

# Ethnicity cartography during World War II

## Case Study – Volkstumskarte Series

International Conference on the History of  
Cartography

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Rosa Orlandini

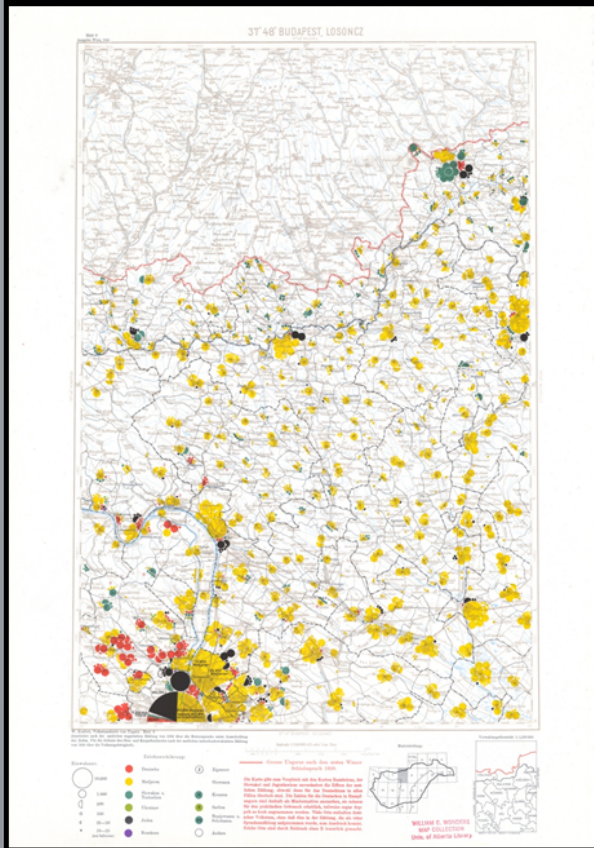
Map and GIS Librarian

York University, Toronto, Canada

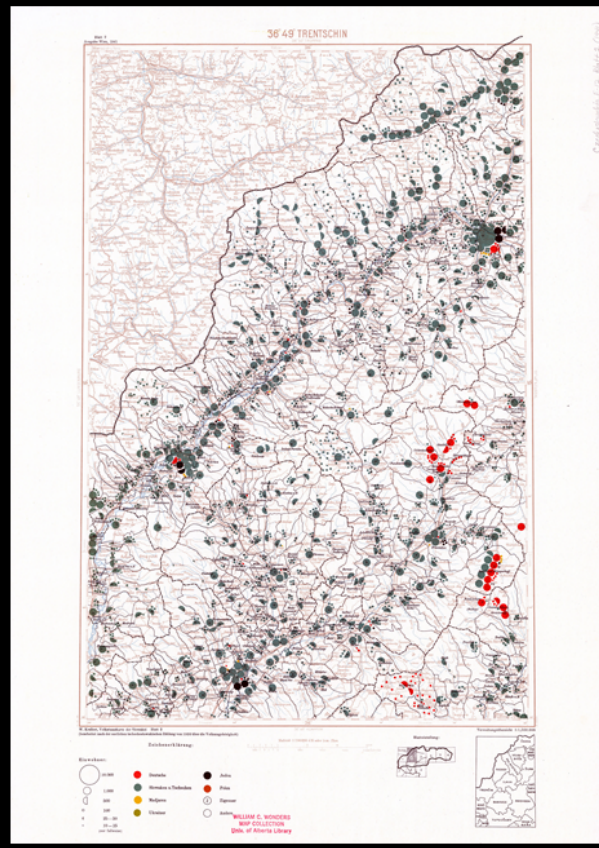
[rorlan@yorku.ca](mailto:rorlan@yorku.ca)

<http://emse.blog.yorku.ca>

## Hungary – 23 sheets



## Slovakia – 9 sheets

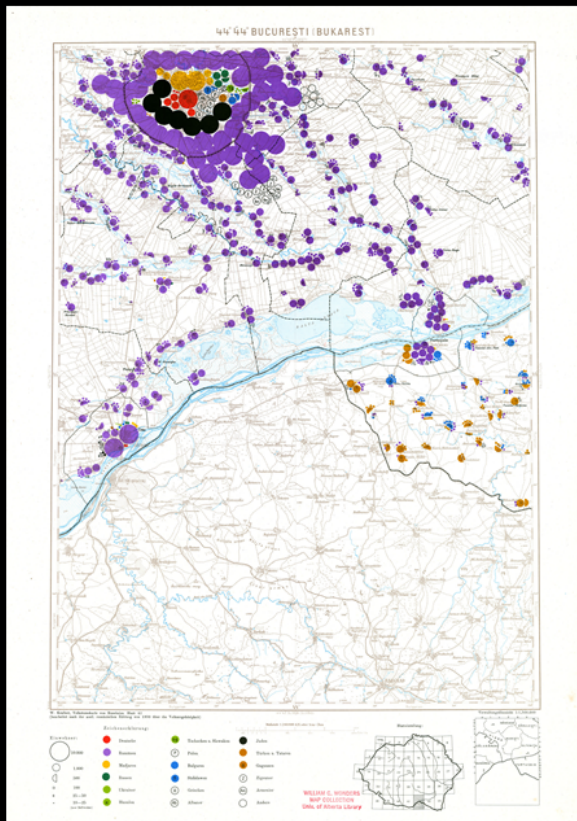


Let me show you four map series that has haunted me for almost a decade. When I worked at the Map University Map collection, I came across these maps. It is amazing cartography, very clean, precise, well represented information. On the surface it is technically beautiful. Colours have held fast, clean circles, clear readable base map. It has what you would expect from a thematic map: scale bar, title, coordinate system, legend, and visualized data. When I first examined these maps in more detail, I realized very quickly that these maps were produced during the Nazi regime in Austria, and displayed in accurate detail the ethnic distribution of population in four countries: Yugoslavia, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary.

