

The Murders of Priests at Hartheim Castle under “Sonderbehandlung 14f13”

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Abstract

In the years 1940–1944, Hartheim Castle served as a Nazi euthanasia center, in which people were put to death on a mass scale. From May 1940 to August 1941, over 18,000 people were murdered there under Action T4, while between August 1941 and November 1944 more than 10,000 prisoners of concentration camps and forced laborers were in the Castle.

The latter group included 330 priests who were brought to Hartheim mainly from Dachau, but also from Mauthausen-Gusen. According to our present knowledge, at least 310 of them came from Poland. Considered by the occupier as enjoying high social and political standing, they were arrested and deported as part of the Nazis’ systematic effort to eliminate the Polish intelligentsia and Polish leadership elites. Using selected examples, the paper examines what exactly the priests experienced on their way to the concentration camps, and also the circumstances that accompanied their deaths at Hartheim Castle.

In March 1940, the 17th-century Renaissance castle of Hartheim, which since 1898 had housed an institution for the mentally handicapped (Kepplinger, 2008, pp. 63–66), was transformed into an extermination center under “Aktion T4”. The first victims were brought in in May 1940. At Hartheim – just like at the other five extermination centers established for the purposes of “Aktion T4” – they were poisoned with carbon monoxide. The gas chamber, which was furnished like a bath house to conceal its true function, and the other rooms used for the killings and subsequent incineration of corpses were situated on the ground floor. Together, the rooms formed an elaborate chain that served to ensure the maximum efficiency of the extermination process; logically, the chamber containing the crematorium furnaces was located at the very end. The upper stories of the castle were adapted for the offices and living quarters of the personnel (Schwanninger, 2012a, pp. 118 ff.).

When Hitler issued his order of 24 August 1941 halting “Aktion T4”, more than 18,000 victims had already been murdered at Hartheim (Schwanninger, 2012a, p. 126). These were mentally ill and disabled patients who had been deported to the castle from regions of present-day Austria, Bavaria, and the annexed territories of Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland) and Yugoslavia (Lower Styria) (Schwanninger, 2008a, pp. 131–143).

One of the main reasons for suspending the action was that the secrecy of the murders perpetrated at Hartheim had been compromised, causing considerable public disquiet. Other factors included a change of mood following the invasion of the Soviet Union (Kepplinger, 2008, p. 100) and the protests of the Church against the National Socialist “euthanasia” program; a good example of the latter are the sermons of Clemens August Graf von Galen, the Bishop of Münster (Neugebauer, 2008, p. 29).

The interruption of “Aktion T4” did not mean, however, that people whom the Nazi regime considered “unworthy of life” were no longer murdered. The technical infrastructure of “Aktion T4” remained intact and ready for further use. As a matter of fact, the number of psychiatric patients subjected to euthanasia increased at the time. Today, the murders of patients from individual institutions are termed “decentralized euthanasia”, since these atrocities were not committed using poisonous gas, as had been the case under “Aktion T4” – instead, victims received lethal doses of drugs, were starved to death, subjected to electric shocks, or simply left to die without care (Klee, 1983, p. 490).

In 1942, a great number of the personnel involved in “Aktion T4” were transferred to occupied Poland, where under “Aktion Reinhardt” they concerned themselves primarily with murdering people of Jewish origin. This operation allowed many of the perpetrators to rise to prominence (Berger, 2013), the most famous being Christian Wirth (Rieß, 2004) (the head of the office at Hartheim and later the commandant of Bełżec), Franz Reichleitner

(Kepplinger, 2008, p. 103) (Wirth's successor at Hartheim, later promoted to commandant of Sobibór), and Franz Stangl (Sereny, 1995) (the deputy head of the office during Reichleitner's tenure at Hartheim, and thereafter the commandant of Sobibór and, subsequently, Treblinka).

"Sonderbehandlung 14f13" at Hartheim

Before "Aktion T4" was suspended on 24 August 1941, the killing of concentration camp prisoners who were unfit for labor or ill, or had been arrested for racial or political reasons had already commenced at Hartheim Castle under "Sonderbehandlung 14f13". On 11 August 1941, almost two weeks before "Aktion T4" was suspended, 70 Jewish prisoners from the concentration camp of Mauthausen were brought to Hartheim for extermination. The whole group had been deported to Mauthausen from the Netherlands.

