“Temporary spiritual sustenance”:
The print culture of Russian displaced persons in post-war Germany (1945-1951)

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“Temporary Spiritual Sustenance”: The Print Culture of Russian Displaced Persons in Post-War Germany (1945–1951)

Philipp S. Penka

Since my first exposure to Russian literature as an undergraduate, I have been fascinated by the extensive émigré culture that arose as a result of the October Revolution. Shaped by a society which accorded an exceptionally high status to the written word, the Russian community abroad witnessed a literary productivity of such remarkable proportions that scholars justifiably speak of two distinct literary traditions. This cultural creativity was by no means limited to prominent centers of émigré life, such as Berlin, Paris, or Prague; nor was it exclusive to the first wave of the Russian emigration, which left in the wake of 1917 and the ensuing civil war. Almost all throughout the twentieth century, Russians abroad established printing and publishing ventures in locations as remote as Buenos Aires and Shanghai, and printed tens of thousands of books, periodicals, and newspapers.

I soon became captivated by this relentless effort of writers, editors, and publishers to preserve the foundations of cultural continuity and national identity in exile—through great works of literature as well as the output of the diaspora’s many graphomaniacs. After encountering the occasional émigré publication in Russian-language bookstores in New York and Boston, I went to greater lengths to seek out interesting titles, particularly first editions and collections of poetry. My pursuit was inspired in part by André Savine, the legendary Paris book dealer and collector of Russian émigré materials, whose collection of over 60,000 items was acquired by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2002.

1 An earlier version of this essay was submitted to the National Collegiate Book Collecting Contest in 2010 and can be viewed online: <http://hq.aba.org/antiquarian/images/pdfs/Philipp%20Penka%20NCBCC.pdf> (accessed November 5, 2011).

2 See, for instance, Odna ili dve russkikh literatury: mezhdunarodnyi simpozium (One or two Russian literatures: an international symposium), ed. George Nivat (Lausanne: Editions L’Age d’Homme, 1981). All translations of titles, as well as the inscription in Entry 27, are mine.

3 For an overview of the André Savine collection, see <http://www.lib.unc.edu/savine/> (accessed November 5, 2011).
A fortuitous discovery in 2008 led to the focus of the present collection: the remarkable and largely forgotten print culture of Russian displaced persons in post-war Germany. A box of books I acquired from Russian immigrants in South Carolina contained two interesting brochures; both were printed near Munich, Germany, and carried a censorship approval stamp by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). While researching these titles, I learned about the phenomenon of camps for displaced persons (commonly referred to as DPs) in the years from 1945 to 1951. These temporary refuges for over a million Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, and natives of the Baltic states were established in the American and British zones of Germany, Austria, and Italy immediately after World War II. A wide variety of refugee housing offered shelter for hundreds of thousands of former Ostarbeiter, forced laborers from Eastern Europe, and for Soviet citizens who had fled their native

4 For a recent introduction to the phenomenon of the displaced person after World War II, see Ann Holian, Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011). Holian states that approximately 1.2 million DPs resided in Germany by September 1945, of which between 30,000 and 40,000 were estimated to be Soviet citizens who had refused to repatriate (41).
territory for political reasons and feared severe reprisals upon return. Such camps were instituted in former caserns (military complexes with a number of permanent structures), one-story wooden barracks (often used as labor camps during the war), and, less frequently, individual housing units in small villages or sections of towns. Not infrequently, these accommodations were in a state of disrepair. Less conventional sites, such as tent camps and former schoolhouses, were not uncommon, especially during the first months. The size of these hundreds of DP centers ranged from as few as forty inhabitants to 15,000 residents. Under the auspices of the UNRRA and, beginning in July 1947, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), they faced an uncertain future in often grim circumstances and under the threat of forced repatriation by Soviet agents, who were allowed access to the camps following the Yalta Conference. While many eventually settled in Western Germany, the majority of DPs sought to relocate overseas, to the United States, Canada, South America, and other more remote destinations. Some remained in the camps as late as December 1951, when the IRO ceased its relief activity and the American Displaced Persons Act of 1948 expired.

Despite such dire conditions, private individuals, political groups, and religious organizations began to establish small publishing operations almost immediately after their arrival at the camps. Among the first publications were informational bulletins, brochures, and daily newspapers, printed in extremely small runs. Within a few months, DP publishers began to offer literary monthlies, satirical reviews, collections of poetry and prose written in exile, historical and political works, as well as memoirs and autobiographies. In most camps schools were instituted, creating a demand for textbooks, reprints of works of Russian literature, language primers, and foreign language dictionaries. Almost all of these publications were printed on low-quality paper, especially newsprint, often using manual duplicators such as hectographs, mimeograph machines, and, later, conventional printing presses. In 1945–1946, many manuscripts were typewritten on waxed paper or set on zinc plates and reproduced

5 On the question of repatriation and its consequences, see Holian, 108–116.
8 A printing technique whereby aniline ink is transferred from a sheet of paper to a layer of gelatin, and a small number of copies are made by pressing individual sheets of paper against the template.
by hand (no. 31 in the collection catalog below, for example). Despite these material limitations, it is estimated that in the years from 1945 to 1951 Russian DPs managed to publish at least 700 to 800 books and pamphlets, as well as a very large number of journals, newspapers, and daily camp bulletins.9

The rapid development of this book publishing culture among displaced persons of all nationalities was no small achievement. Under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (which continued through June 1947), DP camps remained separated from the West German economy; their inhabitants were fed and clothed, but they did not receive money. A small, but gradually increasing, number of DPs found employment as camp staff and work became more readily available after the transition to the IRO administration in July 1947. Salaries were generally negligible

