

THE RACES OF EUROPE

Construction of National Identities
in the Social Sciences, 1839-1939

Richard McMahon



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Introduction: Rediscovering a Lost Science

Where be your gibes now, your gambols, your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now, to mock your own grinning?

Hamlet to Yorick's skull (V.1.186–90).

This book is a transnational history of national identity. It tells the strange story of a Europe-centred scientific community which, roughly from the 1830s to the 1940s, investigated human biology in order to reveal the racial ‘true’ identities of European nations. Race classification was especially central to the construction of ethnic families (e.g. Celts, Teutons, Slavs), a key component of national identity. Biologists lent ethnic nations the prestige of natural science, and justified them as natural ‘national races’ (my term), whose psychological characteristics, conflicts and geopolitical relationships extended back into prehistory.

The book contributes to a very recent efflorescence of historical literature on the race classification of Europeans and the political influence of national race narratives, bringing to light these almost entirely forgotten parallel geographies and histories and the communities of scholars that devised them.¹ Like much of the best of this literature, I draw on several insights from the related fields of history and sociology of science and sociology of knowledge. These include my central theme, the mutual influences of science and politics,² but I also emphasise the transnational

organisation of science,³ the role of practices and network connections, especially in the constitution of disciplines,⁴ and the importance of specific contexts, and therefore of empirical history and geography.⁵

Deep intradisciplinary divides between the historical literatures on science, nationalism and racism partly explain why interest in the scientific race classification of Europeans has taken so long to emerge. Historians of science have tracked state pressure on science since the early Cold War, but studies have only turned since the millennium to how science and politics have influenced one another, and these rarely focus on the social sciences.⁶ When the flourishing racism and nationalism literatures examine historical race narratives meanwhile, they very understandably concentrate on the overtly political discourses of influential eugenicists and racist polemicists like Count Arthur de Gobineau, Madison Grant and Houston Stewart Chamberlain.⁷ All three literatures have generally ignored how such ‘high profile’ racist scholarship, politics and popular ideas ‘thrived’ within a ‘force field’ of more morally ambiguous and technical, anthropological race classification, which ‘deeply influenced’ and scientifically legitimated them.⁸

Philological classifiers for example ‘*created*’ important ‘cultural and political realities’ like Scottish, Irish and Welsh identification with Celts, downplaying obvious affinities with the English.⁹ The novels of Disraeli, who told parliament in 1849 that ‘Race implies difference, difference implies superiority, and superiority leads to predominance’,¹⁰ promoted a Caucasian biological race category developed by the craniologist (skull scientist) Johann Blumenbach.¹¹ Unlike Aryan race narratives, the Caucasian race incorporated Disraeli’s Jewish and British identities. Halford Mackinder’s seminal 1904 geopolitical text¹² meanwhile cited William Ripley’s canonical *Races of Europe* (1900), whose title I borrow. Friedrich Nietzsche used anthropological research to identify a blond Aryan ‘conqueror and master race’ and denounce the ‘monstrous atavism’ of socialism as an attempt by the inferior ‘brown people to rule the blond’.¹³ Definitions by scientific experts of the natural characteristics of national races were politically useful for legitimising the liberal, conservative, peaceful or militaristic policies of nation states. My research for example suggests that the nineteenth-century transnational cultural communication and power dynamics of disciplines like anthropology, philology and history help to explain why different nationalist discourses emphasised ethnic purity or cosmopolitan civilisation.¹⁴

The ‘territorial trap’ of ‘methodological nationalism’¹⁵ has nevertheless been a second reason for historians’ neglect of race classification. Since the nineteenth century, historians have generally been trained and organised

to specialise in the sources and languages of particular nations and nation states. The vast bulk of historical work on anthropology,¹⁶ race classification and the social sciences more generally¹⁷ are thus ‘strongly locked within national contexts’. Mine is therefore one of just three book-length studies since the 1940s that attempt to conceive of race classification as a transnational whole. Like Chris Manias’s *Race, Science and the Nation* (2013) and Carole Reynard-Paligot’s *De l’identité nationale* (2011), I examine the core race classification countries of France, Germany and the United Kingdom. However I also move beyond the core to view the classification community from the perspective of its peripheries.

To escape methodological nationalism, I use the inductive, ideographic approach of self-consciously transnational history, which has emerged since the 1990s in response to factors like globalisation, European integration and changes within the discipline of history.¹⁸ I study specific networks, communities, discourses and processes, which may stretch across multiple countries and endure for decades, but nevertheless emerge, evolve and disappear at particular moments and have geographical limits and borders. My most innovative transnational methodology is a quantitative analysis of these communities’ networks (see Chapter 2). However I do also use national case studies to examine interaction between local impulses and transnational interchange, not least because interactions with nationalism were crucial to race classification.

By contrast, most scholarship on national identity¹⁹ and anthropology²⁰ has attempted to escape methodological nationalism by comparing national cases, in order to identify general rules or ‘major traditions’.

General rules are problematic. It may just about make sense to talk about those that affect a national population, but internationally, the centres of concentration and blurred or sharp geographic (and temporal) limits of features really matter. These geographical patterns overlap and interact, shaping developments in particular places and periods. The findings of race classifiers were for example affected in complicated ways by two key transnational factors, their scientific networks (e.g. were they at the edge or centre of these?) and the identity narratives they produced (e.g. their national races were supposedly related to which other nations?). As Manias argues, ‘European networks’ strongly ‘defined’ the ‘growth of anthropology in each country’.²¹

I do closely examine major traditions, meanwhile. However I devote half this book to a complementary, and equally valuable peripheral perspective, which highlights the limits, constituent elements and power dynamics of the race classification network.

Race classifiers struggled to creatively fuse the transnational and national. In general, historians, journalists and politicians crafted reasonably stable popular identity myths within national communities of discourse. The transnational race classification community linked these local identity narratives together into pan-European syntheses, whose influence then rebounded onto multiple national and geopolitical identity discourses. Historians of science recognise ‘a permanent tension’ in the networks and identities of scientists between aspiring for universal knowledge and, on the other hand, these scholars’ nationalism and ‘primary dependence on the nation state’.²² An impressive proliferation of historical work on eugenics²³ is opening up space for exploring the full complexity of race science and especially its relationship with nationalism. Younger scholars are also beginning to disinter the unsavoury histories of nationalist central and eastern²⁴ European race anthropology,²⁵ despite meeting some resistance from older colleagues.²⁶ The flourishing field of historical geography of science²⁷ has meanwhile recently begun to address international connections.²⁸ However, although historians of science now commonly recognise the tension between transnational scientific community and national chauvinism and institutionalisation, research on these themes has focussed on ‘hard’ sciences and the twentieth century.²⁹

Science has a special role in weaving together national narratives into complex international discourses. As Samuel Huntington’s civilisation theory (1993) most recently demonstrated, scholarship is influential in organising nations into transnational identity geopolitics of family and foe. Nationality divided race classifiers and they established specifically national institutions (societies, journals, university chairs etc.). However their universalist scientific ideology, and transnational network organisation and power structures provided an important counterbalance to nationalist localism.³⁰ This gave transnational features to even the most xenophobic nationalist politics. Classifiers tended for example to derive identity narratives from the nation’s role in an international drama.

The interlocking international discourses that they helped develop still influence political identity narratives of Europe, its nations and their geopolitical relations. For example, race classifiers were key players in elaborating discourses of northern superiority and eastern inferiority that still infuse Euroscepticism and discussion of EU enlargement.³¹ Politically important ethnic identity categories with a strong racial component, such as Celts, Germanics and Slavs, are inherently transnational. I show that internationally hegemonic race classification discourses also assigned specific roles

to nations (and often social classes) in overarching European schemes. Narratives of the continental-scale family ties, migrations and conquests of races were used to explain alliances and conflicts among modern nations and social or regional tensions within them. There was wide international scholarly consensus on the psychological attributes of specific nations/races.³² Classifiers organised these into a European system in which Celtic, Slavic and Latin races acquired some similar attributes, defined in contrast to their centrally placed Germanic (German and ‘Anglo-Saxon’) foes (see Chapter 4 and Map 4.1). Nationalist scientists reinterpreted these attributes positively or negatively to fit local needs, rather than challenging this international system outright.

Presentism, or the preoccupation with the origins of current factors, obscures the historical importance of the European race classification project. Histories of science tend for example to take present disciplinary borders and definitions as natural, diverting attention from scholarly blind alleys like race classification.³³ Since historical interest in anthropology took off in the 1980s and 1990s, most studies have therefore focused on the roots of the now dominant strand of social and cultural anthropology in Britain, France and North America, discussing anthropology as a largely twentieth-century discipline.³⁴ Biological race anthropology is often neglected³⁵ and, until very recently, reduced to the presentist issues of evolution and the ‘colour races’ of overseas colonies.³⁶ Alice Conklin³⁷ and Andrew Zimmerman³⁸ thus work backwards from colonialism, the Holocaust or present day anthropology, to present a progressive ‘anti-colonial’ Anglophone and French anthropology emerging from and opposing Europe’s ‘quintessentially colonial’ nineteenth-century science.³⁹ Conklin’s detailed account of leading nineteenth-century French classifiers of European races, such as Paul Broca, occasionally recognises their research focus on measuring European skulls and lack of interest in ‘premodern societies’,⁴⁰ but nevertheless slots them into a story about the ethnology of extra-European peoples, without once acknowledging their central focus on national races. Among hundreds of entries meanwhile, Jonathan Spencer’s two-volume encyclopaedia of the history of physical anthropology (1997) leaves out crucial classifiers of Europeans such as William Ripley and Joseph Deniker. This misses the fact that classifying European unchanging, ‘fixed’ craniological races was the pivotal project of continental nineteenth-century anthropology’s largely European network.⁴¹ Prehistorians initially studied even Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon in this context as much as to investigate evolution.

The historiography and sociology of racism are equally shaped by historical presentism. They emerged in the mid-twentieth century to examine the ideas that led to the Holocaust and later broadened out to study colonialism and slavery.⁴² The present book demonstrates that these important racial discourses interacted with nationalist classification of European races. None of these traditions can be fully understood in isolation.⁴³

Interdisciplinary European race classification, anchored in physical anthropology, was also a vital episode in the wider development of the social sciences. Historians describe anthropology, economics, sociology and political science as the nineteenth century's 'four basic social sciences'.⁴⁴ Tracing the origins of present disciplines however misses the vital organisational role within social science of interdisciplinary coalitions like race science.⁴⁵ The disciplinary core of race classification, organised as ethnology in the 1830s, and later reorganised as anthropology and raciology, established shifting interdisciplinary coalitions with biologising factions in the nascent disciplines of linguistics, ethnography, geography, archaeology, history and sociology. The determined attempts by these coalitions to establish race as the central organising principle of scholarship and the resistance this provoked were formative experiences for social science, including for Durkheim's sociology and Mauss's anthropology.⁴⁶

Most perniciously, present scholarship often anachronistically dismisses the once respectable science of race classification as nationalistic pseudo-science, 'committed to promoting divisive notions of innate racial differences' and 'misusing scientific language'.⁴⁷ Ignoring science's mistakes and failures encourages flawed 'Whig histories' of optimistic progress, minimises the strangeness of the past and weakens scrutiny of present-day science.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The book employs three methodological approaches to address the complexity of transnationalism:

1. Thick description

I draw methodologically on the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1973) thick description and more recent sociology of knowledge.⁴⁸ Both enable me to place race classification's ideas and practices in their multiple social, economic and political contexts. I aim to capture how its organ-

isation, institutionalisation, disputes, power dynamics, methods and data interacted with contemporary scientific developments, geopolitics, nationalism and ideologies to produce racialised political identity narratives.

Buoyed by poststructuralism and postmodernism, identity emerged from social psychology and sociology in the 1960s to become a central concept throughout the social sciences and humanities. Multiculturalism, eastern European wars, Islamism and post-Westphalian questioning of the nation state have propelled national and civilisational identity to the top of political and scholarly agendas.⁴⁹ Social constructivist research demonstrates that large-scale and enduring community identities are ‘constructed’ as discourses, or sets of interlinked metaphors, rituals, symbols and stories (narratives). I analyse discourses to trace how elites construct identities (often in opposition to stigmatised ‘Others’) and how different identity discourses interacted with one another and with ideological and geopolitical agendas.

Discourses can conjure up largely illusory communities from what are in fact diverse populations. Edward Said for example criticised Western Orientalist scholars for constructing myths of an essential, singular and unchanging Orient. However, I argue that discourses are themselves necessarily produced by communities of individuals with common ideas and characteristics, tied together by network connections.⁵⁰ Said thus ironically characterised Orientalism as a pan-Western community of interpretation, whose roots stretch back to antiquity.⁵¹ The scholarly race classification community, centred on north-west Europe, developed common transnational institutions such as networks of authority and communication, canons of authoritative work, cultural codes, standardised work practices, authoritative discourses about national identities, and identity symbols like the conventional account of classification’s historical antecedents. Communities are therefore not *solely* constructions of discourse.

Partly in recognition of this, humanities scholars and social scientists have gradually broadened culture beyond a purely ideal and linguistic stress on identity.⁵² Sociology of science, and especially the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) school, emphasises the complex interactions between the organisation of scientific communities (network connections and power structures), ‘pure science’ (methodologies, paradigms, instruments, raw data) and social factors (funding criteria, political agendas) in producing scientific results.⁵³ Sociologists of science and of knowledge emphasise that specific practices of research, writing and organisation continuously constitute and reproduce scholarly disciplines.⁵⁴ The sociologists Brubaker

and Cooper⁵⁵ similarly extend the idea of political identity beyond emotional or conscious identification. The other factors they identify, network relations and common traits, were more central to defining the community of race classifiers, whose emotional sense of belonging and solidarity as ‘a distinctive, bounded group’ was directed towards disciplines like anthropology rather than classification *per se*.

2. Geography

Sociologists of knowledge recognise that scholars are embedded in local cultures, relationships and constraints, which shape their work.⁵⁶ However many crucial local factors, involving modernisation, language, nationality and religion, as well as scientific influence, communication, disputation and disciplinary development, had overlapping and interacting transnational spatial patterns. Communication was most intense within language areas for example. Geographies of political power and technological development meanwhile created transnational core-periphery patterns. In the production chain of taxonomies from raw data, ‘central’ locations like Germany and France dominated the prestigious work of synthesis, or the creation of global or European classifications. They competed to achieve ‘intellectual domination’ for their discourses and scientific techniques, creating geographical spheres of influence.⁵⁷ I therefore locate scientists and their institutions spatially in order to trace the extremely complex interaction of politics, science and modern change that produced race classification networks and their identity narratives.

Geography was crucial in shaping the diversity of this transnational scholarly community. I use geography to empirically study classification as an enduring, large-scale networked community within a specific European space, held together by practices, institutions and discourse. Identities, cultural commonalities and networks all have their own geographies.⁵⁸ The impact and timing of technical modernisation, for example, a key influence on the development of race classification, varied tremendously from place to place. A very diverse historical sociology tradition examines these concrete spatial patterns as a key factor in European history.⁵⁹

Geography particularly affected science-politics relations. Political support for creating race classification institutions depended heavily on race anthropology’s local alliances with conservative, progressive or nationalist

political forces. These alliances were shaped by factors such as modern change and traditional religion which, though manifested in distinct local ways, were highly transnational. Race classification took off in centres of modern industrial and scientific development, but also thrived where it could ally with progressives against the conservative Catholic Church. The scientists' attribution to national races of 'natural' psychological traits such as enterprise, purity, femininity, Westernness or association with particular social classes (civilised bourgeois, romantic peasants, conquering nobles), in turn influenced the geography of modern change. In countries which adopted an industrious Celto-Slav national race for example, race science legitimised urban bourgeois democracy as a patriotic political ideology. Discourses of Nordic national race by contrast justified militarist imperialism, strict social hierarchies and conservative rustic nostalgia. The Nordic versus Celto-Slav dichotomy meanwhile mapped closely onto pre-1914 military blocs, illustrating race classification's role as a component of contemporary geopolitical thought.

Studying a transnationally networked community of a few thousand scientists therefore offers an effective solution to the chronic problem that the vast scale of international history can reduce individuals to insignificance. Across a continent and over a hundred years, race classification nevertheless involved a huge cast of personages who will be unfamiliar to most readers. Where possible therefore, I avoid mentioning minor characters and hope the thirty or so prominent figures will quickly become familiar. Though I also avoid technical race classification terms, some, such as dolichocephalic and brachycephalic (long and broad-skulled) and cephalic index (a measure of head shape) are unavoidable.

3. Empirical history

Although I use the poststructuralist tradition of deconstruction to reveal important insights and delegitimise instrumentalisation, I question its tendency to represent culture as an endless churn of infinite diversity, flexibility and fluidity, politically significant only when instrumentalised.⁶⁰ It is true that race narratives, scientific communities and their social, political and cultural contexts continuously mutated, with changes in different spheres affecting one another. However my empirical historical research also reveals elements of stability and continuity, which interchanged in complex ways with change and fluidity.

CONTENT OF THE BOOK

The book has two sections. Part one outlines how transnational scientific organisation, scientific practice and nationalist politics interacted across Europe to produce identity narratives. Part two uses Irish, Polish and Romanian case studies to show how these factors knitted together in specific situations. While part one focuses on the transnational core of race classification, and especially France and Germany, part two concentrates on particular peripheral perspectives, time periods and interdisciplinary relationships.

The book's conclusion synthesises the main spatial-temporal patterns of race classification. An epilogue then examines how biological scholarship and ethnic identity politics now meet in scientifically prestigious but politically naïve genetic history research. This is reproducing race classification's relations with politics and popularisation and even some specific narratives. I argue however that biological narratives are in themselves not the main danger in identity discourse. Just as in race classification, politicisation depends on factors like popularisation, power dynamics and interdisciplinary relations.

NOTES

1. E.g. Orsucci (1998), Blanckaert (1989), Mazumdar (1990), Fee (1979), Yeomans (2007), Evans (2010), Lafferton (2007), Reynaud-Paligot (2006), Zimmerman (2001), and Kyllingstad (2015). Research on national identity construction in disciplines like archaeology (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996) and history (Berger et al. 2002) began earlier.
2. Büger and Gadinger (2007: 94), Evans (2010: 8), and Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 156).
3. Poskett (2015: 266), Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 7), and Heilbron et al. (2008: 146–47).
4. Büger and Gadinger (2007: 96–98 & 103) and Conklin (2013: 8).
5. Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 160–65).
6. Evans (2010: 8) and Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 160–65).
7. Manias (2013: 10).
8. Manias (2013: 10) and Conklin (2013: 10–11).
9. Tristram (1996: 56–58).
10. Cited in Odom (1967: 9).
11. Baum (2006: 113–15).
12. 1951: 36.
13. Cited in Zimmerman (2001: 145).

14. McMahan (2009).
15. Agnew (1994).
16. Manias (2013: 6) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 7).
17. Heilbron et al. (2008: 147) and Poskett (2015: 266).
18. Iriye (2004: 211–23).
19. Schöpflin (2000: 90–98). Exceptions include Stråth and ap Malmborg (2002) and Armstrong (1982).
20. Poskett (2015: 266).
21. 2009: 737–38.
22. Heilbron et al. (2008: 146) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 8).
23. Hart (2013: 187).
24. I only capitalise geographical terms like these when referring to reified regions.
25. New monographs examine German (Hoßfeld 2005), Greek (Trubeta 2013) and Russian (Mogilner 2013) cases and Turda (2007, 2010, 2012) works extensively on Romania and Hungary. Important shorter studies include Lafferton (2007), Felder (2013), Yeomans (2007), and Promitzer (2007).
26. Felder (2013: 118), Mogilner (2013: 1–2 & 375), and Turda (2007: 362).
27. E.g. Harris (1996).
28. Naylor (2005: 9).
29. Manias (2009: 733–34).
30. Manias (2013: 4).
31. McMahan (2013a: 203) and Stråth (2002: 133).
32. McMahan (2009).
33. Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 160–65) and Manias (2013: 5).
34. Manias (2013: 9), Marks (1996: 345), and Evans (2010: 5).
35. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 11).
36. Manias (2009: 737).
37. 2013: 2–3.
38. 2001: 3–4 & 239.
39. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1).
40. 2013: 21, 24 & 31.
41. Manias (2013: 103 & 114).
42. MacMaster (2001: 5) and Manias (2013: 9).
43. Lindqvist (2002: 157–60) and Malik (1996: 81–82).
44. Heilbron et al. (2008: 148).
45. Projects like Area, EU, Celtic and Cultural Studies remain important.
46. Mucchielli (1997).
47. Manias (2009: 736) and de Nie (2004: 12–13).
48. Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 160–65).

49. Kohli (2000: 115–17).
50. Adler (2010).
51. Said (1995: 7, 14, 22, 114, 338 & 342).
52. Müller (2008: 323–24) and McMahon (2011: 73).
53. Sommer (2010: 367) and Callon (1986).
54. Büger and Gadinger (2007: 96–98 & 103) and Bourdieu (2004: 47–48).
55. 2000: 20.
56. Adler-Nissen and Kropp (2015: 160–65).
57. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 8).
58. Jönnsen et al. (2000: 3–5).
59. E.g. Rokkan (1980), Therborn (1995), and Moretti (1999).
60. Kohli (2000: 130).
61. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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Networks, Methods and Narratives

The three chapters of Part I each trace the history of an aspect of race classification as a transnational community of scholars, a set of practices and a producer of political narratives. Each chapter therefore covers the same chronology, from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth.

Chapter 2 is about the subdivisions, network interactions, disciplinary institutionalisation, political engagement and power dynamics of the race classification community. This community's spatial expansion from north-west Europe and its complex relationship with politics both shaped its geography and, especially, its power relations and early twentieth-century fragmentation. To examine these spatial patterns, I scaled up a citation analysis method developed by historical geographers of science,¹ creating and analysing databases that locate institutions and citation practice in space and time. Recognising the importance of shifting interdisciplinary alliances, and their various international geographies, I also located classifiers by disciplinary affiliation.

Centring on the national race concept, Chapter 3 examines how scientists understood and studied European race and its political role. Even the most politicised classifiers saw themselves as serious scientific professionals, rigorously and honestly advancing scientific understanding. New data and changing research practices and theories therefore influenced their race narratives. However classifiers often favoured theories that supported their political agendas. They interpreted modern distributions of physical and cultural traits as fixed, ancient races, linked these with nations, narrated them as transnational communities of blood, history and destiny,

demonstrated the superiority of their national race and elaborated race psychologies that supported particular social ideologies. These elements of classification, politically ‘useful’ because they were indispensable for establishing national races, demonstrated remarkable continuity. They survived major scientific shifts (like Darwinism and Mendelian genetics), cultural upheavals (e.g. neo-romanticism) and disciplinary transformations.

Chapter 4 examines political agendas in European race classification narratives. Disputes often divided scholars along ethno-linguistic lines.² Many Scandinavians, British and Germans, for example, promoted an evolving discourse of Germanic racial virtues, but neighbouring peoples disparaged this conquering, long-skulled Germanic blond as a thuggish brute or claimed its prestigious Aryan associations for themselves. In Slavic central Europe, anti-Germanic nationalism coexisted with strong scientific network connections with Germany. Amid escalating national tensions after 1870, a resurgent Nordic Germanicism, followed by other local race narratives, progressively undermined transnationally hegemonic discourses.

NOTES

1. Mayhew (2004).
2. Blanckaert (1989), p. 187; Ripley (1900), p. 125.

Race Classifiers and Anthropologists

*On Tuesday night I shall be found
At 4, St. Martin's Place, sirs,
Where we discuss, on neutral ground,
The problems of our race, sirs,
O do not ask me if I can throw
A light on the impiety
The Fellows utter at the Anthro-
pological Society*

British Anthropologist Edward Bradbrook (Keith 1917: 30).

...without funds, Anthropological enterprise is impossible

Sir Arthur Keith, President of the United Kingdom's Royal
Anthropological Institute (1917: 24).

To achieve social recognition and influence, nineteenth-century race classifiers successfully established science-political, interdisciplinary and transnational alliances. However, contradictions within and among these alliances led to the project's twentieth-century collapse. This chapter is about these alliances and tensions and the spatial patterns they produced within this networked scholarly community.

Scientists made race classification politically relevant and gained support for institutionalisation by linking races with nations. This required alliances with advocates of racial and nationalist politics and collaboration

with scholarly experts on national culture, such as historians and linguists. As academic disciplines began to acquire institutions and professionalise however, scholars increasingly insisted on an explicitly apolitical scientific ideology and practice. They erected disciplinary boundaries, which strained classification's interdisciplinary alliances.

Scientific claims to produce 'universal' absolute truth meanwhile relied crucially on establishing what Carole Reynaud-Paligot calls 'a veritable "raciological international"' in 1850s–1890s Europe, Japan and the Americas.¹ However institutionalisation also strengthened national scientific establishments at the expense of this transnational community.² The community therefore increasingly fractured geographically from about 1900 on. Its geographical expansion, especially to the Mediterranean and the east, exacerbated these centrifugal tensions.

This chapter examines the rise and fall of race classification's interdisciplinary, political and transnational alliances in turn. I pay particular attention to transnational regional spatial patterns in these three alliances and how they interacted with important pre-existing spatial patterns of modernity, power, religion and language. Culture, geopolitical alliances, political alignments and spatial proximity made certain sites, lines of communication and barriers to interaction internationally important and created different disciplinary and political alliances in different regions. Creating credible, authoritative narratives required prestige, influence and the ability to muster compelling evidence and sustained detailed simultaneous argumentation on intersecting anthropological, linguistic and archaeological fronts.

I begin by briefly introducing my quantitative database analyses of bibliographical citation and institutionalisation. This is a key tool for spatially localising where race classifiers studied, taught, published, travelled and created institutions, and for tracing their language use and geographical diffusion of ideas.

This chapter also challenges certain widespread historiographical assumptions about race and science, that colonialism and evolution were always central to race science for example, and that neo-romantic race science was a purely German aberration.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS METHODS

This chapter and particularly its analysis of race classification as a transnational scientific alliance draw continually on my quantitative analyses. The most important are a database of 6059 bibliographical references, cited in 126 source texts (in **bold** in bibliography), and a canon and correla-

tion analysis based on it. These all reflect specific judgements in choosing source texts, selecting data to collect, and analysing and interpreting data. However I am confident they reliably capture broad patterns of the classification community.

Database source texts include whole books and articles or sections within them, dating from 1749 to 2002, with most from 1850–1941. I selected historical accounts of the classification project and discussions of European race geography. Where possible, I avoided related race classification traditions, such as philology and Aryan studies, which had their own canons, politics and geographical dynamics. Boundaries were often fuzzy however.

To capture race classification's international dynamics, I focussed on its elite. I therefore aimed to record citation in a canon of the most *authoritative* race classification schemes, those that historians and anthropologists cited most frequently. Canonical classifiers, often with senior posts in leading anthropological institutions, dominated the prestigious task of synthesising local studies by minor writers to produce global and European schemes. I chose source texts by creating an initial database of citations from a batch of texts suggested by historiographical sources, and then twice added batches of new texts that were most cited in previous sets. Older and newer batches recognised similar authoritative schemes. Of those cited in my final set of source texts, 80 % were by authors of my source texts. This suggests classifiers formed a real community of interaction, centred around a recognised group of authorities who continuously cross-referenced one another.

Each database entry records one reference in a source text to work by another writer. I carried out several mathematical operations on this simple count of citations. My results therefore refer to the 'degree' of citation of a particular language, country of publication, author, etc. I weighted source texts by how much other source texts cited them and the importance they accorded them. Source texts making very few citations got reduced weighting to avoid statistical distortion. I then calculated each citation within a source text as a proportion of this weighting.

As source text references could be extremely vague, I filled in information from other sources where possible. For data like author nationality, I used inferences that would be correct in the vast majority of cases. For example, I assumed that French, English or German native speakers, publishing in their home country, wrote in their own language. I created the database and carried out the data analyses using Microsoft Excel and some software specifically designed for the project. I collected data that localised

cited works in place and time (place and date of publication, language, author nationality, geographic focus of subject matter) so that I could calculate, for example, how many German language texts were cited in 1815–1832. I counted works cited in translation with the target language to reflect the source text author’s language resources and the international readership of the cited work. National identity was crucial in this scientific debate. I generally attributed to *émigré* classifiers the nationality of the community where they worked, while noting potentially important alternative identities.

Two key pieces of evidence are my bibliographical correlation analysis and canon of formal classification schemes. To isolate groups of authors who worked within particularly tightly defined bodies of authoritative literature, I measured the degree of similarity between the bibliographies of different source texts. However I deliberately omitted citations of formal classification schemes from this bibliographical correlation analysis because these schemes so often appeared in quite standardised potted disciplinary histories, listing hallowed Enlightenment and romantic period predecessors. I examined this standard history separately, as an ancestor totem for constructing and disputing community identity. I created a canon of the 94 works which at least two source texts refer to specifically as classification schemes, enriching this with extra prosopographic detail about canonical authors. ‘Fathers of the discipline’ such as the naturalist Carl Linnaeus and early craniologists like Blumenbach, Anders Retzius and James Cowles Prichard occupy seven of the top eleven places in the canon.

I supplemented my citations database by collecting similar information from William Ripley’s comprehensive 1899 bibliography of European race classification, Egon von Eickstedt’s (1937) review of leading classification schemes and Giulio Cogni’s (1939) race science bibliography. The American sociologist Ripley and the Breslau anthropology professor Eickstedt were leading race classifiers of Europe, while Cogni was Mussolini’s race guru.

I also analysed data from Comas (1956) on international anthropology conferences in 1865–1938, and the lists of countries sending delegations to 26 of these conferences. These include 11 of the 14 *Congrès Internationaux d’Anthropologie et d’Archaeologie Préhistorique* (CIAAP) (1866–1912), the preliminary session and four *Congrès Internationaux des Sciences Anthropologique et Ethnologique* (CISAE) and *Congrès Internationaux des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protobistoriques* (CISPP)

(1932–1938), seven *Institut International d'Anthropologie* (IIA) congresses (1921–1937) and three other meetings (1878–1900).

Finally, I systematically collected information about the professional and academic institutions of pre-1945 race classification disciplines. I included all European and U.S. societies, journals, conferences, museums and teaching institutions whose titles mention anthropology, ethnology, *Völkerkunde* (ethnology) and *Rassenkunde* (raciology). Due partly to very diverse sources, these data are indicative rather than comprehensive.

THE INTERDISCIPLINARY ALLIANCE

Anthropology's central nineteenth-century focus was on European races. Its turn towards a more cultural and Darwinian colonial race project was late and partial, dating in George Stocking's account from the 1880s in Britain, and later in other countries.³ My quantitative correlation analysis of citation confirms this, suggesting a close British adherence to the French-dominated positivist bibliography of the 1870s–1880s. Nineteenth-century anthropometric and archaeological research outside Europe was extremely limited.⁴ Over three quarters of the skulls that Broca's museum acquired in 1875 were European.⁵ Of pre-1914 Germany's many local anthropology societies, only Berlin had a strong colonial focus.⁶

Therefore, although Zimmerman is correct that nineteenth-century anthropologists increasingly strove to be natural scientists,⁷ studying European race gave them a constant anchor in the humanities and social sciences. To investigate the widely assumed influence of race biology on psychology, culture, society and politics, they had to forge successive interdisciplinary coalitions with various combinations of philologists, archaeologists, folklorists, sociologists, geographers, psychologists and historians.⁸ This section examines the assembly and disintegration of these race classification alliances.

Throughout its history, race classification combined evidence from skeletal material, modern 'physical and psychological characteristics', language 'vestiges', written histories and folklore.⁹ An 1899 bibliography of European race classification centred on physical anthropology of present populations but included '[h]istorical or philological ethnology' of 'Aryans, Celts, Etruscans' etc., prehistoric and some classical archaeology, geography, travel-writing, demography and folklore. Six decades later, leading French anthropologists reiterated the important supporting roles of 'prehistory, ethnography, sociology, demography and psychology'.¹⁰

Medically-trained race classifiers offered more institutionally precarious scholars of culture an association with the immense prestige and positivist methods of natural sciences like anatomy and zoology, which determined unambiguous positive ‘facts’.¹¹ From 1800, and especially in 1860–1915, as the medical profession dramatically expanded in numbers and influence, biological and especially racial ‘concepts, methodologies, metaphors, “laws,”’ and attitudes powerfully influenced ‘softer’ scientific disciplines.¹²

These alliances made race classification an interdisciplinary ‘studies’, like European or cultural studies, rather than an academic discipline. Classifiers aimed to produce standardised comparable data, read and cited one another and shared attributes like their common project, medical training (very often) and their belief that race was biologically inherited and legible from physical traits. They developed canonical (accepted, authoritative and standard) sets of authors, texts and ideas, methodologies, instruments and research problems. They generally defined themselves however as members of disciplinary, scientific or national communities rather than as classifiers per se. Scientific disciplines by contrast were concerned with organisation, allocation of resources and professional identity. Anthropology was bricks and mortar, staff budgets and recognised academic qualifications. It competed with other emerging sciences, including allied disciplines in race classification, for readership, state support and university resources. Nevertheless, although race classification software ran on the hardware of anthropology, it was anthropology’s core issue for about a century and the hardware was often configured to support it.

Ethnology

Standard histories often dated classification from a 1684 article by François Bernier, a French physician and traveller. However citations in my quantitative database first increased significantly in the 1770s–1790s. Especially prominent were Germans like the craniologist Blumenbach, his Göttingen University colleagues and the philosopher Immanuel Kant.¹³ They and other central Europeans proposed the names and initial agendas of most race classification disciplines, which then very gradually filtered into western Europe in complex ways.¹⁴

In the 1820s, ‘linguistic-geographers, travellers, naturalists, and historians’ began turning European scholarly attention from ‘great men’ to populations, strengthening the intensifying social belief that race determined culture.¹⁵ By fusing nationalist history with biological taxonomy,

the ethnological interdisciplinary alliances of William-Frédéric Edwards, a naturalised Frenchman of Anglo-Jamaican origin, and J.C. Prichard in England tightly organised an important section of this proto-social science around race classification.