Similarly to many other "camouflage terms" (such as "Sonderaktion", "Endlösung", or "Umsiedlung"), "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" ("special treatment") is a product of the elaborate terminology of the perpetrators (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 16). The coding "14f13" was one of the specific designations used by the administration of concentration camps to denote various causes of death. All deaths "from natural causes" were marked as "14f1", suicides as "14f2", and shootings of escapees as "14f3", while the killings of concentration camp prisoners who were sick, disabled or selected based on other criteria - carried out under "Aktion T4" - were identified as "14f13" (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 66).

This extermination action, conducted throughout the territory of the Reich, had been initiated by *ss-Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler. At the beginning of 1941 he had made plans to remove the so-called *Ballastexistenzen* ("ballast lives") from the system of concentration camps - the number of prisoners had, after all, greatly increased since the outbreak of the War - using the infrastructure of "Aktion T4" and its personnel, already seasoned in mass murder (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 66). In *ss* terminology the phrase *Ballastexistenzen* denoted those prisoners who due to deplorable living conditions, brutal treatment and backbreaking labor had developed an illness or a disability, and therefore were no longer considered useful by the *ss*.

At the time, the concentration camps had not yet been provided with the technical means necessary to conduct mass murder (Friedlander, 1997, p. 237). It is also important to note that unlike the earlier acts of violence, this annihilation campaign was to encompass all existing concentration camps (Orth, 1999, p. 114), making use of external facilities so as not to cause more disquiet among prisoners (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 65).

The expert physicians who had previously performed examinations under "Aktion T4" - which basically consisted in carrying out selections, in part at mental institutions and centers for the disabled - now visited chosen concentration camps and picked prisoners who were to be murdered

in the gas chambers of the extermination centers at Bernburg, Pirna-Sonnenstein and Hartheim.¹ The extermination action began in April 1941 at Sachsenhausen concentration camp (Ley, 2011, p. 235).

At Mauthausen and Gusen, too, the first selections were conducted by medical boards or with the participation of two doctors who had taken part in "Aktion T4" – Dr. Lonauer and Dr. Renno, heads of the extermination center at Hartheim. Subsequent selections were carried out by the ss camp doctors after evening roll-call; sometimes – but by no means always – they were accompanied by the commandant, Zierys (Maršálek, 1980, p. 212). In Dachau, selections of prisoners for deportation commenced in September 1941, when doctors from "Aktion T4" were shown over one fifth of all prisoners; starting in January 1942, 16 percent of Dachau's inmates were transferred to Hartheim and subsequently murdered. Using this method, Dachau systematically got rid of those prisoners whom it had been receiving since the spring of 1940 in transports of invalids from other camps (Ley, 2009, p. 48). In the next stages of "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" prisoners underwent a separate selection carried out by T4 experts, also at KL Dachau.² In 1944, during the last phase of "Aktion 14f13" – as far as we know, it was no longer conducted in Dachau at the time – the selection process in Mauthausen was further simplified: the ss doctors decided how many victims would be sent in a given transport on the basis of the number of beds available for the sick. In this way prisoner functionaries in individual barracks were forced to participate more directly in the selection process (cf. Maršálek, 1980, p. 213).

The ss resorted to a variety of methods to hide the murders of the hapless selectees from their families and other camp prisoners. Just like in the other concentration camps, also in Gusen the sick and/or disabled prisoners were at first encouraged to report voluntarily for transferal to the "prison sanatorium" at Dachau (Dobosiewicz, 2007, p. 270). As Stanisław Nogaj observed, over 2,200 prisoners – failing to see through this deception – came eagerly forward, especially as many of them still vividly remembered the transport of 153 priests to Dachau in December 1940 (*Oskarżamy*, 1968, p. 5).³ However, as Stanislav Zámečník observed, the fact that the "invalids" had been sent to their deaths soon became a public secret (Zámečník, 2007, p. 218).

Differently than under "Aktion T4", the death certificates of victims were to be issued by the Registrar's Offices competent *ratione loci* with respect to individual camps; in consequence, they soon began receiving lists of those killed. A given concentration camp, specified by name, would figure

1 Three out of six extermination centers set up for the purposes of "Aktion T4" – Brandenburg, Grafeneck and Hadamar – did not actively participate in "Sonderbehandlung 14f13".

