DOCUMENTING NAZI LIBRARY PLUNDER IN OCCUPIED BELGIUM WITH LIMITED POSTWAR RETRIEVAL



Edited by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted and Michel Vermote

Published online with generous support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), as a memorial to victims of ERR book-looting in Belgium, and as an aid to identification and research on looted books from Belgian victims. Digital versions of original ERR seizure lists, five from TsDAVO, and one from BArch, with thanks to archivists in Kyiv and Berlin-Lichterfelde.

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DOCUMENTING NAZI LIBRARY PLUNDER IN OCCUPIED BELGIUM WITH LIMITED POSTWAR RETRIEVAL

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PART 1: LIBRARY SEIZURES IN BELGIUM BY THE EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG (ERR)

WITH AN APPENDIX: Victimized Owners, Quantities of Loot, and Book Shipments to the Reich, 1940–1944 (October 2020)



CHARTS OF ERR BELGIAN LIBRARY SEIZURE VICTIMS (October 2020)

Table 1: 150 ERR LIBRARY SEIZURES IN BELGIUM, August 1940–February 1943 (in numerical order of ERR 'Work Projects' [Arbeitsvorhaben, AV])

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PART 2: LIMITED BELGIAN BOOK RETRIEVAL IN WESTERN EUROPE AND EASTERN POINTS OF NO RETURN < forthcoming>

DOCUMENTING NAZI LIBRARY PLUNDER IN OCCUPIED BELGIUM AND LIMITED POSTWAR RETRIEVAL

SIX ORIGINAL ERR BELGIAN LIBRARY SEIZURE LISTS, 1940–1944

(*October 2020*)

Edited by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted and Michel Vermote

Together, these six original retrospective lists (posted online in facsimile digitized copies) cover 150 cultural seizures by the ERR Working Group (*after June 1941*, Main Working Group) for Belgium and Northern France (AG/HAG BelgNfr). The lists – with their data now combined in our Excel charts – identify the victims, dates and addresses of seizure, quantity and nature of loot, and dates of shipment to the Reich, from the 150 numbered ERR library seizures (many with archival materials and art) from August 1940 through March 1943. Please see our summary analysis below of each of the separate lists posted.

Central to our presentation are the first five seizure lists (**ERR Belgian Lists #1–#5**) now found in a single file in the Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine (TsDAVO, fond 3676/1/164). They are among surviving office records of the ERR Belgian working group, now scattered and intermixed in the TsDAVO Rosenberg Collection, among files created from ERR activities in NS-occupied countries all over Europe. While held in Ukraine secretly since the fall of 1945 until the late 1980s, in September 2010, the entire TsDAVO Rosenberg Collection was launched online on the TsDAVO website, sponsored by the Claims Conference. A new summary register of the Belgian-related files in TsDAVO accompanies this posting in Appendix 2.

Quality colored digital copies of these five lists were kindly provided by the firm, Archival Information Systems, directed by Kyrylo Vyslobokov, the Kyiv vendor responsible for digitization and the TsDAVO online presentation.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #1

"Schatzung des Wertes der bisher von der Arbeitsgruppe durchgeführten Arbeitsvorhaben," 14 October 1941

[Estimated Value of the Work Projects (AV) Conducted Thus Far by the (Belgian) Working Group] Monetary evaluation of the initial 115 seizures, but names only a few victims.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #2

"Inhalt der Kisten der Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien. Bezug: Laufende Nummern der übersicht über die Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien und Nordfrankreich," 8 December 1941

[Content of Crates from the Work Projects of the Belgian Working Group. Reference: Serial numbers of Work Projects of the Working Group Belgium and Northern France]

Lists AV numbers to AV 118 with brief content of many confiscations (few names of victims).

