787, 00000790-00000792. The transport took place on 22 August, see Bundes Archiv Berlin (BAB), NS 30/15, Archive of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, Wochenbericht der Arbeitsgruppe Niederlande für die Zeit vom 11. bis 16. August 41, f. 0353291.

⁷³¹ National Archives (NA), see the report in RG 331, box no. 333, see Annexure II, Headquarters third United States Army, G-5 Section, 17 April 1945, p. 16.

⁷³² JHM, document collection no. 000009744.

were registered around 1960 – five years after the re-opening of the museum – when museum staff started assigning inventory numbers to objects that had returned from Germany and to new acquisitions, thereby not always knowing the provenance of these objects.

The following example shows how collecting data from different sources made identification of pre-war and post-war objects possible: pre-war inventory number 61 is a Hanuquillah (Portuguese term for *chanukiah*, Chanukah lamp), embossed copper, c. 1680, as described in the pre-war inventory; further specific details are lacking, except for the lender's name. The lamp and the lender were also found to appear in an exhibition catalogue of 1913, according to which the lamp had 'a vase with flowers in the middle'. This description corresponds with a lamp on a photo made for the official opening of the museum in February 1932. Knowing its physical appearance, it was possible to match it with a Chanukah lamp in the present museum collection (Fig. 6).

Research of the collection should, however, not be limited to these first 536 items, for pre-war objects may have re-entered the collection even in later years: an at first presumed lost glass painting of Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue (pre-war inv. no. 79), that was purchased at auction in 1930, seemed to appear on a pre-war photograph of poor quality, showing the interior of one of the museum rooms. Comparing this vague image with object inventory number 00993 in the museum repository, image and object could be identified as the same object. The match was reconfirmed by a label on the back of the painting with the pre-war inventory number, which had remained unnoticed, or at least, was not described in the museum database. The painting does not appear on the list of objects confiscated by Alfred Rosenberg, and somehow must have ended up in the hands of the person who donated the object to the museum in 1976. Another example of an object with a higher inventory number is a silver Kiddush cup with inscription, which was given on loan by the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana to the museum before the war (inv. no. 41) and that was donated to the museum by a former librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in 1980 (JHM 01306).

As a result of this investigation around 180-200 objects from the pre-war collection could be matched with items in our post-war collection, while it became clear that other objects among our present collection had unknown provenance. What were the circumstances that allowed these objects to enter the museum collection? One has to keep in mind that the Offenbach administrators and employees of the Dutch Art Heritage Foundation had no inventories or other documents itemising the looted collections, which might have prevented mistakes like this. The exact number of these erroneously acquired objects still needs to be established, although some have already been identified as such. For example, one of a pair of *rimonim* with inscription cannot be identified with any such object in the pre-war collection, but does appear on the list of objects that returned from Offenbach.⁷³³ In 2000, the missing half was found in the collection of the Consistoire Israélite de Paris.⁷³⁴ The match was established through the maker's mark, the date letter and a Hebrew inscription. The separation of the two objects must erroneously have taken place in Offenbach. It is still not known to which individual or communal organisation this pair originally belonged. Obviously, the museum post-war collection needs further systematic provenance research. What happened to the missing objects is the subject of speculation. Obviously, some may have been lost, damaged, stolen or destroyed. For example, a handwritten note in the archives of the United States' Military Government in Germany lists certain broken museum objects, such as a glass with an inscription dated 1851, which corresponds with inventory number 313: The text simply reads: 'Kristall gesprungen'.⁷³⁵ Other objects may also have disappeared after their return, which is at least proven to be true for many books or manuscripts of the

⁷³³ JHM 00111. Pieter van Hoven, 1693 or 1717, Hebrew inscription: 'Samson son of Moses Levi de Boer presented these finials to the Neveh Yesha old-age home in the old Jewish quarter of Amsterdam in 1833.' This donation was probably done in occasion of the dedication of its own synagogue. See also *Gifts from the Heart*, op. cit., p. 140-141.

⁷³⁴ E. van Voolen, 'Lost and Found: The Van Hoven Torah Finials', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 34, 1 (2000), p. 89-92.

⁷³⁵ National Archives at College Park, Maryland, Microfilm Publication M1949, Records of the monuments, fine arts, and archives (MFAA) section of the reparations and restitution branch, OMGUS, 1945-1951, roll 19, p. 118.

two Amsterdam Jewish libraries, volumes that have sometimes reappeared in other institutions or in private collections.⁷³⁶ As for museum objects, these were not registered before they entered Morpurgo's storage or when they were transferred to the museum building in 1954. There is therefore no way to check if the number of objects remained constant during this seven year period. Furthermore, according to Fia Polak, who became curator of the museum in 1960, the situation was rather chaotic. One could find objects everywhere, be it in the storage rooms, or in the offices, on shelves and in cupboards. Soon after her appointment Polak started to inventory and register the collection in a systematic way.

Search for Missing Objects

The search for the objects that did not return is a time-consuming process. Some may appear in post-war auction catalogues and exhibition or museum catalogues, but researching these sources involves enormous effort and time, with little guarantee of success. The Internet, on the other hand, is a serious tool that may facilitate finding these missing objects, as the following example proves: An item in the pre-war inventory, numbered 481, is described as 'Torah mantle', without providing any further description, but mentioning the Ashkenazi community of Leiden as its lender. Pre-war photographs of the object, found in two different archives show it to be a valuable eighteenth-century Ashkenazi Torah mantle, decorated with embroidery, depicting Jacob's dream, the binding of Isaac, and pomegranates and sprays (Fig. 7). The loan is mentioned in a newspaper item of 29 December 1936.⁷³⁷ In 2007, the Israel Museum was the first Jewish museum to launch a database of what were assumed to be unclaimed objects that it had received through the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation. This database is given the name: Second World War Provenance Research Online, see <http://www.imj.org.il/Imagine/irso/>.

Although the information on each object is limited, this is an important initiative. While searching the database I found a photo showing one side of a Dutch Torah mantle, which for several reasons I presumed to be the same as the missing Torah mantle of the Leiden community. On my request I received a photograph of the other side of the mantle from the Israel Museum which, indeed, confirmed the match (Fig. 8). After the discovery the JHM has informed both the Israel Museum and the Jewish Community of Leiden about the mantle.⁷³⁸

The Israel Museum database provides an inventory number of the Wiesbaden Collecting Point, which was one of the originally four American storage places. Because of the closure of the Offenbach Archival Depot, which was undertaken in June 1949, the remaining objects, generally unidentified and heirless, were sent to Wiesbaden.⁷³⁹ Thus Wiesbaden became the storage of countless Jewish ceremonial and other objects. During the following years these objects were handed to the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction,⁷⁴⁰ which acted as trustee for the Jewish people in its distribution to public or quasi-public religious, cultural or educational institutions, 'to be used in the interest of perpetuating Jewish art and culture, or to utilize them for the maintenance of the cultural heritage of the Jewish people ...'.⁷⁴¹ To date, we lack specific information on the fate of the mantle before it finally arrived in Jerusalem.⁷⁴²

⁷³⁶ See also the silver Kiddush cup on loan from the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, donated to the museum in 1980, above.

⁷³⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*.

⁷³⁸ The Jewish community of Leiden officially claimed the object in 2008, but as to September 2013 the two parties have not yet reached a settlement. The Leiden claim is the first official one involving a ceremonial object.

⁷³⁹ Wiesbaden had held till then mostly German-owned material and internal loot (that is a certain amount of materials confiscated from German nationals and objects subject to restitution).

⁷⁴⁰ The database record mentions the mantle was received through the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation, which is the umbrella organisation of JCR.

⁷⁴¹ See National Archives Washington, formula on Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties: 1949 [Jewish Cultural Reconstruction: i-ii, 1-18], RG 260 Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) (OMGUS), Property Division 'Ardelia Hall Collection', Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point Records. Series: Cultural Object Movement and Control Records, 1945-1952, Microfilm Publication: M1947, roll 40.

⁷⁴² Objects were distributed from JCR's headquarters in New York.

The discovery of the Torah mantle highlights two important points. Firstly, that missing museum objects can still be found, even sixty years after the war. Secondly, databases of wartime and post-war records are potentially fruitful sources. Indeed, databases have become indispensable for museums and scholars engaged in this particular aspect of Jewish history during the Nazi period and in doing provenance research of individual items. And yet these databases are still few and far between. Familiar databases such as lootedart.com or lostart.de provide no real information on the kind of objects Jewish museums are investigating. They tend to focus on fine art, particularly paintings, and decorative art, such as furniture, glasswork and the like.

So it is up to Jewish museums themselves to put the relevant information in an accessible database. Moreover, since the fate of all the Jewish collections during the war is interconnected, museums in Europe, Israel and the United States would do well to deal with this issue collectively. After all, every detail or new information could be a piece of the puzzle. Realising such a project is not a simple task. Naturally, a joint enterprise like this, with each museum undertaking a considerable amount of research, would face major obstacles. Museums are short-staffed as it is, and this would certainly be a time-consuming project. Funding for the project would also have to be found. Moreover, some museums may have serious doubts to pursue a project that may result in the loss of objects from their collection. And finally, specialised databases may actually generate new, spurious claims.

