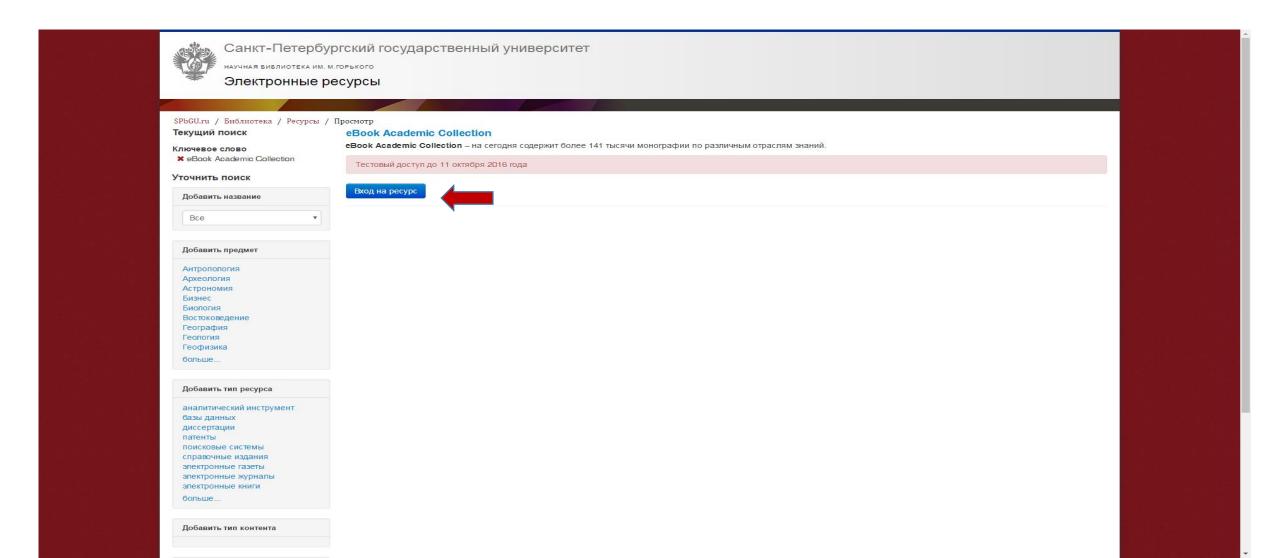
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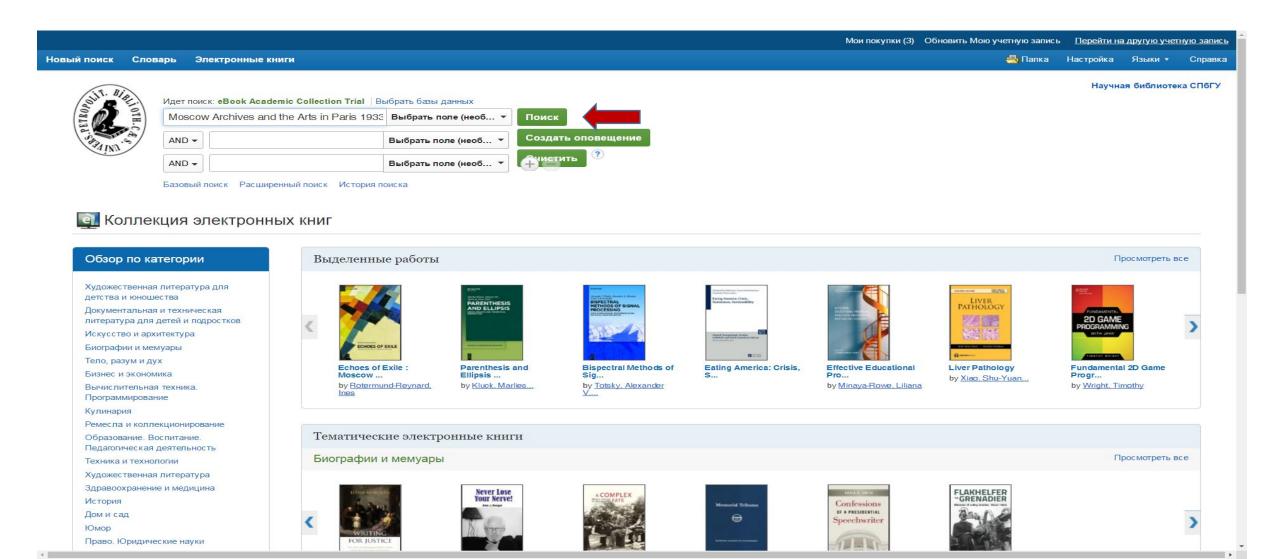
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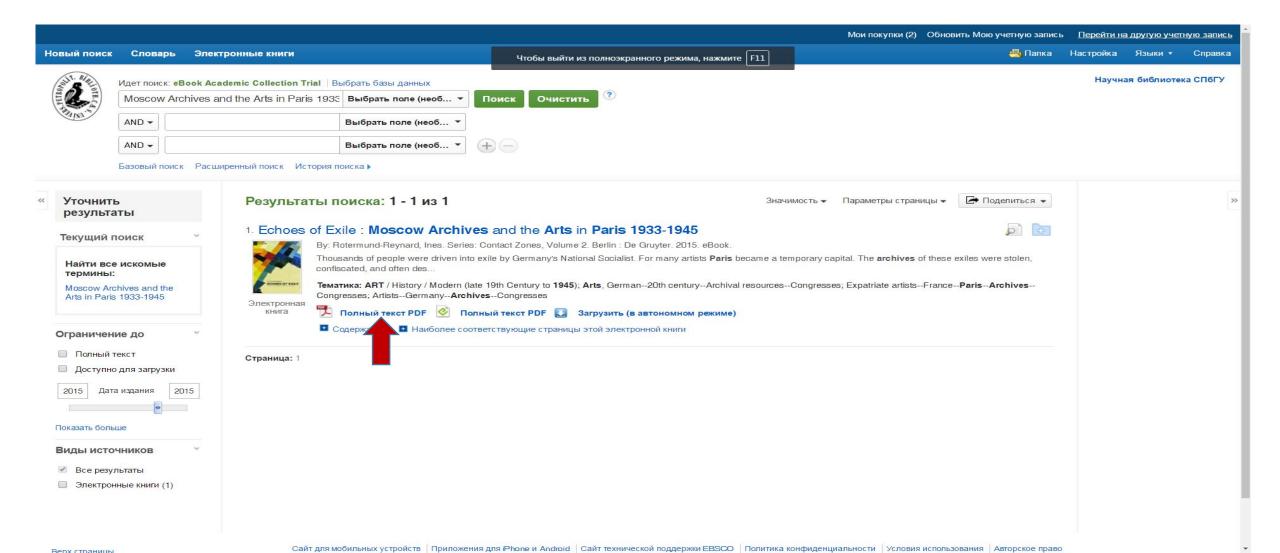
