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The Fate of the Kyiv Archive of Early Acts in the Second World War: A Triple Tragedy of Destruction, Plunder, and Propaganda

*Patricia Kennedy Grimsted**

One of the greatest tragedies of the Second World War for the Ukrainian archival heritage was the loss of almost two-thirds of the early court record books from Right-Bank Ukraine that had been brought together in the former Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts (Kyivskiy tsentralnyi arkhiv davnikh aktiv, or KTsADA).¹ Established in 1852 as the Central

* This essay is a re-edited version of a longer article in honour of the 150th anniversary of the archive, which appeared in Ukrainian in *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 2002, nos. 4–6: 46–76. For more background, see my monograph, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution*, foreword by Charles Kecskeméti (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001) and “Displaced Cultural Treasures as a Result of World War II and Restitution Issues: A Bibliography of Publications by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted,” an electronic version at the website of the International Institute of Social History: <http://www.iisg.nl/archives_in_russia/bibliography.html>. Some of the background analysis was first presented in my article “The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II: The Plunder of Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the Third Reich,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39, no. 1 (1991): 53–80 and in a Ukrainian monograph version with related documents in facsimile in collaboration with Hennadii Boriak, *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny: Vynyshchennia arkhiviv, bibliotek, muzeiv* (Kyiv: Arkheohrafichna komisiia AN URSR, 1991; 2d ed. Lviv, 1992).

1. Before the 1941 archival reform, the archive had several different official names, but no official acronym. First known as the Kyiv Archive of Early Acts (Kyivskiy arkhiv davnikh aktiv, or KADA) and sometimes as the Central Archive of Old Acts in Kyiv (Tsentralnyi arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv u m. Kyievi), it was later called the Central Archive of Early Acts in Kyiv (Tsentralnyi arkhiv davnikh aktiv u m. Kyievi, or

Archive of Early Record Books (Tsentralnyi arkhiv drevnikh aktovykh knig), it collected court records of local land (*zemski*), castle (*grodski*), and other courts and municipal magistracies in the palatinates of Kyiv, Volhynia, Bratslav, and Podilia from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries, when these territories belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Similar archives were founded in Vilnius and Vitsebsk, all of them for the purpose of preserving record books from falsification as the gentry of recently annexed lands were integrated into the Russian Empire. Many of the record books had been gathered and registered by the imperial archeographic commissions established nine years earlier.² Widely recognized as a unique repository of early Ukrainian culture, KTsADA was the first and most important historical archive for eastern Ukrainian lands under the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union up to the German invasion.³ From its formation until October 1943 it was housed in the building of the Kyiv University library.

The fate of KTsADA during the Second World War presents a curious but tragic irony in the syndrome of wartime cultural destruction and survival. Ironically, almost all the archival materials extant today

TsADAK) to distinguish it from the Kharkhiv counterpart. Subsequently, the archive was absorbed by the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv (Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR u m. Kyievi, or TsDIAK), where it formed a separate division. In connection with its 150th anniversary Ukrainian archivists prefer to use the name the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts (KTsADA). For consistency and to avoid confusion, I have adopted the acronym KTsADA here. For more details and bibliography, see my *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR: Ukraine and Moldavia, Book 1: General Bibliography and Institutional Directory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988; reprint microfiche edition: IDC Publishers, Leiden [R-18,866]), 163–232, esp. 163–5, 181–95; and the Ukrainian-language website for TsDIAK <<http://www.archives.gov.ua/Archives/index.php?ca03#NDLib>>.

2. See my “Archeography in the Service of Imperial Policy: The Foundation of the Kiev Archeographic Commission and the Kiev Central Archive of Early Record Books,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 17, nos. 3–4 (June 1993): 27–44. The Ukrainian version appeared as “Arkheohrafiia na sluzhbi imperskoi polityky: Zasnuvannia Kyivskoi arkheohrafichnoi komisii ta Kyivskoho tsentralnoho arkhivu davnikh aktiv,” in *Materialy iuvileinoi konferentsii, prysviachenoii 150-richchuu Kyivskoi arkheohrafichnoi komisii (Kyiv, Sedniv, 18–21 zhovtnia 1993 r.)*, ed. Hennadii Boriak, vol. 30 of *Problemy edytsiinoi ta kameralnoi arkheohrafii: Istoriia, teoriia, metodyka* (Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkheohrafii, Akademiia nauk Ukrainy, 1997), 11–33.

3. See the anniversary collection, O.V. Muzychuk, ed., *Kyivskiy tsentralnyi arkhiv davnikh aktiv, 1852–1943: Zbirnyk dokumentiv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, 1852–1921 (Kyiv: Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, 2002).

were the record books that the Nazis plundered. Most of the approximately one-third of KTsADA holdings that German archivists evacuated during their retreat from Kyiv in September and October 1943 survived the war and were retrieved afterwards, while the holdings that the Soviets failed to evacuate from Kyiv in 1941 and the Nazis left behind in Kyiv in 1943 are lost. Apparently, they were destroyed when the Red Army took the city.

This conclusion contradicts the Soviet postwar party line that blamed the Nazi occupiers for all wartime cultural losses and used KTsADA as a symbol of Nazi cultural destructiveness in occupied territories. Unfortunately, the Party's propaganda excesses led to another level of tragedy: the postwar misrepresentation of the real tragedy, the neglect of the surviving records, and the failure to disclose exactly which record books had been saved and which had been destroyed—how, where, and by whom.

The only complete, albeit rudimentary, list of the initial 5,838 record books accessioned by the archive was compiled by archivist Eduard Vikentevich Stankevich and published serially in the journal of Kyiv University in 1861–63.⁴ The archivist of the parallel archive for early pre-nineteenth-century record books in Vilnius prepared a full catalogue of the holdings, which was published before the revolution. But despite the potential importance of such a catalogue, and the fact that KTsADA assigned numbers remained the official archival signatures until the 1930s, a proper catalogue based on the Stankevich lists was never prepared. A bound copy of the collected Stankevich offprints with handwritten notes and supplements prepared by KADA director Ivan Mykhailovych Kamanin (1850–1921) is the only authoritative list of the original holdings. Additional record books received by the archive (to no. 5885) were added to the list by hand, and a typewritten supplement continues the list to no. 5938, although many of the entries are not actual record books. The Kamanin volume even contains a topographical chart indicating the location of books in the archival cabinets used until the

4. E.V. Stankevich, "Spisok aktovykh knig, khраниashchikhsia v Kievskom tsentralnom arkhive," *Universitetskie izvestiia*, 1862, no. 6: 1–38; no. 9: 3–8 [39–44], 45–68; 1863, no. 1: 69–92; no. 2: 93–108; no. 5: 109–24; no. 6: 124–48; 1864, no. 6: 149–72; no. 8: 173–88; no. 12: 189–216. See the annotated listing (PKG–NK-33) and related bibliography in the coverage of TsDIAK in my *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR: Ukraine and Moldavia*, 163–95.

Second World War. Fortunately, the unique archival copy survived the war and makes it possible for archivists to reconstruct the original order and prepare a complete list of wartime losses and survivals.⁵

The archive continued to function as a separate institution after 1917, first under the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Vseukrainska akademiia nauk, or VUAN) (1921–23), then under the Central Archival Administration of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee (Tsentralne arkhivne upravlinnia pry Vseukrainskomu vykonavchomu komiteti) (1923–38), and starting in 1938 under the Archival Administration of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (Arkhivne upravlinnia NKVS URSR) (1938–41[43]). During the cultural flowering in the period of Ukrainization in the 1920s, the archive, with a well-qualified staff, became a major centre of Ukrainian historical scholarship. It acquired many early historical materials, including several collections of charters, other important documentary collections, and many family and estate archives, mostly from wealthy Polish families in Right-Bank Ukraine. Some of its most important collections were described in a scholarly volume of collected articles edited by the noted historian-archivist Viktor Romanovsky (1890–1971), who was director of the archive during the 1920s.⁶ On the occasion of the archive's 150th anniversary, Liubov Histsova, its former director, prepared a well-researched account of the accessions and the development of the archive in the 1920s and 1930s, while Natalia Cherkaska presented more details on the major magnate family and estate archives acquired before the war.⁷

5. The only annotated archival copy of the Stankevich list, I. Kamanin's "Spisok aktovykh knig ... iz *Universitetskikh izvestii* za 1862–1864 gg.," remains in the Ivan Kamanin fond of personal papers at TsDIAK, 237/1/73. The handwritten additions (fols. 112–15) and typed additions (fols. 116–23) appear under the part title "Pribavlenie k spisku aktovykh knig, khраниashchikhsia v Kievskom tsentralnom arkhive." The topographical chart of the archive follows (fols. 136–9). The date of the final additions is not indicated. An additional typed copy is found in the same fond, no. 67.

6. V.O. Romanovsky, ed., *Tsentralnyi arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv u Kyievi: Zbirnyk statei* (Kyiv: TsAU URSR, 1929). During the late 1920s the archive was briefly known by the Ukrainian name in Romanovsky's title, and the name Kyivskiy arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv often appeared in historical publications of the time.

7. Liubov Z. Histsova, "Kyivskiy tsentralnyi arkhiv davnikh aktiv (1917–1941)," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 2002, nos. 4–6: 5–45. Natalia O. Cherkaska, "Do istorii zbirky 'mahnatskykh' fondiv Tsentralnoho arkhivu davnikh aktiv u Kyievi (1921–1945)," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 2002, nos. 4–6: 77–119. Cherkaska includes a description of eight of

The tragic fate of the archive can best be analyzed in several interconnected stages. Some of them raise questions that are still unresolved.

Repression in the 1930s

The tragic developments actually started a decade before the war with the brutal suppression of KTsADA archivists in the 1930s, reflecting similar repressions in other areas of Ukrainian culture. Romanovsky's arrest in January 1931 was followed by a total purge of the other historians-archivists in subsequent years. By the end of 1934 work in the archive came to a standstill: virtually all its qualified staff were purged as "enemies of the people," "Trotskyites," or "bourgeois nationalists."⁸ Its last director, Oleksander Ohloblyn, despite his high qualifications as an historian, was branded "the ring leader of the Ukrainian nationalist, counter-revolutionary club."⁹ One archivist was charged with "preparing card files with document-by-document descriptions without regard for revolutionary struggles"; another, with "permitting the use of documents in the archive by individuals who were against collectivization in agriculture."¹⁰ An inspector's report mentioned that by 1938 further

the largest fonds (pp. 96–100), a wartime list, and a chart of the magnate family fonds (pp. 109–19).

8. The quotations are cited, for example, from Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlyady i upravlinnia Ukrainy (TsDAVO), 14/1/1733, fol. 28. Details of the repressions in the Kyiv repository are noted in its successive reports during the 1930s, which are preserved among the records of the Central Archival Administration of the Ukrainian SSR. See especially the detailed investigative report on the archive dated 3 February 1934, "Vysnovky pro vseukrainskyi TsADA u Kyievi (za materialamy obstezhennia 31.I.–3.II.1934)," TsDAVO, 14/1/1729, fols. 76–83. See also the report of 29 April 1932, file 1618, fol. 26, and the 1934 report, file 1733, esp. fols. 6–8.

9. The 1934 report (TsDAVO, 14/1/1733, fol. 7), among others, explains the reason for Ohloblyn's dismissal, which was later quoted in an émigré publication by Vasyl Omelchenko: "introducing bourgeois nationalism into the scientific work of the archive." See Omelchenko's "Oleksander Ohloblyn (zhyttia i diialnist)," in *Zbirnyk na poshanu prof. d-ra Oleksandra Ohloblyna / Collected Essays in Honor of Professor Alexander Ohloblyn* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, 1977), 59. See also the study by Ihor Verba, *Oleksandr Ohloblyn: Zhyttia i pratsia v Ukraini* (Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhieohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevskoho, NAN Ukrainy, 1999), and Verba's dissertation, the abstract of which was issued the following year. Verba discusses Ohloblyn's work in the archive (pp. 354–6) in the context of his other archival and archeographic activities.

10. Cited from reports in TsDAVO, 14/1/1724, esp. fols. 76–80. Subsequent reports—all in Russian—repeat many of the same points.

descriptive work on the early records in the archive was impossible, because no one in the archive knew Latin or Polish.¹¹ A 1941 KTsADA report (in Russian) listed only five researchers at the archive, all with good Party credentials but none with adequate historical and linguistic training or experience to carry out the archive's planned program.¹²

Soviet Non-Evacuation

When the German invasion was launched in June 1941, Soviet archival authorities implemented a hastily drawn up evacuation program for archival materials of the highest priority. Priority was given to police records, revolutionary files, and other secret documentation from the Soviet period. The later director of the Ukrainian Archival Administration, Oleksander Mitiukov, covered up this fact in his commentary on the evacuation efforts (perhaps because many reports were still classified then): he inaccurately claimed that “the most important documents and the reference collections from state archives in Kyiv, the Central Archive of Early Acts,” were evacuated.¹³ Now declassified official reports show that in fact Soviet authorities made no effort whatsoever to save the holdings of KTsADA. Neither available Soviet evacuation inventories nor a 1942 wartime listing of records “evacuated by the Bolsheviks” include any holdings—not even the earliest charters—from KTsADA.¹⁴

11. TsDAVO, 14/1/1842, fol. 20. See also an additional report from the late 1930s, TsDAVO, 14/1/1930, fols. 75–83.

12. TsDAVO, 14/1/1930, fol. 82. One had started work in the archive in 1935, another in 1938, and the remaining three in 1940.