9 This is a conservative estimate and the actual number of books and pamphlets published may have been significantly higher. Early estimates suggested that approximately 400 titles (books and pamphlets) were published. A recent bibliography by P. N. Bazanov, the first systematic attempt to document the range of DP publications, lists 678 titles, but omits many items and does not pretend to be exhaustive. No attempt has been made to catalog the periodicals, newspapers, and bulletins published by DPs. See P. N. Bazanov, “Bibliograficheskii ukazatel’ dipiiskikh knig i broshiur (1945–1951 gg.)” (A bibliographical index of DP books and brochures [1945–1951]) in Diaspora: novye materialy (Diaspora: new materials), ed. Vladimir Alloi, 9 vols. to date (Paris: Athenaeum, 2001– ), 8:689–739.
and workers were often paid in cigarettes and coffee, which could be exchanged for currency and other goods outside the camps. Many early publishing enterprises were made possible through such bartering. In addition, publishers often depended on a network of contacts outside the “DP Universe” and a work force willing to labor for an insignificant salary. In some cases, financially secure non-DP émigrés sponsored publications, and a number of displaced persons who resided outside the camps resorted to book publishing for a small income. Although the camps received paper rations, newsprint was in constant short supply and early bulletins and periodicals were often printed on the blank versos of unused German forms. While some titles were outsourced to German-owned print shops, Russian entrepreneurs often had to establish their own printing operations, as the majority of printers capable of using Cyrillic fonts was located on Soviet-occupied territory and the Germans were often reluctant to collaborate with the DPs.

Military authorities, who frequently discouraged the proliferation of national cultural life in the camps, posed another major obstacle to the publishing activity of Russian DPs. Mark Wyman notes that “since the authorities were seeking repatriation, anything that smacked of retaining that culture outside the homeland had to be discouraged.” Moreover, military censorship was instituted following the Yalta Conference and the Allied powers vowed that no anti-Soviet political propaganda would be permitted in the camps. Books were required to feature a printed note indicating the approval of the UNRRA team responsible for the particular camp (a detail that often helps to determine the place of publication in titles where this information is not indicated). After July 1947, titles published in the American zone were authorized by various departments of the U.S. Army, such as the Civil Affairs Division and the Information Control Division. Many, if not most, authors chose to publish under a pseudonym, and publishers, too, often remained anonymous in order to elude the censors and, in the case of politically hostile material, Soviet repatriation agents.


11 “DP Universe” (Galaktika Di-Pi) is a term coined by the émigré poet and scholar Mikhail Iupp, who owns perhaps the most significant private collection of DP publications. See M. E. Iupp, “Bibliograficheskaia putanitsa” (Bibliographical confusion), Bibliografiiia 6 (2008): 79–82.

12 See Tribukh, 23.

13 Svetlana Kosheverova has suggested that Nikolai Paramonov, the publisher of five titles in my collection, acquired a Cyrillic font from German printers in exchange for canned meat. See Svetlana Kosheverova, “Potomki Paramonovyykh,” at <http://www.relga.sfedu.ru/n22/don22.htm> (accessed January 12, 2011).

14 Wyman, 161.
Today the books and periodicals of the DP period are so scarce that the comprehensive bibliographical documentation of this print culture may prove an impossible project. The print runs of the editions in my collection generally ranged from only fifty to a few hundred copies; a number of titles reached 1,000 and later periodicals sometimes circulated in up to 2,000 copies. Unsafe transport and storage conditions, the unreliability of the German black market, volatile trade agreements with an often reluctant West German population, the whim of the military censors and Soviet repatriation agents, as well as the general instability of camp life, prevented large numbers of these publications from reaching a broad readership.

Due to the poor quality of paper stock and the heavy use in the camps, many volumes were likely reduced to an unfortunate state shortly after publication. Others were discarded in preparation for emigration abroad, as travelers to North America, for instance, were limited to approximately eighty pounds of luggage. But perhaps more importantly, despite the pride and determination of Russian DPs, they often regarded life in the camps as a tragedy of which they did not care to be reminded. Thus, as former displaced person Rostislav Polchaninov noted, far from being cherished mementos, the books of the DP publishers “were viewed only as temporary spiritual sustenance.” The copies that survived were subsequently scattered throughout Germany, Australia, as well as North and South America; some were eventually donated to or acquired by Russian special collections. Regrettably, libraries outside of Russia have generally overlooked the historical significance of these materials, and original wrappers, often beautifully illustrated, were discarded when the books were rebound and placed in general collections. Although a small number of private collections have become known in recent decades, these scarce relics have still not received the attention they warrant.

The purpose of my collection is thus to preserve a historical trace of the print culture of Russian displaced persons to the extent possible today. Although the scarcity of these books imposes obvious restrictions on the size and scope of this project, persistent searches and close relationships with Russian immigrants and specialty book dealers have allowed me to acquire books that represent nearly the full range of publishing activity by and for the displaced persons. With a number of exceptions, the

15 In addition to Bazanov's 2007 bibliography, only one description of a private collection of Russian DP books has been published: Emmanuil Shtein, Russkaia pechat' lagerei “Di-Pi” (Russian publications of DP camps) (Orange, Conn.: Antiquary, 1993). By contrast, far greater effort was made early on to document the print cultures of the Slovene and Ukrainian DP communities. On the latter, see the monumental The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II, eds. Wsewolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk, and Roman Senkus (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992).