Nevertheless one should start somewhere. In order to get as much support as possible for this initiative, the focus should not be on the restitution of objects once they have been located, but on research. There are two strong interrelated arguments in favour of this approach. First, the JCR acted as trustee for the Jewish people when it distributed the objects among numerous Jewish institutions, to be used in the interest of preserving Jewish art and culture and keep it accessible to surviving Jewish communities. The unidentified and heirless objects in other words belong to the Jewish people as a whole, which in itself may not be a legal entity, but can be defined as such from a moral point of view. In addition, museums are by nature public institutions that exhibit their objects and knowledge. We are the custodians and not the owners of the objects and it is our duty to be communicative and open and give others the opportunity to enjoy or study the cultural heritage of the Jewish people.

Tools to Facilitate Research

To improve our collective effort two tools could be developed: first, a database of missing and misplaced museum objects; second, a digitalised museum manual providing continuous updates on the state of research, on relevant sources and other practical information. Doing research in a field that has had relatively little attention so far, and where only few sources are known or have been studied, is a demanding enterprise. Sharing one's findings could help us in our research and stimulate other museums to start investigating the history of their collections.

Database

Any database designed for missing and misplaced objects should have specific requirements, as with any database. In the framework of my research, we have developed a database, which at the time of writing this article, still needs refinement.⁷⁴³ However, it may already offer an example of how such specific databases could be developed. The Jewish Historical Museum stores its data in the museum

⁷⁴³ Our database includes three categories of objects: first, objects that were looted and did return in 1946; second, looted objects that got lost and are still missing; third, those objects, mostly of Dutch origin, that after 1955 were registered as museum property, but were found out to belong to different owners: these can be pre-war museum objects that, according to the pre-war inventory, were in fact loans, or objects that do not appear at all in the pre-war inventory but were among the objects Morpurgo selected in Offenbach. (For the online version of the database, see www.jhm.nl.)

and library information system Adlib, a program that our museum has been using since 1987. All the collected information that is linked to each object, is imported and categorised in the database. This information includes every tiny detail, since experience shows that even the smallest clue may lead to an identification. This is especially true in the case of pre-war objects that were often poorly described and rarely photographed.

Entering the database one can search the records by selecting one of the following access points: present JHM inv. no., pre-war inv. no., inv. no. combination, object name, object name other, words, date of fabrication, provenance. Every record consists of several record fields: record field 1 = identification, 2 = inscriptions, 3 = keywords, 4 = name of maker, place and date of fabrication, 5 = kind of acquisition, 6 = photograph of the object, 7 = references to primary sources and 8 = other references. The following example will illustrate how the database works: pre-war inventory number 121, is a missing circumcision book, given on loan to the museum by the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of Amsterdam (Fig. 9). Record field 1 contains the description from the pre-war inventory: 'circumcision book for the mohel, manuscript with coloured drawings 5473 [1713].'

This manuscript also appears in exhibition catalogues published in 1913 and 1933. These descriptions provide the full name of the maker (Mozes Juda Leib), and details about the illustrations: 'beautifully painted miniatures representing a circumcision and the accompanying meal'. In addition, we learn that the circumcision register at the end is bound into the book and contains a list of 155 boys circumcised by Magnus Jochem Mozes between 1765 and 1792; and finally, the manuscript has a leather binding. All these data are added to this record field, with reference to the source.

In the third record field, keywords, name of the object (circumcision book) and all the different versions of the name as they appear in the descriptions (in record field 1) are listed. In record field 4 we read: Mozes Juda Leib ben Wolf Broda, Trebitsch, Moravia, 1713. In record field 5: Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana is given as the provenance of the object. No. 7 records the primary sources, in this case the Weigh House list of 1940 and the Stedelijk Museum list (see note 7 above) only, the object does not appear on the other lists; and record field 8 gives secondary sources, also including descriptions of the objects that do not add to those descriptions mentioned in record field 1. Record field 2 and 6, in this case, are empty. To create a standard, centralised database for all museums would from certain angles be a desirable option. However, this would also be a complicated and unpractical undertaking: museums use different database systems, some museums may have only limited experience in the field, while others may not even be using a computerised database at all. Nevertheless, we should find a way to make war-related databases accessible through the Internet in order to facilitate research and enhance the chances in relocating missing objects. Museums would have to agree on several issues, which in the future need to be examined in greater detail: for example, how to fund and how to organise the work of importing data into the database; would it be preferable if only a limited number of experienced museums would first participate in such enterprise? Should funding be a collective or individual undertaking? Should the imported data be coordinated by one person and controlled by that person once it is online? Which language or languages should we use? Finally, could we come to an agreement on what standard formats for object descriptions would be used best? For example, it would be desirable to include colour photos of the entire object, inscriptions should be readable, transcribed and translated and the database should be equipped with an extended search facility. None of these are currently included in the Second World War Israel Museum database.

Digitalised Museum Manual

The second tool I would like to suggest is the creation of a digitalised museum manual to support both the object database and research in general. It should be designed to help Jewish museums in conducting their research. The manual could contain short overviews of museum histories during and after the war, details about pre-war collections, together with a survey of the work that has been undertaken in the field of provenance research so far. In addition, it would provide practical information about research

methods, lists of relevant archives, photo archives and other sources, useful links, names of experts in the field and a bibliography. It would be a dynamic tool, which would give regular updates about progress, new developments and new findings.

This manual would be something along the lines of two other important publications: the *Guide to Provenance Research* and the *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica*. The *Guide to Provenance Research*, compiled by Nancy Yeide, Konstantin Akinsha and Amy Walsh, was published by the American Association of Museums in 2001, to meet the need of museums to review the provenance of their collections. The Guide comprises a description of current methodology, U.S. and European resources for conducting provenance research, various bibliographies and inventories, as well as current databases. It is intended for provenance research of fine art only, which has its own kind of problems and specific research requirements.

The *Descriptive Catalogue of Looted Judaica* is a major initiative by the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organisation, which was first published on the Internet in 2007 and was accessible to registered users only. In February 2009 it became publically available via <http://forms.claimscon.org/Judaica>. It is intended for libraries, archives and museums and provides important information on existing projects, on relevant literature, on places where looted Judaica is kept and on experts.

However, the catalogue does not provide information on the history of specific Jewish museums during and after the war, on the state of research, and on looted objects that have disappeared since. Our museum manual, conversely, would combine both publications, focusing on guidelines and information the kind of research our specific field requires. Crucially, I would like to stress the word *research*, meaning that it would not deal with restitution procedures that may result from that research once a missing object has been located. And, may be needless to say, both the museum manual and the database should be well secured and accessible only to registered users. As mentioned above, lack of documentation is one of the main obstacles of research. However, relevant sources, spread over different countries and in different archives or other institutions, may be more numerous than we think at this point. Inventories of archival war-related material are nowadays easily accessible on the Internet, microfilms can be ordered, while other initiatives will also help to expand our knowledge: in 2008, I discovered approximately 200 pages of photographs (3 photos per page, each photo showing a considerable number of objects) of thousands of ritual silver objects that are among the files of the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point in the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland;⁷⁴⁴ a major survey of the dispersed archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg compiled by Patricia Grimsted, has appeared online in 2011.⁷⁴⁵ A dissertation on the history of the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction appeared in 2008 as the first substantial publication on this subject.⁷⁴⁶ Furthermore, a publication on the war and post-war history of Jewish museum collections in Europe has appeared in 2011.⁷⁴⁷

But there are further positive developments: the subject of looted Judaica was discussed during the last three annual meetings of the Association of European Jewish Museums in Venice, Munich and Amsterdam in respectively 2006, 2007 and 2008. During the Amsterdam meeting, the topic received special attention with two public lectures,⁷⁴⁸ followed by an internal discussion on future policy regarding

⁷⁴⁴ This is an important source that needs thorough study and may eventually be published on the Internet. I would like to thank M'Lisa Whitney of the Holocaust-Era Assets Records Micro-filming Project for making this source available to me. Some of these photos are published in Julie-Marthe Cohen, with Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses. The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After* (Amsterdam 2011).

⁷⁴⁵ See www.iisg.nl/publications/digiput.php#respap.

⁷⁴⁶ Dana Herman, op. cit.

⁷⁴⁷ *Neglected Witnesses*, op. cit. This volume appeared as a compendium to Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud and Eric Ketelaar (eds.), *Returned from Russia. Nazi archival plunder in Western Europe and recent restitution issues* (Institute of Art and Law, 2007).

⁷⁴⁸ The present article combines my paper given during the conference in Tel Aviv in January 2008, which was entitled: 'Dealing with Looted Art. The Pre-war Collection of the Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam Re-examined' and an

provenance research. A working group was formed which will investigate the possibility of an integrated database of missing objects or objects of dubious provenance in museum collections.

Furthermore, in April 2009, Jewish museum experts formed a working group on Judaica and Jewish cultural property that discussed future action and policy regarding provenance research and restitution. This working group was constituted in the framework of the Holocaust Era Assets Conference, organised in Prague from 26 to 30 June 2009. The recommendations of this working group will be published on the Internet. These and other initiatives will significantly further our research and will eventually help finishing this important chapter on the looting of Judaica and its consequences that museums still face.



