

Tracing the rightful owners: Nazi-looted books in the Central and Regional Library of Berlin

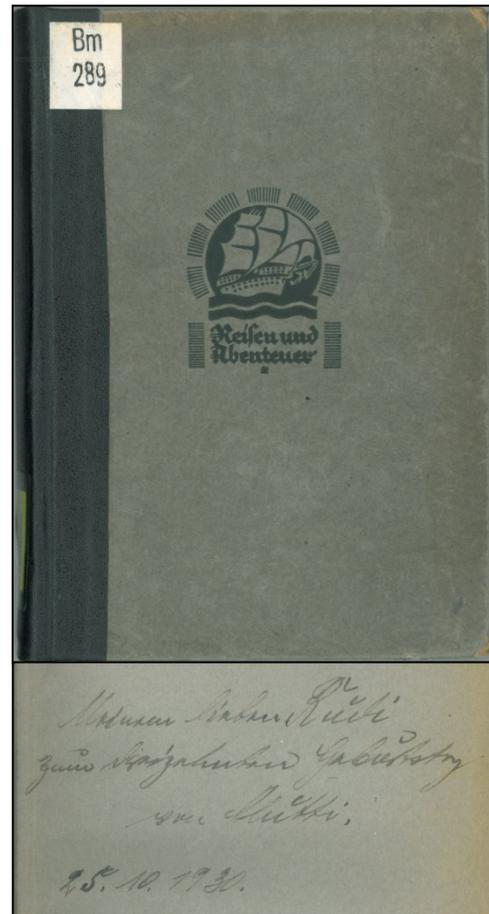
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(This article was initially published in Mečislav Borák (Ed.): “The West” Versus “The East” or The United Europe? The different conceptions of provenance research, documentation and identification of looted cultural assets and the possibilities of international cooperation in Europe and worldwide. Prague 2014, pp. 92-102.)

In 1930 Rudi got a birthday present from his mother: the German edition of Henry Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*.

„Meinem lieben Rudi, zum dreizehnten Geburtstag von Mutti. 25.10.1930“. This dedication on his thirteenth birthday from his mother is the only information about the book's former owner. It is very likely that this book once belonged to Rudi Joelsohn, born exactly thirteen years before. In August 1942 he was deported to Riga and murdered.¹ At first glance Rudi's birthday present is nothing special. It is not of great financial value, a similar book could be bought for a few Euros today. But there is another kind of value that cannot be determined. Books like Rudi's were taken from the victims of the Nazi regime. Their owners were forced to emigrate, lost their jobs, homes and belongings, and in the end, many of them were murdered.

Their books, however, are still in German libraries. One is the *Central and Regional Library of Berlin* – short ZLB.² The ZLB was established in 1995 and consists of the former City Library of East Berlin (*Berliner Stadtbibliothek*), the Public Library of West Berlin (*Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek*) and the Library of the Senate (*Senatsbibliothek*). Our research focuses on the City Library of Berlin founded in 1901 and located in the eastern part of Berlin.³



¹ Entry for Rudi Joelsohn in the *The Memorial Book of the Federal Archives for the Victims of the Persecution of Jews in Germany (1933-1945)*, online: www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/en1083051

² *Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin* (ZLB). In 2010 the ZLB intensified its effort to identify and return Nazi-looted books: with financial aid from the *Senate of Berlin* and the *Arbeitsstelle für Provenienzrecherche /-forschung (Bureau for Provenance Investigation and Research)* the two authors of this paper had been employed. We'd like to thank Annette Gerlach, former head of the historical department, for her commitment to provenance research; for more details about the ZLB's provenance research see: Annette Gerlach: *Die Recherche nach NS-verfolgungsbedingt entzogenem Kulturgut im Bestand der Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin*, in: Koordinierungsstelle Magdeburg (ed.): *Die Verantwortung dauert an*. Magdeburg 2010, pp. 75-84; Peter Pröhl: *Buchwege*, in: Regine Dehnel (ed.): *NS-Raubgut in Museen, Bibliotheken und Archiven*. Frankfurt Main 2012, pp. 455-472.

³ All three branches of today's ZLB contain Nazi-looted books. The former City Library (*Berliner Stadtbibliothek, BStB*) received by far the largest amount and knowingly bought looted property.

