

## PAGES FROM HISTORY

*I'd like to call them all by name. . .*  
*Anna Akhmatova*

A corner of forest quiet surrounded by a high fence topped with barbed wire. Well-tended footpaths. The occasional sound of a bell. “Graves” arranged by the visitors but not at all as in an ordinary cemetery: on the trees, pictures of the executed; on the ground, mounds set off with pine cones or small stones. Of no one here may it be said with certainty that he is buried in just this place.

The history of the secret NKVD–NKGB–MGB burial ground near the village of Levashovo began in 1937 on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution and its Cheka–OGPU–NKVD security arm, the year that free elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were announced in keeping with Stalin’s new constitution.

The second five-year plan (1933–37) for economic development was to culminate in the “final liquidation of capitalist elements” and a declaration of the triumph of socialism “in principle”. It remained to eliminate the unreliable.

On July 2, 1937, the Politburo of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union took up the matter of “anti-Soviet elements” and proposed in five days “to present to the Central Committee the makeup of *troikas* (extrajudicial triumvirates), along with the numbers of people to be executed or sentenced to internal exile”.

On July 31 the Politburo approved a corresponding secret operational order, No. 00447, from N. I. Yezhov, People’s Commissar for Internal Affairs, “With respect to the operation for the repression of former kulaks, criminals, and other anti-Soviet elements”. Every republic, province, and region received a plan for those “subject to repression”: in the “first category” by execution, and in the “second category” by camp or prison detention for eight to ten years.

The operation began in the European part of the USSR on August 5, in Central Asia on August 10, and in Eastern Siberia and the Far East on August 15 — all in time for Stalin Constitution Day four months later and elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.\*

On July 31, 1937, L. M. Zakovsky, head of the NKVD Directorate for Leningrad and the surrounding region, received a copy of order No. 00447 from Moscow. According to the plan confirmed for his region, a *troika* consisting of the head of the Directorate of the NKVD, the regional prosecutor, and the second secretary of the regional

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\* Lubyanka. Stalin i Glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti NKVD, 1937–1938. Moscow, 2004. Pp. 234–235, 273–282.



*Bell cote*

committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was, commencing August 5, to sentence 4,000 people to execution and 10,000 to the camps or prison. Appended to the order were specimen copies of an investigation file, a *troika* log, and a cryptogram for the reports that were to be sent to Moscow every five days. The investigations would be expedited and simplified.

On August 1, 1937, Zakovsky issued Directorate order No. 00117 and assigned responsibility for the operation to the deputy head, V. N. Garin.\*

At the same time, a mass campaign “on ethnic lines” was unleashed in the region and country against “spies and saboteurs”. The so-called “German” (No. 00439), “Polish” (No. 00485), and “Harbin” (No. 00593) secret operational orders of the NKVD of the USSR called for the compiling of execution lists of “spies” at the local level for subsequent confirmation by a Moscow *dvoika* (extrajudicial duumvirate) consisting of N. I. Yezhov of the NKVD and A. Ya. Vyshinsky of the Office of the Prosecutor of the USSR (a procedure worked out in the “Polish” order).

NKVD order No. 00486 for the repression of “wives of the betrayers of the Motherland” and their children was also implemented. A separate execution plan for the Solovetsky prison was sent to Leningrad as NKVD directive No. 59190.

At the time, the Leningrad region included the present-day Murmansk, Novgorod, and Pskov regions, as well as part of the Vologda region. The operations of the Leningrad NKVD Directorate under the supervision of its deputy head, V. N. Garin, were carried out there, too.

People were arrested according to the data they had provided in NKVD questionnaires about their earlier prosecutions, political histories, social origins, and ethnic identities. They were arrested on the basis of reports from secret informers and the denunciations of ordinary citizens. And they were arrested on the basis of spurious interrogation transcripts. By December 1937, the quotas for arrest and sentencing had all been met or exceeded. Show trials of “wreckers” — “enemies of the people” — were conducted in Leningrad and in the other cities of the region.

On January 31, 1938, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a new resolution “Regarding Anti-Soviet Elements” and approved “additional numbers of those subject to repression”. The new plan for the Leningrad region designated 3,000 people in the first category and 1,000 in the second. The new operation was to be completed no later than March 15, 1938. At the same time, the Politburo adopted another resolution extending repression “on ethnic lines” and — by April 15, 1938 — “the smashing of saboteur-spy contingents of Poles, Latvians, Germans, Finns, Estonians, Greeks, Iranians, Harbinese, Chinese, and Rumanians”, and “the crushing of Bulgarian and Macedonian cadres”.\*\*

Both penal operations continued after March and April 1938, however.

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\* Leningradskii martirolog, 1937–1938. Vol. 5. St. Petersburg, 2002. Pp. 618–630, ill. 89–91.

\*\* Lubyanka. Stalin i Glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti NKVD, 1937–1938. Pp. 467–469.



*Memorial stone  
First requiem for the fallen  
October 21, 1989*

Research has shown that 19,370 citizens were executed in Leningrad in 1937 and 21,536 in 1938: a total of over 40,000 people in sixteen months. Among them were well-known scholars, such as the Japanologists N. A. Nevsky and D. P. Zhukov, the Byzantinist V. N. Beneshevich, and the theoretical physicist M. P. Bronstein, as well as the poets Nikolai Oleinikov and Boris Kornilov, the photographer Viktor Bulla, and the surgeon Erik Gesse.

Included too were workers and peasants, teachers and students, doctors, military officers, railroad workers, factory directors, and janitors. All were deemed “enemies of the people”.

Suspicion also fell on the believers of all confessions, but especially on priests, monks, and members of church councils. In his report for 1937, Garin cited the following figures: sentenced by the special *troika* of the NKVD Directorate for the Leningrad region were 869 clergy in the first category and 962 in the second, and 320 church activists in the first category and 246 in the second. Among the executed in Leningrad were the Orthodox priests Fëdor Kedrov, Fëdor Okunev, Vladimir Pylaev, and Vladimir Novochadov, the author of the manuscript *A Patristic Encyclopedia*; and the Catholic priests Jan Vor Slav and Igor Akulov (also known as the monk Epiphanius), the rabbi Khonon Epstein, the lamas Tsyren Abiduev and Zhan Tsybikov, and the Lutheran pastors Ferdinand Bodungen and Pëtr Braks.\*

Order No. 00447 of the NKVD of the USSR stipulated that “the time and the place of the carrying out of each sentence are to be held in complete secrecy”. No instruction confirmed by Zakovsky for the execution procedures has been found.

The execution warrants and transit documents indicate that the residents of the region sentenced for execution were brought to Leningrad to the Prison Department of the Main Directorate for State Security (or ODPZ, a branch of the The House of Provisional Detention) at 39 Nizhegorodsky Street. Prisoners from the Main Directorate’s prison on Voinov (now Shpalerny) Street and from Investigation Prison No. 1 (the “Crosses”) on Arsenal Embankment were also taken there before shooting. This means that the mass executions did in fact take place at the Nizhegorodsky Street prison, a spacious building with easy street access. The sentences were carried out by the headquarters staff of the NKVD Directorate for the Leningrad region under the command of A. R. Polikarpov. The verdicts handed down by the extrajudicial *troikas* were not announced. The prisoners were told they were being transferred to another place for screening or medical examination. Their personal belongings were taken away and thrown into a common pile. Their hands were tied behind their backs. Their “personal data” were checked (surname, given name, patronymic, year and place of birth, etc.).