13. O.H. Mitiukov, *Radianske arkhivne budivnytstvo na Ukraini, 1917–1973* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1975), 136. See also Mitiukov's article, “Diialnist arkhivnykh ustanov Ukrainskoi RSR v period Velykoi Vitchyznianoï Viiny (1941–1945 rr.),” *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1975, no. 2: 9; and the article by P.P. Hudzenko, “Istorychni arkhivy Ukrainy u dni Velykoi Vitchyznianoï Viiny,” *Naukovo-informatsiyni biuleten Arkhivnoho upravlinnia URSR*, 1958, no. 2: 31.

14. For example, a report of 25 November 1941 notes that twenty-five freight wagons of archival materials from the Kyiv and Kharkiv historical archives, together with the Kyiv archivist A.I. Grinberg and his family, were sent to Zlatoust, Cheliabinsk oblast, RSFSR, but it does not mention KTsADA (TsDAVO, 14/1/2131, fols. 26, 33, 126). A relatively complete Soviet evacuation list for Ukraine is appended to the report (Zlatoust, 4 December 1941) of the wartime director of the Administration of State Archives NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, GA RF, 5325/10/856, fols. 41–51. See also the list prepared in Kyiv covering 154 fonds from the Antonovych Historical Archive, which included KTsADA at the time, “Spysok no. 18 fondiv i chastyn fondiv, vyvezenykh bilshovykamy iz Holovnoho istorychnoho arkhivu im. Antonovycha,” TsDAVO, 3847/1/225, fols. 10–13.

According to German reports, Soviet archival authorities abandoned the archive in a chaotic state. This would have been consistent with NKVD's instructions to leave archives that could not be evacuated or destroyed as disordered as possible to prevent their use by the invader. Many of the record books in KTsADA were reportedly removed from their shelves and scattered. Some were even thrown into the basement, which had been "prepared as a bomb shelter" during the summer.¹⁵ Given Stalin's "scorched earth" orders, several archives in Kyiv were blown up by mines laid by Soviet partisans. Fortunately, the red university building housing KTsADA was not blown up in 1941, and no evidence has been found that it was mined.

Nazi Interest in Archives

From the beginning German archivists placed a high priority on protecting KTsADA. To justify its "drive to the east" the Third Reich searched for evidence of long-standing German presence and historically based German rights to Ukrainian lands. Surviving German instructions on archival work in occupied lands clearly outline this purpose. Surviving German plans for work in the historical archives of Kyiv focused on KTsADA and emphasized historical and archeographic research on (1) German-Ukrainian cultural relations, particularly German influence in Ukraine, (2) German colonization in Ukraine, especially German communities and parishes, (3) German economic relations with Ukraine, including German contributions to industry and commerce, and (4) the history of Kyiv, presumably as the future capital of a German province. Various projects were immediately implemented to carry out these plans.¹⁶

For the broader context of archival evacuation from Ukraine, see my *Trophies of War and Empire*, 188–97.

15. See the early German reports on the Antonovych Historical Archive, including its First Division, as KTsADA was called initially under the German occupation. Such details are mentioned in the extant reports: "Holovnyi istorychnyi arkhiv im. V.B. Antonovycha: Vidchyt za zhovten 1941 r.," TsDAVO, 3847/1/5, fols. 3–4; and "Richnyi zvit I viddilu Holovoho istorychnoho arkhivu (kol. KTsADA), I.X.1941–I.X.1942," prepared under the direction of Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko, TsDAVO, 3847/1/45, esp. fols. 30–1.

16. These points are made, for example, in one such plan found among German documents at TsDAVO, 3206/1/44, fols. 11–12. It is cited with examples in the introduction to *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot ukrainskym mistam: Dva proekty vydan 20-kh–40-kh rokiv XX stolittia*, comp. Volodymyr Andreitsev, Vasyl Ulianovsky, and Viktor Korotky (Kyiv: Praim, 2000), 24–5.

Many such plans had been drafted in Berlin, particularly under the direction of Georg Liebbrandt, a top aide of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, who headed both the newly established Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, or RMbO) and the Special Commando of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, or ERR). An immigrant from the Odesa region and at one time an associate of the German Foreign Institute (Deutsche Ausland Institut) in Stuttgart, Liebbrandt was a specialist on the genealogy of German communities in Ukraine. During the war, he seized many archival materials relating to German communities in Ukraine for his special collection.¹⁷ Numerous German wartime reports document the location and removal of such records, including those found in Kyiv historical archives. However, the search for German community records involved KTsADA only tangentially, because its holdings from the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had no connection with German colonization in Ukraine, which assumed significant proportions only in the late eighteenth century.

The most blatant German politico-academic wartime effort to magnify the extent of German influence in Ukraine that directly affected KTsADA was research on the “German” medieval system of municipal self-rule known as Magdeburg Law. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries royal charters of Magdeburg Law had been granted to many cities and towns in Ukrainian lands in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and copies of such charters were found in many of the surviving municipal registers and other local court record books at KTsADA. According to the Nazi view, scholarly demonstration of the widespread use of Magdeburg Law would provide evidence of long-time German presence in Ukrainian lands, and would even (dubiously) constitute legal justification for reviving the alleged German rule of long ago.

17. See the chapter on Leibbrandt’s collection in Gabriele Camphausen, *Die wissenschaftliche historische Russlandforschung im Dritten Reich 1933–1945*, vol. 418 of *Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), 213–14. This study does not deal with the general question of the plunder of German community records from Ukraine. On that subject, see my *Trophies of War and Empire*, 198–205. Georg Leibbrandt (1899–1982) was born in the village of Torosovo (Hoffnungsfeld) near Odesa, studied in Paris and the United States before joining the Nazi Party in 1933, and headed the Eastern Division of the NSDAP Foreign Office and later the Political Department of the RMbO.

The Institute for the Study of Magdeburg Law (Institut zur Erforschung des Magdeburger Stadtrechts), directed by the German legal medievalist Theodor Goerlitz, was established in Magdeburg during the 1930s.¹⁸ The institute researched Magdeburg Law and published documents from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Its specialists in Ukraine had an additional political—anti-Bolshevik—justification for emphasizing research on Magdeburg Law, which had been suppressed by the Soviet regime after the 1920s. In that connection, the Germans could draw on the knowledge, goals, and anti-Soviet sympathies of several leading Ukrainian historical and legal scholars who had been involved in the earlier Soviet Magdeburg-Law project. Recently the edited text of the twenty-four charters granting Magdeburg Law to municipalities in Ukrainian lands, which had initially been prepared for publication in the 1920s and then again during the Second World War, has come out in Kyiv.¹⁹

Among the key figures that had been bitterly repressed during the 1930s were Viktor Romanovsky and Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko (1884–1973), who preserved the academic legacy of her husband, Mykola Vasylenko (1866–1935). They were all closely associated with Andrii Iakovliv (1872–1955), who had emigrated to Prague in 1923, and whose study of Magdeburg Law was published in German in 1942.²⁰ Vasylenko had

18. Its activities and associates deserve more extensive study in the context of Nazi wartime occupation policies and archival priorities, but surviving records of its operations have not been located.

19. Andreitsev, Ulianovsky, and Korotky, comps., *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot ukrainskym mistam: Dva proekty vydan 20-kh–40-kh rokov XX stolittia*. Twelve years ago, during my own initial study of TsDAVO records of the German archival administration in Kyiv during the war, I examined and noted most of the documents included in this publication. Struck by the importance and priority the Germans gave to this project during the war, I had intended to write more about it myself and had discussed the project with Ukrainian colleagues. In the meantime the compilers located more documentation on the Kyiv publication projects, including documents among the papers of Viktor Romanovsky, which have been preserved in Stavropol. Despite several inquiries in Germany, I was unable to find more documentation about the Magdeburg Institute, although I have since found several additional documents. See also Vasyl Ulianovsky's initial report, "Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot ukrainskym mistam' zabutyi proekt," in *Samovriaduvannia v Kyievi: Istorii ta suchasnist. Materialy mizhnarodnoi konferentsii, prysviachenoii 500-richchiiu nadannia Kyievu mahdeburzkoho prava, Kyiv, 26–27 lystopada 1999 r. / Deutsch-ukrainische Konferenz anlässlich des 500-jährigen Jubiläums der Verleihung des Magdeburger Rechts an die Stadt Kiew*, ed. Nataliia Bilous (Kyiv: Kyivska miskrada and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Ukraine, 2000), 110–22.

20. Detailed biographical data, along with photographs and bibliography, on these four

edited many of the Magdeburg charters for a two-volume publication by VUAN, which was already in proof when it was suppressed in 1931. Polonska-Vasylenko furnished the Germans with a copy of the forty-two pages of proofs that she had saved from confiscation by Soviet security agents. Many such details are explained in the recently published reports of Dr. Franz Klein, a specialist from the Magdeburg Institute who did research in Poland and Ukraine from April to August 1942.²¹

Indeed, Soviet repression of “bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist” scholars who had been involved in the Ukrainian Archeographic Commission in the 1920s played into the hands of the German invaders and nourished their ideologically biased academic pursuits. Ironically, the collaboration Ukrainian and German historians-archivists led to the revival of research on Magdeburg Law in Ukraine and provided the Germans with a strong incentive to protect KTsADA during the war. Active scholarly correspondence regarding publication continued even during the German retreat with their loot of record books and charters from the archive, first to Kamianets-Podilskyi and then to Troppau (now Czech Opava).²²

The study of German cultural and, particularly, economic activity in Ukraine involved another recruit for wartime academic as well as political service, namely, Oleksander Ohloblyn, an economic historian who had been active in VUAN during the 1920s and 1930s, and had briefly served as director of KTsADA (1932–34) after Romanovsky’s arrest. Initially the head of the Kyiv municipal administration, as the Ukrainian mayor under

most important Ukrainian scholars involved in the project are presented in the appendix of *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 199–214; biographical data on other participants (but not the Germans) are provided in the footnotes. Photocopies of the earlier pages prepared for print by VUAN (*Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 511–602) are in TsDAVO, 3206/5/15.

21. See Klein’s initial report of 12 June 1942, “Bericht über die Archiv- und Forschungsverhältnisse im Reichskommissariat Ukraine hinsichtlich der deutschen Rechtsforschung,” TsDAVO, 3206/5/19, fols. 84–7; and his lengthy report after returning to Magdeburg, “Bericht über meine Reise nach der Ukraine,” TsDAVO, 3206/5/19, fols. 40–57; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 115–38 (in German) and 142–65 (in Russian translation).

22. The latest letter found among Winter’s LV ABM records is from Goerlitz to Wilhelm Krause, who was the director of the Reichsarchiv in Troppau. It is dated Magdeburg, 30 November 1944 and is located in TsDAVO, 3605/5/15, fol. 809. A series of letters on the subject is published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 76–96 (in German) and 96–114 (in Russian translation).

the German occupation, Ohloblyn was active in academic and archival affairs. According to Klein's report, he was of considerable assistance in the Magdeburg Law project.²³ He also directed the short-lived Museum-Archive of the Transitional Period (Muzei-Arkhiv perekhodovoi doby), which was organized in 1942 to display Soviet cultural atrocities in Kyiv.²⁴ Given his earlier research in the economic history of Ukraine, his knowledge of KTADA as its director, and his persecution by Soviet authorities, Ohloblyn was a valuable find for the Germans.

The German Occupation

During the German occupation the archival administration in Kyiv was headed by Dr. Georg Winter, who represented the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam and Berlin-Dahlem. Although he arrived in Kyiv under the auspices of the ERR, in December 1942 he was appointed head of the newly reorganized Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums (Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen, or LV ABM) under the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU). In 1945 Ukrainian archivists found records of this agency, which had been evacuated as far as Troppau. This makes it possible to follow many of Winter's wartime activities.²⁵

23. Details of Ohloblyn's activities in Kyiv during the occupation are covered in Verba, *Oleksandr Ohloblyn*, esp. 243–67 and 358–60. Verba does not include a systematic bibliography of Ohloblyn's writings, but discusses many of them in different chapters; the preface and footnotes also list many works by and about Ohloblyn. Some of Ohloblyn's works in connection with the German wartime programs are also listed in the introduction to *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 24–5.