*Figure 1. Board members and special guests at the official opening of the Jewish Historical Museum in the Weigh House, 24 February 1932.
Photo Archive NIW001001486.5.*

elaboration of my public lecture in Amsterdam. The second lecture was given by Dana Herman who spoke on *'Hashavat Avedab: The Distribution of Heirless Jewish Cultural Property After World War II'*. See also note 2, above.



*Figure 2. Objects of the JHM that were entrusted for safekeeping to Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum were later stored in crates that were kept in a shelter at Castricum, 35 kilometres from Amsterdam.
Photo: Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.*



*Figure 3. Jewish Historical Museum objects and objects of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam at Spar- und Leibkasse bank in Hungen, 1945.
Lincoln Kirstein collection in possession of Lynn H. Nicolas (Washington D.C.).*



Figure 4. *Judaica in the Offenbach Archival Depot, 1946. JHM, photo collection 00002333.*



99	besnijdenisstool Lodewijk XV, in 1768 geschenken door de kerkbestuurders David ben Berman en Leij ben Jospe Cohen 	NIHS		-	Waag 1940	SM lijst bruiklenen NIHS; zie ook SM lijst jhm zonder inv.nr. 'besnijdenisst oel met in rug drie koperen platen'	Zie afbeelding catalogus der nat. Tentoonstelling van oude kerstelijke kunst Den Bosch 1913, nr. 194 vergl. beschrijving p. 219, cat.nr. 922 alwaar jaar 1769 wordt genoemd. Zie ook afbeelding museumgids jhm 1932, nr. 77, volgens EvV 2007; Gids jhm 1931, no. 77; Arseen tt no. 54; genoemd in GAA perdocumentatie 1930-3. blad 94100 achter alwaar David ben Berman...; volgens Gids jhm 1931, no. 77: geschenken door den kerkbestuurder David ben Berman Leijser, ben Jospe Cohen; Vergl cat. Ghetto Amsterdam, 1916, nr. 635; zie ook duidelijke foto Spaarnestad fotoarchief map Spiegel Historiel.
100a -b	Stel filigrain siertorens klein model, gemerkt NIH Amsterdam, GS 13	NIHS		120		SM lijst bruiklenen NIHS	Gids jhm 1931, no. 69
101	Jad silber met haak om aan de wetsrol te hangen	NIHS				SM lijst bruiklenen NIHS	Gids jhm 1931, nr. 72
102	kiddoesjbezer silver op 3 pootjes met beeldenissen in relief (Renaissance) geschenk van Samuel ben Jacob Speijer aan de gemeente Adath Jeshurun (de zg. Neie Kille) te Amsterdam, 5563 (1803) 	NIHS		-		SM lijst bruiklenen NIHS	Vermoedelijk zelfde object als afb. in GAA perdocumentatie jaren 1930-1933 f. 94099 achter. Gids jhm 1931, no. 32, tt voorwerpen tjabbat 1927/8, cat. no. 5; cat. Franse tijd 1928, nr. 78 (speyer); ook foto afbeelding Spaarnestad fotoarchief 6841-3, samen met 103 en 104; achterop stempel feb. 1932; afbeelding in eerste jaarverslag conservatoren jhm, p. 4, foto aldaar genomen door Mannah Etkan.

Figure 5. *Table with information on each individual object of the pre-war collection.*



Figure 6. Chanukah lamp, brass, Dutch 2nd half 18th century, JHM 00206.



Figure 7. Torab mantle of the Ashkenazi Community of Leiden in the Jewish Historical Museum. The photo was taken in or after 1936. JHM, photo collection 00007694.



Figure 8. Torah mantle of the Ashkenazi community of Leiden, Holland 1763. Photo: Israel Museum Jerusalem, Accession number: B50.02.1838; 151/003, received through JRSO (Jewish Restitution Successor Organization).

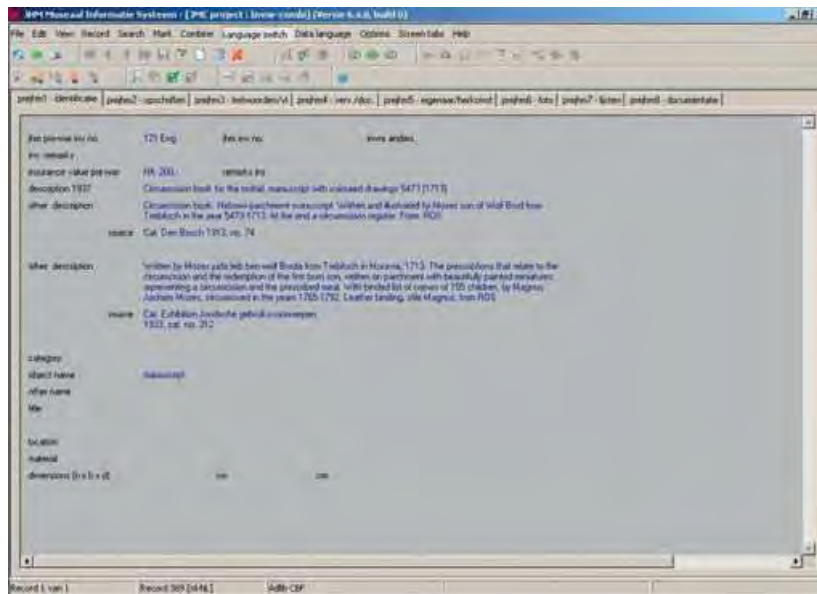


Figure 9. Record field of JHM database of missing and misplaced objects, pre-war inv. no. 121.

B. OVERVIEW FOLD3 DATABASE, WORLD WAR II / HOLOCAUST COLLECTION

This is a preliminary hierarchical overview of the FOLD3 database. The list below does only include SERIES and CATEGORIES that include or are likely to include documents with information about Jewish ceremonial objects. Titles of SERIES and CATEGORIES that are obviously not relevant for our research are not included. The column 'Remarks and instructions' also gives information on the status of research. For instance, 'no relevant information on Jewish ceremonial objects' implies all documents of the PUBLICATION/SERIES/CATEGORY were checked.

PUBLICATION	SERIES	CATEGORY	Keywords	Remarks and instructions
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT S REPORTS				No relevant information on Jewish ceremonial objects.
++++++				
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: MISCELLANEO US PROPERTY				No relevant information on Jewish ceremonial objects.
++++++	++++++			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	[5 series] ADMINISTRATIV E RECORDS	[14 categories] 1947 CORRESPONDENCE OAD [321 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIV E RECORDS	1948 CORRESPONDENCE OAD [332 PAGES]		

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	1949 CORRESPONDENCE OAD [77 PAGES]	Transference Jewish textiles from the OAD to the CCP Wiesbaden, letter 13 May 1949 (PAGE 54)	<p>This CATEGORY includes weekly reports from the OAD from 7 March to 4 June and hand-receipts of objects transferred to the CCP Wiesbaden.</p> <p>For the transference of ritual objects in OAD to the CCP Wiesbaden, see also [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, [SERIES] CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS, [CATEGORY] OUT-SHIPMENT OFFENBACH.</p> <p>With the date (13 May 1949), you can turn to ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, CATEGORY IN-SHIPMENT 222 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 224 (APRIL 29, 1949 – MAY 13, 1949). The transport got in-shipment no. 222. In-shipment 222 includes 22 transfers from the OAD, of which 13/5/49 is the fourth, SEE PAGE 16. The file includes out-shipment numbers, which will help you to search further.</p>
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				<p>For the out-shipment number turn to <u>ARDELIA HALL</u> <u>COLLECTION: WIESBADEN</u> <u>ADMINITRATIVE RECORDS,</u> <u>DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY</u> <u>RECEIVED, [CATEGORY]</u> <u>SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENT.</u></p> <p>On PAGE 16 you will find that in-shipment no. 222 has out-shipment no. 134. Objects were out-shipped on 11 July 1949, together with in-shipment nos. 197, 201 and 218 to the USA, Great Britain, South Africa and Israel on behalf of JCR. There were 209 boxes, 10710 objects, silver and textiles and the number of items. Now turn to WIESBADEN ADMINITRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, [CATEGORY] OUT-SHIPMENT 134 (July 11, 1949). In this file you will find the receipts for these objects including information of in-shipment numbers from Offenbach, the number and material of Jewish ceremonial objects (silver, brass) and country of destination (for instance: 3 cases of 66 Jewish ceremonial objects (silver and brass) for England.</p>
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				<p><u>ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN</u> <u>ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED, [CATEGORY]</u> <u>SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENT</u> in fact also includes a 'Summary of shipments received' [= in-shipment], see PAGE 42 and following. On PAGE 63 you will find that only 5 Jewish textiles were included in the transfer from OAD.</p> <p>For a list of objects (textiles and varia) sent from OAD to CCP Wiesbaden, see <u>ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES 1949, PAGES 51-66.</u></p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	DR. ERNST GRUMMACH (CORRESPONDENCE) [21 PAGES]		No relevant information on Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS			