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\* A list of citizens executed in Leningrad by extrajudicial sentencing was published in the newspaper *Vecherny Leningrad* (after 1991, *Vecherny Peterburg*) from January 1990 through August 1998. In 1995 the National Library of Russia (NLR) began its publication of the multivolume Book of Remembrance, *Leningradskii martirolog*, of all the executed natives and residents of Leningrad and its region. An electronic Book of Remembrance of the repressed was also created at the library’s Center for Recovered Names: <http://www.visz.nlr.ru>.



*Fence of the cemetery (interior view) and guard-dog path. June 1990*



*Former guard house. June 1990*



*On the way to the first requiem. 1989*



*The first visitors. 1989*

№ по предмету: 01/1011

В I Отдел Штаба ЛВО

№ по предмету: 01/1011

Копия ЛВО Ленсовета.

Согласно докладу Командуры УНКВД ЛО при этом препровождается ~~чертеж~~ чертеж на согласно выписке отряда кварталов 28 и части 27 Парголово-ской дачи, Парголово-ского лесхоза, исправительного Командуры для спец. назначения.

По заявлению представителя Командуры участок будет отведен в лес но будет вырубаться. Участок может быть передан в порядке приписки.

Приложение: 2 чертежа Штабу  
1 черт. ЛВО.

Нав. Упр. ЛОИ *[Signature]* [Вручено |  
Нав. Сибгруппы *[Signature]* [Подхвачен |

25.11.1938  
20/1-1011-0

Document regarding transfer of the forest tract for "special use", 1938

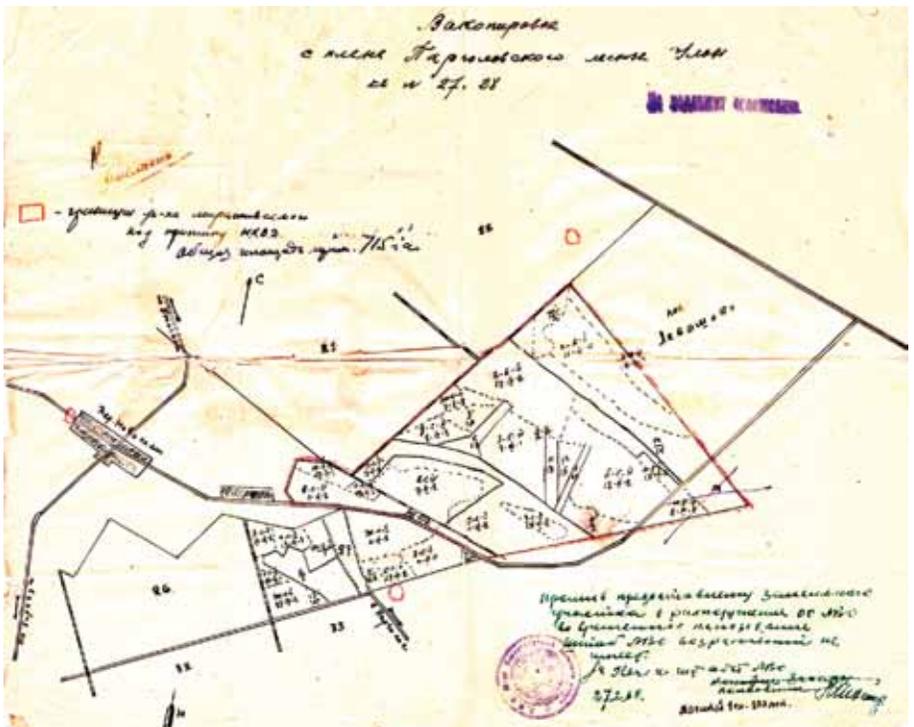


Diagram of the tract transferred for use as a secret NKVD burial ground

There was no judicial or medical oversight of the executions. Nor did execution as the ultimate form of punishment in 1937–1938 invariably mean shooting. Depending on the local circumstances, victims in some cities were strangled, drowned, and killed with blows to the head; taken to the place of execution in vans into which exhaust gases were pumped or on trucks with tarpaulins covering stacks of prisoners with gags in their mouths; or even, as the Commission of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR determined in the years of rehabilitation, hacked to death with hatchets. It is known that in carrying out its own executions the Leningrad NKVD both shot its victims and beat them to death with clubs.

The dates of execution indicated in the documents concerning implementation of the sentences are specific but far from always being accurate.

The executions were supposed to take place at once, but could the condemned really have been transported all the way from Murmansk, Pskov, and the other prisons within twenty-four hours of sentencing? A presumed date was therefore entered in the execution warrant, and after the prisoner was delivered, a check mark was added and the prisoner “finished off”.

Dozens of cases have been confirmed of prisoners being “set aside” before execution for further interrogation or the clarification of discrepancies in their “personal data”. The “set aside” were executed by internal memoranda several days, weeks, or even months after their official dates of execution.

A date of October 30, 1937, is indicated in the documents for the execution of the writer Sergei Kolbasiev. He was, however, turned over to the commandant for transfer to the Prison Department of the Main Directorate for State Security on January 21, 1938, and evidently executed at 39 Nizhegorodsky the night of January 22 — almost three months after the official date of execution. Although legend claims that he was later encountered in a camp in Taimyr, the truth is that he was seen by a cell mate in December 1937.\*

On the other hand, it has been determined that in many instances the condemned died in prison from disease or beatings long *before* their sentencing.

The stories of encounters with the executed after their official execution dates are not surprising, since such people were nominally regarded as having been sentenced for ten years to “remote camps without the right of correspondence”. Those who experienced the disappearance of family members and friends still hoped to find them alive. Starting in the second half of the 1950s, families of the executed sometimes received from the state two to three specious death certificates for the same person, each certificate indicating a different date and cause of death. The dates were usually scattered around the war years.

Executions also took place in other cities of the Leningrad region — Novgorod, Borovichi, Pskov, Lodeinoe Pole, and Belozersk (the burial grounds have yet to be found), as well as in the camps.

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\* Leningradskii martirolog. Vol. 2. 1996. Pp. 171, 431–435, ill. 46–51; Vol. 5. Pp. 537–542, ill. 74, 92–93.