2 Cf. the decision summarizing preparatory proceedings against Egon Zill, State Archives in Munich, Stanw München II, 34868/8.

3 Cited from: *ibid.*, p. 270. Stanisław Nogaj worked in Gusen as an interpreter, and was present during examinations of prisoners by the commission. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 272.

in the certificate as the place of death, while the stated cause of death would depend on the whim of the clerk (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 75). In order to camouflage the operation, the camp administration wrote down different dates of death for people who had been murdered simultaneously, thereby making it possible to distribute greater batches of victims over longer periods (Maršálek, 1980, p. 212).

In the early spring of 1943, "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" was temporarily halted. As far as we know, no more transports arrived at Hartheim Castle that year. In all probability, this decision was influenced mainly by the growing manpower shortages experienced by concentration camps (Kogon et al., 1995, p. 75).

In the early spring of 1944, however, "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" was resumed, although exclusively at Hartheim Castle. This was due to the rapid increase in the number of prisoners in the Mauthausen camp complex who were sick or unfit for work, and therefore required rapid extermination (Choumoff, 2000, p. 67). According to a list drawn up by the Polish Committee at or around the time of the camp's liberation, the Mauthausen administration sent transports to Hartheim from 20 March 1944 until 11 October 1944.

Detailed data concerning individual transports from this period cannot be fully reconstructed, as the lists – available for the years 1941–1942 – have not survived; additionally, the deaths of some prisoners were reported several months later. Only one list, elaborated by the Polish Committee, contains the actual dates of transports, and thus the accurate dates of prisoner deaths. Unfortunately, the document does not cover all the inmates murdered in 1944.

Apart from transports from the concentration camps of Mauthausen and Gusen, in 1944 Hartheim probably received shipments of prisoners from other camps as well (Schwanninger, 2012b, pp. 82–85).

The End of the Killings

Current research suggests that the perpetrators stopped the murders at Hartheim in November 1944⁴, in which month the construction inspection authority at Mauthausen received an order from the Führer's Office "to remove all technical facilities from the Hartheim State Institution with immediate effect"⁵. Finally, on 11 December 1944, the concentration camp

4 Cf. also: The testimony of witness Helene Hintersteiner, 29.6.1945. NARA II, RG 549, Records of Headquarters, U.S. Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases not Tried"), 1944–48, Box 490, Case 000-12-463 Hartheim, Exhibit 7.

5 The report of August G. H. Eweis for the American investigative committee in Mauthausen. The archive of the Mauthausen Memorial (AMM), B/15/17.

administration of Mauthausen instructed 20 of its prisoners to demolish all and any structural elements that could have pointed to the existence of an extermination center.⁶ In all probability, this task was completed in mid-January 1945 (Golebski, 2012, p. 304).

The staff of Hartheim had destroyed incriminating documents already between October and December 1944, however with the exception of a large body of medical records pertaining to the victims of "Aktion T4", which were stored at the temporary T4 headquarters in Hartheim.⁷

Preliminary Death Estimates

The number of victims of "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" varies greatly across topical literature. During one of the trials before an American Military Tribunal, Vinzenz Nohel, an employee of the Hartheim crematorium, gave an estimate of 6,000 to 8,000 for the period 1942–1945, while for "Aktion T4" he put the figure at 20,000 victims.⁸ Interrogated by the criminal police in Linz, Nohel said that "some 30,000 people in total"⁹ had been murdered at Hartheim.

In addition to the 16,047 victims of "Aktion T4" (Peherstorfer & Schwanninger, 2008, p. 150), the surnames and data of 4,608 prisoners from Mauthausen and Gusen who were murdered under "Sonderbehandlung 14f13" have also been verified. As far as transports from KL Dachau to Hartheim are concerned, we know the names of 2,593 people. This gives us 7,201 fully identified victims who in the years 1941–1944 were deported to Hartheim from the abovementioned concentration camps and subsequently murdered there. Further research will almost certainly cause this number to grow, but due to limited access to sources the actual scale of the killings will probably never be determined.