1. Nazi-looted books in the Central and Regional Library Berlin

The City Library had always been of importance to the residents of Berlin – but was not an important part of the scientific community of the Third Reich. Looted collections and books of great value were obtained by other institutions, such as libraries of the Reich and its administration, organizations of the Nazi Party, the *Prussian State Library (Preußische Staatsbibliothek)* or various institutes of the University. But the City Library profited by the plunder of the persecuted Jews of Berlin nevertheless.⁴

1.1. A bargain in 1943

After people had been deported, all that remained in their homes was confiscated by the Reich. The household articles, including books, were sold to the City of Berlin, which took them to the City's Pawn Shop (*Städtische Pfandleihanstalt*).

In 1943 the library bought about 40,000 volumes that were stored at the Pawn Shop. It is unclear what exactly happened to the books between the confiscation and their arrival at the City Library: very likely the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*, the *Reichstauschsstelle* ("Reich Exchange Office") and other institutions took valuable books and collections.⁵

The correspondence between the Library and the Office of the Mayor of Berlin was found in the BStB's archive in 2004. The City library wanted the books "from the private libraries of relocated Jews" for free, but the answer of the city was quite clear about why this wasn't possible: the books were property of the Reich and the revenue was to be used for the "solution of the Jewish Question". The library decided to take these books and paid 45,000 Reichsmark. These letters show that all persons involved knew where these books came from.⁶

The City Library of West Berlin, *Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek (AGB, America Memorial Library)*, was founded in 1954 and the stock was built with used books from unknown sources. Random samples from both the AGB and the *Senatsbibliothek* have shown that their stocks hold looted books.

⁴ A detailed history of the City Library that contains information about its activities during the years of the Nazi-rule is still missing. The latest publication, published in 2001 doesn't mention looted books at all but 100,000 books (50% of the total amount available at this time) that haven't been catalogued at the end of the war; Ulrike Wahlich: *Rückblick mit Zukunft - 100 Jahre Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin*. München 2001, p. 96.

In 2002 Detlef Bockenamm, member of the staff of the department for historical collections, found 75 books belonging to the *Social Democratic Party of Germany*. They were returned to the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*. Since then the library had to come to terms with the fact that it has wrongfully obtained books its shelves. Detlef Bockenamm: *Geraubt! Die Bücher der Berliner Juden*. Berlin 2008.

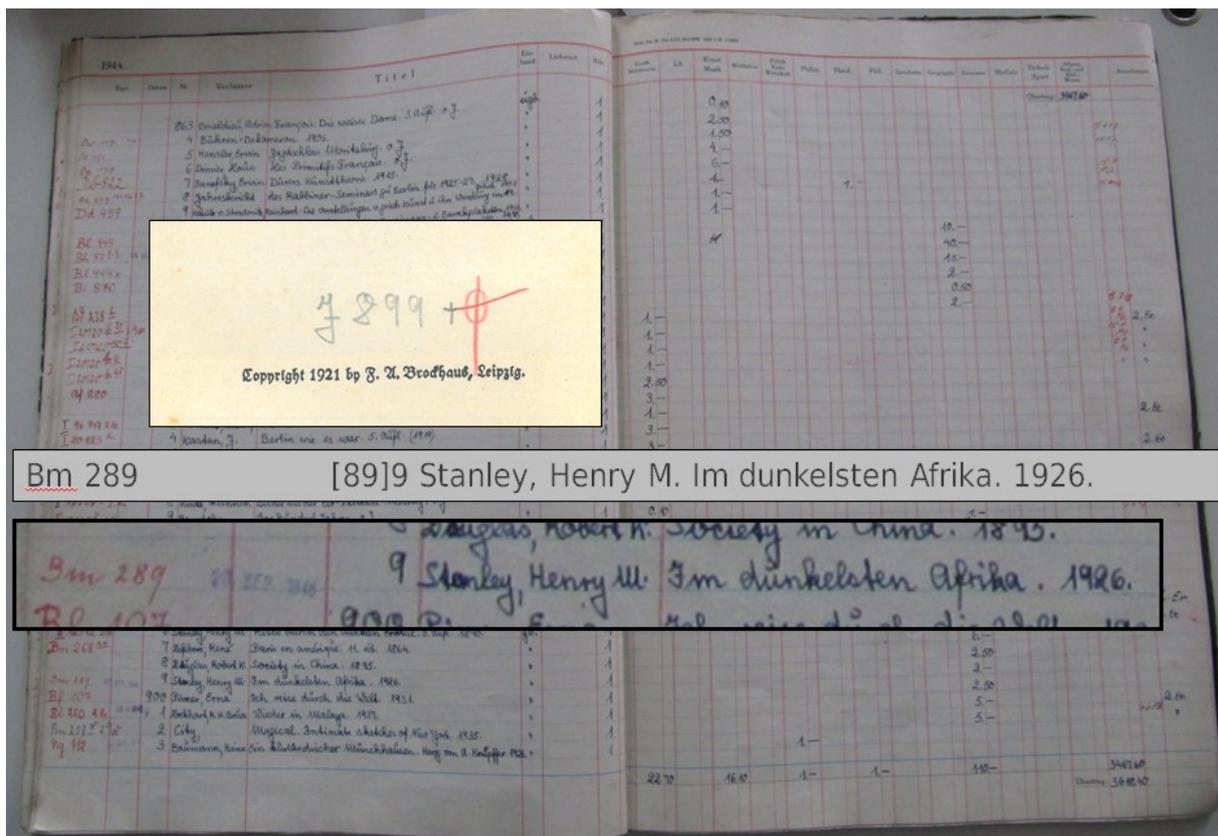
⁵ A substantial history of the *Reichstauschsstelle im Reichsministerium des Innern* („Reich Exchange Office“) will be published later this year: Cornelia Briel: *Beschlagnahmt, erpresst, erbeutet: NS-Raubgut, Reichstauschsstelle und Preußische Staatsbibliothek zwischen 1933 und 1945*. Oldenburg, forthcoming; Hans Erich Bödeker and Gerd Josed Bötte (ed.): *NS-Raubgut, Reichstauschsstelle und Preußische Staatsbibliothek: Vorträge des Berliner Symposiums am 3. und 4. Mai 2007*. Berlin 2008.