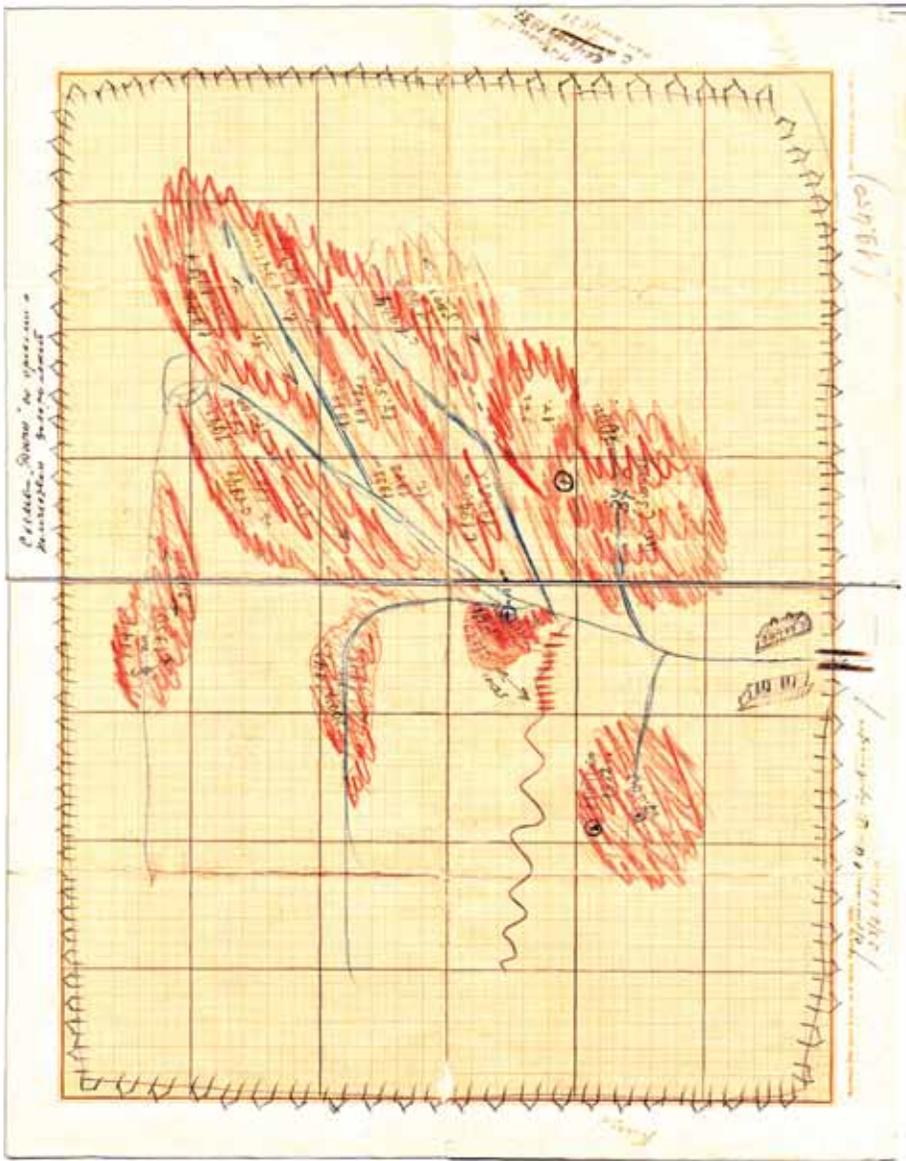
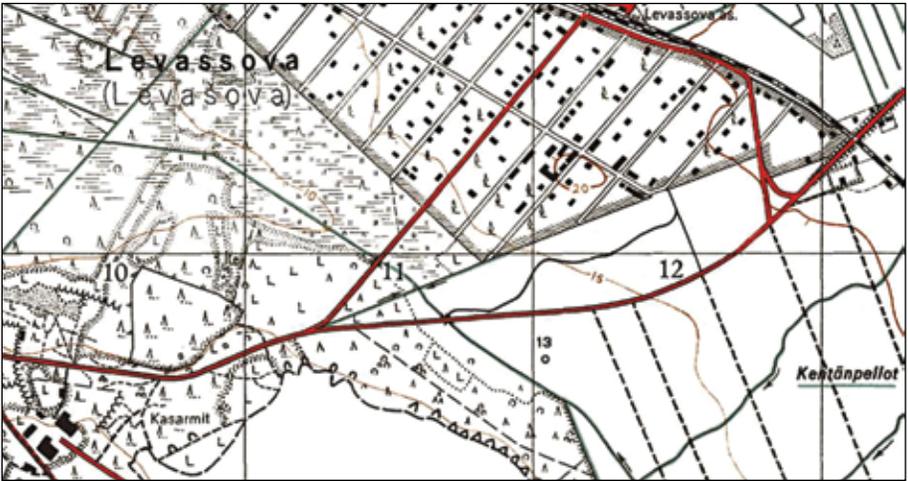


Diagram of the Dacha with Periods and Numbers of Burials, 1960s



The NKVD burial ground on a 1943 Finnish topographic map

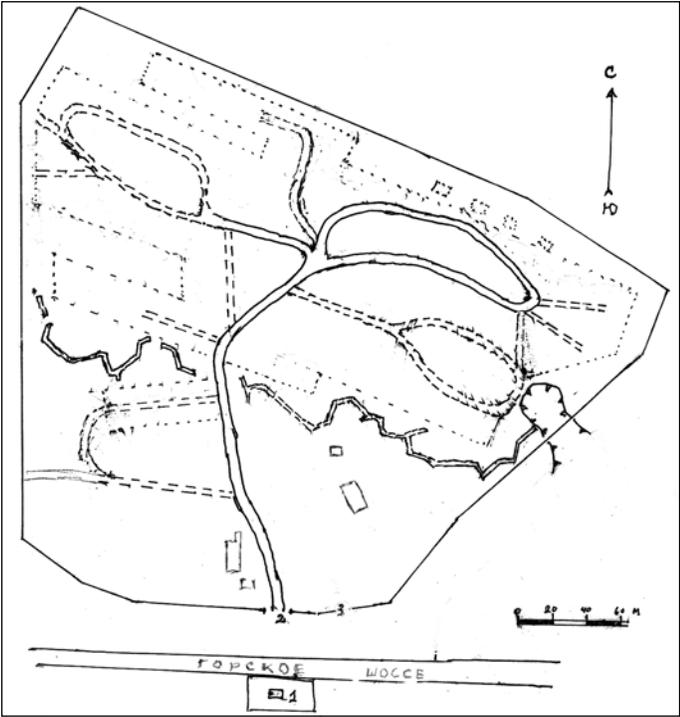


Diagram of the territory of the cemetery indicating the boundaries of the burial pits (of apparent anomalies in the ground), 1990



*Gate and fence (interior view). 2008*



*Garage shed. 2008*



*Signal bell*



*Former guard house*



*Requiem, October 30, 2011*



*Memorial cross  
designed by A. N. Volchënkov*



*Russian Orthodox memorial*

1,111 inmates of the Solovetsky Prison were executed in October–November 1937 in the Sandarmokh area near Medvezhegorsk (M. R. Matveev, deputy head for administration of the Leningrad NKVD, had gone there on “special assignment”), and in February 1938 another two hundred inmates were executed in the prison under the supervision of N. I. Antonov-Gritsyuk, deputy head of the prison department of the NKVD of the USSR. Until quite recently it was thought that the group of 504 people with whom Father Pavel Florensky had been incarcerated were executed in Leningrad in December 1937. However, it may now be assumed that they were executed in the vicinity of Lodeinoe Pole, where P. D. Shalygin, Polikarpov’s assistant, had also gone “on special assignment”.\*

In November 1938 the penal campaign was abruptly ended. Yezhov and the other members of the NKVD administrative staff were replaced and a number of the perpetrators arrested. In Leningrad, they had failed to execute 999 of those sentenced to the ultimate form of punishment. Stamped by their names in the logs of the special *troika* of the NKVD Directorate for the Leningrad region was, “Sentence not carried out. Case transferred to court jurisdiction”. They still meant to condemn them, of course, but the investigation was now subject to prosecutorial oversight, at least to a degree. A few of the accused were, with the signing of a nondisclosure affidavit, released one and a half to two years after their arrests without having been informed of

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\* Leningradskii martirolog. Vol. 2. Ill. 78–124; Vol. 3 (1998). Ill. 71–292; Vol. 4 (1999). Pp. 652–668, ill. 1, 2, 138–153; Vol. 8 (2008). Pp. 656–676, ill. 135–143.



*Consecration of the memorial to the Catholics of the USSR*



*Memorial to the Catholics of the USSR*

their death sentences. Others died in prison. Still others were sentenced to the camps, and a few of those survived and were later rehabilitated.

From the testimony of the survivors and the results of the prosecutors' investigations, it is clear that the arrested were no more than "units" in the fulfillment of a plan. The investigations had not been investigations in the true meaning of the word. The cases were not really cases. And the executions were not executions in any legitimate sense either.