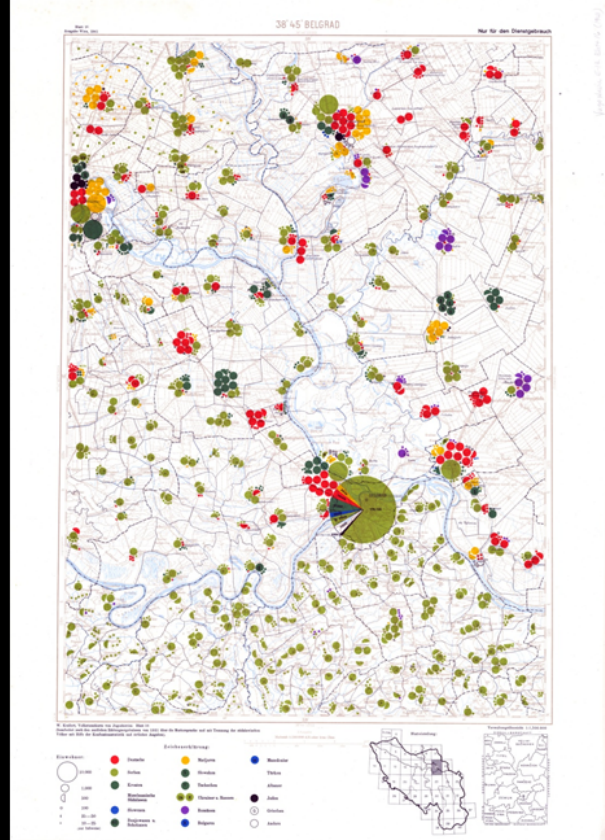
The objective of this presentation is to:

- 1) Examine the Volkstumskarte series of maps with focus on the two major themes on these maps: mapping ethnicity and mapping geopolitical borders
- 2) Discuss the history behind the production of these maps, the role of Wilfred Krallert (the editor of the maps), and how these maps would have been used during the Second World War
- 3) At the end of the paper, I will highlight why these maps are important for researchers.

## Romania – 44 sheets



## Yugoslavia – 40 sheets



The four series of maps (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia), are located at McGill University (which has incomplete collection), and at University of Alberta (which has a complete collection, except for one sheet). There are handful of Universities Libraries in the United States and Europe that also have these maps.

List the number of maps sheets in each series. The maps were edited by Wilfried Krallert” and produced by the Publikationsstelle Wien, in 1941.

Each map is at the scale of 1:200,000



# Bibliographic and Background Information



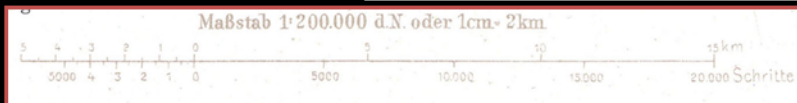
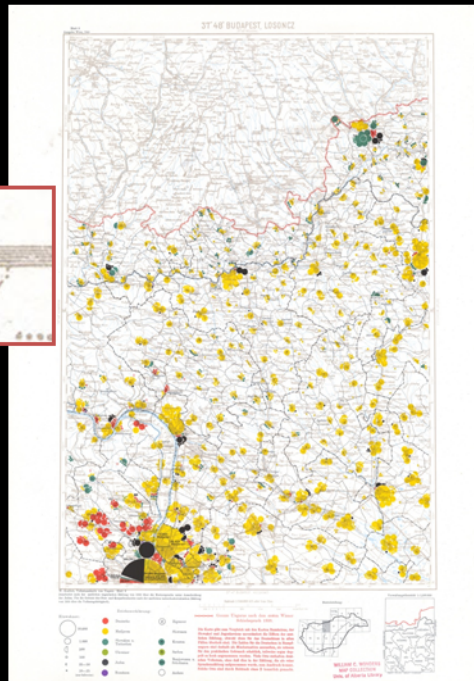
The first sheet of each map series has the all the bibliographic information on the map. Including the: title, contributors, editor, and details (in German) on how to read the maps. These bibliographic information has been translated into English and is available via the <http://emse.blog.yorku.ca> website that I have created for this project.