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIV E RECORDS	OAD FILES 1946 [352 PAGES]	<p>Menorah, Torah scrolls, ceremonial objects of Jewish community of Cologne found and to be brought to OAD, 18 December 1946 (PAGE 8).</p> <p>Accompanying letter relating to the transference of religious objects from OAD to the Netherlands, Poland and Czechoslovakia, 15 October 1946 (PAGE 77).</p> <p>Transference Torah scrolls, mantles, bimah cloths, one finial, Torah cloth from CCP Wiesbaden to OAD, 24 July 1946 (PAGE 179).</p> <p>Torah scrolls near Regensburg (PAGE 303).</p>	<p>Seen everything.</p> <p>There is scant information on Jewish ceremonial objects in general. Remarks relate to the transference of Jewish ritual objects to or from the OAD. See only PAGES 8, 77, 179 and 303.</p> <p>For the out-shipment of 24 July 1946 from CCP Wiesbaden to OAD, turn to ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION, WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, [CATEGORY] OUT-SHIPMENT 6 THROUGHE OUT-SHIPMENT 13, PAGES 6 -14. It does not refer to this transference. The [CATEGORY] Summary of out-shipments does not include information either.</p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIV E RECORDS	OFFENBACH ARCHIVAL DEPOT FILES: 1946-1949 SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT, etc. [95 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH	ADMINISTRATIV E RECORDS	OFFENBACH ARCHIVAL DEPOT FILES: 1946-1947-1948-		

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS		1949 PERSONNEL: etc. [88 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	S [SEYMOUR] J POMRENZE [16 PAGES]	PAGES 7 and 8: List entitled 'Packing list' and 'silver sets' with box numbers, plate (photograph) and object numbers.	For the plate numbers, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS, PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH, ALBUM IV, SECTION 1 [PAGES 1-21].
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO RESTITUTION CLAIMS [1946-1950]	[3 categories] CORRESPONDENCE [848 PAGES]		The only category of possible interest: CORRESPONDENCE, does not include references to Jewish ritual objects.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	[26 Categories] AJDC [AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE], OAD 1 [328 PAGES]	Jewish community Nurnberg turned over collection of Jewish books and religious articles to AJDC to be handed over to the OAD. PAGE 152	Cultural objects custody or restitution receipts are registered in three logbooks, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS, [SERIES] <u>RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS</u> , [CATEGORIES] <u>LOG – CUSTODY RECEIPTS / LOG –</u>

				<u>RESTITUTION-SHIPMENTS / LOG-RESTITUTION RECEIPTS.</u>
				Not searched systematically.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	AUSTRIA OAD 2 [75 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	BELGIUM OAD 3 [98 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	CZECHOSLOVAKIA OAD 4 [45 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	DANISH OAD 5 [8 PAGES]		

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	DIVISION CORRESPONDENCE OAD 6 [30 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	FRANCE OAD 7 [185 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	GREAT BRITAIN OAD 8 [49 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	GREECE OAD 9 [17 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	HUNGARY OAD 10 [13 PAGES]		

	RECORDS 1946-1951			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	IN SHIPMENTS A-E 1 OF 4 [140 PAGES]	Ceremonial objects confiscated by the Gestapo found in Backnang, to be delivered to OAD. The objects belonged to the Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg. Correspondence of 27 February 1947, 14 August 1947, 6 April 1948. (PAGES 10, 11,13).	Seen everything. In-shipments refer to the transference to the OAD of ritual objects discovered in location in Germany. These CATEGORIES do not include internal transfereces of ritual objects from the CCP Wiesbaden to the OAD. Correspondence relating the Backnang case is also found in the next CATEGORY; IN-SHIPMENTS F-K.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	IN-SHIPMENTS F-K 2 OF 4 [112 PAGES]	Two wooden boxes of Jewish religious objects, some silver, mostly broken or otherwise damaged to be removed from Backnang and brought to OAD (PAGE 96). See correspondence in IN- SHIPMENT A-E.	Seen everything.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	IN-SHIPMENTS OFFENBACH L-T [3 OF 4] [265 PAGES]		Seen everything.

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	IN-SHIPMENTS OFFENBACH U-Z [4 OF 4] [158 PAGES]	Correspondence about the transference of Jewish ritual objects stored at the Mainfränkisches Museum in Festung Marienberg, in Würzburg to the OAD. Object include the inventory of the Unterfränkischer Synagogen: miscellaneous vestments, silver articles, candelabra, Torah scrolls in Mainfränkisches Museum Festung Marienberg, Würzburg (letters of 12 June 1947 and 15 July 1947. Both the Israelitischen Gemeinde Würzburg and the Mainfränkisches Museum requested to receive some of the objects (letters of 6 and 11 July 1947. The objects were confiscated by Staatskommissar für rassistisch- religiös und politisch Verfolgte Dr. Auerbach in München and transferred to the museum. (PAGES 150-155)	Seen everything.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY	ITALY OAD 12 [120 PAGES]		

	RECORDS 1946-1951			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	JRSO [JEWISH RESTITUTION SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATION OAD 11 [109 PAGES]		<p>Seen everything. This CATEGORY does not include information about Jewish ceremonial objects.</p> <p>PAGES 70-109 include the Monthly Report of the OAD of March 1946.</p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	MOVEMENT TO WIESBADEN [71 PAGES]		<p>Seen everything. This CATEGORY does not include information about Jewish ceremonial objects.</p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	NETHERLAND OAD 13 [192 PAGES]	<p>List accompanying a receipt of 26 June 1946 including 2 boxes of 'Toroith cloth covers' (PAGE 115).</p> <p>List accompanying a receipt of 31 May 1946 with coins with short descriptions [Collection Jewish Historical Museum], (PAGE 126).</p>	<p>This CATEGORY includes correspondence and receipts for cultural objects. The receipts include a list of items that were restituted to the Netherlands. Receipts are not numbered.</p> <p>In the OAD in- and out-shipments were not numbered, contrary to the procedure in the CCP Wiesbaden, where in- and out-shipments were numbered. Accordingly, no logbooks or record files were made in the OAD.</p>

				<p>The office of Military Government of the U.S. (OMGUS) received copies of correspondence and receipts for cultural objects that were restituted to the country of origin. OMGUS attributed a number to each receipt copy, written on the first page of each form. Numbers can be traced in a logbook that includes more specific information as well. OMGUS kept a logbook for custody receipts and one for restitution shipments. Search in <u>ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS, RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS, for instance [CATEGORIES] LOG – CUSTODY RECEIPTS, LOG – RESTITUTION - SHIPMENTSRECEIPTS or LOG – RESTITUTION RECEIPTS.</u></p> <p>The restitution of Jewish ceremonial objects to the Netherlands is exceptionally well documented. For a historical reconstruction of the looting and restitution of ceremonial objects, mainly based on documents of the Office of the Military Government of the U.S., see the chapter ‘Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During</p>
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				and After the Second World War', in <i>Neglected Witnesses</i> , p. 199-252.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	NORWAY OAD 14 [26 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946- 1951	OUT-SHIPMENT OFFENBACH [149 PAGES]	<p>Turned over to the CCP Wiesbaden:</p> <p>On 15 May 1949: 5 cases of Jewish textiles. This is a receipt signed by the CCP Wiesbaden. In the right top corner: 'File: OAD and an additional note (illegible) (PAGE 19).</p> <p>On 5 October 1948 (hand receipt): 2 candlesticks (PAGE 87).</p> <p>On 4 October 1948 (hand receipt): 36 cases of silver (PAGE 88).</p> <p>On 20 September 1948 (hand receipt): 93 cases of silver ware (PAGE 95).</p> <p>On 20 September 1948 (hand receipt): 14 cases of silver ware (PAGE 96).</p>	<p>Seen everything.</p> <p>In this CATEGORY the information on Jewish ceremonial objects is general and scarce of details. Out-shipments from the OAD are dated but not numbered. In the CCP Wiesbaden out-shipments were numbered.</p> <p>However, the dates allow you to search for the in-shipment number in CCP Wiesbaden, see <u>ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINITRATIVE RECORDS, DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED, [CATEGORY] SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENT</u>. Go to PAGE 61 [summary of in-shipments] where you will find Wiesbaden in-shipment no. CXCVII (197), the date of out-</p>

				<p>shipment and a Wiesbaden no.: 5572, objects stored in the Treasure Room, namely 107 boxes of devotional silver Nos. 1-207; out-shipment no. 134.</p> <p>In the CCP Wiesbaden each individual object received a number. Silver objects were photographed with number. See below</p> <p><u>WIESBADEN</u> <u>ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS,</u> <u>CULTURAL OBJECT</u> <u>MOVEMENT AND CONTROL</u> <u>RECORDS, [CATEGORY]</u> <u>JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER,</u> <u>INDEX, 1-2388 and following</u> <u>CATEGORIES.</u> For numbers of non silver objects, <u>[PUBLICATION] ARDELIA</u> <u>HALL COLLECTION:</u> <u>WIESBADEN</u> <u>ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS,</u> <u>[SERIES] CULTURAL OBJECT</u> <u>MOVEMENT AND CONTROL</u> <u>RECORDS CATEGORY:</u> <u>RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH</u> <u>CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949</u> <u>[JEWISH CULTURAL</u> <u>RECONSTRUCTION, 1-11, 1-18],</u> <u>PAGES 49-66 (Objects sent from</u> <u>OAD to CCP Wiesbaden), esp.</u> <u>PAGES 51-66.</u></p>
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				The out-shipment number, CXXXIV (134), allows you to search further in ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED, [CATEGORY] SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENT, see PAGE 16: date 11 July 1949, 13 e silver / mounted of prayer shawls. Objects sent through JCR to U.S.A., Great Britain, South Africa and Israel.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	POLAND OAD 15 [55 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	USSR OAD 17 [52 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	YIVO OAD 18 [120 PAGES]		