⁶ Historical archive numbers of the City Library HistA 783-1, 783-2, 783-3; the historical archive of the ZLB has been transferred to the *Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB, State Archive of Berlin)* in 2013. For details about the letters, their discovery in 2004 and the beginning of the provenance research in the ZLB see: Detlef Bockenamm: *Geraubt! Die Bücher der Berliner Juden*. Berlin 2008, pp. 21-24.

But even with this evidence it was not clear what had happened with the books: Are they still in the stock? And if so, how can they be found in a stock that today contains around one million books printed before 1943?

In 2008 Detlef Bockenamm, long time staff member of the department of historical collections, discovered a strange acquisition journal containing around 2,000 entries. This journal was wrongly attributed to the collection of Fedor Jagor, an ethnologist, that had been lost in the war. But the capital “J” on the front cover does not refer to Mr. Jagor. Every volume entered in this journal is a looted book taken from a victim’s last home. These books were referred to as “Judenbücher,” as a memo states.⁷

Henry Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* got the acquisition number “899” and the shelf mark “Bm 289”: Rudi's book. This number can also be found in the volume itself preceded by a “J”. With this information at hand it was possible to check the stock and identify Nazi-looted books – even if there aren't other marks of provenance, like stamps, autographs or dedications. Of those 2,000 volumes entered in this journal, around 1,500 have been found – about one third of which contain marks from their previous owners. The last entry in the journal is dated April 20th 1945. The building was destroyed, the main stock evacuated and a librarian was still sitting in the basement, marking books with “J”s.



The entry for Rudi's book in the “J”-acquisition journal and the corresponding acquisition number in the book

⁷ „Judenbücher Städt. Pfandleihanstalt, Elsasser. 74 (Stadthauptmann Wieser, Stadt 2907) ca. 20 000 Bd.“ memo from 1942/43, prior to the correspondence, HistA 454.

1.2. Rebuilding a library: 20,000 “gifts”?

After the war the new administration of Berlin took great interest in reopening the library for the general public and of course: they needed books. The largest part of the stock had been taken to depots in Czechoslovakia as a safety measure. They took what they could get or already had, such as the books from Berlin's Jews obtained in 1943 from the City Pawn Shop. But from now on, they weren't marked with a “J” and no special journal was used. Instead these volumes were marked with a “G” for “Geschenk” or “gift”. After 1950 until the 1990s books bought from the Pawn Shop in 1943 had still been used to replenish historical collections but since the main stock returned from Czechoslovakia in 1952 they weren't as useful as in the first years following the war.⁸

This can be proven when marks of provenance from the same owner are found in books from supposedly different acquisitions. Hedwig Hesse lived in Berlin together with her husband Max. Both were deported to Riga and murdered.⁹ Books containing her bookplate had been entered in different acquisition journals: some were marked with “Js” in 1944, some with “Gs” in 1945/46/47. One was never part of the active stock as it has been found in a still existing storeroom with thousands of other volumes of inactive stock that contain marks of provenance.