24. See the recent guide to the records of the museum-archive, preserved in the State Archive of Kyiv Oblast (Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivskoi oblasti), fond R-2412, *Muzei-Arkhiv perekhodovoi doby: Pofondovyi putivnyk*, comp. Olha Bielaia (Kyiv: TsLMRD TsDA Ukrainy, 2002). See also Ihor Hyrych, "Muzei-Arkhiv perekhodovoi doby pro ruinatsiiu kyivskykh pamiatok u 1918–1942 rokakh," *Starozhytnosti*, 1992, no. 1: 5. There is a German report of the unsatisfactory exhibit Ohloblyn established for the museum, 30 September 1942, TsDAVO, 3206/5/1, fols. 82–3.

25. Regarding the archival administration during the German occupation, see the dissertation by Maryna Dubyk, *Arkhivna sprava v okupovanii Ukraini: Avtoreferat dysertatsii na здobuttia naukovoho stupenia kandydata istorichnykh nauk* (Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhieohrafii NAN Ukrainy, 1997), and the resulting articles, "Skhema sprav kraiovoho upravlinnia arkhivamy, bibliotekamy ta muzeiamy pry Reikhskomisariati Ukrainy (1944 r.)," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1995, nos. 1–3: 35–7; and "Arkhivy Kyieva chasiv nimetskoi okupatsii (veresen 1941–lystopad 1943)," *Naukovi zapysky: Zbirnyk prats molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv* (Kyiv, 1997), 519–42. The LV ABM records retrieved

Under the Nazi occupation KTsADA remained intact in the university building that had housed it since 1852 (vul. Korolenka, 58), although some of its holdings had been transferred elsewhere. At first it was reorganized as the First Division of the Antonovych Main Historical Archive (Holovnyi istorychnyi arkhiv im. Antonovycha), reviving a Ukrainian name from the early 1920s. In September 1941 Winter appointed Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko director of the First Division of the archive (comprising the holdings from KTsADA). An accomplished specialist in early Ukrainian history, she had worked in KTsADA in the 1920s and was also a key figure in the Magdeburg Law project.²⁶ In July 1943 the First Division was reorganized as part of the consolidated Kyiv Provincial Archive (Landesarchiv Kiev).

Winter and his well-trained, Nazi-indoctrinated German archivists treasured the early register books in the Kyiv archive, which provided evidence of the widespread use of Magdeburg Law and could be used for other German-oriented historical projects. By September 1941 Winter had singled out 2,283 court record books from the Polish palatinate of Volhynia, dating from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, and several smaller collections, as prime targets for eventual transfer to the Reich.²⁷ Extant wartime reports demonstrate Winter's extensive interest and professional concern for the archive.

Polonska-Vasylenko's detailed survey of the archival holdings, which was prepared as part of her report on the archive for the period from 1 October 1941 to 1 October 1942 (later incorporated into Winter's report), is important for tracing the archive's wartime losses today. In the

by Ukrainian archivists in Troppau in 1945 are now in TsDAVO, fond 3206 (RKU), list 5.

26. A personnel file for Polonska-Vasylenko remains among the wartime records of the archive, TsDAVO, 3847/1/73. At the same time she was a professor at Kyiv University and then in 1942 became Oholobyn's deputy at the short-lived Museum-Archive of the Transitional Period. See Ihor V. Verba, *Zhyttaa i tvorchist N.D. Polonskoi-Vasylenko (1884–1973)* (Kyiv: Instytut ukainskoi arkheohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevskoho NAN Ukrainy, 2000), especially the chapter on the wartime occupation period, pp. 160–85.

27. See the appendix to Winter's report to the Nazi Archival Directorate in Berlin/Potsdam, "Übersicht der in ukrainischen Archiven befindlichen Archivalien ehemals polnischer Herkunft, an denen das Deutsche Reich und die Regierung des Generalgouvernements Interesse haben," enclosure no. 4 to the report of 23 September 1941, a copy of which is found in Bundesarchiv (Berlin-Lichterfelde) among the records of the Reichsarchivverwaltung, R 146/54, fols. 129–30 (1–4).

Division of Court Record Books, she found that only thirty-six volumes were missing.²⁸ Some of them were later found; only eight of the items she listed are missing today. She was not aware, for example, that three books on her list had been intentionally destroyed as waste paper in 1938 and one had been transferred to the university library.²⁹ Polonska-Vasylenko cites the original 1862–63 numbers, although it is apparent from her report that many of the court record books had already been renumbered into fonds before the war. In addition to registering the archival holdings and transfers by the Germans to other sections of the Antonovych Historical Archive, the report reflects German concerns and procedures for work in the archive. For example, they planned to publish a two-volume collection celebrating the centenary of KTsADA in 1952.³⁰

The charters in KTsADA are an example of the archive's sad wartime fate, and the lack of data about the several collections makes it difficult to reconstruct their wartime story today. At first the Germans were uncertain and not well informed as to whether the KTsADA charters had been evacuated by the Soviets. One German report says that three crates were evacuated to the Urals. Other reports state that either two or four crates were sent to Cheliabinsk, and one notes that some crates perished en route. Another report affirms that some materials were prepared for evacuation, but were found by the Germans in Kyiv. Obviously, details regarding the evacuation still need to be verified.³¹

28. Polonska-Vasylenko, "Spysok arkhivnykh materialiv, iakykh zaraz ne maie: Viddil aktovykh knykh," TsDAVO, 3847/1/45, fols. 34–8, appended to "Richnyi zvit III-ho viddilu Holovoho istorychnoho arkhivu (kol. K[yivskyi] Ts[entralnyi] arkh[iv] dav[n]ikh ak[tiv]) (I.X.1941–I.X.1942)." Her original typed list of the missing volumes is on fol. 35.

29. Two of the books destroyed in 1938 were blank (nos. 375 and 5671) and a third (no. 388) was water-damaged with pages irreparably stuck together. No. 5885 (a printed edition) was transferred to the university library. Halyna Kuleba kindly verified these details for me, as listed in the Kamanin inventory volume cited above (note 5).

30. See the documents in TsDAVO, 3847/1/95.

31. Granzin reported to Winter (Berlin) on 20 July 1942 that three crates containing 327 original charters (the earliest dating back to 1369) from the collection of the Archeographic Commission were evacuated (TsDAVO, 3206/5/1, fol. 249). Klein reported that two crates with parchment charters from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries were evacuated and that he had found a register of 334 charters ("Bericht über die Archiv- und Forschungsverhältnisse im Reichskommissariat Ukraine hinsichtlich der deutschen Rechtsforschung," 12 June 1942, TsDAVO, 3206/5/19, fols. 84–87; and "Bericht über

An inspection inventory of the Division of Early Acts prepared in 1942 under the direction of Polonska-Vasylenko indicates that the first 326 numbers (from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries) from the collection of the Archeographic Commission were missing, as were many charters from the collections of Nestor the Chronicler and Series B, and numbered documents that had been catalogued individually.³² As it turns out, however, Soviet archival authorities had not evacuated any of the KTsADA charters. Eventually, the Germans found them, and for security reasons Winter had most of them moved to the German occupation headquarters (at Rovno Strasse, 8). The Germans also removed the collection of charters from the Kyivan Cave Monastery to Winter's headquarters, and an ERR specialist prepared a scholarly inventory describing 207 originals and copies (1546–1920), including their seals. These charters were later delivered to Winter in Troppau.³³ Thanks to their evacuation by the Germans in October 1943 many of the charters survived. Some, however, were pillaged en route.

The first catalogue of charters in the Kyiv archive (covering 731 documents, 1369–1899) was finally published in 1971. A supplement (46 documents, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries) came out in 1974. The introduction correctly indicates that there had been no Soviet evacuation and that the Germans had transferred the collection, together with the charters from the Cave Monastery, to the German administrative building (bul. Shevchenka, 8).³⁴ There is no mention of the German

meine Reise nach der Ukraine," n.d., TsDAVO, 3206/5/19, fols. 40–57; cited in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 115–16, and 124). I reported the Soviet evacuation incorrectly in my initial article, "The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II," 69: in fact none of the subsequently available Soviet evacuation lists or other sources confirm a Soviet evacuation of any charters. In her recent article Cherkaska relies on still another report affirming an evacuation ("Do istorii zbirky 'mahnatskykh' fondiv," 92), but does not mention the alternative sources I cite here.

32. Polonska-Vasylenko, "Spysok arkhivnykh materialiv, iakykh zaraz ne maie." The missing charters from the Archeographic Commission collection are listed on fol. 37, those from the collections of Nestor the Chronicler and Series B, and other documents appear on fol. 38.

33. The first two pages of the inventory compiled in 1942 by Dr. Martin Granzin "Verzeichnis der aus der Lawra zu Kiew sibder gestellten Urkunden," (TsDAVO, 3206/5/10, fols. 221–33), are published in facsimile in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 78–9. A list signed by Winter on 7 February 1944 confirms that a crate of monastery charters (from the ERR) was shipped to Troppau on 4 January 1944 (TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fol. 114).

34. See "Peredmova," in *Kataloh kolektsii dokumentiv Kyivskoi arkheohrafichnoi*

evacuation. The compilers apparently did not have access to the German wartime documents then held secretly in Kyiv. Many of the KTsADA charters from other collections were in a freight wagon that was ransacked in Vinnytsia en route to Kamianets-Podilskyi. Some of the pilfered charters were later recovered. Regrettably, the published catalogue does not indicate the collection of provenance for individual charters, and this makes it difficult to correlate them with earlier descriptions and to determine wartime losses. Hence many details regarding the fate of the charters during the war and details of those still missing remain to be established.

German Evacuation in 1943–44

By spring 1943 Winter and his staff were already making plans for the retreat and evacuation of cultural treasures that were most important to the Reich. Most of the art and archeological exhibits from Kyiv went first to Cracow with prehistory specialist Professor Rudolf Stampfuss and eventually to Bavaria, together with several Ukrainian archeologists and museum curators. Some of the most important icons evacuated with one of Winter's shipments were forwarded to the Königsberg area with a Ukrainian curator. A million or more library books that the Germans plundered mostly from Kyiv and Kharkiv were directed primarily to the research centre of the ERR in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz). Here I focus on the archives deemed most vital to Nazi politico-ideological interests, and specifically the holdings from KTsADA and other archives that "attest to the historical position and achievement of German colonies in the occupied lands."³⁵ A surviving copy of Winter's revised priority list of archival materials that were to be evacuated (29 April 1943) appears to have been based on his first list of September 1941.³⁶ As this

komisii, 1369–1899, comp. Ia.R. Dashkevych, L.A. Popova, and Z.S. Khomutetska; ed. I.O. Hurzhii (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1971), 3–4. The supplement, "Dopovnennia do Kataloha koleksii dokumentiv Kyivskoi arkheohrafichnoi komisii," ed. L.Z. Histsova and N.M. Iakovenko, *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1974, no. 1: 50–63, is included in the complete IDC microfiche edition (R-14,509). See also the review by Omeljan Pritsak in *Recenzija* 3, no. 1 (Fall 1972): 34–52.

35. RmBo to RKU, 29 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/2, fol. 39.

36. This list and the accompanying report of 29 April 1943, addressed to Zipfel and signed by Winter (303/43), supplements his earlier report of 13 February 1943 (66/43). A copy forwarded for coordination purposes to the German archival administration in Galicia remains among the files of that administration (Tsentalnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi

list shows, priority was given to court and municipal record books from the former palatinate of Volhynia.³⁷ Winter also listed for evacuation forty-two groups of Polish magnate family and estate archives then held by the Kyiv archive, giving precise references to current fond numbers, location or estate of origin, dates (from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries), and volume (from 5,000 to 5,500 packets).³⁸ Archivists at TsDIAK are now trying to determine to what extent these Winter lists were used as the basis for evacuation.

As the tide of the war on the Eastern Front turned against the German invaders after their defeat at Stalingrad, the German occupation authorities began serious evacuation preparations. Given their lack of rolling stock in Kyiv, KTsADA, which by then was officially part of the consolidated Provincial Archive in Kyiv, was their prime target. Orders for the German evacuation from Kyiv came on 7 September 1943. Estimates vary as to how much the Germans actually evacuated from KTsADA. Here I present details based on actual German reports and shipping documents, as well as evaluations from the reports by the Ukrainian specialists that the Germans took with them from Kyiv. Different reports often present slightly different figures or emphasize different groups of records; yet a relatively complete record can be pieced together from different sources.

The Germans evacuated the Kyiv archival materials in three stages—to Kamianets-Podilskyi, Troppau, and finally Tripst—and at each stage some materials were pillaged or left behind. Losses of the record books and other archival materials that were evacuated resulted from many complicated problems en route, but were much less severe than of

arkhiv u Lvovi [TsDIAL], 755/1/219, fols. 3–6). A note in the document links it to Winter's earlier survey of 23 September 1941 (see note 26).