	RECORDS 1946-1951			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS 1946-1951	YUGOSLAVIA OAD 19 [17 PAGES]		
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	MONTHLY REPORTS	[18 CATEGORIES] CONTENTS: MONTHLY REPORTS OF THE OAD MARCH 1946 – AUGUST 1947	Jewish ceremonial objects lend to the AJDC for communities in the American Zone for use during the Jewish holidays. SEPTEMBER 1946, PAGE 6 Monthly Reports mention out-shipments, see for instance March 1946, PAGE 8, 10 medals from the Jewish Historical Museum. List of religious objects and other valuables kept in the OAD (see for instance March 1946, PAGE 22).	Information in these Monthly Reports can sometimes be linked to records in other SERIES that provide more detailed information on specific objects. For instance, the Dutch receipt of the medals includes a more detailed description in [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, [SERIES] CULTURAL OBJECTS RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS, [CATEGORY] NETHERLANDS OAD 13, PAGES 124-126. No related record was found among the IN-SHIPMENT categories.
	[BLANK]	[BLANK] [62 PAGES]		

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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPH S	PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH [4 series]	ALBUM I SECTION I [10 PAGES] SECTION II [5 PAGES] SECTION III [4 PAGES] SECTION IV [7 PAGES] SECTION V [17 PAGES] SECTION VI [6 PAGES] SECTION VII [3 PAGES]	Torah scrolls, religious articles, Portuguese Jewish Community Amsterdam (SECTION I, PAGE 7) Jewish ceremonial objects, Hanukkah lamps, candelabra, covers, rimonim. (SECTION V, PAGES 9-11, 13)	
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPH S	PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH [4 series]	ALBUM II SECTION I [7 PAGES] SECTION II [6 PAGES] SECTION III [9 PAGES] SECTION IV [13 PAGES] SECTION V [10 PAGES] SECTION VI [14 PAGES] SECTION VII [7 PAGES]	Jewish ceremonial textiles (parochot, Shabbat cloths, etc.) (SECTION VI, PAGES 9-12)	

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPH S	PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH [4 series]	ALBUM III SECTION I [69 PAGES]		Compiled from loose photographs found in the OAD by Capt. I Bencowitz. It shows pictures of an exhibition organized by ERR, photos of the ERR Headquarters in Ratibor, Berlin, Amsterdam and several other cities. Many photos show books, but ceremonial objects do not appear.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPH S	PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH [4 series]	ALBUM IV SECTION I [21 PAGES]	Jewish ceremonial objects (PAGES 1-21).	The plate numbers and object numbers on the pages of this photo album refer to a receipt for loot to be restituted to the Netherlands, dated 31 October. See receipt number 245 in [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS, [SERIES] RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS, [CATEGORY] 58.5 HOLLAND (GREATER HESSE), PAGES 46-48.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	[22 Categories] SEVENTH U.S. ARMY IN WÜRTTEMBERG- BADEN: July through December 1945		
		EASTERN, THIRD ARMY: August 1945		

		[156 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	BREMEN ENCLAVE (OMGUS): September 1945 [5 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	BAVARIA, THIRD ARMY: December 1945		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	SEVENTH U.S. ARMY, IN GREATER HESSE: July through December 1945	<p>Jewish ceremonial objects discovered in the IEJ (Bockenheimer Landstrasse, Frankfurt a/M) removed to the Rothschild Library CCP in Frankfurt. (JULY 1945, PAGE 5)</p> <p>Investigation of loot in Hungen; intention to transport the loot to the University CCP in Frankfurt. (JULY 1945, PAGE 5)</p>	The plan to accommodate the University in Frankfurt as a CCP never came about. Instead, the I.G. Farben building at Offenbach was eventually chosen as the site to store archives, books and ceremonial objects.

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	THIRD U.S. ARMY – EASTERN: July through September, November 1945		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	HQ, SEVENTH ARMY: July 1945		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	BERLIN DISTRICT: Six Month Summery Report: January 1945		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS [of (semi-)monthly reports on Monuments Fine Art & Archives (MFA&A)]	THIRD U.S. ARMY: January through June 1945 [75 PAGES]	Description of discovery of loot in Hungen, including Jewish ceremonial objects. (THIRD U.S. ARMY REPORTS - JANUARY THRU MAY 1945, PAGES 34-36)	

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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	GENERAL RECORDS	[342 CATEGORIES] CATEGORY 28.5: COLLECTING POINTS – FRANKFURT [19 PAGES]		No reference to Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	GENERAL RECORDS	CATEGORY 28.6 COLLECTING POINTS – OFFENBACH [22 PAGES]		No reference to Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	GENERAL RECORDS	CATEGORY: MUSEUM FRANKFURT: HISTORISCHE MUSEUM [153 PAGES]	List of objects from Jewish Community in Frankfurt kept in the Historical Museum of Frankfurt. (PAGES 137-139)	
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	[90 CATEGORIES] 58.1 AUSTRIA 58.2 BELGIUM 58.3 GREAT BRITAIN 58.4 CZECHOSLOVAKIA 58.5 HOLLAND 58.6 FRANCE	58.5 HOLLAND (GREATER HESSE) Receipt no. 245, 31 October 1946, loot from the OAD restituted to the Netherlands, with shipping list and references to photographs.	Another copy of the receipt, albeit unnumbered, can be found in ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECORDS, NETHERLAND OAD 13, PAGES 69-74.

		58.7 GERMANY – CUSTODY RECEIPTS 58.8 ITALY 58.9 NORWAY 58.10 POLAND 58.11 SWITZERLAND 58.12 USSR 58.13 USA 58.14 LUXEMBOURG 58.15 HUNGARY 58.16 DENMARK 58.17 GREECE 58.18 YUGOSLAVIA		For the photographs see <u>ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS, PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH, ALBUM IV, SECTION 1, PAGES 1-21</u> , 'Unidentifiable loot from Jewish synagogues collected at the Offenbach Archival Depot.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	[RECEIPTS FOR CULTURAL OBJECTS] [141 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	CUSTODY RECEIPTS BAVARIA I-XIV		Use [CATEGORY] LOG – CUSTODY RECEIPTS in this SERIES as index.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	CUSTODY RECEIPTS PRIVATE OWNERS [38 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	CUSTODY RECEIPTS WÜRTTEMBERG-BADEN [212 PAGES]		

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	CUSTODY RECEIPTS GREATER HESSE I [1064 PAGES] III [330 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	CUSTODY RECEIPTS OUTSIDE U.S. ZONE [38]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	HAND RECEIPTS (UNINVENTORIED) [3 PAGES]		Not relevant.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	INTERZONAL EXCHANGE RECEIPTS BRITISH [36 PAGES]		Only art. No ceremonial objects
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL: COLLECTING POINTS DEPOSITS [101 PAGES]		Mostly about art (not seen everything)
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL: CUSTODY RECEIPTS [161 PAGES]		Mostly about art (not seen everything)
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	LOG – CUSTODY RECEIPTS [48 PAGES]	PAGE 2: Custody receipt BAVARIA [no.] 1, [date] 5 September 1945, [place] Munich, [owner] Israelitic Congregation, [signature] Siegried Neuland	<u>The LOG is a register that serves as an index to the CUSTODY RECEIPTS. It is arranged according to American zone (Bavaria, Hesse, Württemberg-Baden).</u>

				For more information on the objects in this case you can turn to ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS, RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS, CUSTOD RECEIPTS BAVARIA I.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	LOG-RESTITUTION – SHIPMENTS [21 PAGES]	PAGE 15: [date] 30.8.46, [subject] transport from Offenbach, [no. of items] 36, [miscellaneous]: boxes, miscellaneous, [receipt no.]: 233.	The logbook is arranged according to country and within country chronologically. Further information can be retrieved from [CATEGORY] RECEIPTS FOR CULTURAL OBJECTS JANUARY – DECEMBER 1946. Arranged according to receipt no., starting with 201. For receipt 233 with shipping list of ceremonial objects, see PAGES 119-123, esp. PAGE 123.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	LOG-RESTITUTION RECEIPTS [12 PAGES]		Receipts are arranged according to number (1-777).
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FOR CULTURAL OBJECTS 1947 [94 PAGES] 1948 [110 PAGES] 1949-1950 [38 PAGES] 1946 [257 PAGES] 1951 [279 PAGES]		

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FOR INTERZONAL EXCHANGE 1946- 1949 [72 PAGES]		Mostly art (not seen everything)
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FOR MATERIALS RETURNED TO GERMAN INSTITUTIONS 1947/1948 [53 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FOR RETURNED CULTURAL OBJECTS (DUPLICATES) [18 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FROM BAVARIA OCTOBER – DECEMBER 1948 [86 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RECEIPTS FROM HESSE NOVEMBER 1948 [123 PAGES]		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RESTITUTION – BRITISH MFA [26 PAGES]		No Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RESTITUTION – RECEIPTS AJDC [29 PAGES]		No Jewish ceremonial objects

OMGUS RECORDS				
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	RESTITUTION - RECEIPTS (DUPLICATES) 1-300 601-640 662-740 771-777		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	SPECIAL RESTITUTION RECEIPTS – RECEIPTS FOR RETURNED CULTURAL OBJECTS [27 PAGES]		Only art. No Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OMGUS RECORDS	RESTITUTION AND CUSTODY RECEIPTS	UNCLAIMED AND UNIDENTIFIED MATERIAL IN COLLECTING POINTS [2 PAGES]		Not relevant.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	[67 categories] MONTHLY REPORTS of OMGUS for BAVARIA: December 1945-March 1947, June 1947-December 1947,		Information on Jewish ceremonial objects is general, no details of individual objects.

