

Roman Gieroń

Institute of National Remembrance, Branch in Cracow

ORCID 0000-0003-0608-026X

REFLECTIONS ON THE MARGINS OF THE EXHIBITION ABOUT
GERMAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON JEWISH FAMILIES
IN TARNÓW IN 1942¹

In October 2020, the Berlin Museum Topography of Terror (*Topographie des Terrors*) opened the exhibition *The Cold Eye. Final Pictures of Jewish Families from the Tarnów Ghetto* (*Der Kalte Blick. Letzte Bilder jüdischer Familien aus dem Ghetto von Tarnów*). The presentation of the exhibition at this institution of culture and remembrance is of particular importance, as the site of the museum was the location of the most important headquarters of the instruments of repression of the German state, i.e. the Gestapo office, the Reich SS Headquarters, the SS Security Service (SD) and, during the Second World War, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). The museum, dedicated to the remembrance of acts of terror and genocide across Europe, was opened in 2010.²

This exhibition was created in cooperation with the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and the Natural History Museum in Vienna.

¹ The article refers to the publication by Margit Berner, *Letzte Bilder. Die "rassenkundliche" Untersuchung Jüdischer Familien im Ghetto Tarnów 1942/Final Pictures: The 1942 'Race Study' of Jewish Families in the Tarnów Ghetto* (Berlin–Leipzig, 2020) and the exhibition catalogue: *Der Kalte Blick. Letzte Bilder jüdischer Familien aus dem Ghetto von Tarnów. Katalog zur Ausstellung/The Cold Eye. Final Pictures of Jewish Families from the Tarnów Ghetto. Exhibition catalogue*, ed. by K. Vohland et al. (Berlin, 2020).

² <https://www.topographie.de/en/topography-of-terror/> (accessed 20 January 2021).

On the one hand, it shows the fate of the Jews of Tarnów, and, on the other, it addresses the issue of the collaboration of German scientists in the crimes. At the opening of the exhibition, the German Minister for Culture Monika Grütters stated that the show makes it clear that scientists included those who “with their supposedly scientific ‘objectivity’ of research – with a cruel, cold view of their fellow human beings – contributed to the legitimisation of genocide.” (“In der Ausstellung werde deutlich, dass es auch Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler waren, die mit der angeblich wissenschaftlichen ‘Sachlichkeit’ einer Untersuchung – mit einem grausam kalten Blick auf ihre Mitmenschen – ihren Beitrag zur Legitimierung des Völkermords leisteten.”)³

In 2020, in connection with the exhibition, Margit Berner published the book *Letzte Bilder. Die ‘rassenkundliche’ Untersuchung Jüdischer Familien im Ghetto Tarnów 1942/Final Pictures: The 1942 ‘Race Study’ of Jewish Families in the Tarnów Ghetto* (Berlin–Leipzig 2020). Katrin Vohland and others prepared the exhibition catalogue: *Der Kalte Blick. Letzte Bilder jüdischer Familien aus dem Ghetto von Tarnów. Katalog zur Ausstellung/The Cold Eye. Final Pictures of Jewish Families from the Tarnów Ghetto. Exhibition catalogue.*

Description of the Exhibition

The exhibition *Cold Eye. Last photographs of Jewish families from the Tarnów Ghetto* was based on photographic documentation of more than a hundred Jewish families, created in occupied Tarnów in late March and early April 1942 as part of the German project “research on typical East European Jews.”⁴ The second part of the exhibition title may suggest that the “research” was carried out in the ghetto. In fact, at that time, the Tarnów Ghetto did not yet exist. It was established on

³ <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/bundesregierung/staatsministerin-fuer-kultur-und-medien/aktuelles/letzte-bilder-aus-dem-ghetto-1803362> (accessed 21 January 2021).