"Hauptarbeitsgruppe Belgien-Nordfrankreich," 8 January 1943

[Main Working Group Belgium-Northern France]

Lists 42 (out of 145 to date) named confiscations (AVs) through **AV 145**, with brief details about those victims and content of confiscations.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #4

"Ubersicht über die Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien in zeitlicher reihenfolge,"

n.d. [typewritten through March 1942; penciled additions through February 1943]

[Overview of the Work Projects of the Belgian Working Group in Chronological Order]

Lists names, addresses, and dates of all 150 sequentially numbered AV seizures, number of crates (and codes), and date of shipment to the Reich (through May 1942).

ERR BELGIAN LIST #5

"Ubersicht der nach Berlin geschickten Kisten," n.d. [late February 1943]

[Overview of Crates Shipped to Berlin]

Similar to List # 4 through AV 118, lists names, addresses, and seizure dates through AV 136, noting crates (through AV 125) shipped to Berlin by rail through 17 May 1942, and those still in Brussels.

SUPPLEMENT TO LISTS #4 AND #5

22 March 1943 Shipment: Lists of final Belgian seizures **AV 117–136**, and **AV 137–150**; documents regarding the 22 March 1943 Berlin shipment and contents of the 121 crates dispatched.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #6

Hans Muchow, "Beantwortung der Eilanfrage aus Ratibor," 24 March 1944

[Answering an Urgent Inquiry from Ratibor]

A retrospective propagandistic list by Hans Muchow, head of ERR HAG BelgNfr, naming many prominent Jewish and Masonic seizure victims, with no additional names or data about Belgian seizures, intended for a May 1944 exhibition of ERR achievements in Ratibor, Silesia.

A digitized copy of List #6 was kindly furnished by the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, representing one of the few remaining ERR documents from Belgium now held among ERR records in Germany (BArch NS 30/56).

"Schatzung des Wertes der bisher von der Arbeitsgruppe durchgeführten Arbeitsvorhaben," Brussels, 14 October 1941, 7 folios.

[Estimated Value of the Work Projects (AV) Conducted Thus Far by the (Belgian) Working Group] (*TsDAVO*, fond 3676, series [opys] 1, file 164, folios 36–42)

This first ERR Belgian list presents appraised value of the library materials (with related archives and art) confiscated by the AG Belgien, August 1940 to October 1941, in their initial 115 seizure operations, numbered consecutively as 'work projects' (*Arbeitsvorhaben*, AV). The report enumerates victims by name in chronological order of seizure from AV 1 to AV 115, with the number of crates (and/or volumes) of books seized, although details are not given for the last six projects, apparently not completed by that date. No name was indicated for AV 31 (Varia), which in later lists is identified as the Office of the Working Group (Büro der Arbeitsgruppe, or equivalent), which is similar to four others (AV 53, 83, 84, 108); these five probably represent smaller seizures from various sources. AV 54 is listed as unnamed "Jewish lodgings in Antwerp," with "2 crates" with no value given; but no further information about this seizure or the source has been found. List #1 provides no addresses, dates of seizure, nor any content data for many of the seizures from most of the 86 individual and 22 institutional victims listed. Lists #2–#5, however, provide more data about most all of those victims and what the ERR seized in many cases. Available data in all cases have been combined on the accompanying Excel chart.

A covering memorandum (14 October 1941), signed by Peter Wörmke, representing the ERR AG Belgien Nordfrankreich (AG BelgNfr), is attached. Probably to justify their operation in financial terms and impress Berlin with the value of these endeavors, Wörmke gives a total appraised value of 170,000 Reichsmarks for the confiscations listed. The list itself indicates an estimated value in Reichsmarks for many of the named seizures (AV), but no value for some.²

Wörmke's memorandum highlights some of the initial 115 seizures the ERR considered most important with comment about the contents. The first seven entries are **Masonic materials**: two Masonic organizations in Brussels (**AV 1** and **AV 2**), with unnamed lodges; four lodges in Antwerp (**AV 3–AV 6**), and one in Liège (**AV 7**). Yet it is not clear why he would assign no value to the materials from Liège, where the ERR confiscated 27 crates with many historical documents from one of the earliest lodges in Belgium (1775). Again there is some confusion when he singles out the books from the **École des Hautes Études**, **Ghent** (**AV 24**, with 30 crates) as the most valuable institutional library seized (26,000 RM), but he does not mention the second seizure of 55 more crates from that same École (**AV 109**), which he listed toward the end with a value of 12,000 RM.