16 See, for instance, Polchaninov, 1988, 233.

17 Ibid.

The Print Culture of Russian Displaced Persons in Post-War Germany
volumes in this collection were all published in the American zone of occupation, from May 1945 through December 1951, by many of the approximately twenty publishers in existence at the time. For the sake of convenience, the titles included in the original part of the collection (nos. 1–25 in the catalog below) may be divided into three groups: editions of classical Russian literature, volumes of poetry or prose written in exile, and nonfiction of autobiographical, historical, or religious nature. Since my submission to the Philip Hofer Prize committee in April 2010, I have acquired a number of earlier desiderata, including a children’s book (no. 30), a Russian language primer (no. 57), and examples of religious literature (nos. 47, 52, and 54), in addition to numerous editions of Russian literary classics and original works of poetry and prose.

My collection began with two books of stories by the famous Russian writer Aleksandr Kuprin (1870–1937), who lived in the emigration from 1920 to 1937 (nos. 16 and 17). These reprints of popular works of literature were intended both for the general readership and for use in the schools established in DP camps. Such editions are particularly impressive in light of the difficulty of obtaining reliable source texts in post-war Germany, especially if they were to conform to any standard of textual accuracy. Among the most prized items of this kind is a one-volume edition of poetry by the Symbolist Aleksandr Blok (1880–1921), apparently the only publication of his work by a DP publisher (no. 4). Viacheslav Zavalishin (1915–1995), a Russian emigrant

Figure 5. Viktor Efer. The vicissitudes of fate: stories of an emigrant ([Munich]: Universal’naia biblioteka, 1947). Front and rear covers. Entry 7. 14 cm.
and literary scholar, was able to publish two volumes of poetry by the Imaginist Sergei Esenin (1895–1925), a lasting favorite of the Russian émigré readership (nos. 8 and 9). These were based on the galley proofs of an edition Zavalishin had helped publish in Riga during the German occupation.

One of the truly spectacular achievements of the Russian DP community was the publication of the first collected edition of the works of Nikolai Gumilev (1886–1921), a Modernist poet who was executed by the Cheka and whose poetry had not been reprinted in the Soviet Union. Of the four volumes, the first two are among the original part of my collection (nos. 12 and 13), and I have since been able to acquire the fourth (no. 42). This section of classical Russian literary texts also includes two volumes of Russian prose that were not published by displaced persons, but distributed to DP camp libraries and foreign-language bookstores in Germany after the war (nos. 15 and 23). They had been printed for Soviet prisoners of war by the YMCA’s War Prisoners’ Aid program in 1944–1945, but were delivered to Germany only after the war (no. 46 is another recently acquired example of such a publication).¹⁸

Fifteen books fall into the category of prose or poetry written in emigration (nine from the original submission, six in recent acquisitions). Their content ranges from stories about war and exile to poetry written in the camps to historical tales and even

science fiction novels. Little information exists about most of the authors, who nearly always published under pseudonyms. Few of these works can be considered original and significant works of literature, and few of them have been reprinted. While some represent an attempt to cope with the recent memory of war and displacement, others are simply a means of temporarily escaping the sorrows of camp life. These books often feature surprisingly sophisticated cover designs in color and black-and-white illustrations in the text. Numbers 2, 6, and 7, as well as the recently acquired no. 26, were illustrated by the prolific DP artist Konstantin Kuznetsov, who was often willing to work without compensation. In many cases the artists of these impressive graphics remain unknown. Among the most noteworthy items in this section are Ivo Ima’s *Pokhitel’ razuma* (The captors of reason), an adventure novel with a remarkable cover illustration in the style of American pulp fiction magazines (no. 14), Boris Bashilov’s *V moria i zemli nevedomye* . . . (To unknown seas and lands . . .), and Viktor Efer’s *Bunt atomov* (Revolt of the atoms), the last two of which feature attractive black-and-white illustrations in the text.

The third main group of my original collection consists of historical accounts and memoirs, which shed an interesting light on the political dimension of DP publishing. Two titles were published by Posev, a publisher affiliated with the illegal anti-communist National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (*Narodno-Trudovoi Soiuz*, or NTS). It began operation in August 1945, even prior to the UNRRA, and was the first organization to purchase a printing press and Russian fonts. The books in question are translations of a French work about the Nuremberg Trials and a British work by James Burnham entitled *The Coming Defeat of Communism* (nos. 3 and 5). A short mimeographed volume by Aleksandr Nemirov (no. 18) is one of very few books that openly addressed the atrocities of the war. It recounts the experience of an NTS member’s imprisonment in German concentration camps and his subsequent liberation and arrival at the DP camp. Other titles, such as N. Petrovskii’s *Vtoraia Mirovaia Voina* (World War II), satisfied a more general demand for knowledge about recent historical events (no. 19).

