

THE AVANTGARDE OF THE ‘RASSE’ NAZI ‘RACIAL BIOLOGY’ AT THE GERMAN CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE, 1940–1945*

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ABSTRACT

During the WWII and the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia, racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*) became institutionally established at the Faculty of (Natural) Sciences of the German Charles University in Prague in 1940–1945. Collections of the forcibly dissolved Czech Institute of Anthropology were placed at disposal of the new institute. According to local German academicians, its establishment was supposed to contribute to the so far insufficient research in the field of physical anthropology in Bohemia and Moravia. In fact, however, the new institute was from its very inception closely linked to the SS Race and Settlement Main Office/Racial Office (*Rassenamt*), and the various activities which their employees engaged in when implementing Nazi racial and ethnic policies in Bohemia and Moravia. The first – and also the last – head of this institute was SS-Standartenführer, Professor Dr. phil. habil. Bruno K. Schultz (1901–1997), a prominent representative of Nazi racial science and racial hygiene and – as a chief of the *Rassenamt* in 1941–1944 – person responsible for criteria and methods used by RuSHA members in carrying out mass selections. By engaging in such activities, the relevance of the institute goes far beyond purely academic engagement.

Key words: World War Two – history of life sciences – racial biology – academic racism – German Charles University Prague – Bruno K. Schultz

However spurious the German racial doctrine may be, however untenable by any scientific standards, it is a very real thing to the conquered peoples who suffer from it. Populations are segregated, shuffled around, bullied, terrorised, abused, and humbled in the name of the race principle. To be born into an inferior race (...) means an irretrievable sentence (...). Race becomes the fundamental economic determinant. Race competition is frozen by use of force into race subjection. Races unable or unwilling to accept villenage and servitude must be exterminated without mercy. This is exactly what is happening.
Frank Munk, *The Legacy of Nazism*, New York 1943

Effective as of December 1, 1940, a new institute of the Faculty of (Natural) Science was established by creating an independent chapter in the budget of the German Charles University (Deutsche Karls-Universität; hereinafter DKU) for the year 1941. As of the same day, its head became by proxy (*vertretungsweise*) Dr. phil. habil. Bruno Kurt Schultz, professor

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of *Rassenkunde* at the Berlin University, at that time 41 years old.¹ His introduction to the office was then finalised on May 1, 1942 when he was with Himmler's explicit consent officially appointed full professor and head of the institute with annual salary of 9,300 RM.² The full name of his institute was Institute for Racial Biology (*Institut für Rassenbiologie*).

The new institute, which was to conduct investigations in both physical anthropology and 'race research', was from the very beginning seen by the local Nazi authorities in Prague as the most prominent research institution in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (hereinafter Protectorate).³

Reasons which led to the establishment of the Institute for Racial Biology were both political and historical. Its first task was to create a firm connection between academia and the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (*Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt*, hereinafter RuSHA), in particular its Race Office (*Rassenamt*).⁴ The first rector of the DKU who was appointed by the Nazi authorities, SS-Oberführer Dr. jur. Wilhelm Saure (1899–1951), professor of the agricultural law and a high-ranking member of the RuSHA, contacted in this matter SS-Gruppenführer Otto Hofmann (1896–1982), head of the RuSHA, sometime between July and November 1941. He highlighted the urgency of the mission of the new institute in a document called 'Issues of Germanisation and Simultaneous Racial Examination of the Czechs' (*Fragen der Eindeutschung und der gegenwärtigen Musterung der Tschechen*).⁵ Although originally, Saure spoke of an institute of 'Rassenkunde', it was later changed to 'Rassenbiologie'. This signified a change even in comparison to the original proposal from May 1939, which was to establish a chair of 'Rassenkunde'.⁶ In his understanding, only racial biology could deliver "reliable racially theoretic grounds for far-reaching political decisions here, in Bohemia and Moravia".⁷ Saure also stated that head of the new university institute should be a full professor as well as a high ranking SS-man, that is, it would be desirable that the post "be filled by a suitable expert and SS-Führer whose person meets all qualifications requisite for a successful collaboration in solving Czech-German problems as far as the aspect of racial science is concerned".⁸ A few weeks earlier, Saure expressed his expectations of the institute as follows: "I am convinced that we are doing the right thing here [in Prague, author's note] and that the relation, which is hereby [by the establishment, author's note] established over and above the boundaries of the University of Prague between the Race Office of the SS and science will prove itself beneficial to both parties concerned."⁹

¹ Archiv Univerzity Karlovy (Archives of the Charles University; hereinafter AUK) Praha, RNU, curator of the German Charles University to the dean of the Faculty of Science, November 22, 1941.

² Bundesarchiv (hereinafter BArch) Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), B. K. Schultz to the Personal Dpt. of the RuSHA, August 11, 1942; *ibid.*, O. Hofmann's letter to W. Saure, November 24, 1941.

³ *Ibid.*, R 31, K. Thums to B. Gudden, January 15, 1944.

⁴ Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Die Deutsche (Karls-) Universität vom Münchener Abkommen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Praha 2007, pp. 123–131; *id.*, *The German University during the Second World War*, in: František Kafka – Josef Petráň (eds.), *A History of Charles University*, II, Prague 2001, pp. 257–262.

⁵ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), 'A file note' signed by H. Himmler, November 4, 1941.

⁶ AUK Praha, FF UK, Nová registratura – F, b. 72, report on the meeting of the Faculty Committee, May 11, 1939.

⁷ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, October 17, 1941.

⁸ *Ibid.*, note on the discussion between O. Hofmann and W. Saure, December 3, 1941.

⁹ *Ibid.*, W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, November 29, 1941. See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut. Das Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (= *Moderne Zeit. Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, 2), Göttingen 2013, p. 131.

Already on November 23, 1941, Saure agreed with the head of the RuSHA regarding the future status of the proposed institute, which was to be designed as a research centre for racial biology. As the university's *rector magnificus*, Saure stated his readiness to provide the new institute with all necessary equipment – which actually came from the previously closed Czech Charles University – and substantial financial resources. He was also willing to make the teaching programme flexible enough to enable the RuSHA staff meet their duties in the field.¹⁰ While in 1939, we find among the candidates for head of the new institute Dr. Wolfgang Abel (1905–1997)¹¹ and member of the SS and assistant to professor Eugen Fischer (1874–1964), Dr. Eberhard Geyer (1899–1943).¹² A year later Otto Reche (1879–1966), one of Germany's leading racial theorists, recommended to the post Dr. phil. habil. Michael Hesch (1893–1979),¹³ his close student and collaborator and B. K. Schultz's colleague.¹⁴ Wilhelm Saure, however, explicitly demanded that the position be filled by Bruno K. Schultz.¹⁵ Schultz was then offered the post shortly after being appointed Chief of the *Rassenamt* and at a time when another rector, SS-Standartenführer Professor Dr. agrar. wiss. Peter Carstens (1903–1945), offered him a position at the Reich University in Posen.¹⁶ Reasons for Schultz's call to Prague were summarised as follows: "The professorship, important especially in the near future, will be filled by a suitable expert and SS-Führer whose person meets all qualifications requisite for a successful collaboration in solving Czech-German problem as far as the aspect of racial science is concerned."¹⁷

Another reason was of a historical and 'practical' nature. It was linked to the fact that though a research institute for anthropology was formed at the Czech Charles University many decades ago,¹⁸ physical anthropology has never really been established at the German part of the Prague University as an independent scientific field. And that despite the fact that at least since the 1920s various attempts had been made to integrate German

¹⁰ See part 2 of this paper.

¹¹ See Michael GRÜTTNER, *Biographisches Lexikon zur nationalsozialistischen Wissenschaftspolitik*, Heidelberg 2004, p. 13.

¹² See *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon, 1815–1950*, Bd. 1, Lfg 5, Wien 1957, pp. 433–434.

¹³ See Hans-Christian HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene als Erziehungsideologie des Dritten Reichs. Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch* (= Bildung und Wissenschaft 10), Berlin 2006, pp. 275, 281. See also Bruno K. SCHULTZ – Michael HESCH, *Rassenkundlichen Bestimmungs-Tafeln für Augen-, Haar- und Hautfarben und für die Iriszeichnung*, München 1935; id., *Eignungsprüferlehrgang des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS*, Berlin 1940; id., *Prof. Dr. Otto Reche 65 Jahre*, Der Neue Tag, May 27, 1944, p. 3.

¹⁴ AUK Praha, FF UK, Nová registratura – F, b. 72, additional suggestion concerning the head of the new institute for 'Rassenkunde', March 14, 1940. See Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Rassenforschung und Oststudien an der Deutschen (Karls-) Universität in Prag*, in: Detlef Brandes et al. (eds.), *Erzwungene Trennung. Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938–1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien* (= Veröffentlichungen der Deutsch-Tschechischen und Deutsch-Slowakischen Historikerkommission 8 & Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa 15), Essen 1999, pp. 37–51 [44].

¹⁵ Otto RECHE, *Buchbesprechung – Schultz, B. K.: Taschenbuch der rassenkundlichen Mefstechnik*, Volk und Rasse (hereinafter VuR) 13/5, 1938, p. 30. See H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, pp. 276–279; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 234–235; Uwe HOSSFELD, *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis in die Nachkriegszeit* (= Wissenschaftskultur um 1900, 2), Stuttgart 2005, pp. 316–319.

¹⁶ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 277.

¹⁷ BAArch Berlin, SSO/111B (Schultz, B. K.), W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, October 17, 1941.

¹⁸ See Josef ČAKL, *Vývoj české antropologie*, Praha 1947 (dissertation); Jindřich MATEJKA, *Fysiscká antropologie obyvatelstva v Československu* [Physical Anthropology in Czechoslovakia], in: *Československá vlastivěda*, Praha 1937, pp. 115–133.

‘racial research’ of Bohemia and Moravia into German-wide efforts, for example within the framework of the German Society for the Blood Group Research (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Blutgruppenforschung*), which was co-founded by Otto Reche in 1926.¹⁹ Inspiration coming from the German ‘*neuere Rassenkunde*’ – represented mainly by the work of Hans F. K. Günther (1891–1968) who followed, among other things, a theory of *Homo sudeticus/ Typus I* coined by O. Reche (or the so called pre-slavic race coined by Jan Czekanowski) as an independent research subject – was clearly not seen as very relevant.²⁰

This attitude can be detected, for example, in a contemporary local review which claims: “Modern European racial theory is still a young science. Its findings are thus not as yet solid scientific goods which would already now permit the drawing of final conclusions.”²¹ In the 1920s, Professor Bernhard Brandt (1881–1937), geographer and one of the main representatives of Sudeten German eugenics, expressed a similar view: “All in all, it seems that the factual basis of our views regarding the distribution of races in Europe is still very small and consequently, conclusions drawn from it correspondingly are very vague.”²² On the other hand, the lack of systematic attention as yet paid to these issues was the reason why Erich Gierach (1881–1943), ethnographer and professor of the German University in Prague, in 1928 proposed that the German Society for Sciences and Arts for the Czechoslovak Republic (*Deutsche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und Künste für die Tschechoslowakische Republik*) should launch a new research project based mainly on the work of Walter Scheidt (1895–1976), graduate of anthropology in Munich and later Head of Department for Racial and Cultural Biology at the University of Hamburg.²³ Within the Society, the research was carried out by its Committee for Anthropology, in particular Bernhard Brandt and Otto Grosser (1873–1951), embryologist, anatomist, and professor of the German University in Prague.²⁴ The team investigated 22 villages in northern Moravia and measured 2,200 persons but results were published only on 3 villages and 340 persons.²⁵ After 1939, however, this extent of anthropological research in Sudeten German areas was generally seen as insufficient.

¹⁹ Archives of the Academy of Sciences (Archiv Akademie věd, hereinafter AAV) Praha, Pfitzner J. (unsorted), O. Reche’s letter to J. Pfitzner, October 22, 1926. See Otto RECHE, *Blutgruppenforschung und Anthropologie, Volk und Rasse* (hereinafter VuR) 3/1, 1928, p. 1.

²⁰ Bernhard BRANDT, *Neue Ziele der Rassenkunde unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Forschung in den Sudetenländern*, s. d. (1930s), p. 1 (offprint kept by the Library of the Archives of the Capital City of Prague). Otto RECHE, *Zur Anthropologie der jüngeren Steinzeit in Schlesien und Böhmen*, Archiv für Anthropologie 35 (N. F. 7), 1909, pp. 220–237. See also Hans F. K. GÜNTHER, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, München 1939, p. 169; Ilse SCHWIDETZKY, *Anthropologie der Altslawen* (= Beiheft zu Bd. VII der Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und die gesamte Forschung am Menschen), Stuttgart 1938.

²¹ Book review (Kern), *Sudeta* 3/1–2, 1927, pp. 73–74 [74]. See also Josef SKUTIL, *Bibliographie der tschechoslowakischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1914–1924*, *Sudeta* 7/1–4, 1931, pp. 89–136.

²² B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 1, 6. See Walter KRUSE, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarvölker. Neue Grundlegung der Anthropologie, Rassen-, Völker-, Stammeskunde und Konstitutionslehre nebst Ausführungen zur deutschen Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1929.

²³ B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 8. For Scheidt’s similarly designed research, see his work *Rassenkundliche Erhebungen in Nordwestdeutschland*, VuR 2/1, 1927, pp. 46–47 and jointly published work with Willy KLENCK, *Niedersächsische Bauern*, Jena 1929. From earlier studies, only one was usually mentioned, namely Gustav KRAITSCHKE, *Die anthropologische Beschaffenheit der Landskroner Gymnasialjugend*, Jahresbericht des k. k. Staats-Ober-Gymnasiums in Landskron, Landskron 1901.

²⁴ Adolf KNÖBL, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen in den Sudetenländern (I. Untersuchungen in drei nordmährischen Dörfern (Benke, Liebesdorf, Strupschein))*, Prag 1931 (with editor’s introduction).

²⁵ *Ibid.* See B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 8.

At the same time, integration of anthropological/racial biological premises into the curriculum of the high schools had already been accomplished in Germany and it was unthinkable that Bohemia and Moravia after 1939 should be an exception.²⁶

1. Bruno Kurt Schultz: Double Career in the Name of the ‘Rasse’

What was the life and career of the historically first and last professor of racial biology at the DKU in Prague like?²⁷ He was born on August 3, 1901 in Sitzenberg by Tulln in Lower Austria in the family of police vice-president Dr. jur. Bruno Schultz and his wife Sophie, née Bauer. In 1928 he married Ilse, née Irrlböck (b. 1904), with whom he had six children.²⁸ He was strongly influenced by his uncle, Wolfgang Schultz (1881–1936), a *völkisch* oriented philosopher and after 1933 prominent professor at the University of Munich, among his contemporaries known as ‘Mondschultz’.²⁹ Schultz’s ancestors originally came to Vienna from Silesia after the Seven Years’ War and since that time had been marrying into families of Viennese officials.³⁰ After graduating from an eight-year *Gymnasium* with focus on humanities in Vienna (1911–1919), Schultz studied anthropology at the University of Vienna with short internships at universities in Upsalla and Leipzig.³¹ In 1924, he graduated at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna after defending a doctoral thesis ‘Contribution to the Notions of an Intermediate State after Death among the Teutons’ (*Beiträge zu den Jenseitsvorstellungen der Germanen*). A year later, he started working as a voluntary assistant at the Liaison Office for Research on National and Cultural Territory (*Mittelstelle für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*) in Leipzig under Otto Reche’s supervision. In 1926, he served as a voluntary assistant in the Museum of Natural History (*Naturhistorisches Museum*) in Vienna while employed as a scientific worker at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Vienna.³² In the following year, he left to Germany where he was appointed assistant curator of anthropological collections of the Bavarian National Museum (*Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*) in Munich.³³ His academic career started in 1931 when he became an assistant at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Munich under Theodor Mollison (1874–1952).³⁴ Among other things, he was interested in the methodology of anthropometry where he largely followed a Munich

²⁶ Anne BÄUMER, *Nazi Biology and Schools*, Frankfurt/Main 1995, pp. 37–42.

²⁷ See Karl SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre des Nationalsozialismus in Wissenschaft und Propaganda*, Darmstadt 1961, pp. 131–132.

²⁸ Národní archiv (National Archives; hereinafter NA) Praha, ÚŘP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936.

²⁹ Wolfgang Schultz †, Manus 28/4, 1936, pp. 545–557. See Ernst KLEE, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt/Main, 2007, p. 498.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936.

³² Ibid. See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente Sozialingenieure? Die Rasseexperten der SS*, in: Gerhard Hirschfeld – Tobias Jersak (eds.), *Karrieren im Nationalsozialismus. Funktionsebenen zwischen Mitwirkung und Distanz*, Frankfurt/Main – New York 2004, pp. 73–99 [79].

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Wolfgang GIESELER, *Lebensbild Theodor Mollison*, Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie (hereinafter ARGB) 33/2, 1939, pp. 187–189; 65. *Geburstag Professor Mollisons*, VuR 14/2, 1939, p. 47; Theodor MOLLISON, *Eine Schausammlung für Anthropologie in München*, Anthropologischer Anzeiger 15/1, 1938, pp. 78–82; id., *Technik und Methoden der physischen Anthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer

school of Rudolf Martin (1864–1926), Mollinson’s predecessor.³⁵ In Schultz’s own words, he specialised in anthropology, theory of human heredity, and racial hygiene.³⁶ On February 24, 1934, with Himmler’s consent, he habilitated at the University of Munich based on his work ‘*Fossils of Hominids Sinanthropus and Pithecanthropus and Their Importance for the Development of Humans*’ (*Die fossilen Hominiden Sinanthropus und Pithecanthropus in ihrer Bedeutung für die Stammesgeschichte des Menschen*).³⁷ Two years later, he was also habilitated at the Berlin University. In early March 1938, his academic career progressed further when he was appointed extraordinary professor of theory of human races and science of heredity (*menschliche Rassenkunde und Erblehre*) at the Berlin University and at the same time was offered the post of head of the Institute of Biology of the Reich Academy for Physical Exercise (*Reichsakademie für Leibesübungen*) in Berlin.³⁸ His academic interest at that time included not only racial hygienic propaganda but also, and mainly, the methodology of anthropometry. Contemporary reviews of his work tend to be highly complimentary: “A paperback extremely practical thanks to its format, clarity, and many illustrations (great pictures!), certain to find many friends among younger professionals and everyone who wants to help with racial theoretical surveys! Such a book was much needed”, stated for example Otto Reche in 1938.³⁹

Schultz was also one of the most tireless and prominent promoters of the Nordic racial worldview. In 1929–1943, he was the third (and last) editor-in-chief of *Volk und Rasse*, a journal which since 1926 tried to promote racial theories using attractive graphic presentation. Until October 1937, Schultz was also a co-editor of *Anthropologischer Anzeiger*, a traditional German anthropological review.⁴⁰ Moreover, he served since the end of 1920s as managing director of the German Society for Racial Hygiene (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene*; hereinafter DGRH).⁴¹

In politics, he was active in various ‘protective’ associations since early youth. During his university studies, he also joined the German Academic Guild, was member of the national bloc of German students (*Kammer- und Vorstandsmitglied des völkischen Blocks der Deutschen Studentenschaft*) at the University of Vienna and since 1918 he was also

(eds.), *Anthropologie* (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart III), Leipzig – Berlin 1923, pp. 12–36. See E. KLEE, *Das Personenlexikon*, p. 415.

³⁵ See Rudolf MARTIN, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Jena 1928.

³⁶ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936; Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität (hereinafter UA H-U) Berlin, 288, curriculum vitae B. K. Schultz, February 18, 1934.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, note on the habilitation colloquium, March 21, 1934; BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), Schultz’s letter to G. Pancke, February 20, 1934. See Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Die frühesten, heute bekanntesten Menschenformen, Pithecanthropus und Sinanthropus*, VuR 13/7, 1938, pp. 236–242. See I. HEINEMANN, *Am-bivalente*, p. 79.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, decree on Schultz’s extraordinary professorship, March 29, 1938; UA H-U Berlin, 288, curriculum vitae B. K. Schultz’s, February 18, 1934. See Ernst WIEGAND, *Ernennung zu Professoren – SS-Sturmabführer Dr. B. K. Schultz*, VuR 13/5, 1938, p. 163; Gerhard HEBERER, *Gesellschaft für physische Anthropologie – 1937*, ARGB 34/4, 1938, p. 85. See Lothar SCHOTT, *Zur Geschichte der Völkerkunde an der Berliner Universität*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt Universität Berlin* 9, 1959/60, pp. 67–79; Hajo BERNETT, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung. Eine Dokumentation ihrer Theorie und Organisation* (= Theorie der Leibeserziehung 1), Schomdorf bei Stuttgart 1966.

³⁹ Otto RECHE, *Bruno Kurt Schultz, Taschenbuch der Rassenkundlichen Meßtechnik, Munich 1937*, 102 p. 79 *Abb. Preis geb. Mk 6* (*Buchbesprechung*), VuR 13/1, 1938, p. 30.