People were tortured during the investigations and after sentencing. They were threatened with grave consequences for their children and their wives and husbands. They were required to sign the transcripts of their interrogations without reading them. They were deceived with promises of a public trial.

The scale of the 1937–1938 executions carried out in fulfillment of the sentences of the special *troika* of the Main Directorate of the NKVD for the Leningrad region; the Commission of the NKVD and the Office of the Prosecutor of the USSR; the military tribunals; the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR; and the Special Board of the Leningrad Regional Court cannot be compared with the executions in any previous years of Soviet power.

We still know little about the places of execution and mass burial. Judging from discoveries, excavations, and surviving documents, in the previous years of the Soviet regime the Peter and Paul Fortress, various parts of the Rzhnevsk Firing Range (the banks of the Lubyta River near the villages of Staroe Kovalëvo and Bergardovka,



*Polish Catholic memorial*



*Consecration of the memorial “To the Estonians Who Were Innocent Victims of the Stalin Repression”*

the Koirankangas area near the village of Toksovo and elsewhere), and the city’s cemeteries served as burial places for the executed and for those who had died in prison in Petrograd–Leningrad.

It is clear that it was understood before the start of mass operations that a new site would be required for the burial of then unprecedented numbers of executed people. For that purpose, the NKVD began in 1937 to use a tract of land surrounded by a solid fence and under strict guard in Pargolovsky Wood of the Pargolovsky Forestry District near the village of Levashovo. In February 1938 the area was transferred in its entirety to the NKVD Directorate.

A. N. Volchënkov, an old-timer from the village of Novosëlki, recalls that the wood was a rich one. Christmas trees were taken from it for sale in the city. Children from the village passed by it on their way to school in Levashovo. They picked bilberries, played in real trenches, and saw a real bunker. Across the road there was a military training camp, and farther along, an airfield. In September 1937 the children went to school as usual. On the way home they noticed that the wood was being quickly enclosed. Peasants were immediately putting up planks they had brought by cart from the sawmill in the village of Agalatovo. Within three days the site was completely hidden. After that, nobody knew what went on behind the fence. A green van would come, usually at night. The gate would be opened after the ringing of a signal bell, which still survives. They tried to pass through the gate without being observed. Vehicles came to Levashovo after the war too. Volchënkov says that it was always

quiet, that there were no shots. The only sound was the mooing of a cow that belonged to one of the guards.

The bodies of the executed were apparently brought to Levashovo from August 1937 until the end of 1954. According to the official data, 46,771 people were executed in Leningrad during that period, 40,485 of them on political charges. Among the last were the victims of the so-called “Leningrad Affair”. Of course, not all the executed were buried in Levashovo. Some were taken at night by van to the Cemetery in Memory of Victims of January 9, 1905 (it was there in December 1937 that the gravediggers found their own priest, Aleksey Chuzhbovsky, among the killed).

The bus stop by Levashovo Memorial Cemetery is called the Club. There had once been a famous aviation club next door: dancing, billiards, and movies. In August 1962 the first cosmonaut Yury Gagarin spoke there, delighting a large crowd with an account of his space flight. Gagarin was hosted by pilots led by Ivan Kozhedub, the deputy air force commander of the Leningrad Military District. Naturally, both heroes walked past that strange fence, although they could not have imagined that behind it lay a burial ground for the executed. In the mid 1960s the club burned down, and the part of the fence nearest to it was damaged. As the old-timers recall, the fence was gradually replaced by moving it back from the perimeter without ever exposing the territory within.

At that same time, a so-called “Diagram of the Dacha with Periods and Numbers of Burials” was prepared by the Leningrad directorate for state security from first-