		January 1948-October 1948		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	MONTHLY REPORTS of OMGUS for HESSE: July 1945-August 1949	Report on the status of the OAD, Rothschild Library Frankfurt a/M. Ceremonial objects Transference from Rothschild Library of cult objects, textiles, robes, candelabrum, vases, megillot, Torah scrolls, to CCP Wiesbaden (PAGES 21-23). The Netherlands, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Portuguese Jewish Community, Jewish Historical Museum, Nederlands Israelietisch Seminarium (PAGES 55-56).	
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	for WURTT*EMBERG- BADEN: January 1946- June 1945 and January 1947-October 1948		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	MONTHLY REPORTS SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE: December 1944-April 1945		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION:	ACTIVITY REPORTS	of UNITED STATES FORCES EUROPEAN	Report on the status of the Rothschild Library and	

WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS		THEATER, May 1945- February 1946	ceremonial objects present there. Evacuation from Hungen. Offenbach Archival Depot. [PAGES 165-167]	
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	of WIESBADEN CENTRAL COLLECTING POINT, September 1949-May 1951		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	REPORT OF SPECIAL INSPECTION IN THE AREA OF GEILENKIRCHEN, Dec. 10 1944		Not relevant.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	WEEKLY REPORT MILITARY GOVERNMENT DISTRICT FOR KASSEL, 1 July 1945-30 April 1946		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATI VE RECORDS	ACTIVITY REPORTS	[ILLEGIBLE]	Weekly reports of the MFA&A from July 1945-7 May 1946. Removal of books and ceremonial objects from IEJ to the Rothschild Library (PAGES 4-5). Hungen: investigation and photographs taken [PAGE	Included is information on: CCP in the Rothschild Library in Frankfurt a/M and removal of objects found in the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt a/M. Jewish Ceremonial objects Transport of Jewish ceremonial objects from: - IEJ to CCP Rothschild Library - Hungen to OAD

			<p>16]. Packing and dispatch of loot [PAGES 60, 64]. Hungen: documentary record in motion picture made (PAGE 67).</p> <p>Items released for use in religious services (PAGE 22).</p> <p>Idea of using building in Offenbach as CCP. (PAGE 22)</p> <p>Transference of church ornaments from Hungen to Rothschild Library. (PAGES 72, 77).</p> <p>Removal collections from Rothschild Library to OAD. (PAGES 98, 103).</p> <p>Two truckloads of Judaic cult objects removed from the Rothschild Library and sent to Central Collecting Point Wiesbaden (PAGE 103).</p> <p>Rothschild Library no longer concern to MFA&A officer. (PAGE 108)</p>	<p>- Hungen to CCP Rothschild Library - CCP Rothschild Library to OAD - CCP Rothschild Library to CCP Wiesbaden.</p> <p>In-shipments in CCP Wiesbaden are well recorded. For further details on transference of Jewish ceremonial object to Wiesbaden, you can turn to: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, [SERIES] CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORD, [CATEGORY] IN-SHIPMENT LOG: RECORDS 1-69 (20 VIII 1945 - 5 VIII 1946). This is a notebook with in-shipments in numerical and chronological order. For the in-shipment from Frankfurt (Rothschild Library), see in-shipment no. 31, PAGE 19. According to the notes this shipment received the Wiesbaden House Number 3165.</p> <p>Then remain in this CATEGORY and look for in-shipment no. 31 (see CATEGORY IN-SHIPMENT 26 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 31 (DECEMBER 24, 1945-</p>
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				FEBRUARY 21, 1946), PAGES 23-31. In-shipment files include out-shipment numbers and may include list of objects. Jewish ceremonial objects are not specified here.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	[267 categories]		This SERIES deals mostly with art dealers and art.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	[273 categories]		Seen everything. Only the relevant CATEGORIES are listed here.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT	IN-SHIPMENTS nos.: 0-283 (July 10, 1945 – May 7, 1952).	Candlesticks and shofars Jewish community Ziegenhain handed over by JCR	IN-SHIPMENTS are registered in the IN-SHIPMENT LOG RECORDS 1-69 AND 160-276. The log may include information on

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	AND CONTROL RECORDS		<p>(IN-SHIPMENT 243, PAGE 59)</p> <p>Torah curtain from Kassel. (IN-SHIPMENT 254, PAGES 48-50)</p> <p>48 <i>wimpels</i> received by JCR, kept safe by the Jewish community of Kassel. (IN-SHIPMENT 256, PAGE 57).</p> <p>3 silver cups with inscriptions, Jewish Community Kielsheim, Meir Wilmersdorf and his wife Meitla (IN-SHIPMENT 267, PAGES 2-5).</p> <p>7 ceremonial objects from Heimatmuseum in Weinheim (IN-SHIPMENT 268, PAGE 2)</p> <p>1 Torah scroll with wimple and mantle, from the Jewish community in Kommern. (IN-SHIPMENT 269, PAGE 5-7).</p>	<p>objects that one does not find in the in-shipment files themselves. Therefor it is advised to always check the logbooks.</p> <p>IN-SHIPMENT files include OUT-SHIPMENT numbers and Wiesbaden House numbers. With these numbers one can trace further destination of objects. Go to [CATEGORY] OUT-SHIPMENT and look for the out-shipment no.</p> <p>Generally speaking, objects were handed over from CCP Wiesbaden to JCR for further distribution (the bulk in 1949). In the Ziegenhain case, the local JCR office reported to the CCP Wiesbaden about Jewish ceremonial objects handed over to JCR Wiesbaden. After closure of the OAD, all found objects had to pass through and registered in CCP Wiesbaden.</p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT	IN-SHIPMENTS LOG: RECORDS 1-69 [41 PAGES].		These logs are registers of in-shipment numbers, date of in-shipment, objects brought in, name

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	AND CONTROL RECORDS	RECORDS 160-276 [32 PAGES].		of person who brought the objects in and WIE numbers (or House numbers).
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	IN-SHIPMENT MASTER FILE		Not relevant.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	IN-SHIPMENT PACKING LISTS (BY TRUCK)		Not relevant.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	INVENTORY LOCATIONS WITHIN WIESBADEN CENTRAL COLLECTING POINT [1 and 2]	Receipt for books and ceremonial objects coming from 2 safes in the Rothschild Library. [2 of 2], PAGE 122. ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS / MONTHLY REPORTS / MONTHLY REPORTS OF THE OAD, MAY 1946, PAGE 6).	Inventory 1: seen everything, no reference to Jewish ceremonial objects. Inventory 2: seen everything. PAGE 122 [INVENTORY 2] is a list with some specification of the objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT	JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION LIST OF UNCLAIMED		Not relevant.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	AND CONTROL RECORDS	COLLECTIONS (IDENTIFIABLE BOOKS)		
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER, INDEX, 1-2388		Photographs of silver (metal) Jewish ceremonial objects. Objects are photographed with their individual WIE number.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 2389-3383		Photographs of silver (metal) Jewish ceremonial objects. Objects are photographed with their individual WIE number.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 3384-4468		Photographs of silver (metal) Jewish ceremonial objects. Objects are photographed with their individual WIE number.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 4469-5813		Photographs of silver (metal) Jewish ceremonial objects. Objects are photographed with their individual WIE number.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER: 5814-6331		Photographs of silver (metal) Jewish ceremonial objects. Objects are photographed with their individual WIE number.