⁴⁰ See Walter SCHEIDT, *Volk und Rasse. Einführung in den Arbeitsplan der Zeitschrift*, VuR 1/1, 1926, pp. 1–6; *An die Leser von Volk und Rasse*, VuR 8/3, 1933, pp. 113–114.

⁴¹ E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163. See U. HOSSFELD, *Geschichte*, pp. 316–323.

a member of local branch of the *Thule Student Society* in Vienna.⁴² Moreover, he was member of the organisation *Nordischer Ring*⁴³ and since 1931 attended educational lectures of various branches of the NSDAP.⁴⁴ In 1932, he held the lectures on the subject of racial policy and racial hygiene at the very first training course for SA leaders. His lectures included subjects such as ‘Racial Science of Europe’, ‘Situation in Population Policy of the German Nation’, ‘The Nordic Idea’, ‘Requirements of Racial Hygiene and Their Inclusion in the Programme of the National Socialist Party’, ‘Biological Family Studies’ (*Biologische Familienkunde*), and ‘Introduction to Family Studies from the Perspective of Biology of Heredity and the Use of an Extended Hereditary Family Tree’ (*Anleitung zur erbbiologischen Familienforschung und Anlegung einer erbbiologischen Sippschaftstafel*) etc.⁴⁵ A year later, he joined the SS (membership No. 71,679) and NSDAP (membership No. 935,761).⁴⁶ His advancement in the SS continued as follows: on August 7, 1933 promoted to SS-Sturmführer, on January 30, 1938 to SS-Sturmbannführer, on November 9, 1940 made SS-Obersturmbannführer, and on December 1, 1942 promoted to SS-Standartenführer. At the age of thirty, he belonged to the founding generation of RuSHA’s predecessor, the *Rassenamt*, which later became one of its departments.⁴⁷ Already in 1931, he helped formulate the order pertaining to the regulation of marriage for members of the SS (*SS-Heiratsbefehl*).⁴⁸ In January 1932, he was appointed the first (honorary) head of the Department of Racial Science (*Abteilung Rassenkunde*) in the RuSHA.⁴⁹ In April 1934, he was appointed a full-time head of department (*Abteilungsleiter*) in the RuSHA and, still in the same year, he was also appointed head of department in the staff office of Walther R. Darré (1895–1953).⁵⁰ Since 1934, he was active in the working group Farmer’s Community (*Die bäuerliche Lebensgemeinschaft*), which he later presided.⁵¹ He was also appointed a member of the Reich Committee for the Protection of German Blood (*Reichsausschuß zum Schutze Deutschen Blutes*) in 1935.⁵²

Since 1930s his career was thus closely connected with the *Rassenamt*. It was one of the originally seven institutions which were in post-1933 Nazi Germany seen as playing a key role in both the conceptual planning and ‘practical’ implementation of ‘racial care’ (*Rassenpflege*) and racial policy (*Rassenpolitik*).⁵³ Being one of the very first institutions of

⁴² I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁴³ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), biography, March 2, 1937.

⁴⁴ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – Bruno K. Schultz, 1936.

⁴⁵ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, November 30, 1934; *ibid.*, B. K. Schultz’s letter to H. Himmler, July 14, 1934.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 73–75.

⁴⁸ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), recommendation of the Chief of the RuSHA (Hofmann) for Schultz’s promotion, January 16, 1941. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 56; Michael WILDT, *Die Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führerkorps des RSHA*, Hamburg 2002, pp. 190–203.

⁴⁹ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, July 24, 1935. See HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 56; *id.*, *Ambivalente*, p. 79. See E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163 and I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁵⁰ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae of B. K. Schultz, July 24, 1935 and March 2, 1937. See E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163; I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁵¹ See Ulrich KIMPEL, *Zur Person Rechenbachs*, in: Horst Kahr et al., *Modelle für ein deutsches Europa. Ökonomie und Herrschaft im Großwirtschaftsraum*, Berlin 1992, pp. 203–204.

⁵² BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, March 2, 1937.

⁵³ In 1935, these institutions were the Reich Ministry of Interior (*Reichsministerium des Innern*), Reich Committee for Public Health Service (*Reichsausschuß für Volksgesundheitsdienst*), Reich Health Office (*Reichsgesundheitsamt*), Office of the Reich Farming Leader (*Stabsamt des Reichsbauernführers*), the RuSHA, NSDAP

this kind, it in a way anticipated activities of the other six. Richard W. Darré (1895–1953) was not exaggerating when he called it ‘experimental garden’ of the SS (*SS-Versuchsgarten*).⁵⁴ The office was established in Munich on January 30, 1931, exactly two years before the Nazi takeover. In the following year, it was as of January 1, 1932 merged with other SS offices, its name changed to RuSHA and the office moved to Berlin.⁵⁵ Its first head was Dr. Horst Rechenbach (1895–1968), anthropologist, animal breeder, and Otto Reche’s student.⁵⁶ During the initial period of its existence, the office focused on the selection of SS candidates and their wives by charting family trees of their close relatives.⁵⁷ The procedures and criteria applied in selection, including later used categories (*Rassebewertungsgruppen*) RuS⁵⁸ I up to RuS IV were defined exclusively by RuSHA ‘experts’:⁵⁹ “The desired outcome is a hereditarily valuable group of community of Germans of truly Nordic descent. Consent to marriage is given or refused solely and exclusively on the basis of racial and hereditary criteria.”⁶⁰ Soon after Nazi takeover, in early 1933, Himmler extended RuSHA’s competence and authorised it in matters of placement (settlement) of SS members

Office of Racial Policy (*Rassenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP*), and the Thuringian State Office for Race Issues (*Thüringisches Landesamt für Rassewesen*). BArch Berlin, NS 19/1838, list of relevant institutions in the area of ‘racial care’, app. 1935. See also *Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1943 (published by the SS-Hauptamt); Werner FELDSCHER, *Rassen- und Erbpflege im deutschen Recht* (= Rechtspflege und Verwaltung 3), Berlin 1943; Reinhold GROSSMANN, *Rasserein, erbggesund, kinderreich. Eine Einführung in die Rassenpolitik*, Dresden 1941; Walter GROSS, *Rassenpolitik im Kriege. Eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit aus Forschung und Praxis*, Hannover 1941; *Deutschland treibt Rassenpolitik*, München 1938; Arthur GÜTT, *Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik*, Berlin – Wien 1938; Rudolf FRERCKS, *Deutsche Rassenpolitik* (= Recklams Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 7351), Leipzig 1937; *Deutsche Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1936; Karl ASEL (ed.), *Rassekurs in Egendorf. Ein rassenhgienische Lehrgang des Thüringischen Landesamtes für Rassewesen*, München 1935; Walter GROSS, *Nationalsozialistische Rassenpolitik. Eine Rede an die deutschen Frauen*, Berlin 1934; Paul MAGDEBURG, *Rassenkunde und Rassenpolitik*, Leipzig 1933; Karl WEINLAENDER, *Rassenkunde, Rassenpädagogik und Rassenpolitik. Der naturgesetzliche Weg zu Deutschlands Aufstieg*, Weissenburg i. B. 1933; Bruno K. Schultz, *Erbkunde, Rassenkunde, Rassenpflege. Ein Leitfadens zum Selbststudium und für den Unterricht*, München 1933; Wilhelm FRICK, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik. Ansprache auf der ersten Sitzung des Sachverständigenbeirats für Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik am 28. Juni 1933*, Langensalza 1933.

⁵⁴ See Horst GIES, *Zur Entstehung des Rasse- und Siedlungsamtes der SS*, in: Paul Kluge zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von Frankfurter Schülern und Mitarbeitern – Festschrift, Frankfurt/Main, 1968, pp. 127–139 [136].

⁵⁵ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 12, 56; Michael WEINGART – Jürgen KROLL – Kurt BAYERTZ, *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, Frankfurt/Main 2006, pp. 459–532; Paul WEINDLING, *Health, race, and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Oxford 1989, pp. 469–480, 534–541; H. GIES, *Zur Entstehung*, p. 133, 135.

⁵⁶ H. GIES, *Zur Entstehung*, p. 134.

⁵⁷ BArch Koblenz, AllProz 1/XXXXIII C5, Geschichte und Aufgaben des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS, 1947; Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *10 Jahre Verlobungs- und Heiratsbefehl in der Schutzstaffel*, VuR 17/3–4, 1942, pp. 3–4. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 50–62; I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 73; Gabriele CZARNOWSKI, *Das kontrollierte Paar. Ehe- und Sexualpolitik im Nationalsozialismus*, Weinheim 1991; Gudrun SCHWARZ, *Die Frau an seiner Seite. Ehefrauen in der „SS-Sippengemeinschaft“*, Hamburg 1997; Robert L. KOEHL, *Toward a SS Typology: Social Engineers*, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 18 (2), 1959, pp. 113–126.

⁵⁸ It means Race and Settlement (*Rasse und Siedlung*).

⁵⁹ BArch Berlin, NS 2/174, outline for the selection of members of the SS, March 30, 1937. See Bernd WEGNER, *The ‘Aristocracy of National Socialism’. The Role of the SS in National Socialist Germany*, in: Hannsjoachim W. Koch, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, London 1985, pp. 431–450; John M. STEINER, *Über das Glaubensbekenntnis der SS*, in: Joachim Hütter – Reinhard Meyers – Dietrich Papenfuss (eds.), *Tradition und Neubeginn. Internationale Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bonn – Bad Godesberg 1975, pp. 317–333.

⁶⁰ *Der Auslesegrundsatz in der Schutzstaffel*, *Die Deutsche Polizei* 10/2, 1942, p. 20; Karl DERKMANN, *Ehtauglichkeitsnachweis als rassenhgienische Maßnahme*, ARGB 34/5, 1940, pp. 413–414. See I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 82.

in farmsteads at the German borders.⁶¹ Within the SS structure, RuSHA was also responsible for the training and education of members of the SS in matters of worldview.⁶² Since March 1938, the RuSHA and its so called RuS Leaders (*RuS-Führer*) were also in charge of preparing a racial map of the territory of the Reich.⁶³

Even though during this period, the RuSHA had undergone several more reorganisations – including Richard W. Darré's departure (head of the RuSHA since 1931) from the post of head of this bureau in 1938, after a disagreement with Himmler – it is fair to claim that by the outbreak of the war, this was an internally consolidated and clearly structured institution.⁶⁴ This is largely to be ascribed to SS-Gruppenführer Günther Pancke (1899–1973), in 1938–1940 head of the RuSHA, who took over after Darré.⁶⁵

As of August 1, 1938, the RuSHA, including the *Rassenamt*, lost authority over all 'scientific and research tasks', which were placed under the auspices of the Study Society for Primordial Intellectual History, German Ancestral Heritage (*Studiengesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte. Deutsches Ahnenerbe*).⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the RuSHA maintained close working relation especially with the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics, headed by Eugen Fischer, which, among other things, organised for RuSHA members annual courses on select subjects of biology and medicine.⁶⁷ Their training material included also the *Schulungsbriefe*, monthly appeared internal papers, which highlighted the importance of selection: "Every examiner has a task of the utmost importance for the national policy (*Volkspolitik*). His work decides the composition of the future generations, the German nation, and the population of Europe."⁶⁸

Members and experts of the RuSHA represented Nazi anti-Semitism in its purest, most aggressive, but also most biologising form. They not only designed the conceptual base of racial policy but also most ruthlessly applied the Nazi policy of mass population selection.⁶⁹ According to most recent estimates, the 'hard core' of racial selectors numbered

⁶¹ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 16–17. On the relationship between Darré and Himmler in the context of the RuSHA, see Uwe MAI, *Rasse und Raum. Agrarpolitik, Sozial- und Raumplanung im NS-Staat*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2002, pp. 113–118.

⁶² I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 74.

⁶³ BArch Berlin, NS2/54, Ebrecht's letter to H. Himmler, March 10, 1938.

⁶⁴ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 87, 124–125. See Gustavo CORNIS, *Richard Walther Darré – Der 'Blut-und-Boden'-Ideologe*, in: Ronald Smelser – Rainer Zitelmann, *The Nazi Elite*, Basingstoke – London 1993, pp. 15–27.

⁶⁵ For most of the 1920s (in 1920–1926), Pancke worked as an animal breeder at cattle farms in Argentina. He was a fanatical Nazi who later became a Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer*) in occupied Denmark.

⁶⁶ BArch Berlin, NS 2/54, proposal of the circular of the RFSS, 1938. See Michael H. KATER, *Das 'Ahnenerbe' der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 11–53, 58–83, 338–352.

⁶⁷ Niels C. LÖSCH, *Rasse als Konstrukt. Leben und Werk Eugen Fischers*, Frankfurt/Main 1997, pp. 319–321; Beno MÜLLER-HILL, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933–1945*, Berlin (Ost) 1989, p. 40.

⁶⁸ BArch Berlin, NS2/294, Schulungsbrief – Erblehre (Vorbemerkung), no date.

⁶⁹ See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Defining '(Un)wanted Population Addition': Anthropology, Racist Ideology, and Mass Murder in the Occupied East*, in: Anton Weiss-Wendt – Rory Yeomans (eds.), *Racial Science in Hitler's New Europe 1938–1945*, Lincoln 2013, pp. 35–59; id., *Umvolkungspläne, Rassenauslese, Zwangsumsiedlungen. Die Rasseexperten der SS und die bevölkerungspolitische Neuordnung Europas*, in: Ralph Melville – Jiří Pešek – Claus Scharf (eds.), *Zwangsmigrationen im mittleren und östlichen Europa. Völkerrecht – Konzeptionen – Praxis (1938–1950) (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 69)*, Mainz 2007, pp. 203–218; Isabel HEINEMANN – Patrick WAGNER, *Einleitung*, in: Isabel Heinemann – Patrick Wagner (eds.), *Wissenschaft – Planung – Vertreibung. Neuordnungskonzepte und Umsiedlungspolitik im*

about 500 RuSHA members, some 54% of whom belonged to the founding generation of this institution. They were mostly very young and 88 RuSHA members who held the rank SS-Führer were university educated, and that not only in humanities but also in biology or anthropology.⁷⁰

The outbreak of the war and the end of the German military campaign in Poland fundamentally changed not only the extension of RuSHA's agenda but mainly the authority of members of the *Rassenamt*. For the very first time, their activities reached beyond the structure of the SS. Under the aegis of Himmler as a Reich Commissary for the Strengthening of Germandom (*Reichskommissar für Festigung des deutschen Volkstums*; hereinafter RKFDV), RuSHA experts were first employed in inspection committees (*Musterung*) of Immigration Offices (*Einwandererzentralen*) in order to assess ethnic Germans who were to return to Germany from the Baltic states (*Rückwanderer*). Then they were assessing the offspring of mixed marriages in Central and South-eastern Europe who were candidates for 're-Germanisation' (*Wiedereindeutschung*), children of executed resistance fighters, partisans, or other persons, in whose cases it was to be determined whether they represent desirable or undesirable offspring (*erwünschter/unerwünschter Nachwuchs*), and last but not least also in cases of prisoners of war (especially Polish and Soviet ones) and slave labourers.⁷¹ Naturally, they actively participated in anti-Jewish racial policy in Germany and occupied Europe.

Under these circumstances B. K. Schultz was asked in October 1941 to lead the *Rassenamt* as its deputy chief.⁷² As of February 1, 1942, he was formally appointed its full chief.

2. Institutionalized Racism in Academia: *Institute for Racial Biology*

In October 1941, after being released of his teaching duties at the Frederick William University in Berlin, Bruno K. Schultz took first 'inspection' trip to Prague.⁷³ According to him, "The inspection of prospective premises of the institute was thoroughly satisfactory. Prof. Denk [Viktor Denk, Dean of the Faculty of Science of the DKU, author's note] promised that the entire second floor of the building at Alberthof 6 would be at disposal of the institute for racial biology and Prof. Matiegka's [Jindřich Matiegka, the first Czech full professor of anthropology, author's note] racially biological collection would be secured for

20. Jahrhundert (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der DFG 1), Stuttgart 2006, pp. 7–23; Isabel HEINEMANN, *Another Type of Perpetrator: SS Racial Experts and Forced Population Movements in the Occupied Regions*, Holocaust and Genocide Studies 15/3, 2001, pp. 387–411; id., *Towards an 'Ethnic Reconstruction' of Occupied Europe. SS Plans and Racial Policies*, Annali dell Istituto Storico in Trento 27, 2001, pp. 493–517; Wolfram PYTHA, 'Menschenökonomie'. *Das Ineingreifen von ländlicher Sozialraumgestaltung und rassenbiologischer Bevölkerungspolitik im NS-Staat*, Historische Zeitschrift 273, 2001, pp. 31–94. On the ideological background of the SS and Himmler, see Christopher R. BROWNING, *Der Weg zur 'Endlösung': Entscheidungen und Täter*, Bonn 1998; Richard BREITMAN, *The Architect of Genocide. Heinrich Himmler and the Final Solution*, Hannover 1992; Bradley F. SMITH, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926*, Stanford – Calif 1971; Josef ACKERMANN, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe*, Göttingen – Zürich – Frankfurt/Main 1970; Heinrich FRAENKEL – Roger MANVELL, *Heinrich Himmler*, London 1965.

⁷⁰ I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, pp. 75–77, 87, note 13.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷² BAArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), O. Hofmann's memorandum, October 2, 1941.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Personal Department of the RuSHA to the Gestapo office in Berlin, October 9, 1941.

the institute.⁷⁴ Another aspect of the deal also became clearer during this visit. Bruno K. Schultz was supposed to deliver lectures in Prague only every two weeks during the winter term, become full professor of the DKU but his salary would be disbursed by the RuSHA, and be provided by a loyal assistant as his representative.⁷⁵ Rector Saure also accepted Schultz's demand that the Institute for Racial Biology should be attended by the members of the *Rassenamt* and these will enjoy the same status as ordinary students.⁷⁶

It seems probable that Schultz partly settled in Prague by May 1, 1942 since as of this date, he was appointed at the DKU in Prague and received full professorship in racial biology.⁷⁷ Based on a previous agreement, he commuted to Prague approximately every two weeks and worked there basically as a 'flying professor' (*fliegender Professor*).⁷⁸ Reasons behind this were obvious: his work revolved mainly around the *Rassenamt* and its activities.⁷⁹

The Institute for Racial Biology was placed in the main historical building in Albertov (*Alberthof*) No. 6 in Prague, where the entire first floor was assigned to its needs as of September 1942.⁸⁰ According to recollections of one contemporary student of medicine, Schultz was seen as highly influential at his environment: "In the, so to say, SS's own Institute for Racial Biology, Prof. Dr. Schultz (...) was the absolute ruler and from the assistants to the laboratory workers, it was filled exclusively by Nordic types, the ladies being blond."⁸¹ According to personal files of the students of the Faculty of Science of the DKU left in Prague, the Institute for Racial Biology really served as a learning place for the *Rassenamt*.⁸² Training of new selectors became soon after the establishment of the Institute for Racial Biology one of its top priorities, since in 1942 the situation was critical especially in the Generalgouvernement. And it was Schultz, who was deciding about their placement and deployment.⁸³ It seems likely that – for example – Heinrich Gottong, Schultz's student, 'Jewish advisor' at the Office of Population Care (*Abteilung für Bevölkerungspflege*), later a race expert in the Institute for German Work in the East (*Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit*), had also graduated from these courses,⁸⁴ though due to the lack of sources it is hard to make any definitive claim to that effect.

Even though the Institute for Racial Biology was to a large extent an academic branch of the RuSHA, one can also distinguish some of its own priorities. Firstly, the Institute aimed at refining anthropometric methods so that they could be quickly and 'operatively' used to determine the identity of a given 'racial type'. In this connection, it is known that keen interest was shown in the research of heredity of the iris colour (*Vererbung der Farbe*

⁷⁴ Ibid., report of B. K. Schultz on his meeting with W. Saure in Prague for H. Himmler, November 4, 1941.

⁷⁵ Ibid., O. Hofmann on his planned talk with W. Saure on November 23, 1941, November 3, 1941.

⁷⁶ Ibid., report of B. K. Schultz on his meeting with W. Saure in Prague for H. Himmler, November 4, 1941. See in detail Pt. 4 of this paper.

⁷⁷ Ibid., B. K. Schultz to the Personal Department, August 11, 1942.

⁷⁸ UA H-U Berlin, PA-288, REM to B. K. Schultz, July 8, 1942. 288. See *Notizen*, ARGB 36/2, 1942, p. 162.

⁷⁹ *Notizen*, ARGB 36/2, 1942, p. 162.

⁸⁰ AUK Praha, R NU, b. 128, curator's letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Science concerning the institute's rooms, August 15, 1942.

⁸¹ Ibid., Dr. med. Fritz H. Weichold (amended by Dr. med. Bettine Weichold), *Zeitgeschichten*, Mühlheim an der Ruhr 2008, manuscript, p. 56.

⁸² Ibid., NU Nat., b. 25, students' records of Dr. W. H. Basko and M. Polaschek, no date.

⁸³ BAArch Berlin, R69/966, chief of the Immigration Office – note on the problem of the selectors, May 5, 1942.