# Base Map: Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa 1:200,000



37°48' BUDAPEST, LOSONCZ

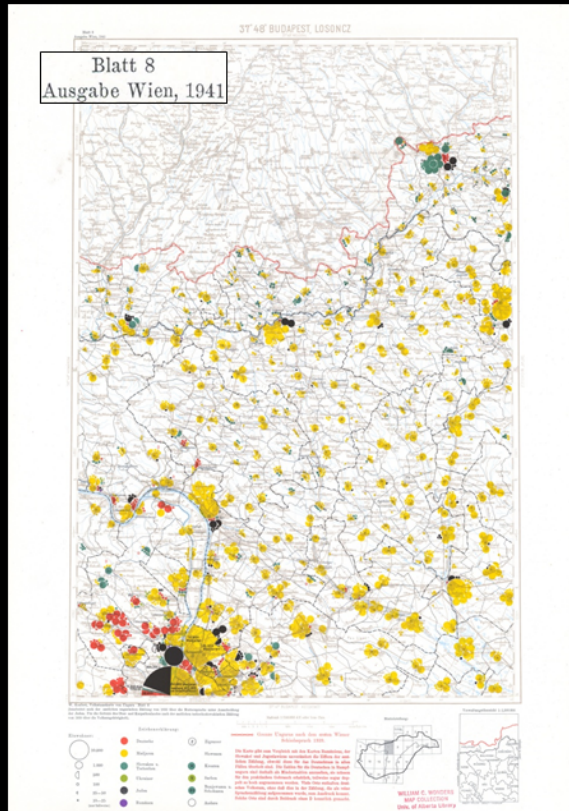


The base maps used are the *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa 1:200,000* series that were produced between 1920s to 1941 and this indicated in the lower left corner of the map. Most of the basemaps for the Volkstumskarte series were updated and produced between 1938 to 1941, some of the map sheets were updated produced in the 1930s, and some of them don't have date stamps.

Topographic information is clean and simple and easy to read. The latitude and longitude is clearly demarked. Some basemaps use Greenwich as 0 degrees longitude, whereas others use the Ferro Islands as the 0 degrees of longitude. The scale bar is clearly indicated as well as the names of the neighbouring maps.

The base maps are for the most part using spelling of place names that are present in that geographic region.

# Thematic Map: Volkstumskarte von Ungarn Sheet / Blatt 8



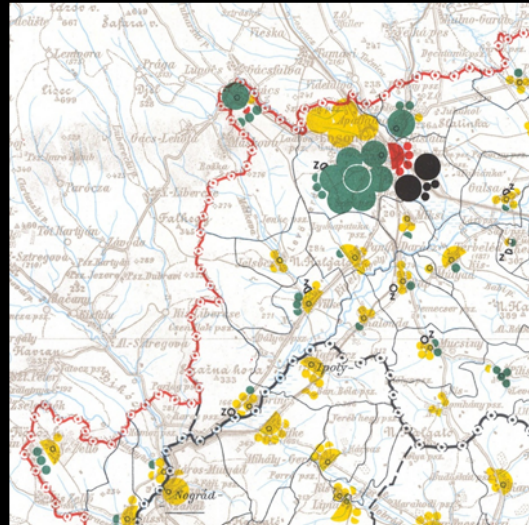
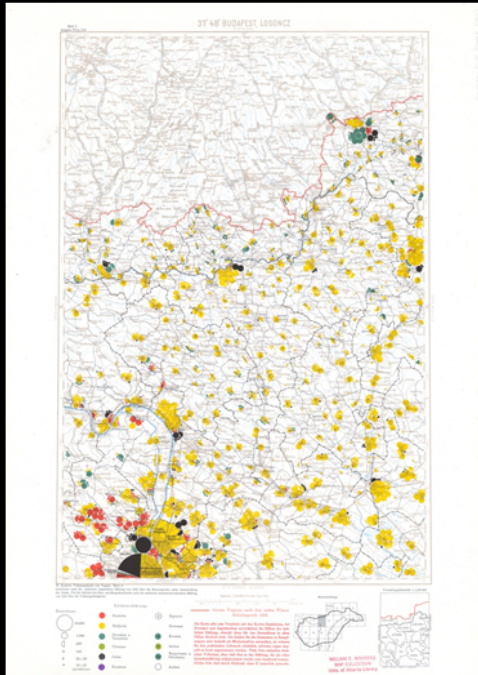
W. Krallert, Volkstumskarte von Ungarn Blatt 8  
(bearbeitet nach der amtlichen ungarischen Zählung von 1930 über die Muttersprache unter Ausscheidung der Juden. Für die Gebiete des Ober- und Karpathenlandes nach der amtlichen tschechoslowakischen Zählung von 1930 über die Volkszugehörigkeit).

The creators of the Volkstumskarte series superimposed the thematic map information onto the base maps. This includes the circles and pie charts indicating ethnolinguistic groups. The colours, have preserved well, and it is amazing how well the sheets have held up. Keep in mind, the maps at University of Alberta and McGill have been kept in cabinets for years, and haven't been exposed to a lot of lights.

Other information that has been added are:

- Germanized place names have been placed on the maps
- New boundaries in red and description of new boundaries that have been established since the production of the base map.
- Legend indicating ethnolinguistic groups and size of population
- Date stamp indicating the place of publication of the Volkstumskarte, which is Vienna 1941, and the sheet number for the map.

# Boundaries & Administrative Divisions



Grenze Ungarns nach dem ersten Wiener Schiedsspruch 1939.

Zeichenerklärung der Grenzen:  
 - - - - - Staatsgrenzen  
 - - - - - Komitatsgrenzen  
 - - - - - Bezirksgrenzen  
 - - - - - Stadtgebietsgrenzen  
 - - - - - Gemeindegrenzen



The base map shows administrative boundaries at several levels of administration: national, state and/or county, city/municipality, and in some cases neighbourhoods.

In addition there is an inset map indicating the boundaries of the municipalities on the map. For some of the countries, there is a regional division, as is the case for Hungary.