In addition, there were other sources for used books to replenish the stock and the books acquired from those sources were also declared as “gifts” and entered in the same acquisition journals: in the summer of 1945 an organization called the *Bergungsstelle für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken* (“rescuing/salvaging organization for scientific libraries”) was founded to search for and collect books and entire libraries from all over Berlin. They took the property of former party members, libraries of the Reich, the State and the Nazi-party and generally unclaimed or abandoned books.¹⁰

The books were marked with a handwritten number between 1 and 209 describing the place they were taken from. They were transported to a central depot, sorted and divided between Berlin's Libraries.¹¹ A few records from this organization still exist in the *State Archive of Berlin (Landesarchiv Berlin, LAB)* and contain some basic information about the former libraries, the number of “salvaged” books and the recipients. The file with the number “15” - the same number can be found in the corresponding books – states: “Bibliothek des SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamtes” (“Library of the Reich's Main Security Office”, RSHA) at the Eisenacherstraße in

⁸ Wahlich: Rückblick, p. 99.

⁹ Hedwig Hesse (née Bachur), born May 8th 1880, deported to Riga on January 19th 1942 with her husband Max, born 1880.

¹⁰ For a detailed report about this organisation see: Heike Schroll: Die Bergungsstelle für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken und Archive des Magistrats von Berlin, in: Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Berlin 2000, pp. 135-154. The files of the *Bergungsstelle* are at the *Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB, State Archive of Berlin)*, images of the files are available online: www.bergungsstelle.de.

¹¹ The final report of the *Bergungsstelle* (LAB C. Rep 522 pp. 34-41) states that more than one million volumes were collected and distributed till February 1946. The Main recipients were the City Library (60,000 volumes according to LAB C. Rep 522, pp. 60-61), the *Ratsbibliothek* (350,000 volumes including the library of the Reich Ministry of the Interior) and the *Volksbibliotheken* (public libraries of the boroughs). All these books are today in the stock of the ZLB. Other recipients were the *Prussian State Library* (20,000 volumes), institutes of the university, archives and even the *Library of Congress*. These numbers might be way to low because the work continued after the final report was made on February 28th 1946.

Berlin. There, in a former house of a masonic lodge, the department VII “*Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung*”, established a library dedicated to “enemies of the State”.¹² Between two and three million looted books from all over Europe were brought to Berlin to build this collection. Despite huge losses due to air raids and transports to other locations it is estimated that about 500,000 volumes still existed in this building at the end of the war.¹³ Some were returned by the Allied Forces to their home countries via the *Offenbach Archival Depot*. But an unknown amount was collected and divided between Berlin’s libraries.

Between the summer of 1945 and 1950 the City Library filed more than 20,000 volumes as “gifts”: some of them taken from the homes of the deported and bought in 1943, some collected after the war from Nazi-organizations and some legally obtained. Unfortunately only the ones delivered by the *Bergungsstelle* can be recognized by the entries in the acquisition journals as the field “supplier” is filled with “*Bergungsstelle*” sometimes followed by the file number (e.g. “15” for the books taken from the RSHA). Most entries just say “depot” and give no clue about their provenance.

In Summary: the former City Library received an unknown amount of looted books. From 1933 till the end of the war:

- Property sold or left behind by those who fled the country and books taken directly from the homes of the deported from the City's Pawn Shop in 1943.
- Used books and autographs from antiquarian booksellers that had been sold by their rightful owners as a result of their persecution.

After the war:

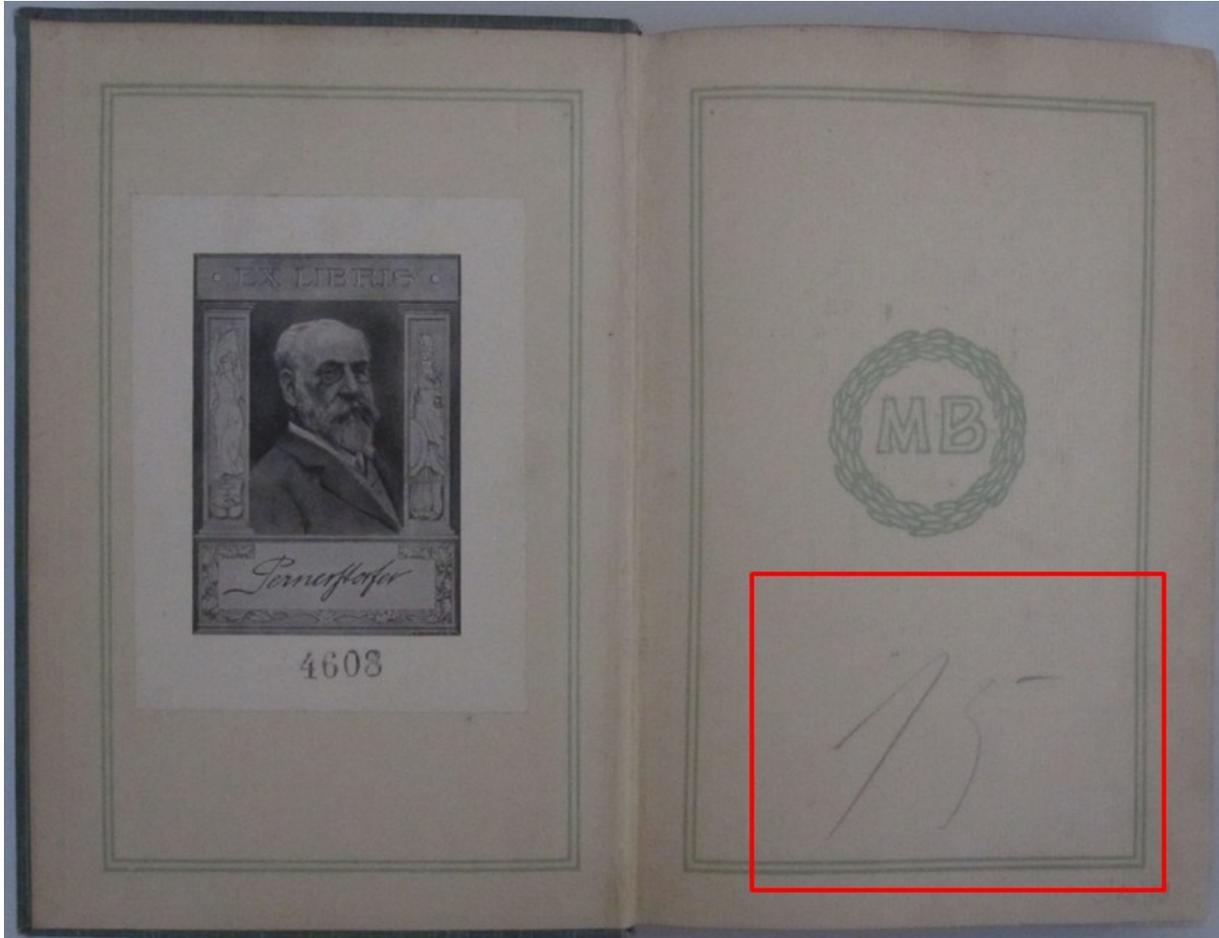
- Books collected by the *Bergungsstelle* and divided between Berlin's libraries: these deliveries included books from plundered libraries all over Europe , from Jewish institutions inside and outside Germany, from parties, Freemasons, monasteries and other “enemies of the state”. Including books that were taken from occupied countries against the Hague convention.¹⁴

¹² Jörg Rudolf: „Sämtliche Sendungen sind zu richten an: ...“ Das RSHA-Amt VII „Weltanschauliche Forschung und Auswertung“ als Sammelstelle erbeuteter Archive und Bibliotheken, in: Michael Wildt (ed.): Nachrichtendienst, politische Elite und Mordeinheit. Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführeres SS. Hamburg 2003, pp. 204-240. Probably not each of the „salvaged“ libraries contained Nazi-looted books. For the full list see: www.bergungsstelle.de.

¹³ Werner Schröder: Strukturen des Bücherraubs: Die Bibliotheken des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes (RSHA), ihr Aufbau und Verbleib, in: ZfBB 51 (2004) 5-6, pp. 316-324.
The files of the *Bergungsstelle* mention around 500,000 books in the RSHA building Eisenacher Straße (file number 15); around 60,000 of them were returned by the Allied Forces (LAB C. Rep. 522, pp. 60-61). The Soviet Trophy Commission took crates with books from another depot of the RSHA located in the Emser Straße (file number 209); Patricia Kennedy Grimsted: Tracing Patterns of European Library Plunder: Books Still Not Home from the War, in Dehnel, Regine (ed.): Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut. Frankfurt Main 2006, pp. 139-167, here pp. 147-148.