The canon based on my database confirms that academic zoologists and other naturalists were already the ‘accredited’ eighteenth-century scientific race specialists, supported by a dwindling cohort of philosophers, geographers and historians.¹⁶ These subsequently share dominance with physicians like Edwards, who established ethnology societies and published best-selling race schemes. In an 1829 letter to Amédée Thierry, Edwards combined two previously distinct race study traditions.¹⁷ While comparative anatomists like Blumenbach identified racial types, romantic historians like Thierry distinguished and studied the ‘peoples who constituted the nation,’ uncovering ‘ethnic and organic factors underneath cultural practices and social revolutions’.¹⁸ To support Thierry’s project with biological data, Edwards emphasised European races, dividing up the Caucasian type of the naturalists. He borrowed and redefined the central European term ethnology to combine geographical, historical, linguistic and anatomical concerns.¹⁹

At this dawn of nationalism, when language communities were widely assumed to be biological races, biologists and linguists competed and collaborated to define ethnicity.²⁰ Two related linguistic novelties seduced ethnologists. Sir William Jones, a British judge in Bengal, convincingly theorised a common Indo-European language family in 1788, connecting Sanskrit with European languages. Early nineteenth century German scholars then made comparative philology, a systematic, reliable and widely accepted scientific method for judging relationships between languages, the ‘regnant’ human science and a key race classification method until the 1860s.²¹ Ethnology nevertheless subordinated ‘ethnographic’ classification of ‘nations’ by language, customs or ‘aptitude for civilisation’ to ‘biological explanation’.²² Medical school anatomists like Blumenbach and then Retzius in Stockholm and Samuel Morton in Philadelphia made craniology the central race classification method, and became the main canonical classifiers. Into the twentieth century, university anatomy departments taught most physical anthropology in Germany and Scandinavia.²³

After Edwards founded the Paris Ethnological Society in 1839, similar bodies appeared relatively suddenly and spontaneously in the 1840’s in most Western European capitals and in New York, bringing together biologists, historians, antiquaries, philologists, archaeologists and geogra-

phers.²⁴ My citation database and Eickstedt's canon show that Anglophone ethnology especially flourished in the 1830s–1860s. J.C. Prichard, who dominated English ethnology until 1850, rivaled Edwards in international influence and Morton's 'American school' was esteemed throughout Europe.²⁵

Anthropology

The British and French ethnological societies both rapidly declined after about 1848 but were superseded from 1859 by the more biologically-centred interdisciplinary alliance of anthropology, led by Broca in France and Rudolf Virchow in Germany. Anthropology launched a second major international wave of institutionalisation with new scientific and political agendas, establishing national societies, journals and conferences.²⁶ Numerous professorial chairs followed from the 1870s. Like other professionalising social sciences, it embraced positivist natural science to copperfasten its disciplinary independence.²⁷ Physical anthropology dominated much more clearly than in ethnology, building a more unified research paradigm around measuring and classifying physical races 'to emancipate anthropology from the "tyranny of the linguists"'.²⁸ The physical anthropology section of Germany's Anthropological Society was 'older and larger' than its ethnology or prehistory branches.²⁹ The British Association classed anthropology under biology in 1866, but left ethnology within geography.³⁰

Sixteen of 19 founders of the Paris anthropological society (1859), all three original leaders of the 1926 German physical anthropology society and many interwar Polish race classifiers were medically-trained.³¹ Virchow was the 'internationally known... founder of cellular pathology'³² and Broca identified a speech production region of the brain that still bears his name.³³ His Paris society inspired a new generation of British archaeologists and craniologists like John Thurnham, Robert Knox and John Beddoe to break away from the London Ethnological Society in 1863, and establish the more anatomical and race-oriented Anthropological Society.³⁴ In the 1860s–1890s, a steady succession of such bodies emerged and flourished, especially in western and northern Europe, welcoming floods of members and issuing a stream of publications³⁵ (see Map 1.1).

Positivist biologists annexed the previously vague term of 'anthropology' to academically consolidate their holistic natural history of humanity's origins, age, distribution, physical form, 'relation to animals' and

environment, biological laws, ‘degrees of intelligence’, ‘susceptibility of cultivation’, beliefs, laws, customs, art, language, and ‘material culture’.³⁶ They redefined ethnology—the history, geography, biology, psychology, culture and evolution of races—as a subdivision.³⁷ The new anthropology researched issues like childhood development, which were ‘not of ethnic significance’,³⁸ but racial ethnology remained central, especially for maintaining interdisciplinary alliances. Disciplinary rivalry partly explains this breadth of interests. As the Paris Ethnographical Society was ‘a clear political rival’, the Anthropological Society made ‘[g]reat efforts... to absorb ethnology’.³⁹ In London, shared interests and natural scientific training tightly linked the rival anthropological and ethnological societies.⁴⁰

Institutions reflected this broad research agenda. Linguists, prehistorians, geographers and archaeologists joined omnibus late nineteenth-century anthropological societies and contributed to their journals.⁴¹ Professors of ethnology and other allied disciplines are the next best represented after anthropologists in my post-1900 canon. In the 1870s, Virchow alternated as president of Germany’s anthropology society with the cultural anthropologist Bastian, who collected ‘customs and traditions... of vanishing tribes’. This society also included ethnological geographers and cultural historians. The American interdisciplinary alliance was termed ‘ethnology’ until around 1900.⁴² Basing anthropology in natural science sections of university philosophy faculties rather than medical faculties allowed German, Scandinavian and Austro-Hungarian biological and cultural anthropology to co-exist.⁴³ Interwar central European ‘Anthropology and Ethnology’ departments were established to resist the centrifugal forces of specialisation.

Whereas 1830s–1840s ethnology had used philology to study race-history, anthropology relied more on artefacts and skeletons unearthed by positivist archaeologists, whose ‘remarkable’ 1860s–1880s discoveries launched prehistoric archaeology.⁴⁴ In the 1840s, a Scandinavian group including the leading craniological classifier Anders Retzius pioneered the alliance with prehistorians, who in turn borrowed anthropology’s natural scientific models.⁴⁵

Breakup of the Positivist Interdisciplinary Alliance

International and interdisciplinary integration climaxed in the 1870s–1880s. Whereas the vast majority of the almost 16,000 pairs of my citation database source texts share fewer than 5 % of cited authors, the

18 closest correlating works, heavily concentrated in 1865–1900, share 36–86 %. After 1900 however, disciplinary, political and geographical tensions progressively fragmented this community. Following the example of philology, which fell out with 1840s–1850s ethnology, race classification disciplines organised separate institutions, honed core methodologies and focused on issues arising from them. As professionalising history increasingly concentrated on state documentary sources for example, it rejected material evidence and its romantic period collaboration with archaeologists.⁴⁶ As numbers of scholars grew rapidly, disciplines became increasingly concerned with defining and defending disciplinary boundaries. This undermined interdisciplinarity.⁴⁷ Even in the 1870s heyday of positivist interdisciplinarity, the bibliographical correlation analysis of my database source texts identifies a distinct cultural ethnology canon.

While Broca's generation assumed scientific positive facts were interchangeable bricks in an edifice of knowledge, experience gradually showed that 'disparate approaches' produced 'conflicting answers'.⁴⁸ Linguists, archaeologists and physical anthropologists for example rejected one another's conclusions on the crucial Aryan question (see Chapter 4). Controversies within specialised disciplines made it hazardous to borrow results from or comment on other fields and each 'jealously monopolized its right to speak in its own name' and judge its members' scientific competence.⁴⁹

From 1880 therefore, but especially after 1910, new Americanist, Africanist, sociology, folklore, linguistics and especially prehistoric societies and provincial and international anthropology societies sapped portman-teau national anthropological societies.⁵⁰ World War I also weakened them. Physical anthropology, overseas cultural anthropology and European folklore divorced institutionally and theoretically.⁵¹ Nationalist German and central European prehistoric archaeologists like Gustav Kossinna moved from natural science back towards history, as they established prehistoric archaeological chairs in 1889–1913, using cultural instead of skeletal evidence.⁵² By 1931, most countries backed separate international prehistory conferences.⁵³

As physical anthropology institutionalised, its practitioners also increasingly felt constricted by the old interdisciplinary alliance and its preoccupations. They began to ignore culture and criticise the influence of prehistorians in anthropological institutions.⁵⁴ In 1900–1925, they largely replaced anatomists as physical anthropology teachers in German universities.⁵⁵ The German Anthropological Society dissolved in 1936, superseded

by a new Physical Anthropology Society. Physical anthropologists took over many German, Swiss and central European ‘anthropology’ chairs and often moved them into university medical faculties, leaving ethnology, linguistics and archaeology behind in philosophy.⁵⁶

Physical anthropologists hesitated to entirely ditch cultural ethnology however, relinquishing their right to comment on cultural groups.⁵⁷ Switzerland for example preserved a combined anthropology and ethnology chair into the late 1930s and, as in the Netherlands, inter-departmental arrangements permitted interdisciplinary research and teaching.⁵⁸ The Darwinism of the United Kingdom’s Anthropological Institute, which unified London’s anthropological and ethnological societies from 1871, meanwhile delayed disciplinary fission by combining biological and cultural ethnology. In continental and especially French and Russian biology, these remained separate and often antagonistic.⁵⁹ Anglophone evolutionist eclecticism characterised Oxford’s 1906 anthropology curriculum⁶⁰ and Franz Boas’s ‘four fields’ organisation of cultural and physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics as separate sections within the anthropology departments of American universities.⁶¹ British delegates also tried with variable success to preserve this interdisciplinary ‘happy family’ in the organisation of international congresses.⁶²

Then, east of the Rhine, interwar race classification revived in the twentieth century, drawing on Mendelian genetics and evolutionism to establish the two new German-led interdisciplinary alliances around *Rassenkunde* or raciology and serological (blood-group) anthropology.⁶³ Raciology remained centred around craniology, but the ‘almost baroque’ dilettantism of its interdisciplinary alliance embraced fields from theology to musicology and genealogy. As the next section details, politics now took on a renewed prominence in the classification of Europeans.

THE SCIENCE-POLITICS ALLIANCE

Confident positivist science, popularised among the middle-classes by natural science associations, journals and books, helped to intensively racialise emerging mid-nineteenth-century national identities.⁶⁴ Racial classification was therefore political. Several leading European race scientists were active politicians, including one Polish Prime Minister.⁶⁵ The Greek Prime Minister presided over the inaugural session of his country’s anthropological society.⁶⁶ A British anthropologist demanded that legislation ‘respect racial distinctions and characteristics, or it will be a disastrous

and mischievous failure'.⁶⁷ Virchow was one of several leading Italian, French, German and Polish anthropologists who manned republican or nationalist barricades in 1848, 1863 or 1870.⁶⁸ He was challenged to a duel by Otto von Bismarck and coined the term *Kulturkampf* for Prussia's 1870s campaign against the Catholic Church.⁶⁹ Italy established its first chairs in 1860–1869, immediately after national unification. This section examines how classification's sole major socially important use, to explain and legitimise nationalism and other political ideologies, interacted with transnational science.

As the key role of politics was in creating classification's institutions and maintaining them for a century, this section first briefly explains their importance. Subsections then discuss how scientific race theorising about society generated public interest, thriving societies and ultimately, political support for that holy grail of modern scholars, university jobs. Political engagement also helped establish interdisciplinary alliances, but equally helped to corrode and ultimately destroy them.

Anthropological societies were invaluable for creating links among enthusiasts, including internationally. As in other sciences, societies organised peripatetic national and then international congresses.⁷⁰ Anthropology launched one of the earliest disciplinary international congress series in 1867, decades ahead of sociology and history, for example.⁷¹ Societies also published most leading journals in my citations database, and were vital for research publication. As interwar Polish anthropology had very developed university institutions but weak societies, its journals were financially insecure, irregularly published or small scale.⁷²

Career structure and professional recognition required state-sponsored institutions however.⁷³ Britain's Inspector of National Monuments, Augustus Pitt-Rivers, for example donated his ethnographic collection to Oxford University on condition that it establish Britain's first University post in Anthropology, and he owed his own post to the ethnologist John Lubbock's work as a Liberal MP.⁷⁴ Museums, often established by universities, provided ethnologists, anthropologists, and particularly archaeologists with career opportunities and an institutional setting, especially in smaller countries and those like Britain and Germany with very late university institutionalisation.⁷⁵ Berlin established the first purely ethnological museum in 1873⁷⁶ and Vienna's Natural History Museum long remained the backbone of Austrian anthropology.⁷⁷ The august Paris *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* was a key race classification centre. In 1872–1892, its anthropological collection grew from 5000 to 24,000 pieces, and that

of Broca's museum from 450 skulls to 6000.⁷⁸ Leading *Muséum* naturalists like Armand de Quatrefages were pillars of the Paris Anthropological Society and are significantly better represented in my database and canon than the Society's physicians.⁷⁹ Museums were a key communication medium. From America to Russia, craniologists visited one another's museums and borrowed skulls and casts to test local race theories in a transnational context.⁸⁰

The Paris *Muséum's* medical school gradually introduced a strongly craniological anthropology from 1839, officially naming Quatrefages as the world's first professor of anthropology in 1855.⁸¹ Widespread university institutionalisation only began in the 1870s however, twenty years after archaeology.⁸² Florence established the first university anthropology chair in 1869, followed in 1876 by the six chairs that made Broca's *École d'Anthropologie* in Paris the world's largest anthropology teaching institution, though without full state recognition.⁸³ Naples, Budapest, Philadelphia, Brussels, Rome, Coimbra (Portugal), and Munich established chairs in the 1880s.⁸⁴ The Paris *École* was an immediate success, with 8383 students in 1877.⁸⁵ Along with the Paris Anthropology Society and Broca's laboratory, it formed his *Institut d'Anthropologie*, which remained French anthropology's institutional and intellectual hub into the twentieth century.⁸⁶ The establishment of anthropology and ethnology as university disciplines transformed my database's canon of classifiers, replacing naturalists with anthropology professors, especially from Broca's *École*.

From the 1860s on, mass anthropometric (body measurement) surveys of military recruits and school-children and smaller surveys of World War I prisoners of war represented an important additional form of state support and recognition.⁸⁷ Army surgeons are therefore almost the only practising physicians remaining in my canon into the twentieth century. Mass surveys recorded stature and colouration of 1,500,000 American Civil War troops, seven million German schoolchildren (1875), 600,000 Belgians (1879), about 400,000 Swiss (1881) and 2,500,000 Austrians (1884).⁸⁸ By 1905, studies had collected data on around 100,000 British adults, though without major state backing, and civilians or conscripts from France, Baden, Italy and parts of eastern Europe.⁸⁹

Politics and Positivism

The science-politics alliance was therefore fruitful for race classification, but it was also problematic. Ethnology's broad race definition allowed

biologists to pontificate on politics but also allowed biologically-illiterate linguists, sociologists, political philosophers, philosophers of history and even literary critics to claim scientific legitimacy for their own racial theories. Coupled with the inter-ethnic clashes of 1848–1849, in which nationalism lost its liberal, democratic innocence, this massively intensified the emotional, cultural and political charge that already suffused Enlightenment race classification.⁹⁰ The 1840s–1860s were the apogee of politicised ‘philosophical ethnology’, which exploited new mass marketing techniques to popularise and sloganise scientific racism.⁹¹ Popular works by Gobineau, Ernest Renan, Knox, Matthew Arnold and others identified races with nations or even political causes like the French Revolution.⁹² Gobineau developed a full-blown racial philosophy of history. One ethnologist biologically linked Magyars with Celts, because in 1848 they allied with ‘Celtic’ Italy against ‘Gothic’ Hapsburgs.⁹³ The Scottish anthropological Knox congratulated himself for predicting this ‘coming war of race against race’.⁹⁴

Philosophical ethnology became problematic from the 1850s however, as race scientists increasingly characterised anthropology as a respectable, professional and strictly apolitical natural science, rejecting national egotism as unscientific transgression.⁹⁵ Blatant nationalist partisanship clashed with Enlightenment constructions of the ‘invincible rectitude’ and ‘absolute personal autonomy’ of natural scientists, whose ‘national, religious, political and social’ backgrounds were meant to be scientifically irrelevant.⁹⁶

Politics itself provided motives for apoliticism. Political campaigning for reform appeared futile and dangerous after autocrats crushed the 1848 and subsequent revolutions throughout Europe. One Moscow anthropologist who had treated wounded revolutionaries in 1905 was followed home by a police chief and shot dead in front of his wife and neighbours.⁹⁷ Anthropologists therefore instead chose to gradually undermine autocracy through scientific education.⁹⁸ Humiliated in 1865 after Bismarck forced him to apologise by challenging him to a duel, Virchow wrote that ‘if I must work for the future, I’d rather do it through science than in pseudoparliaments’.⁹⁹

Despite marginalising philosophical ethnology therefore, a more subtle politicisation and nationalism persisted even among ‘nominally apolitical’ positivists like Broca. He believed that race strongly influenced society and politics and that ‘the august goddess’ of science should lead humanity’s progress.¹⁰⁰ Broca’s liberalism was the main political bias of race science in

the second half of the nineteenth century. Leading positivist anthropologists like Broca, 'a freethinker and a republican', and Virchow, assumed that science would soon replace the pre-modern vestiges of 'barbaric' conservatism and religion.¹⁰¹ Positivist anthropology considered itself 'essentially a reformer's science', stressing the role of the 'people'.¹⁰² Into the 1920s, leftists admired eugenics for its scientific outlook, anti-clericalism, social responsibility, opposition to the 'genetically regressive' aristocracy and belief that better conditions genetically improved the working class.¹⁰³

In his famous 1860 debate against the creationist Bishop William Wilberforce, Thomas Huxley ('Darwin's bulldog') is credited with coining the word agnostic.¹⁰⁴ Because anthropology and especially Darwinism challenged key religious doctrines and were powerful weapons in 'secularising campaigns against clerical dominance', left-wing politicians offered crucial support for natural science institutions.¹⁰⁵ Anthropology linked isolated provincial reformists in autocratic tsarist Russia with 'modern universal European culture'.¹⁰⁶ Liberal anthropologists like Dmitry Anuchin avoided collaboration with the authoritarian Tsarist state but anthropological institutions initially flourished under Bolshevik rule.¹⁰⁷

Liberal tolerance gave anthropology a particular attraction for marginalised communities and their supporters. Anthropologists were frequently outsiders such as Protestants in France, Quakers in British ethnology¹⁰⁸ or Jews in serology.¹⁰⁹ The 'substantial' Jewish presence in nineteenth-century German and French anthropology helped their liberal leaderships to isolate anti-Semites.¹¹⁰ Britain's Aborigines Protection Society (founded 1837), which combined Quaker campaigns against slavery and colonial abuses with scholarly interest in dark-skinned races, directly engendered London's Ethnological Society and inspired its Parisian counterpart.¹¹¹ London ethnologists of the university-educated, humanitarian, middle-class intellectual elite voted Liberal and established an enduring 'really liberal' programme of improving colonial peoples.¹¹² Early French ethnologists campaigned for Greek independence and against slavery.¹¹³ The proto-sociologist, proto-socialist Claude Saint-Simon was fascinated with 'the Science of Man' and his disciples helped finance France's Ethnological Society and form its 'active core'.¹¹⁴ Napoleon III closed the society after Saint-Simonians embroiled it in the 1848 Revolution.

There were important divisions among the race scientists. A central debate in ethnology and anthropology pitted republican polygenist theories of fixed unchanging races with separate origins, against the supposedly less scientific, monogenist 'religious dogma' of a single creation.¹¹⁵

Monogenism dominated English ethnology and German anthropology, while French anthropology remained a polygenist stronghold until 1918.¹¹⁶ Broca's society was founded on the night when his speech on animal hybridisation at the Biology Society was stopped mid-way for fear of its applicability to human races.¹¹⁷ Religious French monogenists established the rival ethnographic society on the same night to study 'nationalities' and civilisations rather than animalistic races.¹¹⁸

The need for solidarity against autocratic regimes could trump ideological divisions however. In Paris, positivists formed a progressive alliance with the more militant 'combat anthropology' of anticlerical scientific materialists.¹¹⁹ As several materialists embraced evolution, which challenged biblical history and could legitimise Marxism, Napoleon III's government only authorised Broca's Society after long negotiations and with the reassurance of the monogenist Quatrefages's participation.¹²⁰ A plain-clothes policeman attended all sessions to prevent 'seditious or morally outrageous' discussion. Broca's *Institut* nevertheless quickly became a highly controversial 'left-wing, antireligious' bastion in French science.¹²¹ Several *École* professors and directors were radical-left materialists, including the communard Charles Letourneau, who had to flee to Italy until the late 1870s.¹²² Though powerful conservative institutions like the Paris *Muséum* excluded materialists however, radical politicians, reaching France's cabinet by the late 1880s, secured political support for anthropological institutions.¹²³ Materialists also influenced institutions in Britain, Germany and at the international level.¹²⁴

While greater political respectability¹²⁵ may explain Britain and Germany's less institutionalised anthropology, this may in turn be due to their less reactionary clergy. The pious but liberal Quaker majority of the London Ethnological Society rejected Knox's racism, and clergy were well represented in anthropology.¹²⁶ Whereas nineteenth-century French, Italian and American anthropology was strongly established in universities, anthropologists elsewhere mostly had to rely on societies, museums and university anatomy departments.¹²⁷ Lacking the funding, training and career structure provided by Broca's *École* or the American Bureau of Ethnology¹²⁸ (founded 1879), Britain's ethnology and anthropology societies suffered fluctuating membership, precarious finances and spasmodic leadership.¹²⁹ As the government saw little 'serious need' to fund anthropology, Britain had 'no more than a dozen' full-time professional anthropologists and almost no systematic training until Oxford established an anthropology chair in 1895.¹³⁰

Though influential and very well organised in societies which received some state support, German anthropology also largely relied on public and scientific enthusiasm, commercial sponsorship and amateur anthropologists themselves for a trickle of funds and gradual momentum for institutionalisation.¹³¹ German anthropology established its first, and until 1907, only university chair in 1886, a year after Portugal. Though academic posts almost quadrupled in Germany in 1864–1910, ‘fewer than ten’ full-time professional physical anthropologists taught at just six of the 20 Reich universities around 1900, most holding badly-paid junior posts.¹³² Anthropology was mainly an ‘unremunerated hobby’ for British and German ‘gentleman amateurs’ or professionals in other fields.¹³³ By contrast, foreign anthropologists jealously attributed Poland’s vibrant interwar anthropology to its ‘firm installation’ in ‘every university’, with ‘hundreds of students’.¹³⁴

The Return of the Right

Race classification was transformed in the early twentieth century from a left-wing to a rightist project. The liberalism of nineteenth-century race science suggests that biological and medical arguments about human nature have not always been conservative or reactionary, as is often assumed. However racial arguments are particularly useful for legitimising inequality as biologically natural and unchangeable. Right-wingers were therefore usually the most race-obsessed anthropologists. From 1860, more than twice as many anthropologists at the politically conservative *Muséum* appear in my race classification canon as *École* professors, despite the latter’s centrality within anthropology. Paul Topinard, an important race classifier in my database canon, was on the right within the *École*.¹³⁵ The London Anthropological Society broke with the less race-obsessed ethnologists at least partly to exclude women members, and like Broca, sought biological proof for female mental inferiority.¹³⁶ Despite their republicanism, anti-clericalism and rhetoric of apoliticism, positivist-era anthropologists used race-classification for nationalist international rivalry. Carole Reynaud-Paligot argues that Napoleon III therefore tolerated Broca’s institutions and even accorded them several forms of material support, because they gave scientific support to the vital patriotic myth of Gallic racial ancestry.¹³⁷ Tetchy Franco-German disputes troubled international liberal anthropology even before the 1870–1871 War.¹³⁸ Early twentieth-century German anthropology drifted right, as it gradually

became open to Darwinism, colonialism, biological inequality, eugenics and nationalism.¹³⁹ Broca's Austrian student Felix von Luschan, declared that humans would become like sheep

...if we were to lose our national ambitions and cease to regard with pride and with joy... our magnificent soldiers and our superb battleships.¹⁴⁰

Interwar raciology, the last major race classification alliance, returned to a romantic nationalism that apolitical positivism had suppressed within science. It enthusiastically re-established political links, especially with racist, right-wing, militaristic and jingoist nationalists and eugenicists. The term 'neo-romanticism',¹⁴¹ distinguishes this *fin-de-siècle* revival from the somewhat different cultural and political associations of the first wave of romanticism, a century before, and places Germany's infamous neo-romantic *völkisch* movement in a broader European context. Neo-romanticism arose amid massive, rapid social change, acute class tensions, the Franco-Prussian, Boer and First World wars, economic crises in the 1870s–1890s and extreme geopolitical stresses. A powerful tide of 'disorientation... powerlessness', 'anti-democratic cultural pessimism' and nostalgia for disappearing traditional society shook liberal bourgeois confidence in social emancipation and free trade.¹⁴²

A new Manichaean anti-Semitism suddenly emerging in the late 1880s and was integral to neo-romanticism.¹⁴³ Intense criticism of modernity and individualistic liberalism, and their supposed 'main agents: the Jews', followed liberal campaigns to abolish slavery and emancipate Jews.¹⁴⁴ Race offered scientific certainties and, like nationalism, usefully diverted the lower orders from socialism. Aggressive, militaristic, authoritarian and race-centred biologicistic nationalism combined anti-Semitism with Aryan and Nordic supremacism (Nordicism) within right-wing neo-romantic cultural movements, such as '*völkisch*' pan-Germanism.¹⁴⁵ Linked to 'Germanic solidarity and purity,' this emerged from 1870s campaigns in Austria for unification with Germany, the esoteric subculture, lifestyle reform, organised anti-Semitism and the national culture movement.¹⁴⁶ It especially acquired widespread social acceptability in Germany after the trauma of 1918. *Völkisch* men with 'flowing beards' drank mead from horns while women dressed up as valkyries. They obsessed about 'pagan Nordic antiquity', runes (like the swastika), race purity and ancient Teutonic ancestry.

Völkisch culture met eugenics and Nordic supremacism in the *Mittgart-Bund*, founded in 1904 to regenerate Germany through racially high-value

rural breeding communities of 100 women and 10 men.¹⁴⁷ By rejecting the elitism normally associated with Nordicism, the ‘workers’ branch of Munich’s *völkisch* Thule society, which published *Runen*, evolved into the Nazi party.¹⁴⁸ The young Hitler probably read ‘Manichaeian, spiritualistic’, anti-Catholic *völkisch* newspapers like *Ostara, Journal for Blonde People*.¹⁴⁹

Liberal anthropology, which was struggling to transform itself into an apolitical, technical natural science, had no truck with neo-romanticism. It frowned on xenophobia, accepted evidence that demolished links between physical race and politics and ultimately abandoned the race concept. However, this disengagement with politics came at a cost. Public interest and funding waned, and in Germany, the increasingly independent discipline of physical anthropology noticed how much more successful cultural ethnologists had been in securing institutional bases.¹⁵⁰ Politicians, intellectuals and the general public actively demanded scientific concepts of biological race solidarity for class war, international rivalry and eugenic battles against degeneration. However the ‘ever more complicated, technical and sophisticated’ craniology refused to address the ‘important social and political questions’ that it was widely expected to solve.¹⁵¹

Fin-de-siècle conservatives met this unsatisfied demand in three ways, preparing the way for raciology:

1. Philosophical Ethnology Revives

In 1890–1915, disappointed race believers like the young Adolf Hitler delighted in extremely popular political race theories by non-scientists like Madison Grant in America, and Ludwig Woltmann and Houston Stewart Chamberlain in Germany.¹⁵² These challenged anthropologists’ role as society’s foremost race experts, attacking their ‘unbelievable lack of judgement’ in asserting race equality.¹⁵³ The French diplomat Gobineau’s bellicose and pessimistic 1853–1855 philosophy of history inspired this explosion of racist political works, especially after the ultra-conservative, nationalist, anti-Semitic circle of the composer Richard Wagner translated him into German in 1897.¹⁵⁴ The Pan-German League distributed Gobineau’s works free, including 6500 volumes to World War I soldiers.¹⁵⁵

2. Radical Para-Anthropological Social Sciences

Right-wing social and natural scientists with an international profile established race-centred new disciplines on the edge of anthropology.

In Cesare Lombroso's criminal anthropology, delinquents were 'evolutionary throwbacks'.¹⁵⁶ German territorial expansionists enthusiastically welcomed the biological 1889 *Lebensraum* (living-space) concept of Friedrich Ratzel's Anthropogeography. In 1893–1909, the anti-democratic Nordacist anthroposociology of George Vacher de Lapouge in France and Otto Ammon in Germany correlated race with social class. Lapouge reintroduced into anthropology Gobineau's historical theories of superior Nordic Aryans, racially differentiated social classes and worries about miscegenation, combining them with eugenics, Darwinism and anti-Semitism.¹⁵⁷ The nationalist zoologist Ernst Haeckel, Germany's best-known Darwinist, interpreted evolution as racial struggle.¹⁵⁸ The hyper-nationalist Nordacist prehistoric archaeologist Kossinna was exceptionally popular in Germany.¹⁵⁹

3. Eugenics

Eugenics grew rapidly in influence in 1900–1910, nourished by Mendelian genetics, Lombroso's work, anthroposociology, and worries about immigration.¹⁶⁰ After 1914, Scandinavian countries, several American states and Nazi Germany went beyond encouraging marriages between genetically superior people, to adopt Haeckel's negative eugenic programme of enforced sterilisation and euthanasia.¹⁶¹

Especially as the war mobilised German anthropology for nationalist duty,¹⁶² racist philosophers and sympathetic anthropologists began selectively referencing one another, laying the foundations for a new, politics-centred Nordacist disciplinary alliance.¹⁶³ United by a neo-romantic agenda and outlook, they cooperated on a politically emotive and holistic new scientific race research programme.¹⁶⁴ This outflanked liberal opponents, who were isolated behind disciplinary boundaries and apolitical self-restraint. In my bibliographical correlation analysis, an international group of source texts began turning from the positivist citation tradition towards a newer raciological bibliography in the early 1920s. A generation of anthropologists trained in 'the hypernationalistic context' of colonialism and World War I and imported objectifying colonial research practices to Europe POW camps, giving their work a brutal edge.¹⁶⁵ Amplified by developing mass communication media like public education and the press, the new conservative race science in turn legitimised wartime slaughter, aggressive xenophobic nationalism, colonialism and a reformulated, more exclusionary anti-Semitism.¹⁶⁶

The mid-1920s generation of *völkisch* anthropologists like Eugen Fischer and Hans F.K. Günther enthusiastically welcomed Nazism and in 1936, renamed Germany's physical anthropology society, the German Race Research Society.¹⁶⁷ The Nazis generously supported anthropology in German and conquered cities, funding eleven new chairs, five of whose titles referred to raciology or eugenics.¹⁶⁸ Popular fascist race ideologues like Alfred Rosenberg (1930) in Germany and Julius Evola in Italy saw race as 'mystical', 'creative and evocative' and rejected scientific 'pedantry', which impeded 'racist action'.¹⁶⁹ They nonetheless drew enthusiastically on the new scientific raciology, accepting that it shared their racist neo-romantic values. By contrast, the earlier generation of *Fin-de-siècle* popular racist theorists had despaired of craniology's 'sorry role', 'changing hypotheses' and 'higgledy-piggledy' 'confusion'.¹⁷⁰ Chamberlain disparaged its 'hidden' scientific causes and 'so-called' results, declaring that 'we practical, hands-on men' require only 'what lies clearly before our eyes'; one belongs to a race simply because one 'feels it daily'.¹⁷¹

Eugenics and raciology were united by medical training, personnel and dedication to race, nations and the superior Nordic blond, whose scientific basis was established by anthropological race classification.¹⁷² From around 1900, German Nordic supremacist and eugenics journals published and helped politicise raciology.¹⁷³ This was one of several overlapping alliances in the complex inter-disciplinary networks of neo-romantic race science in Germany and places like Poland and Romania (see Chapters 6 and 7). Raciologists, demographers, 'geneticists, psychiatrists and social hygienists' cooperated within eugenics for example.¹⁷⁴ A German humanities alliance, centred on prehistory and *Volkskunde*, concentrated on linguistically-defined Germanic culture rather than Nordic race.¹⁷⁵ Neo-romantic serologists ostracised Jewish colleagues and forged strong links with folklore and demography.¹⁷⁶

The coherence and completeness of the *völkisch* transformation should not be exaggerated. Despite their close political links, raciology and serology had different training, established separate institutions, collected evidence independently and were 'very often reluctant' partners'.¹⁷⁷ In my database statistics and Pogliano's evidence on Italy, raciologists cited serologists very infrequently, perfunctorily and late. Seroanthropology therefore remained marginal in Germany's *völkisch* movement and anthropology. Günther in 1930 called it a 'vulgar error' to define race by blood group, and the space in SS race files for blood group was mostly left blank. Many serologists, equally convinced of the sole validity of their evidence,

claimed to supersede anthropology and ignored its races. However racist conservatism was a powerful glue. From Hirszfeld's own work onwards, interdisciplinary research therefore linked raciological and serological races, suggesting the former were genetically inherited and associating serology with anthropology's august tradition and intricate techniques. Chapter 7 explores how Romanian raciology struggled to reconcile this exciting innovation with traditional anthropometry.

Certain regions and disciplines also drank the *völkisch* Kool-Aid more eagerly than others. Munich was a key *völkisch* eugenics centre, pushing during World War I for closer links with Austrian and Hungarian extreme rightists, whereas Berlin eugenists were more technocratic.¹⁷⁸ In Cogni's bibliography, the nationalist, anti-Semitic Munich publisher Julius Lehmann, who helped finance the Nazi party, published almost 40 % of German raciology works, including Günther's bestselling popularisations.¹⁷⁹ These helped transform Nordic supremacism into a 'socio-political movement'.

THE TRANSNATIONAL ALLIANCE

Regional differences shaped how the transnational race classification community emerged and expanded, structured by power relations, and how raciology ultimately shifted its centre of gravity eastward. I argue that these elements of spatial organisation and Europe's pre-existing cultural geography heavily influenced the development of race classification.