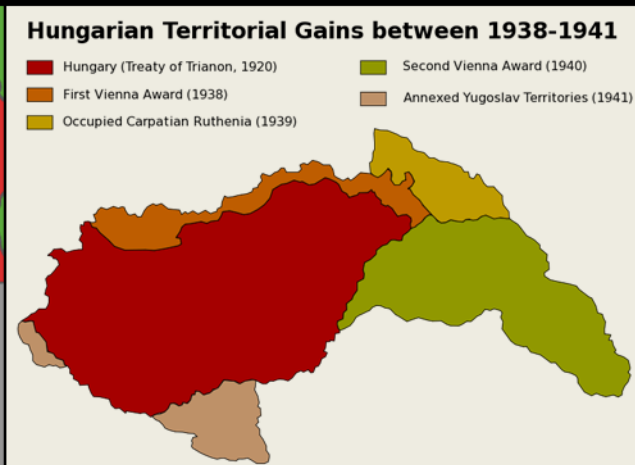
Some maps have a red boundary which marks the new national boundaries that were established since the production of the base maps. On this map sheet, it shows the boundary between Hungary and Slovakia in 1939 (in red).



## Shifting National Boundaries: Hungary and Slovakia (1938-1940)



Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%BCnchner\\_abkommen5\\_en.svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%BCnchner_abkommen5_en.svg)



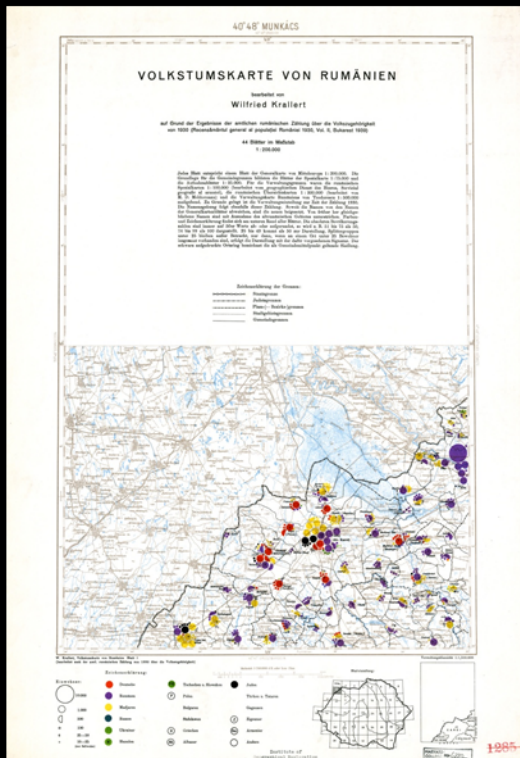
Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:TerritorialGainsHungary1920-41.svg>

The Volkstumskarte of Hungary and Slovakia, depict the boundaries of Hungary and Slovakia between the 1<sup>st</sup> Vienna award (1938) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vienna award in 1940.

By the time the Volkstumskarte maps were published, the new boundaries depicted in red were out of date because by that time, Hungary had already gained territory from Romania.

The map on left shows the territory ceded from Slovakia during this time. The map on the right shows the territorial gains of Hungary between 1938 and 1941.

# Shifting National Boundaries: Romania



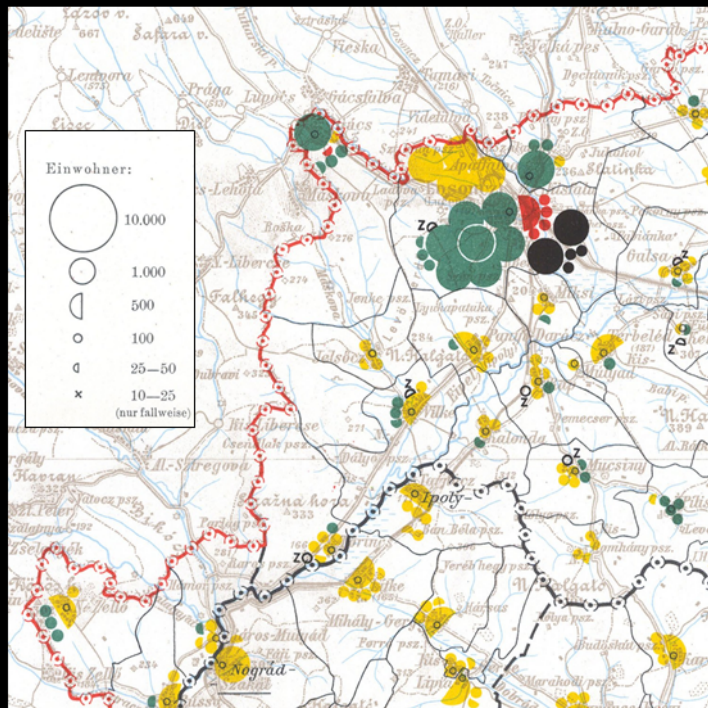
It is interesting to note that on these maps, it depicts the interwar boundary of Romania from 1918 to 1940, as is depicted in the map in the Upper right corner.

When the Volkstumskarte maps were published in 1941, they were already out of date, and the boundaries of Romania are as depicted in the map in the lower right corner.

According to Michael Falbruch, a leading research about the map editor (Wilfred Krallert) and ethnicity researchers from that period, Falbruch indicates that the data displayed on these maps (while the maps were under production), were used as part of the negotiations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vienna Award, in which Hungary occupied a large swath of the western part of Romania, in area that had larger populations of Germans and Hungarians.