Priests as Victims of "Sonderbehandlung 14f13"

According to the current state of knowledge, 335 priests were murdered at Hartheim Castle, 332 of whom were transported there from KL Dachau (Zámečník, 2007, p. 222). To date, only three of the men sent from Mauthausen

6 Cf. written confirmation of the admission of prisoners, issued by the Mauthausen camp. AMM, B/15/8.

7 Cf. the testimony of witness Helene Hintersteiner, 29.6.1945.

8 Cf. NARA, RG 338, Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1942 - Records of Headquarters, U.S. Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959, 000-50-05 U.S. vs. Altfuldisch et al., Prosecution's exhibit No. 84 (DÖW 22.823, Hartheim Documentation Center, 570).

9 The interrogation of Vinzenz Nohel by the criminal police in Linz, 04.09.1945. Upper Austria State Archives (oöLA), the National Court in Linz, Specialized Courts: political court files 1946, Sch. 1014, Vg 6 Vr 6741/47 (filed in: Vg 8 Vr 2407/46).

to the gas chambers of Hartheim have been positively identified as priests.¹⁰ We have to bear in mind, though, that the occupations and professions of numerous victims from Mauthausen and Gusen remain unknown or were never recorded in the camp files. Consequently, it is very probable that many more priests from Mauthausen and Gusen were actually killed at the castle.

The number of priests deported from KL Dachau was so substantial because towards the end of 1940 the camp had started to function as a concentration point for priests from other detention facilities. In December 1940, transports from Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald and Auschwitz arrived at the camp. Moreover, on 8 December 1940 about 150 Polish priests were sent from Gusen back to Dachau, from where they had been deported in August 1940.

Until the end of the War, 2,720 priests of 20 nationalities were transported to Dachau. The vast majority – 1,870 – were Poles (Zámečník, 2007, pp. 172–173). Not only did this group have the highest mortality rate in Dachau, 48.7 percent (Zámečník, 2007, p. 180), but it also accounted for the bulk of the “invalids” sent to Hartheim. Out of 335 identified priests who were murdered in Hartheim under “Sonderbehandlung 14f13”, as many as 310 came from Poland; all had been brought to Hartheim from Dachau (Zámečník, 2007, p. 222).

The persecution of Polish priests was incomprehensibly brutal, both in German-occupied Poland and in the concentration camps. They were seen as prominent public figures, and as such also fell victim to arrests and deportations carried out under the annihilation action aimed against the Polish intelligentsia and leadership class in general; of course, no explanations were provided for their treatment. 150 Polish priests – who, as has already been mentioned, had returned from Gusen to Dachau on 8 December 1940 – were sent to work in the stone quarries of Mauthausen and Gusen together with around 5,600 other Polish citizens. This was all part of the extermination action aimed against the Polish intelligentsia (Zámečník, 2007, p. 172).

In Dachau, all priests – regardless of nationality – were at first incarcerated in blocks no. 26, 28 and 30. The SS strictly forbade them to set up a chapel there. Towards the end of March 1941, their situation improved slightly, as they were released from the *Arbeitskommando* (work brigades), and also received better food. Their blocks, however, were fenced with barbed wire and they were no longer allowed to enter into any sort of communication with other prisoners. The new privileges were forced through and financed by the Holy See, but they soon became a thorn in the side of many SS men, leading to numerous arbitrary interventions and attacks.

In September 1941, all priests who were not of German origin lost their special status: they no longer received better food, could not attend

¹⁰ Cf. the database of the Hartheim Documentation Center.

the chapel, and had to resume work. German priests were incarcerated separately in block no. 26, while the rest were forbidden to contact them in any way. The idea of isolating blocks no. 28 and 30 was abandoned, however, and the barbed wire fencing removed – with the exception of block no. 26. When their privileges were revoked, the priests suffered many tribulations, including hunger, disease, and abuse at the hands of the ss. A few priests who managed to join an ordinary *Arbeitskommando* received additional food rations, but the rest starved, and soon their health began to fail. Many were eventually chosen for transports to Hartheim (Zámečník, 2007, pp. 174–175).