⁸⁴ Götz ALY – Susanne HEIM, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*, Frankfurt/Main 1993, p. 123.

der Iris). This was, of course, a long-time favourite topic of not only the German physical anthropologists.⁸⁵ Another area of Institute's staff interest, one we can document only indirectly, was the aim to use knowledge about the heredity of blood groups for purposes of 'racial identification', that is – in the contemporary Nazi jargon – to use it for establishing a 'racial diagnosis' (*Rassendiagnose*).⁸⁶

In relation to the territorial expansion of the Nazi state and the attendant strategic planning of population and racial policies, Schultz in his inaugural address of May 28, 1942 outlined the 'research' priorities of the Institute as follows: "1. (...) racial distribution in our own German territory. 2. (...) clear designation and hereditary demarcation of the races. 3. (...) racial distribution in the new border regions (*Grenzgebieten*). 4. (...) historical racial development in the new territories. 5. (...) confirmation of results of the racial psychological research."⁸⁷ This five point programme thus contains among other things the very core of what was understood as current racial biological tasks in Prague.

At the same time, it should be noted that in addition to the Institute for Racial Biology, 'racial' research of Bohemia and Moravia was also carried out by other institutes, mainly Viennese one. What in fact happened in Bohemia and Moravia was a renewal of the range of influence they had prior to 1918.⁸⁸ At the moment, however, the degree of mutual collaboration or coordination with respect to the Prague Institute for Racial Biology is yet unknown.

Despite the teaching and lecturing activities at the Institute for Racial Biology, which had an increasing tendency especially after 1943, B. K. Schultz, often jointly with Karl Thums (1904–1976), also presented so-called 'Circle Lectures' (*Ringvorlesungen*).⁸⁹ These lectures were obligatory for every newly registered student at the DKU and they were

⁸⁵ See for example Anna C. FISCHER, *Epicanthusbildungen am Auge*, ARGB 36/5, 1942, pp. 327–344, and also Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Rassenkundliche Bestimmungs-Tafeln für Augen-, Haar und Hautfarben und für die Iriszeichnung*, München 1935.

⁸⁶ Otmar von VERSCHUER, *Die Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1941, pp. 90–94.

⁸⁷ Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Rassenbiologische Fragen im deutschen Raum*, VuR 17/9, 1942, pp. 153–157.

⁸⁸ Anna SITTENBERGER – Josef WASTL, *Rassenkundliche Untersuchungen an Deutschen und Tschechen im südlichen Böhmerwald (Quellengebiet der Moldau). Mit einem siedlungsgeschichtlichen Überblick von Karl Beer*, *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* 52, 1941, pp. 397–457. See also Karl TUPPA, *Das Anthropologische Institut der Universität Wien*, *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* 12, 1942, pp. 105–106; Richard von HOFF, *Rassenfragen im deutschen Osten*, *Rasse* 7/1, 1940, pp. 1–5; Eberhard GEYER, *Der Stand der rassenkundlichen Untersuchungen in der Ostmark*, in: Michael Hesch – Günther Spannaus (eds.), *Kultur und Rasse. Otto Reche zum 60. Geburtstag*, München – Berlin 1939, pp. 80–87. For the situation prior to 1939 see for example Gustav FOCHLER-HAUCHE, *Deutscher Volksboden und Deutsches Volkstum in der Tschechoslowakei. Eine geographisch-geopolitische Zusammenschau*, Heidelberg – Berlin 1937, pp. 228–243; Walther KRUSE, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarvölker. Neue Grundlegung der Anthropologie, Rassen-, Völker-, Stammeskunde und Konstitutionslehre nebst Ausführungen zur deutschen Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1929, pp. 540–541. On the history of anthropology in Österreich see Brigitte FUCHS, 'Rasse', 'Volk', *Geschlecht. Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850–1960*, Frankfurt/Main – New York 2003; Herbert KRITSCHER – Johann SZILVÁSSY – Gertrud HAUSER, *Zur Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie in Österreich*, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 125/126, 1995/96, pp. 43–82; Martina MAAS, *Die Anthropologie an der Universität Wien bis 1938*, Wien 1991 (Ph.D. thesis). On the history of the Sudetengerman Institute of Territorial and Ethnographic Research *Sudetendeutsche Anstalt für Landes- und Volksforschung* see the entry of Tobias WEGER, *Sudetendeutsche Anstalt für Landes- und Volksforschung Reichenberg*, in: Ingo Haar – Matthias Berg (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften. Personen – Institutionen – Forschungsprogramme – Stiftungen*, München 2008, pp. 683–688.

⁸⁹ See Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Ein österreichischer Eugeniker zwischen Wien, München und Prag: Karl Thums (1904–1976)*, in: Gerhard Baader – Veronika Hofer – Thomas Mayer (eds.), *Eugenik in Österreich. Biopolitische Strukturen von 1900 bis 1945*, Wien 2007, pp. 393–417.

supposed to provide them with all requisite knowledge of all the ‘specifics’ of Bohemia and Moravia. Another teaching activity of the Head of the Institute for Racial Biology was also of great importance. Schultz was seen as one of the main contributors to the study programme called ‘Race and Nation’ (*Rasse und Volk*) at the Reich School of Security Police (*Reichsschule der Sicherheitspolizei*) in Prague. Being a sort of Heydrich’s own creature, this institution was opened in April 1942. Its main aim was the indoctrination of the leading cadre of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*) and SS.⁹⁰

Shortly after his official appointment, Schultz chose in September 1942 to participate in the plans and preparations for the so-called ‘Action K’ (*Unternehmen K*). This operation was within the competence of the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS and was headed by the leader of the 1938 Tibetan expedition, Ernst Schäfer (1910–1992). In connection with Wehrmacht’s progress in the Caucasus, plans were made to carry out, among other things, a ‘racial research of the Caucasian tribes’.⁹¹ The expedition team apparently also paid special attention to the local ‘mountain Jews’ (*Bergjuden*) in Dagestan and Azerbaijan.⁹² Alongside B. K. Schultz, various anthropologists of the RuSHA – in particular those employed by the *Ahnenerbe* like Bruno Beger (1911–2009) or Wolfgang Abel – should participate.⁹³

As far as the Institute’s staff is concerned, at the beginning there was only one assistant position. In March 1942, it was given to Dr. rer. nat. Christel Steffens (b. 1913 in Jechtingen bei Freiburg/Breisgau), Schultz’s close collaborator, Eugen Fischer’s former student, and Austrian compatriot (from Oberhausen) who stayed in Prague until the very end of the war.⁹⁴ She first studied physical anthropology and then archaeology at the University of Berlin, where she also wrote her Ph.D. thesis *On the Power of Fingers in Twins* (*Über Zehenleisten bei Zwillingen*).⁹⁵ Schultz probably met her already in 1938 when she received the second assistantship at his Institute of Biology at the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise in Berlin which he was then heading.⁹⁶ In late 1940 and early 1941 (November 1940 – February 1941), she actively participated in the work of the Immigration Office.⁹⁷ Later, together with Schultz, she helped prepare ‘re-settlement activities’ in Lorraine while – despite earlier assumptions – working at the Immigration Office in Metz until May 1941. During this time, she also worked as an agent of the local Gestapo office.⁹⁸ In May 1941, Steffens followed her superior to the Slovenian city of Bled/Veldes.⁹⁹

Besides Steffens a certain Inge Lemka was later employed as another assistant.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ Archiv bezpečnostních složek (Security Services Archive; hereinafter ABS) Praha, 52-92-5, education scheme for the Sipo and SD, November 3, 1942. See Jürgen MATTHÄUS et al., *Ausbildungsziel Judenmord? ‘Weltanschauliche Erziehung’ von SS, Polizei und Waffen-SS im Rahmen der Endlösung*, Frankfurt/Main 2003.

⁹¹ KATER, op. cit. (2001), p. 341.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 251–253. See Kiril FEFERMAN, *Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews: Was There a Policy?*, Holocaust Genocide Studies 21, 2007, pp. 96–114.

⁹³ KATER, op. cit., pp. 251–255.

⁹⁴ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), REM to Ch. Steffens, March 26, 1942; ABS Praha, 109-73, report on the investigation of the Ministry of the Interior – Dept. for the Prosecution of War Criminals, July 19, 1946.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Ch. Steffens to the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise, May 31, 1941.

⁹⁶ Ibid. curriculum vitae of Ch. Steffens, April 11, 1938.

⁹⁷ Ibid. O. Hofmann to the curator of the University in Berlin, June 16, 1941. See *Ernennungen*, Der Biologe 12/6–7, 1943, p. 147.

⁹⁸ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), O. Hofmann to the curator of the University in Berlin, December 6, 1940. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 305–357.

⁹⁹ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), Ch. Steffens to the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise, May 31, 1941.

¹⁰⁰ ABS Praha, 109-73, Institute for Racial Biology – information, December 11, 1945 (secret).

On April 1, 1943, the personnel of the Institute for Racial Biology was reinforced by the arrival of another researcher, Dr. phil. habil. Aemilian (Ämilian) Kloiber (1910–1992), associate professor of racial science (*Rassenkunde*).¹⁰¹ Kloiber was born in Hürm in Lower Austria, joined the SA and NSDAP, and later also the Viennese branch of the DGRH.¹⁰² In 1931–1938, he studied at the Faculty of Philosophy and Medicine of the University of Vienna anthropology, genetics, racial biology, racial psychology, philosophy, and medical subjects necessary to receive basic medical qualification.¹⁰³ Prior to his arrival to Prague, Kloiber worked in 1937–1938 as a reporter in the field of racial science with the teaching office of NSDAP in Vienna.¹⁰⁴ In 1939, he published his contribution to the ‘new racial scientific construction of the Reich regions’, which he later also used as his habilitation thesis under the name *Races of the Upper-Danube. Older and Newer Research, 1883–1938 (Die Rassen in Oberdonau. Ältere und neuere Untersuchungen 1883–1938)*.¹⁰⁵ In April 1939, he was hired for the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS on a special research task called *Distribution of the Phalian and Nordic Race in Northern Arabia, Eastern Jordan, Palestine, and Syria (Die Verbreitung der Fälischen und der Nordischen Rasse in Nordarabien, Ostjordanland, Palästina und Syrien)*.¹⁰⁶ The project was supposed to study the ‘spread of the Phalian and the Nordic race’ in the abovementioned regions. In particular, researchers wanted to establish whether the blond and blue-eyed people in those regions belong to Nordic or the Phalian race.¹⁰⁷ With this project, Kloiber was supposed to contribute to the efforts of a planned Teaching and Research Institute for the Near East (*Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für den vorderen Orient*), headed by SS-Obersturmführer Dr. phil. habil. Viktor Christian (b. 1885), professor of comparative Semitic linguistics.¹⁰⁸ During his Prague career, Kloiber habilitated based on his pre-war research on ‘Races of the Upper Danube’ (*Die Rassen in Oberdonau*).¹⁰⁹

3. Conceptual Aberrations – Aberrated Concepts

In 1944, Friedrich Keiter (1906–1967), a student and later colleague of Walter Scheidt, stated in one of the last German textbooks of racial biology the following: “Abroad, they claim National Socialism is ‘racist’. To our ears, that is an ugly word, which, however, instinctively managed to sense the true core, indeed the very core of our great movement of renewal.”¹¹⁰ The starting point of racism of such prominent institutions of the Nazi

¹⁰¹ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 414. See *Ernennungen*, *Der Biologe* 12 (6–7), 1943, p. 147.

¹⁰² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire of A. Kloiber, 1944. See Ämilian KLOIBER, *Die Rassen in Oberdonau. Ältere und neuere Untersuchungen 1883–1938*, *Jahrbuch des Vereines für Landeskunde und Heimatpflege im Gau Oberdonau* 88, 1939, pp. 315–374.

¹⁰³ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire of A. Kloiber, 1944.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ A. KLOIBER, *Die Rassen*, pp. 315–368.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; BArch Berlin, DS/G0124 (Kloiber A., born 1910), *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to A. Kloiber, April 29, 1939.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to F. Althelm, 12. 4. 1939.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to V. Christian, 12. 4. 1939; BArch Berlin, DS/G0124 (Kloiber, A.), biographical entry, without date.

¹⁰⁹ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 414.

¹¹⁰ Friedrich KEITER, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Rassenbiologie und Rassenhygiene*, Stuttgart 1944, p. 1; text in German original: “Der Nationalsozialismus wird im Ausland ‘Rassismus’ genannt. Das ist ein für unsere Ohren recht

state as was, for example, the *Rassenamt* was a firm belief in the crucial role of race not only in the historical development and biological evolution accompanied by a conviction about the existence of an immutable hierarchy along the lines proposed by Arthur Gobineau (1816–1882), which determines the classification and value (*Wert*) of races.¹¹¹ It was already indicated that even in Nazi Germany there was diversity within the racialist and racist discourse and one finds various concepts of race.¹¹² Similarly, there were persisting ambiguities in the use of the dichotomy *Rasse* and *Volk*, which in some *völkisch*-oriented racial theorists became the subject of elaborate analyses.¹¹³

Nonetheless, in studying the close connection between racial biology and ‘practical’ racial policy – as it was in Prague represented by the Institute for Racial Biology – it is best to focus on the so-called ‘static’ concept of race, based on and characterised by a claim about races’ natural inequality.¹¹⁴ This was summarised in training material for selectors of the RuS as follows: “The basic prerequisite of racial theory is a realisation of natural differences within humankind in its races. Of course it does not matter what a person’s face looks like but people are divided in distinct groups which differ not only in their external, physical form but also in their inner being, in their character and their abilities.”¹¹⁵ This conception enabled the construction of an entire superstructure which the *Rassenamt* selectors used in mass selections on the basis of which decisions about human lives were mercilessly taken.¹¹⁶ What was of crucial importance was that the conviction of a constant, immutable nature of individual races also incorporated an oversimplified version of genetics. Because of this step, these obscurantist activities, much like the Nazi hereditary and racial hygiene, could be presented within a broader organic and biologicistic framework:¹¹⁷

hässliches Wort, das aber instinktiver den wirklichen Kern, ja ‘den Kern des Kernes’ an unserer großen Erneuerungsbewegung herausgeföhlt hat.” Previous German publications dedicated exclusively to the racial biology were i.a. Walter SCHEIDT, *Kulturkunde*, Bd. II – Rassenbiologie und Kulturpolitik, Leipzig 1937; Curt F. ROTHENBERGER, *Rassenbiologie und Rechtspflege* (= Arbeiten Hamburger Juristen im Rassenbiologischen Institut der Hamburgischen Universität, Halbjahr 1934/1935), Hamburg 1936; Jakob GRAF, *Familienkunde und Rassenbiologie für Schüler*, München 1935.

¹¹¹ *Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1943, pp. 10, 15–17.

¹¹² See K. L. LECHLER, *Die drei Wege zum Rassebegriff*, Neues Volk 6/5, 1939, pp. 12–15; Alfred BAEUMLER, *Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft*, Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung 8, 1939, pp. 252–255; Jürgen BRAKE, *Der Ursprung der Rassenlehre im europäischen Denken der Neuzeit*, Internationale Erziehung 8, 1939, pp. 256–274; F. REQUARD, *Kausalität und Rasse*, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Naturwissenschaft 4/3, 1937, pp. 83–95; Otto RECHE, *Der Begriff der ‘Rasse’*, VuR 8/7, 1933, pp. 217–218; Eugen FISCHER, *Begriff, Abgrenzung und Geschichte der Anthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer (eds.), *Anthropologie* (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart III), Leipzig – Berlin 1923, pp. 1–11. See Helga SATZINGER, *Rasse, Gene und Geschlecht. Zur Konstituierung zentraler biologischer Begriffe bei Richard Goldschmidt und Fritz Lenz, 1916–1936* (= Forschungsprogramm „Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus“, Ergebnisse 15), Berlin 2004.

¹¹³ K. SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre*, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

¹¹⁵ BArch Berlin, NS2/256, teaching staff of the RuSHA called ‘The National Socialist Idea of the Race’ (Der nationalsozialistische Rassegedanke), s.d.; text in German original: “Die Grundvoraussetzung der Rassenlehre ist die Erkenntnis von der natürlichen Verschiedenheit des Menschengeschlechtes in seinen Rassen. Es ist keineswegs alles gleich, was Menschenantlitz trägt, sondern die Menschen sind in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt, die sich nicht nur in ihren äußeren und körperlichen Formen sondern auch in ihrem inneren Wesen, in ihrem Charakter und in ihren Fähigkeiten unterscheiden.”

¹¹⁶ Isabel HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’ oder ‘unerwünschter Bevölkerungszuwachs’. *Die Bedeutung der ‘Rassenanalyse’ in der nationalsozialistischen Umsiedlungspolitik*, in: Paula Diehl (ed.), *Körper im Nationalsozialismus. Bilder und Praxen*, München 2006, pp. 267–280.

¹¹⁷ A. D. EVANS, *Anthropology*, p. 200.

“The very core, the innermost source of the law of every organic self-fulfilment and thereby also recovery are abilities, aptitudes. If there existed no essentially defining hereditary abilities, living creatures and people would have no inner form in accordance with which national socialist movement towards renewal is attempting to live (...). In this sense, biology leads to knowledge and hygiene to the corresponding act.”¹¹⁸ A ‘race’ could thus newly be also defined as a “group of persons who are distinct from others by sharing the same hereditary physical and mental characteristics, who represent a link in the chain of phylogenetic development”.¹¹⁹ And in genetic categories, the ‘need’ for targeted selective interference was then justified as follows: “Each foreign hereditary structure that is admixed into a nation must lead to disharmony (...) removal of such hereditary structures is then the main task of a state.”¹²⁰ Mental and psychological traits were then seen from the perspective of heredity since differences in this area had been for a long time foreseen based on a racial, primarily morphological and anatomical classification: “A race is represented in a group of people who have their own combination of physical traits and psychological qualities which distinguish them from any other similarly formed group and make them seek their likes.”¹²¹ One can thus say that in this case, genetics was used for fossilisation of not only older theories, which arose mainly on the basis of descriptive anthropological methods in late 19th and early 20th century, but also of pure and simple racial prejudice. “The modern view of race, founded upon the known facts and theories of heredity, leaves the old views of fixed and absolute biological differences among the races of man and the hierarchy of superior and inferior races founded upon this old view without scientific justification.”¹²² Or, as the British anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1905–1999) summarised at the time his objections against the official German racial doctrine: “1. That it is artificial, 2. That it does not agree with the facts, 3. That it leads to confusion and the perpetuation of error, and finally, that for all these reasons it is meaningless, or rather more accurately such meaning as it possesses is false.”¹²³

It was stated above, when the new institute was being created in Prague, its name rather significantly shifted from the originally suggested *Rassenkunde* (1939–1940) to *Rassenbiologie* (1941–1945). Yet if we were to take, for example, Fischer’s 1920s classification

¹¹⁸ F. KEITER, *Sozialanthropologie*, pp. 1–2; text in German original: “Kern dieses Kernes, innerster Quell der Gesetze jeder organischen Selbsterfüllung und damit Gesundung sind die Anlagekräfte. Gäbe es keine wesensbestimmende Erbveranlagung, dann wären die Lebewesen und der Mensch ohne jene innere Form, der nachzuleben das Bestreben der nationalsozialistischen Gesundungsbewegung ist (...). Dabei bedeutet Biologie die Erkenntnis und Hygiene die der Erkenntnis entsprechende Tat.”

¹¹⁹ Otto AICHEL, *Der Deutsche Mensch. Studie aufgrund des neuen europäischen und außereuropäischen Materials*, Jena 1933, p. 5; text in German original: “eine Gruppe von Menschen, die sich von anderen, durch den Besitz gleicher körperlicher und geistiger Erbmerkmale unterscheidet und ein Glied in der Kette phylogenetischen Geschehen bilden”. See K. SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre*, p. 37.

¹²⁰ O. AICHEL, *Der Deutsche Mensch*, p. 163; text in German original: “Jedes fremde Erbgefüge, das einem Volk beigemischt wird, muß zu Disharmonien führen (...). Fernhaltung solchen Erbgefüges ist eine Hauptaufgabe des Staates.”

¹²¹ F. K. GÜNTHER, *Rassenkunde*, p. 14; text in German Original: “Eine Rasse stellt sich dar in einer Menschengruppe, die sich durch die ihr eigene Vereinigung körperlicher Merkmale und seelischer Eigenschaften von jeder anderen (in solcher Weise zusammengefassten) Menschengruppe unterscheidet und immer wieder nur ihresgleichen zeugt.”

¹²² Leslie C. DUNN, *A Short History of Genetics*, p. 7. See also Frank B. LIVINGSTONE, *On the Non-existence of Human Races*, *Current Anthropology* 3, 1962, pp. 279–282.