# 1931 Census Thematic Mapping : Ethnicity of Population

## Town of Losonc / Lučenec (Czechoslovakia – 1931; Hungary 1941)



Deutsche	(Z)	Zigeuner
Madjaren		Slowenen
Slowaken u. Tschechen	(K)	Kroaten
Ukrainer	(S)	Serben
Juden	(B)	Bunjewazen u. Schokazen
Rumänen	( )	Andere

### Czech-Slovak – 7150 - Dark Green

7 x 1,000 (medium circle)  
1 x 100 (small circle)  
1 x 50 (small half circles)

### Hungarians – 4000 – Yellow

4 x 1,000 (medium circle)

### Jewish– 2300- Black

2 x 1000 (medium circles)  
3 x 100 (small circles)

### German– 900 - Red

1 x 500 (half medium circle)  
4 x 100 (small circles)

### Roma–50 - Clear with Z

1 x 50 (half small circles)

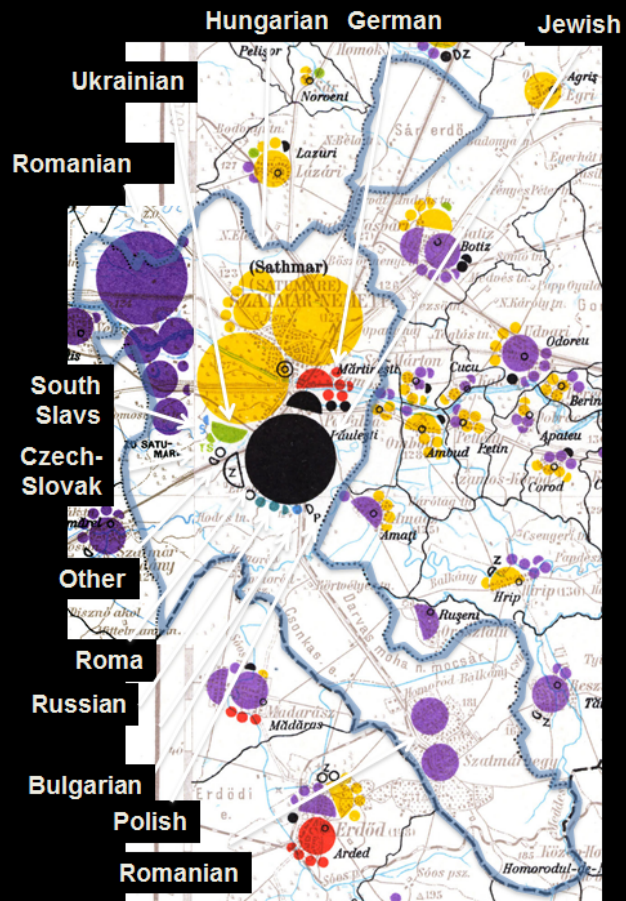
## 1931 Census Data Visualized in Hungary and former part of Slovakia

With the change in boundaries, the town of Losonc, would have been part of Hungary (as seen on this map). The population breakdown of Losonc is shown here as an absolute number.



## Ethnic composition of the population in Satu-Mare, Romania, 1931

Hungarians – 21900 - Yellow  
 Romanians – 16250 – Purple  
 Jewish– 10700 - Black  
 German – 950 - Red  
 Roma– 650 - Clear with Z  
 Ukrainian – 500 - Light Green  
 Russian – 250 – Dark Green  
 Other – 150 – Clear Circles  
 Bulgarian– 100 - Blue  
 Czech-Slovak – 50 –Green  
 South-Slav (Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian) – 50 – Blue with “S”  
 Polish – 50 – Clear with “P”



### 1931 Romania Census Language Ethnicity Data – Tables

This is an example of a city, Satu-Mare in Romania. It can get quite complicated, but as you can see here. There is a lot of counting of circles and symbols. I have added a few labels to show how to interpret this particular map. I have highlighted the boundary of the city in blue. This is a part of Romania that would have been occupied by Hungary after 1940.

Source: Recensământul general al populației româniei din 29 decembrie 1930. Vol. II Neam, Limbă Maternă, Religie. [1938]. Bucharest: Editura Institutului central de statistică)  
 Table: Județul Satu-Mare, page 394-395.  
 (Courtesy of Washington University of St. Louis Libraries and Internet Archive)