As a whole, the books in this collection represent the array of forces that shaped the cultural life of Russian displaced persons—the need to educate the youth, the drive for self-expression, the desire for diversion, the propagation of a political perspective, and the wish to turn a small profit being the most significant of them. The collection,

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19 It has been noted that the literary output of the second-wave of the Russian emigration is generally less remarkable than that of the first wave. For instance, see DP critic and scholar Leonid Rzhevskii’s own assessment, cited in “Émigré literature,” in Victor Terras, *Handbook of Russian Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 123. See also Leonid D. Rzhevskii, “Khudozhestvennaia proza ‘novoi’ emigratsii” (Fiction of the ‘new’ emigration) in *Russkaia literatura v emigratsii: sbornik statei* (Russian émigré literature: a collection of articles), ed. N. Poltoratskii (Pittsburg: Otdel slavianskikh literatur i iazykov Pittsburgskogo universiteta, 1972).
particularly items that touch directly on political questions and the situation of the displaced, also presents a small opportunity to reevaluate the second wave of the Russian emigration in its complexity. For a variety of reasons, the DP period remains an uneasy subject for many. The U.S. authorities were slow to organize emigration overseas and supported the forced repatriation of Soviet DPs, long unaware of the harsh repercussions the latter would face in the USSR. German authorities were happy to forget the widespread mutual antagonism among refugees, occupants, and the local population.20 Soviet propaganda tended to portray the displaced persons as Nazi collaborators trying to avoid the work of rebuilding their homelands. In fact, the majority of the Russian DPs were former prisoners of war, forced laborers deported from Soviet territory by Germans, or first-wave émigrés who had been forced to leave their new homes in Yugoslavia or the Baltic states by advancing Soviet troops. They feared that their return to the Soviet Union would lead, at best, to years of imprisonment and forced labor.21


21 For an account of repatriation and its consequences, see Wyman, 61–85.
Above all, however, my collection seeks to pay tribute to the spirit of optimism, the entrepreneurial ingenuity, and the immense cultural productivity of this refugee community. The ceaseless publishing activity of the displaced persons exemplifies the enormous respect for the written word that has long drawn me to Russian culture. Moreover, the print culture of the DPs is a testament not only to the universality of the book as a cultural medium, but also to the persistence of cultural activity as such. Mark Wyman quotes a Ukrainian DP poet who writes:

We are ready to go to the end of the world—beyond the oceans, into the tropical or polar countries, only not to return home—a phenomenon which is without comparison in history . . . In such difficult circumstances of life, being at the mercy of foreign nations, and being temporary guests—we still create our culture.  

It is a deep respect for the condition of permanent exile and for this enduring drive to reaffirm one’s existence through creative endeavors that commits me to this collection.

Wyman, 156.
My original submission to the Philip Hofer Prize committee in April 2010 consisted of the following twenty-five titles. With the exception of nos. 15 and 23, they were all published in the American zone of occupation. Most titles were approved by the appropriate military authorities and feature a printed censorship note. The entries provide the note in quotation marks (e.g., “Authorized by UNRRA Team 631”), including any typographical errors. In cases where none is cited, titles were presumably published without authorization. Patronymic initials are provided in the body of the entries where known, except for well-established authors. Unless stated otherwise, books without indication of a publisher are assumed to be self-published. The page counts are based on the last numbered page. All items are bound side-stitched, in paper wrappers, unless otherwise specified. All translations are mine.


   This anthology was the first publication of Igor’ A. Avtamonov (1913–1995) and his wife Irina, both first-wave Russian émigrés who had moved to Germany from Serbia. The name of the imaginary third author, Foma Kuz’mich Prutkov, derives from Koz’ma Prutkov, the literary alias of nineteenth-century poets Aleksei K. Tolstoi (1817–1875) and the brothers Zhemchuzhnikov. Many of these short works explicitly treat the life of the DPs. Printed by D. Sazhnin in Augsburg with a print run of 300 copies. “Approved by UNRRA Team 631.” 192 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) and illustrations in the text by the authors. Bazanov 6. (See figure 1.)


   This historical tale about Russian explorers during the Great Northern Expedition (1733–1743) was part of an epic historical series planned by Boris P. Iurkevich (1908–1970), who used numerous pseudonyms, including Boris Bashilov and Mikhail Tamartsev. He published the journal Razvedchik (Scout) at the Mönchehof camp before moving to Munich, where he founded the publishing house Iunost’ (Youth) in 1946. This title was the first of his publications for the DP community. 139 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) and illustrations in the text by Konstantin Kuznetsov, a prominent DP artist. Bazanov 47. (See figure 2.)
Evgenii Shugaev (the pseudonym of Evgenii N. Neledinskii, 1886–1963) prepared this translation of the American political theorist James Burnham’s 1949 work *The Coming Defeat of Communism*. Burnham (1905–1987) was an official in the American Trotskyite movement who later renounced Marxism and became a leading representative of American conservatism. The work gives a detailed account of the Soviet state and focuses on the fate of Russian emigrants, particularly the DPs. It was published by Posev, a publisher associated with the Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS), which was initially based in Mönchehof (1945–1947) before moving to Limburg an der Lahn in 1947. Priced 5 Marks. 172 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 56.


The only known edition of the Russian Symbolist’s work published by DPs. Edited and with an introduction by Vladimir Karalin (the pseudonym of Vladimir Gatskevich, 1917–1985), a Russian refugee who played a key role in establishing the
printing house Posev and other publishers associated with the Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS). Aside from a representative selection of Blok’s earlier work, the collection contains his later longer poems “The Twelve” and “Scythians.” Print run of 1,000 copies. Priced 8 Marks. “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 505.” 78 pages, 14 cm. Printed wrappers (on color stock). Bazanov 57. (See figure 3.)


A scarce science fiction novel by Viktor Efer (possibly the pseudonym of a Viktor Afon’kin, about whom nothing is known). In 1948, the book appeared both in German and in a translation for Ukrainian DPs. Priced 8 Marks. “Approved by UNRRA TEAM 631.” 124 pages, 16 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) and illustrations in the text by Konstantin Kuznetsov. Bazanov 672. (See figure 4.)