⁴ Leszek Hońdo states that the research was conducted from 23 March to 2 April 1942, while the exhibition catalogue says that the research lasted until 4 April (“Vom 23. März bis zum 4. April 1942 sammelten die beiden Anthropologinnen biografische Informationen, Messdaten und Fotos der 106 Familien/From 23 March to 4 April 1942, the two anthropologists gathered biographical information and took measurements and photographs of the 106 families”. See L. Hońdo, *Nazistowskie badania antropologiczne nad Żydami. Tarnów 1942* (Cracow, 2021), pp. 62, 257; and *Der Kalte Blick/The Cold Eye*, p. 90.

19 June 1942 (i.e. after the first deportations to the Belzec extermination camp, which were carried out on 11, 15, and 18 June).⁵

During this “research”, two young anthropologists, Dora Maria Kahlich (1905–1970) and Elfriede Fliethmann (1915–1987),⁶ along with their assistants, were looking for racial characteristics, photographing and examining 106 Jewish families in occupied Tarnów. This was a total of 565 people (men, women, and children). As a control group, 13 people from among the Jewish intelligentsia and beggars were also individually examined.⁷ Their work aimed to demonstrate the alleged Jewish “racial inferiority.” The “academics” were assisted in Tarnów by photographer Rudolf Dodenhoff (1917–1992). Dr Anton Plügel (1910–1945),⁸ acting head of the racial and population research section of the Institute for German Work in the East (IDO),⁹ was responsible for selecting the location and coordinating with the relevant authorities in the occupied Polish lands.

Not all those photographed had lived in Tarnów before the war. Some had been forcibly displaced from other towns and communities after 1939 (many of them came from Cracow). Ultimately, 106 Jewish families were relegated to the status of “material” for “scientific” work and, on orders from the German authorities, were selected for the study. We might add that children had to be at least four years old, as younger ones – according to the “academics” – would not show “racial characteristics” or be able to sit still while being photographed.¹⁰ A few weeks or months later, almost all those photographed were murdered in the Holocaust. Only just over twenty people survived.¹¹

The exhibition presented in the Berlin Museum Topography of Terror, the axis of which is the anthropological “research” carried out in March and April 1942,

⁵ See Hońdo, *Nazistowskie badania*, p. 11; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos 1933–1944*, ed. G.P. Megargee, vol. 2: *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe* (Bloomington–Indianapolis, 2012), p. 585.

⁶ In June 1945, Kahlich was dismissed from the University of Vienna. Two years later she got a job as a court expert. Fliethmann, meanwhile, was to be employed as a social worker (or educator) in West Berlin after the war. *Der Kalte Blick/The Cold Eye*, pp. 75–77.

⁷ Berner, *Letzte Bider*, p. 182.

⁸ *Der Kalte Blick/The Cold Eye*, p. 68.

⁹ Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (IDO) was established by Hans Frank on 20 April 1940 (on Adolf Hitler’s birthday).

¹⁰ *Der Kalte Blick/The Cold Eye*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

is complemented by information and photographs showing the life of Tarnów Jews before and during the Second World War, acquired from Polish and foreign institutions and private collections.

Last Photographs... An Analysis of Margit Berner's Publication

Margit Berner's book *Letzte Bilder* – as Dr Andrea Riedle, Director of the Foundation Topography of Terror, wrote in its foreword – laid the groundwork for the exhibition *Cold Eye. Last photographs of Jewish Families from the Tarnów Ghetto* (*Der Band von Margit Berner bildete die wichtigste Grundlage für die Erarbeitung der Ausstellung 'Der kalte Blick. Letzte Bilder jüdischer Familien aus dem Ghetto von Tarnów'*). The author of this publication, together with the historians: Götz Aly, Ulrich Baumann, and Stephanie Bohra, curated this exhibition.¹² The book was published in German and English (translated by Jefferson Chase). The publication is a voluminous 292-pages long, consisting of a foreword, an introduction and a dozen sections.