JUDEȚUL SATU-MARE

POPULAȚIA STATORNICĂ ÎN 1930  
Population légale en 1930 suivant la nationalité

Nr. de ordine - Numéros	JUDEȚE-Départements ORAȘE-Villes PLĂȘI-Arrondissements SATE-Villages	TOTAL	NEAMUL - Nationalité (appartenance)																
			Român - Roumains	Unguri - Hongrois	Germani - Allemands	Rusi - Russes	Ruteni Ucraineni Ruthènes, Ukrainiens	Sârbi, Croși, Sloveni Serbes, Croates, Slovènes	Bulgari - Bulgares	Cehi, Slovaci Tchèques, Slovaques	Poloni - Polonais	Huțani - Houtoules	Erezi - Juifs	Greci - Grecs	Albanezi - Albanais	Armeni - Arméniens	Turci - Turcs	Tătari - Tartares	Găgăuzi - Gagouzes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	TOTAL JUD. SATU-MARE...	294 875	178 523	74 191	9 530	1 149	3 020	61	84	555	85	-	23 967	2	-	7	11	-	-
	Procente .....	100.0	60.5	25.2	3.2	0.4	1.0	*	*	0.3	*	-	8.1	*	-	*	*	-	-
	Total orașe .....	69 526	21 314	29 139	1 100	286	496	36	81	131	66	-	12 953	2	-	7	4	-	-
	Procente .....	100.0	30.6	41.6	1.6	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	-	16.3	3	-	10	5	-	-
1	Municipiul Satu-Mare .....	51 495	16 251	21 916	939	269	488	34	80	65	54	-	10 693	2	-	5	4	-	-
2	Orașul Baia-Mare .....	13 954	6 622	8 927	153	13	6	-	1	63	11	-	1 952	-	-	2	-	-	-
3	Orașul Baia-Sprie .....	4 127	1 441	2 296	8	4	2	-	-	1	1	-	308	-	-	-	-	-	-

DUPĂ NEAM ȘI LIMBĂ MATERNĂ  
(appartenance ethnique) et la langue maternelle

JUDEȚUL SATU-MARE

Nr. de ordine - Numéros	LIMBA MATERNĂ - Langue maternelle																			
	Tigani - Tsiganes	Alte neamuri - Autres nationalités	Neclădiți - Non déclarés	Română - Roumaine	Ungară - Hongroise	Germană - Allemande	Rusă - Russe	Rutenă, Ucrainiană Ruthène, Ukrainienne	Sârbi, Croși, Sloveni Serbes, Croates, Slovènes	Bulgără - Bulgare	Cehi, Slovaci Tchèques, Slovaques	Polonă - Polonaise	Idiș - Yiddish	Grecă - Grecque	Albaneză - Albanaise	Armeană - Arménienne	Turcă, Tătără Turque, Tartare	Tigănească - Tzigane	Alte limbi - Autres langues	Neclădiți - Non déclarés
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1
3 521	43	126	173 585	94 112	7 586	766	343	55	97	400	32	16 772	-	-	-	2	24	946	30	125
1.2	*	*	53.9	31.9	2.6	0.3	0.1	*	*	0.1	*	5.7	-	-	-	*	*	0.3	*	*
829	32	50	21 596	38 665	963	252	191	40	97	84	21	7 392	-	-	-	2	21	128	22	52
5.0	*	*	31.1	55.6	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	16.6	-	-	-	3	8	0.8	0.3	0.4
642	24	29	13 941	30 308	609	242	187	36	97	43	12	5 817	-	-	-	1	18	76	14	34
127	6	17	6 490	3 776	290	6	4	1	1	41	9	1 253	-	-	-	1	3	3	8	18
60	2	4	1 165	2 581	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	322	-	-	-	1	49	-	18	3

I was curious to find out how accuracy of the data visualization based from the census data. I have found copies of the Romanian, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia census. This is a table of the data for Satu-Mare. It shows the data from the State level down to the Municipality level

# Data Quality Comparison (City of Satu-Mare)

## Ethnicity of Population (Satu- Mare) as published in the original census tables

JUDEȚE-Departements ORAȘE-Villes PLĂȘI-Arrondissements SAȚE-Villages		NEAMUL - Nationalité (appartenance ethnique)																			
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
TOTAL JUD. SATU-MARE..	294 875	178 523	74 191	9 530	1 149	3 020	61	84	555	85	1	23 967	2	1	7	11	1	1	3 521	43	126
Procente .....	100.0	60.5	25.2	3.2	0.4	1.0	*	*	0.2	*	*	8.1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.2	*	*
Total Orășe .....	69 526	24 314	29 139	1 100	286	398	39	61	131	56	1	12 953	2	1	7	11	1	1	829	34	50
Procente .....	100.0	35.0	41.9	1.6	0.4	0.7	*	*	0.1	0.2	*	18.6	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.2	*	*
Municipiul Satu-Mare .....	51 495	16 251	21 916	939	269	488	34	80	65	54	1	10 693	2	1	5	4	1	1	642	24	29
Procente .....	100.0	31.2	42.5	1.8	0.5	0.9	*	*	0.1	0.1	*	17.3	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.2	*	*
Orășel Bais-Sprie .....	4 127	1 441	2 296	8	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	308	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	12	4
Procente .....	100.0	34.9	55.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	*	*	0.0	0.0	*	7.5	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.4	*	*

## Ethnicity of Population (Satu-Mare) as visualized on the Volkstumskarte - Romania

Ethnicity	Table Column	Count	Ethnicity	Table Column	Count	Ethnicity	Table Column	Count
Hungarian	5	21900	Roma	21	650	Bulgarian	10	100
Romanian	4	16250	Ukrainian	8	500	South Slav	9	50
Jewish	14	10700	Russian	7	250	Polish	12	50
German	6	950	Other	15, 17, 18, 22, 23	150	Czech - Slovak	11	50

The census table for Satu-Mare is above. The data extracted from the Satu-Mare map is below. As you can see, the data in the maps have been rounded to the nearest 50<sup>th</sup>, and it accurately depicts the data from the census tables. I have done similar analysis on the Hungary and Slovakia maps and the accuracy is similar to what is demonstrated above for Romania.

I have yet to track down the census tables for Yugoslavia, but it appears from my research that the maps were partially compiled from unpublished census data.