37. Checking the numbers 1862–1864, one can see that he was extremely thorough in listing all the Volhynian records.

38. Only about half of the names and numbers of fonds listed correspond to the only available Soviet list of fonds in KTsADA from the prewar period, but many of the finding aids and the archive of the archive itself from before 1943 were destroyed. The latest extant inventory had been prepared in the late 1930s (with additions to 1939)—see TsDIAK, fond 237, file 70. The remaining family papers listed must have been rearranged and the fond numbers changed between 1939 and the time Winter listed them in 1943 (some of the numbers assigned to them on Winter's list were used for other fonds in the 1939 Kyiv list). At least some of those fonds may have been held previously in the Kyiv Oblast Historical Archive. We need a more detailed analysis and correlation of these fonds.

those left behind in Kyiv. As we piece together data from available sources, the odyssey and fate of the KTADA holdings in German hands becomes clearer, although imprecise, conflicting, and inadequate surviving data leave many questions unresolved.

Kamianets-Podilskyi

The first two freight wagons of archival materials went to Kamianets-Podilskyi soon after the 7 September evacuation order. According to an October report of Walther Latzke, who was in Kyiv at the time, the shipment included:

- (a) record books from Western Ukrainian municipalities with Magdeburg Law (16th–18th c.)— 602 volumes and 58 archival boxes,
- (b) record books from land and castle courts (early 16th c.–1700)—847 volumes,
- (c) Rumiantsev census of Little Russia (late 18th c.)— 429 volumes, and
- (d) Western Ukrainian magnate family archives (16th–18th c.)—197 archival boxes.³⁹

The Germans sent two Soviet citizens from Kyiv and their families as escorts with that first shipment. The *volksdeutsch* Slavic scholar Nikolai Geppener (*German: Hoepener*),⁴⁰ was in one of the wagons and the

39. Latzke to RKU, 23 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/27, fols. 9–10 (copy 3206/5/2, fols. 36–38), published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 170–1. The Prussian archivist Walther Latzke directed the German Archival Administration and the Reichsarchiv in Troppau, then part of the Sudetenland (annexed to the Reich); hence he was Winter's superior at the Reichsarchiv. See also Winter's handwritten list and notes (3206/5/9, fols. 219 and 220v) and the shipping waybills that indicate the freight-train wagon numbers (fols. 215–18).

40. Nikolai Vladimirovich Geppener (*German: Hoepener*) (1901–1971) was a Slavic philological scholar of Baltic German background. The Germans took him and his family with them when they left Kyiv. During the year and a half that he travelled with the captured Kyiv archives, he kept detailed notes. At the end of the war he reported details about the fate of the KTADA materials to Soviet authorities but, because he had worked with the Germans, the Soviets considered him a collaborator and did not trust him. Soviet archivists did not recognize him as a trained NKVD archivist. For more details see n. 99.

The draft reports, autobiographical notes, and other documents among his long-suppressed personal papers in the Manuscript Division of the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (TsNB), fond 169, nos. 161–7, are of great interest. Despite some of the conflicting figures, they give a fascinating account of the German archival evacuation and the tortuous road to restitution. Some of them have been published in facsimile in *Dolia skabiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 87–108, and in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 182–8. See Liubov Dubrovina's "M. B. Heppener — ukrainskyi

historian-archivist Mykola (Nikolai) Tyshchenko in the second.⁴¹ During occupation Geppener served as the deputy director of the Kyiv Provincial Library (Landesbibliothek Kiew). Although he had not dealt with the archival materials in Kyiv, upon their evacuation he assumed a predominant role in caring for them. Winter himself traveled to Kamianets-Podilskyi several days after the first shipment (17 September).⁴² The last ERR report from Kyiv (27 September 1943) confirms the shipment was sent to Kamianets-Podilskyi but laments that “Dr. Winter succeeded in loading only two freight wagons” and suggests that Winter left with the library director Dr. Benzing on 25 September.⁴³ Yet in a report to the Reichsarchiv, Winter suggests that he transferred three wagons, the third presumably contained eleven crates from the Kyiv Provincial Library and paintings of the first category from the Provincial Museum.⁴⁴

Latzke justified the plunder as a way of safeguarding the archives, as well as fulfilling Nazi political aims: “The Magdeburg record books evacuated are of special significance as sources for the historical role and success of the German nation in the occupied eastern lands, as they present important testimony on the spread of German law in Western

arkhivist i paleohraf ta ioho arkhivni materialy u fondakh TsNB im. V.I. Vernadskoho Ukrainy,” *Ukrainskyi arkhivohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 2: 32–7.

41. Tyshchenko (1893–1969), trained in the Historico-Philological Faculty of St. Volodymyr University in Kyiv, had worked in the Academy of Sciences in the 1920s and briefly served as acting director of KTsADA in the early 1930s before being repressed. Sent to the front in 1941, he was taken prisoner by the Germans. After a year and a half in prison camp, he was released to work in the archives and in 1943 was evacuated with his family to Kamianets-Podilskyi. See the biogram by I. Matiash, “Tyshchenko Mykola Fedorovych,” in *Ukrainski arkhivisty: Biobibliohrafichnyi dodidnyk*, ed. V.S. Shandra (Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhivohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevskoho NAN Ukrainy, 1999), 1: 318–22.

42. The order for Winter’s evacuation from Kyiv to Kamianets-Podilskyi, 16 September 1943, is preserved in TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fol. 212.

43. Georg Anton’s, chief of the ERR Chief Work Group for Ukraine (Haupt Arbeit Gruppe Ukraine, or HAG-Ukraine), report to ERR Stabsfuhrung, Abt. Iib. (Berlin), Kyiv, 27 September 1943, Bundesarchiv (BAB), NS 30/51. By 5 October Anton and the HAG-Ukraine was already in Truskavets in western Ukraine, as is evident from the subsequent report in the same folder. In the meantime the prehistory specialist Dr. Stampfus had evacuated museum exhibits and other materials to Cracow and another shipment, including books and archives, had continued to Ratibor.

44. Winter to Zipfel at the Reichsarchiv (Potsdam) from Kamianets-Podilskyi, 1 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/9, fols. 155–6.

Ukrainian regions. And further they provide original confirmation of the spread of German national character (*Volkstums*) in these lands.” That comment was in line with an order, dated 29 September, assigning priority for shipment to the Reich of the Magdeburg materials and the records of German colonies, such as those prepared for shipment from Dnipropetrovsk.⁴⁵

By 26 September Winter could report that he had re-established the Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums (LV ABM) in the Oblast Archive in the old town of Kamianets-Podilskyi.⁴⁶ He had with him “the oldest record books (to 1650) most important for German interests from the Provincial Archive in Kyiv.” He explained that those records “are partly in the Oblast Archive and partly in the Turkish Castle.” He also reported that they had “the earliest manuscripts from the Provincial Library (eleven crates),” and the “paintings of the first category from the Museum of Western and Oriental Art, including the entire icon collection.”⁴⁷

Winter was so determined to evacuate more archival materials from KTADA that he returned to Kyiv on 8 October and remained there until 21 October. He was able to obtain another four and a half freight wagons, two and a half of them to evacuate “record books and documents from the Archive of Early Acts—the most important earliest materials for the history of Ukraine.” That shipment also comprised “one and a half wagons of art works from the Museum of Western and Oriental Art (paintings of the second category and graphics),” and half a wagon of

45. Latzke to RKU, 23 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/27, fols. 9–10, published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 170–1.

46. A folder of LV ABM administrative files (under RKU), headed by Winter, after he moved to Kamianets-Podilskyi, provides considerable details about operations there, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8. A few additional documents from operations in Kamianets-Podilskyi and also Troppau remain in 3206/5/27, and some of Winter’s correspondence is also found in 3206/5/9 and 15.

47. Winter to RKU, Kamianets-Podilskyi, 26 and 28 September 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 14–15. The referenced MSS were from the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Tsentralna naukova biblioteka Akademii nauk URSR, or TsNB), which during occupation became part of the Provincial Library. He also named the Soviet citizens from Kyiv—Tyshchenko and his wife, Geppener with wife, child, and nursemaid, *volksdeutsch* librarian Fraulein [Luise] Falkewitz and assistant Frau Darjan, and the section chief curator from the Provincial Museum [Pauline] Kulchenko and her housekeeper [Marie Lyssowska]—who were taking care of the evacuated archives.

books from a Dutch firm (Holland-Werkdienstes) in Kyiv.⁴⁸ One of the freight wagons (sent on 17 October) contained the records of the Kyiv Gubernia Chancellery, the Kyiv Magistracy, and the Little Russian Collegium from the eighteenth century, a total of 689 archival boxes.⁴⁹ Elsewhere Winter mentioned charters from other collections, including those of the Archeographic Commission.⁵⁰

By the time Winter returned to Kamianets-Podilskyi, one of the freight wagons dispatched from Kyiv (loaded 11–20 October) had not arrived. It was determined that the wagon with KTsADA materials had been hijacked and ransacked in Vinnytsia. It finally arrived in Kamianets-Podilskyi on 25 November. According to a report signed by Winter, the wagon contained “a cabinet full of early record books, folders, or packages from the records of the Little Russian Collegium and the Kyiv Gubernia Administration, older church records, and two crates of manuscripts from the Society of Nestor the Chronicler. In addition to the Kyiv materials, there were “twenty small boxes of documents from Poltava” and “six crates of Poltava museum exhibits.”⁵¹ Some of the court record books were in good condition, but others were torn apart. Records the Little Russian Collegium were all out of order, although apparently most had been saved, as had manuscripts and charters from the Society of Nestor the Chronicler. Fragments of some of these saved materials were rearranged, and the staff planned to take them to Troppau to continue sorting. However, much of the looted material had not been retrieved when the Germans left Kamianets-Podilskyi.

48. Winter to RKU, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 196–98 (cc: file 9, fols. 166–8). The half-wagon of books from the former Dutch working group was destined for Ziechenau in East Prussia.

49. The 17 October dispatch was also reported by Latzke to RKU on 23 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/2, fols. 37–38 (cc: file 27, fols. 9–10); published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 170–1.

50. In a letter to Goerlitz in Magdeburg Winter noted that he was able to bring out the collection of charters from the Archeographic Commission (Kamianets-Podilskyi, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/15, fols. 496–7).

51. Winter to RKU, Kamianets-Podilskyi, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 196–8. Cf. Winter’s signed report, “Aktенvermerk,” Kamianets-Podilskyi, 29 November 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/27, fols. 34–7 (cc: file 8, fols. 165–6; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 171–2 (Russian translation, 173–4), and in facsimile in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 72–3. See other documentation about the ransacked freight wagon in TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 193–5 and 197; and Winter to Reichsarchiv (Potsdam), 1 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/9, fol. 207.

Apparently, Winter had intended to take more record books from KTsADA than available rolling stock allowed. A number of German reports and Winter's private letters to his Prussian archival colleagues reveal the extent of the German archivists' genuine concern for preserving the archival treasures of KTsADA and their dismay as they realized that the materials they were unable to evacuate would probably not survive the Soviet reconquest of Kyiv.⁵² Just before Winter left Kyiv on 21 October, he and his colleague Mansfeld drew up instructions to the German Military Command of the Seventy-fifth Division. They specifically listed the university library building (vul. Korolenka, 58) as one of twenty-five to be safeguarded at all cost because of its archival treasures. Winter even drew up a plan of the building, indicating the location of additional materials and the keys.⁵³ Given the date of Winter's instructions and departure—only a week before the Red Army took Kyiv—it is highly unlikely that the Germans managed to evacuate any more record books from KTsADA, as alleged in later Soviet reports. After returning to Kamianets-Podilskyi, Winter wrote Zipfel, the director of the Reichsarchiv, that he had not expected Kyiv would become the centre of the front and that the security of cultural treasures was no longer assured. "Until now I thought there is no reason to evacuate so many archives, libraries, and museums, because they would be safer left in the region.... Only very special archives and politically important materials would be an exception.... But now, because of the way the war is being conducted, there is a danger that these cultural goods might be destroyed by mines, fire, and plunder.... I, personally, have deep scruples about taking them out of Ukraine."⁵⁴

Already by the end of November Winter and his colleagues had to retreat further and planned to evacuate most of the archival materials they had brought with them to Kamianets-Podilskyi. The art treasures,

52. See, for example, Winter to Zipfel, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/9, fols. 163–5; and Latzke to Goerlitz, 17 July 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/15, fols. 500–1.

53. Winter and Mansfeld's instructions to the Seventy-fifth Division, 21 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 200–1; published in facsimile in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 69–70. Winter's plan of the university library building with the location of the remaining parts of KTsADA and four keys is preserved in TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 199–199v. See also Winter's report to RKU, Kamianets-Podilskyi, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/15, fols. 496–7.