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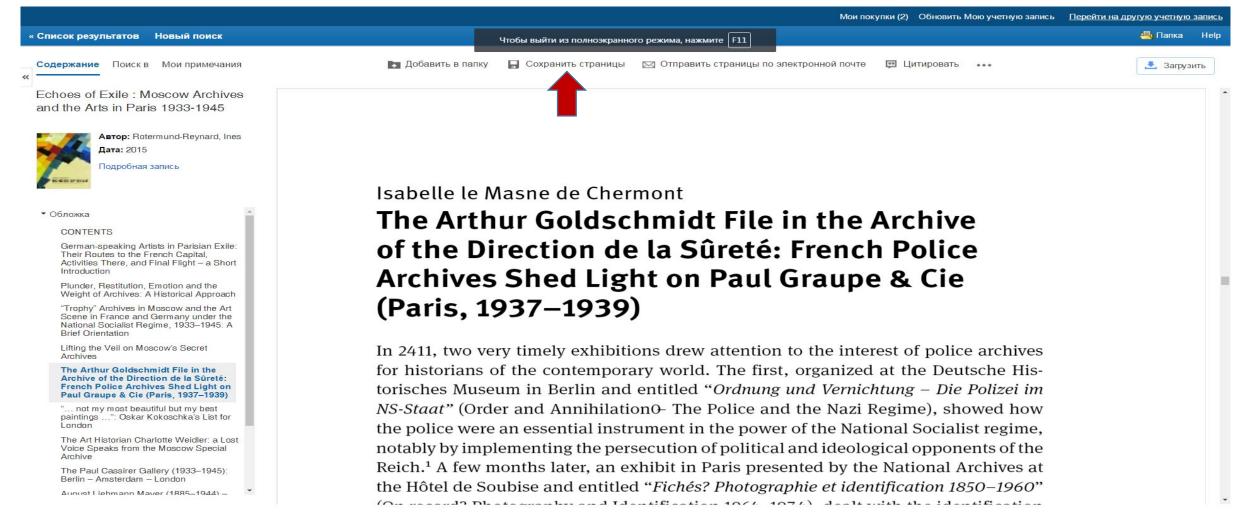
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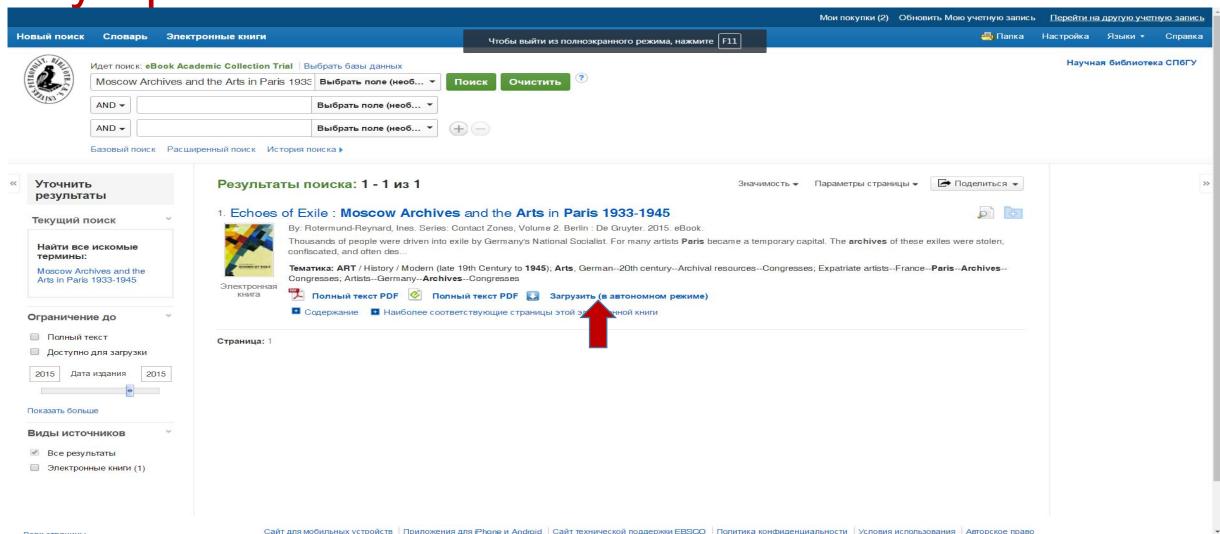