¹²³ Ashley MONTAGU, *The Concept of Race in the Light of Genetics*, *Journal of Heredity* 32, 1941, pp. 243–247. See also id., *The Concept of Race*, New York – London 1964.

as our starting point, then racial biology – much like racial theory (*Rassenlehre*) – should be a sub-field of special anthropology (*Spezialanthropologie*), which was supposed to deal mainly with “what we actually know about these races, that is, what generally valid findings we gained from the study of individual races”.¹²⁴ While taking into account findings from genetics, the racial biology was supposed to focus mainly on three problematic areas: 1) the origin of races (*Rassenentstehung*), 2) the mixing of races (*Rassenkreuzung*), and 3) the demise of races (*Rassenverschwinden*).¹²⁵ Later on, racial statistics (*Rassenstatistik*) and mainly racial policy (*Rassenpolitik*) were also claimed to be its parts. Schultz himself included racial biology in the realm of anthropological investigations of living objects (*Forschung am Lebenden*; as distinct from research of skeletons), whereby for him, too, inequality of people was a clear starting point: “Human races are absolutely not equal, be it mentally or physically. It was an error of the liberal era to think that all people are equal and differences between them stem only from different environments.”¹²⁶ The main ‘processes’ which racial biology was supposed to investigate was mainly the ‘mixing of races’ (*Rassenmischung*),¹²⁷ ‘loss of racial order’ (*rassische Entordnung*),¹²⁸ fertility (*Fruchtbarkeit*), and ‘selection relations’ (*Ausleseverhältnisse*).¹²⁹ The literature which Schultz drew upon reflects the contemporary German production in racial hygiene and anthropology, such as the works of Eugen Fischer, Erwin Baur, Fritz Lenz, H. F. K. Günther, Richard W. Darré, and Hermann W. Siemens etc.¹³⁰ The degree of indoctrination is then indicated, among other things, by subjects of lectures delivered at the special courses for the selectors (*Eignungsprüferlehrgänge*) of the RuSHA on April 6–16, 1940 at the Reichschool of the DAF (*Reichsschule der DAF*) in Müggelheim, where Schultz spoke for example about the ‘racial composition of the German people in the course of history’ (*Rassische Zusammensetzung des deutschen Volkes im Verlauf der Geschichte*), on ‘admixture of foreign blooded racial elements in the German people, areas where they are most represented, and their origin’ (*Fremdblütige Rasseneinschläge im deutschen Volke, die Gebiete ihres stärksten Auftretens und ihre Herkunft*), ‘Catholic population and racial policy’ (*Katholische Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik*), ‘the spiritual image and character in related and unrelated races’ (*Das seelische und charakterliche Bild der artverwandten und artfremden Rassen*), ‘principles of selection for the SS and manner of testing suitability for the SS’ (*Auslesegrundsätze der SS und Art und Weise der SS-Eignungsuntersuchungen*), ‘special racial traits as diagnostic tools for certain features in racially mixed persons’ (*Besondere Rassenmerkmale als Erkennungszeichen für bestimmte Einschläge bei Rassenmischlingen*), and on ‘the theory of origin and modern research of heredity’ (*Abstammungslehre und moderne*

¹²⁴ G. SCHWALBE – E. FISCHER, *Anthropologie*, pp. 126; text in German original: “was wir eigentlich von diesen Rassen wissen, d.h. aus der Untersuchung der Einzelrassen an Allgemein gültigen haben gewinnen können”. See also Eugen FISCHER, *Rassen und Rassenbildung*, in: Rudolf Dittler et al. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaften* 8, Jena 1933, pp. 198–214, esp. pp. 199–214.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 137–141.

¹²⁶ Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Erbkunde, Rassenkunde, Rassenpflege. Ein Leitfaden zum Selbststudium und für den Unterricht*, München 1933, p. 84; text in German original: “Die Menschenrassen sind durchaus nicht gleich, weder geistig noch körperlich. Es war der Irrtum des liberalistischen Zeitalters, das da glaubte, alle Menschen wären gleich und nur durch die verschiedene Umwelt andersartig.”

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 84–87.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–95.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99 (Pt. Recommended Literature).

Erbforschung).¹³¹ This and other lectures he then accompanied by visual demonstrations using a special set of pictorial boards.¹³²

Last but not least Bruno K. Schultz was especially proud of the precision he achieved when using traditional anthropological measurement methods, methods whose mastery he demanded also from others. It is no accident that he and Michael Hesch were the main authors of the great majority of sample sets of eyes, hair, pigmentation, etc. which were used by *Rassenamt* employees during selections. In this case, ideological fanaticism was accompanied by fanaticism of precise methodology.

4. Designing Racial Selection: The Case of Bohemia and Moravia

The cornerstone of Nazi racial policy was selection: “National socialist endorsement of race inherently also implies an endorsement of selection.”¹³³ Selection in turn required the elaboration of techniques of ‘racial assessment’ (*rassisches Gutachten*) that would enable the classification of people as being either ‘racially desirable’ (*rassisch erwünscht*) or ‘racially undesirable’ (*rassisch unerwünscht*).¹³⁴ In case of Bohemia and Moravia, Karl Hermann Frank’s memorandum of August 28, 1940 and Heydrich’s commentary of September 11, 1940 became the basis on which SS-Oberscharführer Dr. Walter König-Beyer (b. 1903), RuSHA employee and a Sudetengerman historian, defined in October 1940 on behalf of the RuSHA a selection scheme in his ‘Memorandum on Racially Political Relations in the Czech-Moravian Space and Their Reorganisation’ (*Denkschrift über die rassenspolitischen Verhältnisse des Böhmisches-Mährischen Raumes und dessen Neugestaltung*).¹³⁵ Of crucial importance was not so much the relative representation of population groups but rather the definition of four main population groups which were to be selected out, removed

¹³¹ *Eignungsprüferlehrgang des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS*, Berlin 1940 (offprint).

¹³² These were divided into the following sections: I. ‘European Races’ (*Europäische Rassen*), II. ‘Outside-European Races’ (*Aussereuropäische Rassen*), III. ‘Four Main Races of Europe’ (*Die vier Haupttrassen Europas*), IV. ‘Heredity of the Hair Form of the Man’ (*Vererbung der Haarform beim Menschen*), V. ‘Heredity of the Eye-Colour of the Man’ (*Vererbung der Augenfarbe beim Menschen*), VI. ‘Heredity of the Two Predispositions Pairs’ (*Vererbung zweier Anlagenpaare*), VII. ‘Origin of Sex and Heredity of the Predisposition’ (*Zustandekommen des Geschlechts und Vererbung einer Anlage*), and VIII. ‘Racial Distribution in Europe’ (*Die Rassenverteilung in Europa*).

¹³³ BArch Berlin, NS2/256, internal education material of the RuSHA, ‘The National Socialist Idea of Race’ (*Der nationalsozialistische Rassegedanke*), no date; text in German original: “Das nationalsozialistische Bekenntnis zur Rasse schließt zugleich das Bekenntnis zur Auslese in sich.” See I. HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’, pp. 270–271.

¹³⁴ Maria TESCHLER-NICOLA, *Aspekte der Erbbiologie und die Entwicklung des rassenskundlichen Gutachtens in Österreich bis 1938*, in: Heinz Eberhard Gabriel – Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938 – Zur Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien*, Teil III, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2005; id., *The Diagnostic Eye – On the History of Genetic and Racial Assessment in Pre-1938 Austria*, Coll. Anthropol. 28/2, 2004, pp. 7–29; Hans-Peter KRÖNER, *Von der Vaterschaftsbestimmung zum Rassegutachten. Der erbbiologische Ähnlichkeitsvergleich als ‘österreichisch-deutsches Projekt’ 1926–1945*, *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 22, 1999, pp. 257–264; Georg LILIENTHAL, *Arier oder Jude? Die Geschichte des erb- und rassenskundlichen Abstammungsgutachtens*, in: Peter Propping – Heinz Schott (eds.), *Wissenschaft auf Irrwegen. Biologismus-Rassenhygiene-Eugenik*, Bonn 1992, pp. 66–84.

¹³⁵ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 56, Walter König-Beyer’s memorandum, October 23, 1940. See D. BRANDES, ‘Umwolkung’, pp. 194–195; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 152–155. See also Chad BRYANT, *Prague in Black. Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*, Cambridge, Ma. 2007, pp. 119–128.

from this territory.¹³⁶ It should be noted that König-Beyer's proposal applied not only to the Protectorate but also the Reich District of Sudetenland and took into account racial, medical, social, and political aspects.

In the Protectorate, we can identify several areas or agendas nowadays usually included into Nazi Germanisation attempts or Nazi ethnic policy (*Volkstumspolitik*) where the (pseudo)expertise of RuSHA or *Rassenamt* personnel or Institute for Racial Biology played a clearly identifiable role. They were involved both in 'practical' actions and in the formulation of long-term strategies which included numerous other institutions, such as the Office of the Reichsprotector and later the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia.¹³⁷ Unlike other SS offices, the RuSHA – and in particular its *Rassenamt* – started its activities in the Protectorate relatively late, in the first months of 1941, but that did not prevent it from fast gaining importance afterwards.¹³⁸ Its position in the Protectorate, meanwhile, was rather different, one could even say radically unlike the role it played in Germany proper. In 1944, its then chief SS-Obergruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt (1897–1952) compared its position in Germany and the Protectorate as follows: "In Germany, where the SS Race and Settlement Main Office is sometimes not involved in the procedures to such an extent and its assessment, is not taken as seriously as in the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, where it is used as basis of general policies. Experiences gained in collaboration between the SS Race and Settlement Main Office and offices dealing with state citizenship had proven themselves useful in practical solution of further issues of state citizenship and ethnicity in the German Reich."¹³⁹ During his meeting with K. H. Frank on May 22, 1941, which took place during Otto Hofmann's official visit to the Protectorate, the then chief of the RuSHA could inform the State Secretary that by that time, he had at his disposal regional offices (*Zweigstellen*) in České Budějovice/Budweis, Jihlava/Iglau, and Brno/Brünn, which were already fully manned. It was also planned that on July 1, 1941 the RuSHA would open its Prague headquarters (so-called Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia, *Außenstelle Böhmen-Mähren*) in a new residence in Prague-Bubeneč. Its regional offices, meanwhile, had been in operation since February 1941¹⁴⁰ and further local offices were supposed to gradually open in Plzeň/Pilsen, Kolín/Kolin, Pardubice/Pardubitz, Hradec Králové/Königrätz, Jičín/Gitschin, and Zlín/Zlin. The aim was clearly to establish in the Protectorate in a short period of time a structure analogical, for example, to the local SD organisation, which by January 1, 1945 included 10 so-called 'Race and Settlement Leaders' (*RuS-Leiter*) and 19

¹³⁶ NA Praha, ÚŘP-dod II, b. 56, Walter König-Beyer's memorandum, October 23, 1940 (Pt. E, III. 1–4 and IV. 1–4). See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 194–196; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 155.

¹³⁷ For example, the Dpt. of Medical and Health Administration (16) of the Office of the Reichsprotector.

¹³⁸ BArch Berlin, RS/D389 (Künzel Erwin), suggestion of the Chief of the *Rassenamt* for Künzel's advancement, October 10, 1941; *ibid.*, NS2/66 (Bd. 3), structure of the SS in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, June 1939; *ibid.*, NS2/153, report on the activities of the RuSHA in the area of state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: "Dort teilweise nicht im gleichen Umfang das RuS-Hauptamt-SS an den Verfahren beteiligt ist und seine Gutachten nicht in gleicher Weise wie im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ausgewertet und zur Grundlage allgemeiner Richtlinien gemacht worden sind. Die bei der Zusammenarbeit des RuS-Hauptamtes-SS mit den Staatsangehörigkeitsbehörden gewonnenen Erfahrungen sind geeignet, bei der praktischen Lösung weiterer Staatsangehörigkeits- und Volkstumsprobleme im Großdeutschen Reich verwertet zu werden."

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, RS/D389 (Künzel Erwin), suggestion of the *Rassenamt* chief Künzel's advancement, October 10, 1941. See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', p. 196 and I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 156.

‘Race and Settlement Sub-Leaders’.¹⁴¹ It is estimated that by the end of the war, about 5 per cent of the Czech and Moravian population had passed through the offices of these men.¹⁴²

To mention just the most important actions of these bureaus, one of the first tasks *Rassenamt* employees in the Protectorate were supposed to tackle was the establishment of a comprehensive racial register of children born in 1928–1932. This project was related to Frank’s memorandum from August 1940 and closely linked to the opening and start of operations of the Prague branch office.¹⁴³ The creation of this register was based on a special order (*Sonderauftrag*), issued and through the SS enforced directly by Heinrich Himmler. In order to maintain secrecy, this project was disguised as a medical examination of schoolchildren and relied on participation of some Czech physicians.¹⁴⁴ The organisation of this undertaking was entrusted to SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Künzel (b. 1908), who assumed his new function in the Protectorate on February 15, 1941 and was later, when Himmler became Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom, appointed his authorised representative (*Beauftragte*) for the whole territory of the Protectorate.¹⁴⁵ It remains unknown why this particular group (age cohort) was selected for examination. In any case, the whole project was plagued by administrative problems related to the centralisation of completed health cards, and the like. It was also marked by disputes about authority with representatives of the German health authorities, which significantly interfered even with the evaluation of anthropological data.¹⁴⁶ Even so, the ‘school action’ was a pilot project which could then be followed by others, such as examination of police officers in the Protectorate, an undertaking in which especially K. H. Frank took much interest.¹⁴⁷ In the end, this latter investigation took place much later than the top representatives of occupation administration had planned. Eventually, it became one of the chief ‘research’ priorities of Reinhard Heydrich Foundation (*Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*; RHSt), especially after Karl V. Müller extended the project so as to include “the constitutional, typological, and racial composition, as well as ethnic and social origins of policemen over 3 generations but also the degree of urbanisation of the police force”.¹⁴⁸ It was mostly a ‘desk job’ since this research – which was carried out by Müller’s university institute at the request of Reinhard

¹⁴¹ Ibid., NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941; *ibid.*, note of the RuSHA/Siedlungsamt, January 23, 1945. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 155–157.

¹⁴² D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, p. 209. See also I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 164.

¹⁴³ Vojtěch MASTNÝ, *Protektorát a osud českého odboje*, Praha 2003, p. 128 (first published in English as *The Czech Under Nazi Rule. The Failure of National Resistance 1939–1942*, New York – London 1971). See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 153–154.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 195–196; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 153.

¹⁴⁵ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, Otto Hofmann’s request to Heinrich Himmler concerning the appointment of Erwin Künzel as Himmler’s commissary for the Protectorate, April 21, 1941; *ibid.*, BArch Berlin, RS/D389 (Künzel E.), Otto Hofmann’s letter to K. H. Frank, January 25, 1941, confidential/secret. See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 351–353, where Heydrich is incorrectly listed as the first emissary.

¹⁴⁶ NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, b. 53, Erwin Künzel to K. H. Frank, August 18, 1941; *ibid.*, Erwin Künzel to K. H. Frank November 3, 1941.

¹⁴⁷ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941. See A. WIEDEMANN, *Nadace Reinharda Heydricha v Praze. 1942–1945*, Praha 2004; this disproves Wiedeman’s assumption that Frank took no interest in the creation of this register. See also V. MASTNÝ, *Protektorát*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁸ NA Praha, ST-AMV 109, 109-8/40, K. V. Müller’s letter to K. H. Frank concerning the measurements of the police officers, April 15, 1943; in German original: “Konstitutionelle, typologische, sowie rassenmäßige Zusammensetzung, die völkische und soziale Abstammung der Polizeibeamten durch 3 Generationen hindurch sowie das Ausmaß der Verstärkung dieses Beamtenkörpers”. See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 205–207;

Heydrich Foundation – took mainly the form of a questionnaire survey.¹⁴⁹ They included a special basic form with questions regarding personal data (name, surname, education, police rank, family status, number of children, etc.) and some questions regarding secondary morphological traits which were seen as ‘racial’, that is mainly things such as hair colour, eye colouration, height, pigmentation, the shape of nose and cheekbones, overall shape of the face, blood group, etc.¹⁵⁰ The ‘research’ was concluded in 1944 and far-reaching conclusions had been derived from it.¹⁵¹

Both for Nazi politicians and racial theorists, one of the most difficult challenges to tackle in a long-term was the ethnic mix existing in the Protectorate: “The Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia represents an ethnically mixed area. It features a strong nationally German group and also a majority of Czech population exhibits significant traits of admixture of German blood, partly a heritage of centuries past which can, however, be proven only in the present generation.”¹⁵² The main ‘problem’ from the perspective of the occupation authorities was to define appropriate criteria for granting German state citizenship, which was at the time something that could have life-altering consequences for the individuals involved.¹⁵³ Early in the existence of the Protectorate (1939–1940), this agenda was delegated mainly to the authority of offices of higher German administration (*Oberlandräte*; hereinafter OLR). In more complex and ambivalent cases, however, the whole process became very complicated and tended to stall, as evidenced by this quote: “The duration and even more the unclear cases which were piling up in comparison with the clear-cut cases were naturally influenced by lack of criteria, and this affected not only the personal interests of the applicants and even more importantly the ethnic interests of the German people.”¹⁵⁴ In these cases, meanwhile, racial criteria were at this time often not seen as decisive because – in contrast to, for example, the Nuremberg racial laws – the relevant authorities did not have a general method for racially selecting the ‘Arian’ population of the Protectorate.¹⁵⁵ After the establishment of the Prague Branch Office, all this was supposed

A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 113; id., *Nadace*, p. 77. See also U. Ferdinand’s contribution in this volume.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. For the questionnaire, see Karl V. MÜLLER, *Volksbiologie und Heimatforschung*, Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren 3, 1944, pp. 297–300. See U. Ferdinand’s paper in this volume.

¹⁵¹ See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Biologická budoucnost Čechů*, Přítomnost 18/4, 1944, pp. 3–5; id., *Die Gegenanalyse im tschechischen Volke*, Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren 3, 1944, pp. 298–300.

¹⁵² BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report about RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren stellt ein gemischt-völkisches Gebiet dar. Es weist eine starke deutsche Volksgruppe auf. Auch ein Großteil der tschechischen Bevölkerung zeigt Merkmale erheblichen deutschen Bluteseinschlages, der teils aus vergangengen Jahrhunderten stammt, teils aber auch bis in die jetzige Generation urkundlich nachgewiesen werden kann.”

¹⁵³ Ibid. See Chad BRYANT, *Acting Czech, Marking Germans: Nationality Politics in Bohemia, and Moravia, 1939–1947*, GHI Bulletin 34, 2004, pp. 65–73; id., *Občanství, národnost a každodenní život: Příspěvek k dějinám česko-německých smíšených manželství v letech 1939–1946*, Kuděj 4/2, 2002, pp. 43–51. See also V. MASTNÝ, *Protektorát*, pp. 133–135 and D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 211–212; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 169–176.

¹⁵⁴ BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Auf die Dauer und je mehr sich die Zweifelsfälle gegenüber den eindeutig gelagerten Fällen häuften, musste jedoch der Mangel eines Kriteriums erkennbar werden, das weniger auf die persönlichen Interessen der Antragsteller als auf das volkstumpolitische Interesse des deutschen Volkes abgestellt ist.” D. See BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 179–182.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

to change. As of December 16, 1940 its activities were incorporated into the agenda of the authorised representative of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom, which was once again Erwin Künzel who was by May 1941 authorised to process agenda related to ‘racial screening of marriage partner of other ethnicity’.¹⁵⁶ Until the end of the war, members of the RuSHA were then supposed to have a last word in cases involving a ‘return to German ethnicity’ (*Wiedereindeutschungsverfahren*): “Factually, findings of the RuSHA-SS determined that basically only people who could be re-Germanised constitute a desirable addition to the nation, whereas persons who cannot be re-Germanised are in this sense undesirable.”¹⁵⁷ At the same time, the office continued a close collaboration with the SD, which in the Protectorate, unlike in other occupied territories, proved to be a success in the long run.¹⁵⁸ The SD was able to supply not only data about particular persons but even information on the issue as such.¹⁵⁹ The importance of Künzel’s office is demonstrated in the fact that in 1942, RuSHA representatives in the Protectorate managed to enforce a retrospective re-examination of mixed marriage permits which had been granted in 1939–1942.¹⁶⁰ Exact numbers are known especially for the period between autumn of 1944 and March 1945, when the Prague office came to include a ‘health service’ (*Ärztlicher Dienst*). At this time, the office processed several dozen, at most about one hundred cases a month, whereby the caseload was clearly decreasing. The last surviving record, which reports about the situation in February 1945, lists 27 applications for mixed marriage permits and no applications for German citizenship.¹⁶¹ In this context, a comparison with, e.g., August 1944 is rather interesting: during that period, the office received 145 such applications, whereby only in 8 cases the request was rejected.¹⁶²

At the same time, Himmler’s new order concerning racial policy, in particular the registration of illegitimate children born from unions of German soldiers and so-called *Fremdstämmigen* women, was supposed to be implemented in the Protectorate in early March 1943.¹⁶³ At first, the process seemed quite straightforward: it was proposed that local authorities (both Protectorate and German ones) should inform the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA of all such cases. The office would then prepare racial or racially biological

¹⁵⁶ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941; text in German original: “rassische Überprüfung fremdvölkischer Ehepartner”.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Sachlich wurde die Bedeutung der Feststellungen des RuS-Hauptamtes-SS dahin festgelegt, daß grundsätzlich nur wiedereindeutschungsfähige Personen einen erwünschten Bevölkerungszuwachs, nichtwiedereindeutschungsfähige Personen dagegen einen unerwünschten Bevölkerungszuwachs darstellen.”