*Memorial “To the Germans of Russia”*



*Memorial to the Fallen Jews*



*Consecration of the memorial "To the Executed Pskovians"*



*Memorial "To the Executed Pskovians".*



*Novgorodian memorial*



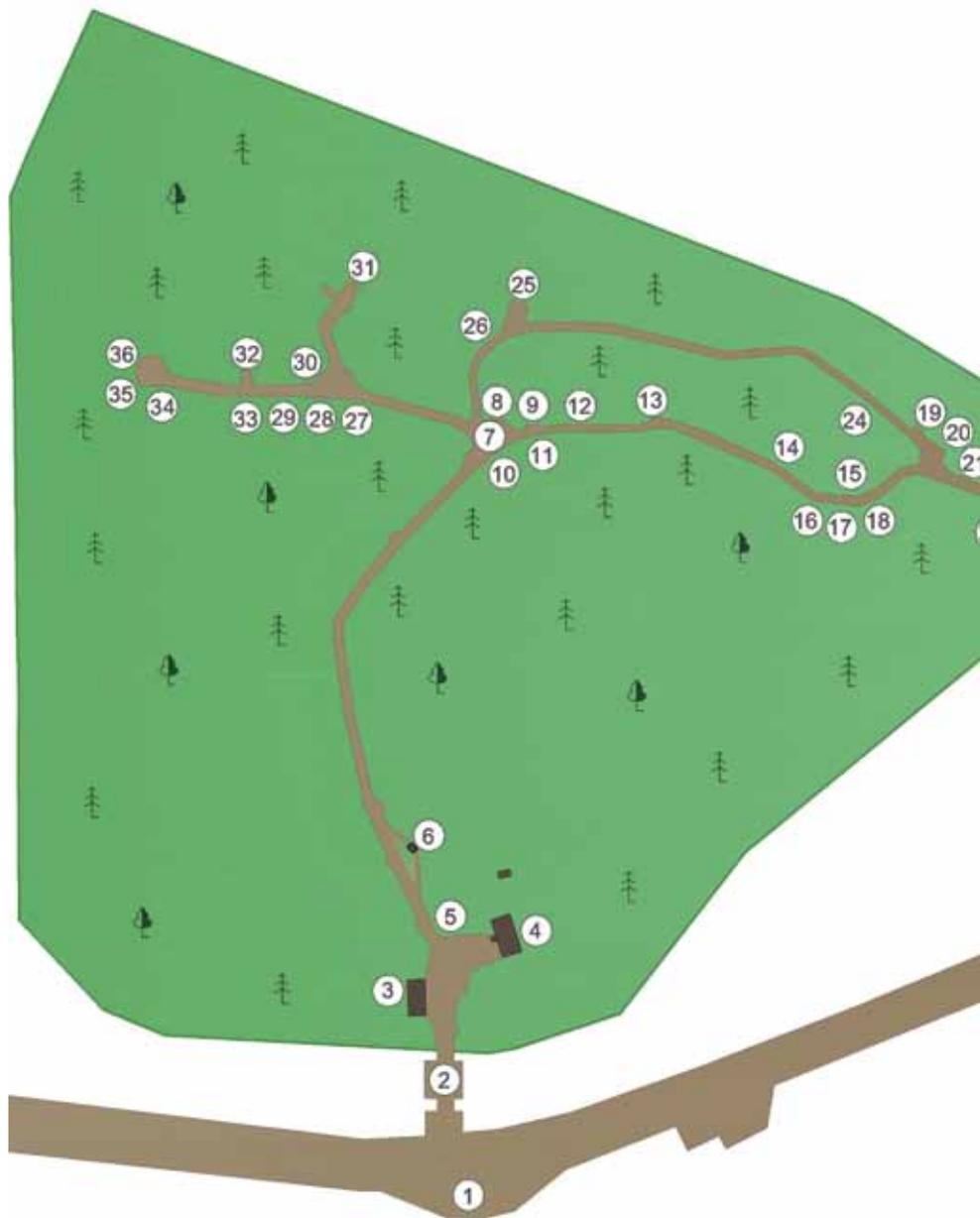
*Memorial to Archpriest  
Fëdor Okunev*



*Worship Cross in Memory of the Nuns  
of the Gornitsky Convent*



*Memorial to the Fallen Vologdians*



## DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEMORIALS IN THE CEMETERY

1. The Moloch of Totalitarianism Monument.
2. Entrance Gate.
3. Garage shed.
4. Former Guard House.
5. Memorial Cross by A. N. Volchënkov.
6. Bell Cote.
7. Memorial Stone.
8. Russian Orthodox Memorial.
9. Polish Catholic Memorial.
10. Memorial to M. P. Bronstein.
11. Memorial to the Catholics of the USSR.
12. Memorial "To the Executed Pskovians".
13. Memorial "To the Energy Workers Who Were Victims of Political Repression".
14. Memorial to B. P. Kornilov.
15. Memorial to the Fallen Vologdans.
16. Memorial to Archpriest Fëdor Okunev.
17. Worship Cross in Memory of the Nuns of the Gornitsky Convent.
18. Novgorodian Memorial.
19. Ingrian Finnish Memorial, 2004.
20. Ingrian Finnish Memorial, 1994.
21. Latvian Memorial "To the Victims of the Terror".
22. Memorial "To the Estonians Who Were Innocent Victims of the Stalin Repression".
23. Memorial "To the Germans of Russia".
24. Memorial to the Seventh-day Adventists.
25. Memorial "To the Assyrians of Leningrad".
26. Memorial to N. M. Oleinikov.
27. Memorial to the Fallen Ukrainians.
28. Memorial to the Italian Victims of the Gulag.
29. Memorial to the Fallen Norwegians.
30. Belarussian-Lithuanian Memorial.
31. Memorial to the Fallen Jews.
32. Lithuanian Catholic Memorial Cross.
33. Memorial to N. A. Voznesensky.
34. Memorial to the Deaf and Dumb Victims of Political Repression.
35. Memorial to the Members of the Churikov Abstinence Community.
36. Memorial Stones for the Members of the Community of Old Christians.

hand accounts, with the mass graves of 19,450 people provisionally marked off on it. The cemetery was kept secret until 1989 and maintained virtually in its original condition. The guard house and sheds were preserved, along with the ruts left in the earth by the vehicles. Of course, in the half century since the site's first use, a tall new forest had grown up around it. As indicated in the Diagram, some work was carried out at the site in 1965, with further repairs done in 1975–1976.

On January 5, 1989, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a resolution “Concerning further measures for the restoration of justice in regard to the victims of the repressions that occurred during the period of the 1930s and 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s”. A half century after the Great Terror, those who had been repressed were to be rehabilitated and the burial places of the executed put in order. By the spring of 1989 V. T. Muravsky, the head of the “Search” group of the Leningrad Memorial Society, obtained evidence of the existence of Levashovo and a few other sites similar to it. That same spring the Leningrad KGB Directorate, after conducting a search of its own archive and the restricted holdings of other municipal archives, declared that no documentary data for the existence of any other sites had been found.

On July 18, 1989, according to Resolution No. 544 of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Council, the Levashovo burial ground was recognized as a memorial cemetery, and soon afterward, in the very first publications, it came to be called “Levashovo Pustosh” (Levashovo Wilderness or Barren).

In 1989–1990, the territory of the cemetery was examined by the Trust for Geodesic Surveys and Engineering Research and by a working group of the All-Russian Geological Research Institute to establish the boundaries of the burial pits. The Trust conducted a general survey of the area and drilled boreholes in several places, which confirmed earlier assumptions about the burials in the central and northern sections of the cemetery. At that time the areas where the mass graves had sunk were filled in with sand.

In May 1990 Levashovo Memorial Cemetery was transferred to the city. The same spring the 9th Architectural Studio of LenNIIproekt headed by A. G. Lelyakov was given the task of designing a memorial, including a bell cote and chapel.

Community infrastructure development had begun even earlier, however.

On October 21, 1989, and April 14, 1990, the first requiems for the victims were celebrated at the fork in the road in the center of the cemetery. A memorial stone was put in place and an Orthodox cross was affixed to a tree. Relatives of the victims left ribbons on the trees with inscriptions and photographs. Soon afterward surface grave markers appeared: metal plaques with portraits, stones placed in the earth, crosses, and hundreds of memorial tokens, many of them brought from a great distance.

Levashovo Pustosh was becoming a true people's memorial, a symbolic place of remembrance for the countrymen and countrywomen who had been killed.

Aleksei Nikolaevich Volchënkov learned that his kinsmen and fellow villagers had

been shot in Leningrad and buried, it might be, near Novosëlki. He started work at Levashovo Memorial Cemetery and on May 7, 1992, erected a memorial cross.

Architects, societies of the repressed, and the city administration have all consistently supported initiatives for the development of Levashovo Memorial Cemetery. Belarusian-Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Ingrian Finnish, Jewish, German, Pskovian, Norwegian, Vologdan, Estonian, Assyrian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Italian, and Novgorodian memorials have been erected, as have memorials to the nuns of the Gornitsky Convent, the deaf and dumb, energy workers, Catholics of all rites, Seventh-day Adventists, and members of the Ancient Christian and the Churikov Abstinence communities.

On June 6, 1993, the bell in the bell cote built by the workers of the cemetery under the direction of V. M. Tabachnikov was heard for the first time.

On October 30, 1993, the day of the formal unveiling of the Russian Orthodox and Polish Catholic memorials, an exhibit devoted to the Great Terror and prepared by L. A. Bartashevich, a member of the Association of Victims of Illegal Repressions, was opened in the former guard house. Since that time, visitors have left comments in the cemetery's Guest Book.

In September 1995 and the spring of 1996 the cemetery's footpaths were put in order. Funds for the work were provided by Lydia Chukovskaya from the State Prize for her *Notes on Anna Akhmatova*. "People should have serviceable footpaths", Lydia Korneyevna said.

A group of architects under the direction of I. G. Uralov, the city's chief artist, designed the cemetery's entrance and the space in front of it on Gorsky Road.

On May 15, 1996, A. A. Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, unveiled the monument entitled the "Moloch of Totalitarianism".

In 2008 the Ritual Services Company carried out a significant renovation of the site. The fence (a section of the previous one stands to the left of the cemetery's central pathway), the garage shed, and the bell cote were replaced.

Thus does Levashovo Pustosh look in our own time: a cemetery like Butovo and Kommunarka near Moscow, Kuropaty near Minsk, Bykovnya near Kiev, Katyn near Smolensk, Mednoye near Tver, Dubovka near Voronezh, Zauralnaya Roshcha near Orenburg, Kolpashevsky Yar in the Tomsk region, and Sandarmokh and Krasny Bor in Karelia — a cemetery like the numerous other burial grounds of the executed, both those that have been found, and those that have not.