Berner used various studies and materials to illustrate the problem she was interested in. The literature on the subject cited in the work lists 73 studies (monographs and articles). It seems that the bibliography could have been supplemented by several more recent publications by Polish historians concerning the history and Holocaust of the Jewish population in Tarnów and the activities of the IDO, which conducted anthropological research. It is worth recalling, for example, works by Leszek Hońdo, "Judenrat w Tarnowie" [Judenrat in Tarnów],¹³ and Elżbieta Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945* [The Extermination of Jews in the Cracow District in 1939–1945].¹⁴ We also have literature on the IDO: Anetta Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit. Kraków 1940–1945* [Institute for German Work in the East]¹⁵; Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Wyzwolić się z błędnego koła. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit w świetle dokumentów Armii Krajowej i materiałów zachowanych w Polsce* [To Break Out

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

¹³ L. Hońko, "Judenrat w Tarnowie," in *Elity i przedstawiciele społeczności żydowskiej podczas II wojny światowej*, ed. by M. Grądzka-Rejak and A. Namysło (Cracow, 2017), pp. 51–67.

¹⁴ E. Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945* (Rzeszów, 2014).

¹⁵ A. Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit. Kraków 1940–1945* (Warsaw, 2002).

of the Vicious Circle. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in the Light of Home Army Documents and Materials Preserved in Poland];¹⁶ Elżbieta Duszeńko-Król, *Kolekcja fotograficzna Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau 1940–1945. Zdjęcia z Polski* [The Photographic Collection of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau 1940–1945. Photos from Poland];¹⁷ *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny. Działalność Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit w świetle nowych materiałów źródłowych* [Anthropology and Ethnology during the War. Activities of the Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in the Light of New Source Material] under the editorship of Małgorzata Maj.¹⁸ In this last publication, particularly valuable in the context of our discussions are the articles by Krzysztof Kaczanowski, who devoted his attention to the evaluation of anthropological, medical, and psychological research conducted by the IDO in Podhale, the Lemko Region, and other areas of Poland,¹⁹ and by Lisa Gottschall, who wrote a synthetic political and academic biography of Anton Plügel – one of the heads of the Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung (Race and Ethnicity Research Section, SRV), and active member of the NSDAP.²⁰

Margit Berner's findings are based primarily on archives. The sources used by the author consisted of documents found both in Polish archives (Archives of the Jagiellonian University, Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute, National Archives in Cracow, Branch in Tarnów) and foreign ones (Arolsen Archives, Bundesarchiv Berlin, National Anthropological Archives Washington, Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, University of Southern California Shoah Foundation – Visual History Archive, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Universitätsarchiv Wien, Universität Wien, Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv, Yad Vashem Archives).

¹⁶ T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Wyzwolić się z błędnego koła. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit w świetle dokumentów Armii Krajowej i materiałów zachowanych w Polsce* (Cracow, 2004).

¹⁷ E. Duszeńko-Król, *Kolekcja fotograficzna Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau 1940–1945. Zdjęcia z Polski* (Cracow, 2014).

¹⁸ *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny. Działalność Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit w świetle nowych materiałów źródłowych*, ed. M. Maj (Cracow, 2015).

¹⁹ K. Kaczanowski, "Ocena badań antropologicznych, medycznych i psychologicznych, prowadzonych na Podhalu, Łemkowszczyźnie i innych terenach Polski przez IDO," in *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny*, pp. 75–94.

²⁰ L. Gottschall, "Student wiedeńskiego Wydziału Ludoznawstwa i aktywny członek NSDAP: Anton Adolf Plügel," in *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny*, pp. 95–102.

In the introduction, the author tells the story of the discovery in the Vienna Natural History Museum's collection of photographic documentation captioned "Images of Tarnów" and a set of files titled "TJ Tarnów 1942" (the abbreviation stood for "Tarnów Jews"). The photographs were numbered consecutively from 1 to 565 and divided into groups of fifty. The series was not complete. The files also contained a list titled "Identity documents of Jews who appeared before the anthropological commission in Tarnów on 23 March 1942." This census included 106 male heads of families, their addresses, occupations and the number of family members photographed. Handwritten information about the anthropological data and statistical analyses were also part of the file, as well as documents containing the fingerprints of the people covered by this study. The collection was donated to the museum in the 1980s.