The discrimination of the Polish and also the Lithuanian clergy was particularly noticeable as regards the allocation of work. In April 1942, Himmler ordered that “Polish and Lithuanian priests [...] can be used for all sorts of labor. As for the German, Dutch, Norwegian etc. clergymen, they should continue to occupy themselves with growing medicinal herbs”.¹¹

The situation improved only towards the end of 1942 (i.e. when transports from Dachau were no longer sent to Hartheim), for at the time the ss allowed these prisoners to receive food parcels from their families.¹²

As has already been mentioned, the first selection of prisoners in Dachau took place at the beginning of September 1941 and was carried out by a medical board composed of T4 doctors (Schwanninger, 2008b, p. 190). It did not include members of the clergy, for until 18 September they enjoyed favored status. As rumors got around that the examined “invalids” were to be granted certain privileges or even released from the camp, some priests thought it unfair that they had not been admitted to this procedure (Zámečník, 2007, p. 219). Later in Dachau the prisoners were selected without the participation of expert doctors from “Aktion T4”. The sick and those unable to work were taken directly from the camp hospital or the blocks to the doctor’s office. Witnesses testified that the action was supervised personally by the *Schutzhaftlagerführer* (permanent deputy camp commandant). During the examination prisoners were arranged in rows, instructed to walk either to the right or to the left and, finally, ordered to give their numbers (Schwanninger, 2008b, p. 191). One of the former inmates described the process thus: “Contrary to what one may have expected, inmates did not undergo any examination – the selection was carried out solely on the basis of their physical appearance”.¹³ About eight days later, the *Blockälteste* (block seniors) would wake up the selectees and send them to the roll-call square.

11 Circular letter of 21 April 1942 of the ss Main Economic and Administrative Office (wvHA), Department D. Trials of War Criminals Bd. v, Document No 1284, pp. 365–366., cited from: *ibid.*, p. 177.

12 Cf. *ibid.*

13 The testimony of the witness Peter Wening in: State Archives in Munich, Stanw München II, 34868/8.

There, the prisoners had to undress as if for a bath, however they also had to hand over their crutches, prostheses, glasses, and even clothes – in return, they received old rags, often without any underwear. Finally, they were loaded onto trucks and driven off.¹⁴

According to Zámečník, from May 1942 these selections were carried out at the camp hospital (*Krankenrevier*) and in the blocks for “invalids” and priests (*Invaliden- und Priesterblöcke*) (Zámečník, 2007, p. 219). A German clergyman, Hermann Scheipers, described in his autobiography how he had fainted and was taken to the camp hospital. The diagnosis made in his case – general exhaustion – was normally a death sentence. An ss doctor put Scheipers on the list of people unfit for work and ordered that he be transferred to the block for “invalids”. Scheipers realized that he was in imminent danger and somehow managed to notify his sister about the gravity of the situation. It is very probable that her brave intervention with the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) saved not only him, but also his fellow inmates (Scheipers, 2013, pp. 65–66).

Further on in his book Zámečník writes that the ss camp doctors conducted selections with the help of functionaries chosen from amongst prisoners. In the blocks for priests, this task was performed either by the *Blockälteste*, or the *Stubenälteste* (room seniors). Zámečník also mentions a selection that was carried out towards the end of June 1942 among prisoners who were not assigned to any *Arbeitskommando* (so-called *Uneingeteilte*) or worked in the *Stoffreste-Kommando*, sorting the possessions of the gassed victims. Many of them were members of the clergy (Zámečník, 2007, p. 219).

The majority of priests from Dachau who were murdered under “Sonderbehandlung 14f13” were brought to Hartheim between 4 May and 12 August 1942. One of them was Leo Taczak.¹⁵ He shared the fate of numerous members of the Polish intelligentsia, especially priests, who were arrested and murdered under the “Intelligenzaktion” and the “AB-Aktion”. Taczak was born on 3 April 1884 in Mieschkow in the Prussian Province of Posen (now Mieszków near Jarocin, Poland). Not much is known about his childhood and teenage years. He lived a sheltered life in his family home; his parents, ardent Roman Catholics, attached great importance to providing their children with a thorough grounding in theology and the natural sciences. Thanks to their involvement, all of their children completed college. One of Leo Taczak’s

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ The Hartheim Documentation Center has a dossier with biographical information and other materials pertaining to Leo Taczak. All data and documents used in the present paper are courtesy of Leo Taczak’s nephew, Mr. Stanislaus Gogolkiewicz from Schladen (Germany). The biography of Leo Taczak see Gogolkiewicz, 2013, pp. 175–183.

brothers was engineer Stanisław Taczak, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Greater Poland Uprising of 1918–1919 and later a general of the Polish Army; he spent the Second World War in captivity. Another was Professor prelate Teodor Taczak. He died in 1941 in Warsaw while trying to escape the Gestapo.