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ BArch Berlin, R58/149, report on an increase in the number of mixed German-Czech marriages in the Reich District of Sudetenland, March 1940; *ibid.*, R58/152, report about the quantitative representation of Germans (deutsche Volkszugehörigen) in the Protectorate and their geographical distribution, July 1940; *ibid.*, R58/158, R58/149, report on an increase in the number of mixed marriages in the Protectorate, March 1941.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, NS2/149, report of the Health Service of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia for February 1945, March 14, 1945.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, report of the Health Service of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia for September 1944, October 9, 1944.

¹⁶³ See Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Race, Heredity and Nationality: Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1945*, in: Kjersti Ericsson – Eva Simonsen, *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy*, Oxford – New York 2005, pp. 190–210.

assessments.¹⁶⁴ At this point, the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA, in collaboration with the relevant Department (group) for Affairs of Law and Justice of the Reichsprotector's Office (I 3), tried to come up with various ways in which the registration could be carried out. It turned out that birth registry keepers could not be assigned the task because they did not have sufficient information. Majority of the fact-finding agenda was then entrusted to the courts, both Protectorate and German ones.¹⁶⁵ At the same time, the relevant group of children was expanded. In its new form, the registration was supposed "to include all children who are due to their parentage carriers of valuable hereditary material".¹⁶⁶ In the course of May 1943, requirements presented by workers of the Reichsprotector's Office became even more extensive: by that point, they called for a retroactive registration of all such cases since August 1, 1939.¹⁶⁷ After some further discussions, Johannes Preuß, head of the Prague Branch Office, suggested that all (*sic!*) illegitimate children born in the territory of the Protectorate since March 16, 1939 should be registered and both social and healthcare authorities should participate in the project. In July 1944, it was decided in Berlin that for the moment being, these children would be just registered and even if found suitable for Germanisation from a racially biological and racial point of view, they would not be separated from their parent (mother) and sent to state-run fostering institutions (*Lebensborn, NSV-Heime*).¹⁶⁸ To assess their suitability, *Rassenamt* employees were to use the same procedure as in cases involving 're-Germanisation' (*Wiedereindeutschung*) or 'mixed marriages' (*Mischehe*).¹⁶⁹ The actual impact of this decision by the end of the war, however, remains as yet largely unknown.

Members of the Prague office of the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* were since 1941 also supposed to execute a project involving the selection of a limited number of Czech university students who would be permitted to study certain selected sciences at designated German universities and institutes of higher education.¹⁷⁰ Racial selection was an essential precondition of this programme until the end of the war.¹⁷¹

After the establishment of the Prague office and the Institute for Racial Biology, Prague assumed a very important position within the RuSHA as a whole. In 1942, it was decided that all future training courses for assessors in matters of race and settlement/selectors (*Lehrgänge für RuS-Eignungsprüfer*) would take place here. Earlier courses had been organised in RuSHA's special training facility in Berlin-Grunewald and their participants included some very prominent names of German racial hygiene such as Fritz

¹⁶⁴ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 366, Johannes Preuß to the Office of the Reichsprotector, March 3, 1943.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, official communication of department I/2 ÚŘP to department III/d ÚŘP, March 26, 1943.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, official communication of department III/d ÚŘP to department I/2 ÚŘP, May 19, 1943, confidential; text in German original: "alle diejenigen Kinder zu erfassen, die vom Erzeuger her Träger wertvollen Erbgutes sind".

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, official communication of ÚŘP to so called Land Presidents in Bohemia and Moravia regarding illegitimate children, May 28, 1943, confidential.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, file record Preuß about a Reich Ministry of Interior meeting regarding the guardianship of illegitimate offspring of Protectorate officers, July 10, 1944.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, directive of the Reich Ministry of Interior regarding the official guardianship of illegitimate offspring of women, Protectorate citizens, BII 938/44/82 50 III., September 27, 1944, mimeograph.

¹⁷⁰ Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, 'Tschechische Studentenaktion' – *Das medizinische Universitätsstudium der Protektoratsangehörigen in Deutschland, 1941–1945*, in: Ursula Ferdinand – Hans-Peter Kröner – Ioanna Mamali (eds.), *Medizinische Fakultäten in der deutschen Hochschullandschaft 1925–1950* (= Studien zur Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte 16), Heidelberg 2013, pp. 283–292.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 287–288. See also D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 219–220.

Lenz.¹⁷² These courses were mainly an internal RuSHA affair and announcements about their dates usually did not spread beyond RuSHA structure since they were printed only in the so-called Notes of the Race and Settlement Main Office (*Leithefte des Rasse- und Siedlungs-Hauptamtes*).¹⁷³ In Prague, they were organised, just like Reinhard Heydrich Stiftung's courses, in the facilities of the House of German Economy in Bohemia and Moravia (*Haus der Deutschen Wirtschaft in Böhmen und Mähren*), which was then located in the rooms of the former Social Club in Sylva-Taroucca Palace (also known as Savarin) in the very centre of Prague at Na Příkopě 10 (Am Graben 10).¹⁷⁴ The aim of these courses was mainly to elaborate further details of racial criteria (*Rassenformeln*).¹⁷⁵

The growing importance of RuSHA activities in the Protectorate in 1941–1942 is also witnessed by the fact that on October 31 – November 1, 1942, a special work meeting of section chiefs, department workers, and assessors/selectors of the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA took place in Slapy/Slap by Prague.¹⁷⁶ The meeting was supposed to deal with various organisational and professional issues regarding the individual local offices. Some prominent guests were also invited, including K. H. Frank who, however, in the end excused himself due to busy work schedule but asked to be informed about the results of the meeting.¹⁷⁷ Most importantly, though, discussions of key conceptual issues regarding further Germanisation and racial policies in the Protectorate included representatives of all four institutions which were involved in this area in the long term.¹⁷⁸ The *Rassenamt* was represented by Bruno K. Schultz, who – certainly in close relation to the situation in the Protectorate – spoke about ‘Current and future tasks of the RuSHA’ (*Gegenwärtige und zukünftige Aufgaben des RuSHA*). Another presentation was given by Johannes Preuß and two members of the X-ray Battalion of the SS (*SS-Röntgensturmbann*) reported about its deployment in the Protectorate and evaluation of information gained in the course of so-called ‘X-ray action’ (*Roentgen-Aktion*).¹⁷⁹

The *Roentgen-Aktion* was planned in direct response to Heydrich's demand made in 1940 that a ‘general survey’ (*generelle Bestandaufnahme*) be made in relation to the use of forced labour in Germany¹⁸⁰ but it also included a preventive tuberculosis examina-

¹⁷² BArch Berlin, NS2/88, programme of RuSHA education course in Reich School Müggelheim on April 6–16, 1941. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 62–73, 251, here esp. note 196.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ For example in April of the same year, a five day course was organised for so-called ‘heritage carers’ (*Sippenpfleger*). Its structure is highly characteristic of this exclusive kind of meetings. It included lectures with titles such as ‘Settlement Issues and Policy of the Eastern Space’ (*Siedlungsfragen und Ostraumpolitik*), ‘Baptised Jews and Their Offspring’ (*Judentaufen und ihre Nachfahren*), ‘The Establishment and Tasks of a German Archive’ (*Aufbau und Aufgaben des deutschen Archivs*), ‘Work in a Care Centre From a Genealogical Perspective’ (*Die Arbeit auf der Pflegestelle in sippenkundlicher Hinsicht*), ‘Hereditary Biology’ (*Erbbiologie*), ‘Worldview and Religion’ (*Weltanschauung und Religion*), ‘Tasks of the Care Centres’ (*Die Aufgaben der Pflegestelle*), ‘Overall Conclusions of Engagement and Marriage Applications’ (*Der Gesamtabschluss der VH-Gesuche*), and ‘Processing Admission Application’ (*Bearbeitung der Aufnahmege Suche*). See BArch Berlin, NS2/127, programme of the lectures, April 1943.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, *Rassenamt* chief's directive regarding the interpretation of regulations for selection within the SS and selection (*Auslesearbeit*) for the fortification of Germandom, May 29, 1943.

¹⁷⁶ NA Praha, ST-AMV 109, 109-12-74, Johannes Preuß's letter on the meeting, October 23, 1942; *ibid.*, agenda of the same meeting, October 29, 1942.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, report on the meeting, November 6, 1942.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, agenda of the same meeting, October 29, 1942.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 189–194.

tion of schoolchildren and youth. The operation was to start immediately after Reinhard Heydrich's arrival to Prague. It was implemented in close collaboration between the RuSHA and the Department (group) of Healthcare of the Reichsprotector's Office approximately between October 1941 and January 1942.¹⁸¹ The actual procedure and definition of competence and jurisdiction were agreed at a meeting between Otto Hofmann and Reich Health Leader SS-Obergruppenführer Leonardo Conti (1900–1945), which took place on St. Stephen's day in Berlin. The Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA was represented by Bruno K. Schultz and SS-Hauptsturmführer Erich Wetterm (b. 1910).¹⁸² Its conclusions in fact endorsed Himmler's starting point that in evaluating the data gained during this action, the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* should focus 'solely and exclusively on the race'.¹⁸³ In practical terms, the *Roentgen-Aktion* was a systematic, large-scale X-ray examination (*Reihenuntersuchungen*) of the Protectorate population, which was presented to the public as a preventive measure in the struggle against tuberculosis (*Tuberkulosebekämpfung*).¹⁸⁴ Though there was nothing preventing its dual purpose, its primary intention was evident from the fact that the whole undertaking was organised under the auspices of the SS, carried out by a special X-ray Battalion of the SS (*SS-Röntgensturmbann*), and assessment was entrusted to members of the RuSHA/*Rassenamt*, since, as it was said: "The examination can be carried out only by politically trained men of the SS who have been educated for this purpose."¹⁸⁵ To make the operation efficient, the individual mobile X-ray units placed on trucks or in buses were organised into an 'X-ray examination convoy' (*Röntgenuntersuchungszug*), which was later supposed to be replaced by a network of German health offices.¹⁸⁶ In the Protectorate, this special action started in late January and early February 1942.¹⁸⁷ Such a rapid implementation was enabled by fact that by this time, the X-ray Battalion of the SS was already a consolidated unit. It used methods proposed by Dr. med. habil. Hans (Georg) Holfelder (1891–1944), professor of radiology at the University in Frankfurt/Main, who had already in the 1930s worked on improving the operation potential of mobile X-ray

¹⁸¹ NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, b. 54, F. Fischer to K. H. Frank, December 3, 1941. See also Heydrich's speech on October 17, 1941 published by Miroslav KÁRNÝ – Jaroslava MILOTOVÁ (eds.), *Protektorátní politika Reinherda Heydricha*, Praha 1991, pp. 138–148 [145–146]. See also Oldřich SLÁDEK, *Od 'ochrany' ke konečnému řešení. Nacistický teror v českých zemích v letech 1939–1945*, Praha 1983, pp. 40–53. See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 197–198; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 157–167; Ch. BRYANT, *Acting*, pp. 159–166.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, B. K. Schultz's note on the meeting between Leonardo Conti and Otto Hofmann in Berlin on December 25, 1941, January 13, 1942.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*; text in German original: "einzig und allein mit der Rasse".

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ÚRP-114, b. 277, weekly report of sub-department I 6 for the period of December 19–26, 1941, December 30, 1941, the original document; *ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of January 29 – February 4, 1942, February 6, 1942; *ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, 1942, February 13, 1942. Isabel Heinemann dates the first contemplation of using X-ray examinations to early 1941 and ascribes the idea to Otto Hofmann, see I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 156.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ÚRP-ST, b. 54, F. Fischer to K. H. Frank, December 3, 1941; text in German original: "Die Untersuchung kann nur von politisch geschulten Männern der Schutzstaffel durchgeführt werden, die für diesen Zweck ausgebildet sind."

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, February 11, 1942, the original document; NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of March 9 – March 14, 1942, March 17, 1942.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, February 13, 1942.

machines even outside civilian or military hospitals. His goal was to carry out an X-ray examination of the entire German population and create a massive X-ray registry.¹⁸⁸ In late 1930s, a special new unit was integrated into the Medical Office of the SS (*SS-Sanitatsamt*) and since February 1, 1941, it was officially called the ‘X-ray Battalion of the SS Leadership Office’ (*Rontgen-Sturmabteilung beim SS-Fuhrungsamt*).¹⁸⁹ By June 1939, the unit included two sections (called ‘Sturm 1’ and ‘Sturm 2’), headquarters with an evaluation department (*Auswertungsabteilung*) and a special training facility.¹⁹⁰ X-ray images were taken using material of the *Leitz* Company from Wetzlar and the AGFA. With respect to tuberculosis, the examination results were classified in ten groups (*Klassen*) with various subgroups (*Unterklassen*) and the evaluation proper was carried out either in a Frankfurt institute belonging to the X-ray Battalion of the SS or, if examinations happened in the regions, in collaboration with regional centres of tuberculosis treatment or institutes of other universities.¹⁹¹ Already in 1940, the X-ray Battalion was also used to examine foreign workers coming to work in Germany and by 1944 the capacity of the battalion was enormous.¹⁹² In the summer of 1941, X-ray screening of the Norwegian population was also being planned.¹⁹³ By this time, the number of people involved in the X-Ray Battalion’s work expanded enormously. By 1944, it included almost 900 (!) persons whereby about 800 of them were members of the SS.¹⁹⁴ Though the battalion did not suffer from lack of personnel as much as from outdated technical equipment, its image-making potential also grew fast. While in August 1939, the personnel of approximately 130 men was capable of taking about 300,000 images, by November 1939 it was already approximately 1,000,000 and the number kept on growing.¹⁹⁵

In July 1942, two trucks fitted with all the relevant medical equipment were purchased in the Protectorate and assigned to the X-ray Battalion of the SS.¹⁹⁶ By March 1943, while carrying out medical examinations of Protectorate population, these trucks drove almost 900 km.¹⁹⁷ In mid-March 1943, their mission in the Protectorate was completed, whereby between August 1942 and February 1943 a total of 259,824 X-ray images had been taken.¹⁹⁸ In order to carry out an evaluation of thus gathered anthropometric and medical data, it was planned that a special research institute for the research of tuberculosis (*Tuberku-*

¹⁸⁸ Gabriele MOSER, *Tuberkulosebekampfung zwischen ‘Volksrontgenkataster’ und SS-Rontgensturmbann*, Fortschritte auf dem Gebiet der Rontgenstrahlen 2014, 186, pp. 327–331; Sven KOHLER, *Einsatz und Leistungen der Rontgendiagnostik in Wehrmacht und SS unter besonderer Berucksichtigung des von Prof. Holfelder geleiteten Rontgensturmbannes*, Leipzig 2000, pp. 67, 83–84, 86–87 (dissertation). See also Hans HOLFELDER, *Atlas des Rontgenreihenbildes des Brustraumes aufgrund der Auswertung von uber 900 000 Rontgenreihenschirmbildern*, Leipzig 1939.

¹⁸⁹ S. KOHLER, *Einsatz*, p. 89.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁹³ BAArch Berlin, DS/G113 (Beger B.), B. Beger’s letter to Heinrich Himmler concerning an anthropological screening of the Norwegian population by the SS-Roentgesturmbann, June 30, 1941.

¹⁹⁴ S. KOHLER, *Einsatz*, p. 80.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ NA Praha, URP-114, b. 448, file record of group I 6 (section I 6b) from a meeting about the financing of X-ray examinations of the Czech population of the Protectorate, October 28, 1942.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, memorandum of the central and personnel administration of the URP, department I 2 URP in the matter of providing lorries for an SS strike commando, April 28, 1943.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ‘Rontgensturmbann beim SS-Fuhrungsamt’, March 17, 1943.

lofeforschungsanstalt) would be established in Prague, which would be closely linked to the Prague Branche Office of the RuSHA.¹⁹⁹ The central German institution called Reich Commission for the Struggle Against Tuberculosis (*Reichstuberkuloseausschuß*) was also supposed to play a role in evaluating the data gained during the X-ray action²⁰⁰ and an important position in the undertaking was assigned to the Institute of Radiology of the DKU in Prague, which was at that time headed by Professor MUDr. Alois Beutel (1900–1968), Holfelder's student and member of the SS since 1939.²⁰¹

Even though one X-ray car was active in the Protectorate until the beginning of 1944, the agenda of a general X-ray population screening was passing on to the newly created German health offices.²⁰² At the same time, stationary radiological ambulances were established in large and ethnically mixed cities such as Prague/Prag (spring 1942),²⁰³ Pilsen/Pilsen (spring 1943),²⁰⁴ Hradec Králové/Königgrätz (autumn 1942),²⁰⁵ Jihlava/Iglau, Brno/Brünn, Olomouc/Olmütz (spring 1941),²⁰⁶ and Moravská Ostrava/Mährisch Ostrau (spring 1941).²⁰⁷ During their establishment, it was envisioned that they would also be used in relation to 'care for hereditary health' and 'racial care', where X-ray examinations would continue to play a key role.²⁰⁸ As of January 1, 1943, financing of the entire operation passed under the section for healthcare affairs at the Protectorate Ministry of Interior, which was since spring 1942 administratively independent of the Department (group) of Healthcare of Reichsprotector's Office. In this way, the programme could access some readily available financial resources from the Protectorate budget, so that for example just in 1943, the X-ray screening operation used 3,600,000 out of the utterly incredible budget of 20,500,000 Protectorate Kronen earmarked for 'special healthcare – extraordinary expenses'.²⁰⁹ In February of the same year, a programme of a 'regular X-ray examination of Czech teachers' (*regelmäßige Röntgenuntersuchungen der Lehrerschaft*) also got under

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for February 1942, February 19, 1942; *ibid.*, report for May 1942, May 31, 1942; *ibid.*, b. 450, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section c), May 31, 1942. See also Václav KRÁL (ed.), *Chťeli nás vyhubit. Dokumenty o nacistické vyhlazovací a germanizační politice v českých zemích v letech 2. světové války*, Praha 1961, p. 158 (document No. 24).

²⁰⁰ The details of his involvement are, however, difficult to verify because a great majority of written materials was destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in the second half of November 1943.

²⁰¹ BAArch Berlin, RS/A447 (Beutel A.), curriculum vitae, 1938; *ibid.*, RuS questionnaire, 1939.

²⁰² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 450, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section a), February 9, 1941; *ibid.*, b. 448, report of the general secretary of the central administration to the general department on the issue of trucks for X-ray examinations, March 13, 1944.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, b. 448, file German Health Office in Prague – creation of an X-ray ambulance in November 1940 – June 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Plzeň – creation of an X-ray ambulance in September 1941 – March 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Hradec Králové – creation of an X-ray ambulance in February 1942 – October 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Olomouc – creation of an X-ray ambulance in December 1940 – October 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, file containing documentation on the establishment of a German Health Office in Moravská Ostrava in February 1941 – July 1944, 1944, 1941–1944 and *ibid.*, an order by I 6 b – 26/12, December 6, 1940; *ibid.*, permission to transport iron and steel materials – control number, January 21, 1941.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, b. 450, administration report for February 1942, February 24, 1942, confidential; *ibid.*, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section a), March 16, 1942.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, b. 448, memorandum to a V section on the issue of X-ray examinations, April 2, 1943; *ibid.*, note of department I 2, April 17, 1943.

way.²¹⁰ A further quantitative expansion of the operation was clearly also planned since more and more registry cards were being printed. It is rather telling that in 1943, about 920,000 (!) of these cards were sent directly to the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* office in Prague in Mařákova Street No. 5.²¹¹

Alongside such systematic and long-term projects, one also should mention *Rassenamt*'s participation in a 'special action' (*Sonderaktion*), in the course of which the village of Lidice near Kladno was on June 10, 1942 encircled and razed to the ground as part of revenge for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich.²¹² All of the 173 men then present were shot on the spot, while women and children were gathered and later transported to a building of secondary school in Kladno.²¹³ The settlement itself was then in the course of following weeks systematically destroyed and eventually literally erased from the map.²¹⁴ No less systematic was also a selection of 88 children of Lidice, which was carried out on June 10–12, 1942. These children were from one day to the next brutally deprived of their parents, their closest relatives, and uprooted from their natural environment.²¹⁵

The selection was supervised by the head of the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA. The destruction of Lidice and annihilation of its inhabitants – as well as a similar action of June 24, 1942, in the course of which the east Bohemian village of Ležáky met with a similar fate – was even for these men a 'special' event since until that time, most of them had worked mainly in the quiet of their offices.²¹⁶ The selection of children of Lidice and Ležáky, whose result meant life or death for the children concerned, was thus an event where – in the Czech case for the first and last time – procedures which had been systematically planned on a much larger scale had been consequently implemented in their full terrifying extent.

²¹⁰ *Prováděcí nařízení č. 3 ze dne 15. března 1943 pro pravidelná roentgenová vyšetřování učitelstva (výnos ministerstva vnitra ze dne 25. února 1943, G. Z. Va-4220-23/2-43)*, Věstník ministerstva spravedlnosti 25, 1943, pp. 44–47.