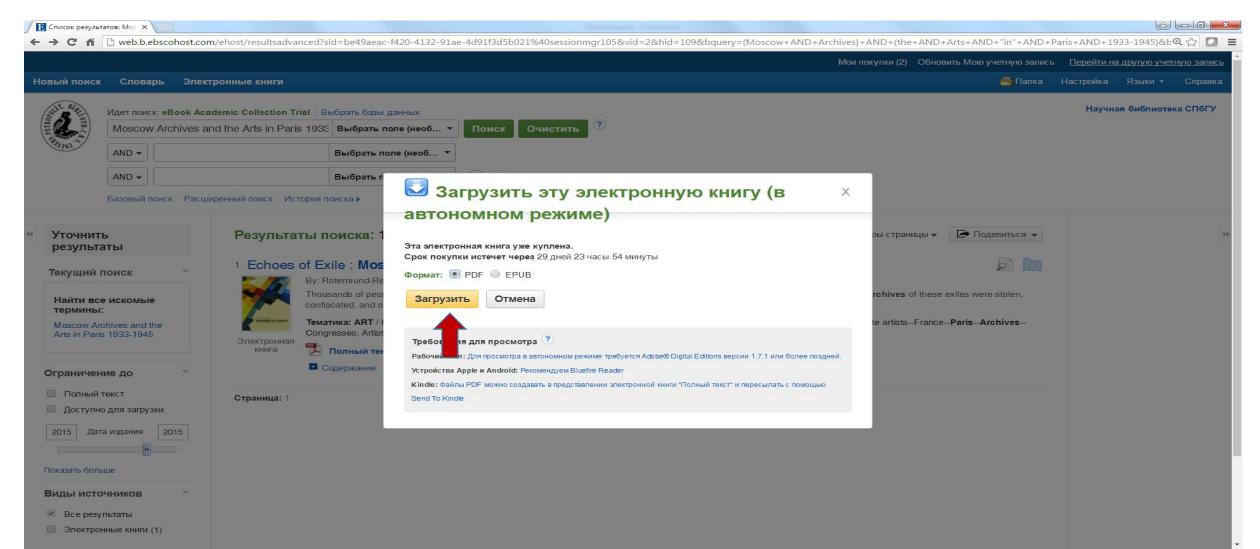


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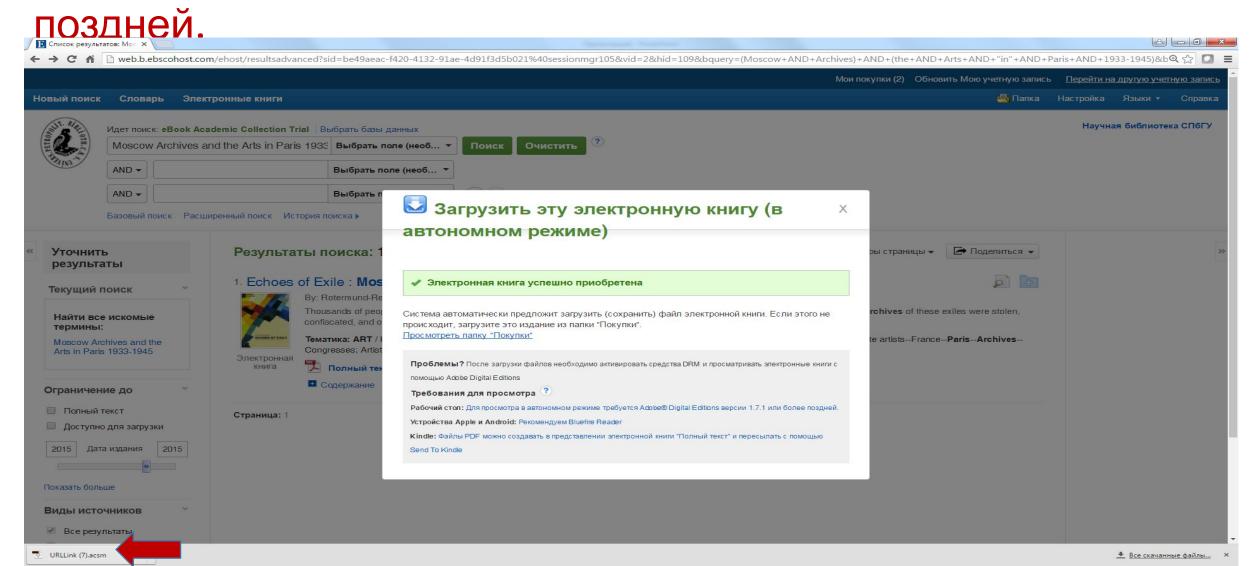


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