Leo Taczak, who at the time held the post of parish priest in Grylewo in the district of Wągrowiec, was arrested by the Gestapo on 26 August 1940. Three days later, on 29 August 1940, he was deported to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was assigned number 30030. He spent less than six months there, being transferred to Dachau on 14 December 1940, where he was registered under number 22373. His was one of the larger transports from December 1940, which were organized with the objective of concentrating priests from various other concentration camps, such as Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Gusen, in Dachau (Zámečník, 2007, p. 172). Around Easter 1942 the Polish clergymen, who were incarcerated in one block, were subjected to deliberate and systematic persecution. Zámečník noted that for those incarcerated at Dachau, these tragic events gave the term "Holy Week" a new and sinister meaning – a "week of atrocities" (Zámečník, 2007, p. 176). When 800 dollars were found on one of the priests (or 700 dollars, according to Zámečník) (Zámečník, 2007, p. 176), other members of the Polish clergy were also searched and divested of all valuables and devotional articles (such as rosaries). However, when the results of the search for "big money" confounded expectations, the priests faced even worse treatment: the guards would regularly throw all the block's "fittings and furniture" (chairs, sacks of straw) out into the street, while after punitive exercises the priests would have to bring everything back in in order to be given any food. Worse still, immediately after consuming their meal – and regardless of the weather – they had to endure another round of punishing physical activity in the open air. *Lagerältester* (a camp senior, selected exclusively from amongst German prisoners) G. observed: "these Polish priests are utterly exhausted, they can't march anymore!" The ss answered tersely: "If someone cannot walk, make him roll on his stomach". Eight priests did not survive the ordeal, while many others died shortly after. Those who somehow pulled through but were too weak to work were sent to their deaths in Hartheim. Transport lists confirm that Leo Taczak was amongst the latter; he suffered from hernia and was therefore unable to perform arduous camp work. In consequence, he was deemed unfit for labor and informed that he would be sent to a sanatorium for treatment of his hernia condition. On 28 May 1942 Leo Taczak was dispatched to Hartheim, where he was murdered.

The death certificate gives the date of death as 23 July 1942 and the place as Dachau, with the cause of death being "cardiac and circulatory arrest resulting from pneumonia". These forged data (cause, place and date of death) are further testimony to the abovementioned practice of obliterating all traces of crime by the administration of concentration camps.

For decades to come, Leo Taczak's family did not know the real cause of his death (Gogolkiewicz, 2013, pp. 175–183).

After 12 August 1942 the transports of "invalids" sent to Hartheim no longer contained priests of German origin. According to some sources, this had been forbidden by the RSHA in mid-August 1942 (Zámečník, 2007, pp. 221 ff.). The abovementioned Hermann Scheipers wrote in his autobiography that on 13 August 1942 his sister intervened on his behalf with one of the departments of the RSHA. She launched herself at a clerk responsible for arrested clergymen, deluding him into the belief that society was well aware that the priests imprisoned at Dachau were being murdered in gas chambers. Scheipers further stated that on the very same day a courier from the political department came to the block for "invalids" in Dachau and ordered all German priests to leave the building (Scheipers, 2013, pp. 69–71). According to his account, soon priests of other nationalities were also excluded from deportations to Hartheim (Scheipers, 2013, p. 74). However, this claim seems unfounded, for we know that clergymen of different ethnicities were being murdered at Hartheim right until the arrival of the last transports from Dachau in December 1942 (Zámečník, 2007, pp. 221 ff.). In total, four priests from Luxembourg, seven from Germany, six from Czechoslovakia, three from the Netherlands, two from Belgium and – as was already mentioned – 310 Polish clergymen from Dachau were murdered at the castle (Zámečník, 2007, p. 222).

Insofar as we know, during the last stage of "Sonderbehandlung 14f13", in 1944, three priests were deported from Mauthausen to Hartheim. As has already been mentioned, however, exact numerical data continues to elude researchers. Hopefully, as additional documents are located and subjected to study, it will become possible to make more precise determinations.

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