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	OUT-SHIPMENTS 1 -403 (NOVEMBER 19, 1945 – AUGUST, 21, 1952)	<p>OUT-SHIPMENT 134, PAGES 1-129.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - WIE nos. of rimonim [PAGES 27-29] - Index of Jewish ceremonial objects (silver) [PAGES 30] - Classification according to language or country (e.g. Hebrew, Poland, Greece) [PAGES 31-33] - Marked objects from Hungary and marked objects of unknown provenance [PAGE 34] - WIE nos. designated for synagogues in Europe and sent to the AJDC office Paris [PAGES 86-89] - WIE nos. (silver) destined for England [PAGES 90-93] - WIE nos. scrap other than silver [PAGES 94-98] - WIE nos. demolished textiles [PAGE 90] - WIE nos. ceremonial textiles [PAGES 100-115] - WIE nos. of varia, e.g. tokens [PAGES 116-117] <p>OUT-SHIPMENT 257, PAGES 23-28, PAGE 25:</p>	<p>Out-shipment of the largest number of unidentified or unclaimed Jewish ceremonial objects, handed over to JCR and AJDC. Each file includes an annotation of the country or institute of destination.</p> <p>Through these lists you can trace the country (or institution) of destination through JCR. For an image of metal objects turn to [PUBLICATION] WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, JEWISH DEVOTIONAL SILVER.</p> <p>OUT-SHIPMENT 134, PAGES 100-115: this is an important list: it includes more or less detailed physical information of Jewish ceremonial textiles that, contrary to silver objects, were not photographed in the CCP Wiesbaden. The numbers are marked with the letter T. See also V-numbers PAGES 116-117: Varia (including Jewish tokens, etc.). The list here is not complete. <u>For a (more) complete list of ceremonial textiles, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA</u></p>
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			<p>List of objects received from Mainstockheim, Tauberbischofsheim, Dittlofsroda, Karlsruhe, Wertheim, Kassel, Ziegenhain, Weinheim, Cologne.</p>	<p><u>HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN</u> <u>ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, [SERIES] CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS CATEGORY: RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949 [JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, 1-11, 1-18], PAGES 49-66 (Objects sent from OAD to CCP Wiesbaden), esp. PAGES 51-66.</u></p> <p>OUT-SHIPMENT 257: See IN-SHIPMENT 258 THROUGH IN-SHIPMENT 267 (JULY 21, 1950 - AUGUST 25, 1950), IN-SHIPMENT 264, PAGES 53-59, where you will find WIE nos., detailed descriptions of the objects and OUT-SHIPMENT nos, that will allow you to trace the destination of the objects.</p> <p>For Tauberbischofsheim, see IN-SHIPMENT 265, PAGES 60-61, 1 Torah mantle originating from the former synagogue of Freudenberg a/Main, WIE 6656 (IN-SHIPMENT 265).</p>
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				For the Mainstockheim objects PROPERTY CARDS were made, see PUBLICATION: ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS, SERIES: PROPERTY ACCESSIONS, ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION: LIGHTING APPLIANCES, PROPERTY CARD NUMBER: WIE 6649/1-9 (with photograph). See also ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION: RELIGIOUS OBJECTS (TEXTILES), PROPERTY CARD NUMBER WIE 6655/1-38.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	RECEIPTS FOR CULTURAL OBJECTS [VARIOUS CATEGORIES]		These CATEGORIES refer mainly to art objects. No Jewish ceremonial objects included.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949 [157 PAGES]	Standardized receipts of transference of objects to JCR. - Number of Jewish ceremonial objects sent to: USA, synagogues [PAGES 5-7] - Israel, synagogues [PAGES 8-16]	Seen everything. Many records are identical to records in OUT-SHIPMENT 134, PAGES 1-129. RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES do not include an annotation of the out-shipment number.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A-numbers: objects of parchment with sacred texts (phylacteries and Torah scroll fragments [PAGE 16] - Scrap silver, England [PAGES 17-20], - For synagogues in Europe [PAGES 21-24], - List of scrap other than silver [PAGES 25-27] - List of demolished ecclesiastical textiles (not including items destroyed by moths) [PAGE 28] - Objects for Jewish National Museum of Bezalel [PAGES 29-48] - <u>List of objects sent from OAD to CCP Wiesbaden, V-numbers [PAGES 49-50] and T-numbers [PAGES 51-66]</u> - Receipt numbers JCR 2-9, only books [PAGES 67-90] - objects for England [PAGE 97] - Receipt JCR no. 9, only books [PAGES 98-100] - Receipts JCR 11 for JNMB [PAGES 101-121] - Receipt JCR 12 for synagogues Israel [PAGES 122-124] 	<p>To find the out-shipment number turn to DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED / SUMMARY OF OUT-SHIPMENTS and look for WIE number. In the left column you will find the out-shipment number.</p> <p>Metal objects were photographed in CCP Wiesbaden. Textiles and Varia were not. As for V and T numbers: descriptions may help you to establish identification of the object, and thus former ownership. For each WIE number you can establish country or institution of destination by searching in the loading lists headed by destination.</p> <p>For an overview of date of shipment of JCR numbers, and content, see Receipt for Jewish Cultural Properties to JCR, dated 8 July 1949, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, GENERAL RECORDS, JEWISH CLAIMES: JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION INC., PAGES 48-49.</p>
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Memorandum of Agreement, 29 January 1949 [PAGES 125-126] - Receipt JCR 13 for synagogues Europe [PAGES 127-129] - Receipt JCR 14 for [illegible] damaged ceremonial silver [PAGES 132-134] - Receipt JCR 15 for JCRS damaged and undamaged silver, brass, textiles for synagogues [PAGES 137-139] - Receipt JCR 16 silver and brass objects for South Africa [PAGES 142-144]. - AJDC, Paris - American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) - Ministry of Religion, Israel (MRI) - Jewish Agency Israel - Board of Deputies South Africa (BDSA) - Committee on Restoration of Continental Jewish Museums, Libraries and Archives, London, England (CRJM) 	
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			<p>- Jewish National Museum of Bezalel (JNMB)</p> <p>'List of various objects of Jewish interest sent from the OAD to the Wiesbaden CCP':</p> <p>V-numbers (= Varia) with scarce physical description</p> <p>T-numbers (= Textiles) with scarce physical descriptions.</p> <p>Moses Leuwarden [= Leeuwarden]</p> <p>Jewish Community Leiden</p> <p>Chaim Mordechai Binger</p> <p>Naphtali s. David (Heinz Gruenebaum).</p>	
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1950 [137 PAGES]	<p>Ceremonial objects AJDC, Paris JCR, New York</p> <p>Torah wimpels [binders] Torah curtain</p>	Seen everything. Only two receipts include Jewish ceremonial objects.

ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS	RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1951 [13 PAGES]	72 ceremonial objects sent to Israel through Hebrew University Library (HUL).	Seen everything.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	DIRECTORY OF PROPERTY RECEIVED	SUMMARY OF OUT- SHIPMENTS [68 PAGES]		This CATEGORY refers to out- shipments from CCP Wiesbaden to JCR. The SUMMARY is an overview of out-shipments in numerical and chronological order. It provides information on: shipment no./ date of out-shipment/ in-shipment no. / place to which shipped / persons accepting custody / type of receipt [e.g. custody, special, restitution] / Amount and class of objects / Type (e.g. Restitution Law 59) / Remarks. With the out-shipment number one can turn to CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS / OUT-SHIPMENTS for more details.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	GENERAL RECORDS	JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTY [80 PAGES]		Most CATEGORIES in this SERIES are not relating to Jewish ceremonial objects.

				JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTY: seen everything. Nothing specific on Jewish ceremonial objects.
	GENERAL RECORDS	[299 categories] JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, INC. [119 PAGES]	<p>Receipts for Jewish Cultural Overview of JCR numbers, date of shipment and number and type of items.</p> <p>Devotional silver from OAD, Offenbach, overview of numbers and type received.</p> <p>Devotional silver, numbers marked with Hebrew, Hungary, unknown, German, France, Poland, Greece, Austria, Holland. Summary of number of items per country/language.</p>	<p>Most CATEGORIES refer to art objects. Seen everything.</p> <p>For the content of JCR shipments, see [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, CULTURAL OBJECT MOVEMENT AND CONTROL RECORDS, RECEIPTS FOR JEWISH CULTURAL PROPERTIES, 1949, PAGES 5-48 and 97-144.</p> <p>For the devotional silver from OAD, overview of numbers and type received and numbers, marked with Hebrew, Hungary etc. see also OUT-SHIPMENTS 1-403, PAGES 30-34.</p>
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	GENERAL RECORDS	JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH LOOTED CULTURAL PROPERTY [12 PAGES]		Seen everything. No specific information on Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN	GENERAL RECORDS	JEWISH CLAIMS: JEWISH RESTITUTION		Not seen everything, but most if not all relating to art objects.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS		SUCCESSOR ORGANISATION [167 PAGES]		
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION CLAIM RECORDS [1945-1948]	[514 categories] ACTIVITY REPORT: MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, & ARCHIVES BRANCH, JUNE 1944-OCTOBER 1945 [101 PAGES]		Probably only relating to art.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION CLAIM RECORDS [1945-1948]	CORRESPONDENCE 4 OCTOBER 1945-OCTOBER 1949 [147 PAGES]		Not seen yet.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION CLAIM RECORDS [1945-1948]	HISTORY OF THE WIESBADEN CENTRAL COLLECTING POINT, JULY 13, 1945 – MARCH 5, 1946 [12 PAGES]		Not relevant for Jewish ceremonial objects.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION, RESEARCH AND REFERENCE RECORDS	[208 categories] EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG,		No references to Jewish ceremonial objects [seen everything].