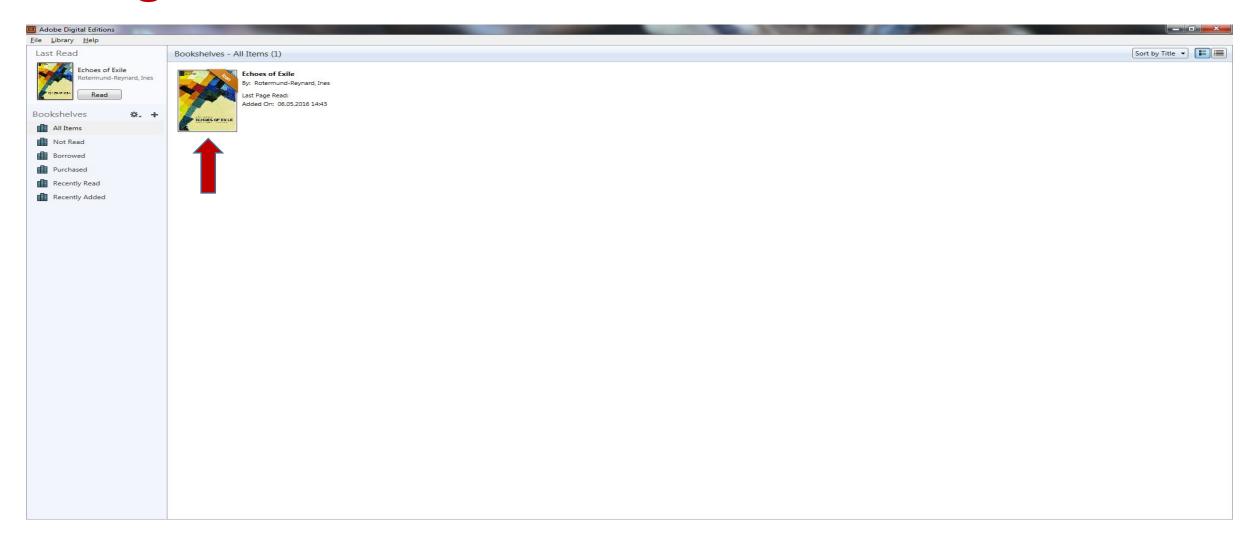
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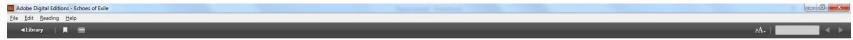
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Preface