¹ No further details about seizures from that address has mentioned in any of the ERR daily reports from Antwerp in early February, as further explained in the first section of Appendix 1.

² Conversion of the value into Euros or USD may be speculative, but if we assume that 1 RM (1941) corresponds to approximately € 3.9 (as of September 2020), according to statistics of the <u>Deutsche Bundesbank</u>), the total value of the cultural robbery comes – at the end of 1941 – in Wörmke's appraisal to an estimated total of €663,000 (RM 170,000 x 3.9) or \$781,948.

Among the notable personal libraries (many with personal papers), Wörmke singles out by name in his covering memorandum, some with remarks (further data here added from reports or our posted chart):

Jean d'Orleans, duc de Guise (AV 12; 37 crates), [Exiled Pretender to the French throne]; Jacques Errera (AV 35; 16 crates), [Chemistry professor at the Free University of Brussels (ULB), prominent in the Jewish community], with no comments;

Niko Gunzburg (**AV 44**; 10 crates), [Professor and Dean of Law Faculty, Ghent University, whose parents fled to Antwerp from Latvia (then in the Russian Empire)]; "very valuable materials on local Flemish history";

Friedrich Adler (AV 52; 20 crates), [Austrian-born Secretary of the 2nd Labour and Socialist International (LSI), headquartered in Brussels], "a unique collection of communist-socialist literature";

Paul Van Zeeland (AV 56; 21 crates), ["fugitive Belgian Prime Minister"]; with "economic literature, unique in global economic contexts"; and

Olympé Gilbart (**AV 79**; 23 crates), ["Liège, Senator and editor of the journal *La Meuse*"]; "a special library of Walloon editions and works on the Walloons and Wallonia."

Also highlighted are the four libraries which, as explained in a subsequent report, were temporarily being kept for use in Brussels in the ERR library depot (rue de Livourne, 146):³

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[Henri] Grégoire (AV 48 and AV 112, 21 crates – 15,000 RM), [Paul] Hymans (AV 110, 3924 vols – 22,000 RM), [Victor de] Laveleye (AV 111, 1,838 vols. – 6,500 RM), and [Jean] de Sturler (AV 113, 1,082 vols. – 4,000 RM).
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Although the ERR AG BelgNfr seized mainly libraries (and personal papers, and some archives) from most victims, Wörmke also lists the number of <u>art objects</u> seized from <u>12 different victims</u>, but with no further details. Efforts are underway to identify and determine the fate of these looted works of art. Further discussion of the ERR involvement with art looting in Belgium will be presented in our forthcoming article.⁴

No later report or retrospective list of seizures with similar monetary or substantive evaluation of ERR confiscated Belgian library collections has surfaced, although several of the most valuable institutional libraries and archives were seized later, namely from the **Jesuit Seminary** in Enghien (AV 133), and the **National Institute of Social History** (AV 134), both seized in May 1942.

³ Wörmke, "Ubersicht in Stichworten über Arbeitsvorhaben Hymans, Laveleye, Grégoire (de Sturler)," 4 October 1941, TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 3–5. The de Sturler library, included in the title was not described in that document, a copy of which is in the same file. In March 1943, the ERR later sent the Grégoire and Laveleye libraries to Berlin, but the de Sturler and Hymans libraries were still in the ERR Livourne depot at the end of 1943.

⁴ A list of those victims (with AV numbers) listed on **ERR List #1** from whom art objects were seized will be provided with more details about ERR involvement in art seizure in Belgium in the forthcoming article on this website. Although many art objects from Belgium have recently been added in the expanded Jeu de Paume Database (https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/), many of those additions were not sent to Paris. The fate of the art objects seized from individuals listed on **ERR List #1** is still to be determined.