¹⁴ In the ZLB books belonging to the following owners from occupied countries were found: up to now one book from the Great Synagogue in Warsaw, a parish register (1751-1811) from the village of Verpel in France, books from various Jewish communities and organisations from Austria and four books taken from embassies of Czechoslovakia in Poland. In 2012 books with bookplates from Rosa Manus, a well-known feminist and peace activist of Jewish ancestry, were found in the stock of the ZLB. Her personal archive and library was stored at the *International Archive of the women's movement (Internationaal Archief voor de vrouwenbeweging, IAV)* in Amsterdam, which had been

- In addition to that, the City Libraries in East Berlin, the new public library of West Berlin and the Library of the Senate (today part of the ZLB) purchased used books and autographs without caring for their provenance until the first findings of Nazi-looted books in 2002



A looted book from the library of Austrian social democrat Engelbert Pernerstorfer with the number 15 for the *Bergungsstelle* of the RSHA.

But the City Library never received entire collections that had been looted. Most marks of provenance and most names are found only once, like in the case of Rudi's book. When the ZLB intensified its provenance research in 2010, we knew that there were at least 100,000 volumes hidden in the collection that needed to be checked. Today we estimate that the number might be well above 200,000.

plundered after the occupation of the Netherlands. Rosa Manus was murdered in the Ravensbrück concentration camp in 1943. After the war only 10% of the more than 4,500 volumes were returned to the IAV – the fate of the library was unknown. At least the ways of the volumes found in the ZLB can be traced back to the *Deutsches Frauenwerk* ("Nazi Woman's League") from where the *Bergungsstelle* took them. Nine books belonging to Rosa Manus and the IAV will be returned later this year. For further details about the fate of the archive see: Vilan van de Loo: "Moet terug. Privaat eigendom" : de roof, het zoekraken en de uiteindelijke terugkeer van de IAV-archieven. Amsterdam 2003.

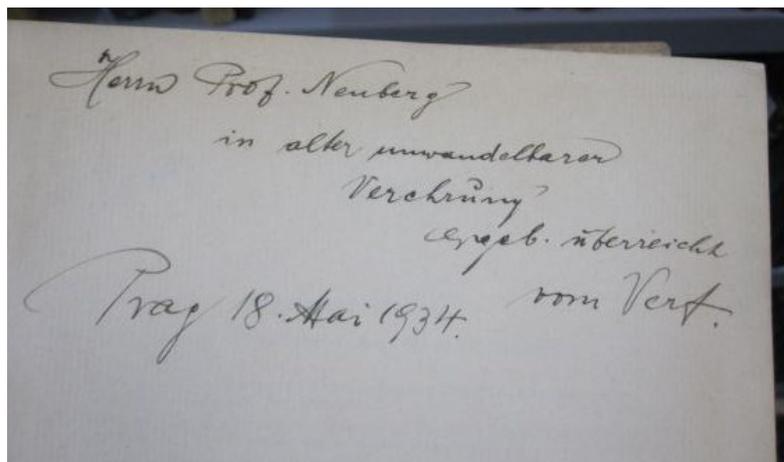
2. Tracing the rightful owners

2.1 Research

The complex history of looted books and the fact that no-one ever cared for the provenance makes it difficult to separate looted books from legally obtained. Apart from those marked with a “J” there is virtually no clue in the acquisition journals or other files. Only the marks of provenance found in a book can tell something about the former owners. If there aren’t any, the research comes to a stop.

Regarding the marks of provenance, it is necessary to go far beyond the practice of collecting the information given by bookplates, signatures, stamps and dedications. Sometimes it is possible to allot a relatively obscure clue to a person simply by gathering, in detail, every piece of information that can be concluded from the marks of provenance, and therefore all the information the book can give about its former owner.

An example for this are the books of Dr. Carl Neuberg, a renowned biochemist, that were found in the stock of the ZLB. Since we did find quite a few of his books, 40 up to now, we were able to identify his distinct style of annotating and could allot books to him that did not have his stamp or a dedication to him, even if the books got a new binding in the meantime or if they are missing the flyleaf.¹⁵



As a consequence of the huge number of books and detailed analyses of the marks of provenance there is a lot of data to deal with. To keep track of the checked books, to be able to compare their marks of provenance and to document the search for the rightful owners, it is absolutely necessary to use a database system.

Carl Neuberg was Director of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute of Biochemistry in Berlin-Dahlem until he was demoted from this post in 1933, although he was afterwards temporarily assigned to this post until 1937. A dedication from 1934 found in one book that Neuberg was given by his colleague Emil Starkenstein must be read in this context: „Herrn Prof. Neuberg in alter unwandelbarer Verehrung ergeb. überreicht vom Verf. Prag 18. Mai 1934.“ (“Presented to Prof. Neuberg in lasting, immutable adoration by the author. Prague, May 18th, 1934.”) Starkenstein was murdered in Mauthausen in 1942.