54. Winter to Zipfel, Kamianets-Podilskyi, 26 October 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/9, fols. 163–5.

accompanied by art historian Pauline Kulchenko, were already being shipped to east Prussia, and some of the archival materials were dispatched with that shipment.⁵⁵ But most of the archives were shipped directly to the Reichsarchiv centre in Troppau. The Germans had intended to take Tyshchenko along with Geppener to Troppau, but Tyshchenko pleaded to remain in Ukraine. Having spent a year and a half of the war in German prison camps, his health was weak, and his wife was dying from tuberculosis. Tyshchenko remained in Kamianets-Podilskyi in charge of the Kyiv archival materials the Germans left behind.

In April 1944, in Soviet custody, Mykola Tyshchenko submitted a report and a list of the archival materials that the Germans had evacuated from Kyiv.⁵⁶ He stated that the Germans “took all of the record books from the Archive of Early Acts, the Rumiantsev census of Little Russia, the collections of the Potockis, Zamoyskis, and Giżyckis, and part of the collection of Nestor the Chronicler.” He claimed that he had “kept the inventories of all the materials from the Archive of Early Acts brought to Kamianets-Podilskyi.”⁵⁷ Tyshchenko described the shipment of two freight wagons from Kyiv to Kamianets-Podilskyi (17–21 September), and explained that “five freight wagons from Kyiv were sent later with materials from the Archive of Early Acts, the Poltava Oblast Archive, and

55. Regarding the shipment of two freight wagons of art to Königsberg (with Dr. Benzing as escort), see Benzing to Winter, 23 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 150, following his arrival in Königsberg. The crate list is in a memorandum from Kamianets-Podilskyi to Königsberg, 10 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/1, fols. 2–3; one of the wagons also contained 22 boxes (T-1–T-22) from KTsADA, marked “for the Reichsarchiv Troppau.” See also Winter to Königsberg, 9 January 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 143–4, and 154; and Winter to Rodhe (in charge of art in Königsberg), 29 January 1944, and the replies from Königsberg, 31 January 1944, *ibid.*, fols. 116–21. By that time art historian Pauline Kulchenko, who had headed one of the Kyiv museum divisions during the German occupation, had arrived in Königsberg; she and the materials were being sent to Staatsdomäne Richau bei Wehlau in east Prussia, where she was to continue inventoring the icons. See also Kulchenko to Winter, Staatsdomäne Richau bei Wehlau, 18 January 1944, *ibid.*, fols. 130–1; and Kulchenko to Falkewitz, 20 January 1944, *ibid.*, fols. 122–3, and related correspondence, *ibid.*, fols. 138–9.

56. See Matiash’s biogram “Tyshchenko Mykola Fedorovych.”

57. “Dokladnaia zapiska arkhivnogo rabotnika N.F. Tishchenko,” TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 72–3; and Tishchenko, “Opis del Arkhiva drevnykh aktov v Kieve, uvezennykh v Germaniiu nemetsko-fashistkimi voiskami,” TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 77–8v; both documents are published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 175–7, with charts on pp. 178–80 and an additional explanatory report (TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 74–74v) published on p. 181.

museums in Kyiv and Poltava, and the quite large luggage of the escorts and Germans.” He pointed out that “one of the wagons sent from Kyiv without escort was over a month en route and arrived in Kamianets-Podilskyi in a truly battered and looted state.”⁵⁸ Many of the items on his list are confirmed by German reports and also by Geppener’s notes (as we shall see below).

Tyshchenko’s figure of “5,838 record books” from the Kyiv archive “taken to Germany [that is, Troppau]”, however, is not confirmed by any other sources. Apparently, it was not based on his own count or derived from German evacuation documents. In fact, in a note on his list he explained that “the quantity of record books taken [is] from the directory *Tsentralnyi arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv u Kyievi*,” namely, the 1929 collection published by Romanovsky.⁵⁹ There is ample evidence, including the German reports I have quoted and Geppener’s reports that the Germans had not been able to evacuate all the record books. The compilers of the recent publication of documents on Magdeburg Law estimate that “1,449 volumes and one cabinet (up to 100 volumes) were removed.”⁶⁰ Tyshchenko’s figure of 5,838 record books, was obviously one that Soviet authorities wanted to hear. That was the figure reported to Moscow, and subsequently it was often quoted to blame the Germans for the loss of two-thirds of KTsADA.

German reports do not specify what materials were left behind in Kamianets-Podilskyi when the Germans moved on to Troppau in December 1943–January 1944. There is no indication that they left a significant number of record books. Tyshchenko’s longer list of materials left in Kamianets-Podilskyi includes twenty-two “fragments of record

58. TsDAVO, 14/7/56. fol. 74. This statement has not published.

59. Tyshchenko, “Opis del Arkhiva drevnykh aktov v Kieve,” TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fol. 76; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 178. Although the rest of Tyshchenko’s list is in Russian, that title of the Romanovsky-edited collection is given in the original Ukrainian. In his report, Tyshchenko explained, justifying his staying in Kamianets-Podilskyi, that he had not himself worked with the record books, as that was Geppener’s assignment. Besides, the figure he cited, we should recall, is the initial mid-nineteenth century figure before subsequent additions were recorded in the later Kamanin list cited above, so it no longer corresponded to the figure for KTsADA at the beginning of the war.

60. Andreutsev, Ulianovsky, and Korotkin, comps., *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 38. They quote that figure as corresponding to Latzke’s. They also note that Geppener used the figure 1,175, as will be explained below.

books,” namely, those designated as “rescued from the papers in the looted freight wagon [from Vinnytsia] after the Germans had left.”⁶¹ According to another inventory of Kyiv materials found in Kamianets-Podilskyi at the end of the war (probably based on Tyshchenko’s) and sent to Moscow, only some twenty-seven record books (with precise numbers provided) were left in Kamianets-Podilskyi.⁶² In any case, there is no indication or even suggestion that the Germans took all the record books from Kyiv, and at the most only twenty-seven were left behind in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Answering a letter from Winter, Franz Klein recognized “the good fortune that you were able to take from Kyiv part of the early archival records. We can only hope that the remaining part will not be destroyed.”⁶³ Unfortunately, by the time those words were written the records had already been looted or destroyed.

Troppau

Between mid-November 1943 and early January 1944, the Germans transferred what they considered to be the most valuable early archival materials from Kyiv to the Reichsarchiv centre in Troppau in at least three shipments.⁶⁴ The Reichsarchiv in Troppau, a traditional quiet city in the Sudetenland, which had been seized from Czechoslovakia in 1938, became the easternmost archival centre within the Reich. It was directed by the experienced German archivist Dr. Walther Latzke. Under orders from the Reichsarchiv (Potsdam), Latzke served as coordinator for archival operations on the Eastern Front. Under the Third Reich, Latzke planned to make Troppau, with satellite depositories in a series of surrounding castles, a consolidation point for archival materials evacuated from Soviet and in some cases Polish territories. In addition to the Reichsarchiv headquarters building (Herrengasse 39–41), several other buildings in the city itself, including the Franciscan Monastery (Minori-

61. Tyshchenko, “Spisok fondov Arkhiva drevnykh aktov v Kieve, evakuirovannykh iz Kieva v g. Kamenets-Podolsk i sokhraniayushchikhsia v Kamenets-Pod[olskom] obl[astnom] istoricheskom arkhive,” TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 77–8; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 178–81.

62. “Opis arkhivnykh materialov Arkhivu drevnikh aktov v Kieve, khраниashchikhsia v Kamenets-Podolskom oblastnom istoricheskom arkhive,” n.d., GA RF, 5325/10/1883, fol. 45.

63. Klein to Winter, Magdeburg, 3 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/19, fol. 107; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 141–2 (Russian translation 168–9).

64. Opava had been the site of an important medieval German duchy and in 1822 had been the site of one of the important conferences of the Metternich era.

tenkloster) and one building that is now a paper factory near the Eastern Station (Bahnring 23, bei den Ostbahnhöfe), were transformed into archival depots, and a special high-security archival bunker (*Aktenbunker*) was constructed for the most valuable documents. By late 1943 and early 1944 extensive plundered records from Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine had already been stashed away in the city and the surrounding area. According to an agreement of 14 January 1944, the Provincial Authority (LV ABM) headed by Winter was headquartered in the main building of the Reichsarchiv (Herrengasse 39), with additional room in an outlying building (Bahnring 23).⁶⁵

A network of rural depositories for the Reichsarchiv in the region surrounding Troppau included the more remote castles of Raduň (east of Opava), Hrabin (Czech: Hrabyň, southeast of Opava), Maidelberg (Czech: Dívčí Hrad, in the Bruntál district, on the Opava River, northwest of Opava), and Gross-Herrlitz (Czech: Velké Heraltice, west of Opava).⁶⁶ At its height in late 1944, the Opava centre housed over fifty freight-wagon loads of materials evacuated from principal archives in the occupied eastern territories in addition to the treasures of the archive itself.

Starting in the summer of 1944, Walther Vogel, a deputy to the director of the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam, prepared a chart of the major groups of archives plundered from Soviet territories and the Baltic republics with their location. The master plan, with handwritten additions through January 1945, provides an impressive overall picture and shows the magnitude and nature of the German archival evacuations from Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia that were concentrated in the Opava area. In the section for Ukraine, he indicated, that three freight-wagon loads of “municipal and court record books from the

65. Kraus to Winter, Troppau, 14 January 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fol. 6. See also Winter to Randt, 12 January 1944, *ibid.*, fol. 424.

66. I conducted research on these various sites in the early 1990s in preparation for an archeographic expedition to Czechoslovakia with Ukrainian colleagues in summer 1991, thanks to a travel grant from the International Research & Exchanges Board. The four castles in the Opava region we visited, including the Raduň castle and the other buildings in Opava in which the Kyiv materials were stored are depicted in the report on our expedition, which followed the route of the Kyiv archives in Czechoslovakia. See H.V. Boriak, N.M. Iakovenko, and Patricia Grimsted, “Memorialna arkheohrafichna ekspedytsiia po Chekho-Slovachchyni: Slidamy kulturnykh tsinnosti, vyvezenykh z Ukrainy pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny,” *Ukrainskyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 2: 437–45.

Archive of Early Acts” in Kyiv (via Kamianets-Podilskyi) were stored in the nearby castle of Raduň. An additional freight wagon of court record books from Kamianets-Podilskyi (then in the Reichsarchiv in Troppau) was added to the chart by hand: apparently, it had arrived later. In addition to the Kyiv materials from Ukraine, reference is made to twenty-eight crates from the Lviv City Archive, including the rich collection of parchment charters, also stored in the Reichsarchiv bunker.⁶⁷

Winter’s report of 7 February 1944 gives further details about the shipments from Kamianets-Podilskyi and the precise location of the Kyiv materials in Troppau and its environs. The first shipment (16 November 1943) contained twenty crates of record books (Magdeburg Law), one package of other record books, fifty-eight cartons of record books from Kremenets (all from KTsADA), and ten crates from the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (TsNB), including manuscripts, early printed books, music, and graphics. All these materials were deposited in the Reichsarchiv bunker. The second shipment (11 December 1943) included another twenty-two crates of record books from KTsADA, which were dispatched with the art treasures for Königsberg under Dr. Benzing’s escort. Arriving in Troppau in early January, they were also placed in the bunker. The third shipment (4 January 1944), most of it housed in the Reichsarchiv depot (Bahnring 23), contained twenty-six crates of Polish family (Potocki, Zamoyski, Sapieha, and Giżycki) archives, two crates of additional court record books, the Rumiantsev census, and one crate of charters from the Kyivan Cave Monastery.⁶⁸ The latter collection had not been mentioned earlier

67. Walther Vogel, “Archivalienbergung Osten,” Bundesarchiv (Koblenz), R 146/28. A facsimile copy is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 76–86. The chart has since been published by Wilhelm Lenz and Klaus-D. Postupa, “Im Zweiten Weltkrieg verlagerte Archivbestände aus dem Osten—Eine Übersicht des Kommissars für den Archivschutz,” *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* 4, no. 1 (1996): 19–26. Dr. Walther Vogel (b. 1909), who had served in the Archivschutz during the war and later worked for the Bundesarchiv, confirmed the authenticity of the document to me in an interview in Koblenz in May 1993, but he recalled little about the context of the report.