Global economic and political integration nurtured a nineteenth-century 'transnational culture' of intensified international communication and organisation in law, labour, commerce and, not least, science.¹⁸⁰ In 1850s archaeology and 1860s anthropology, institutionalisation, internationalisation and professionalisation displaced the hyper-nationalistic romantic period 'isolated dilettante'.¹⁸¹ International anthropological congresses were already proposed when only Paris and London had national societies.¹⁸² In central and eastern Europe and Portugal, international congresses and exhibitions had an important role in promoting local anthropology and the geographical expansion of the discipline¹⁸³ (see Maps 1.2a–b). Anthropological societies and their journals increasingly translated and publicised foreign literature.¹⁸⁴ Classifiers recognised that their work was a cumulative effort, impossible without sustained intensive international collaboration and cross-fertilisation.¹⁸⁵ Even eugenists, who

were fixated on Darwinian competition between states, considered this cooperation 'essential' for scientific legitimacy.¹⁸⁶

The rise of positivist experiment and comparative measurement drove race scientists to standardise techniques and instruments, including through a series of international standardisation agreements from 1906 on.¹⁸⁷ Serologists came to rely on standard sera produced in Warsaw, Berlin and Paris.¹⁸⁸ Key classification debates also gradually became more international as classifiers justified theories by pointing to their foreign support. In the 1860s for example, French anthropologists began using 1840s British and Irish evidence to contradict the internationally dominant Scandinavian race succession theory. A single international debate about Aryans increasingly emerged in the 1870s.

As in other sciences, intensely cosmopolitan, well-travelled classifiers often studied or made scientific tours abroad.¹⁸⁹ The Polish serologist Ludwik Hirszfeld worked in Warsaw, Berlin, Heidelberg and Zürich and served the Serbian military in Salonika.¹⁹⁰ Numerous classifiers were *émigrés*, like the many reformist or nationalist activists who fled reactionary nineteenth-century regimes in Russia, France, Germany, Poland and Italy and the leading Jewish serologists who escaped to America from interwar Europe.¹⁹¹ Emigration and study visits to train or work with the most eminent Western European scholars passed expertise to expanding frontier states like the U.S. and Russia, reinforced their links with older centres¹⁹² and concentrated provincial talent in metropolises like Paris and London.¹⁹³ Scholars like Boas, a German Jew, migrated in the opposite direction 'to teach, export their skills, or do research'. Two thirds of American schemes in Eickstedt's canon were by Agassiz, from Switzerland, and Boas. Polyglot classifiers cited the foreign journals that anthropological libraries generally subscribed to, met foreign counterparts at international conferences and corresponded copiously. Eickstedt's 1934 textbook cited works in twelve languages, including Estonian and Hungarian. Anthropological institutions, especially societies and museums, actively promoted international contacts, societies by exchanging publications and accepting foreign corresponding members.¹⁹⁴ So, paradoxically, did nationalist disputes, forcing rivals to engage with one another's scientific methods and evidence.

Language use data from my citation database offers a revealing index of transnationalisation. Publishing in 'minority' national languages isolated countries internationally, as classifiers demanded foreign material they could understand.¹⁹⁵ French, German and English-language works were therefore published in 13, 15 and 8 non-native-speaking countries respectively, includ-

ing in their local journals.¹⁹⁶ Within a broad western and central European zone, including Italy, central Europe and Scandinavia, scholars had long followed and published work in these ‘international languages’, are first cited in them, and translate them from 1850 on.¹⁹⁷ From 1870 and especially in the 1890s, publication in German and French (and sometimes in English) gradually spread in concentric circles beyond this zone, starting with larger nations. Speakers of ‘minor’ languages were usually first cited in their own languages but were increasingly quick to begin publishing in international languages. This delay in ‘international engagement’ shortened rapidly from 60 to 200 years in countries first cited before 1700, to around 20 years by the later nineteenth century, when the first citations of some small countries are in international languages. Foreign authors published over 25 % of race articles in most leading international serology journals, rising to 50 % in the top international journal, which was based in Paris, but had institutional arrangements with societies abroad.¹⁹⁸

Multilingual areas like Switzerland acted as transnational conduits, for example helping to introduce German scientific materialism into French anthropology.¹⁹⁹ The German anthropological centre of Göttingen meanwhile influenced Enlightenment Britain due to the unification of the British and Hanoverian crowns.²⁰⁰ There are also several hints of a late nineteenth-century Italian ‘special relationship’ with Anglophone anthropology, including heavy theoretical borrowing by leading figures.²⁰¹ My database suggests twentieth-century Italians turned decisively to English rather than German as a preferred international publication language.

The Geography of Power

Anthropology flourished in cities with ‘universities, modern libraries, and a significant layer of educated society’.²⁰² Race classification initially developed, and remained centred in the industrial and scientific centres of north-west Europe. As in other social sciences, scholars from peripheral and colonised countries ‘more or less’ selectively adopted organisational structures, ‘scientific standards’, ‘ideas, methods and procedures’ from these centres.²⁰³

My quantitative analyses, contemporary bibliographies²⁰⁴ (see Map 3), Eickstedt’s data and other historical accounts²⁰⁵ all confirm a Franco-German-Anglophone core area of race classification, which embraced neighbours like the Dutch and Czechs. France, Germany and Britain together account for 60–79 % of citations in my database in 1774–1905, and over 50 % thereafter (see Table 2.1). They are followed by Sweden, Italy, the Atlantic seaboard

Table 2.1 Percentage of works in my citations database published in the big three countries.

	1555-1712	1713-1773	1774-1814	1815-1832	1833-1852	1853-1871	1872-1888	1889-1905	1906-1918	1919-1939
France	40	31	10	85	21	27	41	34	7.5	12
Germany	0	5.5	54	3.5	14	22	31	13	28	38
Britain	16	28	21	5	25	29.5	7	19	16	18
Total	56	60	92	93.5	60	78.5	79	66	51.5	68

of the US, and temporarily important contributions by Switzerland (before 1814), Austria and Russia (1872–1918) and Poland (1919–1939). The rest of Europe and certain overseas colonies and states contributed more sporadically (see Map 2.1a–d).

The big three countries' languages were even more dominant in my nineteenth-century canon and database, taking over from Latin after 1795. They represent 80–85 % of Ripley and Eickstedt's bibliographies. Italian appeared early in my database, followed by Dutch in 1802, Swedish and Norwegian in 1838, and Russian in 1846.

In Ripley's data, extra-European colonies, Iberia, southern Italy, Scandinavia, and the lands between the Oder, Baltic, Mediterranean and Great Russia together account for only 6 % of total publication. My data demonstrates a similar geography, though Moscow and some publishing centres around the Baltic emerged as important by the interwar period. I recorded no publications east of Bucharest, Athens and Cairo. These 'peripheral' locations were characterised by research restricted to local themes and executed by foreigners, authoritative anthropological description by foreigners (see Maps 2.3 and 2.4) habitual use of foreign 'international' languages and exclusive links with particular sections of the core. Peripheries had later and fewer internationally influential publications, international contacts and stable institutions. The top attendees at pre-1914 anthropology congresses were imperial powers and smaller, technically advanced western European countries. France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy sent delegations to at least 13 of the 14 congresses I studied and Russians, Swiss, Danes, Swedes, Americans and Austro-Hungarians attended 10–12.

Spatial correspondence between all these features suggest they are structural. Classification even had parallels with the economic concept of industrial commodity chains, in which economic cores concentrate wealth and control by exchanging expensive processed goods (in this case, identity narratives) for raw material from peripheries. Core institutions produced prestigious schemes by synthesising raw data and local analyses collected from throughout Europe, often by core-based area specialists.²⁰⁶ Core authors rarely acknowledged peripheral race schemes.

My language of publication data suggests that while core race classification centres communicated on a fairly equal footing (a grid pattern), peripheral zones often interacted almost exclusively with just one culturally or geographically proximate part of this core in a hierarchical hub-spoke arrangement. French was initially the sole foreign language for

Italian, Dutch, and Polish classifiers, and the main one in the western Mediterranean, Russia and Romania. German dominated in Scandinavia, the Baltic and central Europe, especially among Czechs. English led in Greece, and challenged German's dominance in Scandinavia (see Maps 2.2a–c). Serology was introduced to Denmark by English language texts and to Latin countries by French ones.²⁰⁷ Central Europeans frequently complained about being dependent for scientific recognition on Germans, but ignored by them.²⁰⁸ My database suggests a Stockholm-centred Scandinavian-Baltic extension of the core, semi-autonomous but strongly linked to Germany.²⁰⁹ Sweden in anthropology and Denmark in archaeology were internationally influential from the Enlightenment on.²¹⁰ Swedes for example largely established interwar Latvian anthropology.²¹¹

Classifiers in Bosnia, Hungary and places where peasants and elites spoke different languages (e.g. Latvia, Ukraine, overseas colonies), none of which contributed more than 0.1 % of citations in my database, were largely cited in a single foreign or elite language, as were Romanians. In the Netherlands, Finland and Czech lands (all contributing over 0.1 %) two or three international languages were in balance, suggesting sophisticated communication with the entire international community rather than just one locally dominant power. This multilingualism also held for Greece but here probably represented competition between external influences rather than core status.

In my database, native researchers described most Western European countries, plus Scandinavia, Poland and Austria, from the outset, while citations about eastern countries and Spain were generally by foreigners at least at first (see Map 2.4). Poles and Germans thus made the first studies of Bulgarians and only foreigners studied Latvia before the 1920s.²¹² Natives were cited on Russia from the 1840s and Hungary from the 1870s but most other eastern countries never achieved full auto-representation. In countries beginning auto-representation later, foreigners remained responsible for about half the descriptions cited. Nationals of the imperial power or local ethnic elites described people like the Irish, Slovenes, Balts and Macedonians.

Scholars like Maria Todorova, a historian of the Balkans, severely criticise geographic core-periphery concepts, including for portraying peripheries as passively accepting core influence.²¹³ Historians of science however stress 'attempts at intellectual domination' by the big three countries.²¹⁴ Peripheral scholars adopted core 'ideas, methods, and procedures', albeit 'more or less' selectively, but recognition of their own work 'depends on

their presence in the centre'.²¹⁵ My research bears this out. Precisely to examine how location prejudiced evaluation, my database records international interest in texts rather than their quantity or quality. I found that central and eastern European race scientists did imaginatively transform French and German concepts to suit their own political and cultural environment, but this remained an unequal relationship. Numerous classifiers complained that 'mainstream' Western intellectuals ignored Slavic languages and scientists, translated their works late (or never) and only slowly recognised their centres of learning.²¹⁶ American science depended heavily on 'European texts and technologies... throughout the nineteenth century'.²¹⁷

Peripheral country scientists meanwhile published in 'international' languages and sometimes neglected local works while 'rather uncritically' embracing the latest Western trends in order to identify and be identified with Western modernity.²¹⁸ Polish and Russian source text authors therefore cite their own compatriots, but very rarely other eastern Europeans. Nationalist squabbles also inhibited collaboration among peripheral countries.²¹⁹ Even innovative peripheral work was often grounded in 'international' core interests, assumptions and techniques. Interwar Balkan scientists for instance used the German scientific framework they trained in to criticise German and Austrian raciologies of the Balkans (see Chapter 7). Peripheral feelings of insecurity were important in spreading apolitical Western positivism. Nineteenth-century American and Irish scientists²²⁰ and twentieth-century Poles and other Slavs²²¹ thus cultivated exaggeratedly 'scientific' statistical methods and other cutting-edge approaches to emphasise their scientific respectability. This inhibited satisfying nationalistic ethnological speculations, but countered foreign criticisms of these countries' scholars as outdated ethnocentric romantics. Serious science was especially important for subject peoples like the Poles and Irish to achieve international recognition as viable modern nations.

Foreign researchers brought their own agendas to peripheries. Rather than Romania's local majority, Eugène Pittard of Geneva initially focussed on exotic groups like the Skoptzy, an Orthodox sect which insisted on genital mutilation of both sexes.²²² Most Spanish citations in my database meanwhile dealt with Basques, whom international theorists saw as a uniquely fascinating racial vestige.

Though the race classification community largely corresponded geographically with industrialisation and political power, this was no monolithic, unchanging, hierarchical geography of modernity. Scientific

communities had distinct geographies. Slavic cities were key locations in an international network of Slavists (though even this network apparently peripheralised Balkan Slavs). Comparative philology was initially institutionalised in the new research universities of post-Napoleonic Germany²²³ before spreading slowly to France, Scandinavia and Britain.²²⁴ Of eleven key philological classification works in 1788–1858, eight were published in Germany.²²⁵ Romantic period archaeology by contrast was strongest in Britain, France (which pioneered palaeontology) and Scandinavia.²²⁶ In serology, Russia and Italy soon eclipsed powerful ‘leaders of medical research’ like France and the US.²²⁷ Though north-west Europe remained the heartland of international race classification, this core progressively expanded and leadership oscillated between France and Germany.

Race classification was a complicated mix of international chessboard and a transnational network of metropolitan centres. Over half the citation in my database of 175 publication sites was from Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna. Almost 65 % of publication from Ripley’s 110 cities took place in these locations, plus Moscow, Brunswick and Leipzig. Both data sets attribute at least 29 % of publications to Paris alone. Journal publication was still more centralised. Ripley’s top six cities account for three quarters of journal articles.

All my quantitative analyses show that French, British, Austrian, Belgian, Russian and Swedish scientific publication and institutions were highly concentrated in capital cities.²²⁸ However in Poland, Switzerland, the US, the Netherlands and especially Italy and Germany, multiple regional centres mattered much more. British and French anthropology revolved around the Paris and London societies, and Zimmerman and other specialists on colonial anthropology emphasise the preminence of Berlin, which dominated German overseas research.²²⁹ However the German society was a federation of local societies, which remained the ‘real centres’ for work on German race.²³⁰ Britain also had important secondary centres, in Edinburgh before 1850 and then Oxbridge.²³¹ Rival anthropological factions (Anthropological and Ethnological societies in 1860s London, *Muséum* and *École* in 1880s Paris) commanded different metropolitan institutions in centralised countries. While German anthropological schools apparently cooperated smoothly even across frontiers, regional rivalries wracked decentralised countries like Poland, Italy, Russia and Japan.²³² Everywhere, rival disciplines such as liberal anthropology and *völkisch* archaeology and folklore in 1900s Germany, promoted different narrative and political options.

Reynaud-Paligot attributes the early importance in anthropology of France, Britain, Russia, Germany and Italy to their ‘general dynamism of scientific life’.²³³ However it appears more pertinent that these are all large countries, and even with low education levels, could provide a critical mass for anthropological specialisation in a few metropolitan centres. Larger peripheral nations like the Spanish, Portuguese, Russians and Poles were therefore mostly cited in their own languages. In my database, smaller and more peripheral countries both often underperformed,²³⁴ ending up for example at the bottom of the classification food chain. They focussed on local research, rarely discussed specific distant regions and were treated by the transnational classification community as mere harvesters of local data. Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, the United Kingdom and France devote 9–17 % of their citations to their own or subject peoples, Italy, 30 %, and Sweden, Poland and Russia, 45–53 %. Almost all citation from elsewhere in Europe referred to local populations. Small country serologists frequently published abroad, whereas German, American, French and Italian colleagues rarely did.²³⁵

In Ripley’s bibliography, France, the United Kingdom and Germany published 72–85 % of work in their own languages. While my database shows that all three countries published some foreign language works, other countries speaking the big three languages, like Belgium, Austria and the US, were mired in provincial monolingualism.

An Expanding Cosmopolitan Community

An expanding core constituted one of race classification’s greatest triumphs, but it multiplied the national positions to be reconciled, increased diversity and weakened the community’s international coherence. Before the 1890s, classifiers from the big three language areas dominate my canon and monopolise Eickstedt’s. Gradually from the mid-nineteenth century however, and spectacularly after 1900, anthropology and race classification became pan-European and global. Training of peripheral country researchers in the core, although often brief, helped drive this expansion.²³⁶

The proportion of works from the big three countries therefore dropped from almost 80 % of citations in the 1880s to half in 1905–1918, though it rebounded to 68 % in 1918–1939. While the 1880s core group defined by my bibliographical correlation analysis mostly consisted of scholars from the big three countries, subsequent groups became increasingly hetero-

geneous. My database shows concentric expansion of publication beyond the big three, the Netherlands and Sweden. In the nineteenth century, the US, Italy, Russia and Poland and then smaller, mostly northern and central European countries produced a swelling trickle of texts. The number of cited countries increased significantly in the 1890s–1900s. At least until the 1870s, Europe's weakest area was the Mediterranean, outside of France and Italy. The densest cloud of publication sites expanded south over the nineteenth century from Lyon to Naples and east from Berlin to eastern German cities and the mid-Baltic (see Maps 2.1a–d). Eickstedt said in 1937 that South American, Indian, Chinese and South African anthropology were just beginning to take off.²³⁷

Before 1840, all works in my database were in French, German, English, Latin, Italian or Dutch. However in Ripley's data and mine, linguistic diversity boomed in the late nineteenth century, as classifiers began to cite works in central and eastern European, Iberian and Scandinavian languages. Whereas works from new publishing centres entering my database had initially been cited in international languages, places like Portugal and the Balkans were now first cited in their own languages. After 1918, especially in newly independent countries like Finland, Poland and Norway, international-language works (French, German, English) were increasingly published locally rather than in cities like Paris and London.

Several new classification 'powers' emerged. After 1860, Italians replaced Swedes as the fourth biggest contributors to my canon. In 1906–1918, Italian-language and Italian-published texts climbed from below 6 % to almost 30 % in my database, in second place among languages and top place for countries. Italian schemes account for half those of countries entering Eickstedt's canon in the twentieth century.

U.S. publications had small percentages in my database until after 1900, when they sometimes reached about 8–9 %. After 1918 however, they challenged British numbers. American wealth supported the interwar institutionalisation of European race science including through Rockefeller Foundation grants and the wealthy foundation created by the Czech-American anthropologist Ales Hrdlička.²³⁸ Nevertheless, over 80 % of delegates at the 1927 international anthropology conference were still European.²³⁹

Central European²⁴⁰ attendance at international anthropological conferences rose from 14.3 % before 1914, to 24 % in the interwar period, while Balkan²⁴¹ delegations rose from 5.1 % to 14 %. Henri Vallois listed Jan. Czekanowski's Lwów, Eickstedt's Breslau, Viktor Bunak's Moscow

and his own Paris as Europe's four main 1930s anthropological schools.²⁴² Russian anthropology grew 'rapidly', after its first citation in my database in 1859 and achieved some international impact.²⁴³ Poland and especially Lwów became a major classification centre, accounting for a dramatic 7.5 % of my interwar database and recognised internationally for its 'very advanced' research and intensive university institutionalisation.²⁴⁴

Germany Overtakes France

The earliest major tensions in the classification community involved Franco-German antagonism, exacerbated by the turn-of-the-century eastward shift in the classification community's centre of gravity. All my quantitative data confirm historical accounts of Paris as the recognised leading nineteenth-century race classification centre, especially in 1870s–1880s positivist anthropology, though Germany was also important.²⁴⁵ Parisian ethnological and anthropological societies inspired those of London.²⁴⁶ French use as an international lingua-franca is more than twice that of German in my database. Just 4 % of German-language works but 7 % of French works were published in non-native French or German speaking European countries. Ten of the 18 pre-1914 international anthropological congresses took place in Paris and other Francophone cities and French was the sole official congress language, despite periodic complaints by Germans and others.²⁴⁷ Broca chaired the 1876 Budapest congress. Reynaud-Paligot lists 45 foreign leaders of anthropology, including founding figures of national anthropological establishments, who trained at Broca's *École*²⁴⁸ and some tried to recreate versions in their own countries.²⁴⁹ Broca massively influenced European classification, ranking behind only Prichard for non-scheme citations in my database.

My correlation analysis confirms the exceptional and enduring international cohesion of Paris-centred race science. Among the 18 late nineteenth-century pairs of works which shared a common bibliography most closely, 18 works were French, nine English, five Francophone Belgian or Swiss, two American and just two German. The closest correlation of all was in the Francophone majority 1881–1885 group of Quatrefages, Ernest Hamy and Joseph Deniker at the Paris *Muséum*, Hamy's collaborator Topinard, Émile Houzé of Brussels, the London anthropologists Thurnham and Beddoe and the Basel anatomist Julius Kollmann, a leader of German liberal anthropology. Hamy, Deniker and Topinard were all Broca students. In updated versions, this 1880s group's common bibliog-

raphy remained central to liberal positivist race classification. It correlates extremely strongly with that of a mostly German-speaking 1874–1880 group and a cluster of closely-linked works from 1890–1902. A looser early-1920s group retained strong similarities to these 1880s and 1890s bibliographies. Rudolf Martin, the last liberal leader of German anthropology, drew on this positivist French and German ‘anthropometric tradition’ in his massively influential 1914 textbook.²⁵⁰

Conklin makes Broca’s death in 1880 central to French race anthropology’s decline and loss of international leadership.²⁵¹ As Broca’s finely-balanced alliance ‘fractured’, conflict paralysed the Paris Society until 1886, when the materialist faction defeated Topinard. Many members left, and amid further highly politicised disputes, which are discussed later in this chapter, French anthropology joined a wider western European disenchantment with race classification.

German-published works meanwhile increased fairly steadily from 3.5 % in my database, in 1815–1832, to 38 % and first place after 1918, while the proportion in German gradually rose to about 44 % after 1872. German pulled far ahead as an international language after about 1890, consistently more than doubling the French proportion and predominating in formerly French-using regions. By 1900, German was increasingly becoming the ‘standard tongue’ of international science, encouraged, especially in Scandinavian, central European, Swiss, Dutch and Balkan race classification and anthropology, by Germany’s dominant influence and prestige.²⁵² Anthropologists in these areas emulated Virchow’s massive 1876 schoolchild pigmentation survey.²⁵³ Scientists and students, came ‘from much of continental Europe outside the French sphere... to study and work at German universities and museums’.²⁵⁴ The historian Arnaud Nanta says ‘all’ pre-1945 Japanese physical anthropologists studied in Germany.²⁵⁵ Before 1914, Kossinna in Berlin directed one of Europe’s few prehistoric archaeology schools.²⁵⁶ Emigrants like Boas, fleeing German anti-Semitism, made liberal positivist German intellectual and institutional models the ‘dominant paradigm’ in American anthropology, just as they were disappearing from Germany itself.²⁵⁷ Cogni’s bibliography confirms this ‘rapid and strong’ late nineteenth-century rise of German race classification, and an interwar ascent to become the leading classification ‘power’ and overwhelmingly dominant in eugenics and racist philosophy.²⁵⁸ The rise of raciology and serology also shifted race classification’s centre of gravity towards the Germany-centred east. Six of Eickstedt’s eleven German language schemes in 1903–1936 were by non-native speakers. Germany’s

interwar establishment of 17 university anthropological chairs, plus four in Vienna, constituted over 40 % of the world total of new chairs.

Germanophone and central and eastern European anthropologists, and then many interwar American and Scandinavian colleagues, used the German anthropometric standards agreed at Frankfort in 1882.²⁵⁹ This competed however with Broca's 'widely employed' system, which Belgians, Italians and Spaniards preferred.²⁶⁰ French lobbying achieved international agreements on standards in 1906 and 1912,²⁶¹ which Martin and the Czech-American Ales Hrdlička extended in 1914–1920.²⁶²

Geographical Disintegration of Race Science

The twentieth-century fracturing of race classification was as much geographical as disciplinary and political. Institutionalisation made national disciplinary establishments more secure, and international cooperation correspondingly less vital. Belligerent nationalist geopolitics and ideological power struggles fragmented international unity. The political agenda of anthropology in the big three countries turned from domestic ideological battles towards defending nationalist geopolitical positions, while declarations of internationalism and reporting on foreign research became less frequent.²⁶³ As the classification community expanded, core-periphery relations, which initially helped unify European race classification, became a divisive centrifugal force.

Franco-German anthropological relations were slow to recover after their 1870–71 war, which also encouraged closer organisational connections between anthropologists and the state.²⁶⁴ French anthropology, attributing Germany's victory to scientific superiority, placed itself 'at the center of efforts for national reform'. The German anthropological society (founded 1870) meanwhile excluded Austria's membership, and responded to French denigration of the Prussian race (see Chapter 4) by organising a government-supported national survey. Colonial anthropology and especially World War One POW studies strengthened these nationalising tendencies²⁶⁵ and German and Austrian anthropology's wartime and post-war international isolation exacerbated its ideological divergence from the West. Into the 1920s, French anthropologists clung to their fading international power and ostracised Germans, who sometimes responded with resentful isolationism.²⁶⁶ German eugenists for example boycotted international eugenics meetings until 1927, to protest against French occupation of the Ruhr.²⁶⁷

The aggressive nationalism of German raciology repelled foreigners but its vitality and resources simultaneously attracted them. By the 1920s, my bibliographical correlation analysis suggests an increasingly separate German-centred classification canon. Six German works, a Polish one, and Slovenian and Russian articles in German, all from 1925 to 36, share quite similar bibliographies. The non-German source texts from the 1930s also however correlate well with a more traditional positivist 1920s group, including three Anglophone works, two Italian, a Swiss Romand, a French and a Yugoslav. Even German political moderates meanwhile increasingly used German anthropometric methods alone.²⁶⁸

International ostracisation and political interference isolated Soviet race scientists even more than their German colleagues.²⁶⁹ They had strictly rationed access to foreign literature and abruptly stopped attending international conferences in the early Stalin period.²⁷⁰ Stalin suppressed eugenics by 1930, due to its aristocratic Nordicism and stress on biological rather than socio-economic determinism.²⁷¹ After 1934, he quashed 'bourgeois' Mendelian genetics and serology research in favour of Lysenko's theory that new plant forms and implicitly, a new Soviet man, could be created in a few generations.²⁷² Bunak, the leading Soviet raciologist, was therefore repeatedly purged.²⁷³

International anthropology conferences were a key battleground for influence. Francophone anti-German bitterness and French dominance of the pre-1914 CIAAP and the new *Institut International d'Anthropologie* (IIA), founded in 1920, help explain the complete absence of conferences in German-speaking lands.²⁷⁴ Quatrefages, who blamed Prussia's 1870 bombardment of the *Muséum* on racial barbarity, for instance chaired one committee which decided a congress venue. In 1870–1914 therefore, Europe effectively had two international conferences series. German anthropological society congresses in German, Swiss and Austrian cities performed a parallel role for Germanophones, Slavs and Hungarians, as the CIAAP did for Europe as a whole.²⁷⁵ The IIA had overwhelmingly French origins and institutions, a French state subsidy and 26 French representatives on its 50-member managing council in Paris.²⁷⁶ Over a third of delegates to its 1927 Amsterdam congress were French, Belgian or Algerian, compared to about 5 % Anglophone. Critics claimed the Paris *École* siphoned off IIA subscription funds and objected to the IIA setting congress agendas, rather than the host country as had previously been the case.²⁷⁷

Perfidy, pique and ‘misunderstandings’ frustrated repeated 1920s attempts to reform the IIA.²⁷⁸ Scandinavians, Americans and British campaigned against bitter ‘nationalistic’ Franco-Belgian exclusion of Germany.²⁷⁹ When an Anglo-Dutch reform effort collapsed in 1930, the British revived a pre-war Anglophone, Germanophone and Scandinavian initiative designed to boost American congress representation.²⁸⁰ After consulting the Germans, but not the French, they established in 1931–1933 two separate congress series, the *Congrès Internationaux des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques* (CISAE) and *Congrès Internationaux des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protobistoriques* (CISPP). These recognised German, Spanish, French, English and Italian as official languages, gave every country equal representation, and never held congresses in Francophone lands (see Map 1.2b). French colonies and Romania largely opted for the IIA, while Scandinavian, Baltic and British colonial scholars much preferred the CISPP/CISAE.

By obstructing German plans for a more centralised body, the British meanwhile managed to establish a decentralised international eugenics organisation in 1913.²⁸¹ This right-wing, Mendelian organisation marginalised socialist eugenics and the largely Lamarckian French. After Scandinavians sided with their orthodox German and Anglophone colleagues, French eugenisists in 1926 merged their society with the IIA and in 1935, founded a separate Latin international eugenics federation.²⁸² ‘Germanic’ eugenics offended Latin liberals but also Catholic conservatives, who justified anti-Semitism on religious rather than racial grounds.²⁸³

A transnational spirit of positivist scientific community nevertheless survived. The IIA and CISPP/CISAE were not openly hostile and even the main protagonists of the IIA reform dispute attended both conference series. From 1927, the IIA admitted wartime foes, though their delegations remained small and attended somewhat irregularly. A 1921 international congress in New York meanwhile rapidly renewed international contacts among eugenisists after the War. Germans resumed leadership, alongside the Americans.²⁸⁴ A 1924 German proposal for an American-led ‘Blonde International’ drew support from Günther, who had close foreign contacts and a Swedish wife, and even from Hitler.²⁸⁵

A German Sonderweg?

The rise of right-wing nationalist race science, which contributed to Nazi race ideology and the Holocaust, is central to the eastward shift in race

classification's centre of gravity. A major historiographical controversy, nested within broader polemics about whether Germany followed a *Sonderweg*, or distinct path, concerns the country's special responsibility.²⁸⁶ A traditional 'historiographical tendency' represents Germany as the unique ground zero for racist nationalism in race science and more generally.²⁸⁷ Many historians seek antecedents for interwar racial obsessions and crimes in a purely German nineteenth-century romantic tradition (with Renaissance roots) of equating language with blood.²⁸⁸ Banti signals 'extraordinary' long-term continuities in French and Prussian/German citizenship law, defined by residence and descent respectively.²⁸⁹ Others link *völkisch* 'missionary zeal' with Germany's exceptional religious fragmentation²⁹⁰ or Haeckel's mystical idealism with the romantic period German association of human spirit with land and nature.²⁹¹ Folklore research on isolated rural communities, seen as being least polluted by cosmopolitan influences, began much earlier in Germany than in countries like England.²⁹² More generally, a 'fever of measuring, mapping and digging' for 'science and national identity' gripped the nineteenth-century German public. The privileges of senior academics in the authoritarian German Empire meanwhile may have conditioned their *völkisch* opposition to Weimar democracy.²⁹³ We have seen however that international neo-romanticism included much more than just the German *völkisch* movement. The next section contains an argument, linking raciology and neo-romanticism with a transnational central and eastern European tradition of nationalism.

Some historians also however identify a specifically anthropological *Sonderweg*.²⁹⁴ Zimmerman argues that *völkisch* raciology had deep roots in racist, hierarchical elements of liberal nineteenth-century German anthropology.²⁹⁵ He believes for example that the 1876 survey, where schoolchildren were lined up in class according to eye colour, rolled up their sleeves to have their skin colour assessed and were separated out if they were Jewish or had foreign parents, taught 'nearly an entire age cohort of Germans' that race was scientifically valid and important.²⁹⁶ Unlike Zimmerman, Matti Bunzl and Glenn Penny represent Virchow's anthropology as a 'broadly humanistic' positivist discipline, documenting both 'the plurality and historical specificity' of peoples and 'truly universal' aspects of humanity.²⁹⁷ However this romantic stress on diversity could equally support ethnocentric conservative antiegalitarianism, using race fixity to lend scientific legitimacy and biological inevitability to social, ethnic and gender hierarchies.²⁹⁸

There were continuities from the nineteenth-century into raciology, as the section on race mixture in Chapter 3 discusses, but I nevertheless support the growing consensus among historians on a significant twentieth-century breach with a previously liberal anthropology.²⁹⁹ Nationalism, essentialism, evolutionism and anti-Semitism challenged and gradually infected liberal establishments throughout the German social sciences. By 1900, *völkisch* politics, Haeckelian Darwinism and Aryanism had already penetrated *Volkskunde* and prehistoric archaeology.³⁰⁰ In the 1930s, they received particularly lavish Nazi largesse. By contrast however, anthropology moved later towards *völkisch* nationalism, raciological innovation and eugenics, abandoning its previous liberalism and scientific conservatism.³⁰¹ Its concentration on reconstructing racial histories was also distant from the eugenic focus on the national future and it considered national languages and cultures relatively superficial compared to race biology.³⁰²

Though dissenting voices were marginalised or silenced, even fascist anthropologists resisted full immersion in Günther's dubious raciological propaganda-science. Scientific praise for 'Rassen-Günther' was mixed with disdain for his humanities education, somewhat dubious research practices, and 'immense' popularity and extremism.³⁰³ Jena colleagues therefore strongly protested against his appointment as Germany's first *Rassenkunde* professor in 1932. Fischer, German anthropology's 'recognised Führer' and an inveterate Nordic supremacist, was meanwhile accused of merely opportunistic support for fascism and after 1933 had to defend his acceptance of scientific evidence which contradicted Nordacist nationalism.³⁰⁴ Eickstedt, the Third Reich's leading scientific race classifier, applied to join the Nazi party in 1933 but avoided its most incriminating projects and successfully rescued his career after 1945.³⁰⁵ Interwar classifiers in my database cited dry scientific periodicals far more than eugenics, Nordacist and *völkisch* racist journals. Close traditional central European and Scandinavian links may have countered German extremism and isolation.