"Inhalt der Kisten der Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien. Bezug: Laufende Nummern der übersicht über die Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien und Nordfrankreich," Brussels, 8 December 1941, 7 folios.

[Content of Crates from the Work Projects of the Belgian Working Group. Reference: Serial numbers of Work Projects of the Working Group Belgium and Northern France]

(*TsDAVO*, fond 3676, series [opys] 1, file 164, fols. 8–12; carbon copy fols. 13–17)

ERR Belgian List #2, dated two months later than ERR Belgian List #1, provides brief description of the content of the library loot in sequential order of the numbered 'work projects' (*Arbeitsvorhaben*, AV) AV 1–118, most of which had already been sent to Berlin by December 1941.⁵ Victims are named for only two entries – Friederich Adler (AV 52) and the remainder of the library of the École des Hautes Études (AV 109). For the rest, while only AV numbers are listed, corresponding victims' names can be found on Lists #3, #4, and #5. Our Excel chart combines the data from all six ERR lists.

Seized books and other library materials from several entries are again noted as remaining in Brussels. As explained above regarding List #1, the seized books were still shelved in the ERR library depot (rue de Livourne, 146):⁶

[Henri] Grégoire (AV 48 and AV 112), [Paul] Hymans (AV 110), [Victor de] Laveleye (AV 111), and [Jean] de Sturler (AV 113).

Many contents are indicated only as "various (varia)," and one is simply labeled "unknown (unbekannt)." Materials seized (with the AV victim numbers given) include Masonic "Lodge materials" for 9 entries, Judaica and Hebraica (15 entries, some only in part), as well as Socialist, Communist, and Marxist literature. Other descriptive categories include political and legal writings, French history, French literature, German-language philosophy, Russian literature, art history, periodicals, Belles-lettres, encyclopedias, chemistry, theosophical literature, and music scores (the latter intended for Sonderstab Musik). One entry is described only as "writings hostile to Germany," and another as "literature forbidden in Germany." Archival materials (papers/documents) are indicated as included in several crates.

Notations are added that the crates coded "Reista" in entries 31 and 84 (elsewhere named as from the ERR AG Brussels Office) had already been diverted to the Prehistory Office (Amt Vorgeschichte), presumably containing the materials collected by ERR prehistory specialist Professor Stampfuss during his visits to museums and various sites as one of the Brussels AG staff.

⁵ See the full list of shipments with documentation in Appendix 1.

⁶ A separate report was prepared for these libraries: Wörmke, "Ubersicht in Stichworten über Arbeitsvorhaben Hymans, Laveleye, Grégoire (de Sturler)," 4 October 1941, TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 3–5. The de Sturler library, although it appeared in the title was not described in that document, a copy of which is found in the same file with the five lists. In March 1943, the ERR sent the Grégoire and Laveleye libraries to Berlin, but the de Sturler and Hymans libraries were apparently still in the ERR Livourne depot at the end of 1943.

In several cases this listing may be the only remaining trace – and hence confirmation – of cultural assets that disappeared during the Second World War; in other cases, it may serve to confirm the loss detailed in postwar claims submitted by the owners.

An English rendering of the exact ERR description of victims, quantity and description of contents and appropriate number of crates and the crate codes have been added to the indicated AV entries in appropriate columns on our Excel chart.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #3

"Hauptarbeitsgruppe Belgien-Nordfrankreich," 8 January 1943, 7 folios.

[Main Working Group Belgium-Northern France]

(*TsDAVO*, fond 3676, series [opys] 1, file 164, fols. 46–52; carbon copy fols. 23–29)

ERR List #3 represents an interim report on the library seizures of ERR Working Group Belgien Nordfrankreich (HAG BelgNfr), with more detailed descriptions of loot from 42 of their "most important work projects" by early January 1943, covering 23 private individuals and 19 institutions. The numbers used (the highest is AV 145) again correspond to the numbered 'work projects' (*Arbeitsvorhaben*, AV) in other lists (Lists #1, #2, #4 [to AV 118], and #5). By that time, the ERR reported having seized books and related archival materials in "Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, and Enghien, Lille, and several smaller northern French locations." They had already shipped a total of 715 crates to the Reich, and had 350 crates awaiting transport, representing a total of 1,065 crates of looted books and archival materials.