**Südostdeutschen  
Forschungsgemeinschaft (SODFG) 1933-  
1938**

**Publikationsstelle Wien (P-stelle Wien)  
1938-1943**

**Kuratorium für Volks-und  
Landesforschung – Amt VI G 1943 - 1945**

Wilfred Krallert as I mentioned earlier, was the editor of the Volkstumeskarte series of maps.

Krallert was born in 1912, and at the age of 22, he joined the S.S.. He studied history and geography, focusing on South East German studies. He studied under the heads of the Südostdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (SODFG). The SODFG was founded in 1931, as interdisciplinary institute of faculty and researchers, the focus looking at cultural, and aspects of SE Europe, \many of the researchers focused their studies on the German presence in south-eastern europe. In 1935, Krallert obtained his doctorate in 1935.

Petra Svatek, argues convincingly in her research that with the seizure of power by the National Socialists in Austria, in 1938, relationship between humanites and social science scholars and NAZI politicians and scholars was strong, and this included the sharing and co-publishing of materials. This can be demonstrated by examining Krallert's involvement and his institute.

In the Spring of 1938, Krallert became a high ranking officer of the S.S., and member of the "Foreign Research branch" of the RSHA (Reich Security Office). During this period he actively went on active diplomatic negotiation and spying missions throughout central and south Eastern Europe. He was established a close working relationship with the Romanian statistician Sabin Manuila. The information exchanged between Manuila and Krallert, helped in the negotiations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vienna Award, in which Hungary was awarded a large part of Romania. In addition, the SODFG became the Publikations-Stelle Wien, under Krallert's lead. The P-stelle had included a map division, library, a translation and research division. From 1939 onwards, the P-Stelle (Wien), collected and analyzed statistical data from Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and also the Crimea Peninsula.

**Südostdeutschen  
Forschungsgemeinschaft (SODFG) 1933-  
1938**

**Publikationsstelle Wien (P-stelle Wien)  
1938-1943**

**Kuratorium für Volks-und  
Landesforschung – Amt VI G 1943 - 1945**

According to Michael Falbruch, in a biography about Krallert, Krallert realized early on that ethnicity maps could be used for diplomatic negotiations, administrative purposes. Krallert provided analysed census data and maps, during the negotiations of the Second Vienna award, which happened in August 1940, it is possible that preliminary versions of the maps of Romania were used. Regardless, the Volkstumskarte series of maps were published in 1941, and there is evidence the maps would have been used by the German military in Yugoslavia. There is no evidence, as of yet, that the maps were used for the deportation and genocide of Jews and Roma.

In 1943, Krallert became a commander of the AMT-VI-G department and the p-Stelle was folded into this agency. Krallert oversaw over 22 research institutes, subdepartments and associations located throughout Germany and Austria. The primary focus was the collection of information about areas outside of Germany, and dissemination of this information to other S.S. Departments. This included the theft and raiding of Jewish bookstores and Jewish antiquarian stores in Budapest. His activities during this time are too numerous to go into detail. In the last days of the War, Krallert transferred the P-Stelle library to a Monastery for safe keeping, and were discovered by the British military. Unlike his fellow RHSA leaders, most whom were tried at Nuremberg, Krallert was never charged.

## Wilfried Krallert

**Geographer, Cartographer, SS Officer, RDHA Head, Spy, Academic**

- “The general opinion on Krallert, gathered from out desk officers who him or of him during and after the war, may be summed as follows: A man of intelligence and great ambition. Conceited, ruthless, boasting and (despite his ambition) lazy. An Austrian of the worst type (from another Austrian!) a Nazi of the worst type”
- Public Record Office (=PRO) War Office 208/5228 Dr. Wilfried Krallert. In, Fahlbusch (2007)

After the war, he was interned by the British, investigated, and released in 1948. The French and the West Germans used him unsuccessfully for intelligence after his release. He retired into academia, actively published articles about Cartography and ethnicity, and continued to collect materials for institutes focusing on South Eastern European studies. He died in 1969. Above is a statement from the War Office file [Public Record Office (=PRO) War Office 208/5228 ] from the UK. This quote is from this file.

Sources:

Fahlbusch, M. (2007). The Role and Impact of German Ethnopolitical Experts in the SS Reich Security Main Office. In, I. Haar & M. Fahlbusch, (ed.). *Role and Impact of German Ethnopolitical Experts*. (pp. 28-50). New York: Berghahn.

Fahlbusch, M (2008). Wilfried Krallert (1912-1969): Ein Geograf und Historiker im Dienst der SS. In, K. Hruza (ed.). *Osterreichische Historiker, 1900-1945*. (pp. 793-836). Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.

Svatek, P. (2010). “Wien als Tor nach dem Südosten”: Der Beitrag Wiener Geisteswissenschaftler zur Erforschung Südosteuropas während des Nationalsozialismus. In, M. G. Ash, [W. Neiß](#), & [R. Pils](#). *Geisteswissenschaften im Nationalsozialismus: Das Beispiel der Universität Wien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010.