The documentation collected by the anthropologists included extensive data on the Jews photographed, while Margit Berner wrote short biographies of the 106 families and illustrated them with relevant photographs. Thanks to her many years of research and her contacts with survivors and their relatives, she was able to identify the people in the pictures and collect additional material (testimonies, interviews and new photographs).

In the individual chapters of Margit Berner's study, we find a characterisation of the life of the Jewish population before the war and during the occupation. We read about the "research" carried out by German scientists and about the deportations of Tarnów's Jews, their Holocaust and the fate of those who survived. The chapters are interspersed with biographical notes of the Jewish families photographed. The book is supplemented with very rich iconographic material. The biographies are illustrated with photographs of the members of each family taken during the 1942 study. The author has also included other photographs and survivors' testimonies where possible.

The book's shortcoming is that the table of contents, in most cases, refers the reader to the wrong pages; for example, the chapter "Die Ermordung der Tarnower Juden/The Murder of Tarnów's Jews" should be on p. 17, but is in fact on p. 19, the chapter "Jüdisches Leben in Tarnów/Jewish Life in Tarnów" should start on p. 55 but begins on p. 59, the chapter "Tarnów unter deutschen Terror/Tarnów Under German Terror" should be on p. 129 but is on p. 133, etc.

The wording in the last sentence of the book's introduction (p. 17), namely that "two and a half million Polish Jews were murdered between 1941 and 1945 under German and Austrian rule," is questionable. ("Die Todeswege der vielen und die überlebenspfade der wenigen stehen beispielhaft für zweieinhalb Millionen polnische Juden, die zwischen 1941 und 1945 unter deutscher und österreichischer Herrschaft als Namenlose ermordet wurden und für immer vergesse werden sollten/Their stories and death and life of these few people are emblematic of the two-and-a-half million Jews murdered between 1941 and 1945 under German and Austrian rule, who were supposed to be forgotten forever"). We find a similar statement on p. 257 – "unter deutsch-österreichischem Terror/under the German-Austrian reign of terror." First of all, it was the German state (the German Reich) that planned and implemented the Holocaust in the territories it occupied. The army, the uniformed services and the various formations and structures set up by the Reich were all used for this purpose. It was the German state that issued the ordinances that formed the basis of the anti-Jewish measures. Austria had been within the borders of the German Reich since March 1938, so Austrians became German citizens (Reichsdeutsch). In addition, it is worth recalling that Jews were murdered on Polish territory as early as September 1939 – when German troops invaded. For example, in Przemysl, officers of operational groups shot 600 or so people.²¹ According to the findings so far, in the first weeks of the occupation in the Polish territories, the losses among the Jewish population amounted to about 7,000 people.²² It should be emphasised that the Germans had been developing their anti-Semitic programme against Polish Jews since the start of September 1939, and these plans evolved over time.

On page 23 of Margit Berner's book, we read in the English version that "From the outside, the ghetto was patrolled by German and Polish police, the latter in blue uniforms." Missing here is a sentence explaining what kind of organisation

²¹ See G. Berendt, "Straty osobowe polskich Żydów w okresie II wojny światowej," in *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*, ed. by W. Materski and T. Szarota (Warsaw, 2009), p. 63; Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 52.

²² See Berendt, "Straty osobowe polskich Żydów," p. 63; B. Musiał, "Przypadek modelowy dotyczący eksterminacji Żydów. Początki 'akcji Reinhardt' – planowanie masowego mordu Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie," in *Akcja „Reinhardt”. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, ed. D. Libionka (Warsaw, 2004), p. 19.

the 'blue police' was, i.e. an indication that it was a formation of the German Reich, part of the German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei).²³

The same page mentions the June operation in Tarnów, saying that "Within a week, 4000 Jews had been shot in their homes, on the market square and in the nearby woods in mass executions. Another 8000 Jews from Tarnów were transported to Belzec and gassed to death once they arrived." It is true that about 8,000 Jews were transported from Tarnów to the death camp in Belzec in June. However, the number of those murdered on the spot, i.e. in the Jewish cemetery, in Buczyzna Forest and in the forests around Skrzyszów, is much higher. It is estimated that it was between 8,000 and 10,000 people.²⁴