		CORRESPONDENCE AUGUST 1943 – MAY 1945 [87 PAGES]		All the other CATEGORIES do not seem to have any relevance to the manual.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION, RESEARCH AND REFERENCE RECORDS	EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG, CORRESPONDENCE JUNE-JULY 1941; JUNE 1942 [50 PAGES]		Seen everything. No references to Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION, RESEARCH AND REFERENCE RECORDS	EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG, CORRESPONDENCE, MARCH 1943-JULY 1943; [71 PAGES]		Seen everything. No references to Jewish ceremonial objects.
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	RESTITUTION, RESEARCH AND REFERENCE RECORDS	EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG, CORRESPONDENCE NOVEMBER 1940- MAY 1941 [59 PAGES]		Seen everything. No references to Jewish ceremonial objects.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	STATUS OF MONUMENTS, MUSEUMS, AND ARCHIVES, 1945- 1950	[270 categories] HUNGEN INVESTIGATION HOHE SCHULE	PAGES 2-9 and 43: investigation report	There may be more interesting CATEGORIES in this SERIES.

		[43 PAGES]		
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS	[BLANK]	[BLANK] [97 PAGES]		
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PHOTOGRAPHS.	PHOTOGRAPHS OF ACTIVITIES AND EXHIBITS	RANGE 1-479		Seen everything: Only RANGE 447-448 and 449-451 include photographs of Jewish ceremonial silver.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS	[8 SERIES] NAZISTIC AND MILITARISTIC PROPERTY TRANSFERS	ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION [22]		The hierarchy in this SERIES is: ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION / PROPERTY CARDS / PAGE Not relevant.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN	PROPERTY ACCESSIONS	PROPERTY CARD NUMBER WIE 6655/1-38	Chandeliers, Heimatmuseum Weinheim	These Property cards refer mainly to art objects and not to Jewish ceremonial objects. Unclaimed Jewish ceremonial objects

PROPERTY CARDS		<p>[ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION] [59]</p> <p>LIGHTING APPLIANCES</p> <p>[ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION] RELIGIOUS OBJECTS (TEXTILES)</p>	Ritual textiles, Mainstockheim, JCR	<p>transferred from Offenbach in 1949 do not have a property card. Only objects that were brought in CCP Wiesbaden directly seem to have a property card.</p> <p>Property card numbers include the following entries (not all information is provided): WIE number, classification, author, measurements, depot possessor, depot cat., identifying marks, bibliography, subject, material, arrival condition, description, presumed owner, inv. no., cat. no., (for office use: claim no., other photos (yes, no), Neg. no., out-shipment, in-shipment, file no., movements), arrival date, exit, history of ownership, condition and repair record, location (house, floor, room) and photograph.</p>
	+++++++ +			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS	PROPERTY CARD INDEX	ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION [63]		These seem to be the same as the PROPERTY ACCESSIONS, but the cards do not have photographs.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION:	PROPERTY RELEASES	ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION		Seen everything. These refer only to art.

WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS		[14]		
	+++++++ +			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS	PROPERTY TRANSFERS	[RTWORK CLASSIFICATION] [33]		Seen everything. These refer only to art.
	+++++++ +			
ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS	RESTITUTION	[ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION] [35]		Seen everything. These refer only to art.
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ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: WIESBADEN PROPERTY CARDS	[BLANK]	[ARTWORK CLASSIFICATION] [1]		Seen everything. These refer only to art.
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OMGUS – CULTURAL	RECORDS RELATING TO MONUMENTS,			

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OMGUS – MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES	[16 SERIES] CULTURAL PROPERTY CLAIM APPLICATIONS	[1744 CATEGORIES] L35 NETHERLANDS, JOODSCH HISTORISCH MUSEUM BAV.		PAGES 1-19: Inventory of the Jewish Historical Museum in German handwriting, made by the Nazis at the end of 1943, with crate numbers, descriptions of the objects, dimensions and inventory numbers. PAGES 21-28: inventory in Dutch.
OMGUS – MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES	GENERAL RECORDS OF THE SECTION CHIEF	[26 CATEGORIES] 457 JEWISH ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES- GENERAL 214-2/2 [85 PAGES]		There may be more CATEGORIES of interest in this SERIES.
OMGUS – MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES	MISCELLANEOU S RECORDS	[10 CATEGORIES] MONTHLY MFAA REPORT MAY AND JUNE 1945, G-5USFET [161 PAGES]		
OMGUS – MONUMENTS, FINE ARTS, AND ARCHIVES	PHOTOGRAPHI C HISTORY OF THE OFFENBACH ARCHIVAL DEPOT	[1 CATEGORY] PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTOYR OF OFFENBACH ARCHIVAL DEPOT, 1946 [67 PAGES]	PAGE 56: 'Some of the six hundred Torah Scrolls collected in the OAD from all over the American Zone.' PAGES 57-60: Jewish ceremonial textiles.	See also [PUBLICATION] ARDELIA HALL COLLECTION: OFFENBACH PHOTOGRAPHS, PHOTOGRAPHS OF OPERATIONS AT OFFENBACH, ALBUM IV, SECTION 1 [PAGES 1-21].
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AND ARCHIVES	INTERZONAL RESTITUTION	TRANSFER, GENERAL [66 PAGES]		
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WWII OSS ART LOOTING INVESTIGATION REPORTS				

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1. Selected Bibliography of Pre-War Publications on Jewish Ceremonial Objects

Encyclopedias

The following pre-war Jewish encyclopedias constitute an important resource with numerous depictions of Judaica objects:

Jewish Encyclopedia, New York – London 1901-1906, 12 volumes.

Jevrejskaja entsiklopedija, St.Petersburg 1906 – 1913, 16 volumes.

Jüdisches Lexikon. Ein enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens in vier Bänden, Berlin 1927–1930, 4 volumes.

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Berlin 1928-1934. Only 10 volumes were published.

In these encyclopedias you may search for specific Judaica objects, but also for more general entries like Torah, Torah ornaments, synagogues, festivals or life cycle events, and the related articles will offer a variety of illustrations.

Journals and periodicals

Numerous articles on pre-war Jewish museums can be found in Jewish periodicals.

For the German-speaking countries a comfortable finding aid is the portal *Compact Memory*:

<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/nav/index/all>.

It includes the most important 172 Jewish German journals and periodicals from all the different denominations and parties from 1768 till 1938, such as *Der Jude*, *Ost und West* and *Menorah. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für die jüdische Familie*.

On the Compact Memory homepage you can search through all the publications according to title, author or keyword. You can search for specific objects or object-related topics, but also for more general ones, like ‘Sammlung’, ‘Kunst’, ‘Altertümer’, ‘Volkskunst’ or ‘Kunstsammlung’; i.e. typing in ‘Museum’ results in 44 hits, ‘Ausstellung’ in 82. For instance, an illustrated article in *Menorah*, ‘Ein Gang durch das Museum Jüdischer Altertümer: Historische Sammlung der Israelitischen Gemeinde Mainz’ pops up with the keywords ‘Museum’, ‘Altertümer’ and ‘Sammlung’.

Important source material may also be provided in the Hungarian-Jewish periodical *Múlt és Jövő* (started in 1911). It contains prewar Judaica-specific articles as well as photographs – i.e., articles by Bertalan Kohlbach, Sandor Wolf or to quote a specific one: Else Hoffmann, „Dr Friedmann Ignác műgyűjteménye. Zsidó ezüstmunkák” (The Art-Collection of Dr. Ignaz Friedmann. Jewish Silver), *Múlt és Jövő*, 1927, April. Unfortunately *Múlt és Jövő* is not available online.

De Vrijdagavond. Joodsch Weekblad (between 1924 and 1932), the only Dutch magazine that focussed on the subject of Jewish art. Occasionally, photos of ritual objects were also published with brief explanatory captions as a means of documentation. See for instance, *De Vrijdagavond* (volume 7, no. 45, 6 February 1931, p. 299) with photograph of a silver *Rimon* from the collection of the Jewish

community of Berlin; a silver Torah shield (7, no. 44, 30 January 1931, p. 279); two silver kiddush cups of the Jewish community in Berlin, designed by B. Friedländer (8, no. 41, 8 January 1932, p. 233).

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Abbreviations

DBFU – Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP

Gestapo – Geheime Staatspolizei

ERR – Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg

IEJ – Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage

NSDAP – Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

RMbO – Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete

RSHA (Amt VII) – Reichssicherheitshauptamt

SD – Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS

SS – Schutzstaffel

Vugesta – Verwertungsstelle für jüdisches Umzugsgut der Gestapo

ZBHS – Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule

AJDC – American Joint Distribution Committee

DP – Displaced Persons

HUL – Hebrew University Library

JCR – Jewish Cultural Reconstruction

JNUL – Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem

JRSO – Jewish Restitution Successor Organization

JTC – Jewish Trust Cooperation

MFA&A – Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program

OAD – Offenbach Archival Depot

OMGUS – Office of Military Government, United States

OMGGH – Office of Military Government for Greater Hessen

SHAEF – Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force

YIVO – Yiddish Scientific Institute