Viktor Efer’s second book, a collection of eight short stories about émigré life. The censorship stamp places the publication date after July 1947, i.e., after the end of the UNRRA administration and the publication of no. 6 above. “Permitted by authority of Military Government.” 127 pages, 14 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) by Konstantin Kuznetsov. With a contemporary inventory stamp of Munich bookstore “W. Zielaskewitsch – E. Schinkewitsch.” Bazanov 674. (See figure 5.)


Volume one of a two-volume collection of works by Sergei Esenin (1895–1925), one of the most popular Russian poets of the twentieth century. Viacheslav Zavalishin (1915–1995), a prominent writer and editor in the DP community, edited
the collection and wrote the introduction. In 1944, he had published the same text in one volume in Nazi-occupied Riga. While living in a German DP camp, he photographically reproduced the galley proofs and divided the contents into two volumes, slightly reducing the format and rearranging page order. 111 pages, 19 cm. The original illustrated wrappers by Nikolai V. Puzyrevskii (1895–?), an émigré from Riga, are missing. Rebound in library buckram with volume two. The edges were likely trimmed in binding. With a portrait of the author by Puzyrevskii. Bazanov 175.


The second volume of Esenin’s Selected Works, which contains longer poems and plays (see no. 8). It is also based on Zavalishin’s galleys, though the title page names as editor V. Ozerov, a pseudonym of Zavalishin. With another brief introduction. 98 pages, 19 cm. The original illustrated wrappers by Nikolai V. Puzyrevskii are missing. Bound with no. 8. Bazanov 176.

This volume of stories by Vsevolod M. Garshin (1855–1888) is one of a number of titles published by Nikolai Paramonov (1876–1951), who was a publisher in Rostov-on-Don before settling in Bayreuth after World War II. He published affordable editions of classical works of Russian literature for DPs, all of which were printed by Lorenz Ellwanger in Bayreuth. Priced 6 Marks. “Approved by U.N.N.R.A. Team 186.” 88 pages, 15 cm. Printed wrappers (in color). Bazanov 99.


Actor, director, and writer Nikolai A. Gorchakov (1901–?), a student of Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874–1940), authored this slim collection of stories. After four years in DP camps, he immigrated to the US, where he published on Soviet theatre. This title was published by Zlatoust in the Schleissheim DP Camp. The publishing house was run by Sergei Zavalishin (1904–1972), a relative of Viacheslav Zavalishin.
52 pages, 20 cm. Printed wrappers (on color stock). With a stamp providing the author’s name and address. Bazanov 117.


In a remarkable publishing coup, Russian DPs in post-war Germany printed the first edition of the collected works of the Acmeist poet Nikolai Gumilev (1886–1921). Viacheslav Zavalishin edited the four volumes and wrote the introduction. Volume one contains the collections Zhemchuga (Pearls) and Shater (The tent). 160 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers by the unknown artists Simechkevius and Drazhevskoi. Bazanov 134. (See figure 6.)


The second volume of the DP edition of Gumilev’s collected works (see no. 12) contains the poet’s collections Chuzhoe nebo (Alien sky) and Kolchan (The quiver). It was printed by Mittelbayerische Zeitung in Regensburg. “Permitted by HQ EUCOM, Civil Affairs Division, APO 757.” 139 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers by Simechkevius and Drazhevskoi. Bazanov 135.


Another example of “low-brow” fiction published by DP publishers in addition to political treatises, classics of Russian literature, and religious pamphlets. It is the only known work by Ivo Ima, likely another pseudonym of Viktor Afon’kin (see nos. 6 and 7). The book was published under the imprint M.B. in Munich, possibly the initials of Mikhail Bibikov. “Approved by UNRRA Team 568.” 188 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) by an unknown artist. Bazanov 212. (See figure 7.)

15. Korolenko, Vladimir. Izbrannyia socheninia, s biograficheshkim ocherkom avtora (Selected works, with a biographical essay by the author). Geneva: YMCA, [1944?].

Published in 1944 (or 1945) by the YMCA War Prisoners’ Aid program in Geneva, this title and others like it were intended for Soviet prisoners of war. Because German authorities refused to distribute them they remained in storage until after the war, when they reached camp libraries and bookstores catering to Russian émigrés and DPs. This title is a collection of short stories by the Ukrainian-Russian writer Vladimir G. Korolenko (1853–1921), whose depictions of exile in Siberia likely appealed to contemporary readers. The back cover features a publisher’s catalog and the addresses of war prisoner aid offices. 141 pages, 17 cm. Printed boards.

This is one of at least five editions of the prose of Aleksandr I. Kuprin (1870–1938) published by Russian DPs. It was printed by Lorenz Ellwanger in Bayreuth and is another publication by Nikolai Paramonov (see nos. 10, 37, 55, and 69). A uniform title printed on the rear cover indicates that it was part of a series of books used to teach Russian literature in camp schools. “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 186.” 62 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers (in color). Bazanov 297.


This novella by Aleksandr I. Kuprin was published by Novosti, the publisher of a Russian newspaper based in Munich (as indicated by a stamp on the back cover). “Authorized by EUCOM HQ, Civil Affairs Division License from 14 July 1947.” 144 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers (in color). Bazanov 298.

A. Nemirov (the pseudonym of Aleksandr N. Neimirok, 1911–1973) was imprisoned in a German concentration camp in 1944–1945 for collaborating with the Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS). This title contains his memoirs, written shortly after his release. Priced 8 Marks. “Office of Military Government for Bavaria – Information Control Division APO 170.” 63 pages, 21 cm. The text is mimeographed. Illustrated wrappers. Bazanov 380.