¹⁵ About Dr. Carl Neuberg (1877-1956) see: Hinderk Conrads, Brigitte Lohff: Carl Neuberg. Biochemie, Politik und Geschichte. Lebenswege und Werk eines fast verdrängten Forschers. Stuttgart 2006. We thank the authors for putting us in contact with the heirs of Carl Neuberg. The heirs decided to give the volumes found in the stock of the ZLB to the Leo-Baeck-Institute (LBI). A detailed report on the finding will be published by the LBI after the restitution of the books later this year. In quite a lot of books the flyleaf has been torn out or marks of provenance have been removed or obscured.

The library's database and catalog can't be used to describe or analyze marks of provenance, and would not allow us to publish our findings appropriately online. Thanks to the support of the *Arbeitsstelle für Provenienzrecherche / -forschung (Bureau for Provenance Investigation and Research)* a system suited for provenance research in libraries was built for the ZLB.¹⁶

To illustrate the scope:

Based on the acquisition journals and new findings far more than 200,000 suspicious books are estimated to be hidden in the stock. A few hundred thousand books, maybe more than half a million need to be checked to find them.

- Since 2010 more than 45,000 books have been checked – one by one.¹⁷
- Up to now around 10,000 books have been entered in the internal ZLB-database as possibly looted. A third of them don't have any marks of provenance (and thus might never be attributed to an owner), but the other 7,000 volumes contain more than 18,000 single marks of provenance.
- These marks are connected to around 4,000 different people or organizations. At least two thirds of them might have been victims of the Nazi-persecution.

Based on this figures it its estimated to find marks of provenance of at least 20,000 potential rightful owners in the stock of the ZLB.

As shown in the case of Rudi Joelsohn, it is possible to identify people based on very little information. But if another book belonging to Rudi were to be found in another German library that is checking its stock for Nazi-looted books, but is using a different system to document the findings, probably neither this library nor the ZLB would be informed about the information already gathered and analyzed by the other institution. The exchange of provenance research data between German libraries is still complicated and far from being fully realized.¹⁸

2.2 Publication

Unfortunately, based on the resources that are put into provenance research in Germany, these possibilities for now remain what they are – possibilities. There is not yet enough manpower to check the records in archives, such as the files of the *Berlin Restitution Offices (Wiedergutmachungsämter Berlin, WGA)* or the archive of the *Berlin Compensation Office (Entschädigungsamt Berlin)*.¹⁹

¹⁶ At first Microsoft Access was used that was replaced by the database system Collective Access that was adapted to the needs; see www.collectiveaccess.org for details and www.zlb.de/raubgut for the public frontend of the ZLB-database. The thesaurus used to describe the marks of provenance is based on the *Thesaurus der Provenienzbegriffe (T-Pro)*, see: <http://provenienz.gbv.de/Hauptseite>.

¹⁷ The stock of the City Library is organised in a systematic order and not in a consecutive way (“*numerus currens*”) – i.e. the position of a book on the shelf or its shelf mark doesn't indicate the time of arrival. The search is based on the acquisition journals and started with the most suspicious ones: like the “J”-journal and the ones containing the “gifts” of the post war period.

¹⁸ Frank Möbus: Provenienzforschung 2.0, in *Bibliotheksdienst*, volume 46 (2012), pp. 497–504; and Annette Gerlach and Peter Pröhl: Forschungs-Verbunddatenbank 'Provenienzforschung', in *Bibliotheksdienst*, volume 46 (2012), pp. 14-21.

¹⁹ Beate Schreiber: Old restitution cases – new research sources. See: www.wga-datenbank.de. The around 800,000 case files are stored at the Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB B Rep. 025). The *Entschädigungsamt Berlin* at the *Landesamt für Bürger- und Ordnungsangelegenheiten (LABO)*,

Therefore the most important task is to publish all findings, every book and every mark of provenance, together with images online. Certainly someone out there knows more about Rudi and about the thousands of other persons than we do.

At the beginning of 2012 the ZLB's own database went online. This changed a lot about the daily work; since then the ZLB gets about one enquiry per week. Nobody was looking for the lost books of their relatives, but the site is indexed by search engines and so are the names found in the books.²⁰ So if someone would do an online search for Rudi Joelsohn, there is a good chance they will find his birthday present from 1930. Every time a newspaper article about Nazi-looted books is published the number of visitors on the site is increasing.