²¹¹ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 448, memorandum of department I 2c to head of the Association for a Planned Assessment of Tuberculosis (Verein für planmäßige Tuberkulose-Erfassung), May 14, 1943; *ibid.*, memorandum of the German Printing House (Deutsche Druckerei) of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia in Mařákova Street 5, February 5, 1943.

²¹² See Eduard STEHLÍK, *Lidice: Příběh české vsi*, Praha 2004; John F. N. BRADLEY, *Lidice: Sacrificial Village*, New York 1972. See Isabel HEINEMANN, 'Bis zum letzten Tropfen guten Blutes': *The Kidnaping of 'Racially Valuable' Children as Another Aspect of Nazi Racial Policy in the Occupied East*, in: Dirk Moses (ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society. Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, Oxford – New York 2004, pp. 244–266 and Vojtěch KYNCL, *Bez výčitek. Genocida Čechů po atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha*, Praha 2002.

²¹³ E. STEHLÍK, *Lidice*, pp. 76–77.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92–97.

²¹⁵ On the fate of children of Lidice, see most recently collected testimonies by Jolana MACKOVÁ – Ivan ULRYCH, *Fates of the Children of Lidice: Memories, Testimonies, Documents*, Nymburk 2004. See also G. LILIENTHAL, *Arier*, pp. 186–187. ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963. Cf. also Jana HAVLÍKOVÁ – Martin HOŘÁK, *Pronásledování nezletilých českých dětí a odpůrců nacismu v letech 1939–1945*, in: Coll., 'Nepřicházeli práce k Tobě...' – 'Kommt die Arbeit nicht zu Dir...': Různé podoby nucené práce ve studiih a dokumentech – Verschiedene Formen der Zwangsarbeit in Studien und Dokumenten, Praha 2003, p. 115.

²¹⁶ ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy, and *ibid.* Josef Pichler's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, October 9, 1963, copy.

In the case of Lidice and Ležáky, the selection in practice meant that based on a racial hierarchy, children were divided in two groups, namely a group fit for Germanisation (*eindeutschungsfähig*) and a group unfit for Germanisation (*nichteindeutschungsfähig*). Then the children were registered in the relevant transport lists. Eight of Lidice children which were found unfit for Germanisation were described as ‘most severely afflicted from a hereditary point of view’.²¹⁷ One of the survivors described it as follows: “They just immediately called our mothers with us, looked at us, asked our mothers about diseases in the family, our illnesses, etc. And it took three days while we were there [in the building of *Realgymnasium* in Kladno, author’s note].”²¹⁸ In charge of this operation was the then chief SS-Sturmbannführer Johannes (Edward) Preuß (b. 1905), at whose disposal was one additional ‘race and settlement assessor’ (*RuS-Eignungsprüfer*) from Kladno or Plzeň sub-branch office. This person was most likely SS-Obersturmführer (Johann) Erich Wettern (b. 1910).²¹⁹ Preuß’s post-war arguments to the effect that Frank did not tell him anything about the future fate of children he determined to be ‘unfit for Germanisation’ and that had he known it, he would have helped them, are extremely unconvincing: “In my view, it is quite obvious that Frank did not tell me anything about the possibly intended killing of these children (...). In such a situation, one would not tell a person who is in charge of examining the children that whose found incapable of re-Germanisation would be killed even if that’s what’s intended. That would place the expert in a conflict of interest because he would be inclined to apply possibly even too strict criteria to make sure that children of criminals are not integrated into the German nation.”²²⁰ In this case, selection involved two kinds of responsibility, namely a political and ‘expert and procedural’ one. In other words, the relevant political representatives relied in their final decisions on expert testimonies produced by RuSHA ‘experts’, who in turn acted with a clear political mission. The then valid internal RuSHA regulations show that if a decision was taken on the top level of the Nazi state that RuSHA would participate in an operation – as was the case in Lidice and Ležáky – this order was communicated from the Reichsführer of the SS (Heinrich Himmler) to the head of the RuSHA-SS (Otto Hofmann), who then informed the head of the *Rassenamt* (Schultz). Schultz was then according to RuSHA’s internal regulation of November 18,

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “erblich stärkestens belastet”.

²¹⁸ Document source – testimonies of so-called ‘Lidice children’ for a new exhibition in the Lidice memorial recorded by K2 Studio (owner: Pavel Štingl) in 2005, here Václav Zelenka’s testimony, p. 80 of the transcript.

²¹⁹ A MV Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy, and *ibid.*, also Josef Pichler’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, October 9, 1963, copy. Further cf. also especially a transport list undersigned by Preuß whose photocopy is kept in the NA Praha, MV-ref. L, book No. 14, transport list of children ‘unfit for Germanisation’ who are to be transported to the ‘Umwandererzentrale’ in Litzmannstadt, July 6, 1942; ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy; ABS Praha, 11683, Memorandum of the Czechoslovak government for the International Military Tribunal on mass crimes committed by the German armies and institutions in the territory of the Czechoslovak State during the occupation, 1945, copy.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Es liegt meines Erachtens auf der Hand, daß Frank mir vor einer etwa beabsichtigten Tötung der Kinder nichts gesagt hat (...). In einer solchen Situation erklärt man doch nicht demjenigen, der die Kinder untersuchen soll, die nicht Wiedereindeutschungsfähigen würden getötet, selbst wenn man dies vorhat. Dadurch würde man den Gutachter in einen Konflikt bringen, weil er dazu neigen würde, möglichst viele Kinder von Verbrechern und möglicher Weise haben wir einen ziemlich strengen Maßstab angelegt, um zu verhindern, daß Kinder von Verbrechern dem Deutschen Volke eingegliedert würden.”

1941 responsible for the enlisting (*Einberufung*) and dismissal (*Abberufung*) of particular race examiners as well as for their activity and its ‘results’, whereby his conclusions had to have the consent of the head of the RuSHA.²²¹

After its transfer to Prague, one of *Rassenamt*’s tasks was to provide an *ex post* ‘scientific’ justification of the use of Nazi racial policy.²²² And it was here in Prague that in late 1944 a new area of racial ‘research’ started being explored under its auspices. It was related to a project internally known as ‘Race and Crime’ (*Rasse und Verbrechen*).²²³ In late 1944 and early 1945, this became part of *Rassenamt*’s much larger project, whose importance was described as follows: “This investigation opens a completely new area of investigation, one that the *Rassenamt* of the SS is most interested in and offers it far-reaching support.”²²⁴ The main idea of the new project consisted in “using a series of tests to clarify relations between physical/racial appearance and the mental makeup of people”.²²⁵ The ‘research subjects’ of this study were prisoners from Gestapo’s holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, which was established by the Gestapo already shortly after March 15, 1939.²²⁶ Since 1943, the prison included a Investigation Prison (*Untersuchungshaftanstalt*) and in early April 1943, a guillotine was installed, which was by the end of the war used for the execution of approximately 1,018 prisoners.²²⁷ In late March 1945, several prisoners from little fortress prison in Theresienstadt were also brought to here: they were executed here on April 10, 1945.²²⁸ The new project was strictly confidential and headed by *Rassenamt* employee SS-Obersturmführer Dr. rer. nat. Burchard Kühne (b. 1906), who had previously dealt with similar issues as an officer in the Wehrmacht.²²⁹ He was said to be utterly perverse. Not only were the subjects of his ‘examination’ mostly people who ended up in prison because of perversions of Nazi judicial machinery but it was also formally requested that the *Rassenamt* assessors carrying out the research be granted a permission to be present at executions of selected prisoners in order to study their behaviour *in articulo mortis*. In particular, it was requested that the examiners may “[be] present during executions so as to be able to investigate the different behaviours of various racial types at that point”.²³⁰ Permission to carry out the ‘research’ was granted in late 1944 by the relevant department of the German

²²¹ BAArch Berlin, NS2/88, memorandum of O. Hofmann defining the jurisdiction of Chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RuSHA in relation to provincial offices and in relation to individual race examiners, November 18, 1941.

²²² See the part 5 of this paper.

²²³ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 339, Walter Dongus’s query concerning the measurements of Pankrác prison, December 18, 1944.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Mit dieser Untersuchung wird ganz neues Forschungsgebiet betreten, an dem das Rassenamt der SS größtes Interesse hat und daher um weitgehendste Unterstützung bittet.”

²²⁵ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “durch eine Untersuchungsreihe über die Beziehungen zwischen dem körperlich-rassischen Erscheinungsbild und dem seelischen Verhalten eines Menschen Klarheit zu gewinnen”.

²²⁶ ABS Praha, 533-2-4, ‘*Pověsná informativní zpráva o zvěrstvech spáchaných Němci za doby okupace ve věznicích Krajského soudu trestního v Praze*’ (General Information Concerning Atrocities Committed by Germans During the Occupation in the Prison of the Regional Court in Prague), June 4, 1945.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, see Václav Jiřík, *Pankrácká sekýrárna 1943–1945*, Praha 1991 (MA thesis); Karel RAMEŠ (pseudonym), *Žalují: Pankrácká kalvarie*, I–II, Praha 1946.

²²⁸ ABS Praha, 533-2-4, registry files of Josef K. and Adolf B., April 1945.

²²⁹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 339, Application of the Chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RuSHA-SS (Walter Dongus) to German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia for a permission to carry out ‘investigation’ in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 18, 1944.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “bei den Vollstreckungen zugegen zu sein, um auch das unterschiedliche Verhalten der einzelnen Rassentypen hierbei untersuchen zu können”.

State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia with some conditions and reservations.²³¹ One of them was that presence of the ‘examiners’ at executions was ‘as a matter of principle’ not granted.²³² The implementation of the ‘research’ was utterly bizarre and questionable and it fully reflected the notions of SS racial theorists outlined above. Even here, in the prison, a racial diagnosis (*rassische Diagnose*) based on anthropometric measurements was carried out. It included the taking of several series of pictures of the ‘subject’ in question.²³³ Then there followed a comparison with data listed in investigation and prison files, whereby main emphasis was on the ‘facts of the case’ (*Tatbestand*) and motivation of the ‘offence’.²³⁴ A separate registry then listed a person’s serial number, given name and surname, file number, age, and occupation.²³⁵ Surviving records show that Kühne led the investigation of 153 persons, whereby the ‘chosen subjects’ could hardly refuse to participate.²³⁶ It is unknown what criteria, if any, were used for the selection of subjects. The actual ‘research subjects’ included persons of both Czech and Jewish origin, of varied occupations, different social status, both men and women.²³⁷ Surviving materials also show that especially humiliating treatment was reserved for prisoners who were listed as mentally deficient or handicapped in some other way. After early January 1945, some of the ‘research subjects’ were then gradually executed.²³⁸

5. Further Networking: *Rassenamt* in Bohemia and Moravia

The very first large-scale involvement of the *Rassenamt* in Bohemia and Moravia dates back to the autumn 1940. At that time the so-called racial registration of school children in the Protectorate, especially those born in 1928–1932, was started on the direct order of H. Himmler.²³⁹

As already mentioned, only several months after the establishment of new RuSHA Branch Office (*Außenstelle*) in Łódź/Litzmannstadt in 1940, O. Hofmann conferred with K. H. Frank on possibility of further extension of activities of the RuSHA in the Protectorate.²⁴⁰ According to the results of these talks, the first chief of the Łódź Branch Office, SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Künzel (b. 1908) was ordered to Prague in January/February 1941.²⁴¹ His main goal was the establishment of the second Branch Office of the RuSHA in Prague, that become known as ‘Bohemia and Moravia’.²⁴² In few months it

²³¹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 339, Reply of the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia to Walter Dongus regarding the issue of ‘investigations’ in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 21, 1944.

²³² *Ibid.*; text in German original: “aus grundsätzlichen Erwägungen”.

²³³ *Ibid.*, series of photographic images (positives and negatives), 1945.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, Application of chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RA RuSHA-SS (Walter Dongus) to the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia for a permission to carry out ‘investigation’; in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 18, 1944.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘Seznam vytříděných osob na Pankráci’ (A list of persons selected out in Pankrác), 1945.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, here, see entries marked by a cross.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, NS2/127, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, April 21, 1941.

²⁴⁰ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 155

²⁴¹ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, April 21, 1941. See also I. HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’, pp. 272–277.

²⁴² I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 156–157.

became a real shadow structure to the German civil administration in the Protectorate. The Branch Office worked continuously until the very end of the war and was adapted to the changing structure of the occupational administration even at the lowest level (so-called *Reichsauftragsverwaltung*). For example in July 1942 there existed its 11 Local Offices only in the Protectorate, or 15 including the territory of the Reich District of Sudetenland (*Reichsgau Sudetenland*).²⁴³

As stated above, under the leadership of E. Künzel and later of SS-Sturmführer Johannes Preuß (born 1905), the Branch Office was involved into all important activities in the area, which was euphemistically called as racial and ethnic policy. Its members took part in selections of the family members within the so-called re-Germanization procedures. After R. Heydrich's take over as deputy Reich Protector in September 1941 they played also important role in the prospective planning.²⁴⁴ They helped to develop or combine new methods of large-scale racial screening etc.

In 1941–1942 Prague became also an important place for the further education of the members, especially examiners, of the RuSHA. Responsible for this area was chief of the Department Education of the RuSHA, SS-Hauptsturmführer, associate professor Dr. jur. Heinrich Rübel (b. 1910).²⁴⁵ Even in March 1945 (!) the Chief of the *Rassenamt* demanded from Prague more AGFA colour films that were important for the education courses.²⁴⁶ Besides the academic active members of the *Rassenamt*, also another were involved for example associate professor of anthropology from Dresden, former student of O. Reche and blood-group expert, M. Hesch.²⁴⁷ The courses included several topics like physical anthropology, genetics, 'racial history' and 'racial psychology' etc.

In the 'practical' area the experiences of the local Branch Office were of great importance for the RuSHA headquarters. They brought already before August 1943 important diversification of the selective procedures, especially in the medical area. In the autumn 1941 first attempt was made by E. Künzel to create a special Medical Department (*Abteilung Gesundheitswesen*) of the Branch Office. Until the beginning of 1943 there were several plans discussed between B. K. Schultz, the member of the Branch Office Dr. med. Erich Hussmann (b. 1906), and the leading physician of the SS, SS-Sturmbannführer, Professor Dr. med. Helmut Poppendick (1902–1994).²⁴⁸ Especially the last one, former student of F. Lenz and E. Fischer, was strongly interested in the new co-operation.²⁴⁹ In the first half of 1943 the project seems to be succeeded and the Medical Service (*Ärztlicher Dienst*) of the Branch Office was officially established. Main goals were:²⁵⁰ 1. 'retroactive acquisition of 'German blood' from the Czechry' (*Rückgewinnung deutschen Blutes aus dem*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 156–157.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 157–60, 162–165.

²⁴⁵ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 200. See H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 456.

²⁴⁶ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, Wehlau to R. Hildebrandt, March 14, 1945.

²⁴⁷ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, pp. 275–276. See Katja GEISENHAINER, 'Rasse ist Schicksal': Otto Reche (1879–1966) – ein Leben als Anthropologe und Völkerkundler (= Beiträge zur Leipziger Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte A/1), Leipzig 2002, pp. 361–371, 477–478.

²⁴⁸ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, H. Poppendick to E. Hussmann, December 22, 1942. BArch Berlin, NS2/149, H. Poppendick to B. K. Schultz, May 13, 1943.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ BArch Berlin, NS2/149, RuS-Main Office (Hauptamt) – Leading Physician to H. Himmler, November 28, 1942.

Tschechentum),²⁵¹ 2. ‘blood selection from the Czechry’ (*Blutauslese aus dem Tschechentum*),²⁵² 3. ‘new introduction of the ‘German blood’” (*Neueinführung deutschen Blutes*).²⁵³

This agenda was set-up, however, parallelly to the transfer of the *Rassenamt* from Berlin to Prague and just one year after the official set up of the university Institute for Racial Biology.²⁵⁴ First proposals to this transfer started appearing in early summer of 1943, and it is likely that motives other than bombardment of Berlin also played their role. After considering a number of localities, in the end Prague seemed most practical and convenient. In taking this decision, the ‘Heydrich legacy’ and strong position of the SS within the Protectorate was certainly also important. With the transfer of the *Rassenamt*, the last Chief of the RuSHA, SS-Obergruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt (1897–1952) confirmed that especially this part of the RuSHA must be present in the territory, where the ‘practical racial measures’ are continuously carried out.²⁵⁵ In general there was still the double basic function of the *Rassenamt*: First it was the selection and ‘hereditary health care’ within the SS and second it was the realization of the racial biologically conditioned *Rassenpolitik* and Germanization measures in the occupied territories. The transfer of the *Rassenamt* and its establishment in the new environment were to be carried out both by Bruno K. Schultz and his successor, SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Dongus (born 1900).²⁵⁶

The headquarter of the *Rassenamt* was housed in Prague in the office space of the then Lažnovský’s (now Rašín’s) embankment No. 60.²⁵⁷ In correspondence, this address is given as the main seat, although its Chief used, mainly for the internal correspondence within the Waffen-SS, also the address of the German State Ministry in Prague.²⁵⁸ According to the phone list, there were about fifty members of the *Rassenamt* present in Prague (without bureau staff) between August 1943 and August 1944.²⁵⁹ About twenty of them were listed as the so called SS-employees, that means non SS-members. One can even assume that the whole RuSHA employed in Prague over two hundred people, both members and non-members of the SS.²⁶⁰ There was also a special part of the *Rassenamt*, its ‘Archives’, actually since 1932 a continuously updated central library containing several thousand volumes including many copies of select biological, anthropological, genetical, racial hygienical

²⁵¹ It means controll of ethnical mixed marriages of Germans with the Czechs, determination of citizenship in cases of ethnically mixed origin of the applicants, Jewish ‘Mischlinge’.

²⁵² It means selection in case of getting labour permission for Czechs in Germany, selection of the university students for studying in Germany and racial reviewing of Czech school children.

²⁵³ It means organizing of German resettlement within the Protectorate, hereditary biological review of the Jewish ‘Mischlinge’, mixed Czech-German marriages or special social (or asocial) cases.

²⁵⁴ BArch Berlin, R69/966, circular letter of R. Hildebrandt, September 1, 1943; ABS Praha, 325-17-1, report on the activities of the RuSHA in the Protectorate, 1974.

²⁵⁵ BArch Berlin, RS/C363 (Hildebrandt R., b. 1897), R. Hildebrandt to R. Querner, June 24, 1943.

²⁵⁶ ABS Praha, 325-2-5, interrogation of W. Dongus, August 8, 1961. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 613–614.

²⁵⁷ NA Praha, NSM, b. 68, RuSHA administration to K. H. Frank, September 4, 9, 1944.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ ABS Praha, 107-14-13, phone lists of the Racial Office, 1944. The list includes following names: SS-Ostuf. W. Dongus, SS-Hstf. Dr. H. Grohmann, SS-Hstf. Kühne, SS-Ostuf. Weiner, SS-Ostuf. Haucke, SS-Ustuf. Braun, SS-Ustuf. Wiese, SS-Oscha. Vogelsang, SS-Uscha. Frieling, SS-Uscha. Hetzinger, SS-Uscha. Schreiner, SS-Uscha. Geibel, SS-Uscha. Henniger, SS-Uscha. Wittmann, Uscha. Bauer, SS-Rottf. Michalik, SS-Rottf. Rumpf, Rottf. Brehmer, SS-Rottf. Weiss, SS-Stm. Peters, SS-Mann Ronto, SS-Mann Gohl, SS-Stm. Pindur, SS-Stm. Weber, SS-Oscha. Stark and as an employees Dr. Wehlau, Dr. Brunner, Stoffregen, Nels, Gladkiek, Ott, Scheiblich, Biehle, Wiese, Ofenius, Gehlmann, Dr. C. Fischer, Staude, van Gulp, Redlich Siegfert, Sass, Rieger, Remer and Schulze.