This collection of historical documents and essays about World War II, originally published in France, is another publication by N. Petrovskii (the pseudonym of Nikolai P. Poltoratskii, 1921–1991). The UNRRA team number indicates that the place of publication was one of the camps near Munich. “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 631.” 142 pages, 19 cm. Printed wrappers. With two maps. Bazanov 90.


The third of three books by Irina Saburova (the pseudonym of Irina Kutitonskaia, 1907–1979) published by a DP press. This volume is a collection of Christmas tales, loosely based on Russian folklore and written in Riga. Print run of 300 copies.
“Permitted by Military Government for Bavaria, APO 170.” 151 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color). Bazanov 517. (See figure 8.)


A fictionalized account of the life in Prague of writer and journalist Sergei Iakovlevich Savinov (1897–?). After World War II, Savinov was active in the Füssen Camp near Munich. This book is his second DP publication. It was written in München-Feldmoching and self-published. With decorative initial letters featuring Prague landmarks. Priced 8 Marks. “Approved by UNRRA Team 631.” 66 pages, 19 cm. Illustrated wrappers. Bazanov 521.


A historical novel by the nineteenth-century prose writer Aleksei K. Tolstoi (1817–1875), set during the reign of Ivan the Terrible and originally published in 1863. Like no. 15, it was intended for Soviet prisoners of war, but most of the print run was distributed to DPs after the war. Published in Paris under the YMCA War Prisoners’ Aid program. 358 pages, 20 cm. Hardcover.


The memoirs of Anton V. Turkul (1892–1957), co-authored by Ivan Lukash (1892–1940), recount the events of the Russian Civil War in 1917–1923 from the perspective of a general in the division of commander M. Drozdovskii. Originally published in Belgrade in 1937, the book was reprinted by the publishing house Iav’i byl’ (owned by Vadim N. Ordovskii-Tanaevskii, 1924–1990) while Turkul lived near Munich and was in close contact with the DP community. “—— Marks,” with price stamp left blank. “U.N.D.P. Licence Nr. 262 – Munich.” 276 pages, 20 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color). With two portraits of the author. Bazanov 599. (See figure 9.)


This volume of four short stories followed the publication of Evgenii Tverskoi’s *Etiudy* (Essays) in 1947. The first volume featured cover and in-text illustrations by the DP artist A. I. Sheloumov (1892–1983). Both volumes contain original fiction and non-fiction works about life in turn-of-the-century Moscow and the Soviet Union, written in the period following the author’s emigration. Priced 7 Marks.
II. Recent Additions

The following forty-five titles were acquired after my submission to the Philip Hofer Prize committee in April 2010. Through persistent searches and relationships with book dealers I have been able to locate a number of desiderata. With the exception of nos. 27, 46, 47, and 68, all titles below were published in the American zone of occupation. The descriptions of these additions follow the conventions used in Section I.


This historical tale about Russian explorers and the Russian-American Company is another publication by Boris P. Iurkevich, issued under the pseudonym Bashilov (see no. 2). 72 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated wrappers (on color stock) and illustrations in the text by Konstantin Kuznetsov. Bazanov 50. (See figure 10.)


A volume of poems by Rodion Berezov (pseudonym of Rodion M. Akul'shin, 1896–1988), who later immigrated to the United States. This collection was written between 1945 and 1947, and explicitly treats Berezov’s experiences during the war and life in the camps. Inscribed to a V. P. Steletskii in pencil inside the front wrapper: “With sincere wishes for a speedy recovery from the author, June 10, 48, Salzburg, DP hospital.” Printed by Naukova Drukarnia, a Ukrainian printer, with a print run of 1,000 copies. 64 pages, 14 cm. Illustrated wrappers. With corrections to the text in pencil, presumably by the author. Bazanov 53. (See figure 11.)


A richly illustrated edition of Kornei Chukovskii’s classic 1923 poem for children about a little boy with poor hygiene. Thirteen pages of hand-written text and illustrations, mimeographed by the Russian Cultural Union in Wiesbaden (Russkoe kul'turnoe ob'edinienie). R. Polchaninov suggests that the Union was possibly the project of a single artist, Nikolai Olin (the pseudonym of Nikolai Men’chukov), who published only this title (Polchaninov, 2009, 356). The distributor is stated to be “G. Lach, Hessische Zentralstelle für russische Literatur, Wiesbaden, Kaiser-Friedrich-Ring 1.” “Genehmigt durch: Office of Military Government for Hesse, Information Control Division vom 10. 12. 1947.” 13 pages, 29 cm. Saddle-stitched, with illustrated wrappers (in color). Bazanov 663. (See figure 12.)


A translation by Russian DPs of “The Disappearance of Lady Frances Carfax” by Arthur Conan Doyle. This title is part of a series of at least ten Sherlock Holmes short stories published by Estet (see nos. 33 and 34). The title leaf states 1946 to be
the year of publication, but the cover illustration is dated 1947. 30 pages, 14 cm. Saddle-stitched, with illustrated wrappers (on color stock). Bazanov 157.


A translation by Russian DPs of “The Adventure of the Priory School” by Arthur Conan Doyle. This title is part of the same series as nos. 32 and 34. The cover illustration is dated 1947. 32 pages, 14 cm. Saddle-stitched, with illustrated wrappers (on color stock). Bazanov 154. (See figure 14.)