## Where are these maps?

### Print Copies:

- **Canada:** University of Alberta and McGill University
- **United States:** University of Chicago, University of Illinois Champaign Urbana, University of Oregon, University of California Berkeley, Yale University, Penn State University
- **Europe:** National libraries of Denmark, Germany, France, and several University libraries in Europe

**High Reslutiion Scans :** University of Alberta's Collection (JPEG and TIFF Format) of the Volkstumskarte available from Backbone Cartographics - [BackBone.Cartographics@gmail.com](mailto:BackBone.Cartographics@gmail.com)

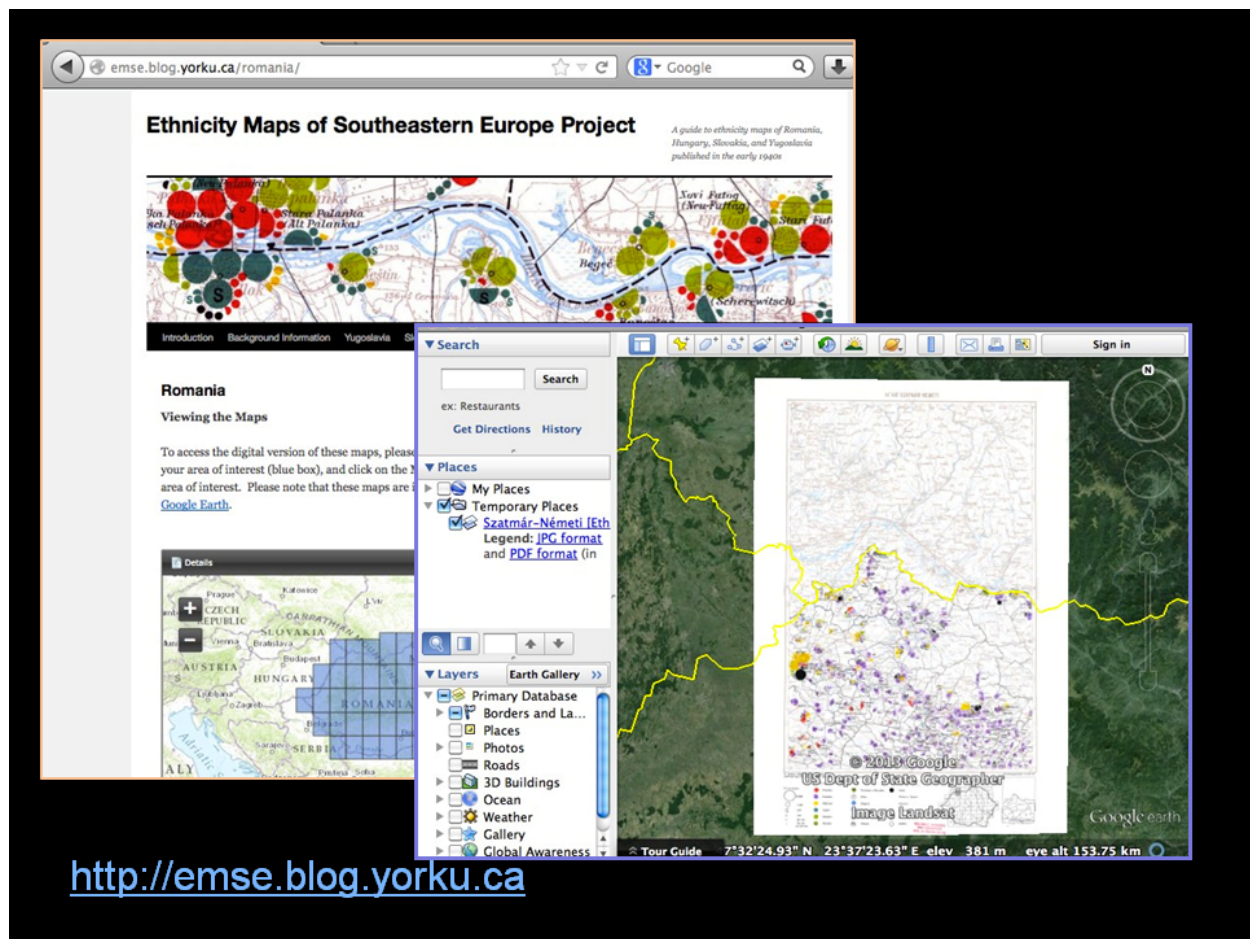
The print copies that I have been working with are available at University of Alberta and McGill University. High resolution scans are available from University of Alberta.

# Ethnicity Maps of Southeastern Europe Project

[www.emse.blog.yorku.ca](http://www.emse.blog.yorku.ca)

Access to the maps in Google Earth format with translations of the map legends

As part of my research project, I have created this website for researchers who are interested in doing research about these maps. <http://esme.blog.yorku.ca> . This website contains the maps in Google Earth format, interactive map indexes to locate the maps, and translations of legends from German into English.



To conclude, the Volkstumskarte series of maps are very complex in nature, but are also significant because of the information contained within the map: it visualizes in cartographic form the geopolitics and ethnocultural research during the rise and implementation of National Socialism in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Evidence shows that these maps would have been used for military purposes. In addition, these maps have the potential to be a useful research tool for researchers focused on the history of cartography. In addition, since these maps are thematic maps, it can be used by researchers who are interested in the history of geopolitical boundaries, ethnic distribution of population in the 1930s, and also genocide / shoah research.



# Acknowledgements

- Research and Awards Committee, York University Libraries
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- Corvin Historical Society, Edmonton
- Michael Fisher, Backbone Cartographics, Edmonton
- Marcel Fortin, University of Toronto Map Library
- Internet Archive Canada

Rosa Orlandini, Map and GIS Librarian, York University

[rorlan@yorku.ca](mailto:rorlan@yorku.ca)

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