However this book's main contribution to the *Sonderweg* controversy is transnational evidence. As historians like Andrew Evans argue, nineteenth-century German race scientists were less narrowly nationalist, anti-Semitic, obsessed with racist Aryanism and tolerant of racist theorists like Gobineau than French and American contemporaries were.³⁰⁶ Unlike the French for example, they refused to racialise the 1870–1871 war. As Zimmerman acknowledges, Virchow's 1876 survey was the largest but not the first of

the mass surveys that anthropologists organised throughout Europe.³⁰⁷ Far from being exceptionally racist, nineteenth-century German anthropology, like Catholic French ethnography and liberal English ethnology resolutely affirmed a ‘monogenist’ single creation and linked it with racial equality and solidarity.³⁰⁸ By contrast, London’s polygenist anthropologists fêted the inevitable extinction of ‘natives’ and took a racist hard-line against the lower classes, while American polygenists militantly supported slavery.³⁰⁹ One British anthropologist and military captain fulminated that if the authorities ‘became anthropologists’, familiar with ‘race distinctions... there would be... less pandering to Negroes, the working classes, and the Celtic Irish, with party clap-trap’ and ‘some hope’ for ‘sound patriotic projects’.³¹⁰ Skull variation proved to an Irish colleague ‘that differences of rank and station are an inevitable law of our nature’.³¹¹ The polygenist Broca considered himself liberal for believing inferior races could eventually be civilised and did ‘not necessarily’ support imperialism, but believed anatomical data might justify slavery and that certain inferior races were doomed to extinction.³¹² After 1870, French museums exalted ‘national values’ and mainly collected French artefacts and skulls.³¹³ Not even Anuchin, the liberal leader of Russian anthropology, could accept that Pushkin was black.³¹⁴

Western race science survived into the neo-romantic era, drawing on powerful local conservative traditions of scientific and popular race theorising, such as Britain’s aristocratic Germanicism³¹⁵ and, in France, Cuvier’s early nineteenth-century militant Catholic anti-evolutionism and Gobineau’s Aryan supremacism.³¹⁶ The broader anthroposociology movement thus included Lapouge in Montpellier, Lombroso in Turin and Ripley in Boston. The relatively liberal consensus in 1890s German anthropology, as in France and Russia, marginalised these ‘social’ race scientists.³¹⁷ Anglophone countries, and especially the United States, were international leaders in conservative eugenics and many interwar anthropologists and archaeologists shared elitist German obsessions with White, Blond or Nordic race purity.³¹⁸ Evans considers this ‘greater international currency’ of Nordicist ideas important to their rise in Germany.³¹⁹ Certain American states and Scandinavian countries introduced forced sterilisation laws and by 1918, American eugenists influenced immigration law.³²⁰ Interwar Scandinavians were ambivalent regarding race science,³²¹ but pro-German local Nordicists, fascists and race biologists embraced the German romanticisation of Teutonic Scandinavia and played a leading role in international eugenics.³²²

THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

A central argument of this book is that race classification interacted with its transnational geographical context. Linguistic, national and regional divisions shaped differences of programme, theory (e.g. monogenism versus polygenism), disciplinary alliance and terminology.³²³ Positivist British ‘ethnology’ for example combined French biological and central European socio-cultural understandings of the term.³²⁴

Opposition from the Catholic Church, which felt threatened by science and considered religious differences much more ‘fundamental’ than race, stimulated or stifled race science in different countries.³²⁵ While liberal, positivist anthropologists opposed the Church’s conservative authoritarianism, *völkisch* raciologists associated it with anti-nationalism and Mediterranean decadence. This antagonism probably strengthened race science in late nineteenth-century Latin countries by pushing it into alliance with politically ascendant anti-clerical republicanism. Europe’s first anthropology professorships therefore sprang up in France, Italy, Belgium, and Iberia, thriving on left-wing and often republican political support.³²⁶ Left-wing political upheavals like Portugal’s ‘bitterly anticlerical’ 1911 republican revolution produced two anthropology chairs.³²⁷ Germany’s ‘self-consciously liberal’ and anti-racist pre-1918 anthropologists heartily despised the politically powerful Church³²⁸ and Virchow was an important political advocate of the *Kulturkampf*,³²⁹ but Catholic Bavaria hosted Germany’s only anthropology chair for two decades. Nationalism largely counteracted Catholic disapproval in interwar central Europe, though Catholic institutions like the Viennese ethnology school helped temper raciology and eugenics outside Germany.³³⁰ A close identification of nationalism with Catholicism made anti-clericalism weak in Ireland. Church disapproval of biology therefore diverted Irish Catholic scholars towards the humanities, making Irish Celticist ethnology ‘much less scientific’ than in England.³³¹

Languages were still more important as both communication codes and defining characteristics of ethnicity. International scholarly disputes often divided Belgians and Swiss into ‘Germanic’ and Francophone camps, for example in a long-running bitter dispute in Belgium which explicitly associated Francophone and Flemish Belgians with different physical types.³³² Language heavily influenced reading, citation, social interaction, training and institutional organisation. Authors often published in both Paris and Brussels, North America and London, or Vienna and Germany. The *École*

libre d'anthropologie at Liège in Belgium was modelled on its Paris counterpart and their relationship was so close that in 1919 they merged their journals.³³³ Leading mid-nineteenth-century American classifiers studied in Britain.³³⁴ In the closest correlating group of source text bibliographies, from the 1880s, big three language texts all cite about twice as many speakers of their own languages as either of the others. Britain's anthropologists especially preferred home-grown anthropometric methods and their main journal seldom summarised foreign work.³³⁵

German, Austro-Hungarian, Germanophone Swiss and Baltic-German diaspora anthropology functioned and was widely seen as a single German 'scientific nation', with intense intellectual interaction and free circulation of students and professors.³³⁶ This region and its sphere of influence to the east created particularly dense networks of communication and specific interdisciplinary and political alliances. Nearly half the professional German anthropologists up to 1945 studied under Rudolf Martin, who was Swiss, or his students.³³⁷ The Vienna and German anthropological societies 'worked in the closest harmony', sometimes holding joint annual meetings.³³⁸ Swiss and Russian-based German anthropologists were central to the establishment of the German society in the 1860s.³³⁹

The East-West Divide

Eickstedt's canon and my data demonstrate a major early twentieth-century schism in the classification community. Across northern and western Europe and America, liberal anthropology shifted from race to cultural ethnography after race anthropology's 1890s crisis of scientific credibility. By contrast, Germans, Poles, Bunak in Russia and other eastern physical anthropologists successfully established new interdisciplinary race classification alliances around the new raciology and drifted towards the nationalist right. The transnational historical geographies of at least three contextual factors are important to this east-west split. Colonialism and democratisation contributed to race classification's decline in the west, encouraging evolutionism and a focus on culture and the colonies. Eastern ethnic nationalist traditions meanwhile helped preserve an interest in fixed European physical races.

My database, conference participation and other sources agree that the race classification of Europeans dwindled to a right-wing rump within western anthropology. Despite an originally very lively Dutch and Swiss scholarship of European race, these countries' interest declined in the

early nineteenth century. British, French and Scandinavian anthropologists followed suit from the late 1870s.³⁴⁰ After the mid-nineteenth century, English speakers and nationals are consistently behind the French and Germans in all my quantitative data on participation in race classification. British works usually held second or third place in my database, at around 16–30 %. Eickstedt attributed this to British anthropology's focus after about 1830 on society and culture.³⁴¹ One British anthropologist complained of authorities steeped in classical history but 'sadly ignorant' of racial realities.³⁴² As Boas and his students came to dominate American anthropology from the 1890s, they also produced a 'pluralistic, relativistic,' and increasingly non-biological new fieldwork and archaeology-based discipline.³⁴³ Anglophone countries created the first social and cultural anthropology chairs, accounting for half the new British chairs in my institutional database in 1901–1942. Keith therefore bewildered and angered most other British scientists when he 'came out as a hardline eugenicist and racist' during World War One.

Intensifying overseas colonialism after about 1860 had an east-west geography, diverting anthropology in Atlantic lands and Italy from craniology and European race rivalry, and towards pigmentation and evolution.³⁴⁴ In the western countries, as Boas foresaw in 1904, the very distinct 'biological, linguistic and ethnologic-archaeological methods' separated away, leaving the 'customs and beliefs of the less civilized people' to cultural anthropology.³⁴⁵ While some western colonial powers devoted up to 42 % of citations in my database to specific extra-European regions, figures for most European countries were below 2 %. Loss of overseas empire after 1918 eradicated German colonial ethnology and left Germany, like the central and eastern European countries, with an overwhelmingly European research focus.³⁴⁶

Insular security from continental threats made European races less interesting and colonial natives correspondingly more important in Britain. By the early twentieth-century, leading British ethnologists and anthropologists, Dutch anthropological institutions³⁴⁷ and the US Bureau of American Ethnology³⁴⁸ all focussed on studying 'native habits and beliefs' and on convincing government and universities that this could aid colonial administration.³⁴⁹

The nineteenth-century liberal democratic turn also had a specifically western geography. First in Britain and then in France, it accompanied the marginalisation of fixist polygenist republicans, who focussed on race classification of Europeans, and the rise of evolutionists with a more cul-

tural and colonial focus. In Britain's relatively reformist political environment, where Gladstone's Liberals regularly held power from 1868, race science as a whole was less radical. This positioned polygenist republicans as fringe radicals rather than, as in French anthropology, the political centre. Knox urged freedom-loving, downtrodden Saxons to complete the 1688 revolution, overthrow 'Norman' southern English elites and found 'an Anglo-Saxon republic'.³⁵⁰ While the xenophobic anthropologicals were on the radical margins of both the traditional Tory and scientific establishments, their rivals in London's ethnological society, confident that their Darwinism was becoming 'scientific orthodoxy', conducted themselves in a staid manner.³⁵¹

Then, in late 1870s France, liberal Third Republic governments removed an important reason for the broad left-wing alliance that Broca had constructed under the autocratic Second Empire. Gabriel de Mortillet's transformist (polygenist evolutionist) materialists, who linked ethnology to radical politics via sociology, and had no interest in European race, then came to the fore.³⁵² While there are no materialists in my canon and little citation of them or their journals in my database, the fixist classifiers that they effectively marginalised are among the most cited. Mortillet's clique defeated Christian monogenists like Franz Pruner-Bey and Quatrefages in the charged political atmosphere of 1868–1870, consolidated their dominance of *École* posts after Broca and other positivists died in 1880–1885, and took full control after 1886 by ousting Topinard.³⁵³ Further scandalising positivists, materialists founded Europe's first 'sociology' chair at the *École* in 1885, ten years before Émile Durkheim's Bordeaux chair.³⁵⁴ Durkheimians, who preferred social to biological explanations, reversed this interdisciplinary encroachment by about 1900, transformed mainstream French anthropology into a kind of colonial sociology and, by the 1920s, had shifted the French meaning of ethnology from race to culture.³⁵⁵ They allied with consciously apolitical and left-wing physical anthropologists to extinguish anthroposociology after the 1900 defeat of anti-Semitism in the Dreyfus Affair.³⁵⁶ Academic sociologists like Lapouge and Ripley thus vanish from my race classification canon, largely demolishing the race paradigm within French anthropology. After 1900, French writers plummet to around 10 % in my database, and French language works to the low teens. Francophone Belgian citations halt abruptly in 1904. Five of the original six *École* chairs were unambiguously biological, but by 1920, only three of ten were.³⁵⁷

Race anthropology appeared in retreat across western Europe. Though the Swedish government promoted eugenic social engineering, Scandinavian authorities suspected Nordacist and Germanicist ideologies as covers for German expansionism.³⁵⁸ Along with rising Anglophone influence and the association of race anthropology with great power geopolitics, this led interwar Scandinavian and Baltic authorities to starve the field of funds.³⁵⁹ In my database, English became the principal linguistic competitor of German in late nineteenth-century Sweden, and in Finland and the Netherlands around the 1910s.

Under Hitler's influence from 1936, Italy's fascists offered anthropology 'broad support', funding expeditions and, 'in one year', added nine new professorial chairs.³⁶⁰ However French influence and fascist preferences for mystical unscientific race doctrines sharply diverted interwar Italian anthropologists from European race classification to cultural ethnology and prehistory.³⁶¹ There was a broader Mediterranean downturn in race classification. Many smaller Mediterranean publishing centres disappeared from my database after 1918, France declined and raciological publishing retreated north almost to Vienna. Interwar Italy and Iberia hosted no international anthropology congresses.

Scholars severely criticise the dichotomy of western European civic nationalism, defined by state citizenship, versus eastern European ethnonationalism.³⁶² In race classification narratives, most nations, east and west, oscillated between these representations of identity. As early twentieth-century Hungary lost ethnically diverse subjects for example, while Japan gained them, their anthropologists swapped positions on stressing national purity versus synthesis.³⁶³ British Anglo-Saxonism meanwhile emphasised cultural-biological ethnic purity while Russians consistently preferred race synthesis, justifying imperial integration.

Nevertheless, nationalist discourse in western Europe often supported old dynastic state borders, but in central and eastern European, it mobilised ethnic groups against them. Peter Mandler therefore argues that even before World War I discredited Germanic race origins, British nationalism had long placed unusual stress on state and social institutions over language and race.³⁶⁴ Chapters 3 and 4 explore how this geography of nationalism affected the politicisation of positivist anthropology and narratives of race purity and mixture. However the civic-ethnic distinction also correlates geographically and conceptually with the early twentieth-century discipline-by-discipline struggle between liberal socio-culturalists and nationalist racists to control scholarship of humanity.³⁶⁵ The corre-

lation is not as good as between ethnic nationalism and neo-romantic culture, but is strong enough to be significant. Race classification, which legitimated ethnic nations, survived as the core anthropological project in several countries with a strongly ethnonationalist tradition.³⁶⁶ This association of raciology with ethnonationalism rather than specifically with Germany is an important transnational argument against German *Sonderweg* theories. Romantic ethnic nationalism, polygenism, positivist classification, and raciology all shared concepts of more or less fixed and separate eternal European races. Civic political community by contrast prioritised historically-emerging social contracts and traditions.

Therefore, although Slavic race scholars often reacted against German cultural and political imperialism, Germany and its eastern neighbours formed a common interwar zone of ethnic nationalism and anthropological obsession with national culture and race, in which neo-romantic (e.g. *völkisch*) indigenous fascists supported race science.³⁶⁷ Throughout central Europe, but also Scandinavia, ethnology and nationalism both emerged from middle-class romanticism and Herderian patriotic study of the national population.³⁶⁸ Archaeology in these regions snowballed after 1848, popularising a national past of idealised ‘prehistoric forefathers’.³⁶⁹ In central and eastern Europe, imperial rule simultaneously repressed and stimulated ethno-nationalist and liberal race anthropology.³⁷⁰ Polish and Czech anthropologists dramatised institution-building as a nationalist struggle against Viennese inertia and jealousy. Schwidetzky said 1870s–1880s Russian measurements of Polish recruits incited Polish doctors to prove that Poles were naturally short rather than racially degenerate.³⁷¹ Russian liberals enthusiastically sponsored anthropology whereas the tsarist state hesitated to support even conservative imperialist ethnography and nationalistic anthropology.³⁷² Newly independent Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Latvia introduced anthropology into ‘all universities’, and intensively developed nationalist historiography and archaeology.³⁷³

Neo-romantic interwar blood group race (serological) classification displayed a similar east-west geography to raciology. It enjoyed ‘tremendous’ interest in the ethno-nationalist east, especially in Germany and Russia, plus in Italy and Japan, but was strikingly weak and late in Britain and underperformed in France.³⁷⁴ In the Netherlands and US, it focused on overseas colonies. German soon superseded English as the main language of serology publication. A Serb mainly promoted serology in France and central European Jews brought it to the US after their expulsion from

the intensely race-focussed and pro-Nazi German Blood Group Research Society, founded in 1926 with a centre of gravity in Vienna.

Elitist eugenics popularised, sponsored and helped institutionalise eastern raciology.³⁷⁵ Russians particularly welcomed social Darwinism, were international leaders in genetic research, and the Bolsheviks initially welcomed eugenic social engineering.³⁷⁶ Compared to the west however, German and eastern eugenicists focused much more on ethnic than class relations.

The Peripheral East

Other east-west patterns of modernity reinforced the civic-ethnic divide. Several signs, including institutional instability, suggest an enduring scientific and educational underdevelopment in the east, facilitating German influence and therefore encouraging a common eastern raciological project. In my database, the main nineteenth-century cloud of publication centres only expands eastward to Vienna, Breslau and perhaps Budapest (see Maps 1.2b, c). In Ripley's data, Russia was the biggest non-native-speaking publisher of French and German texts, publishing almost as many French works as Switzerland did. After the remarkably early Budapest (1881) and Cracow (1886) anthropology professors died, their chairs long remained unoccupied and local anthropology lapsed into inactivity.³⁷⁷ Similar setbacks in Prague, Riga and elsewhere, including a 1911 student strike and official backlash in Moscow, plagued the initial institutionalisation and interwar reinstitutionalisation of anthropology and archaeology east of Germany.³⁷⁸ Smaller nationalities like the Slovaks lacked even this degree of institutionalisation.³⁷⁹

The fairly common eastern practice of establishing anthropology sections within general purpose science or natural science institutions suggests a lack of resources for independent bodies.³⁸⁰ Few full chairs were established in interwar east central Europe.³⁸¹ In my survey of 97 race classification university institutions in 1887–1942, 70 were founded in English, French and German-speaking lands, and only 15 in central and eastern Europe, of which only nine were interwar posts, compared to 17 in Germany. Like Sir William Wilde in 1840s Ireland, Isidor Kopernicki was less a representative of an 1870s Polish anthropological community than a respected individual correspondent from the boondocks. He had seven foreign association memberships and correspondents in Germany and eleven from further west, but just six from east of Germany.³⁸² Works

from Germany, Paris and Prague dominate one bibliography of interwar Polish anthropology.³⁸³

Infant anthropological establishments of non-core countries reeled from the organisational burden of organising international conferences. Moscow, Bucharest, Constantinople, Dublin, Madrid and Athens made twelve of the 13 failed bids to host congresses in 1874–1912. Athens and Constantinople were reported as not having ‘the least possibility’ of organising the 1892 congress and a Dublin congress was repeatedly postponed and ultimately held in Geneva because an apparently irreplaceable organiser was ill.³⁸⁴ Technical organisational challenges and the limited development of local anthropology capsized Bucharest’s 1889 bid.³⁸⁵ When these exotic bids failed, congresses often returned to the French-speaking heartland, where they presumably could be organised at short notice. Although two congresses were finally held in south-east Europe in the late 1930s, the pattern of failed eastern bids continued.³⁸⁶ Inconsistent conference attendance by Balkan and extra-European countries in 1870–1912 and again in the 1920s reinforced peripherality and undermined international networking. Non-entente, eastern European, extra-European and smaller countries only gradually resumed conference attendance after 1918.

Peripheral research also fell behind and was neglected by western Europeans, leaving ‘Russia and Eastern Europe’ as ‘large blank spots’ on anthropological maps and little effective synthesis in Tsarist Russian anthropology.³⁸⁷

Central and eastern Europe long had a hub-spoke dependence on Germany’s powerful academic institutions. My database confirms that Baltic Germans gave Russian physical anthropology its ‘first impetus’ in the 1830s.³⁸⁸ German, Swiss and Viennese training, organisational models, techniques and personnel probably outweighed Parisian influences in tsarist Russia’s academic anthropology.³⁸⁹ Virchow was thus Anuchin’s ‘role model’ and ‘hero’. Sklenář emphasises the exceptional ‘unity in the scientific life’ of positivist-period central Europe.³⁹⁰ Hungarians, Czechs and Poles published in German anthropological journals.³⁹¹ Czekanowski, who trained a generation of Polish anthropologists, Lubor Niederle, who founded Czech anthropology, Hirsztfeld, the Polish founder of race serology, and other leading central European and Balkan anthropologists and archaeologists studied in Germany.³⁹² Czekanowski’s Polish School constructed a raciological alliance with Nordicist features.³⁹³ Germanophone sources dominated my interwar central and eastern European source texts and a 1912 Russian anthropology reading list.³⁹⁴ Hapsburg rule promoted

German and especially Viennese science in south-eastern Europe, many of whose race scientists identified with Nazi eugenics and adopted German techniques.³⁹⁵

Shared ostracisation encouraged tight 1920s Russian-German links in anthropology, eugenics and sero-anthropology, institutionalised in Russia's bilingual German-Russian serology journal (which inspired Germany's main serology organ) and a Joint Institute for Racial Research (1927).³⁹⁶ Almost 80 % of foreign-language articles by Soviet serologists were in German³⁹⁷ and German work dominated reports on foreign research in Russia's principal anthropology journal.³⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

In race classification, scientific universalism and nationalist localism were in continuous tension. Consensus within an international scientific network was crucial for the project's legitimacy, offering evidence that it produced universally valid truths. However, this science generally gained support for institutionalisation if it backed locally important political agendas. Liberal positivism offered anthropologists of the second half of the nineteenth century a political ideology that was particularly compatible with international scientific harmony. Its self-conscious apoliticism suited scientists who lived under authoritarian regimes, while those in peripheral countries could use it to prove their scientific maturity. However, liberal anthropologists also sometimes established strategic collaborations with autocratic regimes. They allied with the Prussian state against Catholicism, and with France's Second Empire to promote Gallic nationalism. More generally, they promoted national agendas. Neo-romantic interwar raciology maintained international links, but these were undermined by its more extreme and overt nationalism.

Linking nations with physical types required successive ethnological, anthropological and raciological alliances with humanities and social sciences. These alliances established international networks, centres of prestige and influence and subregions with particular institutional patterns, interdisciplinary alliances and political orientations. However race classification's great achievements of disciplinary institutionalisation and professionalisation fragmented each successive alliance. Disciplines focussed on their own agendas rather than interdisciplinary race classification, abandoning the goose that laid the golden eggs of popular interest. Later race scientists thus attributed the late nineteenth-century decline of Britain's

Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) and French physical anthropology to a neglect of European race classification.³⁹⁹ The spatial expansion of classification, including to the east, meanwhile multiplied the range of diversity to be accommodated. These disruptions were exacerbated by ideological shifts, changing scientific assumptions, and contradictions between science and nationalism.

Broader background cultural patterns also helped to create the race classification community's complex, changing geography, alongside these science-politics interactions. Liberal opposition to Catholicism for example fuelled the precocious institutionalisation of anthropology in Latin countries. The most significant background factors were modern socio-political innovations such as technical development, industrialisation and nationalism, which mostly spread out from north-west Europe, providing classification with scientific resources and political motivations. Transnational nineteenth-century classification networks and institutions were therefore consistently centred in this core of global modernity. Peripheral work was taken less seriously. Western and extra-European classifiers often trained, published and communicated internationally through Paris, London and Oxbridge, while Germany (and to an extent, Scandinavia) was the core area for the multiple autonomous regional centres of central and eastern Europe. These centres depended institutionally on Germany, were influenced by its science and used German as their international language.

East-west patterns of colonialism and especially ethnic nationalism meanwhile shaped the early twentieth-century decline of western race anthropology and rise of an extreme nationalist, right-wing and Europe-focused raciology in Germany and elsewhere in central and eastern Europe. Though criticism of overseas colonialism stimulated initial 1820s–1830s interest in ethnology, including European ethnology, the urge to be useful to colonialism helped divert Dutch, British, French, and Italian anthropology at the end of the century from the methods, concepts and subject matter of European race. By contrast, classification of Europeans boomed in Germany after it lost its colonial empire in 1918, but the brutality of interwar German raciology owed something to the colonial experience. The common Atlantic geographies of colonialism and civic liberalism may not be accidental. Edward Fox (1989) traces liberalism in maritime western societies to the relative ease of trading and difficulty of projecting military-political power across seas.

Civic and romantic ethnic principles competed in every nation. Mid-nineteenth-century France and Britain for example pioneered ethnic race

classification in ethnology. Because national mobilisation preceded state centralisation in the east however, eastern nations were often defined by ethnicity, rather than state borders as in the west. This made patriotic race anthropology especially valuable, encouraging the raciological revival. Though raciology overlapped well conceptually and geographically with cultural neo-romanticism and ethnic nationalism, as well as with eugenics and Nordicism, these separate but linked phenomena superimposed imperfectly on one another. Relational factors like network connections and the reception of Herder and other German romantics were also crucial. They reinforced a particularly integrated German and central and eastern European zone of ethnic nationalism. This transnational evidence undermines claims in the literature about Germany's special propensity for racist race science. By contrast, western nations like Spain and Ireland whose 'cultural, political, social and economic backwardness' had stimulated remarkably similar neo-romantic peasant nationalisms in the 1880s or 1890s, had weaker connections with Germany and failed to turn to raciology.⁴⁰⁰ Eastern raciology was very strongly a German-centred network rather than an identity group. Slav nationalists borrowed German models to build strongly anti-German and increasingly independent raciological institutions.

NOTES

1. 2011: 8.
2. Manias (2013: 173–76).
3. Stocking (1984: 425, 1991: 261) and Dias (1991: 23–24).
4. Krzywicki (1969: 351) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 216).
5. Dias (1989: 220).
6. Mogilner (2013: 81).
7. 2001: 3–4 & 239–40.
8. Keith (1917: 15), Grattan (1858: 28), and Ranse (1866: 478).
9. Wilde (1874: 245) and Périer et al. (1861: 327–28 & 338).
10. Vallois (1959: 79).
11. Sklenář (1983: 108–9) and Dias (1989: 206, 1991: 19).
12. Massin (1996: 120–21), MacMaster (2001: 49), and Blanckaert (1988: 49).
13. Eickstedt (1937: 88).
14. Stagl (1995: 233–44), Rupp-Eisenreich (1984: 91) and Vermeulen (1995: 47–50).
15. Blanckaert (1988: 18–19 & 27–28).

16. Several professional naturalists and physicians, including Bernier, were explorers, publishing scientific accounts of voyages and non-European races. The explorer Richard Burton chaired the first London Anthropological Society meeting (Keith 1917: 19). Voyaging was less central to the distinct European sub-field of classification that emerged in the 1830s.
17. Spencer (1997c: 357) and Blanckaert (1988: 19).
18. Edwards (1845: 14), Spencer (1997c: 357), and Blanckaert (1988: 19 & 27–28).
19. Blanckaert (1988: 38–39 & 46).
20. Dias (1991: 18), Blanckaert (1989: 182) and Edwards (1841: 82–83).
21. Stocking (1991: 244, 1992: 350) and Bunzl (1996: 31).
22. Blanckaert (1988: 26), Edwards (1841: 82–83), and Wilde (1849: 212–14).
23. Holck (1997a: 1007, b: 754–55), Massin (1996: 84–85), and Sanemeterio Cobo (1999).
24. Fischer (1923: 7) and Spencer (1997c: 357).
25. Collis (2003: 57–58), Brace (1997: 865), and Erickson (1997: 832).
26. Blanckaert (1988: 44), Curtis (1968: 29), and Stocking (1991: 248).
27. Köster (2002: 60) and Vallois (1959: 78).
28. Bonté (1864b: 629), Stocking (1991: 268, 1995: 54), and Huxley (1950: 107).
29. Proctor (1988: 141).
30. Stocking (1991: 249–54).
31. Day (1997: 110), Proctor (1988: 141), and Vallois (1959: 78).
32. Evans (2010: 27).
33. Spencer (1997b: 221).
34. Stocking (1991: 246–48), Allen (1971: xv), and Hunt (1864: xcii).
35. Fischer (1923: 8), Făcăoaru (1938a: 210), and Keith (1917: 20).
36. Hunt (1864: xcii), Wilde (1874: 245), and Périer et al. (1861: 327–28 & 338).
37. Stocking (1991: 248), Mucchielli (1997: 2), and Dias (1991: 22).
38. Ripley (1899: vii–viii).
39. Manias (2009: 738).
40. Curtis (1968: 67–68), Huxley (1950: 107), and Mucchielli (1997: 2).
41. Massin (1996: 126) and Taylor (1880: 448).
42. Spencer (1981: 355).
43. MacCurdy (1899: 915–16) and Bounak (1926: 359–60).
44. Ripley (1899: vii–viii), Grattan (1853: 200), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 666–68).
45. Myres (1930: 40), Manias (2009: 739), and Blanckaert (1989: 182–83).
46. Myres (1930: 40) and Sklenář (1983: 97).

47. Myres (1931: xxvi), Comas (1956: 47), and Sklenář (1983: 134).
48. Barkan (1992: 19).
49. Massin (1996: 128).
50. Vallois (1959: 77–79), Schwidetzky (1935b: 81), and Pogliano (2005: 405 & 415).
51. Puschner (2001: 93), Schippers (1995: 235–38), and Stocking (1992: 353).
52. Sklenář (1983: 135–38) and Puschner (2001: 93).
53. Myres (1931: xxvi) and Comas (1956: 47)
54. Myres (1930: 40, 1931: xxvii), Bernasconi and Lott (2000: xiv), and Evans (2010: 30–31).
55. Massin (1996: 84–85) and Proctor (1988: 154).
56. MacCurdy (1899: 916) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 210–16).
57. Dias (1991: 24–26).
58. Făcăoaru (1938b: 210–11).
59. Stocking (1984: 421–22 & 427–28, 1992: 352 & 357), Blanckaert (1988: 48), and Mogilner (2013: 59–60).
60. Read (1906: 56–57).
61. Stocking (1988: 9).
62. Myres (1931: xxvi), Comas (1956: 66), and Pogliano (2005: 42).
63. Proctor (1988: 148), Czekanowski (1967: 20), and Rădulescu (1941: 246).
64. Arnold (1962: 301), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 5), and Leerssen (1996: 94).
65. Lech (1997/98: 42), Massin (1996: 89), Harvey (1984: 400 & 402), Hammond (1980: 121 & 126), Godycki (1956: 12–13), Stołyhwo (1957: 6–7, 12 & 16), Mogilner (2013: 137), Quine (2013: 130 & 141), and Bucur (2002: 27–28).
66. Trubeta (2007: 127).
67. Avery (1869: ccxxiv).
68. Quine (2013: 130 & 141), Evans (2010: 60), and Manias (2013: 111).
69. Zimmerman (2001: 38 & 112).
70. Myres (1930: 19–21).
71. Heilbron et al. (2008: 149–50).
72. Schwidetzky (1935b: 81–82).
73. Eickstedt (1937: 87–88) and Evans (2010: 9).
74. Manias (2013: 175).
75. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 15) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 212–16).
76. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 5).
77. Lebzelter (1938: 74) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 210).
78. Dias (1989: 216 & 220–21).
79. Harvey (1984: 388–89) and Vallois (1959: 75).

80. Fischer (1926: 100) and Mogilner (2013: 61).
81. Ferembach (1986: 23–24) and Blanckaert (1988: 45–46).
82. Sklenář (1983: 82–85).
83. Hoßfeld (2005: 128 & 135). France and Austria were unusual in establishing multiple anthropology posts in various branches of ethnology, anthropology and prehistory at Parisian non-university institutes like Broca's *École* and the Institute of Human Palaeontology, and at Vienna's University and Natural History Museum, with few institutions in the provinces (Făcăoaru 1938a: 209–10; Sanemeterio Cobo 1999; Lebzelter 1938: 74). Elsewhere, universities generally had one, or exceptionally two anthropology chairs, often combined with ethnology or anatomy, and a strict association between professor and post.
84. Făcăoaru (1938a: 211).
85. Ferembach (1997: 399–400).
86. Harvey (1984: 401) and Dias (1991: 237–238).
87. Huxley and Haddon (1935: 44), Czekanowski (1967: 44), and Bounak (1926: 352).
88. Krzywicki (1969: 350).
89. Keith (1917: 24 & 27), Retzius (1909: 292), Zograf (1893: 1), and Făcăoaru (1938a: 217).
90. Eickstedt (1937: 82).
91. MacMaster (2001: 8–9).
92. Eickstedt (1937: 42 & 82), Knox (1850: 15), and Arnold (1962: 298–99); see Chapter 5.
93. DUM (1855: 734).
94. 1850: 17.
95. Harvey (1984: 402–3), Ferembach (1997: 400), and Pogliano (2005: 442).
96. Outram (1997: 469) and Köhl (1997: 37–38).
97. Mogilner (2013: 131).
98. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 225–28) and Manias (2013: 104).
99. Zimmerman (2001: 112–113).
100. Blanckaert (1988: 19 & 48), Pogliano (2005: 442), and Quine (2013: 140–41).
101. Quine (2013: 140).
102. Hammond (1980: 125).
103. Graham (1977: 1137–40), MacMaster (2001: 52), and Dias (1991: 249–50).
104. Hannaford (1996: 278).
105. Weindling (1993: 7 & 55), Stagl (1995: 233), and Stocking (1991: 245).
106. Mogilner (2013: 54–55, 347 & 352).

107. Godina et al. (1993: 5).
108. Ferembach (1986: 24).
109. Proctor (1988: 164).
110. Massin (1996: 89) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 43).
111. Stocking (1991: 242–44) and Keith (1917: 13).
112. Keith (1917: 15 & 21) and Stocking (1991: 251).
113. Vallois (1959: 76) and Dias (1991: 48).
114. Blanckaert (1988: 41 & 44) and Harvey (1984: 388–89).
115. Stocking (1992: 350), Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 96), and Hecht (2003: 41–43).
116. Stocking (1991: 246), Blanckaert (1988: 43–44), and Evans (2010: 64).
117. Vallois (1959: 75), Hecht (2003: 56), and Harvey (1984: 388–89).
118. Dias (1991: 23–24 & 31 & 50–51).
119. Manias (2013: 109).
120. Hammond (1980: 118–19 & 126–27), Vallois (1959: 76) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 88).
121. Harvey (1984: 399–402).
122. Mucchielli (1997: 3–5).
123. Despite official indulgence before 1870 meanwhile, the militantly monogenist, conservative Paris ethnographicals were considered amateurish, descriptive and unscientific and became increasingly marginalised, while Broca's anthropology 'gained progressively in stature and professional reputation' (Stocking 1984: 427–28; Dias 1991: 23–24 & 50–53). Moscow's liberal evolutionist anthropologists similarly outmanoeuvred the imperialist St. Petersburg ethnographers of Russia's 'primitive' subject peoples (Mogilner 2013: 42–43, 59–60, 66–67 & 77–82).
124. Harvey (1984: 390–92 & 400) and Hammond (1980: 118).
125. Manias (2013: 111).
126. Keith (1917: 13 & 19) and Heath (1867: ix).
127. Dias (1991: 244), Godina et al. (1993: 4–5), and Mogilner (2013: 10).
128. Collaborating with the local society and Smithsonian Museum, this made Washington a key centre of anthropological research and teaching (Dias 1991: 243–44).
129. Stocking (1991: 268) and Keith (1917: 16, 23 & 25).
130. Keith (1917: 24 & 29).
131. Evans (2010: 42–43).
132. Massin (1996: 84–85) and Sklenář (1983: 137).
133. Massin (1996: 84–85) and Stocking (1991: 262 & 267).
134. Schwidetzky (1935b: 82) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 209).
135. Hammond (1980: 129).
136. Fee (1979: 415–17).
137. 2011: 87–88.

138. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 90).
139. Evans (2010: 81 & 85).
140. 1911: 27.
141. The term was coined in Germany around 1900 as a demand for ‘authenticity and organicism in the battle against ‘over-civilisation’’ (Trentmann 1994: 602–3).
142. Bollenbeck (1999: 300–2); see Chapter 2.
143. Massin (1996: 88–89).
144. MacMaster (2001: 4–6, 16, & 21 & 26), Mucchielli (1997: 12), and Malik (1996: 109–10).
145. Proctor (1988: 143–45), Massin (1996: 116 & 130–31), and Mees (2000: 317–19).
146. Proctor (1988: 143), Puschner (2001: 87–89), and Mees (2000: 317).
147. Ackermann (1970: 132–33), MacMaster (2001: 52), and Field (1977: 528).
148. Mees (2000: 317).
149. Mosse (1978: 99).
150. Evans (2010: 10).
151. Fee (1979: 427) and Czekanowski (1967: 46).
152. Orsucci (1998: 3), Malik (1996: 120), and Chamberlain (1938: 313 & 317–18). Chamberlain was British but settled in Germany and married Wagner’s step-daughter (Hannaford 1996: 348–49).
153. Herz (1925: 14) and Chamberlain (1938: 313 & 317–18).
154. Eickstedt (1937: 42 & 82) and Hannaford (1996: 326–27 & 348–49).
155. Massin (1996: 129–30) and Proctor (1988: 143).
156. Gould (1981: 124).
157. Hannaford (1996: 292–93).
158. Odom (1967: 16).
159. Wijworra (1996: 171), Massin (1996: 127–28), and Sklenář (1983: 131–35 & 147).
160. Kevles (1985: 70–72).
161. MacMaster (2001: 42–43).
162. Turda (2012: 4) and Evans (2010: 3).
163. Malik (1996: 84) and Hannaford (1996: 349–50).
164. Field (1977: 528).
165. Zimmerman (2001: 243–44) and Evans (2010: 12).
166. MacMaster (2001: 5–6) and Lutzhöft (1971: 19).
167. Proctor (1988: 155–61), Spencer (1997h: 875), and Mazumdar (1990: 196–97).
168. Făcăoaru (1938a: 207–8) and Field (1977: 526).
169. Rosenberg (1930) and Evola (1941: 34–35 & 73–77).
170. Malik (1996: 120) and Chamberlain (1938: 313 & 317–18).

171. 1938: 313, 317–20.
172. Proctor (1988: 143–45) and Weindling (1993: 7).
173. Massin (1996: 137) and Field (1977: 528).
174. Mazumdar (1990: 194), Kühl (1997: 38), and Field (1977: 528).
175. Lutzhöft (1971: 23), Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 98), and Kossinna (1909: 18–19).
176. Mazumdar (1990: 191) and Schneider (1996: 296).
177. Pogliano (2005: 33, 40, 94–96, 100–9 & 396–97), Necrasov (1941: 126–27, 132 & 136), and Schneider (1996: 285, 292 & 295).
178. Kühl (1997: 48).
179. Pogliano (2005: 91–93) and Ackermann (1970: 110).
180. Kühl (1997: 37–38), Myres (1930: 23), and Heilbron et al. (2008: 150).
181. Sklenář (1983: 69, 82–85, 97 & 105–9).
182. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 55).
183. Turda and Weindling (2007: 6–7) and Heilbron et al. (2008: 148–50).
184. Manias (2013: 109).
185. Tildesley (1928: 351) and Schneider (1996: 302).
186. Kühl (1997: 38 & 69), MacMaster (2001: 49), and Mosse (1978: 75).
187. Myres (1931: xxviii) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 61).
188. Schneider (1996: 286).
189. Gray (1911: 151), Blanckaert (1989: 167), and Heilbron et al. (2008: 152–53).
190. Pogliano (2005: 85–92).
191. Pogliano (2005: 85–92 & 98), Mogilner (2013: 80–81 & 95), Quine (2013: 130), and Godycki (1956: 13 & 28).
192. Hrdlička (1914: 513 & 528), Mogilner (2013: 32, 37, 66–67, 80–81, 93 & 110), and Heilbron et al. (2008: 152).
193. Dias (1991: 238).
194. Evans (2010: 34).
195. Howorth (1875: 354) and Taylor (1988: 48).
196. Schwidetzky (1935b: 82).
197. Sklenář (1983: 86).
198. Schneider (1996: 293).
199. Rupp-Eisenreich (1984: 98) and Harvey (1984: 390).
200. Eickstedt (1937: 87–88).
201. Haddon (1898: 583), Sergi (1900: 36 & 41–44), and Quine (2013: 131 & 147).
202. Mogilner (2013: 76).
203. Heilbron et al. (2008: 147–48 & 156).
204. Dias (1991: 240) and Ripley (1899).
205. Schippers (1995: 234) and Lindee and Santos (2012: S8).
206. Rădulescu (1941: 262) and Milcu (1954: 24).

207. Schneider (1996: 289).
208. Sklenář (1983: 86), Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 111), and Stagl (1995: 234–44).
209. Holck (1997a: 1006, b: 754–55).
210. Dias (1991: 144) and Sklenář (1983: 88–89).
211. Felder (2013: 120).
212. Felder (2013: 117 & 123), Godycki (1956: 26), and Făcăoaru (1938a: 217).
213. 2005: 146–47.
214. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 8).
215. Heilbron et al. (2008: 148).
216. Sklenář (1983: 86 & 125), Ripley (1899: viii), and Czekanowski (1967: 42 & 62–63).
217. Poskett (2015: 276).
218. Czekanowski (1967: 42 & 44), Trubeta (2007: 125), and Mogilner (2013: 32–33).
219. Turda (2010: 42).
220. Browne (1900: 272), Poskett (2015: 276–77), and Leerssen (1996: 94).
221. Mogilner (2013: 114 & 131), Stojanowski (1924: 760); see Chapters 3, 5 and 6.
222. Landra (1942: 29) and Milcu (1954: 23).
223. Tristram (1996: 36–37).
224. Edwards (1841: 82–83), Pictet (1836: 264), and Leerssen (1996: 90–91).
225. Tristram (1990: 14).
226. Sklenář (1983: 86).
227. Schneider (1996: 302).
228. Myres (1930: 23), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 15), and Dias (1991: 31).
229. Zimmerman (2001: 5) and Evans (2010: 33).
230. Manias (2009: 740, 2013: 131 & 176) and Evans (2010: 33).
231. Lurie (1954: 228), Allen (1971: xiv) and Hrdlička (1914: 513).
232. Schwidetzky (1935b: 83), Mogilner (2013: 21 & 60), Quine (2013: 132), and Nanta (2009: 46); see Chapters 6 and 7.
233. 2011: 43.
234. Făcăoaru (1938a: 216) and Sklenář (1983: 86).
235. Schneider (1996: 239).
236. Lindee and Santos (2012: S8).
237. 1937 89.
238. Făcăoaru (1938a: 211 & 217), Stocking (1992: 356), and Czekanowski (1948a: 124–174).
239. IIA (1928: ix–xl) and Kühl (1997: 73).
240. Poland, Romania, Serbia and former Austria-Hungarian territories.

241. Including Romanians and Greeks.
242. Pogliano (2005: 492).
243. Eickstedt (1940: 174).
244. Kaszycka and Strkalj (2002: 330) and Făcăoaru (1938a: 209).
245. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 57–58), Matiegka (1924: 7), and Trubeta (2007: 124).
246. Eickstedt (1937: 87–88) and Stocking (1984: 422).
247. Comas (1956: 30).
248. 2011: 58–59.
249. Mogilner (2013: 37, 40 & 93) and Myres (1930: 27).
250. Proctor (1988: 142).
251. 2013: 48 & 55.
252. Evans (2010: 24), Eickstedt (1937: 88–89), Holck (1997b: 754), Promitzer (2007: 224), and Trubeta (2007: 135).
253. Czekanowski (1967: 44) and Schwidetzky (1982).
254. Massin (1996: 83), Schippers (1995: 236), Felder (2013: 124), and Turda (2010: 35).
255. 2009: 45.
256. Lech (1997/98: 34).
257. Eickstedt (1937: 88–89), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 3 & 22), and Vincent (1996: 26).
258. Eickstedt (1937: 87–88).
259. Manias (2013: 184).
260. Sjøvold (1997: 405), Spencer (1997h: 87), and Beddoe (1912: 38).
261. Spencer (1997h: 87), Pittard (1924: 41), and Sergi (1900: 10).
262. Sjøvold (1997: 405) and Spencer (1997d: 428).
263. Manias (2013: 176).
264. Manias (2009: 748–49 & 754–576).
265. Evans (2010: 8, 11 & 16).
266. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 7) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 63–64).
267. Kühn (1997: 61–63).
268. Pösch (1925: 296).
269. Bounak (1926: 346) and Stojanowski (1935: 33).
270. Mogilner (2013: 360), Bounak (1926: 360), and Graham (1977: 1148).
271. Graham (1977: 1150 & 1156–57).
272. Sigmon (1993: 4 & 7) and Godina et al. (1993: 8–10).
273. Mogilner (2013: 355).
274. Comas (1956: 27–28).
275. Sklenář (1983: 107).
276. Comas (1956: 33, 37 & 52), Myres (1930: 28–30), and Pogliano (2005: 42).
277. Myres (1930: 22 & 30).

278. Myres (1930: 32–42) and Pogliano (2005: 42–44).
279. Comas (1956: 39) and Myres (1930: 33). An identical struggle wracked the post-war international eugenics federation (Kühl 1997: 59–61).
280. Comas (1956: 39, 44 & 62–65), Myres (1930: 20 & 32–42), and Pogliano (2005: 43 & 52).
281. Kühl (1997: 25, 33 & 87–91).
282. Löscher (2007: 299).
283. Mosse (1978: 57) and Kühl (1997: 35).
284. Kühl (1997: 74).
285. Kühl (1997: 68), Lutzhöft (1971: 15–19), and Mazumdar (1990: 194).
286. Evans (2010: 4).
287. Lindqvist (2002: 141) and Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1–2 & 11).
288. Poliakov (1971: 87–95) and Hermet (1996: 139).
289. 1995: 156–60.
290. Hölscher (2001: 46–47).
291. Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 132–35).
292. Stagl (1995: 241).
293. Lixfeld (1994: 12) and Mazumdar (1990: 196–97).
294. Conklin (2013: 13) and Evans (2010: 5).
295. 2001: 135–45.
296. Zimmerman (2001: 140–41).
297. Massin (1996: 80 89 & 92) and Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1–2 & 11).
298. Gould (1981: 85), MacMaster (2001: 9), and Malik (1996: 82).
299. Conklin (2013: 13) and Evans (2010: 5–6).
300. Schippers (1995: 238), Wijworra (1996: 178), and Coon (1939: 286).
301. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 2 & 17–22), Weindling (1993: 54) and Massin (1996: 80, 114 & 142).
302. Popoviciu (1938: 3–4 & 14).
303. Field (1977: 524–26), Czekanowski (1967: 47–48), and Lutzhöft (1971: 21 & 92).
304. Proctor (1988: 146 & 157–69).
305. Coon (1939: 286).
306. Evans (2010: 6), Herz (1925: 14), and Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1–2, 11 & 15).
307. 2001: 135.
308. Dias (1991: 58) and Odom (1967: 7 & 9).
309. Keith (1917: 15 & 21) and Stocking (1991: 251).
310. Bedford Pimm (1869: ccxxxvi).
311. Grattan (1858: 245).
312. Blanckaert (1988: 48–49), Gould (1981: 95), and Dias (1991: 47–48).
313. Dias (1989: 220, 1991: 146).
314. Mogilner (2013: 157).

315. Weindling (1993: 6–7) and MacMaster (2001: 49).
316. Hammond (1980: 118–21).
317. Pogliano (2005: 446) and Mogilner (2013: 169–70).
318. Kühl (1997: 66–68), Stocking (1988: 11), and Barkan (1992: 46 & 49).
319. 2010: 84.
320. Kühl (1997: 23 & 54–55).
321. Lindee and Santos (2012: 510).
322. Kyllingstad (2015: 96–98 & 206–9), Eickstedt (1937: 88–89), and Felder (2013: 120).
323. Dias (1991: 31).
324. Broca (1860b: 8), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1), and Poniatowski (1929–1930: 5–6).
325. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 21–22) and Klimek (1939: 31–32 & 40).
326. Weindling (1993: 55), Hecht (2003: 44), Quine (2013: 140), and Löscher (2007: 302).
327. Făcăoaru (1938a: 211) and Roberts (1974: 73).
328. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 1–2 & 11) and Hecht (2003: 44).
329. Zimmerman (2001: 57–58).
330. Löscher (2007), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 21–22), and Klimek (1939: 31–32 & 40).
331. Curtis (1968: 114–15).
332. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 161).
333. Myres (1930: 27).
334. Poskett (2015: 271).
335. Grattan (1858: 231) and Taylor (1880: 449).
336. Massin (1996: 83), Eickstedt (1937: 89, 1940: 138 & 174), and Evans (2010: 34).
337. Schwidetzky (1982: 88).
338. Eickstedt (1940: 136) and Hoßfeld (2005: 173).
339. Zängl-Kumpf (1997: 547) and Fischer (1926: 100).
340. Eickstedt (1940: 140) and Barkan (1992: 4).
341. Eickstedt (1937: 88) and Stocking (1992: 357).
342. Bedford Pimm (1869: ccxxxvi).
343. Stocking (1992: 353–57), Sanjek (1996: 71), and Spencer (1981: 355–56).
344. Pogliano (2005: 369) and Puccioni (1938: 81).
345. Stocking (1992: 346).
346. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 6).
347. Făcăoaru (1938a: 210–11 & 215).
348. Spencer (1981: 355).
349. Read (1906: 56), Keith (1917: 14–15 & 29), and Myres (1931: xxviii–xxix & 28).

350. Knox (1850: 5).
351. Stocking (1991: 253), Knox (1850: 16), and Keith (1917: 19).
352. Conklin (2013: 46–48).
353. Conklin (2013: 48).
354. Mucchielli (1997: 4 & 6), Dias (1991: 27), and Harvey (1984: 403).
355. Dias (1991: 241–42), Hammond (1980: 129), and Stocking (1992: 357).
356. Conklin (2013: 52–53) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 154).
357. Sanemeterio Cobo (1999).
358. Kühl (1997: 50), Eickstedt (1937: 88–89), and Kyllingstad (2015: 107 & 214).
359. Făcăoaru (1938a: 213–17) and Schippers (1995: 236).
360. Făcăoaru (1938a: 210), Taylor (1988: 45, 48 & 53), and Pogliano (2005: 379).
361. Eickstedt (1940: 156), Pogliano (2005: 369), and Puccioni (1938: 81).
362. Ariely (2013: 123–25).
363. Nanta (2009: 48) and Turda (2010: 34).
364. 2006: 17–28, 59–60 & 153–54.
365. Köster (2002: 74) and Sandner and Rössler (1994: 115 & 119).
366. Felder (2013: 123).
367. Weidlein (1961: 14–15) and Felder (2013: 124–26).
368. Rączkowski (1996: 195) and Stocky (1924: 55).
369. Sklenář (1983: 64–68 & 83), Dias (1991: 144 & 146), and Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996: 4 & 13).
370. Czekanowski (1956b: 10) and Eickstedt (1937: 88).
371. 1935b: 78.
372. Mogilner (2013: 34, 59–60, 74–80, 90).
373. Făcăoaru (1938a: 209–15), Schwidetzky (1935b: 80–82), Eickstedt (1937: 88), and Felder (2013: 120).
374. Schneider (1996: 286–302), Pogliano (2005: 47, 85–93, 98–99, 107, 114 & 118), and Mazumdar (1990: 187 & 191).
375. Schwidetzky (1935b: 82), Făcăoaru (1938a: 211–17), and Felder (2013: 129).
376. Graham (1977: 1144–45) and Kühl (1997: 93).
377. Schwidetzky (1935b: 78–79), Făcăoaru (1938a: 212), and Lafferton (2007: 728).
378. Czekanowski (1956b: 10), Bounak (1926: 346–47 & 359–60), and Felder (2013: 123).
379. Stocky (1924: 55).
380. MacCurdy (1899: 913), Schwidetzky (1935b: 78 & 82), and Făcăoaru (1938a: 208 & 212–14).
381. Făcăoaru (1938a: 209 & 215) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 81).

382. Godycki (1956: 32).
383. Czekanowski (1948a: 124–174).
384. Comas (1956: 26–28 & 51).
385. Borcescu (1918: 9–10).
386. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 57).
387. Deniker (1904: 183 & 186), Mogilner (2013: 102), and Stojanowski (1935: 33).
388. Godina et al. (1993: 2) and Eickstedt (1940: 174).
389. Mogilner (2013: 32, 37, 40, 58, 60–67, 80–81, 93, 101, 110, 137–38, 355 & 365).
390. 1983: 107.
391. Evans (2010: 34).
392. Eickstedt (1940: 177 & 180), Matiegka (1924: 8), and Trubeta (2007: 124 & 135).
393. Czekanowski (1920: 65); see Chapter 6.
394. Mogilner (2013: 90).
395. Promitzer (2007: 224), Trubeta (2007: 135), and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 629).
396. Pogliano (2005: 91), Mogilner (2013: 363), and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 39).
397. Schneider (1996: 297).
398. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 62).
399. Eickstedt (1937: 88) and Vallois (1959: 77).
400. Jáuregui (2002); see Chapter 5.
401. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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How Classification Worked

Nations, like families, are fond of counting up their ancestors, of enhancing the length of their genealogy, and of regarding the antiquity of their origin as a title of nobility.

Paul Broca, the leader of French positivist anthropology (1878: 200).

This chapter examines how political and scientific agendas interacted with scholarly practices and concepts. Three sections each address the chronological evolution of a particular aspect of this question, starting with the classification of Europeans as a scientific enterprise. Section two traces how political imperatives supported a remarkably durable ‘central tradition’ of race classification. Despite changing scientific concepts and research methods, this central tradition thrived for over a century in successive ethnological, anthropological and raciological disciplinary coalitions.

Disciplinary inertia and conservatism protected it. Gustaf Retzius credibly claimed in 1909 that his father’s 1847 work still embodied craniology’s ‘underlying principles and essential programme’.¹ Anthropologists regularly justified innovations and confronted rival theorists by citing precedents from ‘great names’ of past generations, to place themselves within anthropology’s legitimate historical mainstream.² In the 1880s, Topinard even adjusted theoretical positions to claim Broca’s heritage and institutional leadership.³ Communist anthropology and present-day Russian racism both claimed the liberal Anuchin as their intellectual forefather.⁴

Change was often generational,⁵ as the faithful reproduction of successive German methods by Romanian raciologists illustrates (see Chapter 7). The standard model was entrenched by institutionalisation and the successive lifetimes that scientists spent building up a body of data,⁶ practices and theory.

I argue however that political usefulness was crucial to the central tradition's longevity. As Chapter 2 showed, anthropology secured official and popular support by offering scientific legitimacy to political and especially nationalist arguments. National races were supposedly the eternal core of the nation, connecting it with ancient ancestor tribes like the Celts or Teutons, and explaining its character and geopolitical relations. Classification's 'governing idea' was therefore to study the history of permanently distinct biological races with unique patrimonies of inherited physical (especially craniological) and psychological traits.⁷ This made fixity (permanence over time) the most indispensable characteristic of both national races and the central tradition and entrenched it as the key criterion for deciding which factors defined races.⁸ It allowed anthropologists to identify modern race types 'in a slightly changed form' in Neolithic skulls.⁹

Races required other characteristics to represent political struggles as Manichaean race conflicts.¹⁰ To extend present day geopolitical relations into prehistory, ancient races had to be organisms with something of the coherence of nations. Knox thus amalgamated Britain's French and Irish enemies into a common Celtic race, and explained the 1848 uprisings by postulating two antagonistic German races.¹¹ Race psychologies meanwhile represented republican, nationalist or racist ideologies as natural to the biologically hard-wired national character. Biological traits could also be ranked hierarchically to argue for the superiority of one's own national race.

Finally, section three of the chapter details the hard struggle that classification faced to maintain this central tradition, especially in the face of scientific developments. Its survival, despite the discrediting of successive sources of evidence and models of race, the collapse of multiple interdisciplinary alliances and fundamental challenges such as monogenism, Darwinism and genetics, demonstrate how important the political mission was to classification.

THE SCIENCE OF CLASSIFICATION

Late eighteenth-century naturalists, often accompanying or advising explorers, obsessively classified animals, languages, peoples, races and artefacts.¹² After Linnaeus's 1735 classification of living creatures into species like *Homo sapiens*, zoologists began examining race in the 1760s–1770s, especially in Germany.¹³ The general public and—up until the late 1820s according to my canon—naturalists largely accepted variants of Linnaeus's Black-White-Yellow global classification.¹⁴

The main technique for researching European races was anthropometry (systematic measurement of physical characteristics) and especially craniology, because the skull developed in relationship to the brain.¹⁵ Anatomical skull-measuring flared into fashion in the 1780s–1790s, along with physiognomy (character analysis from the face) and phrenology (reading brain functions from skull shape), which had a brief great vogue in the 1820s–1830s, including as a less liberal rival race science to ethnology.¹⁶ Blumenbach thus rechristened the White Race Caucasians in honour of the skull of a 'picture-pretty... young Georgian woman', whose beauty in death, only a 'receptive eye' like his own could appreciate.¹⁷

Classification always examined both skeletal remains and living people, but evolving techniques shifted the balance between these evidence sources. France's Mutual Autopsy Society recouped the 'brains of intelligent men' by consent, but ancient or colonial bones, like the 'twelve Negro heads, massacred after a revolt' that a Madame Masmenier posted in a box to the Paris Anthropology Society, were initially easier to procure than measures of living Europeans.¹⁸ During Germany's 1904–1907 genocide campaign in Southwest Africa, Herero women were reportedly forced to strip 'the flesh from the severed heads of their countrymen with shards of broken glass' to prepare skulls for Berlin anthropologists.¹⁹ Alexander Humboldt bemoaned Lapps' 'suspicious fears' of his craniometer, but boasted of removing 'a large collection of skulls' 'with extreme caution' from their carefully protected 'old heathen burial-places'.²⁰ Because a 1871 expedition among Russia's Mari minority coincided with a cholera epidemic, locals believed 'death would immediately follow' anthropometric measurement by the 'scary people... digging up old graves'.²¹ European remains came from battlegrounds, unclaimed bodies in hospitals and bequests to science.²² Accompanying Russian invaders in 1917, Bunak collected 106 adult male and 'several dozen' female or children's 'skulls of exceptional value' after 'the carnage of the Armenians by the Turks'.²³

As in other large-scale social scientific paradigms like class and culture, race anthropologists identified patterns in empirically observed study data as signs of hidden but very real underlying forces. Racial ‘Mediterranean elements’ could therefore for example explain cases of diminished stature.²⁴ Mid-nineteenth-century anthropologists sought the original races which gave individuals and populations their ‘essential nature’ and from which the diverse observed features of modern national populations deviated.²⁵ The longer Beddoe observed Scottish Highlanders, ‘the more diversity’ he saw, but ‘subordinate’ types still clustered round ‘a certain central type’.²⁶ Early craniologists could therefore rely on pinprick studies of no more than a few dozen ‘representative’ crania of each race.²⁷ Two Basque crania were the angle-stones of Retzius’s ambitious 1840s pan-European race theory.²⁸ Irish studies in 1856–1865 examined just three, six and two skulls, and numerous British and Irish researchers agreed on one cranium as the representative ‘classical prehistoric Irish’ skull.²⁹ Portrayals on Trajan’s columns were considered representative of ancient Dacians.³⁰ Finding brachycephalic skulls from Auvergne, ‘the centre’ of the ancient Celtic confederation, Broca confidently concluded that ‘the Celtic race’, and therefore presumably Bretons too were brachycephals.³¹ So strong was the expectation of ‘representative’ national skulls that Wilde, to the hilarity of his hosts, ‘at once pronounced’ some Etruscan skulls in a Paris museum ‘to be ancient Irish’.³²

In the 1840s–1860s, especially in France and Germany, more systematic anthropometric data collection, with bigger samples (see Fig. 3.1), gradually filled in the pointillist craniological map of Europe.³³ British and French craniologists measured recruits, compared descriptions of military deserters with the ethnic origin suggested by their names and, borrowing a colonial survey technique, systematically distributed standardised questionnaires to anthropologists, naturalists and doctors.³⁴ Measuring the living presented special difficulties however. Catholic Germans resisted Virchow’s schoolchild survey, believing the statistics would be used in the *Kulturkampf* and that children of particular complexions might be sent to Turkey to pay the Kaiser’s gambling debts.³⁵ The 1860 British questionnaire survey meanwhile, was ‘an abysmal failure’ frightening off country doctors with the work involved.³⁶ Anthropologists also did field-work. Beddoe says money sometimes persuaded reluctant test subjects, ‘without going to the extent of the new hat always jocularly demanded’.³⁷ In Kerry,³⁸ whenever Beddoe’s team met ‘a likely little squad of natives’...

Wzrost średni w latach								
Powiat	25-30	31-50	nad 50	Powiat	25-30	31-50	nad 50	
Niziny.								
Dąbrowski	163.7	163.1	163.0	Podgórze zachodnie.				
Kolbuszow.	163.0	166.6	157.0	Bocheński	170.5	162.0	156.5	
Mielecki	159.3	163.3	—	Biański	165.0	165.0	—	
Niski	166.6	165.7	163.0	Chrzanow.	163.9	161.0	—	
Tarnobrz.	164.6	164.4	172.5	Krakowski	158.0	164.0	160.0	
	163.5	164.6	163.9	Wadowicki	165.0	162.6	168.0	
Średnia z całej dzielnicy			164.0	Wielicki	163.6	161.4	160.2	
Równiny.								
Brzeski	169.0	164.0	163.7		164.5	162.7	161.2	
Łancucki	164.5	165.7	166.0	Srednia z całej dzielnicy			162.6	
Pilznieski	152.0	163.2	—	Podgórze wschodnie.				
Ropczycki	161.5	166.6	—	Brzozowski	168.9	167.3	—	
Rzeszowski	165.2	163.1	164.0	Gorlicki	162.9	159.2	161.0	
Tarnowski	165.7	166.0	164.3	Grybowski	173.0	166.7	164.5	
	163.0	164.7	164.5	Jasielski	166.4	166.0	162.3	
Srednia z całej dzielnicy			164.1	Krośniewski	166.6	165.0	—	
Bieskidy zachodnie.								
Żywiecki	166.5	166.8	161.3		167.5	165.0	162.3	
Srednia z całej dzielnicy			164.3	Srednia z całej dzielnicy			164.9	
Podhale.								
Nowotarski	166.5	164.6	164.1	Bieskidy wschodnie.				
Srednia z całej dzielnicy			165.0	Myślenicki	166.8	162.4	164.0	
				Nowosąd.	167.3	164.0	167.0	
				Limanow.	165.3	164.1	165.0	
					166.1	163.5	165.3	
				Srednia z całej dzielnicy			165.1	

Wykaz ten, podobnie jak przy badaniu całego kraju, uzupełniam dodaniem ilości osób, przypadającej w każdej dzielnicy na różne wielkości wzrostu, przyczem wszelako dla lepszego uwydatnienia ludności górskiej, Górali Żywieckich łączę z Nowotarskimi.

V.

Wzrost w cm.	Podg. zach.		Podg. wsch.		Równiny		Niziny		Góry	
	osób		osób		osób		osób		osób	
	rzeczy- wista	na 1000								
140-49	6	25.3	2	6.8			1	16.9	5	18.0
150-54	12	50.6	4	13.6	11	49.4	3	50.8	12	43.2
155-59	34	143.5	29	98.7	27	118.9	8	135.6	19	68.3
160-64	101	426.2	76	258.5	72	317.2	19	322.0	65	233.8
165-69	55	232.0	110	374.1	73	321.6	15	254.4	103	370.5
170-74	24	101.2	56	190.5	30	132.2	9	152.6	56	201.4
175-79	4	16.9	17	57.8	14	61.7	4	67.7	6	21.6
180 -	1	4.3							12	43.2
suma	237	1000	294	1000	227	1000	59	1000	278	1000

Fig. 3.1 As nineteenth-century anthropologists tested increasing numbers of subjects, their works filled up with measurement lists (Majer and Kopernicki 1885: 8).

...the two archaeologists got up a little dispute about the relative size and shape of their own heads, which I was called in to settle with the callipers. The unsuspecting Irishmen usually entered keenly into the debate, and before the little drama had been finished were eagerly betting on the sizes of

their own heads and begging to have their wagers determined in the same manner.³⁹

Interwar serologists continued to manipulate test subjects, marketing blood tests to English soldiers as scientific research, to the French as checking ‘with whom they could sin with impunity’ and to ‘the Negroes’ as showing ‘who deserved leave; immediately, they willingly stretched out their black hands to us’.⁴⁰

Description Versus Quantification

The choice to study selected crania or masses of living people depended partly on a wider competition between descriptive and quantitative approaches to modern science. The inexorable rise of quantitative natural science methods was in chronic tension with the interpretative, conjectural and descriptive traditions of human science represented by Blumenbach’s ‘methodical description’ of the cranium.⁴¹ Influenced by the spectacular discoveries and technological achievements of physics and chemistry, scientists from the late eighteenth century increasingly located the essence of science in meticulous quantification and parsimonious governing laws.⁴² In 1840–1861, classifiers established the more systematically quantitative core techniques of race craniology, building on comparative anatomy and the often impressionistic observations of ethnologists.⁴³ Requiring compatible measures to create a broad comparative framework, craniologists ‘unanimously’ adopted Anders Retzius’s easily-measured 1840 distinction between long (dolichocephalic) and broad (brachycephalic) skulls, as seen from above, which differentiated European cranial races for the first time.⁴⁴ Skulls whose breadth was over 80 % of their length were brachycephalic.⁴⁵ In this ‘Platonic’ or ‘Gallilean’ tradition, precise anthropometry⁴⁶ gave race anthropology scientific status.⁴⁷

The primary form of quantitative research in positivist anthropology, and generally in science east of the Rhine, was ‘Baconian’ induction. This emphasised the steady cooperative accumulation of statistical data by a scientific community and frowned on speculative theorising and any ‘premature’ conclusions, politically useful or otherwise.⁴⁸ These characteristics made it ideal for ‘social cohesion among scientists’. Its ‘radical... empiricism’ meanwhile associated it with liberalism and opposed the speculative ‘monkey doctrine’ of evolution. Nineteenth-century British scholarship by contrast preferred the comparative method of ranking peoples on the ladder of civilisation, and was noticeably more political and popular in style.⁴⁹

Quantitative methods spearheaded a wider shift in the study of humanity from the humanist tradition of examining the best in history, philosophy and the arts, in order to emulate them, to the dispassionate stance of a natural scientific observer. Zimmerman attributes this change in anthropology to their greater interest in newly conquered non-Europeans, who were not considered worth emulating.⁵⁰ This historiographical focus on colonial anthropology however masks European race classification's continuous engagement with the humanist project of European nationalism, or 'knowing oneself', as Manias puts it.⁵¹ Anthropology therefore also sought a different form of knowledge in medicine and linguistics, the most successful scholarly practitioners of the alternative 'Aristotelian' tradition, in which experienced observers used refined senses and subconscious knowledge to interpret by signs and conjecture.⁵² Twentieth-century anthropologists even spoke of 'race diagnosis'. Carlo Ginzburg traces this tradition in history, art criticism, palaeontology and philology from hunters, soothsayers and physicians, seeking hidden realities in animal tracks, entrails or symptoms.⁵³

In this non-metric, 'Aristotelian' description, Blumenbach, Edwards, Retzius and Pruner-Bey lined up rows of skulls from longest to broadest, and sought the most distinct features which formed 'more or less considerable groups', while ignoring variations within these.⁵⁴ They claimed that after 'precise examination', pure, uniform racial skull types, with different basic architectures, 'spring at once to the eye'. Quantifications like 'Broca's minute subdivision' of the cephalic index into 'mere arithmetical' categories were therefore atomistic, reductive oversimplifications, which 'wholly distorted and misapplied' Retzius's scheme of 'typical' skull shapes.⁵⁵ Retzius linked descriptive characteristics together, noting that long skulls were often low. His brachycephalic-dolichocephalic key was an apologetic and deliberately imprecise recourse to quantification. Right into interwar raciology, classifiers combined measurement with a 'more traditionally holistic conception'.⁵⁶ Judgement by eye flattered the morphologist's skill, experience and intuitive 'sensitivity... to "national" differences'. Comparable anthropometric results therefore required 'an unbroken line' of demonstrators, physically passing on the practical craft of measurement.⁵⁷

Earlier race taxonomies generally picked one feature (e.g. language, skull shape) for primary classification, another for sub-races, and so on. Especially before 1850, but even after 1918, classifiers ordered taxonomic traits intuitively, choosing those that corresponded geographically with

one another or, like facial shape and features, were popularly seen as race signs.⁵⁸ One 1933 race scheme stressed the trait ‘that strikes us most violently’, such as hair colour for his blonde race.⁵⁹

Fossil skulls supported the primacy of craniology in anthropology, as a true racial hereditary factor, over observation of supposedly ephemeral features of the living, like stature and pigmentation.⁶⁰ From the late eighteenth century until mass surveys of living Europeans began in the 1870s, anthropologists theorised relations among European nations, taught and publicised their theories by arranging series of skulls and skeletons in museum collections.⁶¹ Major nineteenth-century classification treatises such as *Crania ethnica* and *Crania britannica* were museum skull catalogues. One result was to intensify anthropology’s biological bias. In France until about 1900 at least, opposition to monogenist cultural ethnography encouraged the concentration on skilled, time-consuming laboratory measurement of selected dead crania, using expensive equipment (see Fig. 3.2). From the 1840s to about 1900 therefore, long rows of craniological measurements absolutely dominated French anthropology, supplemented by body and pigmentation measurements.⁶² Measurement was so synonymous with craniology that Galton only borrowed the French term anthropometry into English in the late nineteenth century.⁶³

However Beddoe’s measurements from 1846 of eye and hair colour, using his index of nigrescence, helped inspire enormous schoolchild surveys by Virchow and others in central Europe.⁶⁴ Broca in 1859 launched a vogue for surveying the stature of military recruits, which culminated in Deniker’s comprehensive 1908 European stature map.⁶⁵ Mass surveys of the living shifted attention from the craniological historical record, previously ‘fundamental’ to race classification, to features like pigmentation and stature.⁶⁶

Especially after the 1850s–1860s recognition that most individuals were mixed-race, mathematical analysis helped tease out racial factors among Europe’s hyper-subtle physical variations. As mass surveys multiplied, quantitative measures and standardised mechanistic statistical techniques facilitated data gathering by inexperienced students and local doctors.⁶⁷ Broca, Beddoe and others made massively influential efforts to improve measuring instruments and quantitative methods, increasing accuracy, speed and comparability.⁶⁸ Broca dismissed descriptive craniology, using selected rather than random crania to identify pure types, as ‘artistic’ and subjective.⁶⁹ To make ‘craniometry a mathematical science’, he converted Retzius’s breadth-length proportion in 1861 into the numerical cephalic

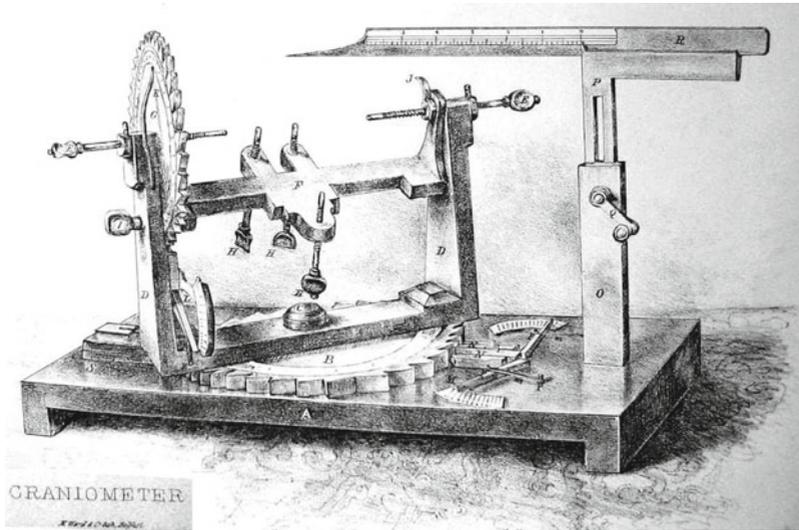


Fig. 3.2 Skull-measuring device (Grattan 1853: 202).

index, which became the central craniological trait for a century of physical anthropology, and added an intermediate *mesocephalic* category, between brachycephaly and dolichocephaly.⁷⁰

However even Gallilean anthropologists were reluctant to dissolve politically useful distinct types into graduated scales. They therefore usually assumed that the extremes of numerical measurement scales represented pure original race types, and that ‘intermediate’ hair colours or skull shapes denoted hybrids.⁷¹ They regularly dismissed contrasting eye and hair tones as ‘discordant’ signs of race mixing. These assumptions were used methodologically, for example, to ‘exclusively’ measure supposedly pure-race subjects, while ignoring apparent crossbreeds.⁷²

In the 1860s, Broca successfully promoted his simplified, measurement-centred race classification against Pruner-Bey’s increasingly desperate defence of the old holistic ethnology.⁷³ Proposed descriptive schemes like Pruner-Bey’s ethnic skull circumference shapes (e.g. the oval Indo-European) or Giuseppe Sergi’s similar 1890s taxonomy made little impact.⁷⁴

Faced with mounting evidence against the absolute fixity of any physical feature, twentieth-century classifiers developed population-specific

hierarchies of taxonomic criteria.⁷⁵ One population might be divided first by pigmentation and then cephalic index, and another by the reverse. Raciologists used the new statistical science to identify groups of traits which bunched together in nature as Mendelian genotypes, and then used these in race diagnosis.⁷⁶ They usually measured a limited number of body parts, divided the resulting indices into sections (e.g. dolichocephalic, mesocephalic, brachycephalic), which were identified as racial factors, and then combined the groups resulting from different indices to identify racial groups. Race scientists thus became pioneers of modern statistical science. Karl Pearson's turn-of-the-century biometric school in London fed the endless numerical tables of positivist anthropometric research through complex formulae.⁷⁷ Though rejected by leading contemporaries as arbitrary and artificial, the innovative statistical typologies of Kollmann (1881), Sergi (1892) and Ivanovsky (1904) anticipated the rise of racial correlation studies after 1910.⁷⁸ Inspired by Mendelian mathematics, twentieth-century raciology turned progressively towards mechanical measurement and statistical virtuosity and rejected descriptive features that impeded comparability.⁷⁹

However, the political need for race history, disputes over measuring techniques and the complex organic study subject all impeded quantification. Quatrefages (1878), Topinard (1888), Deniker and influential interwar raciologists like Eickstedt all advocated 'skilful combination' of metric with descriptive 'morphological features', often adding factors like history, geography, race psychology and 'even' racial worth.⁸⁰ Eclectic race history sources and the rarity of prehistoric evidence especially encouraged description. Eickstedt's student Olga Necrasov demanded very large-scale surveys of the living and avoided non-anthropometric data, but made sweeping deductions about early Romanian race history from a single arrowhead.⁸¹

Without computers meanwhile, statistical analysis often involved identifying patterns by eye in graphic representations of data. In 'seriation', a technique already used in the 1850s, researchers teased out races cohabiting in one population as separate peaks on a graph of a measured feature.⁸² Deniker very influentially promoted the technique of superimposing distribution maps of different physical traits to find regions where traits matched up.⁸³ Only six of 27 mathematically possible combinations of traits stood out 'cleanly' on his European map, proving for Deniker 'the undoubted existence of distinct races'⁸⁴ (see Map 5.2).