The publication also makes errors of significant importance for interpreting the Second World War. For example, on p. 12, we read in English that the academics were supported by the "Nazi state" [*sic*]: "These two young academics' goal, very modern for its time and supported by the Nazi state [*sic*], was to describe and categorize the genetic inheritance of 'racial characteristics' by comparing parents and children." In contrast, the German version only mentions the state. On p. 133, the English-speaking reader will learn that, on 17 September, the Soviet Union incorporated Poland's eastern territory: "On September 7, 1939, a few days after Germany invaded Poland, the Wehrmacht conquered Tarnów. Ten days later, the Soviet Union incorporated the eastern part of Poland [*sic*], and Germany formally annexed large amounts of territory in the west." However, in the German version, the above sentence reads differently: "zehn tage später marschierten sowjetische Truppen im *östlichen* Teil Polens ein und Deutschland annektierte große Gebiete im Westen" (ten days later, Soviet troops entered eastern Poland and the Germans annexed large areas in the west). In the German version, it would be relevant to point out that, after the September campaign, Germany made a new administrative division of the Polish lands it had occupied. Almost half of the land was incorporated directly into the Third Reich, and a "General Governorate for the occupied

²³ See M. Korcuć, "Niemiecka Polnische Polizei. Historyczny i państwowo-prawny kontekst funkcjonowania granatowej policji w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945," in *Policja granatowa w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945*, ed. by T. Domański and E. Majcher-Ociesa (Kielce–Warsaw, 2019), pp. 14–85.

²⁴ Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 291.

Polish areas” was created from the remaining territory. The changes carried out from the first days of October 1939 were, in fact, a violation of the provisions of the Hague Regulations respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 18 October 1907, signed by the Republic of Poland and the German Reich. Under Article 42 of the Regulations, occupied land should remain under military administration until the war’s end. In the meantime, the occupant decided on a different administrative arrangement.²⁵

The Cold Eye... Analysis of the Exhibition Catalogue

The second publication worth looking at is the exhibition catalogue *Der Kalte Blick. Letzte Bilder jüdischer Familien aus dem Ghetto von Tarnów. Katalog zur Ausstellung/The Cold Eye. Final Pictures of Jewish Families from the Tarnów Ghetto. Exhibition Catalogue*. The book, 270 pages long, is published in German and English in a 22 by 26 cm format, with most of it taken up by photographs. The whole book begins with a preface and an introduction entitled. “Bilder der Ermordeten, Stimmen der Überlebenden/Pictures of the Victims, Voices of the Survivors,” in which Götz Aly very synthetically and interestingly presents the genesis and concept of the exhibition. The description he uses of the IDO as a kind of “academic think tank,” functioning under the occupation administration, may cause reservations: “eine wissenschaftliche Ideenfabrik der Besatzungsverwaltung/an academic think tank attached to the occupational administration” (pp. 16–17). Let us recall that this was an academic and political establishment, described by Zbigniew Libera as follows: “since 1942, the largest German institution carrying out Ostforschung [“research” of the East – R.G.] in the lands of occupied Poland.”²⁶ In particular, the use of the English term “think tank” can lead to the perception of this institution in line with the modern understanding of the term, as an independent, not-for-profit organisation set up to study and analyse public affairs.

²⁵ The study also contains small mistakes, e.g. on p. 9 there is incorrect number of people photographed: “With the help of images taken of 556 Jewish men, women and children and other anthropological data, the two scholars hoped to identify particular ‘racial characteristics’ of Eastern Galician Jews in an effort to prove supposed Jewish ‘racial inferiority.’” There are also typos: on p. 259 misspelled “fron,” should be “from”; on p. 210 – “Oalestine,” should be “Palestine”; on p. 66 – “Endejca,” should be “Endecja.”