68. “Zusammenstellung über die aus der Ukraine nach Troppau überführten Bestände,” signed by Winter, Troppau, 7 February 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 114–15; a facsimile is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 76–7. Winter’s manuscript copy, fols. 112–13, and an additional list, 3206/5/8, fol. 180, are also preserved. A more detailed packing-container list (with markings indicated for each) for the first shipment is available in TsDAVO 3206/5/3, fols. 96–7; and for the 4 January shipment, which also included the LV ABM office records and chancellery registers, in 3206/5/8, fol. 152.

as having been taken to Kamianets-Podilskyi. While the archives were still in Kyiv, Dr. Martin Granzin, chief of the ERR HAG-Ukraine archival unit, prepared an inventory of the 207 original charters and some copies (1546–1920) in the collection, which had been moved for safekeeping to the main ERR office (Rovnostrasse 8).⁶⁹ Winter noted that a separate shipment in early December contained forty-four crates of Polish archival materials of Warsaw provenance, shipped to Troppau from the Lutsk Oblast Archive (arrived 8 December 1943).⁷⁰

Once settled in Troppau, the Germans put Geppener to work on inventories of some of the early court and municipal record books, especially those in Ruthenian. He was also involved in the continuing project on charters of Magdeburg Law, which they hoped would be a joint publication of the Institute for Magdeburg Law in Magdeburg and the Reichsarchiv in Troppau. Correspondence on the subject, even during the stress of evacuation, shows that they were also working with Professor Andrii Iakovliv in Prague and Professor Przemysław Dąbowski in Lviv, in addition to Polonska-Vasylenko and Goerlitz in Magdeburg.⁷¹ They were already regretting that some of the records were left in Kyiv, including fascicles from the Starodub magistracy, and they feared the loss of some of the Poltava materials in the pillage en route from Kyiv.⁷²

After Opava was first bombed in December 1944, many of the most prized collections held there were shipped further west to the next round of safe castles and monasteries in western Bohemia, then considered

69. Granzin's list of 1942, "Verzeichnis der aus der Lawra zu Kiew sichergestellten Urkunden und Akten," was sent to Winter, 17 February 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fols. 221–33. A facsimile of the initial page is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 76–7.

70. Winter, "Zusammenstellung überführten Bestände," Troppau, 7 February 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/8, fol. 115; a facsimile appears in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 77. German inventories have been preserved for some of the Polish government records, most of which were transferred to Lviv after the war, where they remained in secret for the next half century. See, for example, the list of different groups of Polish records (ca 30 cubic metres), including the Ministry of the Interior, and the Chancery of the Prime Minister, 12 November 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/2, fols. 439–40; and the inventory for sixteen crates of records of the Polish Finance Ministry (1924–1939), TsDAVO, 3206/5/6, fols. 193–5. The arrival in Troppau of two freight wagons with forty-three crates of Warsaw records is noted in Kraus' letter to Winter, 10 December 1943, TsDAVO, 3206/5/3, fols. 98–9.

71. Some of the correspondence is preserved (June–November 1944), TsDAVO, 3206/5/15, esp. fols. 500–9.

72. Kraus to Goerlitz, Troppau, 1 November 1944, TsDAVO, 3206/5/15, fol. 506.

within Reich territories. Some shipments were abandoned en route, while others were abandoned by the retreating Germans in castles and monasteries in and around Opava that had been taken over for storage purposes. According to Geppener, twenty crates of record books (mostly from the eighteenth century) and twenty-nine crates of Polish family archives from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries from KTsADA were left behind in Troppau when the Germans retreated further west. He even provided precise street addresses.⁷³

Trpist Castle

When the bombing started in Troppau in January 1945, the most valued early holdings were moved to the remote castle of Trpist (Czech: Trpísty) in western Bohemia, high above the Mže River, near the railroad junction of Střibro, west northwest of Pilsen (Czech: Plzeň).⁷⁴ Geppener accompanied the shipment and resettled his family in the castle of Trpist, where the archival materials and manuscript books from Kyiv were stored. A large shipment of museum exhibits and archival materials from Riga, which was accompanied by the German archival director from Riga, Kurt Dülfer, was brought there. After his transfer to Troppau, Dülfer was put in charge of operations in Tripst and the neighbouring castle/Abbey of Kladruby, where other cultural treasures from the Baltic countries were stored.⁷⁵

According to Geppener's report in June 1945, the Kyiv materials brought to Trpist from Troppau in January and February 1945 consisted of approximately a freight wagon and a half. The shipment contained "record books from castle, land, and magistracy judicial institutions from the cities of Lutsk, Volodomyr-Volynskyi, Ovruch, Zhytomyr, Kremenets, and Kyiv, dating from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth centuries, a total of approximately 550 volumes" from the Kyiv Archive of Early Acts. "These materials," he wrote, "constitute the most valuable parts of the central fond of record books." He also noted that "two freight wagons loaded with materials from Troppau (dispatched

73. Geppener's notes, Trpist, 10 June 1945, TsNB, fond 169, file 162, fol. 2–2v; and notes, Chop, 10 January 1946, file 164, fol. 1–1v; facsimiles are published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 87–9 and 94–6, and in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 182.

74. A photograph of the castle is in "Memorialna arkheohrafichna ekspedytsiia po Chekho-Slovachchyni," 438.

75. After the war Dülfer became the director of the German State Archive (Staatsarchiv) and Archive School in Marburg. A postcard found in the Prussian Privy State Archive in Berlin confirms his presence in Trpist.

on 20 January 1945) did not reach their destination.” They contained two crates of sixteenth-century court record books from Kyiv, but he did not say how many volumes. He explained that the materials “have suffered significantly from having been moved many times in improper packaging.”⁷⁶ In a later report to the Soviet Embassy in Prague, Geppener noted that there were 1,175 volumes of record books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and 434 volumes of the Rumiantsev census,⁷⁷ but that same month he signed his name to the formal act of transfer for 717 record books (see below). The crates of record books in the missing wagons may explain the discrepancy in the figures, although he may have counted the Kremenets fragments separately or may have included other groups. No other reports of the materials in Trpist have surfaced. The discrepancy may arouse suspicion that some of the “missing” record books were retained by the Americans, but there is no evidence for this; certainly Geppener would have been the first to report this to Soviet authorities.

Geppener and his family were in Trpist when the American Third Army swept through to Pilsen on 5 May 1945, and en route placed the castle of Trpist under guard three days before armistice in Europe. Initially the cultural treasures found there merited little more than a short paragraph in a consolidated U.S. Army Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives (MFA&A) report, indicating their location on a military map: “Depots of Russian, Latvian, and German materials were uncovered in Czechoslovakia at Trpisti [sic] [Trpísty] (P-8349), Kladruby (P-7737), Stift Tipl [sic] [Teplá Monastery] (P-6864), and Travhau [sic] [Tachau (Czech: Tachov)] (P-5244).”⁷⁸

76. Geppener’s notes, Trpist, 10 June 1945, TsNB, fond 169/162, fols. 1–2; a facsimile is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 87–9, and in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 182.

77. Draft copy of Geppener’s report to the Soviet Embassy, Prague, 12 October 1945, TsNB, fond 169/163; a facsimile is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 90–2, and in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 183–5.

78. Trpist was mentioned briefly in an Army operational report in May, and then picked up in the “Operational Report of G-5 Section, 1 July to 31 July 1945,” with a copy in a later compendium dated 20 September 1945, U.S. National Archives, College Park, MD (NACP), RG 331 (USFET), Adjutant General Records File, G-5, MFA&A. (I found those documents when they were still in the Suitland Record Center, but have not verified the new box designations since they were moved to NACP.) Cf. the draft copy of Geppener’s report to the Soviet Embassy.

Immediately after armistice, Geppener contacted the Soviet representatives in Czechoslovakia and, apparently, started the restitution process. He claims to have prepared a complete inventory of the Kyiv materials in Trpist, a copy of which he forwarded to Soviet authorities, although the copy has not been found. In a petition to a Soviet Army representative, Geppener speaks of American attempts—he names a Corporal Lewis—to entice him to leave with the materials for the United States.⁷⁹ Given American policy, such an offer would have been highly unlikely, and it has not been confirmed by any American sources. By mid-July, probably as a result of Geppener's appeal to Soviet authorities, a formal Soviet request for inspection and restitution was filed through military channels.⁸⁰ Confirmation that the U.S. Third Army MFA&A officers had inspected the Tripst Castle came in a report to Headquarters of the United States Forces, European Theater (USFET), 30 July 1945:

1. Inspection of depot at TRPIST, P-8249 by Monuments Specialist Officer [MFA&A] this Headquarters, shows a castle to contain one thousand cases of archives and small museum pieces from RIGA, Latvia and approximately two truck loads of archives from the Russian cities of KIEV, MINSK and PSKOV.
2. It is recommended that authority be delegated for the turning over of the Russian Archives to the Russian Army.⁸¹

79. Geppener, Petition to Assistant Director of the Army Political Division, Colonel Fomichev, 4 December 1945, TsNB, fond 169, file 163, fol. 2; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 184–5. It is possible that he reported the American offer of asylum to promote his case vis-à-vis Soviet repatriation authorities and Ukrainian authorities after his return to Kyiv. His “complete inventory” has not been located, unless he meant the list he submitted in his report. The fact that Geppener did succeed in making contact with Soviet authorities in Prague is apparent in the copy of his handwritten report, which is filed, along with other documentation from the Ukrainian archival retrieval mission to Czechoslovakia in summer 1945, in the secret section of the administrative records of TsDIK in TsDAVO, 4703/2/2.

80. Several copies of the Soviet appeals (the first dated 13 July 1945 from Lt. General Zhandov) and related U.S. documents have been preserved in different record groups in NACP. One file, “Recovery of Art Treasures by Russians,” starts with an inspection order, dated 18 July 1945, NACP, RG 331 (USFET) Adjutant General, MFA&A G-5. A facsimile of this and selected subsequent documents appear in *Dolia skarbyv ukrainskoi kultury*, 109–16.

81. “Recovery of Art Treasures by Russians,” HQ Third Army to USFET, 30 July 1945, NACP, RG 331 (USFET) Adjutant General Documents File. A facsimile of this document from the NACP RG 260 (OMGUS) records is published in *Dolia skarbyv ukrainskoi kultury*, 110.

A more detailed U.S. MFA&A inspection report has not been found, nor is there any suggestion that the Americans sent the materials to the Munich Collecting Point for restitution processing as they did with the major art, archeological, and ethnographic exhibits from Ukraine and other parts of the USSR found in Bavaria and Austria. In one of his reports to the Soviet Embassy Geppener claims that in late July or early August he had been sent by train with the archives to Munich, but when those in charge discovered that this was a mistake, the train returned to Czechoslovakia. He soon found himself and his family in a displaced persons (DP) camp near Střibro.⁸² By 25 September a U.S. Army restitution order had been issued for the “Russian archives.”⁸³

Destruction of the KTsADA Building

While Winter and Geppener were still in Kamianets-Podilskyi sorting the KTsADA materials that had been evacuated, the record books left behind in Kyiv were destroyed. We know that the university building that housed the archive was still standing when Winter left Kyiv at the end of October 1943. Subsequently it was blown up, not by the retreating Germans, but most likely by Soviet artillery during the Red Army’s recapture of Kyiv in early November 1943. Approximately two-thirds of the archive, which the Nazis had not managed to evacuate, was totally destroyed. At the end of the war only the facade of the red university building where the archive had been housed was left standing. If any archival materials in the building survived its destruction, they were immediately pillaged by scavengers or used as heating fuel. So far none of the volumes or fragments that the Germans left behind have been recovered.

The question of responsibility for this loss is still unresolved. Soviet postwar depositions claim that the Nazis blew up the building with dynamite and completely destroyed the archive. The official version, proclaimed by the Special State Commission for Establishing and Investigating the Crimes of the German-Fascist Invaders (ChGK) was published in *Pravda*: “On 5 September 1943 the Germans mined and demolished one of the earliest centres of Ukrainian culture at the

82. Geppener to Soviet Embassy, Prague, 12 December 1945, IR NBUV, fond 169/163, fols. 1–2; published in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 183–4.

83. “Recovery of Art & Archives Treasures by Russians,” HQ USFET, 25 September 1945. A facsimile of this document from the NACP is published in *Dolia skarbiv ukrainskoi kultury*, 115–16.

Shevchenko Kyiv State University,... [with it] perished the materials of the historical Archive of Early Acts of incalculable value.”⁸⁴ The false date immediately casts doubt on the report. We know from German sources that the university building housing the archive was intact when Winter left Kyiv on 21 October and that he ordered the Military Command to keep the building under special protection, because of the importance of its contents to the German Reich.⁸⁵

In a secret reply to the *Pravda* accusation, German cultural specialists who were still in Ratibor took issue with the Soviet accusation that all the destruction in Kyiv was caused by the Germans. While admitting German responsibility for some destruction, they claimed that “the building of Kyiv University was annihilated only as a result of shelling by Soviet artillery.”⁸⁶ A possible variant has been suggested: that the building had already been at least partly mined by Soviet partisans at the time of the German invasion in the summer of 1941, but that the mines were set off only when the area was bombed or shelled by the advancing Red Army. This scenario is unlikely because the building served as a bomb shelter and because German ordinance specialists had carefully tested archival buildings for mines after they had removed mines from the building that held part of the Historical Archive in the Kyivan Cave Monastery.⁸⁷ A slightly different version was presented in the official attestation of damage by the Kyiv archive: “in September 1943, seven trucks were dispatched to Germany with documents from the Archive of Early Acts

84. “Soobshchenie Chrezvychainoi gosudarstvennoi komissii po ustanovleniiu i rasledovaniiu zlodeiarii nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov i prichenennogo imi ushcherba grazhdanam, kolkhozam, obshchestvennym organizatsiiam, gosudarstvennym predpriiatiiam i uchrezhdeniiam SSSR. O razrusheniiakh i zverstvakh, osvshennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v gorode Kieve,” *Pravda*, 1 March 1944. Original copies of selected attestations remain in the files of the Special State Commission, “Soobshchenie,” GA RF, 7021/65/8, fols. 1–4, and “Akt, 2.XII.1943,” fol. 6.