*A. Razumov*



*Ingrian Finnish memorials, 2004 and 1994*



*Latvian Memorial "To the Victims of the Terror"*



*Memorial to the Fallen Ukrainians*



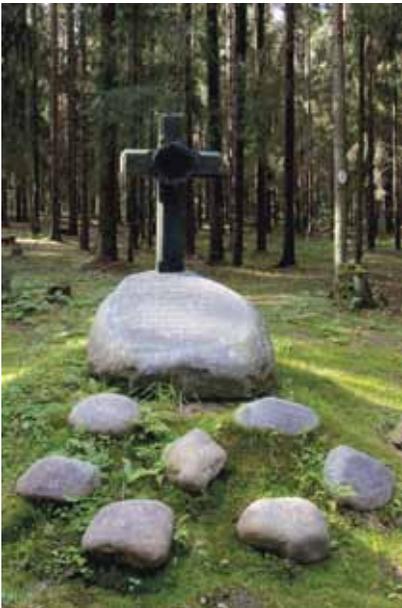
*Lithuanian Catholic memorial cross*



*Belarussian-Lithuanian memorial*



*Memorial "To the Assyrians of Leningrad"*



*Memorial to the Seventh-day Adventists*



*Memorial to the Italian Victims of the Gulag*



*Memorial to the Fallen Norwegians*



*Memorial to the Members  
of the Churikov Abstinance Community*



*Memorial to the Deaf and Dumb*



*Memorial "To the Energy Workers Who Were Victims of Political Repression"*



*Memorial stones for the Members of the Community of Old Christians*



## FROM THE LEVASHOVO MEMORIAL CEMETERY GUEST BOOK

It needs a Temple.

28 July 1996  
*Sergei Gubachev, Saratov.*

4 May 2001  
We, the students of class 9-A of School No. 58, Primorsky District, visited your museum and cemetery and were shaken. Thank you very much for preserving the memory of the ones who died.

And we, too, from class 6-A of School No. 58.

And I, Lena Andreeva, wept beside the grave of Stepanov, where these lines are written: "I looked for you everywhere and found you nearby. A daughter".

We with all the others will grieve and remember.  
We were so sorry and will remember the deeds of the people buried here.

*Yulya and Anya.*

8 August 2002  
Un gruppo da Roma che vuole ricordare, insieme ai Russi, la loro storia, la loro sofferenza.

(A group from Rome that wants to remember, together with the Russians, their history and their suffering.)

*(Ten signatures.)*

10–13 May 2003

From Yekaterinburg. A daughter, Tatiana Georgievna Slatyukhina (maiden name, Zolotnitskaya). Kind people, including D. L. Ginzburgsky, brought to light the fate of 54 deaf people, including my father, Georgy Semënovich Zolotnitsky, shot on October 14, 1937, and buried here. Enormous thanks to you for your care and attention and for remembering those who died.

Here I am again, Papa! Good-bye until next time. I'm alone now, Papa. Mama is no more. She died in 1991, without learning that you had been executed. Yura visited you. He died in 1996. I'm holding on! I rang the bell for you to hear. I know that you're deaf, but you'll feel it. Bye-bye.

2 November 2003

Thank you for preserving the memory of the Estonians who died.

*Paul-Eerik Rummo, Minister of Population Affairs of the Republic of Estonia,  
and Viiu Härn Rummo.*

27 November 2003

Eternal memory and honor to Great-grandfather and Grandfather Brekkan, Norwegians from the Murmansk region.

*Laury Fëdorovich Brekkan.*

1 February 2005

Here lie the finest people, executed and destroyed by Soviet power. Here too are their executioners and those who created that accursed regime. O Lord, if only it has taught us something!

*Daniil Granin.*

6 June 2007

We, a group of students from the department of East-European studies of the University of Munich (Germany), have visited the memorial cemetery with a group of Russian students under the auspices of the "Seeing History through the Eyes of Others" project. We are grateful to you for preserving the memory of these people and are filled with admiration for your commitment to this cause.

*Katia.*

11 July 2007

I think that the activities of the NKVD touched not many fewer families than did the Second World War (the Great Patriotic War). My great-grandfather died in Solovki. We will not forget.

11 August 2007

I came from New York so that I might be able to study your history. There is much to learn here. The Russians are very strong, and I will write about that when I return to the United States.

*Thomas Callagan.*

25 June 2008

Thanks to the builders of the memorial for the fact that this place has become alive and human and not faceless and official, as in so many memorial complexes. Here in

Levashovo memory truly lives. What a pity that visiting this cemetery has not become part of the school curriculum. It is a bitter thing that we are raising oblivious children.

*E. Glikman (Moscow)*

3 August 2008

Thank you for the preservation of memory. Without it we are merely dust on the earth. *Dalia Kuodytė, the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania.*

23 October 2008

We, the countrymen of the famous Russian poet Boris Kornilov, visited him here today in doleful and eternal isolation in Levashovo Pustosh. May the path of the people to these graves never be overgrown.

*The students of Lycée No. 1 of the city of Semënov in the Nizhny Novgorod region and their teacher. (Five signatures.)*

25 December 2008

O Russia! It is a woeful thing. Eternal memory to the fallen!

*Hegumen Bartholomew (Chupov), abbot of the Nikolsky Monastery of the village of Staraya Ladoga, and his brethren.*

15 July 2009

The grandsons and great-grandsons of the repressed archpriest P. Revenko. If only there were a chapel. Many thanks to the staff of the memorial for preserving the memory and for their kind treatment of visitors.

*Revenko.*

1 August 2009

My great-grandfather lies here. Why, for whom was it needed? So many lives, so much pain.

*E. A. Kheinonen.*

3 August 2009

O Ukraine, our Mother! How many more of your finest flowers are there around the world? Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes! (In Ukrainian.)

*Tetyana Kalina, Ternopil.*

3 May 2010

The monstrous punishment of the innocent people in this cemetery is very disturbing. They had families and relatives for whom their deaths brought suffering too. It is essential that the memory of these people and events be preserved.

*G. B. Pavlinova, L. V. Kudinova.*

5 September 2010

When my great-grandfather was executed, my grandmother was three months old. She never saw him. The only thing that has remained is a sentence written in his own hand on a folder: "I do not regard myself as guilty".

*The great-granddaughter, grandson, and daughter of Efim Vasilievich Artemiev.*

11 September 2010

It is very distressing to walk in these places where the innocent souls of our countrymen slumber. It seems that their souls are gazing at us and asking that this never be repeated. Eternal memory to all the people who slumber here. Enormous thanks to those who work here both for remembering and for their preservation of this memorial. (In Belarussian.)

*Folk Chorus from Morach, Minsk region,  
Kletsky district, Republic of Belarus.*

27 September 2010

Dear Papa, I came to see you once more. I don't know if I'll do so again, for I am very old.

*Your Lida (Aleksandr Ivanovich Belov).*

25 May 2011

Thanks to all the residents of St. Petersburg, to Mikhail Yukhanovich Sado (may he rest in the kingdom of heaven), the sculptor Yury Dzhibraev, and all the Assyrians who could and did help to make this memorial to the victims of the repression, of the Gulag. We, the next generation, will never forget you!

*Alya Minikhta, Nora Perdesa, Zhanna Mukhatasova, Kiev and New York.*

26 September 2011

My great-grandfather, Deacon Nikolai Petrovich Tsvetkov, was executed in 1938. He was taken away in Gruzino in 1937.

*Nikolai Yulievich Znatnov.*

My grandfather Mikhail Yurkevich was executed in 1937. He was a Pole. Perhaps he is here.

*Natalia Znatnova.*

23 October 2011

A company of Suvorovians came to visit. We were shocked by the inhumanity of Stalin and his lackeys.

*Students of the Suvorov Military Academy, St. Petersburg.*

27 October 2011

Archpriest Oleg Teor has consecrated a memorial cross "To the Executed Pskovians".

28 October 2011

The children's club "Spark" honors the memory in this place of the thirty-seven executed deaf people. Eternal memory to them.

*Kiselëva, Trushchkova. (Seven signatures.)*

22 April 2012

Eternal memory to all those who were repressed. The city of Cherepovets in the Volgda region.