Content descriptions for only 42 named entries (out of 145 to date) provide more details about the general characteristics of books and archival materials seized, including several more recent victims not listed earlier, namely the **Jesuit Seminary** in the former Saint Augustine Monastery in **Enghien** (AV 133) and the **National Institute of Social History** (AV 134). Also important, more complete identification is given for many of the other entries, with full names and addresses, and often, comments about the owner (persons and institutions) and the number of crates seized.⁷

An English rendering of the ERR content descriptions in this list have been added to the appropriate AV entries on our Excel chart.

 $^{^{7}}$ See more details about some of the unnamed entries in the description of List #4 below and the initial discussion of victims in Appendix 1.

"Ubersicht über die Arbeitsvorhaben der Arbeitsgruppe Belgien in zeitlicher reihenfolge," n.d. [typewritten through March 1942 (AV 125); penciled additions through February 1943], 14 folios.

[Overview of the Work Projects of the Belgian Working Group in Chronological Order], (*TsDAVO*, fond 3676, series [opys] 1, file 164, folios 53–66)⁸

N.B.: See also the additional documents in the **Supplement to Lists** #4 and #5.

ERR List #4, as a key administrative document of the ERR HAG BelgNfr, provides the most comprehensive retrospective overview available of 150 numbered ERR seizures in Belgium (and Northern France). Those numbered 'work projects' (*Arbeitsvorhaben*, AV) correspond to the seizure operations named in other lists. Names and addresses of victimized persons or organizations, with date(s) of confiscation for 150 numbered entries are listed in chronological order from 15 August 1940 through 27 February 1943. The number of crates with crate codes are indicated for most, together with the date and destination for shipments by rail through the transport of 27 May 1942 to Berlin. Belgium (and Northern France).

Noticeably the entries for AV 1–36, in terms of names, dates of seizures, and quantity of crates, covering seizures through 15 December 1940, repeat exactly a three-page list with the same title, prepared in early January 1941, a copy of which is now held in the NIOD in Amsterdam. Because it provides no added data, that early list is not included here.¹²

Entries through AV 125 are typewritten, while data for later ones are penciled in, starting with AV 126 (2–6 March 1942) through AV 150 (26 February 1943); some penciled entries are now barely legible, and others were left blank. Some of the missing data for entries above AV 118 can now be verified in **ERR List #5** (which repeats the same entries through AV 120) and with the additional crate list in the **Supplement to Lists #4 and #5**. Separate typewritten lists of the final registered 'work projects' (AV 117–136 and 137–150) confirming the entry names of penciled additions, are also included with the **Supplement to Lists #4 and #5**.

ERR List #4 confirms that the pace of ERR confiscations slowed down after the fierce start in August 1940 that continued through 1941.

The date of transport and destination of seized cultural loot in most entries are indicated in the right-hand column, although again, indicative of the unfinished text, all of the shipping data starting with AV 119 are also in pencil, the Berlin transport of 18 November 1941 being the last to have been

⁸ Fainter carbon copies of Lists #4 and #5, pp. 7–10 (**AV 55–107**), and p. 11 (carbon of an alternate typescript), covering **AV 108–118**), follow in TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 67–71.

⁹ Although the term Arbeitsgruppe (Working Group) is used in the title, the Belgian Working Group had become a Main Working Group (HAG) by June 1942.

¹⁰ AV 150 was the last numbered 'work project' registered for the Belgian AG/HAG, as Muchow explained in his recently identified annual report for 1943: "AB...für das Jahr 1943," TsDAVO, 3676/1/171, fol. 129.

¹¹ See Appendix 1 for more details about the ERR shipments from Brussels.