Statistical virtuosity was crowned by the baroque maths of Czekanowski's Lwów School, which pioneered cluster analysis and applied its statistical tools to ethnography, linguistics, experimental psychology and economics as well as raciology.⁸⁵ Lwów raised 'physical anthropology to... an exact' 'natural science' by deriving races, 'just like chemical elements', from precise and mechanical 'scientific analyses'.⁸⁶ Czekanowski presented this as an objective direct route to natural phenomena. His widely-criticised races were therefore underlying genetic forms that largely coincided with 'well-known types' 'intuitively' identified by traditional researchers⁸⁷ (see Fig. 3.3). More descriptivist classifiers criticised his system as unnaturally pat, regular, stiff and mathematical, but also 'clearly subjective', for example in measurement ranges that arbitrarily divided the continuum of natural diversity.⁸⁸

Even Lwów statisticians however used correspondence with descriptive features to confirm their types were valid and employed visual interpretation in their statistical analyses.⁸⁹ They transformed numerical tables into grids of shaded boxes, and in a tricky procedure resembling 'a game of chess', swapped around lines and columns to create blocs of dark shading⁹⁰ (see Fig 3.4). Grids of circles, hexagons, squares and triangles, rep-

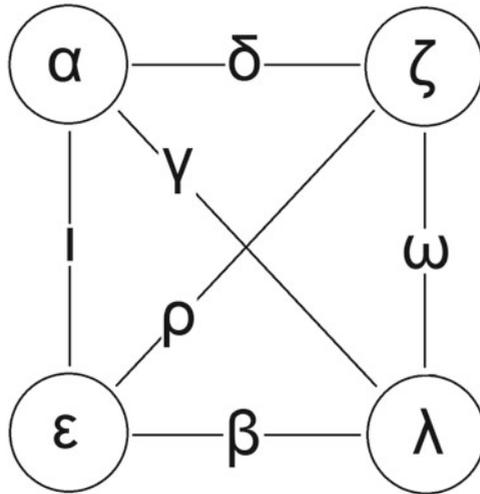


Fig. 3.3 Czekanowski's (1928b) European race scheme.

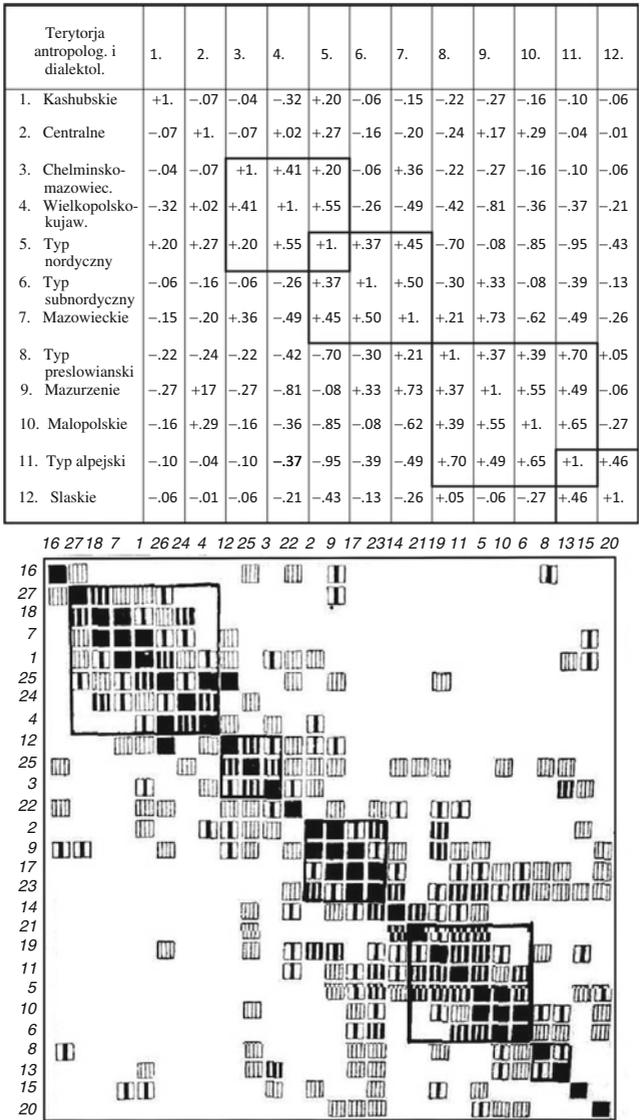


Fig. 3.4 The Lwów School’s two-part graphic analysis method (Czekanowski 1928a: 432; Klimek 1934: 65).

resenting particular trait ranges, meanwhile became the graphic signature of the rival Cracow school.⁹¹

A POLITICAL SCIENCE

From 1830s ethnology to interwar raciology, race classifiers interpreted the modern distribution of physical types as national racial communities of blood, history and destiny. This service to nationalism, a secular religion in which these communities claimed ultimate loyalty, locked biology in an uneasy coupling with history and linguistics. Race was a conceptual glue, bonding together language, culture, race psychology and nationality.⁹² A cultural environment of romantic ethnic nationalism, overseas imperialism and classical education influenced most scholars and educated Europeans from the late Enlightenment to the mid-twentieth century, to view nations and often classes as distinct biological groups, with inherited physical and psychological traits.⁹³ Surging interest in the ancestry of European peoples was central to romanticism, especially in Germany, initially relying on language and historical accounts.⁹⁴ The politically momentous Aryan theory for example arose from linguistics.⁹⁵ Historians like the Thierry brothers and internationally popular Napoleonic-period British novelists like Walter Scott helped inspire a general educated mid-nineteenth century belief that modern nations or social classes descended biologically from tribes like the Gauls, Goths and Anglo-Saxons, which were mentioned in classical texts.⁹⁶

Into the 1830s, even ‘zoologists and anatomists’ slotted their evidence into culture-based race theories or traditional classifications like that of Noah’s sons, and rarely used craniology to classify Europeans.⁹⁷ However Auguste Comte’s positivism helped shift views of humans from ‘primarily social’ to ‘primarily biological’, following natural scientific laws.⁹⁸ Ethno-linguistic races became ‘distinct’, immutable, separately created (poly-genic), immortal ‘essences’.⁹⁹

In the 1820s–1830s, French medical doctors like Edwards created composite ethno-biological races by linking antiquarian historical, linguistic and moral study of European national ancestor tribes with the scientific authority of Linnaean taxonomy and comparative anatomy.¹⁰⁰ These scholars appropriated an important socio-political role by demonstrating the prestigious antiquity, natural-scientific legitimacy and racial purity of nations and classes. Linking races and nations via national ancestor tribes therefore remained crucial to the central tradition. The 1860s ethnologist

J. Park Harrison thus aimed to distinguish ‘Jutes, Frisians, and Saxons’ among modern English people¹⁰¹ and as late as 1920, the anthropologist Eugène Pittard claimed that Dacian ancestors placed Romanians among the earliest inhabitants of their region.¹⁰²

Naturalists expanded the meaning of race from the almost purely physicalist Blumenbach (1795), to Prichard (1813), who added psychological instincts and Knox (1850), who admitted ‘customs, laws and manners’.¹⁰³ Demonstrating (pre)historical descent of nations from ancient peoples by comparing physical and, increasingly, cultural traits, required methodological eclecticism.¹⁰⁴ From Edwards on, classifiers systematically combined anthropometric, geographical, folkloric, archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence, including local traditions, legends, religions, names and ancient sagas, in a single racial matrix.¹⁰⁵ Early nineteenth-century ethnological race schemes erased the already blurred eighteenth-century distinction between physical and ethno-cultural taxonomies.¹⁰⁶ They subdivided larger geographical or biological categories, like Europe’s Caucasians, into multiple ethnic or regional races, defined by language and named after peoples from classical texts¹⁰⁷ (see Fig. 3.5 and Map 5.1). One 1825 scheme identified Scythian, Caucasian, Semitic, and Atlantic White species, with further sub-races.¹⁰⁸ Retzius began dividing Caucasians into craniological races in 1840, but for another twenty years, craniological taxonomies continued to be subdivided by ethnicity.¹⁰⁹

The following four subsections each examine elements of the central tradition that were vital to maintaining race classification’s political usefulness.

1. *Fixed races*

The essence of classification’s central tradition, supporting a romantic nationalist stress on permanently ‘fixed and original races’,¹¹⁰ was the polygenist claim that human races were created separately. It survived at the heart of anthropology ‘well into the early twentieth century’. The monogenists by contrast, stronger in London than Paris, sought links between the world’s peoples to prove their common humanity, and failed to decisively opt for physical classification criteria. In Prichard’s Christian and Enlightenment¹¹¹ assumption of a creation in 4004 BC, language groups like the Indo-Europeans were pure biological races, reliably inheriting languages since Babel and the sons of Noah, while physical type adapted rapidly to the environment.¹¹² Tropical climates made Europeans ‘languid

Races blanches ou pouvant être regardées comme telles.

TRONC.	BRANCHES.	RAMEAUX.	FAMILLES.	GROUPES.	EXEMPLES.	
BLANC OU CAUCA- SIQUE.	ALLO- PHYLE.	Fossile	Canstadienne		r. de Canstadt.	
			Magnonienne		r. de Cro-Magnon.	
		Canarien	Asiatico- américain.	Tchetko	{ Tchouktschi	Tchouktschis.
				Golouche	{ Korïaque	Tchougatchis.
		Aïno	Japonais			Aïnos.
				Américain		Ekogmuts.
		Sinique	Malais			Kubus.
				Hindou		Todas.
		Indonésien	Philippin			Miao-Tsés
				Sondanais		Manobos.
	Caucasien	Polynésien			Dayaks.	
			Géorgienne		Taïtiens.	
	Euskarien	Basquaise			Mingréliens.	
			Tcherkesse		Adighés.	
	FIN- NIQUE.	Fossile	Basquaise	{ Guïpuscoan	Basques espagnols.	
			Labourdain	{ Belge	Basques français.	
		Franco-Belge	Truchérienne		{ Français	r. de Furfooz.
						r. de Grenelle.
		Finnois	Sabmi		{ Boréal	r. de la Truchère.
					{ Méridional	Lapons.
Esthonienne		Finnoise			Dauphinois.	
				{ Finlandais	Esthoniens.	
Sémitique		Libyen	Chaldéenne		Tavastlandais.	
				Arabe	{ Ostiaque	Votiaks.
Sémitique	Libyen	Arabe		Hébreux.		
			Amara	{ Himyarite	Yéméniens.	
Sémitique	Libyen	Égyptienne		Arabes.		
			Erythréenne		Abyssins.	
Sémitique	Libyen	Amazyg		Égyptiens.		
					Bicharis.	
Sémitique	Libyen	Amazyg		Berbère		
					Kabyles.	
Sémitique	Libyen	Amazyg		Imouchar		
					Touaregs.	
Sémitique	Libyen	Amazyg		T. montagnards.		
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Rhénan		
					Allemands du Sud.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Gaulois		
					Auvergnats.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Esclavon		
					Serbes.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Russe		
					Moscovites.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Mamogi		
					Siapochs.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Hindoue		
					Hindous.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Persan		
					Guèbres.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Afghan		
					Yusufsais.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Hellène		
					Grecs.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Germaine		
					Suédois.	
ARYANE.	Pamiro- Européen.	Tadjik		Allemand		
					Allemands du Nord.	

Fig. 3.5 Typical ethnological taxonomy, subdividing a physical type into language families and then into nations (Quatrefages 1889: 456).

and indolent', the sun blackened Africans but civilisation transmuted them into pale Europeans, and endlessly chewing 'half-boiled potatoes "with the bones in them"' gave Irish peasants their 'prognathous features'.¹¹³

Polygenism, which privileged biological race, emerged in the sixteenth century, supported by theories that Native Americans were pre-Adamites, created before Adam.¹¹⁴ Napoleon's Egyptian expedition then discovered 4000 year-old images, showing modern-looking races just centuries after Noah's flood.¹¹⁵ Polygenists reasoned that these must have been created different. The failure of old world animals and colonists to transmogrify in America, and the perceived stability of the Jewish nose from ancient and Renaissance representations supported this theory.¹¹⁶ Edwards's conviction 'that human physiognomy was impervious' to environmental action, was the foundation of French anthropology until 1900.¹¹⁷ Edwards saw physical characteristics as 'deeper... surer' and more permanent than language or culture.¹¹⁸

Ethnology's search for originally pure national race types among hybrid modern peoples was therefore a polygenist project.¹¹⁹ Like romantic nationalist folklorists, trying to reconstruct ancient customs from current peasant practices, ethnologists conflated 'the archaic and the primitive'.¹²⁰ They identified pure 'primordial' race types from ancient skulls or urgently salvaged them from isolated, inbred highland and island peasants, far from paths of 'foreign' migration, commerce and race mixture.¹²¹ A common assumption throughout race classification was that repeated conquests made 'the fat plains' and valleys racially mixed, leaving 'the hungry mountains to the vanquished'.¹²² Broca sampled from villages of remarkably pure-blooded Celts, with distinct 'moral characters', who 'almost never marry outside their parish', have neither in history nor tradition 'any hint of... foreign' settlement and even in medieval times pursued a lively rivalry.¹²³

French polygenism directly influenced the 1839 race scheme of the American polygenist Morton and even 'most French monogenists' accepted Edwards's historically stable and unequal races in order to participate in the polygenist race classification and history project.¹²⁴ Monogenist *Muséum* medical professors, like Quatrefages, were therefore prominent in the Ethnological Society.¹²⁵ From the 1810s, monogenists reformulated their belief in degeneration from an original common race form by exploiting Kant's 1775 argument that 'the great primary races' formed once and for all when very ancient humans were uniquely susceptible to mutation by climate. Even the English monogenist Prichard saw physi-

cal characteristics as important racial evidence, because diverging human groups often retained ‘considerable remains of the original type’.¹²⁶ To avoid friction with monogenist colleagues meanwhile, Broca promoted the term ‘race’ rather than monogenist ‘variety’ or polygenist ‘species’.¹²⁷

Especially from the 1860s, the mostly medically trained anthropologists generally assumed that environmental influences on physical type were ‘nothing, beside... racial origin’,¹²⁸ noting for example that Eskimos failed to turn blonde like European northerners.¹²⁹ ‘Linguistic and cultural’ explanations were ritualistically considered and dismissed as mere ‘auxiliary indications in the search for the origins... migrations and relationships’ of ‘peoples’.¹³⁰ They made fixity their key criterion for choosing taxonomic traits, invalidating features influenced by environmental factors like nutrition. Skeletal characteristics were praised for their ‘eternal tendency... to keep together in indissoluble groups’ ‘despite interbreeding’.¹³¹

While monogenists took the infinite gradations of physical type as proof of human unity, polygenists explained this by racial inter-breeding, ‘the main factor’ forming new races.¹³² Gregor Mendel’s seminal 1866 paper on genetics was too mathematical to make any impact before 1900. Instead, vague racial heredity mechanisms, backed by unsourced allusions to animal breeding, allowed imaginative construction of racial family trees.¹³³ Broca for example explained that races mixed unequally rather than ‘like liquids’, often producing counter-intuitive consequences like a shorter hybrid of two tall races.¹³⁴ Beddoe proposed that interbreeding with dark-haired natives could have made British settlers in Ireland blonder.¹³⁵ It destabilised their racial heritage, leaving them susceptible to bleaching by the ‘cool, damp and sunless’ local climate. Interwar raciologists attributed hybrid traits that matched neither parent to ‘recessive hereditary structures [*Erbanlage*]’.¹³⁶

The politically useful polygenist race model adapted with astonishing agility to two scientific breakthroughs that ‘fundamentally’ transformed anthropology, eliminating Anglophone polygenism and weakening the continental variant.¹³⁷ In 1858, British and French geological strata containing extinct animal relics confirmed that humanoid remains greatly predated biblical chronologies.¹³⁸ Geologists, archaeologists and anthropologists raced to unearth fossil humanoids throughout Europe.¹³⁹ Archaeologists had already used the Stone-Bronze-Iron Age periodisation of the 1820s–1830s to start linking pre-historic sites and artefacts with ethnic groups.¹⁴⁰ By the 1860s however, rapidly expanding prehistoric archaeology data became central to anthropological classification.

Anthropologists used physical types to extend national histories back from modern populations to Palaeolithic ‘fossil races’ like Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon.¹⁴¹ They identified ethnic physiognomy from both ancient skeletons and supposed descendent populations. Archaeologists for example spoke of Stone-Age ‘Germans’ and anthropologists identified Celtic archaeological sites on the basis of both long skulls and bronze implements. Anthropologists continuously disputed the physical, linguistic and mental traits, migration routes and subdivisions of ancient peoples, asking for example whether ‘Britons were really Celts,’ and whether the Saxons exterminated or ‘mixed their blood with them’.¹⁴²

This ‘revolution in time’ gave environmentally influenced evolution a workable timescale. In 1859, Darwin’s natural selection provided a mechanism of monogenic biological change, while the American Civil War eliminated the pro-polygenist political programme of slavery.¹⁴³ After initial suspicions, race classifiers mostly accepted a superficial understanding of evolution, inserting evolved types, as radically distinct and separate as polygenist races, straight into ‘their former methodology’.¹⁴⁴ The point when races diverged simply receded thousands of years before Biblical creation, while evolutionary progress provided a useful new scientific rationale for race hierarchies. This did not necessarily undermine the ‘biological basis for national difference’, as Mandler claims,¹⁴⁵ because anthropology’s national race concept extended national origins deep into prehistory. Social Darwinists like Alfred Russel Wallace and Haeckel and some leading British anthropologists even advanced the superbly polygenist position that races evolved to become human separately and subsequently remained almost fixed.¹⁴⁶

2. Geopolitical races

National identities were constructed, as Lafferton argues, in contrast with ‘internal’ others such as ethnic minorities and the lower classes.¹⁴⁷ However colonial subjects were not the only ‘external’ others, as historians of race anthropology, such as Zimmerman,¹⁴⁸ imply. In a process the nationalism scholar Liah Greenfeld calls *ressentiment*, rival Western powers very often defined themselves in contrast with one another.¹⁴⁹ Since the early 1990s, this has become central to the historiography of national British identity.¹⁵⁰ In France meanwhile, Carole Reynaud-Paligot argues that the decline of noble power after 1848 and subsequent challenges

by Britain and Prussia shifted the focus of Celtic racial identity narratives from class struggle to geopolitics.¹⁵¹

The projection of national histories into prehistory was therefore combined with two other traditions to make prehistoric peoples into distinct, coherent, self-contained and unified political actors in an eternal geopolitical drama. While philosophy's strong natural history tradition conceptualised societies as comparable organisms, with typical life stages,¹⁵² classical authors understood history as centring around tribal migrations and conflicts. Ancient tribes could thus be migrating early forms of modern nations. Right up into interwar raciology, this remained anthropology's key to interpreting racial and cultural diversity.¹⁵³ A race archaeology account of defeated ancient Illyrians withdrawing to 'compatriots on the Adriatic', for example assumed ethnic consciousness and political unity.¹⁵⁴ Interpreting classical authors literally, ethnologists often represented hordes of 'primitive peoples as pushing one another' across the map like 'flocks of sheep' or physical bodies, subject to momentum, inertia and collision.¹⁵⁵

As coherent actors, races needed discrete geographical territories like those of nations. Anthropologists therefore regularly dismissed 'irrational', artificial geographies that scattered and intermixed races across Europe.¹⁵⁶ Rational geographies became central to racial origins and characteristics. After early nineteenth-century biologists like Agassiz located races within ecological 'space-life-units', positivist anthropologists adapted polygenism to Darwinian evolution by arguing that original pure races formed through geographic isolation and slow adaptation to local environmental conditions.¹⁵⁷ Drawing on Ratzel, several twentieth-century classifiers, including Eickstedt, elaborated this isolation theory, often claiming that original homelands conditioned racial psychology and optimal living environments for a race's reproductive and cultural success.¹⁵⁸ Ripley for example linked his races to northern and southern European climatic and geographical zones.¹⁵⁹ Race migrations were judged defensive or aggressive by whether they led into racially appropriate terrain.¹⁶⁰ Eickstedt and others identified 'a dynamic system' of ecological zones in which successively improved Eurasian races drove darker, inferior predecessors into Africa, India and Australia.

Amid the tensions of *fin-de-siècle* society and international relations, social Darwinist racial interpretations were 'omnipresent' in 'European higher culture', infusing eugenics, the anthropogeographer Ratzel's geopolitical *Lebensraum* concept and the new right-wing Nordicist anthropol-

ogy.¹⁶¹ From 1906, Haeckel, echoing Nietzsche, criticised Christianity's debilitating pacifism and individualism.¹⁶² Craniology meanwhile revealed interracial conflicts such as 'centuries' of 'hardly perceptible' brachydolichocephal 'struggle'.¹⁶³ Lapouge was...

...convinced that in the next century people will slaughter each other by the million because of a difference of a degree or two in the cephalic index... which has replaced the Biblical shibboleth and linguistic affinities... the last sentimentalists will be able to witness the most massive extermination of peoples.¹⁶⁴

Eickstedt, a relative moderate in German raciology, combined Ratzel's anthropogeography with Haeckel's social Darwinism, reducing 'all race history... to just one formula:'

Struggle and victory of the faster development of the higher, biologically more valuable races of the north against the slower development, against the backward, less efficient races—Higher against lower, Worth against worthlessness! This struggle goes on.¹⁶⁵

Though classifiers mainly associated these struggling races with nations, a second important political link, especially for twentieth-century Nordacists, was the 'social racial struggle'.¹⁶⁶ Aristocrats had long attributed distinct ethnic racial origins to social classes,¹⁶⁷ which hierarchically-minded romantics then embellished with psychological traits.¹⁶⁸ Industrial urbanisation and shocks like the 1848 revolution further encouraged Europe's bourgeoisie to theorise themselves as racially separate from manual labourers.¹⁶⁹ The 1890s anthroposociologists, led by Lapouge and Ammon, made Nordacist class racism more scientific, demonstrating statistically that high social class and academic performance correlated with the physical features of Nordics and other high-value races.¹⁷⁰

3. *Race psychology and superiority*

Classifiers theorised that the brain construction of races determined both the skull shape and the 'instincts, aptitudes, qualities and faults' and 'historical meaning' of peoples, such as their talent for conquest.¹⁷¹ This race psychology (a twentieth-century term) was a cornerstone of the hierarchical ordering of races by intelligence or leadership potential.¹⁷²

In a period of colonialism and American slavery, most ethnologists and lay people presumed races, including those in Europe, were mentally unequal.¹⁷³ Stephen J. Gould saw this ‘propensity for ordering complex variation as a gradual ascending scale’ as highly ‘pervasive in Western thought’.¹⁷⁴ France’s Saint-Simonian proto-socialists supported the Paris Ethnological Society for instance to help situate races ‘in the scale of civilization’.¹⁷⁵ One craniologist deduced ‘high endowments’ and noble aspirations from the ‘exceedingly thin, fine and delicately regular’ texture of one truly ‘noble skull’.¹⁷⁶ Superiority was also inferred from anecdotal stereotypes, physical beauty, race history accounts and association with high prestige categories such as European, White or the home nation. Later classifiers identified evolutionarily advanced features and used IQ testing. Anthrotopology turned Galton’s programme of correlating anthropometric and socio-economic statistics into an enduring staple of race classification. Researchers found that different races were predisposed to different crimes for example.¹⁷⁷

The leading French historian of anthropology, Claude Blanckaert, traces the concept of racialised ethnic character to the sixteenth century, and sees its early nineteenth-century fusion with race classification as the foundation of modern race science.¹⁷⁸ In the 1830s–1840s ethnologists applied prevailing fashions for ‘scientific method’ and ‘organicism’ to a pan-European romantic obsession with racial stereotypes of national character.¹⁷⁹ This was stimulated by Herder, concepts of *Volksgeist* (national spirit)¹⁸⁰ and Wilhelm von Humboldt’s proposed comparative *Nationalcharakter* research into ‘traditions, customs, religion, language and art’.¹⁸¹

Scientific race psychology meanwhile emerged from the ancient Roman tradition of sanguineous, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic physiological ‘humours’, which linked ‘temperaments’ to bodily form, colouring and function.¹⁸² The French ‘expansive, eager Celtic nature’ was due to ‘more developed’ lungs while Germans had a ‘larger volume of intestines’.¹⁸³ Beddoe argued that ‘Calvinistic theology’ attracted melancholic temperaments.¹⁸⁴ Biologists stopped citing phrenology explicitly in the 1850s. Most however, including the neuro-anatomist Broca, accepted its ‘fundamental principle’ that brain areas had different functions, and that ‘*some*’ physical measurement would accurately indicate the ‘innate ability’ and ‘proper position’ of races on ‘the social scale’.¹⁸⁵

For 200 years, classifiers endlessly disputed the defining features of racial worth and mental difference by using the physical features of

women, children, apes and ‘lower’ human races as indices of lower intelligence and greater emotionality.¹⁸⁶ In 1791 Petrus Camper devised his facial angle by comparing ‘elevated and dignified... ancient statuary’ to the ‘stupidity’ of African and Kalmuk faces.¹⁸⁷ For Woltmann, ‘progressive growth of the forehead region’ characterised ‘development from dog to ape, Australian, Negro up to the Aryan’ apex ‘of organic development’.¹⁸⁸ Broca used ‘aptitude for civilisation’ to classify, and objected to Retzius combining Europeans and ‘abject’ Australian aborigines in his dolichocephalic category.¹⁸⁹ Because inferiors had more developed sense organs, the ratio of face to head size could be correlated with ‘intellectual’ versus ‘merely sensitive’ elements. Mid-nineteenth-century anthropologists identified dolichocephaly,¹⁹⁰ brachycephaly,¹⁹¹ skull volume (calculated by filling with seed), skull size and light pigmentation as superiority and intelligence indices.¹⁹² Proposed backward features included prognathism (lower-face protrusion) and long arms.¹⁹³ An Irish ethnologist suggested that skull sutures recorded ‘mental power’, as ‘intense cerebration acts almost mechanically on the brain-cap, tending by its throbbing to keep the frontal sutures free till late in life’.¹⁹⁴

Race psychologies drew on and ostensibly shaped history, creating natural social and international hierarchies. The ‘mores’, ‘manners, dispositions and capacities’ of modern peoples were racial traits, fixed since ‘remotest antiquity’.¹⁹⁵ Classical accounts of the freedom-loving, martial or creative personality, behaviour and historical roles of supposed national ancestor tribes, such as the innate Aryan ‘tendency’ to destroy ‘foreign and inferior’ races, were therefore used to interpret race histories.¹⁹⁶ Races needed a ‘natural’ aptitude to fruitfully assimilate ‘foreign’ cultures, so German tribes copied Greeks and Romans much more easily than Jewish culture.¹⁹⁷

Nineteenth-century philosophical ethnologists (see Chapter 2) ‘saw race as a key to historical explanation’, but used physical evidence rarely and extremely selectively.¹⁹⁸ They did however use national religions, politics, literature and philosophy to speculate on ethnic psychology. The literary critic Arnold believed he might legitimately ‘try my hand at’ judging ‘spiritual marks’ like the Teutonic or Celtic ‘genius’, which distinguished race types no less than skull shape.¹⁹⁹ A historian colleague of Retzius attributed Hans Christian Andersen’s ‘light and airy’ style to Celtic race vestiges in Scandinavia.²⁰⁰ Knox, though an anatomist, mostly discussed psycho-political race traits, noting for example that racial Celts ‘universally rejected the reformation’, while Saxons ‘as certainly adopted it’.²⁰¹ The

Kalevala epic suggested to certain anthropologists that ‘intellectual’ traits linked Finns with Aryans.²⁰² Many ethnologists and philologists imbued languages with inferiority and superiority, conditioning cultural thought and communication.²⁰³ One Celtic grammar feature indicated to Adolphe Pictet an ancient and precociously ‘very developed culture’, and its survival proved the ‘uncommon’ Celtic ‘vitality’.²⁰⁴

The ‘more or less systematic’ racism of ‘educated élites’ differed from ‘common-sense’ popular racism, unscientifically formulated in ‘stereotypes, ‘jokes’, insults and platitudes’.²⁰⁵ *Mein Kampf* appealed to ‘common sense’ prejudices, stating for example that it was ‘only natural’ for nature to forcefully oppose mating between species.²⁰⁶ However scientific race psychologists also enthusiastically exploited popular stereotypes. Beddoe based his class racism on both ‘instinct’ and statistical studies.²⁰⁷ ‘I believe you will find’, he wrote, that many ‘men with dark straight hair enter the ministry’ while ‘red-whiskered men’ like ‘sporting and horseflesh’.²⁰⁸ Knox sketched his sport-loving young Saxon, who ‘cannot sit still for an instant’, directly from the schoolyard.²⁰⁹ Günther stated in 1933 that from ‘thin narrow-faced’ and ‘stocky, wide-faced’ people, one ‘expects a different manner, behaviour and feeling’.²¹⁰ Race psychologists also used sources with a smidgeon more social authority, like the novelist, a ‘keen observer of his countrymen’, recognisable race types in paintings and cartoons and folk sayings in which ‘long-headed’ meant intelligent, while ‘square-skulls’ were stupid.²¹¹ Beginning with the frequent Enlightenment equation of beauty with racial superiority however, professional anthropologists increasingly criticised and abandoned these unsystematic sources and the nationalist conclusions they supported.²¹²

Though ‘nearly all’ anthropologists up to the late 1930s perceived racial differences in at least style of thinking, and ‘some linkage’ between physical and mental race features, they recognised that research remained in an unsatisfactory ‘subjective’, intuitive ‘infancy’, with no widely accepted methodology.²¹³ Detailed nineteenth-century research systematically demolished every race ranking measure.²¹⁴ After years in the colonies, one anatomist despaired of differentiating native from European brains.²¹⁵ Disassociating environmental and innate factors seemed impossible, psychology and physiognomy might not match in mixed-race individuals, and ‘social and political’ influences tainted even the best studies.²¹⁶ Rankings could also feel embarrassing, especially if applicable to colleagues. Anthropologists therefore regularly, if half-heartedly, insisted that features like prognathism, though associated with the working class or the

Irish, implied no ‘intellectual or moral inferiority’.²¹⁷ International race classification nevertheless reached an informal but enduring consensus on the mentalities of races, which Chapters 4–7 examine in detail.