*The relatives of Ivan Ivanovich Savinov  
from the village of Fëdorovo near Cherepovets.*

8 May 2012

His grandson prays for the soul of the murdered innocent Nikolai Fëdorovich Ulfeld, who has lain in the earth of Levashovo since 1938, and for the souls of the many others who were killed and tortured by the Moloch.

(Signature.)

## ILLUSTRATIONS

*Cover.* Entrance gate. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*Reverse.* The Moloch of Totalitarianism monument. Unveiled May 15, 1996, by the Mayor of St. Petersburg. Designed by N. Galitskaya and V Gambarov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*P. 2.* Bell cote. Erected June 6, 1993, by the Association of Victims of Illegal Repression. Designed by A. Lelyakov. The bell was cast at the Monumentskulptura Plant and financed by the Leningrad branch of the Russian Foundation for Peace. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

*P. 4.* Memorial stone. First requiem for the fallen, conducted by Fr. Alexander Ranne and Deacon Andrei Chizhov. October 21, 1989. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*P. 6.* Fence of the cemetery (interior view) and guard-dog path. June 1990. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

*P. 6.* Former guard house. June 1990. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

*P. 7.* On the way to the first requiem. 21 October 1989. The metal shed on the left was later taken down. In the distance is the garage shed. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*P. 7.* The first visitors. 21 October 1989. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*P. 8.* Document regarding transfer of the forest tract for “special use”, 1938. Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service (FSB) for St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region.

*P. 8.* Diagram of the tract transferred for use as a secret NKVD burial ground, 1938. Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service (FSB) for St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region.

*P. 10.* Diagram of the Dacha with Periods and Numbers of Burials, 1960s. Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service (FSB) for St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region.

*P. 11.* The NKVD burial ground on a 1943 Finnish topographic map. Identified as an enclosed tract of coniferous forest. To the southeast is a tract with barracks, and beyond it, the territory of the Levashovo airfield.

*source:* [http://mapy.mk.vcut.cz/data/Finsko-Finlandia/Karjala/cd2/kartat/topografinen\\_2000\\_0/403205.jpg](http://mapy.mk.vcut.cz/data/Finsko-Finlandia/Karjala/cd2/kartat/topografinen_2000_0/403205.jpg).

*P. 11.* Diagram of the territory of the cemetery indicating the boundaries of the burial pits (of apparent anomalies in the ground), 1990. Archive of A. Oleinikov.

*P. 12.* Gate and fence (interior view). Right of the gate is the metal ladder for looking over the top of the fence. 2008. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

*P. 12.* Garage shed. 2008. View before restoration. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

*P. 13.* Signal bell under the roof of the guard house. The wire extends to the gate and out through an opening in the fence. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

*P. 13.* Former guard house but now administrative lodge (with museum exhibit). Contemporary view. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

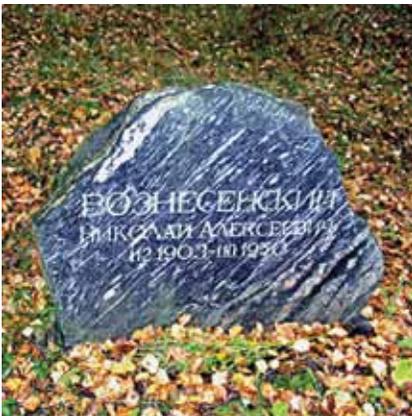
*P. 14.* Requiem, October 30, 2011. Archpriest Vladimir Sorokin. Children of the Prince Vladimir Cathedral Sunday school reading the names of the new martyrs. *Photo, V. Meckler.*



*Memorial to Matvei Bronstein*



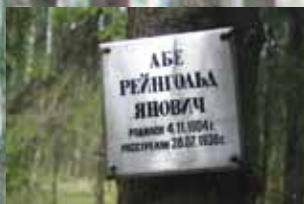
*Memorial to Nikolai Oleinikov*



*Memorial to Nikolai Voznesensky*



*Memorial to Boris Kornilov*









P. 14. Memorial cross. Erected May 7, 1992, in the center of the cemetery. In 1993 it was moved to the entrance. Designed by A. Volchënkov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 15. Russian Orthodox memorial. Erected by the Memorial Society and consecrated October 30, 1993. Designed by D. Bogomolov. Inscription on the stone: "... and grant them eternal memory". *Photo, N. Mironov.*

P. 16. Consecration of the memorial to the Catholics of the USSR. October 28, 2010. Archbishop Pavel Pezzi (at the microphone) and Father Kshishtof Pozharsky. *Photo provided by Father Pozharsky.*

P. 16. Memorial to the "Catholics of the USSR — Bishops, Priests, Monks, and Laity of All Rites and Nationalities Who Were Victims of Political Repression". Designed by Father Kshishtof Pozharsky. Inscription beneath the cross: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (*John 15: 13*). *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 17. Polish Catholic memorial. Erected October 30, 1993, by the Consulate General of the Polish Republic and the Polonia Society. Renovated 1998. Designed by A. Masyanis after an idea by L. Piskorsky. Inscription on the stone: "We forgive and ask for forgiveness". Inscription on the stela: "In memory of the Polish victims of the mass repression who were executed in 1937–1938. Their countrymen". *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 18. Pastor Peeter Kaldur consecrating the memorial "To the Estonians Who Were Innocent Victims of the Stalin Repression". Erected October 30, 1999, by the Ministry of Culture of Estonia and the Consulate General of Estonia in St. Petersburg. Designed by V. Sidorenko and Kh. Adamson. *Photo, P. Pillak.*

P. 19. Memorial "To the Germans of Russia". Erected January 1998 by the German Society of St. Petersburg and consecrated May 23, 1998. The stone at the base was placed in 2010. Designed by V. Muratov. Inscription on the stone: "An deutsche Russlands. Ihr seid immer mit uns" (To the Germans of Russia. You will be with us always.) *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 19. Memorial to the Fallen Jews. Erected October 27, 1997, by the Petersburg branch of the Russian Jewish Congress. Designed by E. Zaretsky. Inscription: "Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, who has granted us life". *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 20. Archpriest Oleg Teor consecrating the memorial "To the Executed Pskovians", September 11, 2011. *Photo provided by Yu. Dzeva.*

P. 20. Memorial "To the Executed Pskovians". Erected by the Pskov Memorial Society. Designed by E. Vagin and A. Selyutin (Pskov Blacksmith's Yard). *Photo provided by Yu. Dzeva.*

P. 20. Memorial "To the Innocent Victims of Repression from the Citizens of the Novgorod Region". Erected by the Society of the Rehabilitated of the Novgorod Region. Consecrated September 5, 2006. Designed by V. Marchenkov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 21. Memorial to the last abbot of the Leushinsky metochion, Archpriest Fëdor Okunev. Erected May 4, 2003. Consecrated May 21, 2003. After an idea by Archpriest Gennady Belovolov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 21. Worship Cross "To the Blessed Memory of the Nuns of the Goritsky Convent of the Resurrection". Erected October 31 and consecrated November 6, 1999. Designed by Father Aleksey Fomichëv. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 21. Memorial to the Fallen Vologdians. Unveiled October 30, 2010, on the initiative of the Office of the Representative of the Vologda region in the Northwest Federal district, with the assistance of the Vologda Community of St. Petersburg. From an idea by V. Polyansky. Architect, I. Makarova. Constructed by V. Bobrov. Inscription: “To the Vologdians fallen in the years of repression, 1937–1938. From their countrymen”. *Photo, V. Polyansky.*

P. 22–23. Distribution of the memorials in the cemetery. Diagram by T. Oznobishina.

P. 26. Ingrian Finnish memorials. Idea by Arri Kugappi, Bishop of the Church of Ingria. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The memorial on the left was erected in October 22, 2004. Designed by R. Svirsky and T. Miloradovich. Inscriptions: “Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live” (*Ezekiel 37: 9*); and “This memorial was established in memory of the Finns who were killed during the Soviet regime”.