A translation by Russian DPs of “The Adventure of the Dying Detective” by Arthur Conan Doyle. This title is part of the same series as nos. 32 and 33. The cover illustration is dated 1947. 32 pages, 14 cm. Saddle-stitched, with illustrated wrappers. Bazanov 162.


This is the second volume of poems by the well-known second-wave émigré poet Ivan Elagin (the pseudonym of Zangvil’d V. Matveev, 1918–1987). His first book, *Po doroge ottuda* (Journey from there), appeared in Munich in 1946 or 1947. With an introduction entitled “Poeziia muzhestva” (The poetry of courage) by émigré writer and critic R. Menskii. 46 pages, 15 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 173.


The third DP publication by Ivan Elagin (see no. 35) is a comedic farce in three acts, set in early twentieth-century Paris and written in verse. It was adapted for film by Vadim Zobin in 1991. Print run of 1,012 copies. 36 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated wrappers (on color stock). Bazanov 172. (See figure 15.)


This edition of Nikolai Gogol’s famous novella about the Cossacks was printed by Lorenz Ellwanger in Bayreuth and is another publication by Nikolai Paramonov (see nos. 10, 16, 55, and 69). Priced 8 Marks. “Approved by U.N.N.R.A. Team
186.” 104 pages, 20 cm. Illustrated wrappers by DP artist L. Kostiushko, with a reproduction of Ilya Repin’s painting “Reply of the Zaporozhian Cossacks” inside the back cover. Bazanov 113.


The third issue in 1951 of one of the most significant DP periodicals, published quarterly by Posev since July 1946. A “journal of literature, art, science and social thought,” *Grani* contains contributions by well-known writers and intellectuals of the second wave of the emigration, such as V. Martov and L. Rzhevskii. Sponsored by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Print run of 2,000 copies. Priced 4 Marks. 196 pages, 24 cm. Illustrated wrappers by N. Niko.

The last issue in 1951 of the Russian quarterly *Grani*. The front cover states the publication year to be 1952. Sponsored by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Priced 4 Marks. 194 pages, 24 cm. Illustrated wrappers by N. Niko.


Aleksandr S. Grin (1880–1932) was a highly popular Russian romantic realist who is still read widely today. This edition contains Grin’s novella *Alye parusa* (Scarlet sails) and the short story “Gnev otsa” (Father’s wrath). 125 pages, 14 cm. Illustrated title page. Illustrated wrappers (in color). Bazanov 124. (See figure 16.)


This is another DP edition of Aleksandr S. Grin, published under Mikhail Bibikov’s imprint Mednyi vsadnik (The bronze horseman). 92 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers. Bazanov 126. (See figure 17.)

42. **Gumilev, Nikolai. Sobranie sochinenii v chetyreh tomakh** (Collected works in four volumes), vol. 4. Regensburg: [Posev], 1947.

The fourth volume of the DP edition of Nikolai Gumilev’s collected works (see nos. 12 and 13) contains the collections *K sinei zvezde* (To the blue star) and *Ognennyi stolp* (The pillar of fire). Presumably published by Posev. 88 pages, 15 cm. Printed wrappers. With corrections to the text in pencil and a contemporary inventory stamp of Munich bookstore “W. Zielaskewitsch – E. Schinkewitsch.” Bazanov 137.


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A translation of Kipling’s classic Mowgli stories, prepared for Posev by “N.N.” From the series Biblioteka iunogo chitatelia (The young reader’s library). Priced 10 Marks. 176 pages, 20 cm. Illustrated wrappers and illustrations in the text by N. Niko. Bazanov 244. (See figure 18.)


This pamphlet contains proceedings from a 1950 conference caused by a split in the existing organization of the Russian émigré community in Germany. It contains important information on the history of the DP community, as well as a hand-drawn chart of the organizational structure of the Russian emigration in Germany after World War II. 32 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers.

Like nos. 15 and 23, this edition of Mikhail Lermontov’s *A Hero of Our Time* was published in Geneva in 1945 by YMCA War Prisoners’ Aid program “for the exclusive use of prisoners of war.” 158 pages, 19 cm. Printed boards.


The first edition of this religious treatise was published by Posev in Mönchhof in 1946 (see Bazanov 338). In this second edition, the typewritten manuscript was reproduced by mimeograph in Lübeck, in the British zone of occupation. 22 pages, 30 cm. Printed wrappers. With two charts.


This almanac was intended as a universal reference work for Russian DPs, who had very limited access to textbooks and encyclopedias. Its content ranges across Russian history, physics, mathematics, household advice, and German dress etiquette. With an introduction by A. Mishutin, apparently the editor. Printed by Graphische Kunstanstalt Heinrich Schiele, Regensburg. “Permitted by authority of Military Government.” 305 pages, 15 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 661.


The second volume of this important history of the last Russian tsar and his reign by Russian historian and journalist Sergei S. Ol’denburg (1888–1940) was published in Munich by the Society for the Distribution of Russian Nationalist and Patriotic Literature in 1949. Volume one, issued in two parts, appeared in Belgrade, Serbia, in 1939. 260 pages, 24 cm. Illustrated wrappers. With eighteen black-and-white photographs. Bazanov 401.


This small religious pamphlet about the Jesus Prayer was published by the Missionary Committee of the German Eparchy in 1947 and printed by D. Sazhnin in Augsburg. 45 pages, 14 cm. Frontispiece photographic image of Theophan the Recluse (1815–1894). Saddle-stitched, with printed wrappers.