Furthermore, a list of names found in the books has been kindly published on lootedart.com.²¹ The ZLB also publishes its findings at Germany's central registry *LostArt* run by the *Koordinierungsstelle Magdeburg* on a regular basis.²²

The practice to publish all findings as soon as possible together with images of the marks of provenance has been successful, even though the website is still in need for advanced search options, better navigation and translations into other languages, foremost into English. Most requests come in the form of a short email and the question if the person mentioned on the ZLB-website or elsewhere was a relative of the sender.

2.3. Restitution

Some entries in the acquisition journals of the late 1940s had been marked as returned. It is unknown if Nazi-looted books were returned to their rightful owners or if these were just books from other libraries that had ended up in the wrong place. In 1988 the City Library transferred books that were known to be looted to the *Foundation New Synagogue – Centrum Judaicum Berlin* founded in the same year in East Berlin. Thus today the *Centrum Judaicum* has to check its own stock for looted books and works very closely together with the ZLB.²³

dealt with compensation payments and not with material restitutions like the WGA. There is an abundance of information about persecuted people that could be used: apart from archival records there are genealogical databases, every non-fiction book about the victims, biographies, address and telephone books, research data and findings, etc. – a database used by provenance researchers that contains at least all names found on objects or records and the respective source (e.g. "Hedwig Hesse, see ZLB", with a link to the ZLBs website) would be of enormous help.

²⁰ The data stored in integrated library systems is not indexed by search engines. Even if this was the case, these systems were built for a different task and would not be able to present the findings of provenance research in an adequate way. Some libraries use the controlled vocabulary of the *Thesaurus der Provenienzbegriffe* (see footnote 17) to show information about provenances in their OPAC (Online Public Access Catalogue) in the form of index terms.

²¹ Many thanks to Mrs. Anne Webber for her support.

²² See www.lootedart.com and www.lostart.com; currently 4,832 books have been submitted to *lostart*. This is less than at our own site because quite a lot books are still in evaluation (e.g. unreadable handwritings).

²³ The *Centrum Judaicum* and the ZLB use the same database and share all findings; see www.zlb.de/raubgut for details. In 2013 the *Centrum Judaicum* and the ZLB showed the exhibition "Geraubt und genutzt. Bücher von verfolgten und ermordeten Juden in Berliner Bibliotheken". We'd like to thank Mr. Hermann Simon director of the *Centrum Judaicum* for his support and the curator Maria Winkler for her commitment.

Somehow this knowledge about Nazi-looted books in the stock of the library got lost in the 1990s and stayed lost until 2002.²⁴ Since 2009 the ZLB has returned over 100 books of more than 20 private owners and more than 250 books to 14 institutions.²⁵ In two cases books have been returned to their actual owners, both survivors of the Holocaust.²⁶ About half of the restitutions to private owners were possible because heirs found us through the mentioned publications, the other half was found and contacted by us.

The title of our article is “Tracing the rightful owners” – this is more of a wish than a reality. Of course, we do what we can to find as many books as possible, decipher as many marks as possible, publish as many names as possible etc. – but the effort, as it is, is in no way a match for the effort that was put into the expropriation of the people and institutions whose books are still stored in our libraries and have been used by the German public for decades.

²⁴ See footnote 4

²⁵ Mostly books from the *Social Democratic Party of Germany* (SPD), to which the ZLB had already returned 75 volumes in 2002 followed by another 77 in 2011. 58 books were returned to the *Arbeiterkammer Wien*, 79 volumes to the monastery of *Hünfeld* and 26 books were returned to the Jewish community of Berlin in 2012.

²⁶ Walter Lachman, born as Wolfgang Lachmann in 1928, lived in Berlin together with his grandmother Recha Schwarz. Both were deported to Riga but only Wolfgang survived the Holocaust. On April 15th, 1945 he was liberated in Bergen Belsen and emigrated to the USA where he changed his name to Walter. An article about looted books in libraries mentioned the exhibition by Detlef Bockenamm and one dedication had been quoted: “dem lieben Wolfgang Lachmann in Freundschaft gewidmet. Chanuka 5698 Dezember 1937 Heinrich Kaul”, see: Michael Sontheimer: *Stumme Zeugen*, in: *Der Spiegel* volume 43 (2008) pp. 58-60. A friend of Mr. Lachman called his attention to this article and he contacted the ZLB. See Gerlach: *Recherche*, here p. 75. and *The Malibu Times: A Holocaust survivor’s childhood book comes home from July 22nd, 2009* (http://www.malibutimes.com/malibu_life/article_16436cdd-125f-53b2-a0f8-1425af798a44.html). This book and a photograph are the only objects that survived the time of his persecution. Since the return of the book Mr. Lachman tells school children about his story.