¹² See the January 1941 list in the NIOD (Amsterdam), Archief ERR *093a/58, fols. 5–7: https://www.archieven.nl/nl/search

modonly?mivast=298&miadt=298&mizig=210&miview=inv2&milang=nl&micols=1&micode=093a&mizk_alle=5 8. That list (including its title) was later incorporated as the initial three pages of ERR Belgian List #4.

typed in the original. Starting with the crates for AV 118, for those that were sent out with the Berlin transport of 17 May 1942, the shipping data has been added in pencil, although not all of the entries are legible. And the Paris shipment for the art collections of [Hugo] Andriesse (AV 127) and [Eric-Émile] Lyndhurst (AV 128; "Lindhurst [sic]" in the text) is also given in pencil as 9 March 1942. Except for that art shipment to Paris, Berlin was the destination for all of the rail shipments of seized books and archives, through the spring of 1942. While all of the rail shipments indicated were all intended for the ERR Headquarters in Berlin-Wilmersdorf (Margaretenstrasse 18), remaining copies of freight waybills in the same file are actually addressed to the ERR shipping agent Edouard Franzkowiak in Berlin. By March 1943 the Headquarters had moved (and hence the address) in Berlin-Charlottenburg 2 (Bismarckstrasse 1).

An analysis of victimized owners and further details (with documentation) about all of the library shipments are presented in **Appendix 1**, while the fate of art seizures and shipments will be discussed in our forthcoming separate analysis of the ERR role in art looting in Belgium.

Additional documents held in the same TsDAVO file 164 – now included in the **Supplement to ERR Lists #4 and #5** – confirm and supplement the data in these two shipments lists, most of which have been combined on our Excel Chart.

ERR BELGIAN LIST #5

"Ubersicht der nach Berlin geschickten Kisten," n.d. [late February 1943], 13 folios.

[Overview of crates shipped to Berlin]

 $(TsDAVO, fond 3676, series [opys] 1, file 164, fols. 72–84)^{13}$

N.B.: See also the additional documents in the Supplement to Lists #4 and #5.

ERR List #5, a summary of books and archives already shipped to Berlin by the end of February 1943, is exactly the same as ERR Belgian List #4 for numbered entries through AV 120. Pages 1–11 (numbed top center, fols. 72–82; through AV 120, with AV 119 lined out) would in fact appear (except for the first page with the title) to be carbon copies of ERR List #4. The final two pages 12–13, folios 84–85 (also typewritten carbons) extend to AV 139 (thus not including the penciled additions to List #4), with AV 136 dated 22 January 1943 and AV 137 dated 27 February 1943, with only those typed variants extending beyond List #4. ¹⁴

List #5 has a variant number for 'work projects' (AV), starting on page 12 (AV 121) and is incomplete (only lists AV numbers to AV 139), but is fully typewritten (in contrast to **List #4**). Those 'work project' numbers listed above AV 118 are all at variance with those penciled in on List #4 (variants noted on the Excel chart), and do not include entries above AV 139. The List #5 variants, it should be noted, turn out not to be the final ones, as confirmed in the separate typed list of the final 14 seizure operations (AV 137–150) – included in the **Supplement to Lists #4 and #5**. Thus, the

¹³ Fainter carbon copies of Lists #4 and #5, pp. 7–10 (AV 55–107), and p. 11 (carbon of an alternate typescript, covering AV 108–118), follow in TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 67–71.