²⁶⁰ ABS Praha, 325-17-1, study on the RuSHA-SS in the Protectorate, 1974.

and medical journals.²⁶¹ That the ‘Archives’ was also quantitatively rather significant is further attested by the fact that in the fall of 1944 the officials asked for the allocation of more space.²⁶²

Besides the selection procedures of the examiners also the learning activities of the members of the *Rassenamt* went on. For example from January, 16 to 21, 1944 B. K. Schultz, J. Preuß, and G. Harders took part in a special course for the educators of the NPEA-Colleges.²⁶³ This took place in Prague and Kyffhäuser/Rothenburg. B. K. Schultz talked about ‘The Tasks of the *Rassenamt* of the RuSHA-SS’ (*Aufgaben des Rassenamtes im Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt-SS*), J. Preuß about ‘Special Tasks of the RuS-Leaders in the Racial and Settlement Matters in the Space of Moravia and Moravia and Their Practical Realisation’ (*Besondere Aufgaben des SS-Führers im RuS-Wesen im Böhmisches/Mährischen Raum und deren praktische Durchführung*) and G. Harders enlightened the ‘Racial Questions and Nationality (Ethnic) Policy’ (*Rassenfragen und Volkstumspolitik*) including one day of practical measurements in the Branch Office. Even in the second half of March 1945 R. Hildebrandt ordered special so-called learning evenings. Every member of the *Rassenamt* was obliged to take the part in these events. On March 23, 1945 for example W. Dongus spoke about the ‘Forces that Form the Man’ (*Kräfte, die den Menschen formen*).²⁶⁴

As of September 11, 1944, a prominent, pioneer member of the RuSHA and keen German racial hygienicist of the youngest generation, SS-Hauptsturmführer and associate professor Dr. med. Lothar Stengel- von Rutkowski (1908–1992) was assigned to Prague.²⁶⁵ Four days later, he took over as a chief of the Medical service.²⁶⁶ He was a protégé of the Rector (1939–1945) of the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena (Thuringia) Professor and SS-Standartenführer Dr. med. Karl Astel (1898–1945), and at that time already a lecturer in racial hygiene, in particular of philosophy of racial hygiene, and so-called ‘cultural biology’ at the same university.²⁶⁷ His duties resulted from his appointment.²⁶⁸ As was already mentioned, this involved mainly the so-called re-Germanization procedures (*Wiedereindeutschungsverfahren*).²⁶⁹ He was doing a similar kind of work in his function of the official physician of the NSDAP with the Office of Reich Protector. Here, too, his work consisted in racial and health assessment of Czech-German and ‘Arian-Jewish’ mixed marriages.²⁷⁰

Besides his ‘practical’ activities, however, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski, clearly aimed for a more effective organisation of the *Rassenamt* and broader dissemination of racial

²⁶¹ Some pieces are placed in NA Praha, collection ÚŘP-dod II, b. 56–58.

²⁶² NA Praha, NSM, b. 68, RuSHA administration to K. H. Frank, September 4, 1944.

²⁶³ BArch Berlin, NS2/193, note on the education of the NPEA-educators in the RuS-Hauptamt, December 3, 1943.

²⁶⁴ ABS Praha, 107-14-9, order of the Chief of the RuSHA, 1945.

²⁶⁵ Uwe HOSSFELD – Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Die Kooperation der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag im Bereich der ‘Rassenlehre’*, Thüringen gestern & heute 32, Erfurt 2008, pp. 80–96.

²⁶⁶ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., born 1908), remark, September 8, 1944; ABS Praha, 107-16-8, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to R. Slomann, September 9, 1944. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 638.

²⁶⁷ Uwe HOSSFELD, *Rassenphilosophie und Kulturbioogie im eugenischen Diskurs. Der Jenaer Rassenphilosoph Lothar Stengel von Rutkowski*, in: Klaus-Michael Kodalle (ed.), *Homo perfectus? Behinderung und menschliche Existenz (= Kritisches Jahrbuch für Philosophie 5)*, Würzburg 2004, pp. 77–92.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-dod II, b. 57, report of L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to H. Poppendick, December 1944; BArch Berlin, NS2/149, expert review of the physicians in the RuSHA, 1945.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

hygiene and racial biology and further strengthening of its position. This can be understood also as an opposition to the plans for fargoing reduction of the RuSHA.²⁷¹ Soon after his arrival to Prague, he therefore defined the two following priorities: 1. ‘defence of the idea of race’, and especially 2. ‘creating of an unified approach towards the issues of race’.²⁷² These two elements were, in his view, essential in combating the decline in influence of anthropology and racial hygiene in the planning of central Nazi offices.²⁷³ He thought this was a case of “based on the practice and everyday experience with racial policy, it seems to be an urgently needed action which needs to be addressed without delay”.²⁷⁴ On the practical side of things, he thought it would be a useful to register all German (and Austrian) anthropologists, geneticists, and racial hygienicists who served with the Waffen SS, and that it would be a good idea to establish for them a special, so-called Scientific Information Service (*Wissenschaftliche Pressestelle, Wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle*) or simply Scientific Department (*Wissenschaftliche Abteilung*).²⁷⁵ Reasons behind such a step seemed obvious: “Since the creation of the relevant materials belongs to the most essential tasks of the Rassenamt, the establishment of a requisite office for scientific publications must be commenced as soon as possible so that another institution (Office for Racial Policy, Reich Security Main Office) does not do it first, which would lead to further fragmentation.”²⁷⁶ The establishment of such a service was supposed to be closely connected with the creation of a so-called Office for the Elaboration of Race-Relevant Traits and Differences Between European Nations and Tribes (*Stelle zur Herausarbeitung der rassisch wesentlichen Merkmale und Unterschiede der europäischen Völker und Stämme*), eventually also the establishment of an ‘Archives of the History of the Idea of Race’ (*Archiv zur Geschichte der Rassenidee*). This one should become an “institution that would collect the spiritual heritage of men who importantly contributed to the development of the idea of race, which would keep their estates, writings, books, etc.”²⁷⁷ Such a ‘scientific’ department of the *Rassenamt* would be independent of other institutions, except, of course, for the RuSHA. From the viewpoint of official hierarchy, it would be analogical to the situation of Astel’s Thuringian Office of Racial Affairs, and in the scientific hierarchy, it would occupy a place similar to that of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institutes.²⁷⁸ The essential precondition of the functioning of such a department would be, however, a close link to Prague academic environment, in particular the ordinate of the DKU, which Stengel- von Rutkowski considered to be the “the only possible platform of

²⁷¹ BArch Koblenz, AllProz 1/XXXXIII C5, Geschichte und Aufgaben des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS, 1947.

²⁷² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 340 (secret), ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Don-gus, 1944.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.; text in German original: “aus der Praxis und täglichen rassenpolitischen Erfahrung als dringend notwendig erkannte Einwirkung handelt, deren Inangriffnahme keinen Aufschub duldet”.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.; text in German original: “Da gerade die Erstellung entsprechenden Materials zu den ureigensten Aufgaben des Rassenamtes gehört, muss sofort mit dem Aufbau einer entsprechenden wiss.-publizistischen Stelle begonnen werden, damit uns nicht eine andere Stelle (Rassenpolitisches Amt, Reichssicherheitshauptamt) zuvor kommt und damit eine erneute Zersplitterung einsetzt.”

²⁷⁷ Ibid.; text in German original: “Sammelpunkt des geistigen Erbes der für die Entwicklung der Rassenidee bedeutenden Männer mit ihren Nachlässen, Schriften, Büchern usw.”

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

a ‘scientific liaison office’, i.e., a place where the best scientists from all German universities could be gathered in order to train our men [RuSHA experts, author’s note] without any difficulties”.²⁷⁹

The ‘Prague plan’ was in all likelihood related to the overall organisational transformation of the RuSHA, which was intended to take place in Prague at the end of the war. The plan was that the RuSHA would consist – in addition to the headquarters of RuSHA chief and administrative office – of four main Official Groups (*Amtsgruppen*).²⁸⁰ The first group was referred to as ‘A’ and called Family and Tribe (*Familie und Sippe*). The second group received code ‘B’ and was called Care and Nursing (*Fürsorge und Versorgung*).²⁸¹ The third group was coded as ‘S’ and called Settlement (*Siedlung*).²⁸² The *Rassenamt* should proper consist of departments designated by Roman numerals and called I. Planning (*Planung*), II. Teaching on Race (*Rassenlehre*) and III. Applied Racial Science (*Ange wandte Rassenkunde*).²⁸³ Department I further included sections such as Racial Research (*Rassenforschung*), Science of Heredity or Genetics (*Vererbungslehre*) and Centre of Scientific Relations (*Wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle*). Department II included sections such as School of Leaders in Matters of Race and Settlements (*RuS-Führerschule*), Further Education of Examiners (*Fortbildung der Eignungsprüfer*), and Collection of Journals and Materials (*Zeitschrift- und Stoffsammlung*). And finally, Department III consisted of three sections, namely Selection of the SS (*SS-Auslese*), Re-Germanisation (*Wiedereindeutschung*), and Selection for Settlement in the East (*Auslese für Ostsiedlung*).²⁸⁴ According to the version that is kept by the National Archives Prague we may consider the Office of Racial Research and Teaching was much more elaborated and consisted of two Main Departments and the first one called ‘Research’ included research on heredity and races, especially research of heredity and evolution, anatomy and physiology, racial science (*Rassenkunde*) and racial history (*Rassengeschichte*) and cultural biology (*Kulturbiologie*).²⁸⁵

One can roughly divide the main tasks of new ‘scientific’ department which L. Stengel-von Rutkowski planned for Prague, in three areas. The first one was would be scientific research proper, the second documentation and archiving of materials concerning race and race-hygienical issues, and the third was to consist in the ‘teaching’ of RuSHA personnel, that is, in informing particular officials on matters of race and settlement.²⁸⁶ The proposed ‘scientific research’ was supposed to focus mainly on issues of so-called ‘cultural biology’, wherein L. Stengel- von Rutkowski included ‘biological teaching on Volk, inheritance of spiritual right granted by heredity, genetic philosophy, scientific defence, racial hygiene and hereditary pathology’, where he included ‘research in mutations in

²⁷⁹ Ibid.; text in the German original: “einzig mögliche Plattform für die ‘wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle’, d.h. um zum Zwecke der Schulung unserer Männer (RuSHA experts, authors’ note) ohne Schwierigkeiten die besten Wissenschaftler aller deutschen Universitäten heranzuziehen zu können”.

²⁸⁰ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 57, plan of the RuSHA-SS, 1944.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 57, structure of the Office of Racial Research and Teaching, 1944.

²⁸⁶ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., b. 1908), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to F. Schwalm, May 20, 1944; NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret).

humans, hereditary diseases, different reproduction’, and finally also a teaching on race (*Rassenlehre*), that is, science of race, including ‘teaching on racial mixture, anthropology of the German kinships, variety of the traits, identification of the parental relationships’.²⁸⁷ The ‘Archive’ (*Archiv*) and ‘Translation Office’ (*Übersetzungsstelle*) were supposed to provide management and translations of texts pertaining to issues of race. A ‘Learning Institute’ (*Lehranstalt*) would have provided in courses lasting up to two years further instruction to RuSHA specialists in affairs of race and settlement and to officials of state administration.²⁸⁸ Concerning existing institutes of the DKU, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski intended to take over Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene or perhaps to establish a new institute called Institute of Cultural Biology and Genetic Philosophy (*Institut für Kulturbioogie und genetische Philosophie*).²⁸⁹ Making these plans, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski clearly used his earlier ideas of May 1944, when he tried to receive a similar professorship at the Reich University of Posen, and managed to gain the support of G. Heberer, K. Thums, B. K. Schultz, H. Nachtsheim, and others.²⁹⁰ It is reasonable to assume that a few months later, his motivation in Prague was much the same, that is: “To create in Posen [Poznań, author’s note] preconditions for scientific training of genealogy carers, examiners of suitability, and leaders in race and settlement.”²⁹¹ Alongside the ‘practical’ aspect, he also unabashedly spoke of his ‘life mission’: “I see it as my life’s mission to communicate to scholars in humanities an understanding of racial and biological foundations of all cultures and to seriously focus on these issues.”²⁹² In connection with Ernst Rüdín’s 70th birthday (on April 19, 1944), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski assumed that K. Thums, the present director of the Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene, could be appointed director of Rüdín’s Munich institute, and he could get his position as well as the chair of hereditary and racial hygiene at the Faculty of Medicine of the DKU.²⁹³ L. Stengel- von Rutkowski’s clearly played a complex game, and his success depended on support from highest places, on people such as W. Wüst, M. de Crinis, and K. H. Frank, the German State Minister for Bohemia and Moravia.²⁹⁴ For various reasons, Stengel- von Rutkowski’s plan, which would actually mean another strengthening of the SS in the academic landscape, was in the end not carried out.

²⁸⁷ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret); text in German original: ‘biologische Volkslehre, Vererbung des Geistigen, erbgepachtes Recht, genetische Philosophie, wissenschaftliche Abwehr, racial hygiene and hereditary pathology’; ‘Mutationsforschung am Menschen, Erbkrankheiten, unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung’, and ‘Rassenmischungskunde, Anthropologie der deutschen Stämme, Variationsbreite der Merkmale, Vaterschaftsbestimmung’.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., b. 1908), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to F. Schwalm, May 20, 1944.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Für eine wissenschaftliche Ausbildung der Sippenpfleger, Eignungsprüfer und RuS-Führer in Posen die ersten Voraussetzungen zu schaffen.”

²⁹² *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Ich sehe es als meine Lebensaufgabe an, den Geisteswissenschaftler dazu zu bringen, die rassischen und biologischen Grundlagen aller Kultur zu verstehen und sich mit ihnen ernsthaft zu beschäftigen.”

²⁹³ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret).

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

6. Bruno K. Schultz's Departure from the *Rassenamt* and the End of Institute for Racial Biology

The physical liquidation of the Jewish population in Europe, euphemistically termed 'the final solution of the Jewish question', was decided upon at a meeting of high-ranking Nazi representatives and bureaucrats in the villa Am Großen Wannsee on January 20, 1942.²⁹⁵ Otto Hofmann, Schultz's superior officer as a head of the RuSHA, attended the conference and was thus involved in Holocaust preparation from the very beginning.

One of the issues which remained open even after January 1942 was, however, the fate of so-called 'Jewish crossbreeds' (*Judenmischlinge*).²⁹⁶ From the Nazi point of view, this subject was a problematic area of the anti-Jewish racial policy ever since 1935. Already on March 6, 1942, it was discussed on the level of RSHA department heads. At this point, for example Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart (1902–1953) of the Reich Ministry of Interior (RMdI) suggested that *Judenmischlinge* of the 1st degree ought to be sterilised. Another important meeting took place on October 27, 1942: it concluded that no further steps to address this issue should be taken until the end of the war.²⁹⁷

Nonetheless, it followed from the logic of the Nazi genocide that by early next year, the pressure on addressing the 'final solution of the question of Jewish crossbreeds' [*Endlösung der Judenmischlingsfrage*, author's note] once again grew.²⁹⁸ This time, the controversy focused on so-called *Mischlinge* of the 2nd degree who had so far been generally considered German. And it was this issue where Bruno K. Schultz as head of the *Rassenamt* became involved.

On March 17, 1943, in his report 'On racially biological evaluation of' Jewish crossbreeds of the 2nd degree' (*Zur rassenbiologischen Beurteilung der 'jüdischen Mischlinge II. Grades*), Schultz suggested that "Jewish *Mischlinge* of the 2nd degree should not be automatically counted as being of the German blood. Instead, they should undergo an examination by the RuSHA with the aim to treat every *Mischling* of the 2nd degree in whom Jewish racial characteristics are clearly apparent in the same way as *Mischlinge* of the 1st degree".²⁹⁹ This arrangement would have secured Schultz a further expansion of his authority and promote the influence of the entire *Rassenamt*, since as Richard Korherr (1903–1989), Himmler's 'court' statistician, noted "In any case, this would provide the RuSHA with yet another new, long-term task".³⁰⁰ It would also be an example of implementation of racial biology based mainly on classical genetics. This entire bizarre debate, which

²⁹⁵ See Norbert KAMPE – Peter KLEIN (eds.), *Die Wannsee-Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942. Dokumente, Forschungsstand, Kontroversen*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2013.

²⁹⁶ See Beate MEYER, 'Jüdische Mischlinge'. *Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung 1933–1945*, Hamburg 1999; Jeremy NOAKES, *The Development of Nazi Policy Towards the German-Jewish 'Mischlinge' 1933–1945*, Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 34, 1989, pp. 291–354.

²⁹⁷ M. WILDT, *Die Generation*, pp. 638–642.

²⁹⁸ See Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Der jüdische Blutstrom. Schon eine Million Menschen in Deutschland erfasst?*, Ziel und Weg 1938 (special issue).

²⁹⁹ BAArch Berlin, NS19/1047, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, March 17, 1943; text in German original: "die jüdischen *Mischlinge* II. Grades nicht ausnahmslos den Deutschblütigen zuzuschlagen, sondern dieselben einer rassischen Sichtung durch das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt-SS zu unterziehen mit dem Ziel, jene *Mischlinge* II. Grades, bei denen jüdische Rassenmerkmale deutlich hervortreten, in der Behandlungsweise den *Mischlingen* I. Grades gleichzustellen".

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, note of R. Korherr, March 30, 1943.

went on in the highest echelons of Nazi Germany for almost two years (!) in the shadow of mass killings, total war, and impending defeat, should become the swan song of not only racial biology but also of B. K. Schultz's double career.

His position, meanwhile, was in May 1943 espoused even by H. Himmler, who regarding the future approach to this issue stated: "Here – and that is just between us – we should adopt an approach similar to the one used in breeding plants or animals. The offspring of such mixed families should be racially examined by independent institutions for at least several generations and in case of racial inferiority sterilised and thus removed from further inheritance."³⁰¹ Nonetheless, a problem arose at the moment when Bruno K. Schultz produced in November 1943 another 'expert opinion' in which he supported his arguments by chromosome genetics. This document was called 'Report on the issue of retroactively effective alien (Jewish) racial admixture' (*Gutachten zur Frage weit zurückreichenden fremden (jüdischen) Rasseneinschlages*) and the core of the message, demonstrated on a particular example, was the following: "The concrete issue pertains to one person in whose ancestry, 9 generations ago, is a Jewish relative. This ancestry line includes 256 persons who together possessed 256×48 carriers of heredity (chromosomes). But of these 12,288 carriers of heredity only 48 could have been transmitted to the offspring in the ninth generation."³⁰² Schultz not only based his rather absurd line of reasoning on an unproven supposition of the existence of 48 human chromosomes,³⁰³ but also quite seriously assumed that the Jewish population may have chromosomes with distinct gene structure (!): "The number of specifically Jewish genes is, in any case, substantially smaller and they may be localised in particular chromosomes."³⁰⁴

Despite the fact that Schultz's report was further reviewed by his close colleagues and friends from Jena, Gerhard Heberer (1901–1973),³⁰⁵ who was among other things R. Heydrich's schoolmate, and Karl Astel, and its racial hygienic aspect was elaborated by Fritz Lenz (1887–1976),³⁰⁶ Himmler's reply was unequivocally negative: "From a scientific point of view, this is altogether untenable. After all, one could use the same reasoning he applies when telling me that in the third generation the effect of some chromosomes originating with Jews can no longer be counted to claim that the chromosomes of all other ancestors disappear in the same way. In that case, I must ask: Where does a person get his inheritance at all if after three generations of chromosomes their effect is no longer

³⁰¹ Ibid., H. Himmler to M. Bormann, May 22, 1943; text in German original: "Wir müssen hier – das aber nur unter uns gesprochen – ein ähnliches Verfahren durchführen, wie man es bei einer Hochzucht bei Pflanzen oder Tieren anwendet. Mindestens einige Generationen hindurch (...) müssen von unabhängigen Institutionen die Abkömmlinge von derartigen Mischlingsfamilien rassisch überprüft und im Falle der rassischen Minderwertigkeit sterilisiert und damit aus dem weiteren Erbgang ausgeschaltet werden."

³⁰² BArch Berlin, NS/19, 1047, 'Report on the issue of retroactively effective alien (Jewish) racial admixture', November 12, 1943; text in German original: "Die praktische Fragestellung betrifft eine Person, in deren 9. Vorfahrenreihe sich ein jüdischer Ahne befindet. Die 9. Vorfahrenreihe umfasst 256 Personen, die insgesamt 256×48 Erbanlagenträger (Chromosomen) beseßen haben. Von diesen 12.288 Erbanlagenträgern konnten aber bloß 48 auf den Nachfahren der 9. Generation übertragen werden."

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.; text in German original: "Die Zahl der den Juden speziell auszeichnenden Erbanlagen ist jedenfalls wesentlich kleiner und wird vermutlich in einzelnen Chromosomen lokalisiert sein."

³⁰⁵ Gerhard Heberer, *Die genetischen Grundlagen der Artbildung*, VuR 15/9, 1940, pp. 136–137. See Uwe Hossfeld, *Gerhard Heberer (1901–1973). Sein Beitrag zur Biologie im 20. Jahrhundert* (= Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Theorie der Biologie, Supplementum 1/1997), Berlin 1997.

³⁰⁶ BArch Berlin, NS19/1047, K. Astel to H. Himmler (excerpts), February 12, 1944.

there? It seems clear to me that Professor Dr. Schultz is not suited to carry on a head of the Rassenamt.”³⁰⁷

Within not less than four months Bruno K. Schultz was, officially as on April 1, 1944, removed from the top post at the *Rassenamt* and replaced by W. Dongus.³⁰⁸ After the end of the winter term of 1943/1944, he was then supposed to join the Waffen SS some time between April 1 and April 15, 1944.³⁰⁹ Nonetheless, given his university post, the still ongoing ‘setting up’ of the institute, its lack of qualified staff, and a large number of expert reports in paternity cases he was supposed to deliver in Prague, the curator of the DKU in Prague submitted an official application for an *Uk-Stellung*.³¹⁰ In the end, it turned out that in the second half of 1944, Schultz would be expected to teach in the fourth run of officer courses at a prominent *SS-Junkerschule* in Bad Tölz, Bavaria.