85. See n. 54.

86. “Bolschewistische Greuelpropaganda über Zerstörungen und Grausamkeiten der deutsch-faschistischen Eroberer in der Stadt Kiew,” signed by Reichardt, appended to a top secret memorandum, Berlin, 13 June 1944. A German translation of the Special State Commission’s *Pravda* article is filed with an ERR report, Stabsführung IV/3, Ratibor, 15 April 1944, BAB, R 6/170, fols. 47ff; a photocopy is held in the U.S. National Archives, EAP 99/1085.

87. For more details about the German demining efforts and alternate accounts of destruction in Kyiv, see my *Trophies of War and Empire*, 184–8.

and the archive director, Dr. Winter.... Then as they left Kyiv, the Hitlerite scoundrels exploded and burned down the building of Kyiv State University in which all the remaining documents, books, valuable equipment, and inventories of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts were totally destroyed.”⁸⁸

Kyiv witnesses interviewed after the war differed as to whether the building had been dynamited, and this gives some support to the German rejection of *Pravda*'s account. Although destroying the KTsADA building would have been in keeping with Himmler's and Göring's “scorched-earth order” for Ukraine of September 1943,⁸⁹ we know that it was under special military protection. While the timing of the final destruction is clear, the details are still unresolved. It is more likely that the destruction was caused by the indiscriminant fire of the Soviet “liberators” than by the retreating Germans.

The fate of the Central Archive of Early Acts was further sealed a month later, when, with the implementation of 1941 archival reorganization decree, KTsADA was formally abolished as a separate institution and its holdings were incorporated into consolidated Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv.⁹⁰

Soviet Postwar Propaganda

The heavy-handed propaganda churned out by the Soviet regime at the end of the war lends more credence to the German version of the destruction of KTsADA. In the ChGK report published in *Pravda* Soviet authorities blamed the “Nazi barbarians” for destroying the entire city. Moreover, by the end of 1945 the Soviets had recovered a significant part of the Kyiv archive that the Americans had captured from the Germans and should have been well aware that the report in *Pravda* was false. Yet

88. Report, 13 November 1944, TsDAVO, 14/1/2702, fols. 15–16.

89. For the “scorched-earth order,” see, for example, Gerald Reitlinger, *The House Built on Sand: The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia, 1939–1945* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), 218–23. Göring's order is printed in full in German in the English edition (Blue Series) *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–October 1946* (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1947–1949), 36: 307–10. Himmler's order appears in vol. 38, p. 210.

90. The official *Postanovlenie*, no. 205 (24 June 1941), as quoted by Mitiukov, *Radianske arkhivne budivnytstvo na Ukraini*, 132, was put into effect only in December 1943.

they submitted the ChGK report to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials in 1946 and it became one of the official Soviet trial exhibits.⁹¹

Soon after the “liberation” of Kyiv KTADA’s former director, Viktor Romanovsky, was called back from exile to prepare a report on the wartime atrocities.⁹² Undoubtedly uninformed of the fate and whereabouts of the evacuated materials, he lamented that “all this wealth was destroyed by the German barbarians.”⁹³ Unbeknownst to him, by the time his article appeared a major segment of the “totally destroyed archive” was already under Soviet control in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Tyshchenko was already under arrest and had prepared what was to become the “official” Soviet list of the materials the Germans had evacuated from Kyiv.⁹⁴ The ideological fervour together with the uninformed nature of Romanovsky’s article are symptomatic of the secrecy and misinformation that have frustrated attempts to locate the missing Kyiv materials.

American Restitution

On 25 October 1945 the United States officially restituted to the Soviet Union the cultural treasures from Kyiv and Riga, along with a few crates from Pskov, which were found by the American Third Army in the Bohemian castle of Trpísty. A copy of the official act of transfer with a ten-page inventory signed by American and Soviet authorities is preserved in the U.S. National Archives and has been published recently in a CD-ROM edition. The corresponding Soviet copy has not yet been located.⁹⁵

91. See GA RF, 7445/2/94, fols. 194–7.

92. Romanovsky was arrested in January 1931, released, rearrested, interned in a concentration camp in 1934, and then exiled. From 1940–47 he lectured at the Karaganda Pedagogical Institute, and then until his death in 1971 he served as a professor and head of the History Department at the Stavropol Pedagogical Institute. See the extensive biogram, bibliography, and excerpt from his autobiography in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 200–8.

93. V.A. Romanovsky, “Kievskii arkhiv drevnikh aktov,” *Istoricheskii zhurnal*, 1944, nos. 5–6: 92–3.

94. See Tyshchenko’s report cited above. His report and charts are published in in *Korpus mahdeburzkykh hramot*, 175–81. The originals are found in TsDAVO, 14/7/56.

95. National Archives, College Park, MD, RG 260 (OMGUS), Restitution and Custody Receipts, Box 40; published in facsimile as “Restitution Transfer 2,” in *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, foreword by Michael J. Kurtz (CD-ROM ed., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2001; prepared in collaboration with the U.S. National Archives).

The inventory of the Kyiv archival materials constitutes the final page and is signed by Geppener. It attests to the return of 717 volumes of court record books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 437 volumes of the Rumiantsev census of Little Russia, and three crates of books from the Central Scientific Library.⁹⁶ In January 1946 Geppener accompanied the shipment back to Kyiv where it arrived on 2 February 1946.⁹⁷ He was not involved in subsequent efforts of Soviet archivists to locate other Kyiv materials in Czechoslovakia, but he hardly deserved the fate of an outcast that awaited him when he returned to Kyiv.⁹⁸

Postwar Soviet Retrieval

Kamianets-Podilskyi

In early 1946 TsDIAK received “two freight wagons with 41,181 items, 232 packages, and 2.4 tons of materials” from Kamianets-Podilskyi. According to the TsDIAK report, “20,000 storage units are in total disorder,” and “the remaining materials (except for the loose documents [*rossypy*]) appear to be in an intermediate state of disorder.” Further work was needed “to systematize the 1,200 kilograms of loose documents belonging to different fonds from the Division of Early Acts.”⁹⁹ Other materials from Kamianets-Podilskyi were recovered later, some of them as late as the 1990s.¹⁰⁰

96. “Restitution Transfer 2.” That October 1945 restitution shipment to the USSR, totaling 22 freight wagons, also included extensive archives and museum exhibits that the Nazis had plundered from Riga, more of which had been found in the nearby monastery of Kladruby, accompanied by five Latvian archival and museum workers, including Marina Grinberg, who also signed the transfer papers.

97. See Geppener’s notes, Chop, 10 January 1946, TsNB, 169/164; published in facsimile in *Dolia skarby ukrainskoi kultury*, 93–6.

98. As is apparent from his careful notes during his travels (see n. 40), Geppener felt personally responsible for the materials and accompanied them back to Kyiv. Upon his return he was interrogated a number of times and not given any work at all. Then he was given a job in a glass factory some distance from Kyiv. For a long time he was prohibited from returning to library work, teaching, or research, despite his high qualifications and the general lack of qualified specialists. His fate is symptomatic of the cruel ironies of wartime and postwar cultural developments in Soviet Ukraine.

99. See the TsDIAK plan of work for 1946, 6 February 1946, TsDAVO, 4703/1/19, fols. 5 and 10. Other references to the materials from Kamianets-Podilskyi are found in other plans and official reports at TsDIAK, for example, the official report for July 1944, TsDAVO, 4703/1/6, fol. 7; the 1944 report, 31 January 1945, *ibid.*, file 7, fol. 14; the TsDIAK plan for 1945, *ibid.*, file 14, fols. 1–2; and the 1945 report, *ibid.*, file 15, fol. 11.

100. The recoveries in Kamianets-Podilskyi are noted by A.P. Pshenichny, “Arkhivy na

We still do not know, however, what became of the fragmentary materials that were ransacked in Vinnytsia and comprised the missing half of a wagonload. In 1979–81 a collector and antiquarian dealer in Vinnytsia offered some of the missing documents for sale to TsDIAK, and the archive bought back between 200 and 300 charters at different times. Archivists were convinced that the dealer and others in the area still had some documents, but the Archival Administration, eventually working with the MVD, was unable to recover any more of them.¹⁰¹ Several manuscript librarians in Kyiv and Moscow have reported to me that they had been approached by unknown individuals or antiquarian book dealers offering to sell them manuscript volumes and historical documents that undoubtedly came from the Kyiv archive.

Troppau

On 4 May 1945 a top-secret telegram from the head of the Peoples Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) in Kyiv informed Beria in Moscow that “valuable documentary materials in the history of Ukraine that were taken away during the period of occupation are now located in part in Opava and Berlin.” It specifically mentioned “the records of the Rumiantsev census of Little Russia and other materials of the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries taken from the Kyiv Central Archive.” As requested, Beria authorized Kyiv “to send to Germany and Czechoslovakia four workers from the archival organs of NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR.”¹⁰²

Next day a communication referred to the “150,000 files of archival materials evacuated from Riga under the command of the German archivist Dr. Dülfer, which were then known to be in Troppau, and more

okkupirovannoi territorii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny,” *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1992, no. 4: 91.

101. The retired director of TsDIAK, Liubov Histsova, kindly recounted to me the story of her attempt to recover the documents and showed me one of the folders from the administrative records of TsDIAK containing inventories of many of the documents and correspondence about the negotiations, list 1, file 714 (1979–1981). That file also contains copies of many Geppener’s notes and reports. This shows that archivists were aware of them and were trying to locate more of the lost record books and documents.

102. GA RF, 5325/10/2029, fol. 1. The representatives sent from Ukraine were Pavlo Ivanovych Pavliuk, deputy director of the Archival Administration NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; Ivan Pavlovych Oliinyk, director of the Archival Department of Kyiv Oblast; Hordii S. Pshenychny, director of the Central State Archive of Films and Photographs; and Hryhorii Prokopovych Neklesa, deputy director of the Archival Department of Lviv Oblast.

than 100,000 file units taken to Czechoslovakia from the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts.”¹⁰³ A Glavarkhiv report dated 4 September 1945 noted that Colonel Chernelevsky was holding a shipment of six freight wagons in the Troppau station, where there were an additional eight freight wagons under the care of Pavliuk, and that these train wagons were being prepared to be routed to Kyiv and then Riga.¹⁰⁴ This obviously represented the return of the materials found in Troppau and surrounding castles, because the shipment of ten freight wagons from Trpist that Geppener was accompanying was not handed over to Soviet authorities until 25 October. The Troppau shipment also would have included some of the Kyiv materials that were lost en route between Troppau and Trpist and retrieved by the Ukrainian archival delegation in Czechoslovakia led by Pavliuk, as is apparent in Pavliuk’s reports. According to the TsDIAK annual report for 1945, by the end of the year “the archive had received two and a half railroad freight wagons of archival materials and printed materials from Czechoslovakia.”¹⁰⁵

Later in July 1953 an additional approximately 400 kilograms of documentary materials were found in Opava, and returned to Ukraine. Two of the twelve crates contained additional record books from KTsADA with the nineteenth-century numbers indicated for 56 items, although an additional nine items were damaged, lacked bindings, or came from a different source. Presumably, all of them came home to Kyiv.¹⁰⁶

103. Deputy People’s Commissar VD SSSR Chernyshov to Ia. Chadaev, 5 May 1945, GA RF, 5325/10/2029, fols. 5–5v.

104. “Sprava,” 4 September 1945, GA RF, 5325/10/2029, fol. 23. Porfirii Vasilevich Chernelevsky was sent to Czechoslovakia as part of a second group dispatched in July.

105. TsDAVO, 4703/1/15, fol. 11. The remainder of the freight wagons were routed to Riga. That would have been two months before the shipment with Geppener arrived in Kyiv. In 1989 I was able to interview Pavliuk and Pshenychny in Kyiv about their retrieval mission in Czechoslovakia, but they either did not remember or were not prepared to reveal more details. Later I found more of Pavliuk’s reports, including Pavliuk’s report to Nikitinsky, Prague, 9 August 1945, GA RF, 5325/2/1353, fol. 81, and TsDAVO, 14/7/56, fols. 37–9.