¹⁴ A penciled note regarding **AV 78** (Paul Glansdorf) is added on p. 9 (fol. 80), dated 7 March 1944 (see explanation of that issue to the extent possible in Part 1 (note 101); apparently, from the documents available, the seized books were returned from Berlin and restituted to the owner following reclamation.

final AV numbers all correspond to those penciled in on List #4, rather than the alternates on List #5.15

Similarly to List #4, List #5 gives names and addresses of the victims of confiscation, i.e. 'work projects' (*Arbeitsvorhaben* – AV) by the ERR, with dates of seizure, number of crates and their coded crate markings. The date of transport and destination are indicated in the final right-hand column, through the transport of 17 May 1942 (including the crates from AV 199–125), which had been penciled in on List #4.¹⁶

On the final page covering AV 134–139, a Berlin destination is listed for most items, but with the shipping date in question (except AV 136 is noted as left in Brussels). Thanks to the separate documents identified in the same file (TsDAVO, 3676/1/164) covering the contents of the final 1943 shipment of 121 crates to Berlin on 22 March 1943 (not recorded [and in question] on List #5), we have now incorporated the updated data for these final entries in the accompanying Excel chart. The related supplemental documents are presented in facsimile in the **Supplement to Lists #4 and #5**.

The last two entries in List #5, AV 138 and AV 139 (referring back to earlier entry numbers AV 111 [Victor de Laveleye] and AV 112 [Henri Grégoire]), also have typed question marks for their shipping dates (with ditto marks, suggesting they were intended for shipment to Berlin). However, we now know those crates were shipped to Berlin in the 22 March transport. ERR List #5 gives a final total of 810 crates shipped, which actually includes those items (if we add those 70 crates to the 740 at the top of the column for number of crates shipped, the total would equal that final 810 number [p. 13, fol. 80]). This total figure in ERR List #5, however, diverges somewhat from the figures given with ERR List #3, stating that 853 crates had been sent to the Reich by the beginning of January 1943, rather than the late 1942 figure of 740 crates; it has not been possible fully to resolve the discrepancy.

Muchow's 1943 Annual Report references the final 1943 Berlin transport as 31 March, but the supplemental documents date departure as 22 March. ¹⁷

¹⁵ The final registered numbers are also reflected in the corresponding separate 'work reports' (*Arbeitsberichte*, AB) in TsDAVO fond 3676/1/217.

¹⁶ As explained for List #4, in all but two cases the final destination was Berlin. Two shipments went to Paris with works of art, and the NISH materials were sent to Amsterdam. By the spring of 1943, however, after a bomb hit the building on Margaretenstrasse the ERR moved its HQ to Berlin-Charlottenburg (Bismarckstrasse 1). Many of the shipments, including the final March 1943 transport, according to the waybill included in file 164, were addressed to the ERR Berlin shipping agent Eduard Franzkowiak in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

¹⁷ Muchow, "Arbeitsbericht der HAG Belgien und on 25 March in Supplement to Lists #4 and #5. See further details about the ERR shipments from Brussels in Appendix 1.

SUPPLEMENT TO ERR BELGIAN LISTS #4 AND #5

(See additional discussion of the shipping list and waybills in Appendix 1)

To update and complete the account of the 150 ERR confiscation work projects and shipments of the loot, we are supplementing ERR Belgian Lists #4 and #5, with facsimile copies of separate documents in the same file related to the Berlin shipment of 22 March 1943:

- **1.** Final list of seizure operations (**Arbeitsvorhaben**), **AV 117–136**. *TsDAVO*, *3676/1/170*, *fol. 1*.
- **2.** List of final 14 seizure operations (**Arbeitsvorhaben**), **AV 137–150**. *TsDAVO*, *3676/1/217*, *fol. 15*.
- **3.** Muchow (signed) to the ERR Stabsführung (Berlin/Charlottenburg, 2, Bismarckstraße 1), 25 March 1943, "Inhalt der am 22.3.1943 von Brüssel nach Berlin/Wilmersdorf gesandten 121 Bücherkisten" [Contents of 121 book crates sent from Brussels to Berlin/Wilmersdorf on 22 March 1943].

TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fol. 32.