When on May 5, 1945 the Nazi regime in Bohemia and Moravia started to collapse, the Institute was *de facto* resolved. It remains unclear, however, whether its staff was at that time still in Prague. According to some sources, Bruno K. Schultz was supposed to be with his SS unit at the *SS-Truppenübungsplatz* Beneschau/Benešov in Central Bohemia. It would fit with the fact that already since September 24, 1943 he and his family had been settled in a small holiday resort of Zlenice/Zlenitz nearby.³¹¹ On May 6, 1945, he and his entire family managed to escape, loaded on one truck, to Munich, Bavaria.³¹²

Concerning the inventory of the Institute for Racial Biology, a large amount of documents was in all likelihood destroyed. Some, however, were taken to the renewed Institute of Anthropology of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University in Prague. Here they were deposited in numerous places without any attempt at classification. And despite the fact that after 1945, the university and its institutes had undergone various transformations and the Institute of Anthropology was joined with the reopened Hrdlička’s Museum of Man (*Hrdličkovo museum člověka*; hereinafter HMČ) and much reduced, the documents remained in their places with no significant change for over six decades.³¹³

³⁰⁷ Ibid., H. Himmler to R. Hildebrandt, December 17, 1943; text in German original: “Es ist wissenschaftlich in meinen Augen überhaupt nicht haltbar. Denn mit derselben Berechtigung, mit der er erzählt, dass in der dritten Generation von dem Vorhandensein auch nur eines vom Juden stammenden Chromosom nicht mehr gerechnet werden kann, könnte man behaupten, dass die Chromosome aller anderen Vorfahren ebenfalls verschwinden. Dann muss ich die Frage stellen: woher bekommt der mensch überhaupt das Erbgut, wenn nach der dritten Generation von den Chromosomen seiner Verfahren nichts mehr vorhanden ist? Für mich steht eines fest: Herr Prof. Dr. Schultz ist als Chef des Rassenmates nicht geeignet.”

³⁰⁸ Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (hereinafter ZSLJV) Ludwigsburg, IV 414 AR 122/65, interim report of the ZSLJV Ludwigsburg, March 23, 1965.

³⁰⁹ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), H. Turner to the curator of the DKU, March 2, 1944.

³¹⁰ Ibid., letter of the curator of the German Charles University to the RuSHA, February 12, 1944.

³¹¹ Státní okresní archiv (State District Archives; hereinafter SOkA) Benešov, community Lštěň (Elsthien) – index, 1904–1988.

³¹² ABS Praha, Z-41560/45, report on the Institute of Racial Biology, December 11, 1945 (confidential).

³¹³ The following overview outlines just a provisory classification and description of the recently known sources of the former Institute for Racial Biology, or Bruno K. Schultz’s possession. Since the documents have not been catalogued, they exist as individual entries without a registration or entry number. In some cases, they are even found under their original registry numbers which were assigned to them by the staff of the Institute. Broadly speaking, the sources can be divided in three groups, namely (1) written documentation, (2) photographic and visual documentation, and (3) books and journals. Of the surviving written documentation, most important is a collection of offprints and separates dated app. 1920–1944, which in many cases include a personal dedication. There are several hundred of them contained in 43 original folders. They are mostly related to Schultz’s editorial activity in *Volk und Rasse* and are marked as his personal possession. In some cases, relevant personal correspondence is also attached. A collection of photographs and diapositives contains both positive

7. Epilogue

The scope, extent and complexity of the Institute for Racial Biology's activities remained unknown in the post-war period. The only attempt to investigate them was made in late 1945 but it concerned solely the person of Bruno K. Schultz. At that time, he was declared by the Czechoslovak authorities a War Criminal.³¹⁴ The military intelligence service of the former Czechoslovak Army in the Soviet Union (the 'Defence Intelligence' or 'Obranné zpravodajství') started searching for him in the U.S. occupation zone in Germany using an unspecified female confidant.³¹⁵ According to her information, in early 1946 Schultz was said to be staying under false identity in Munich with Dr. Wehlau, former roentgenologist and photographer of the *Rassenamt*.³¹⁶ His former assistant Christel Steffens was also said to have kept in touch with him.³¹⁷ That, however, was the last information the Czechoslovak authorities had received. It is most surprising that his role in the selection of the children of Lidice, which followed from his function of Chief of the *Rassenamt*, was not later highlighted during the RuSHA Case in Nuremberg in 1947–1948.³¹⁸

After the end of the WWII, the general attitude towards the racial biology and its Nazi proponents was characterized by a simplicist renunciation of racial ideology and a strange use of the criterion of *Unwissenschaftlichkeit*.³¹⁹ A rather oversimplified distinction was made between the 'bad' (non-scientific) and 'good' (scientific) parts of the racial biology. In this context, it is hardly surprising that a person as prominent as Bruno K. Schultz was charged only with being a *Mitläufer* (!) in post-war Germany. Already six years after his escape from Prague, Schultz was in 1951 appointed professor 'for further use' (*zur Wiederverwendung*) at the Institute for Human Genetics under Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer (1896–1969) at the University of Münster.³²⁰ In 1960 and 1966 he was twice interrogated

and negative images. Some of the app. 1,000 photographs were used for teaching purposes; others are related to the core activity of the Institute and the *Rassenamt* as well and pertain to issues such as to racial exclusion. One thus finds here, e.g., a large series of both black and white and colour photographs of Roma/Sinthi persons from the Moravian capital Brno (Brünn) and a smaller collection of pictures of the Jewish population from the same area. The smaller diapositives contain various images related to physiognomy but also palaeoanthropology and some personal photographs. The by far largest collection, some 5,000 photographs, is clearly Bruno K. Schultz's personal photo archive, which alongside professional documentation contains also some private and political material, such as images from Nazi party rallies (*Parteitage*) of the 1930s etc. These pictures include both positives and negatives. The several hundred books which are now included in the departmental library of the Institute of Anthropology of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University were also B. K. Schultz's private possession. Due to various rounds of sorting and removal of books in the post-war period, it is hard to estimate to what extent is this collection complete. Of importance are also two surviving inventory registers of the Institute, which offer a possibility of reconstructing its activities in 1941–1945. The authors are grateful to the current curator of the HMČ Mgr. Marco Stella Ph.D. for this detailed information.

³¹⁴ ABS Praha, 316-136-4, circular Z-IV-3060/338, June 11, 1946.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, regional headquarters of the Czech Secret State Police Prague to the Ministry of the Interior, July 6, 1947; *ibid.*, report of a German police informer, February 15, 1946.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, report of a Munich police informer to the Defence Intelligence, February 15, 1946.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, report on current stay of Ch. Steffens in Germany, July 19, 1946.

³¹⁸ *Únosci lidických dětí před soud* (The Kidnapers of the Children of Lidice Before Trial), Severočeská Mladá fronta, July 4, 1947, p. 1.

³¹⁹ Veronika LIPPHARDT, *Das 'schwarze Schaf' der Biowissenschaften. Marginalisierungen und Rehabilitierungen der Rassenbiologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Dirk Rupnow et al., *Pseudowissenschaft. Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frankfurt/Main 2008, pp. 223–251 [242].

³²⁰ See I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, pp. 85, 94–95. See Hans-Peter KRÖNER, *Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik und die Humangenetik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in:

by the West German authorities in connection with his role in the racial evaluation of the Polish and Soviet POWs.³²¹ Bruno K. Schultz died at the age of 96 on December 9, 1997 in Altenberge, Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Other employees of the Institute, such as Aemilian Kloiber, also continued in the academic careers.³²² And some members of the Prague network around the *Rassenamt* such as Lothar Stengel-von Rutkowski even openly continued in promoting the concept of race science including racial biology itself in the 1950s and 1960s: “When racial thinking, biological philosophising, population political actions, and anthropological arrogance of an entire generation of scientists, teachers, researchers, and politicians, of entire generation of the German nation is subject of rebuke and called a mistake, it should be clear to anyone who strives for objectivity and altogether a deeper insight that with such rebuke history in fact indicts itself.”³²³

Resume

During the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia and World War II in 1939–1945 new institutions in the region were established. They were supposed to accomplish the official Nazi doctrine called ‘protection of the race’ (*Rassenpflege*) and ‘racial policy’ (*Rassenpolitik*), as it was developed in Germany since 1933. At the academic level of the Faculty of (Natural) Science of the German Charles University (*Deutsche Karls-Universität*) it was the case of so called racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*). In context of German speaking anthropology it developed as a sub-discipline continuously from the turn of the 19th and 20th century and was based on the connection of traditional descriptive methodology of physical anthropology of that time with the simplified and static understanding of classical genetics. In this particular case the mutual cooperation/collaboration between racially based (natural) science and political ideology should lead in the Nazi view to tendency to be fundamentally transferred into a new leading science (*Leitwissenschaft*).

From the very beginning the new Prague university institute was planned as a parallel training and educational center of the Main Race and Settlement Office of the SS (RuSHA).

Doris Kaufmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft in Nationalsozialismus. Bestandaufnahme und Perspektiven der Forschung*, Göttingen 2000, pp. 653–666. For the situation at the Faculty of Medicine and especially connection between Prague and Münster, see Petr SVOBODNÝ, *Dieselben Leute – neue Karrieren: Die Schicksale von Hochschullehrern der deutschen medizinischen Fakultät in Prag nach 1945*, in: Michal Svatoš et al. (eds.), *Magister noster. Studies dedicated to Prof. Jan Havránek, CSc., in memoriam*, Praha 2005, pp. 261–275; Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Das Schicksal der Professoren der Prager Deutschen Universität in der Nachkriegszeit*, in: Antonín Kostlán et al. (eds.), *Wissenschaft im Exil. Die Tschechoslowakei als Kreuzweg 1918–1989* (= Studies in the History of Sciences and Humanities 17), Praha 2004, pp. 136–154.

³²¹ ZSLJV Ludwigsburg, ZSt. AR 122/65, August 19, 1966; *ibid.*, ZSt. AR/420/62, August 30, 1960.

³²² See for example Aemilian KLOIBER, *Die Gräber von Lauriacum*, Linz 1957, or *Die Menschen von Linz-Zizlau. Baiserische Gräberfelder des 7. Jhs. auf dem Gelände d. VÖEST*, Linz 1973.

³²³ Lothar STENDEL-VON RUTKOWSKI, *Der Rassengedanke in Wissenschaft und Politik unserer Epoche* (manuscript in private possession), app. 1949; text in German original: “Wenn rassisches Denken, biologisches Philosophieren, bevölkerungspolitisches Handeln und anthropologische Eigenüberheblichkeit einer ganzen Generation von Wissenschaftlern, Lehrern, Forschern und Politikern, ja einer ganzen Generation des ganzen deutschen Volkes zum Vorwurf gemacht und als Makel angeheftet wurde, so sollte doch dem darüber stehenden, sich um die Objektivität bemühenden und überhaupt zu tieferen Einsicht fähigen Menschen klar sein, dass er mit seinem Vorwurf weitgehend die Geschichte selbst anklagt.”

After it had commenced its work, hired professional staff with the professional anthropologist and prominent member of the RuSHA, Bruno K. Schultz (1901–1997) on the top and got the necessary equipment, it created the institutional basis of targeted expert interventions carried out by academics and professionals of these newly established and state-promoted disciplines at the level of occupation administration, or in the area of official Nazi population and racial policies, especially in connection with the politically coined long-term goal of so called Germanization and/or suddenly proposed so called special actions (*Sonderaktionen*). In this respect the activities of the institute outline the pursuit of further quasiprofessional perfection of the mass selection criteria to be implemented by the RuS selectors after 1940. The effort to provide systematic support to such transformation of racial biology into the matrix of the mass selections is characterised by both fragmentation and synthesis tendencies, whereas the DKU played a crucial role as a leading local scientific centre. This aspect can be also important for being an indispensable prerequisite for understanding and interpreting the complicated process of ideologically motivated use/misuse of (natural) science in Bohemia and Moravia in the first half of 20th century in their full extent.

Finally the personal and professional relationships show not only their own inner order, but also clear continuities with other professional and political institutions in Germany (or Austria) itself.

Translated by: PhDr. Anna Pilátová

MICHAL V. ŠIMŮNEK – UWE HOSSFELD

Avantgarda „rasy“ Nacistická „rasová biologie“ na Německé Karlově univerzitě v Praze, 1940–1945

RESUMÉ

Během německé okupace Čech a Moravy a za druhé světové války v letech 1939–1945 došlo k etablování nových institucí, jejichž hlavním účelem bylo zavést oficiální nacistickou doktrínu „péče o rasu“ (*Rassenpflege*) a „rasové politiky“ (*Rassenpolitik*) v podobě, v níž se v samotném Německu vyvíjela od roku 1933. Na akademické úrovni Přírodovědecké fakulty Německé Karlovy univerzity (*Deutsche Karls-Universität*) se to týkalo především nového oboru tzv. rasové biologie (*Rassenbiologie*). Ta se v kontextu německé antropologie kontinuálně vyvíjela jako její subdisciplína od přelomu 19. a 20. století a byla založena na propojení tradiční deskriptivní metodologie fyzické antropologie se zjednodušeným a statickým pojetím klasické genetiky. Vzájemně prolnutí rasově definované (přírodní) vědy s rasistickou politickou ideologií mělo v nacistickém pojetí vést k fundamentální změně a vytvoření nové, tzv. vůdčí vědy (*Leitwissenschaft*).

Pražský univerzitní Ústav pro rasovou biologii byl od samého počátku zamýšlen jako školící a výukové středisko Hlavního rasového a osidlovacího úřadu SS (RuSHA). Poté, co byla určena jeho náplň a co byl personálně obsazen v čele s profesionálním antropologem a prominentním členem RuSHA Bruno K. Schultzem (1901–1997) a získal nezbytné vybavení, došlo k vytvoření institucionální báze pro cílené expertní intervence na úrovni okupační správy, respektive v oblasti oficiální nacistické populační a rasové politiky, a to především ve spojitosti s politicky určeným dlouhodobým cílem germanizace nebo ad hoc tzv. zvláštními akcemi (*Sonderaktionen*). V tomto ohledu představují aktivity pražského ústavu pokračování další quasiprofesionální perfekcionalizace kritérií masových selekcí, které byly po roce 1940 používány selektátory RuSHA. Snaha zajistit systematickou podporu transformaci rasové biologie v matici masových selekcí přitom byla charakterizována

jak fragmentalizujícími tak syntetizujícími tendencemi, v nichž byla DKU klíčová coby lokální vědecké centrum. Tento aspekt může být rovněž důležitý, pokud je chápán jako nezbytný předpoklad pro porozumění a interpretaci komplikovaného procesu ideologicky motivovaného využití/zneužití přírodních věd v Čechách a na Moravě v první polovině 20. století v jeho plné šíři.

Konečně osobní a profesionální vazby zrcadlí nejen svou vnitřní logiku, nýbrž také jasné kontinuity s ostatními profesionálními a politickými institucemi v Německu (a Rakousku) samotném.

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*Anthropologen-Kongreß 1929 in Tübingen. Hintere Reihe v.l.n.r.:
Freudenberg, von Verschuer, Gieseler, Löffler, Schultz, Ceyer, Klinck;
mittlere Reihe: Oertel, Bluntschli, Hesch, Stadtmüller, Foit, Pratje, Fischer, Mollison,
Roth-Luthra, Weninger, Münter, Heinckel; vorne: Frau Rosea, Czekanowski,
Frau Gieseler, Frau Martin, Aichel, Fürst, Jakobshagen*

Obr. 2 Photograph of the Participants of the Meeting of German Anthropological Society in Tübingen, 1929 (HMČ Praha). B. K. Schultz – 3rd person from right (1st line above), Th. Mollison – 5th person from right, middle line, E. Fischer – 6th person from right (middle line), M. Hesch – 3rd from left (middle line)



Obr. 3 Erwin Künzel, 1940s (BArch Berlin)



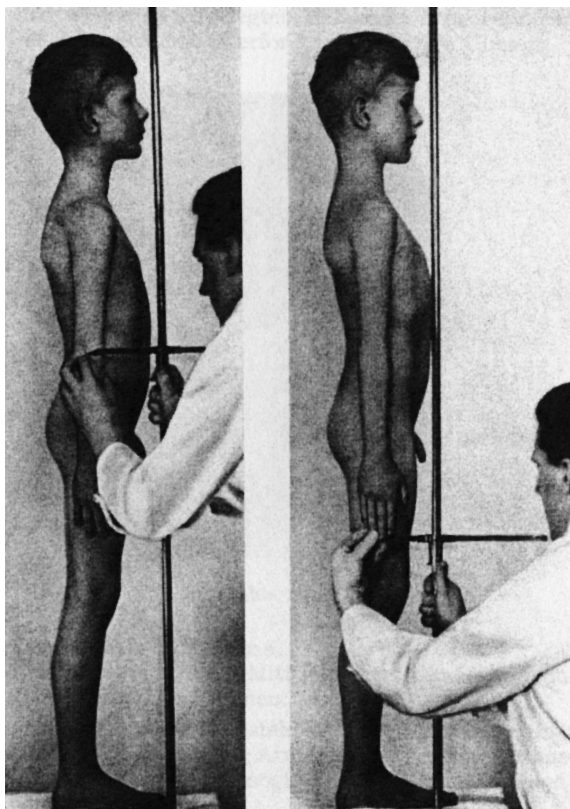
Obr. 4 Lothar Strengel- von Rutkowski (BArch Berlin), late 1930s (Courtesy by BArch Berlin)



Obr. 5 Bruno K. Schultz, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



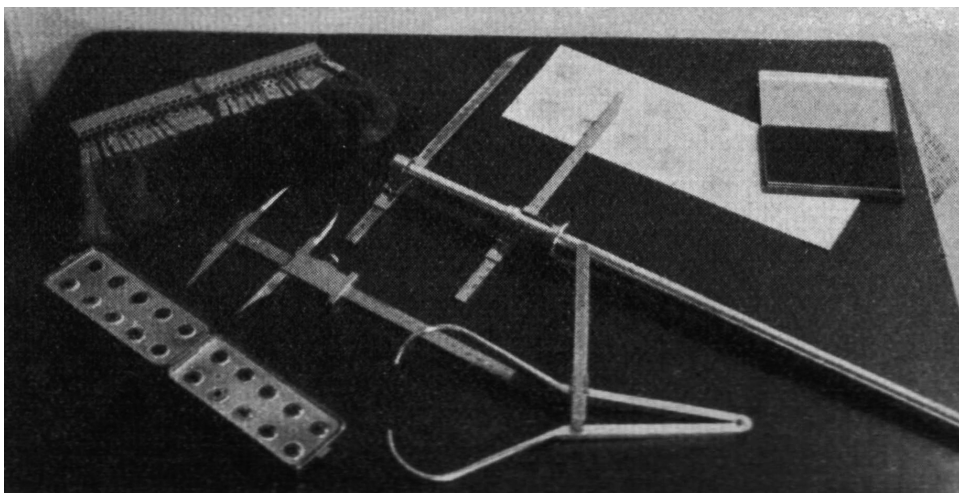
Obr. 6 Bruno K. Schultz, 1940s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



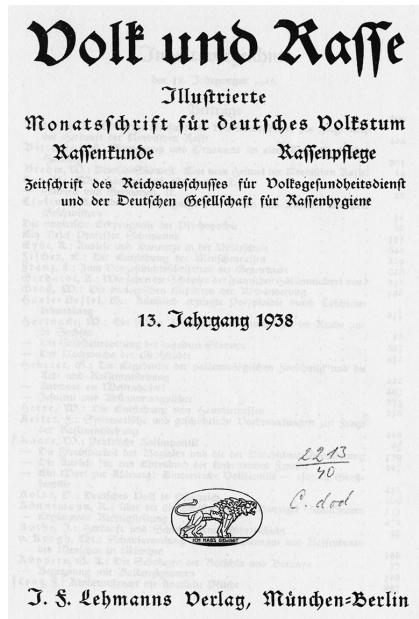
Obr. 7 Bruno K. Schultz by anthropometric measurement of his son, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



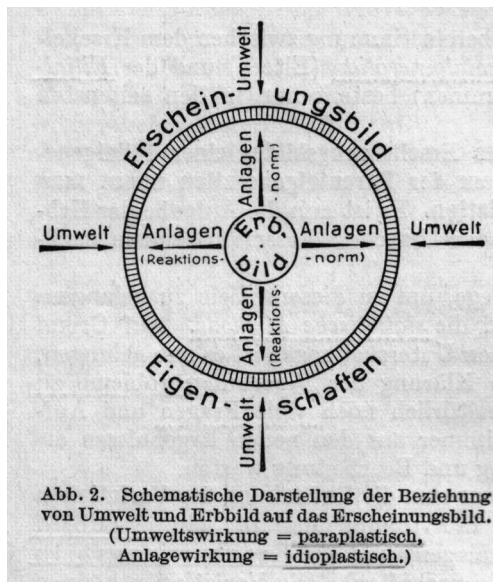
Obr. 8 Cover of K. V. Müller's book *Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft*, 1935 (KDV ÚSD AV ČR)



Obr. 9 Contemporary set of anthropometric instruments, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



Obr. 10 Cover page of the prominent Nazi journal *Volk und Rasse*, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



Obr. 11 Distinction between ‘external environment’ and ‘hereditary composition’ in relation to the phenotype according to Stengel von Rutkowski, 1940s (Courtesy by KDV ÚSD AV ČR)