This book is the fruit of the international conference Wie das zweite Exil das erste zum Sprechen bringt – Moskauer Archive und die Künste in Paris 1933–1945 (How the second exile gives a voice to the first – Moscow Archives and the arts in Paris 1933– 1945), which took place at the German Historical Institute (DHI Moskau) in Moscow, June 23–24, 2011

The aim of the conference, held in French, German and Russian, was to promote international discussion and basic research on art history during the years 1933-1945. It was made possible thanks to a cooperation between the DHI Moskau and the German Center for Art History in Paris (DFK Paris) and was co-funded by the Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Stiftung. The idea was to bring together specialists in different historical fields, with different experiences in the art world and who normally did not meet or work together - specialists in national heritage despoiled by war, specialists in provenance research, art historians, specialists in exile studies, in Russian archives - and to suggest new research prospects emanating from these newly discovered documents. The diversity of participants (from France, Germany, Russia, and the U. S.) would enable both a deeper and broader perspective concerning the years between 1933-1945, a clearer, more authentic image of cultural repression before the Nazis actually seized power in France in 1940. And Paris was all the more important as it was the intellectual and artistic refuge for the majority of those who were against the Nazi regime in Germany.

Prior to our conference only some scholars had the possibility of doing research in the archives. The way to Moscow is not all that simple: for many, the city itself is far away, and the consultation of documents in the Central State Special Archive requires time and funding. Only four authors present in this volume were able to undertake a longer stay in the Russian capital and plow through some of the files in detail. Fortunately, Vladimir Korotayev, deputy director of the Central State Special Archive, joined us at the conference and gave all the participants a chance to discover these treasures during an exclusive visit in his "house". We were even invited to peek behind the walls for a climbse of the archival storegoms (Fig. 1).



Figure 1: One of the corridors in the storeroom, Central State Special Archive in Moscow.

The Voice of the "Other Germany"...

In the 1930s, Paris was the home of an entire "other Germany". This was the first exile, that of men and women who, with the means available to them, fought against the politics of the Nazi régime – intellectuals, artists, painters, journalists, historians, political thinkers, say nothing of those who were fleeing persecution because of their jewish origin. Beginning in September 1939 and even before the German Army invaded France, a large majority of these German-speaking exiles, among them Austrians, Czechoslowaks and Hungarians, were arrested as "undesirable foreigners" and sent by the French government to French internment camps. As of June 1940, with the German occupation of Paris, the living quarters of these exiles were searched and their contents spoliated by the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR, Rosenberg Special Task Force), one of the Nazi agencies responsible for looting cultural property in Nazi-occupied countries during World War I.

These spoliated goods were sorted by the ERR into categories – art works, furniture, documents, etc., then stored in various places in Paris or dispatched to Germany, depending on how the occupant intended to use them. With the start of bombing raids on Berlin, all or most of the Nazi archives, including those confiscated from opponents of the regime, were moved further east for security to German-occupied Czechoslovakia. But at the end of the war, those archives were discovered by the victorious Rea Army and transported to Moscow.

Thus in 1946 the Central State Special Archive of the USSR was set up, and for decades, its existence remained unknown to all but a few officials of the Russian Secret Service. Only as of 1992, thanks to Perestroika, have those documents become accessible to interested parties. Still holding 593 fonds of captured foreign records, this archive has been part of the Russian Military State Archive (RGWA) since 1999. Despite various divisions and name changes since its creation (see article by P. K. Grimsted in this volume for further detail), for purposes of clarity, we use the shorter and more common name Special Archive throughout.

Although our volume concerns only a very small part of the archive – papers belonging to anti-Fascist exiles in France and those of the German Jewish art critic Paul Westheim in particular – we feel it is nonetheless essential to take a few moments to give the reader an idea of the singular nature of the archive as whole.