- **3a.** [*Anlage*]"Transport vom 22. März 1943 Brüssel/Berlin (with letter 537/43, 25.3.43). List of 121 crates (with crate codes) in the 22 March 1943 shipment]). *TsDAVO*, 3676/1/164, fol. 31.
- **3b.** [*Anlage 3*] "Inhalt der Kisten 346–359" [Contents of crates 346–359] packed 27 February 1943, rue de Livourne 125 (9 March 1943). *TsDAVO*, 3676/1/164, fol. 33 (cc. fol. 45).
- **3c**. [Anlage 4] Contents of crates 360–363. TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fol. 34 (cc fol. 44).
- **4.** Outgoing railway freight waybill for the 22 March 1943 shipment of 121 crates from Brussels to Berlin.

TsDAVO, 3676/1/164, fols. 30 and 35.

N.B. The resulting data (and clarification of shipping data) for some of the earlier entries have been verified and corrected as needed, as incorporated in the accompanying Charts.

Hans Muchow, "Beantwortung der Eilanfrage aus Ratibor," Brussels, 24 March 1944, 2 folios with cover note.

[Answering an Urgent Inquiry from Ratibor]

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

Hans Muchow, who headed the ERR HAG Belgien from June 1942 until closing of the Brussels office in early September 1944, provides a retrospective summary of prominent Belgian Jews and Masons from whom books and archives were seized. ¹⁸ His report, was prepared on request from the ERR headquarters in Ratibor (Silesia) in connection with an exhibition of ERR achievements planned for May 1944, and hence written in a much more propagandistic tone than the earlier lists. ¹⁹ The report does not mention any of the major Belgian seizures other than from Masons and Jews, nor does he mention any additional seizure victims not in the 150 numbered AV sequence, thus further confirming that the 150 numbered confiscations were not continued after February 1943. The copy presented here, signed by Muchow from the ERR records (NS 30) in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, is from a file with other documents relating to the Ratibor exhibition. ²⁰

In this popularized, propagandistic report, Muchow first lists eight cities from which the ERR seized Jewish materials (Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, Charleroi, Namur, Lille, and Bruges). He notes two important "fugitive" Jewish leaders from Brussels, the Jewish emigrant banker Norbert Burger (AV 17), and the Jewish banker Max Gottschalk (AV 21). He then identifies 21 "prominent Jewish" individuals with their professions from whom materials were confiscated. ²¹ He notes that Freemasonic materials were seized in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, and Lille, and names Norbert Burger and Max Gottschalk again as Masonic leaders. Among the prominent Masons named, he also repeats the names of the Jews Nico Gunzburg (AV 44), Camille Huysmans (AV 45), and Herbert Spever (AV 42), and then identifies two others – the "emigrant professor and Slavist" Henri Grégoire (AV 49/AV 112) and the "well-known attorney" Victor de Laveleye (AV 111)], who had been a government minister before he fled to London with the Belgian Government-in-Exile. While only repeating names included on earlier lists, Muchow includes neither addresses, nor quantities seized. Nor does he mention any institutional seizures. The inclusion of "Charleroi, Namur, Lille, and Bruges" as cities of seizure for Jewish material acquired is to be noted because previous lists had not indicated those cities as a source of Jewish materials. ERR confiscation of one Masonic lodge in Lille (AV 69) was listed earlier, but as far as can be determined, although ERR staff visited those cities, it was the SD agents who seized Masonic materials in both Charleroi and Namur, some of which they subsequently turned over to the ERR.

¹⁸ In the spring of 1944 and again in June 1944, Muchow was transferred to Paris to assist during the final months of the ERR French Working Groups.

¹⁹ Starting in May 1943, most of massive ERR library holdings from Berlin had been evacuated to the Ratibor centre. See P.K. Grimsted, "Roads to Ratibor: "Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 3 (Winter 2005), pp. 390–458;

Online at: https://archief.socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/err-ratibor-pkg.pdf.

²⁰ De Vries describes additional documentation with photographs from the ERR Ratibor exhibition, May 1944, *Sonderstab Musik*, pp. 107–115; copies of the original documentation and selected photographs are found in the Bundesarchiv, NS 30/56.

²¹ Camille Huysmans and Isabelle Blum are examples of non-Jews, who were wrongly described as Jewish.