²⁶ Z. Libera, “Sekcja Rasowo-Ludoznawcza Instytutu na Rzecz Niemieckiej Pracy na Wschodzie w badaniach etnologów i antropologów w Krakowie,” in *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny*, p. 7.

In the subsequent brief chapters, entitled: “Anthropologie, Nationalismus und Rassenlehre/Anthropology, Nationalism and Race Theory” (p. 42), “Die Verwissenschaftlichung von Vorurteilen/Prejudice as Science” (p. 58), “Anthropologie, ‘Rassenkunde’ und Karriere/Anthropology, ‘Race Studies’ and Careers” (p. 6), “Die Werkzeuge der ‘Rassenwissenschaft’/The Tools of ‘Racial Science’” (p. 84), “Die suche nach ‘typischen Rassenmerkmalen’/The search for ‘Typical Racial Characteristics’” (p. 98), “Das ‘Archiv der Bilder’/The ‘Picture Archive’” (p. 110), the reader can consult charts showing photographs and artefacts relating to racial theories, their development, as well as the eugenic theories and Social Darwinism gaining popularity in Europe from the late 19th century onwards, along with the people responsible for carrying out anthropological research in Tarnow, including their research methods and the results of their work.

The last and longest part, entitled “Vielfalt und ihre Vernichtung. Eine Chronologie/Diversity and Its Destruction. A Chronology” (p. 112), contains charts depicting the prewar Jewish community in Tarnów, the outbreak of war and the initial repressions against the population of Tarnów, the course of the various stages of the Holocaust, the post-war accountability of the criminals, the fate of Holocaust survivors and issues of commemoration. This section also includes photographs depicting members of the Jewish families included in the anthropological study. Appropriate captions and commentary accompany all the photographs.

The descriptions are sometimes imprecise or incomplete. On p. 153 we read: “Ende mai 1940 verhaftete die Gestapo 728 in der Mehrzahl christliche Anwälte, Lehrer, Politiker und Geistliche in Tarnów und deportierte sie am 14. Juni nach Auschwitz/In late May 1940, the Gestapo arrested 728 lawyers, teachers, politicians and clergy, most of them Christian, and sent them to Auschwitz on June 14.” Indeed, on 14 June 1940, the Germans sent a group of 728 Poles from the Tarnów prison (including a small number of Polish Jews) to Auschwitz. However, in addition to lawyers, teachers, politicians and priests, the deportees also included soldiers of the September campaign, members of independence organisations, secondary school pupils and students – mostly young people aged 16 to 30.²⁷

²⁷ See also P. Cywiński, *Początki Auschwitz w pamięci pierwszego transportu polskich więźniów politycznych* (Oświęcim, 2015).

In the discussion of the June 1942 extermination of the Jews in Tarnów on p. 174 we read: “Am 11. Juni 1942 begann der Massenmord an den Tarnower Juden [...] Für das Zusammentreiben und Morden rückte Verstärkung an: Teile des Polizeibataillons 307, deutsche Gendarmerie, Angehörige der Waffen-SS und der volksdeutschen Hilfspolizei. Die Polnische Polizei und Jugendliche des polnischen Baudienstes mussten Hilfsaufgaben erledigen/The mass murder of Tarnów’s Jews began on June 11, 1942 [...] Reinforcements – part of Police Battalion 307, German gendarmes, and members of the Waffen-SS and the auxiliary police – were then brought in to round up Jews and murder them. Polish police and young members of the Polish construction service were also required to help.” In the case of the term “Polnische Polizei/Polish police” (as indicated earlier in relation to Margit Berner’s publication), the nature of this formation should be clarified. It was created by the German Reich and was part of the German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei). The same comment applies to the expression “polnischen Baudienstes/young members of the Polish construction service,” especially in its English translation. It should be recalled that the German Construction Service (Baudienst) was created in the GG to exploit Polish young people as cheap labour, ruthlessly subjugated to the Germans and barracked for this purpose. The reader will not learn from this description that it operated under strict German supervision and command. Also missing from this account is information that on 11 June, during the first deportation in Tarnów, officers of the Jewish Order Service (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst, OD) distributed deportation cards in houses and brought the families to whom they had delivered them to the collection point on Magdeburg Square.²⁸