The memorial on the right was erected October 15, 1994 by the Society of “Inkerin Liitto”. Designed by O. Novikov. Inscription: “Thus saith the Lord unto these bones: Behold. I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live” (*Ezekiel 37: 5*).

P. 26. Memorial “To the Victims of the Terror”. Erected by the Latvian Society of St. Petersburg. Consecrated June 5, 2004. The wrought-iron grille with cross was installed October 30, 2010. Designed by G. Lindenberg. The candelabrum was sent from Riga in 2011 by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 26. Memorial to the Fallen Ukrainians. Erected August 13, 2001, by the Ukrainian National Cultural Association of St. Petersburg. A renovated memorial was erected by the T. G. Shevchenko Ukrainian Fellowship. Consecrated June 24, 2012, by Archpriest Vladimir Sorokin. Designed by V. Kosenko. Manufactured by the Almaz Shipbuilding Company. Inscription: “Eternal memory to the Ukrainians innocently murdered.” Inscription on the pedestal: “To the Ukrainians executed in 1937–1939, victims of the totalitarian Bolshevik regime”. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 27. Lithuanian Catholic memorial cross. Presented by the Vilnius City Government. Unveiled and consecrated September 3, 2004. Designed by G. Puzauskas. Inscription: “Lietuviams negrizusiems į tėvynę (To the Lithuanians who did not return to the motherland)”. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 27. Belarussian-Lithuanian memorial. Erected by the Belarussian Social and Cultural Fellowship and Lithuanian Community of St. Petersburg with the support of the Memorial Society and the Association of Victims of Illegal Repression. Consecrated May 8, 1992, with the participation of Orthodox and Catholic priests and the cantor of the Grand Choral Synagogue. The renovated memorial consecrated June 24, 2012. Designed by A. Razumov and I. Czerniakewicz. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 27. Memorial “To the Assyrians of Leningrad”. Erected August 27, 2000. Designed by Yu. Dzhibraev and M. Sado. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription in the open stone book: “To the Assyrians of Leningrad, innocently executed and tortured in the Gulag in the years of the Stalin repression. From their relatives and compatriots with love and a prayer. 28 August 2000”. The inscription on the back of the book: “An Assyrian Martyrology. St. Petersburg, 2000”.

On the stela are the fifty-one names of those who were executed, and the eight names of those who died in the Gulag. The inscription on the back of the stela:

The losses cannot be reckoned, or forgotten,

...

Or washed away, or forgiven.

Nor can the torments, or the blood,

Or the agony upon the cross

Of all those who were slain in Christ.

*Ivan Bunin, 1922*

P. 27. Memorial to the Seventh-day Adventists. Erected October 7, 2007. Designed by G. Peychev, P. Kudelich, and N. Tarasova. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription on the stone under the cross: “Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life” (*Rev. 2: 10*); and, “He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live” (*John 11: 25*).

The inscriptions on the smaller stones: “Arefiev, N. M.”; “Kichaev, G. V.”; “Kotikhov, F. M.”; “Pleter, A. A.”; “Tapunova, P. L.”; and “Teppone, V. M.”.

P. 28. Memorial “To the Memory of the Italian Victims of the Gulag”. Erected June 29, 2007, by the city of St. Petersburg, the mayor of Milan, the Committee for the Garden of the Righteous (Milan), and the Center for Recovered Names of the National Library of Russia. From an idea by G. Nissim, F. Bigazzi, and A. Razumov. Architect, A. Bakusov. Sculptor, B. Petrov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription in both Russian and Italian: “St. Petersburg and Milan remember the thousands of Italians, exiled anti-fascists, those who had emigrated in hope of a better life, and members of the Italian community in the Crimea, who were subjected to persecution in the Soviet Union, deprived of their freedom, and sent to the Gulag or executed in the years of Stalinism”.

P. 28. Memorial to the Fallen Norwegians. Erected October 30, 1998, by the Norwegian Consulate General in St. Petersburg. Designed by U. Akhmedov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription reads:

Aldri redd for mørkets makt.

Stjernene vil lyse.

Fear not the power of darkness,

The stars will light the way.

*(Christian Richardt)*

P. 28. Memorial to the members of the Churikov Abstinence Community. Erected and dedicated June 24, 2012. Designed by A. Blinov and E. Blinova. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription on the stone: “Eternal memory to Brother Ioann Churikov and all the abstainers who laid down their lives for their Faith in Christ and the abstinent life in the years of persecution”.

You gave the beating of your heart

For abstinence, for Truth, for Light,

You accepted the Word of Christ,

Your soul now forever in His sight.

P. 29. Memorial to the Deaf and Dumb. Designed by V. Sychëv and B. Novosëlov, staff members of the St. Petersburg Society for the Deaf. Unveiled October 29, 2008. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

The inscription: “Bright memory to the deaf and dumb victims of the political repression of 1937”.

P. 29. Memorial “To Energy Workers Who Were Victims of Political Repression”. On the stela are the names of the 157 executed energy workers. Erected October 30, 2008, on the initiative of Lenenergo, Inc. Idea by A. Vorobiëv. Architect, A. Bakusov. Sculptor, B. Petrov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 29. Memorial stones for the members of the Community of Old Christians. Installed by the Community of Old Christians.

P. 30. An anonymous grave. June 1990. The inscription: “A son to his father. I learned after 53 years that you had been executed. Forgive me!”. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

P. 35. Memorial to Matvei Petrovich Bronstein. Erected by L. Chukovskaya in 1995. Designed by V. Bukhaev. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 35. Memorial to Nikolai Makarovich Oleinikov. Erected in 2007 by A. N. Oleinikov. *Photo, V. Meckler.*

P. 35. Memorial to Nikolai Alekseevich Voznesensky. Erected by his family in 1998. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

P. 35. Memorial to Boris Petrovich Kornilov. *Photo, A. Razumov.*

P. 36–39. Graves. *Photos, N. Balatskaya and P. Medvedev. Panorama, P. Medvedev. Composition, S. Bogorodsky.*

P. 44. Memorial chapel of All the Saints Who Shone Forth in the Land of St. Petersburg. Designed by T. Oznobishina. Draft plan of the St. Petersburg Institute of Architecture and the St. Petersburg Institute “Lenproektrestavratsiya”. 3D modeling by A. Nikolaev.



## **THE MEMORIAL CHAPEL PROJECT FOR ALL THE SAINTS WHO SHONE FORTH IN THE LAND OF ST. PETERSBURG**

More than twenty years have passed since Levashovo was recognized as a memorial cemetery and the first requiem for the fallen was celebrated.

When the architects and artists planned the memorial, they meant to include a chapel. A place was reserved for it near the entrance far away from the common graves. But there were no municipal funds for the chapel, nor for a new administrative lodge either (the guard house would eventually become a museum).

But the idea lived on. “It needs a Temple”, a visitor wrote in 1996 after the completion of the renovations and the unveiling of the Moloch of Totalitarianism monument. There have been many such comments. With time the idea acquired new resonance.

A requiem mass is traditionally celebrated in the center of the cemetery on October 30, the day of remembrance of the victims of political repression. Hundreds of visitors come with wreaths and candles. The names of the dead are read out loud.