In fact, the papers of three distinct groups are assembled side-by-side in this archive, all of which was hidden away in remote castles or other supposedly secure places in German occupied territories. The first group is made up of a variety of documents from the organizational and administrative bodies of the Nazi government itself. The second is composed of documents spoilated by the Nazis and often of a private nature – papers belonging to Jews, Freemasons, and émigrés in general. The third group contains official papers from all the occupied countries, among them France, Holland, Austria, Belgium, Poland, Greece, etc. The majority of the files concern the

This singular mixture of documents reflects the despotic irrationality, the haste and fiendish activity of those years of human history. Hitler's guest book is stored a few feet from the correspondence between the Jewish philosopher Walter Benjamin and Max Horkheimer, letters spolated from Benjamin's Paris apartment while he was fleeing France and seeking refuge in Spain. When Benjamin committed suicide in September 1940 in Port Bou in the South of France, thinking it would no longer be possible to escape the Nazis and the collaborating French police, the contents of his Parisian apartment had probably already been confiscated by the ERR. Again, perhaps only a few boxes further down we find eight daily journals written for Goebbels, and not far away, the personal papers of the English sculptress Daphne Hardy, wartime companion of the anti-Fascist writer Arthur Koestler and translator of his book Scum of the Earth, relating his experience in the French internment camps. In the same building had been stored the six linear kilometers of the French Security Directorate,

restituted to France in the context of post-Perestroika restitutions, part of the second wave of restitutions after those of the Cold War period of the 1950s-60s, when certain documents -often only a part of the holdings concerning a particular person or subject, probably for strategic reasons – were returned to countries friendly to the USSR – notably East Germany.

Thus another feature of this archive, as the reader will discover in the following articles, is its almost chaotic disparity, the contrary of a definitive, immobile collection of documents. To this day, there are certainly a number of files whose very existence remains unknown to the public, alongside files and/or remants of files that have been returned to their country of origin, and files whose restitution is in the process or negotiation. In addition, there are those that have been – again, perhaps partially – transferred to and from other Russian archives. Thus, the changing face of the Moscow Special Archive.

Architecturally speaking too, the building itself has a strange history reflecting these dark years of human history. Originally, it was destined to house the archives of the gulag, and ironically enough, prisoners of the gulag were used to build it. Left unfinished at the end of the war, it was finally completed over five years time by German Prisoners of War and the Special Archive was placed under its roof in 1951. It was only the Cold War that gave this archive its special status of war trophy, which included the possibility of its being exploited in a political context as hostage material.

It is what the Moscow archives 'tell' us about Paris and the arts in the years 1933–1945 that interests us here. Indeed, the city was tense hub of activity – a refuge for artists, intellectuals and political exiles, a wellspring of creativity in the visual arts and stubborn resistance to oppression, and above all, a central platform for the constant movement of art dealers and collectors crisscrossing from all over Europe and abroad, attempting, for the most part, to save in whatever way they could the art and artists of the "other Germany" from Nazi persecution and destruction. Much – and many –did not survive; thus the echoes that arise from the Moscow archives are all the more valuable in our effort to reconstruct an authentic image of those vears.

Contributions

Hélène Roussel, French Germanist and specialist in exile studies, presents a panoramo of the German-speaking exiles in France as of the early 1930s, focusing on visual artists and their resistance to National Socialism. She offers us an overview of the writers, artists and art critics who sought refuge in France and describes how, by setting up a university, publishing newspapers, organizing art exhibitions and other activities – they mobilized themselves in an attempt both to preserve the art and attivities – they mobilized themselves in an attempt both to preserve the art and thinking of the "other", or in the words of Heinrich Mann, the "better Germany", one of honor, spirit and heart – and to continue to earn a living as independent artists. Yet the extraordinary hub of activity that was Paris at the time turned out to be not a refuge but a place of danger from which most were obliged to flee when the Germans drove into the city. Hélène Roussel follows the movement of the artists, photographers, art critics and their families from Paris to their final destinations, those who were fortunate to freedom and others to their death in concentration camps.

Béhédicte Savoy, art historian and specialist in national heritage despoiled by war, approaches the subject of looted art from a historical point of view. The looting of artistic treasures has been a constant since antiquity and the loss of artistic and ritual objects is deeply rooted in the collective memory, particularly in the case of visual images, due to their emotional component. While emphasizing the "slow-healing wound of loss", Savoy recalls the debates involving restitution – the two opposing cultural approaches of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the cosmo-political and national points of view respectively, an advocate of the former being Goethe, who saw no reason why artistic treasures should not be equally distributed. She also

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