On p. 188 we read that, during the first extermination operation, 8,000 Jewish children, women and men were murdered in Belzec within seven days, and 4,000 were shot in Tarnów (“Nach sieben Tagen waren 8,000 jüdische Kinder, Frauen und Männer in Belzec mit Motorabgassen ermordet und 4,000 in Tarnów erschossen worden/In seven days, 8,000 Jewish children, women and men were murdered in the gas chambers of Belzec, while 4,000 were shot dead in Tarnów.”). Here it is worth adding that all those unfit to travel (the elderly, the sick, the crippled and

²⁸ Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 290.

mothers with small children), i.e. between 8,000 and 10,000 people, were murdered in the Jewish cemetery, in Buczyna Forest and in the forest around Skrzyszów.²⁹

Conclusion

The activities of the Institute for German Work in the East (where Anton Plügel and Elfriede Fliethmann worked) in the occupied Polish territories already have their own literature.³⁰ Particularly noteworthy is the paper published in 2015, edited by Małgorzata Maj, on the activities of the Racial and Population Section of the institution.³¹ It was this section that carried out anthropological research on highlanders, Lemkos, Volksdeutsche and Jews. However, the studies of the Jewish population in Tarnów are not analysed in this publication. The first to write on this subject, almost thirty years ago, were Götz Aly and Susanne Heim in their work *Vordenker der Vernichtung. Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung*.³² Just over a decade later, Gretchen E. Schafft described this issue in more detail. In 2006, the Jagiellonian University Publishing House published a Polish translation of her book, *From Racism to Genocide. Anthropology in the Third Reich*.³³ This study dedicates more than a dozen pages to a discussion of Fliethmann's and Kahlich's activities in Tarnów.³⁴ A book by a historian specialising in the history of the Jews of Tarnów – Professor Leszek Hońdo of the Institute of Judaic Studies at the Jagiellonian University – *Nazistowskie badania antropologiczne nad Żydami. Tarnów 1942* (Nazi Anthropological Studies on Jews. Tarnów 1942), came out at the end of 2021 (i.e. after the reviewed publications had been published).³⁵

In addition, a documentary film by Justyna Łuczaj-Salej and Bogusław Sławiński *Archiwum istnień* [Archives of Existences] was made in 2009, presenting the ac-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

³⁰ Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy*; Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Wyzwolić się z błędnego koła*; Duszeńko-Król, *Kolekcja fotograficzna*.

³¹ *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny*.

³² G. Aly, S. Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung. Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 122–126.

³³ G.E. Schafft, *Od rasizmu do ludobójstwa. Antropologia w Trzeciej Rzeszy*, transl. T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa (Cracow, 2006).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–30.

³⁵ Hońdo, *Nazistowskie badania*, p. 11.

tivities of anthropologists from the IDO Race and Population Section. One part of the film was dedicated to the study of Jews in Tarnów in 1942 (it presented, among other things, Frana Eisenbach-Haverland's own recollections of members of her photographed family).

The reviewed books are part of the discussion on the effects of politically and ideologically motivated use of science. The strength of these studies is that they can be consulted by both scholars of the subject matter and readers who are only familiar with the basic facts of the field in question. Despite the shortcomings (which should be removed from subsequent editions), it is worthwhile for the Polish-speaking reader to get to know these publications as well. The books could be used by Małopolska educators and scholars researching the Holocaust in this area.

The exhibition, presented at the Berlin Museum with photographs of well over 500 Tarnów Jews taken as part of pseudo-scientific racial research, presents, in an interesting way, both a fragment of the fate of Tarnów Jews during the Second World War and the complicity of German scholars in anti-Jewish activities. Often no trace remains of those murdered during the Holocaust, which makes it all the more worthwhile to present the *Cold Eye* exhibition in Poland.