106. The secret dispatch to Kyiv addressed to Archival Administration Chief S.D. Pilkevich came from the Colonel Musatov, Chief of the Central Archival Administration MVD SSSR (Moscow, July 1953), TsDAVO, 14/7/499, fol. 1, with the inventory of KTsADA record books attached, fols. 20–4.

Postwar Suppression

Once the total loss of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts had been used on the international front for anti-Nazi propaganda, it was later difficult to turn around and investigate what part of the archive survived, and admit that more was discovered later. Throughout the Soviet period the regime exploited the loss of the archive for propaganda purposes. The Soviets never publicly reported the American restitution of the archives from the castle of Trpist. They underplayed the materials returned from Kamianets-Podilskyi and the additional record books returned from Troppau. They also ostracized the devoted scholar who accompanied the KTsADA archives home to Kyiv. In later postwar decades the facts and circumstances of the wartime loss were never adequately investigated or accurately reported, undoubtedly because it would have been difficult to retract the *Pravda* story that the Nazis had destroyed the entire archive. Nevertheless, behind the scenes, some progress in recovering missing materials was made. Nineteen early record books turned up in Minsk, and one surfaced in Riga. Both cases are explained by the course and circumstances of the German evacuation and retrieval efforts.¹⁰⁷ Some Kyiv magistracy record books had been transferred to the Kyiv municipal archive; others, from the late eighteenth century, were identified in oblast archives.

The Soviet regime, which suppressed research on early Ukrainian history during most of the postwar period, showed scant interest in the lost parts of the KTsADA collections. Finally in 1971 a catalogue of the missing charters from the Archeographic Collection appeared (n. 31). In the late 1950s and early 1960s three volumes of inventories of extant records from the Kremenets Land Court were published, and reviewers commented on the wartime fate of the archive.¹⁰⁸ To complicate matters, starting in late 1954 the court record books that were returned to Kyiv were reorganized into separate fonds according to the court of

107. Some details about the recovered books were presented by Mykola P. Kovalsky in *Istchnikovedenie istorii Ukrainy: XVI–pervaia polovina XVII veka*, part 4, *Obzor osnovnykh otechestvennykh sobranii arkhivnykh istochnikov: Uchebnoe posobie po spetskursu* (Dnipropetrovsk: DGU, 1979), 40–3. Recently archivists in TsDIAK have been collecting data about the retrievals. Hopefully, it will be included in the database about the KTsADA record books in preparation.

108. See *Kremenetskyi zemskyi sud: Opysy aktovykh knykh XVI–XVII st.*, comp. L.A. Popova, Z.S. Khomutetska, and V.D. Chuntulova; ed. I.L. Butych, 3 vols. (Kyiv: TsDIA URSSR, 1959–65; IDC microfiche edition R-14,355). See the review by L.M. Rodomotkina in *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1960, no. 6: 154–5.

origin, thus completely obscuring the century-old arrangement and numeration of the collection.¹⁰⁹ (The fond numbers differed from the earlier reorganization undertaken before the Second World War, further complicating matters.) There still is no catalogue reflecting the new arrangement with references to the original numbers. In 1956 a simple correlation table was prepared for internal archival use, but it consists merely of the original 1862–64 numbers (with no descriptive designations) and the current new fond and item numbers.¹¹⁰

My 1988 archival directory includes a brief account of the Kyiv archive and charts of the record books, along with published statistics about the wartime losses.¹¹¹ A comprehensive edition of all the fifty-nine pre-1917 internal document-by-document inventories of the original collection of court record books was published on microfiche in the Netherlands in 1988.¹¹² Some copies of inventories could not be found in Kyiv and were furnished by libraries in other cities. An annotated bibliography of the inventories is included in my 1988 directory.¹¹³

Given the complete rearrangement of the collection, a more elaborate published correlation table is badly needed as part of a full guide to the

109. The director of the Division of Early Acts and many specialists were strongly opposed to this reorganization, but they were overruled by archival authorities (“Protokol metodicheskogo soveshchaniia ... po voprosu sostavleniia opisi na aktovye knigi khраниashchiesia v otdel drevnikh aktov arkhiva,” 1 October 1954, TsDAVO, 4703/1/153, fols. 13–16.

110. “Perevodnaia tablitsa k ‘Spisku aktovykh knig, khраниashchikhsia v Kievskom tsentralnom arkhive,’” [Kyiv, 1956], MS in TsDIAK. Lacking any identification of the courts involved, it was inadequate for use by researchers who were not already familiar with the 1862–64 lists and the new fond numbers.

111. Grimsted, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories*, esp. 163–209.

112. *Opis aktovoi knigi Kievskogo tsentralnogo arkhiva* (Kyiv, 1869–1909), 59 issues: nos. 1–14, 16–30, 32–4, 37–8, 923, 934, 943, 2035–40, 2042–51, 2057–60, 2093, 3501–11, 5882. Special IDC microfiche edition with an introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (Leiden, 1988; 62 microfiche, IDC-R-14,354). My introduction includes a table correlating the printed inventories with current fonds for the surviving record books held in TsDIAK. At the time it was not possible to include listings of the available unpublished inventories; they are written in by hand on the TsDIAK printed copy of my introduction, at TsDIAK, fond KMF 37, list 1, KMF 55. The microfiche publication is part of a collection that is described in the catalogue, *Archives and Manuscript Collections in the USSR: Finding Aids on Microfiche*, Series 3, *Ukraine and Moldavia*, ed. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (Leiden; IDC, 1989), covering most of the bibliographic entries in and coordinated with my *Archives and Manuscript Repositories*. Regarding acquisition, see the IDC website: <<http://www/idc.nl>>.

113. Grimsted, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories*, 186–91 (no. NK-34).

Kyiv collection of early court record books. Towards the end of the Soviet period, several proposals for a new reference aid for the collection were publicly aired.¹¹⁴ The introduction to my 1988 microfiche publication of the internal inventories included a plea for a more detailed correlation table.¹¹⁵ Because of TsDIAK's limited staff and resources in the post-1991 period, work on an electronic catalogue of the complete collection began only in 2000. As a first stage, a detailed table is being prepared correlating all the record books that have been missing since the Second World War with the 1862–64 numbers for the original 5,838 record books plus those added subsequently (among numbers through 5,938, not all of which were record books).¹¹⁶ The second stage will expand the correlation table to an electronic database indicating the location of all the surviving early court record books from KTsADA in the current archival arrangement and those that are now missing.

In celebration of the 150th anniversary of KTsADA the first printed volume in a newly launched series of document-by-document inventories appeared, covering the first five record books of the Volodymyr Castle Court (1566–70), with facsimiles of the pre-revolutionary published editions and Ukrainian-language edited verification.¹¹⁷ Ironically, we are

114. My article on the subject, "A Badly Needed Reference Aid for the Collection of Pre-1800 Court Record Books from the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts," was never published. But discussions based on it encouraged proposals presented at one of the first conferences of the revived Archeographic Commission in the late 1980s. See for example, Kyryl Vislobokov, "Do pytannia pro stvorennia naukoho-dovidkovoho aparatu do aktovykh knyh XVI–XVIII st.," in *Ukrainska arkhografii: Suchasnyi stan ta perspektyvy rozvytku: Tezy dopovidei respublikanskoi narady, hruden 1988 r.* (Kyiv, 1989), 233–8. See also the earlier comments regarding the need for better finding aids by Oleh Kupchynsky, "Z istorii stvorennia naukovo-dovidkovoho aparatu do fondiv sudovo-administratyvnykh ustanov Ukrainy XV–XVIII st.," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1976, no. 1: 27–35 (see PKG–NK-17). Kupchynsky surveys inventories prepared since the eighteenth century covering court record books from the Polish period in Western Ukraine (now in TsDIAL, *ibid.*, 30–2) as well as Right-Bank Ukraine (now in TsDIAK, *ibid.*, 32–5). There are some discrepancies in his figures for surviving inventories.

115. Grimsted, "Introduction," *Opis aktovoi knigi Kievskogo tsentralnogo arkhiva* (IDC microfiche edition), 23–5.

116. This project is being carried out by TsDIAK's chief archival custodian Halyna Kuleba, to whom I am grateful for showing me her provisional charts and consulting with me about the research and problems involved. For explanation of the earlier Kamanin lists, see n. 5.

117. *Volodymyrskyi hrodsky sud: Podokumentni opysy aktovykh knyh*, vol. 1: *Spravy 1–5 (1566–1570)*, comp. Halyna Serhiichuk; ed. Hennadii Boriak and Liudmyla Demchenko

faced with a situation similar to that in the nineteenth century when the series of document-by-document inventories was published before a comprehensive catalogue of the whole collection was prepared. I must urge that priority be given to a full catalogue of the entire original collection with precise correlation to the original Stankevich and Kamanin lists and indication of available internal document-by-document inventories (printed or in manuscript), as well as the surviving and lost pre-nineteenth-century record books from the Kyiv Archive of Early Record Books.

KTsADA in the Post-Soviet Mindset

The fiction of the total destruction of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts is still widely accepted as fact in the post-Soviet archival world and has important political repercussions, especially in regard to restitution issues with Germany and other countries. In May 1993, for example, the former director of the former Special Archive (TsGOA SSSR) for captured records in Moscow argued that, because the Nazis looted KTsADA, the Russian Federation should not return Soviet-seized German archives now in Moscow.¹¹⁸ Even the scholarly archivist Vsevolod V. Tsaplin, whose very careful chapters on Soviet archive-retrieval operations were published in 1997, was still ill informed on the matter. He claimed that Soviet authorities were unable to arrange the transfer of all the record books found in Trpísty and Kladruby, and that part of the materials “may well have been taken to Bavaria and are now found in West Germany, or Sweden, or even in the U.S.A.”¹¹⁹ The confusion appears to be based partly on erroneous, conflicting, or incomplete reports submitted to Moscow by Ukrainian archival officials.

(Kyiv: Derzhkomarkhiv, TsDIAK, 2002).

118. V.N. Bondarev served as director and then deputy director of the Centre for the Preservation of Historical-Documentary Collections (TsKhIDK, as TsGOA SSSR was renamed in 1992; now part of RGVA). See Maria Dementeva’s interview with Bondarev, “Osobaia sudba osobogo arkhiva,” *Obshchaia gazeta*, 4 May 1993. Pshenichny’s account of the archives during the war in *Otechesvennye arkhivy*, 1992, no. 4: 91 also cites an erroneous Glavarkhiv report listing parts of the archive that were taken to Germany (in fact they never got beyond Czechoslovakia) and fails to mention their return.

119. Tsaplin cites various reports that include returned materials from the Kyiv archive, “O rozyske dokumentov, pokhishchennykh v gody voiny iz arkhivokhranilishch SSSR,” *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1997, no. 6: 18–20. The American inventory cites only 717 volumes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Geppener may not have listed all the Kamenets fragments separately, and obviously he did not count the two crates that had not arrived in Trpíst.

Romanovsky's article and the ChGK report claimed total destruction, whereas Tyshchenko reported that "5,838 record books were taken to Germany." Such erroneous or incomplete accounts also stem from the fact that no catalogue of the KTsADA record books was even available since 1917, and that the files on wartime and postwar developments were closed even to professional Soviet archivists in Kyiv, Tsaplin (in the 1960s), and others in Moscow. And if they were not closed, then archivists were not permitted to cite the German wartime reports or the Geppener papers (both held secretly in Kyiv). Today those documents provide much more detail about what the German archivists took with them and what they left behind at various points en route.¹²⁰

We also know now that the portion (approximately two-thirds) of the Kyiv Archive that the Germans were unable to evacuate was blown up when the Red Army took Kyiv in November 1943. Ironically, most of the German-evacuated parts of that archive survived: half of it close to home in Kamianets-Podilskyi, another part in Troppau, and the most valuable part in Western Bohemia. The fate of KTsADA represents a tragic irony in the syndrome of cultural destruction and survival during the Second World War. But it also represents the unfortunate effects of propaganda and conflicting data about wartime destruction and survival and of the long-lasting suppression of available sources in the Soviet postwar decades. As a result, even after TsDIAK celebrated its 150th anniversary in 2004, many details of its wartime history remain unresolved.

120. For example, a letter from the chief of TsDIA URSR Sheludchenko to Pilkevich of the Ukrainian Archival Administration in 1957 in response to an official inquiry provides what appear to be incomplete statistics about recovered materials and losses from the Kyiv Archive of Early Acts as a result of the war (TsDAVO, 4703/2/35, fol. 7). Tsaplin had not seen the official transfer inventory, nor available German evacuation and shipping reports, nor the Geppener reports (published in 1991, see my *Dolia skarbiv*, 75-96). A more detailed study of this matter is still needed.