Another pamphlet by N. Petrovskii (N. P. Poltoratskii, see no. 19). This self-published volume introduced DPs who were considering immigrating to the United States to the current political conditions as well as the fundamentals of U.S. government. “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 631.” 35 pages, 20 cm. Saddle-stitched, with printed wrappers. Bazanov 434.


This collection of articles, edited by Archpriest Vladimir I. Vostokov (1868–1957), includes six essays and manifestos criticizing contemporary Western culture and politics. It is a rare example of the religious literature published by Russian DPs. 32 pages, 21 cm. Inscribed by the author on the first page of text (p. 5) while in a camp near Munich (illegible). Illustrated wrappers. With a contemporary inventory stamp of Munich bookstore “W. Zielaskewitsch – E. Schinkewitsch,” Bazanov 464. (See figure 19.)
55. Rasskazy (Stories). Bayreuth: [Nikolai Paramonov], [1947?].

This anthology of stories by famous Russian authors (such as Andreev, Bunin, Gorky, Korolenko, Kuprin, Staniukovich, and Chekhov) was printed by Lorenz Ellwanger in Bayreuth and is another publication by Nikolai Paramonov (see nos. 10, 16, 37, and 55). A printed note inside the cover indicates that it was part of a series of books used to teach Russian literature in camp schools. “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 168.” 64 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 489.


One of the first studies of the Soviet Gulag system, written by Mikhail Rozanov (1902–1989) and based on his own experience as a political prisoner. His book aims to provide a “sociological and economic account of the concentration camps” (p. vi). 287 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated boards by N. Niko. With two folding charts. Bazanov 496.


This spelling book for children of Russian DPs was published by Nowi Dni (New Days) in Salzburg, Austria. 28 pages, 20 cm. Printed wrappers. With signs of use by children learning the Russian alphabet and stamps from the administration of the Trofaiach DP Camp (near Salzburg). (See figure 20.)


Leonid Rzhevskii (the pseudonym of Leonid D. Surazhevskii, 1905–1986) was a prominent writer and scholar of the second-wave emigration. This title is a study of the relationship between Soviet ideology and transformations of the Russian language. Published as part of a series of works by the Munich-based Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR (Institut po izuchenii istorii i kultury SSSR). Printed by Edinenie in Munich. 64 pages, 21 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 492.


This memoir by the former Soviet officer Sabik-Vogulov (likely a pseudonym) contains an account of the last months of World War II and an impassioned condemnation of the Stalinist regime. The author remains unknown and was likely


This is the third (but first typographically printed) edition of this work by the German philosopher Walter Schubart (1897–194?), translated into Russian by V. Vostokov (the pseudonym of V. Vasil’ev, otherwise unknown). Priced 15 Marks. 123 pages, 20 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 669.


This large-format publication of a traditional Russian folktale was printed on unusually fine paper stock and lavishly illustrated in color by DP artist N. Niko. Due to its affiliation with a well-established political organization and as a result of subscription fees for its monthly journal, Posev apparently had somewhat greater
financial resources than smaller publishing ventures. 20 pages, 30 cm. Illustrated boards. Bazanov 541. (See figure 21.)


This book contains erotic sailor tales written by P. N. Solodkov, an unknown author or pseudonym. 64 pages, 15 cm. Illustrated wrappers. Bazanov 556.


Aleksandr R. Trushnovich (1893–1954) was an activist in the Russian refugee community in post-war Germany with strong anti-communist and Slavophile leanings. He was a member of the Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS) and a one-time collaborator with the Vlasov army. This publication contains two chapters from his book Rossiia i SSSR (Russia and the USSR). Trushnovich was abducted and died at the hands of Soviet intelligence agents in 1954 (Romanov, 293–294). 45 pages, 20 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 592.


This edition of Turgenev’s short story “Mumu” was published with marks indicating word stress and intended for children learning Russian. It appeared in the series Russche Lesehefte für Schule und Haus, prepared by B. Krotkoff and printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nfg. in Vienna. 32 pages, 17 cm. Printed wrappers. Bazanov 594.
Bayreuth: [Nikolai Paramonov], [1947?].

Volume one of Turgenev’s famous collection of short stories, which contain detailed depictions of the Russian countryside and the life of the peasants. Printed by Lorenz Ellwanger in Bayreuth, this is another publication by Nikolai Paramonov (see nos. 10, 16, 37, and 55). “Approved by U.N.R.R.A. Team 186.” 80 pages, 21 cm. Illustrated wrappers (in color) by Abramov, an unknown artist. Bazanov 593. (See figure 22.)

70. Wassiljeff, A. *Wörterbuch Deutsch-Russisch* (*Slovar’ nemetsko-russkii*).

This title is a photographic reproduction of a 40,000-word German-Russian dictionary published for distribution in DP camps. The copyright page states Dom Russkoi Knigi (House of the Russian book) in Wiesbaden to be the publisher, by license of Obosrenie, a second publisher located in Pfaffenhofen/Ilm. Printed by Koehler & Hennemann in Wiesbaden. “Lizenz-Nr. UNDP 195 vom 11. 3. 48.” 394 pages, 14 cm. Printed boards.
Contributors

Christian Y. Dupont has focused his research and publication as an independent scholar on the collecting of Dante by American libraries. Formerly director of special collections at Syracuse University and the University of Virginia, he has been employed since 2008 with Atlas Systems, a leading library software development company. His recent contributions to Dante studies have appeared in *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America*, *Studies in Bibliography*, *Dante Studies*, and *Dante in the Long Nineteenth Century: Nationality, Identity, and Appropriation*, Oxford University Press, 2012 (all cited in his essay in this issue).

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