4. *Evolution or degeneration?*

Mental ability, racial value and the progress of civilisation were tightly linked.²¹⁸ Though evolution reformed the medieval chain of being that polygenist classifiers like Morton and Broca had broken into discrete races of varying worth, and undermined the fixity of these races, it offered an invaluable hierarchical key.²¹⁹ This was a key impact of overseas colonialism on national(ist) classification of Europeans. Especially as overseas empires expanded from the 1860s, evolutionists and other ‘transformists’ throughout Europe animated the early nineteenth-century static race hierarchy with an active progression from ‘anthropoid ancestors’, via ‘savage tribes’ to modern civilised Westerners.²²⁰ Prominent brow-ridges became ‘a Simian characteristic’ of ‘Australians’, Neanderthals and ‘other savage races’.²²¹ French scientific materialists identified linear racial evolution in fields such as religion, giving certain races greater inherent aptitude for progress.²²²

As dehumanising World War One anthropological prisoner of war studies, the Nazis’ brutal eastern war and the Holocaust imported the racist ‘special rules’ of overseas colonial wars and genocide into Europe,²²³ classifiers increasingly slotted European peoples into this racist global evolutionary hierarchy.²²⁴ Procurement of anthropological material from Jews murdered in the Holocaust thus continued the practice ‘of soliciting body parts from... colonial prisons, hospitals, and concentration camps’.²²⁵ Nordicist classifiers generally accepted Haeckel’s evolutionary hierarchies of advanced and backward races.²²⁶ Drawing on 1890s genetic theories, most assumed an inexorable internal drive from simple to complex which repeatedly split more highly evolved branches from a conservative trunk.²²⁷ Eickstedt believed the Lapp body-shape and honest, patient and carefree nature were ‘typical... of all old strata of humanity’.²²⁸ Interwar raciologists distinguished European races ‘capable of further evolution’, like the Dinarics, from evolutionarily immature relatives like the Alpines, with their ‘childlike’, ‘soft’, ‘round’, ‘low and small’ features.²²⁹ Eickstedt’s textbooks therefore illustrated progressive Nordics with photographs of middle-aged men, and ‘infantile-primitive types’ with adolescent Asian girls.²³⁰

However right-wing neo-romantic race science remained torn between fear of degeneration and confidence in evolutionary progress and between conservative preservation of tradition and national industrial success. Linguistics became a battleground of this struggle. A powerful evolutionary superiority narrative linked cultural ‘advancement’ with linguistic ‘refinement’.²³¹ Darwinism and the prestige of Greek and Latin encouraged many philologists and anthropologists to presume that the suffix-rich languages of the ‘Caucasic’ races, with ‘the highest degrees of civilisation’, evolved from the pronouns and prepositions of more primitive languages.²³² However older regrets about linguistic degeneration from Latin, Greek or Hebrew, paralleling monogenist theories of degeneration from initial racial perfection, powerfully challenged evolutionary narratives.²³³ The ‘extravagant claims’ of patriotic early modern scholars traced their nations’ languages to Hebrew, Babel, Eden or even heaven.²³⁴

Conservative, anti-modern ethno-nationalism strongly favoured degeneration narratives. Nostalgic mid-nineteenth century urban middle classes and especially nationalist intellectuals idolised picturesque landscapes and peasants as links with an authentic past.²³⁵ Though anthropologists called Ireland’s Aran islanders ‘pure ancient stock’, ‘relics of... millenniums of savagery and barbarism’, they described them as ‘courteous’, healthy, ‘decidedly good-looking’, ‘very superior’ to mixed-race mainlanders, and so honest that those convicted of crimes would travel independently to be jailed on the mainland.²³⁶ Race anthropology’s methodological focus on supposed pure-race enclaves, whose dramatic romantic landscapes ensured local poverty and isolation, helped transform them into symbolic ethno-national heartlands (see Map 4.3).

Influenced by stock-breeding, social Darwinists above all feared ‘degeneration’, due to race-mixing, which the mid-nineteenth century aristocratic theorist Gobineau believed was inevitable, when virile races conquered inferiors.²³⁷ In 1883 therefore, Darwin’s cousin Francis Galton invented ‘eugenics’, a public social biology policy of controlling human breeding to prevent physically and morally depraved lower orders and decadent elites from destroying White civilisation.²³⁸ The Italian fascist race theorist Evola’s book, *Revolt against the Modern World*, similarly represented evolution in terms of physical degeneration from racial homogeneity.

THE STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN THE CENTRAL TRADITION

Classifiers had the difficult task of continuously adapting the requirements of the central tradition to increasingly rigorous, professionalising science. Romantic antiquarianism, ethnology, positivist mid-nineteenth-century anthropology and interwar raciology all introduced new evidence sources and methodologies. Crucially, they prised apart the initially straightforward equation of race with nation. This required complex new ideas of race mixture and ultimately contributed to the mid-twentieth century collapse of the race classification project.

The Legacy of Antiquarianism

Ethnologists and the antiquaries who preceded them had boundless confidence in ancient Greek and Roman texts, which remained central to education until the twentieth century.²³⁹ Up to the 1870s, classifiers cited classical observations. They adopted classical Mediterranean conceptions of history, centred around conflicts and migrations of peoples and tribes, and their attitudes towards ‘backward, bizarre, uncivilised, unchanging’ natives. Roman martial values like Tacitus’s praise for the ‘superior courage’ of Britons, ‘not yet enfeebled by long peace’, resonated with nineteenth-century militarism.²⁴⁰ Classifiers learned from Tacitus that Teutons were blue-eyed blonds and Knox cited Livy for his physical description of Saxons.²⁴¹ Antiquaries supplemented the classics with etymological comparison and artefact archaeology, and defined ‘peoples’ by language, ‘religion, manners... institutions’ and the political consciousness expressed by an ethnic name.²⁴² Like classical writers, they rarely referred to physical biology.

Ancient writers were however often frustratingly inaccurate, inconsistent, ambiguous, ignorant and exclusively interested in warrior elites.²⁴³ Classifiers often tried picking one especially reliable classical source, like Polybius or Caesar, but critics regularly carped that these choices were made to support nationalistic interpretations.²⁴⁴ Classical evidence was therefore largely abandoned by the late nineteenth century.²⁴⁵

Antiquaries’ obsession with etymology, comparing superficially similar word roots from languages they did not understand, while largely ignoring the grammar of word formation, proved equally disappointing.²⁴⁶ Leading antiquaries traced ‘all linguistic difference’ to the Tower of Babel and based elaborate ethnic histories on fewer than 200 words or on compari-

sons between Gaelic, Algonquin and Chinese.²⁴⁷ Here too, scholars constantly criticised one another for choosing etymologies that supported pet theories.²⁴⁸ The poet William Cowper mocked:

Those learned philologists who chase
A panting syllable through time and space,
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's Ark.²⁴⁹

Antiquarianism inspired historical novels, monuments, museums and the antiques trade, but more 'painstaking... rigorous and critical' new sciences of ethnology, archaeology and comparative linguistics commandeered its scholarly ethnic history project, leaving its ingenious speculations and 'Biblical/classical frame of reference' to eccentric amateurs.

Ethnologists nevertheless continued to eclectically study language, artefacts, mythology and customs.²⁵⁰ They used methods long abandoned by professional linguists and remained convinced that language almost always corresponded with race and that even when races changed their language, traces remained, for example in accent.²⁵¹ Edwards thus linked French dialect differences with racial differences among Celts.²⁵² As late as 1897, one ethnologist connected Ireland's shadowed, peaty river Finn to the Finnish Dwina, because *Fionn* means bright in Gaelic.²⁵³

Monogenism and Philology

The powerful new paradigm of comparative philology kept the etymologists' idea of parent languages, but replaced Hebrew with Indo-European as the original tongue.²⁵⁴ However most ethnologists just superficially assimilated philology's linguistic family trees.²⁵⁵ They were generalists, focussed on their ethnic subject matter rather than any one methodology. Certain monogenist philologists, like Prichard and Pruner-Bey, did nevertheless become leading ethnologists, promoting linguistic evidence, philological family trees that traced all humans to one source and rapid environmental influence on physical type.²⁵⁶ Despite some continuing ambiguities and imaginative reconstructions, they made the complex and immensely labour-intensive new philological method of systematically comparing grammar and structure by far ethnology's most reliable and scientific technique.²⁵⁷

Sound shift theory was philology’s great innovation, borrowing the Indian scholarly technique ‘of segmenting words into sounds and morphemes’.²⁵⁸ Philologists like Franz Bopp and Jacob Grimm demonstrated by 1816 that dialects and languages gradually diverged, because at particular historical moments, communities systematically changed their pronunciation of particular sounds²⁵⁹ (see Fig. 3.6). The proto-Indo-European */p/sound thus became */f/in Germanic languages, but passed unchanged into Latin and Sanskrit.²⁶⁰ Philologists identified sound shifts by comparing two languages’ vowel and consonant sounds for regular correspondences across vast numbers of words. Grammatical differences were linked to these shifts or to other plausible explanations. Philologists dated word borrowings by whether particular sound shifts affected a presumed original core vocabulary for feelings and ‘familiar objects and relations’.

Comparative linguistics was from the outset a ‘handmaiden’ to romantic ethno-racial history, ‘automatically’ equating language with nation and race.²⁶¹ While historians organised Saxons, Franks and Goths into ethnic families like the Teutons, philologists bundled Europe’s languages into ethno-linguistic families descended from conjectured ancestor languages, and reconstructed their origins, relations and migrations.²⁶² Philological

Sanskrit.	Persian.	Russian.	Greek.	Latin.	Welsh.	Erse.	Teutonic.
प—p	پ—p	П—p	π,	c, qu p, in the Oscan.	p	k or c	f
भ—bh ध—dh	ب—b د—d	В	φ, β θ	f	b∞v	b∞bh	f
च—ch id. id.	خ—kh چ—ch	Ч—ch	τ σσ, ττ ξ, ζ	c, qu c x	p g	k or c	f th
ज—j id.	ج—j	Ж—j	γ	g	g		k
श—sh id.	س—s	С—s	κ, χ κ, ξ	c s∞r	g	ch	h sch, S
ष—sh id.	ش—sh s—h	Ш—sh	κ, χ () ol. F	s, c v, f	ch, guttural h	s∞h f∞h	s h
स—s	s—h		() ol. σ () ol. F	s, c v, f	h gw cr w	s∞h f∞h	h

Fig. 3.6 Philological table of sound shifts (Prichard 2000: 64).

theory drew on Lamarck's 1809 theory of biological evolution and ethnologists welcomed philology's 'abrupt' race divisions, coherent racial family trees, and 'indispensable' data on ethnic relations and history.²⁶³

Expelling the Linguists

In the 1850s–1890s however, anthropology downgraded both linguistics and another ethnological staple, politicised philosophical ethnology. Like other professionalising social sciences at this time, it idealised the deliberately apolitical, objective 'dry positivism' of natural science and rejected patriotic inventiveness.²⁶⁴ As more comprehensive anthropometric data flooded in, physical anthropologists insisted on prioritising physical appearance over ethno-cultural race and rejected culturalist scholarship as not truly anthropological.²⁶⁵ From the 1860s onwards, they based their numerous 'orderly systems' of European primary and secondary races on taxonomic hierarchies of physical features alone.²⁶⁶ Most French anthropologists (including monogenists like Quatrefages), liberal Germans such as Virchow and Rudolf Martin, and the London anthropologists shared a common, biology-centred research programme of 'exact, empirical measurement' and 'factual evidence', using statistical demography, archaeological stratigraphy and especially craniology.²⁶⁷

Craniologists were determined to challenge linguistic race classification, whose influence was boosted by the vogue for Aryan theories and a powerful new biologism in linguistics after mid-century. Neogrammarian linguists portrayed languages 'as living organisms' and used sophisticated sound law analysis to reconstruct extinct tongues and, through their vocabularies for trees, crops, metals etc., even the culture and geography of ancient language communities.²⁶⁸ Though Retzius initially aligned skull-type with the Aryan theories of this 'more robust, more adult and better-fed' discipline, he systematically prioritised craniology when anthropometric and linguistic evidence repeatedly clashed during the 1840s–1850s.²⁶⁹ Ancient crania convinced him, like Edwards, that skull traits were permanent and fixed to ethnic groups.²⁷⁰ Unlike eclectic ethnology, craniology apparently offered classification a simple key.²⁷¹

Drawing on animal cross-breeding, positivist anthropologists argued that race-history research must concentrate on physical and mental traits, which unlike language, were reliably inherited.²⁷² They warned that linguistics, 'a beautiful and difficult science, born yesterday,' would inevitably favour linguistic over physical characteristics, and mocked

wild philological claims that, for example, Malay and Semitic were Indo-European.²⁷³ A French anthropologist noted that European Aryans physically resembled linguistically non-Aryan Arabs, Finns and Basques much more than Aryan Indians.²⁷⁴

To become a professional, autonomous, method-oriented specialisation like philology, Broca believed that scientific anthropology should generate its own independent terminology, using craniology rather than language to connect classical terms to physical types.²⁷⁵ This would avoid confused 'sterile debates' about archaeological or linguistic Celts, defined by incompatible criteria. Linguists allied to Broca agreed that terms like Celt and Gael were merely scientific conventions.²⁷⁶ Broca's school similarly criticised theories extrapolated from costume details, supposedly Celtic words or vague and confused (i.e. non-biological) classical references to blond Celts.²⁷⁷

In the 1860s, linguistically-oriented anthropologists like Pruner-Bey implacably defended the older ethnological complex of mutable physical type, descriptive craniology, monogenism and the treatment of language as an inalienable fixed point.²⁷⁸ However this theory had genocidal implications which gave opponents an important point of attack. If conquered peoples could not change languages, this meant that invaders must often have wiped them out, as many classical accounts claimed.²⁷⁹ Polygenists and craniologists from Edwards on that rejected this genocide theory because conquerors preferred 'slaves to cadavers', while extermination required 'a perseverance of cruelty and of rage which is scarcely in human nature'.²⁸⁰ Because locally adapted native populations therefore instead usually absorbed smaller groups of conquerors and their languages, language changes like the Latinisation of Gaul were generally gradual.²⁸¹ Genocide theorists countered that conquerors found native women repugnant and killed them, but Broca retorted that slight physical differences excited Aryan 'lust' for Europe's pre-Aryan native women.²⁸² His camp criticised Pruner-Bey's eclectic ethnology for combining incompatible evidence and selectively extrapolating from sketchy cultural clues.²⁸³

Linguists tried inserting language into the now dominant physical race paradigm. Pruner-Bey claimed pre-Roman races physically 'prepared' the mouth 'to mould Latin words'.²⁸⁴ A leading French linguist proposed that 'phonetic changes... constitute veritable illnesses'.²⁸⁵ By the 1870s however, Broca's allies in linguistics, confident of their own techniques, agreed with physical anthropologists that the two disciplines produced independently valid classifications.²⁸⁶ Biological classifiers nevertheless remained

conservative in habits. Though usually ignorant of philology, many still assumed that each biological race had its own language in the distant past and used linguistic evidence, like history, as an ‘indispensable’ subordinate ‘auxiliary’.²⁸⁷

Prising Ethnicity and Race Apart

Mid-nineteenth century scientific anthropology also purged from its ranks those political race theorists or philosophical ethnologists who were not natural scientists. They tolerated medical figures such as Knox and Woltmann, who translated Gobineau’s aristocratic ‘Nordicism’ into a more scientific idiom.²⁸⁸ However they rarely cited historians like Renan and the hugely popular psychologist Gustave Le Bon, though both were race and science-oriented Paris Anthropological Society members.²⁸⁹ One interwar scientist meanwhile complained that the popular historian H.G. Wells’s ignorant use of ‘racial terms’ was ‘enough to make an anthropologist shudder’.²⁹⁰

As Chapter 2 argued, increasing professionalisation since the 1860s had already been gradually drawing anthropologists and archaeologists away from the ethno-political project that united them.²⁹¹ Radicals like Knox were a minority after Britain’s anthropological and ethnological societies merged in 1871, while French and German anthropology barely tolerated Nordic supremacism. Only three leading German anthropologists joined the Pan-Germanicist archaeologist Kossinna in supporting Gobineau’s German translation in 1897.²⁹²

The abandonment of racially pure ethnic groups was a major threat to the national race concept. Anthropological research after 1840, and especially the 1870s mass-surveys, demolished Romantic period assumptions about ‘natural’ racial nations and convinced ‘almost all’ anthropologists by the early 1880s that modern nations were race mixtures.²⁹³ While ethnology studied ‘peoples’ or ‘nations’ therefore, late nineteenth-century classifiers sought their ‘ethnic elements’.²⁹⁴ Anthropologists increasingly divided Europeans into entirely biological races with non-ethnic names and criticised the misleading use of ethnic terms like Celtic and Germanic.²⁹⁵ Thomas Huxley’s 1870 scheme therefore put ‘our old friends the Aryans and Semites into his crucible and melted them away completely’.²⁹⁶

Positivist anthropologists initially argued that children ‘strictly’ followed either the father’s or mother’s race.²⁹⁷ Knox proposed in 1850 that ‘nature so abhorred hybrid races’, ‘of uncertain character’, that they soon either

‘die out... or return to the pure races’.²⁹⁸ Researchers could therefore classify prehistoric crania like Crô-Magnon within modern races.²⁹⁹ Empirical evidence soon also demolished mixed nations of largely pure-race individuals however. Virchow found that 54.15 % of Germans had ‘intermediate’ ‘mixed type’ and ultimately all anthropologists accepted that most modern Europeans were ‘multiple racial crosses’.³⁰⁰ Hybridisation created entirely new types or random ‘métis of all heights and all colours’, with ‘no solidarity’ between characteristics.³⁰¹

From the 1870s, terminology also gradually detached itself from ethnic associations.³⁰² Deniker introduced deliberately neutral new race names like Nordic and Dinaric in 1897³⁰³ and Ripley’s ‘Alpine’ came to universally replace the ethnic term ‘Celtic race’.³⁰⁴ Ethnic terminology now increasingly became a conspicuous oddity and the separation of race and ethnicity a scientific convention.³⁰⁵

Liberal positivists like Broca regularly condemned nationalism in science, but a subtle national bias persisted in their work. They researched national races and promoted national scientific prestige (including in size of skull collections).³⁰⁶ Their race histories and psychologies also generally favoured their own nations and national races. This was perhaps unconscious and was usually just one of multiple simultaneous motivations, but was fairly blatant nonetheless. Broca for example accepted that the French were a ‘racial mixture’ but made this a cause and manifestation of France’s civilisation, ‘superiority and mission’.³⁰⁷ Within this mixture, he ‘comforted French patriotism’ by attributing ‘the brilliant Celtic civilisation’ to the native brown brachycephalic majority.³⁰⁸ In a dispute with German anthropologists in the early 1860s, he found that brachycephalic brains were bigger than ‘Germanic’ dolichocephalic brains. Baconian apoliticism restrained the overt nationalism of central and eastern European contemporaries, but even this served Austrian, Russian, Polish and Hungarian nationalist interests.³⁰⁹ It avoided antagonising the ethnic minorities that were to be assimilated into their multi-ethnic states.

Ethnic groups were thus politically vital symbolic intermediaries between nation and race and allowed craniologists to construct interdisciplinary race classification alliances.³¹⁰ Anthropology therefore never quite realised its positivist objective of decisively detaching races from ethnicity and classifying them by observed physical traits alone.³¹¹ In 1885, the President of the United Kingdom’s anthropological society identified ‘language, social customs, traditions, religious beliefs, and... intellectual and moral attitudes’ as useful auxiliaries to ‘anatomical’ race classification

traits.³¹² In 1920, the Swiss anthropologist Pittard still expected Romanian speakers in different countries to be physically similar.³¹³ Change in terminological practices was slow and partial. The proposed biological term *Homo fanotrichus glaukops dolichocephalus*³¹⁴ never caught on for Nordic and into the 1900s, especially among Anglophones, many scientists still used ethno-linguistic race names and taxonomic subdivisions and accepted philology-based accounts of Aryan history.³¹⁵

Several theories maintained the useful ethno-racial connection. Anthropologists widely assumed that the inherited physical brain determined psychology and, ultimately, culture.³¹⁶ Haeckel and others argued that languages arose separately among mentally unequal, speechless proto-human varieties.³¹⁷ Theorists from Renan in the 1860s to Günther in the 1920s used ‘linguistic races’ like the Aryans and Semites to surreptitiously re-link race and nation.³¹⁸ Some anthropologists presented nationalism as a natural force, which ‘immediately sets out to repair’ the unnatural ‘mischief’ caused when civilisation mixed races and dissolved their ‘physical cohesion’.³¹⁹ Historical ‘vicissitudes’ like the ‘atmosphere of war’ could stimulate hormones or some nervous mechanism to meld nations into physical races.³²⁰ Similarly, Hungarian anthropologists repeatedly claimed that a millennium of cultural assimilation and geographical adaptation fused the Hungarian biological ‘mosaic’ into a kind of ‘national body’.³²¹

Nationalist assumptions and research practices reinforced one another. Especially in prisoner of war studies, anthropologists often studied countries in isolation ‘like a biological island’.³²² Because eugenists aimed to improve national bloodstock by eliminating non-rationally defined groups like alcoholics and criminals, they often treated nations rather than immutable anthropological types as their basic ‘races’.³²³

However anthropology’s two main mechanisms for preserving national races were the polygenist conviction that peoples originated as pure races and specific national race mixtures. From the 1830s to after 1900, most anthropologists assumed that prehistoric peoples and modern ‘savages’ were more physically homogenous than civilised people and that even medieval European nations may still have been racially pure.³²⁴ This belief in original pure races, defined by extreme pigmentation, length or breadth values, allowed quantifying anthropologists to maintain the distinct, separate types of descriptive taxonomy and preserve the national race concept. Biological races somehow ‘belonged’ to their original ethno-linguistic groups. Günther’s Nordic was therefore the ‘irreplaceable’ nucleus of Germanic cultures.³²⁵ This made cultural change illegitimate. A Polish

anthropologist thus called Slavified dolichocephals ‘culturally but not anthropologically Slavic’.³²⁶

Atavism, the tendency to spring back towards ancient racial types after cross-breeding was crucial for preserving original types. Beddoe and Quatrefages’s races were the frequent ‘recrudescence of... ancestral strains’ in ‘a now largely undifferentiated mass produced by centuries’ of race crossing.³²⁷ Broca thought atavism led minority types to gradually die out, repurifying mixtures ‘to the profit of the predominant race’.³²⁸ This explained blond and brunet siblings, proving colour was racial rather than environmental.³²⁹ ‘Rational’ geographical distributions of races also helped keep them pure, because physical separation inhibited miscegenation, as did the cultural barriers to interbreeding of groups like Jews and Gypsies.³³⁰

Anthropology’s second main mechanism for preserving national races was to study each nation’s specific racial components. This allowed positivists to achieve a delicate balance between the nationalist impulse to identify national races, and their liberal determination to celebrate nations as complex race mixtures. Broca argued that distinguishing races was ‘legitimate and necessary’ when populations like France’s Celts had largely maintained over generations ‘such important’ physical differences in their statistical ensembles.³³¹ He therefore unhesitatingly referred to ancient ‘Gallic confederations’ as ‘anthropological groups’.³³² Broca, like many of his generation, relied on broad hints to establish these statistically reconstructed ‘races’ as national races. He identified brachycephals as France’s majority type and called them Celts, clearly referencing the ancient tribe which historians identified as forefathers of the French. As the next chapter argues, these manouvers were easier in countries like France, which traditionally recognised multiple tribal ancestors, than in Germany, where romantic tradition only acknowledged Germanic descent. In the 1880s–1890s, pioneers of quantitative approaches made these nation-race links increasingly explicitly.³³³ The most numerous local race, Kollmann claimed, gave nations their ‘particular racial character’.³³⁴ Interwar raciologists continued to statistically associate ‘different frequencies’ of race elements in nations with historical migrations.³³⁵ Hitler and other fascist race theorists agreed that certain ‘superior and creative’ ‘racial components’, like the Nordic in Germany, dictated the ‘entire ethnic and cultural complex’ of racially mixed modern nations.³³⁶

Anthropology’s partner disciplines made it harder to renounce the culture-politics connection. Post-1850s positivist archaeology emerged

from romantic nationalist antiquarianism, which, on a largely ‘emotional’ basis, often claimed all artefacts in areas where history recorded national ancestors and sometimes extrapolated from these to claim native occupation across ‘large areas of Europe’.³³⁷ Archaeology produced tangible artefacts that brought national antiquity alive and, unlike lab-based craniology, unearthed skulls and artefacts together in a unifying context.³³⁸ In the 1890s, Austrian folklore research and the archaeologist Kossinna’s mapping of supposedly Teutonic prehistoric artefacts supported a hypernationalist *völkisch* programme of enlarging cultural-racial ‘ancient Germanic territory’.³³⁹ From 1911, Kossinna automatically associated languages, including ancient Indo-Germanic, with ‘sharply delineated’ peoples and archaeological cultures with races.³⁴⁰ Especially in central Europe, as Slavs used Kossinna’s methods against him, archaeological interest decisively shifted from chronological phases to geographical and ethnic culture areas, defined by artefact styles.³⁴¹ Conservative, internationally-isolated interwar German cultural anthropology meanwhile focussed on folklore to access the ‘Germanic’ *Volksgeist* (folk soul).³⁴²

The Scientific Rejection of Race

From the 1860s, anthropologists indulged in an ‘orgy of quantification’, conducting increasingly precise anthropometric surveys with a profusion of competing ‘new techniques’ and ‘over six hundred different measuring instruments’.³⁴³ One 1890 study calculated 178 indices and 5371 measurements of a single skull.³⁴⁴ By 1900, researchers had recorded about 25 million anthropometric measurements in Europe, mostly of schoolchildren plus some military recruits.³⁴⁵ With no major scientific breakthrough by the 1890s however, and a ‘hopeless chaos’ of methodological and terminological disputes, senior scientists began to question the point of racial anthropology, craniology and the dolichocephaly-brachycephaly key.³⁴⁶

Research in the 1890s also revealed devastating, ‘insoluble problems’ in craniology.³⁴⁷ The cephalic index and ‘universally accepted’ assumptions about mathematical harmony among craniological measures were called into question.³⁴⁸ Head shapes were shown to form a continuum, rather than distinct types, and to vary more within races than between them. The discovery of ‘very heterogeneous’ skulls among isolated tribesmen and prehistoric Swedes encouraged classification’s reluctant abandonment of original race purity from about 1900, though race mixture and migration were still preferred to environmental explanations for ancient

hybrids.³⁴⁹ By 1900, anthropologists were even discarding the race criterion of descent, which made race history possible, and shifting from race to areas like growth and development studies. Several argued that atavism only threw up accidental ‘approximations’ of original pure races.³⁵⁰

Faced with these problems, the fieldwork approach of living for weeks in isolated colonial communities became western anthropology’s new defining technique from around the 1910s and made impressive contributions to cultural and social theory. Fieldworkers haltingly came to appreciate the equal humanity of ‘natives’, undermining racial hierarchies.³⁵¹ Scientists discredited racial explanations for cultural phenomena in the 1920s, and began promoting anti-racist ‘political propaganda’.³⁵² The widespread authority of classification among educated western Europeans and Americans, at ‘its zenith’ around 1900, therefore gradually evaporated by the 1940s–1950s.³⁵³

Historians of the new overseas cultural anthropology, such as Conklin, contrast its more genuine respect for ‘human cultural diversity’ with an older evolution-centred colonial race anthropology.³⁵⁴ Darwinism made humans part of nature and was used to legitimise colonialism and right-wing Nordacist race hierarchies. I argue however that on balance, evolution weakened race anthropology of Europeans by shifting scientific interest towards culture, evolutionary stages and, for Anglophones especially, colonial colour races rather than the fixed polygenist ethnic skull ‘types’ of European craniology.³⁵⁵ In French materialist transformism and the Darwinism that gradually but enduringly replaced monogenism in Anglophone ethnology, the universal hierarchy of colonialism, from black to blond, became a single biological and cultural historical process.³⁵⁶ These evolutionists and the cultural anthropologists and pre-historians of the London Ethnological Society were therefore far less fixated on race and physical anthropology than fixist anthropologists and less racist than Britain’s anthropologists.³⁵⁷ French materialists for example anticipated a ‘peaceful fusion of races’.³⁵⁸ By contrast, fixist polygenist anthropology fiercely resisted ‘speculative’ and suspiciously monogenist Darwinism, associating it with unscientific ethnography, race hierarchies and an ill-advised embroilment with history.³⁵⁹ Historians of overseas ethnology, such as Conklin, recognise that theories of ‘fixed and original races’ therefore survived ‘as an inert but paradoxically active element in the heart of the anthropological paradigm well into the early twentieth century’.³⁶⁰ However they ignore the usefulness of fixity for construct-

ing national races. I argue that this is largely why this outdated concept survived so long.

In France, cultural preoccupations eclipsed craniology around 1900, reducing race classification to a minor role by about 1910, as Catholicism, Lamarckian tradition and worryingly low birth-rates helped marginalise orthodox eugenics and social Darwinism.³⁶¹ Durkheimian sociology and ethnology used anthropology's confusion, inconsistency and rejection of pure races to refute the social role of race.³⁶²

At least until Mussolini fell under Hitler's sway in 1936, Italian anthropologists and lay people also lost interest in race.³⁶³ Even fascist theorists promoted a 'spiritualised', mystical race concept, which opposed biological anthropology and Nordicism. In 1934 Mussolini proclaimed that...

thirty centuries of history allow us to contemplate with a scornful pity, trans-alpine doctrines supported by the descendants of men who did not know how to write, when Rome had Caesar, Virgil and Augustus.³⁶⁴

As methodological disputes about issues like standardising anthropometric technique multiplied alongside anthropometric data into the 1930s, race classification's results and relationship with nationalism, ethnicity, and culture became increasingly confused and contested.³⁶⁵ Early twentieth-century evidence that environmental factors affected skull shapes dealt a heavy blow.³⁶⁶ Physical anthropologists increasingly saw races as provisional abstractions, distinguished by marginal differences between averages, containing 'considerable' internal variation and divided by 'gradual transitions'.³⁶⁷

As archaeologists discovered that ancient cultural groups were never biologically pure, they swapped the term 'race' for 'people'.³⁶⁸ Anglophone scholars criticised Central Europe's fixation with ethnicity and showed that inter-ethnic communication could produce ancient artefact styles.³⁶⁹ One leading British archaeologist moved by the late 1920s from quite race-centred Nordicism to criticising anthroposociological Aryan 'fantasies' and linkages between skull and intellect.³⁷⁰ Like every previous ally, genetics betrayed race classification. Genetically-inherited blood groups failed to match raciological types, and the 1940s 'modern synthesis' of Darwin and Mendel attributed physical traits to complex interactions of separately inherited genes. Despite determined resistance in places like Poland, this led most physical anthropologists to abandon the race concept by the 1950s.³⁷¹

Many historians also accept non-scientific reasons for the fall of scientific race classification. Western countries shifted in the later nineteenth century from ethnic towards civic conceptualisations of national identity. British patriotism was thus increasingly directed towards crown institutions, rather than the national body, as in Germany or Italy.³⁷² Though imperial triumph and domestic prosperity and stability confirmed Britain's triumphalist Anglo-Saxonism, it was effectively opposed in the 1880s and 1890s by a more optimistic environmentalism, which ignored race and proposed political and economic remedies for Ireland.³⁷³ Already in 1869, most contributors to a London Anthropological Society debate criticised attempts to attribute Irish poverty and violence to race alone.³⁷⁴ Their interwar successors combined scientific, national and political ideologies, contrasting the civilised diversity that fostered comparison and objectivity to 'anti-scientific' Nazi authoritarianism, and dubbing freedom of conscience 'the life breath of science'.³⁷⁵

In France, the relative weakness of romantic identification with national ancestors and the later development of archaeology than in Germany and Scandinavia illustrate a stronger nationalist focus on the state than on ethnicity and race.³⁷⁶ Napoleon III for example had himself sculpted as Vercingetorix, but the statue stood at the site where Caesar defeated the Gaulish chief. This recognised heroic Gallic national resistance but also subtly rationalised French overseas imperialism by emphasising 'the ultimately beneficial... victory of Roman "civilization" over "barbarism"'.³⁷⁷ Returning to Enlightenment glorification of French civilisation was especially attractive after 1870 and 1914–1918, when French nationalism could boast peaceful, cultural superiority over blond barbarians more credibly than military glory.³⁷⁸

The close association of Nordicism with extreme German nationalism, and then Nazi genocide, alienated western anthropologists³⁷⁹ and decolonisation and the civil rights movement later reinforced their shift from race to civilisation narratives. The reluctance of interwar anthropologists to abandon their politically useful but scientifically tattered ethnic race concept underlines the central importance of politics in race classification. In 1933, British physical anthropologists declined to protest against Nazi racism by unreservedly disassociating race from culture.³⁸⁰ Five months into World War II, the British anthropologist G.M. Morant criticised colleagues for still imagining races as being as distinct as dog breeds and for not clearly condemning misuse of race.³⁸¹ Though he reduced race almost to a statistical abstraction however, Morant still advocated research

into whether Moroccan and Polish Jews ‘belong to the same race’. He also believed race science could inhibit war by demonstrating that European nations, though duped by ‘entirely artificial’ linguistic divisions, were fighting ‘close racial relatives’. This self-deceiving inconsistency was sharpest in race psychology, which almost everyone still believed in, though even interwar German anthropologists accepted it could not be effectively studied.³⁸²

New Völkisch Race Sciences

Leading anthropologists like Kollmann in Basel, Sergi in Rome and Deniker in Paris competed from 1880 to replace the defunct hierarchy-of-criteria approach.³⁸³ Few of these reforms caught on, though they anticipated the mathematical turn in twentieth-century classification and, exacerbated by geopolitical tensions, its increasing disunity. They also laid the basis for the interwar raciological revival of classification, which, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, only really took off in Germany and central and eastern Europe.

It was stimulated by the right-wing neo-romanticism that thrived between the Rhine and Russia, encouraged by German influences and the local strength of the ethno-linguistic model of the nation as an extended family, a community of descent, where foreign elements were pollutants.³⁸⁴ This appears to be the main reason why the apolitical, turn-of-the-century, ‘liberal-humanitarian’ anthropology of fixed, purely physical types gave way to nationalist interwar raciology in the east.³⁸⁵ To wider society, it appeared that technical preoccupations had ‘swallowed up’ craniology’s original goal of explaining the nation and its history.³⁸⁶ Far from validating national races for example, positivist anthropologists offered ‘abundant evidence’ that Germans were very racially mixed.³⁸⁷ Anthropologists increasingly aligned themselves with the nationalist racism of Gobineau, Chamberlain and, in 1930s Germany, Hitler’s racist state.³⁸⁸ In 1942, the Strasbourg anatomy professor August Hirt anthropometrically measured ‘seventy-nine Jews, fifty Jewesses, two Poles, and four “Asiatics” (i.e., Russian Mongol prisoners)’ in a concentration camp...

... They were then killed and their heads and skeletons became part of the university’s anatomical collection.³⁸⁹

Political raciology supported racist theory with scientific proofs and presented research in maps, diagrams, photographs and ‘aesthetic-erotic’ race descriptions, like the Alpine’s ‘solidity’ and the ‘architectural beauty’ of ‘the white race’, that lay people could grasp ‘at a glance’³⁹⁰ (see Fig. 3.7). As part of the ‘increasingly popular’ 1920s Nordic beauty movement, Fischer and Günther judged a contest in which readers of a popular pro-Nazi anthropology journal submitted photos of ‘the ideal Nordic head’.³⁹¹ After 1933, ‘glossy photographs of contemporary Aryan blondes’ replaced this journal’s ‘sombrely Gothic covers’.³⁹²

Raciologists focussed on race psychology, Europe, cultural-physical links, evolutionary hierarchies and, especially in Germany, the superior Teutonic Nordic blond. While paying lip-service to equality of races and the prevalence of racial mixture, they revived virtually the whole polygenist race concept. This included race psychologies and hierarchies (now



Fig. 3.7 Raciology photographs: transition series between Nordic and East European types (Eickstedt 1940: 558–59).

based on evolutionarily progressive features like blondness), primitive race purity, race histories of migrations, conquests and race mixing, fixed races and the representation of culture and history as ephemeral subsidiaries to biology.³⁹³

Technically, raciology aimed to identify the entire set of races in a population and their proportions, and diagnose the racial identity of individuals.³⁹⁴ Races became complexes of characteristics, rejecting the still common habit, encouraged by competing taxonomic criteria and popular Nordicist adulation of traits like blondness, of judging race from ‘geographic variations of a few isolated’ traits.³⁹⁵ Diagnosis began by collecting the same strictly limited and comparable set of about half a dozen anthropometric measures for each subject, facilitating large scale surveys.³⁹⁶ Eickstedt influentially proposed the cephalic, face and nasal indices, stature, and hair, skin and eye colour as taxonomic criteria, all of which anthropologists believed were evolutionary stable and resisted environmental influence.³⁹⁷ Subjects were allocated to the race whose prescribed ranges of values they most closely resembled.³⁹⁸

Deniker and Mendel

The raciological revival drew on continuing political demand for race science and positivist anthropology’s elaborate corpus of methods for connecting race and nation. It also exploited two tools developed at the turn of the century, Deniker’s race scheme and Mendelian genetics. The former emerged from a general move by the reform proposals of the 1880s–1890s towards synthetic race schemes. Blaming terminology for much of the ‘chaos’ in anthropology, Kollmann pioneered the systematic listing of racial synonyms.³⁹⁹ Using this technique, classifiers across Europe knitted together types identified locally, while legitimising them by association with established races.⁴⁰⁰

Two schemes then exhaustively synthesised the massive accumulated stock of anthropometric data into a single growing corpus and offered credible European syntheses.⁴⁰¹ Russian-born Deniker in Paris published unprecedentedly detailed racial maps of Europe in 1897–1904⁴⁰² (see Map 5.2), while his Boston rival William Ripley published *The Races of Europe* in 1900.

If the schoolchildren and the unerudite public at large still follow Blumenbach, and the anthropologists themselves devise classification

schemes based on Deniker, the large intermediate group of educated laymen rely almost entirely upon Ripley.⁴⁰³

In a period of rapid international integration of science, exemplified by 1906 and 1912 agreements on anthropometric standards, the international canon of literature on European races crystallised around Deniker, Ripley and a few other standard authorities. Ripley definitively restated the forty-year-old orthodoxy of a three-race Europe (see Map 4.5), while Deniker daringly divided these into ten primary and secondary races.⁴⁰⁴

Following Deniker, raciologists devised closed comprehensive systems to embrace Europe's total set of supposed racial genotypes, including from five to a dozen primary races, plus secondary races to explain the mixed type majority⁴⁰⁵ (see Fig. 3.3). This made inventing new races a grave undertaking. Classifiers resisted untidy local variation, but incentives to create new races included kudos for the researcher who bestowed posterity with anthropology's equivalent of a new planet or chemical element, and the patriotic attribution of national genius to a pure local race rather than shameful bastardisation.⁴⁰⁶ Sponsors equated their proposed races with local types identified by major theorists around Europe and argued that enduring isolation in sufficiently large areas made them stable, well-defined and adapted to local environmental conditions.⁴⁰⁷ Critics rejected proposed races as disharmonious recent crossbreeds. Raciologists revived the nineteenth-century idea that races formed like aged whiskey, through very gradual harmonisation of race mixtures under local environmental influence into stable 'average' types.⁴⁰⁸ Harmonisation between races of 'related or of equal worth' sanitised Europe's undeniable race-mixing, but Nordacists warned against miscegenation with true inferiors.⁴⁰⁹

Figures like Fischer, the interwar German leader of both human genetics and anthropology, meanwhile tightly allied eugenics and raciology with Mendelian genetics, arguing that genetics confirmed racial differences of intelligence and the dangers of race-crossing.⁴¹⁰ A reinterpreted Darwinism, the 1900 rediscovery of Mendel's genetic theory and Mendelian inheritance studies of 'racial' traits like eye colour, resistance to tropical diseases, blood groups, and differences between twins provided scientific grounding for raciology's tenuous statistically reconstructed types.⁴¹¹ By the 1910s, 'many scholars argued that "the science of man" should be subsumed as a branch of genetics', breaking with 'the earlier morphological or anthropometric tradition'.⁴¹² The leading raciological schools of 1930s Europe, led by Vallois, Czekanowski, Eickstedt and

Bunak, were convinced that races were ‘irreducible’, genetically inherited, units.⁴¹³ Czekanowski’s 1928 statistical ‘law’:

$$(a + e + l + h)^2 = a^2 + 2ae + e^2 + 2ah + 2eh + h^2 + 2al + 2el + 2hl + l^2 = 1.$$

... stated that his primary races a, e, l and h, plus hybrids such as ‘2ah’, added up to the total of any European population (the number 1), because race depended on simple ‘Mendelian’ inheritance.⁴¹⁴ Mendelian ‘individualists’ like Czekanowski and Eickstedt⁴¹⁵ used ‘obscure’ genetic procedures to reformulate the old idea that atavism preserved ‘pure’ races.⁴¹⁶

The leading raciology schools of Eickstedt, Georges Montandon and Czekanowski were methodologically incompatible. They competed with one other, with post-racial western anthropology and with analyses of entirely new racial characteristics, including blood-group, IQ and Nicola Pende’s concept of constitutional type. Constitutional types, diagnosed from physiology and bio-chemistry, were an Italian speciality and like blood groups, were widely believed to be governed by Mendelian genes.⁴¹⁷ In the early 1900s, intelligence quotient (IQ), supposedly governed by Mendelian heredity, and with a scientific lexicon including ‘idiot’, ‘imbecile’ and the neologism ‘moron’, replaced craniology as America’s main race-ranking technique.⁴¹⁸ Eugenist IQ experts successfully lobbied Congress for the 1924 act that blocked immigration from southern and eastern Europe, invoking Lapouge, Madison Grant (the leading American racist theorist) and an IQ survey which found these immigrants were mostly morons.⁴¹⁹

The historian Claudio Pogliano reports 1200 interwar titles on blood group distribution⁴²⁰ and interwar Romanians carried out three times as many blood group tests as anthropometric race diagnoses.⁴²¹ After helping to devise the ABO blood group system⁴²² in 1915, Hirszfeld and his wife Henriette, working with the Serb military, examined enemy prisoners, military casualties, and local groups from 14 different ethnicities in Salonika in 1917–1918.⁴²³ They concluded that blood group distributions ‘correspond exactly’ with geography. In sero-anthropology, type A was superior European blood while B steadily increased towards ‘Africa and Asia’⁴²⁴ (see Fig. 3.8). Along with ease of testing and proven Mendelian inheritance, this made the A and B ideal anthropological race markers and the mainstay of sero-anthropology.⁴²⁵ Serologists neglected type O, which had a less useful geography, and later-discovered blood factors.⁴²⁶

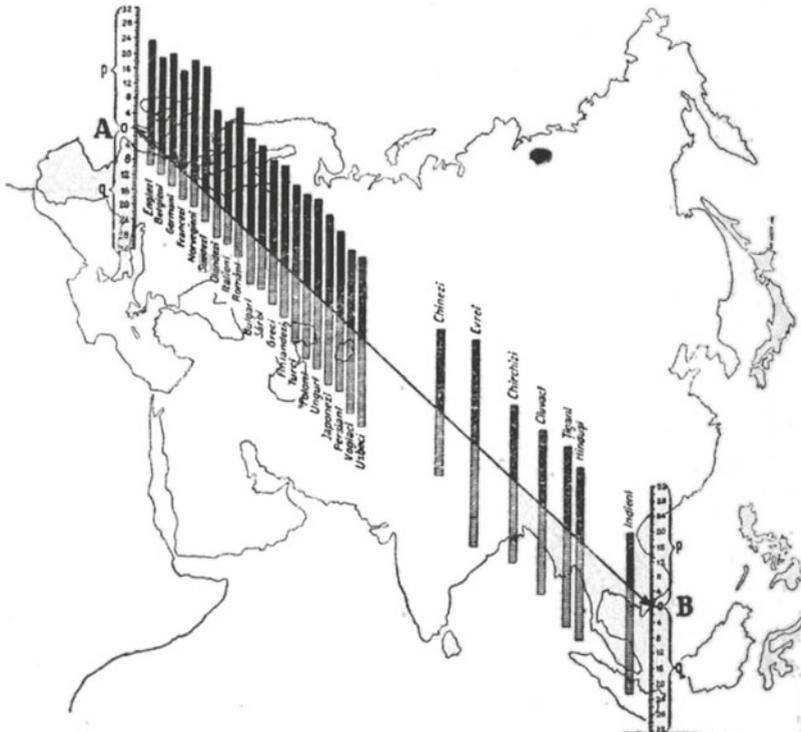


Fig. 3.8 The key serological index of race, from ‘Western European’ group A to ‘Asian’ group B (Râmneanțu 1941a: 143).

Lacking anthropology’s history of repeated failures to convincingly link biology with ethnic nation, German and central European serology unhesitatingly attempted the same politically tempting scientific justification of ‘folk-wisdom’⁴²⁷ as ethnology a century before.⁴²⁸ It analysed ‘the ethno-anthropological composition of present populations’ to theorise race migrations, ancient race-crossings, ‘origin and relationships’.⁴²⁹ Eastern German concentrations of group B therefore ‘proved’ Slav influence.⁴³⁰ Leading serologists also revived an assertive polygenism, with A and B races becoming human separately.⁴³¹

CONCLUSION

Anthropological race classifiers maintained key elements of their race concept for over a century. A physical, and especially cranial type with psychological features, fixed in descent, survived from 1830s ethnologists to 1940s raciologists. It combined diverse race markers, linking cultural ethnicity with biology. Retzius in the 1840s and Broca in the 1860s brought this craniological central tradition to its classic form, securing the pivotal role of dolichocephaly and brachycephaly, and establishing archaeology as the preferred historical research method.

Race classification's central tradition demonstrated a remarkable capacity for assimilating powerful challenges, such as evolution and the stubborn insubstantiality of biological race. Evidence proved that nations and then individuals were of mixed race and ultimately that different supposed race traits varied independently of one another. Sustained scientific investigation by different methods meanwhile systematically produced incompatible results, undermining successive alliances between biologists and social scientists. Classifiers however doggedly kept seeking new race concepts and research methods in the analysis of classical texts, antiquarian etymology, comparative philology, Retzius's craniology, Broca's quantification, Deniker's multi-race system, Mendelian genetics, biometric statistics and serology.

Race classification was tenaciously conservative, legitimising innovations by claiming continuity with established authorities and entrenching traits like dolichocephaly-brachycephaly and the A and B blood groups as convenient privileged markers. However I argue that in the triumphant era of both nationalism and natural science, classifiers mainly fought so long to preserve their central fixed-race tradition because of its political usefulness. This is clearest in their devotion to politically vital but scientifically dubious race psychology. Though mid-nineteenth-century positivists turned from the nation-building project of romantic antiquaries to an explicitly apolitical scientific ideology, their drive to exclude cultural and historical elements from a purified physical anthropology was partial and piecemeal. They continued to produce race histories and geographies of national races, with implicit meanings for international relations and the politics of progress and degeneration.

Classifiers ultimately lost the battle to reconcile science and politics. Philologists, archaeologists and finally physical and cultural anthropologists developed their own methods and research topics, and ultimately lost

interest in eclectic race classification. The positivist scientific purism which grew in strength from the mid-nineteenth-century progressively wedged apart the concepts of race and nation and ultimately stripped physical race classification of its scientific and political rationales. Nationalism intensified, geopolitical and ideological rifts widened and race anthropology's great turn-of-the-century crisis challenged old paradigms.⁴³² Rival methodologies proliferated, from Sergi, Kollmann and British biometricians in the 1880s to competing interwar raciologies. A key faultline divided Europe at the Rhine. Apolitical western anthropology gradually split into separate physical and cultural professions, both of which abandoned race. Whereas the assimilationist ideology of eastern empires had restrained their anthropologists from nationalist chauvinism, this metastasised in the raciology of their successor nation states. Eastern raciology thrived until the 1940s, with new Mendelian and statistical underpinnings and political links with extreme right-wing neo-romantic race enthusiasts.

Genetic inheritance and the origin of racial diversity, though tangential to classification, were crucial to both its long survival and ultimate demise. Monogenists and evolutionists both initially accepted primordial fixed races which functioned, for classification purposes, just like polygenist races. However evolutionists ultimately cared more about the species than its races. Twentieth-century right-wing anthropology revived the classification project by combining Haeckelian evolution with Mendelian genetics, making races the objects of evolutionary competition and descent. However evolution and Mendel demolished the scientific basis of race in the 1940s by recombining in a new form. Along with shameful Nazi associations, this finally nailed raciology's coffin shut.

NOTES

1. Retzius (1909: 286).
2. Sergi (1900: 36 & 41–44), Czekanowski (1967: 20 & 62–63), and Deniker (1904: 203).
3. Dias (1991: 24–26).
4. Mogilner (2013: 135–36).
5. Evans (2010: 12).
6. Pittard 'consecrated' five years of summer holidays, forcing himself, 'with the daily and precious collaboration of my wife—to do nothing else, from morning to evening, but accumulate measurements' (1920: 12).

7. Blanckaert (1988: 19), Dias (1991: 18), and Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 121).
8. Dias (1991: 20–21).
9. Stojanowski (1924: 762–63).
10. Bieder (1909: 27–28) and Woltmann (1903: 228–29 & 287).
11. 1850: 17.
12. Vermeulen (1995: 45).
13. Eickstedt (1934: 7 & 135, 1937: 81) and Horsman (1976: 391).
14. Eickstedt (1934: 137), Coon (1939: 280), and Brace (1997: 862).
15. Prichard (1973: 46) and Massin (1996: 107).
16. Poskett (2015: 271–72 & 287) and Qureshi (2011: 38).
17. Blanckaert (1988: 27), Eickstedt (1934: 137), and Broc (1836: 23).
18. Dias (1989: 209–10) and Hecht (2003: 81).
19. Zimmerman (2001: 243–45).
20. 1877: 321.
21. Mogilner (2013: 61–62).
22. Dias (1989: 209).
23. Bounak (1926: 351–52).
24. Necrasov (1941: 134).
25. Odom (1967: 5–8).
26. Borlase (1897: 1042).
27. Thurnham (1864: 402) and Périer et al. (1861: 338).
28. Obédénare (1877: 253).
29. Haddon (1893a: 759, 1898: 574–76 & 582–83).
30. Picot (1883: 96).
31. Broca (1873: 600–1 & 609 & 618–19) and Zaborowski (1890: 246).
32. Wilde (1849: 230).
33. Morant (1939: 153), Dias (1989: 206), and Broca (1860b: 12, 1871b: 301).
34. Beddoe (1898: 164 & 166), Collignon (1883: 470), and Lagneau (1860a: 538–39).
35. Zimmerman (2001: 138).
36. Allen (1971: xv).
37. 1971: 8.
38. If the Irish are the traditional dimwits in British jokes, Kerry men perform the same service within Ireland.
39. Beddoe (1971: 8).
40. Hirszfeld, in Schneider (1996: 282).
41. Blanckaert (1989: 170) and Retzius (1909: 280).
42. Datson (2001: 264 & 266), Ginzburg (1992: 114–15), and Fee (1979: 419).
43. Edwards (1841: 37–39), Broca (1873: 582–83), and Dias (1989: 214).

44. Pogliano (2005: 89).
45. Deniker (1971: 57).
46. The seventeenth-century term *Anthropometria* emerged from the medical and artistic tradition of mathematically analysing body proportions, as in Leonardo da Vinci's Vitruvian Man (Bernabeo 1989: 170, 172 & 179).
47. Pittard (1924: 41), Massin (1996: 107), and Frazer (1888: 48).
48. Evans (2010: 66 & 69) and Zimmerman (2001: 114–16 & 118).
49. Mandler (2006: 77), De Nie (2004: 12).
50. 2001: 3–4 & 239.
51. 2013: 114–15.
52. Ginzburg (1992: 113–15, 118 & 124) and Datson (2001: 264–66 & 274).
53. 1992: 102–8 & 116–17.
54. Hölder (1876: 4), Blanckaert (1989: 169–70 & 176), and Retzius (1864: 27).
55. Retzius (1909: 282, 286 & 290) and Blanckaert (1989: 169–76 & 196).
56. Pöch (1917: 79) and Montandon (1933: 72–73).
57. Tildesley (1928: 358).
58. Montandon (1933: 72), Beddoe (1912: 19–20 & 40), and Skjerl (1936: 285).
59. Montandon (1933: 72–73).
60. Ripley (1900: 601–3) and Beddoe (1912: 40).
61. Dias (1989: 205–25).
62. Czekanowski (1967: 44) and Broca (1860b: 8).
63. Hannaford (1996: 330).
64. Allen (1971: xiv), Beddoe (1971: 1–2); see Chapter 3.
65. Eickstedt (1934: 35).
66. Dias (1989: 205, 212 & 225).
67. Czekanowski (1928b: 353).
68. Pittard (1924: 41), Huxley and Haddon (1935: 43), and Blanckaert (1989: 196).
69. Blanckaert (1989: 176 & 196) and Massin (1996: 91 & 108).
70. Blanckaert (1989: 166–67 & 196).
71. Kollmann (1880: 108 & 115), Czekanowski (1948b: 15), and Haddon (1898: 581).
72. Collignon (1883: 470).
73. Blanckaert (1989: 196).
74. Blanckaert (1989: 193–94) and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 673).
75. Montandon (1933: 72–73), Eickstedt (1937: 55, 71 & 74), and Stołyhwowa (1937: 36 & 39).
76. Pöch (1917: 79) and Stołyhwowa (1937: 37).

77. Fee (1979: 430–31).
78. Beddoe (1912: 40), Deniker (1897: 126), and Mogilner (2013: 110–19).
79. Skjerl (1936: 285) and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 618–619).
80. Eickstedt (1937: 55, 71, 74 & 82–83), Necrasov (1941: 4), and Žejmo-Žejmis (1935: 86 & 89).
81. 1941: 113.
82. Grattan (1858: 245–46) and Ripley (1900: 114–117).
83. Czekanowski (1920: 49) and Deniker (1897: 125).
84. 1897: 125.
85. Schwidetzky (1935b: 140–41), Žejmo-Žejmis (1933: 58–59), and Bielicki et al. (1985: 7).
86. Czekanowski (1967: 20 & 23) and Kaszycka and Strkalj (2002: 330).
87. Czekanowski (1928b: 336–343 & 353–56, 1956b: 18) and Wiercinski (1962: 14).
88. Coon (1939: 289), Eickstedt (1937: 79–86), and Necrasov (1941: 4).
89. Stojanowski (1924: 688–89 & 762) and Wiercinski (1962: 14).
90. Žejmo-Žejmis (1933: 59–60), Stojanowski (1924: 677–79), and Bielicki et al. (1985: 7–9).
91. Stołyhwowa (1937: 42–43).
92. Tristram (1996: 57).
93. MacMaster (2001: 56) and Lubbock (1887: 418).
94. Horsman (1976: 390), Eickstedt (1937: 81), Broc (1836: 23), and Morant (1939: 152).
95. Poliakov (1971: 95).
96. Curtis (1968: 8–9 & 21) and Blanckaert (1988: 25–27).
97. Morant (1939: 153) and Retzius (1864b: 28).
98. Curtis (1968: 11), Blanckaert (1988: 23), and Malik (1996: 86).
99. Erickson (1997: 832), Poliakov (1971: 63), and Brace (1997: 865).
100. Spencer (1997c: 357) and Blanckaert (1988: 19).
101. 1883: 252.
102. 1920: 32.
103. Odom (1967: 8).
104. Wiercinski (1962: 9–10).
105. Pogliano (2005: 35) and Ripley (1900: 600).
106. Eickstedt (1937: 81 & 86).
107. Wiercinski (1962: 9–10), Broc (1836: 23 & 28), and Eickstedt (1937: 37–38).
108. Blanckaert (1988: 31–32) and Broc (1836: 23 & 28).
109. Retzius, A. (1864) and Saint-Hilaire (1861: 144).
110. Conklin (2013: 56).

111. Rejecting biological determinism, Enlightenment monogenists optimistically assumed any race could be civilised (Erickson 1997: 832; Keith 1917: 13).
112. Spencer (1997f: 841), Collis (2003: 58), and Day (1997: 109).
113. Beddoe (1912: 17–18), Prichard (1973: 232–33), and Blanckaert (1988: 36).
114. Livingstone (2008: 50).
115. Beddoe (1912: 19), Stocking (1992: 349), and Hazard (1961: 46).
116. Blanckaert (1988: 35) and Bernasconi and Lott (2000: viii–ix).
117. Stocking (1992: 350), Spencer (1997c: 357), and Dias (1991: 20–21).
118. Dias (1991: 20–21).
119. Wilde (1849: 230) and Blanckaert (1988: 34).
120. Manouelian (2000: 392 & 395).
121. Keane (1896: 151), Retzius (1864a: 28), Broca (1860b: 11), Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 4), and Ripley (1900: 600).
122. Beddoe (1905: 220), Broca (1871b: 313), and Mazumdar (1990: 193). As natural scientists, anthropologists adored such race-historical rules. Several proposed a ‘law of ethnic movement’ from east to west in Europe, which critics complained was analogous to ‘atmospheric and maritime currents’ (Pruner-Bey 1864c: 223–24; Bertillon 1864: 300; Dally 1864: 299; Omalius 1864a: 266).
123. 1871b: 295 & 297–98, 1873: 601.
124. Brace (1997: 865) and Blanckaert (1988: 29 & 45).
125. Harvey (1984: 388–89).
126. Prichard (1973: 248).
127. Baum (2006: 112) and Dias (1991: 30).
128. Houzé (1883: 91), Czekanowski (1948b: 22), and Beddoe (1890: 488).
129. Kollmann (1881: 37).
130. Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 191).
131. Sergi (1900: 7), Allen (1971: xii), Beddoe (1912: 38–39), and Kollmann (1880: 82).
132. Blanckaert (1988: 33), Talko-Hryniewicz (1902: 760), and Kollmann (1880: 82).
133. Broca (1871b: 307) and Kollmann (1880: 82).
134. 1871b: 307, 1873: 607–8.
135. 1898: 167 & 170.
136. Schwidetzky (1935b: 154) and Eickstedt (1934: 366).
137. Stocking (1988: 7, 1992: 349) and Brace (1997: 865).
138. Stocking (1992: 350) and Broca (1878: 189).
139. Broca (1878: 189–92).
140. Rączkowski (1996: 190–9).
141. Wijworra (1996: 169–71 & 178).

142. Périer et al. (1861: 371), Grattan (1853: 199), and Curtis (1968: 21).
143. Brace (1997: 865) and Stocking (1988: 7).
144. Odom (1967: 14 & 17), Erickson (1997: 833), and Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 122).
145. 2006: 75.
146. Bernasconi and Lott (2000: xi), Fleure (1937: 207), and Beddoe (1912: 20). Elements of this theory survive into current genetics (see epilogue).
147. Lafferton (2007: 712).
148. 2001: 240.
149. 1993: 16.
150. De Nie (2004: 23).
151. 2011: 80–81.
152. Stoianovich (1976: 30), Tilly (1984: 97–100), and Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 121).
153. Edwards (1845: 43), Kopernicki (1883: 40), and Necrasov (1941: 6–8).
154. Kostrzewski (1927: 6).
155. Broca (1864c: 309–10), Bertrand (1873: 238–41), and Beddoe (1912: 55).
156. Kollmann (1881: 18), Eickstedt (1937: 70), and Ripley (1900: 602). Race scientists often erroneously defined rationality as supporting pre-conceived results (Gould 1981: 86–87). One English evolutionist for example described comparisons of ancient and modern skulls which did not indicate ‘progress’ as ‘valueless’ (Keane 1896: 43). Anthropologists meanwhile feared serology could produce competing classifications rather than ‘reasonable’ results (Boyd 1950: 642; Marks 1996: 353). Like standard histories of disciplinary forefathers, this ‘rationality’ protected existing paradigms and ensured group cohesion.
157. Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 97) and Virchow (1950: 179 & 182), and Eickstedt (1937: 72).
158. Montandon (1933: 99), Eickstedt (1937: 40, 61, 72–78 & 83), and Klimek (1939: 35).
159. Eickstedt (1934: 337).
160. Eickstedt (1937: 61 & 72–75).
161. Köster (2002: 64) and MacMaster (2001: 35, 40 & 48).
162. MacMaster (2001: 39).
163. Pogliano (2005: 369–70) and Retzius (1909: 302).
164. In Hannaford (1996: 293–94).
165. 1934: 898.
166. Malik (1996: 121).
167. Blanckaert (1988: 36) and Woltmann (1903: 281).
168. Malik (1996: 83).

169. Beddoe (1971: 298), Malik (1996: 83 & 98), and Herz (1925: 9).
170. Barkan (1992: 22), Eickstedt (1934: 352), and Günther (1933: 59–60 & 93).
171. Edwards (1845: 43), Blanckaert (1988: 30–32 & 40), and Retzius (1864a: 28).
172. Günther (1933: 9) and Gould (1981: 86).
173. Curtis (1968: 21).
174. 1981: 24.
175. Blanckaert (1988: 41).
176. Grattan (1858: 244–45).
177. Rosiński (1929: 273). Researchers found stranger correlations. People with blood group B could take ‘forty minutes’ to defecate for example, while group A subjects needed ‘only a moment or two’ (Mazumdar 1990: 201)
178. 1988: 24–25.
179. Curtis (1968: 8–9 & 21).
180. Curtis (1968: 11), Blanckaert (1988: 23), and Malik (1996: 86).
181. Bunzl (1996: 22).
182. Brace (1997: 862) and Prichard (1973: 169–72).
183. Arnold (1962: 343).
184. 1912: 33.
185. Fee (1979: 419) and Retzius (1864a: 28).
186. Pogliano (2005: 380), Prichard (1973: 49 & 52–54), and Keane (1896: 44).
187. Brace (1997: 263) and Prichard (1973: 47–48).
188. 1903: 254.
189. Blanckaert (1989: 172–3 & 180).
190. Retzius (1864a: 32).
191. Beddoe (1912: 42).
192. Huxley and Haddon (1935: 42–43), Fee (1979: 420–22), and Gould (1981: 83–85).
193. Fee (1979: 421–23).
194. Keane (1896: 44–45).
195. Coombe (1839: 273–74) and Périer (1864: 614–15).
196. Morant (1939: 152) and Girard (1864: 553 & 568).
197. Woltmann (1903: 158) and cf. Vanderkindere (1883: 93).
198. Horsman (1976: 401), Arnold (1962: 339–40), and DUM (1855: 722–23).
199. 1962: 340–41.
200. DUM (1855: 730).
201. 1850: 3–4 & 49–50.
202. Quatrefages (1889: 482) and Vanderkindere (1883: 92).

203. Todorov (1993: 117) and Davis (2002: xv–xvi).
204. 1836: 275–76.
205. MacMaster (2001: 7).
206. Hitler (1936: 311–12).
207. Curtis (1968: 72) and Barkan (1992: 22).
208. 1912: 33.
209. 1850: 54.
210. 1933: 57–58.
211. Günther (1933: 59 & 62), Olechnowicz (1902b: 296–97), and Woltmann (1903: 281–82).
212. Brace (1997: 863), Bieder (1909: 13–14), and Ackermann (1970: 112).
213. Fleure (1937: 224), Stolyhwo (1926b: 149), and Eickstedt (1934: 354).
214. Fee (1979: 425–28).
215. Banu (1939: 204–5).
216. Stolyhwo (1926b: 149) and Lutzhöft (1971: 94–97).
217. Beddoe (1971: 10–11, 17 & 294).
218. Stratz den Haag (1903: 189–90 & 198).
219. Brace (1997: 264).
220. Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 116), Stocking (1987: 162), and Bunzl and Penny (2003: 11).
221. Beddoe (1971: 17).
222. Conklin (2013: 45–46).
223. Lindqvist (2002: 157–60) and Evans (2010: 12 & 229).
224. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 20).
225. Zimmerman (2001: 243–44).
226. Bowler (1997: 370) and Proctor (1988: 152 & 156).
227. Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 123 & 130–34), Montandon (1933: 95–102 & 107–8), and Eickstedt (1934: 16–17). ‘Virtually all’ race anthropologists accepted either this account or neo-Lamarckianism, which argued that environmental influences on parents affected their offspring’s inherited features (Wolpoff and Caspari 1997: 121–23). They failed to see how Darwin’s survival of the fittest could create new varieties. Nineteenth-century French scientific materialists and liberal German anthropologists contrasted Lamarckian progressive hope that ‘cultural and social integration’ could overcome race with Darwinist ‘pessimism, conservatism,’ or repugnant human breeding programmes (Massin 1996: 125).
228. 1934: 394.
229. Coon (1939: 287) and Eickstedt (1934: 15–16 & 385–86).
230. 1934: 15–17 & 352.
231. Prichard (2000: 187).
232. Pictet (1836: 436 & 441), Keane (1896: 205–6). Ironically, linguists gradually realised that European languages were evolving in the opposite

- direction towards relatively ‘monosyllabic’ languages like English (Keane 1896: 206–8).
233. Davis (2002: xvii & xiv–xv), and Pictet (1836: 421), and Prichard (2000: 121).
234. Chapman (1992: 203), McKendry (1999: 182), and Davis (2002: x, xv & xvii).
235. Leerssen (1996: 164 & 197).
236. Haddon and Browne (1893: 781, 791–92 & 800–3) and Haddon (1893b: 304–6).
237. Malik (1996: 109), MacMaster (2001: 23, 33 & 54–55), and Blanckaert (1988: 49).
238. Kühn (1997: 66), Malik (1996: 109), and Clark (1984: 138).
239. Collis (2003: 61), Morton (1839: 13), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 659–60).
240. Betham (2000: 400) and Collis (2003: 61).
241. 1850: 49–50.
242. Betham (2000: 3) and Sklenář (1983: 91).
243. Collis (2003: 61), Leerssen (1996: 68–69), and Topinard (1877: 474).
244. Périer (1864: 597–99) and Hölder (1876: 18–19).
245. Rączkowski (1996: 199).
246. Leerssen (1996: 69–72).
247. Picot (1883: 91).
248. Betham (2000: xvii & 12) and Prichard (1973: 245).
249. In Piggott (1966: 7).
250. Prichard (1973: 244 & 247).
251. Pruner-Bey (1864b: 664 & 659–60 & 666), Davis (2002: viii & xvii), and Tristram (1996: 37).
252. 1845: 36–38.
253. Borlase (1897: 1036).
254. Tristram (1996: 42–43).
255. Morash (1998: 209).
256. Prichard (1973: 244–47, 2000: 8 & 16), Pictet (1836: 270), and Blanckaert (1989: 194–95).
257. Prichard (2000: 24, 36 & 44), Leerssen (1996: 89–90), and Davis (2002: ix).
258. Tristram (1996: 43).
259. Pictet (1836: 271 & 276–90) and Prichard (2000: 36).
260. Davis (2002: viii–ix), Prichard (2000: 9, 13, 22, 42, 65 & 91–92).
261. Leerssen (1996: 94), Horsman (1976: 392), and Tristram (1990: 52, 1996: 43 & 56).
262. Thiesse (2001: 176), Bunzl (1996: 31), and Davis (2002: viii).
263. Thiesse (2001: 176), Morant (1939: 152), Prichard (2000: 4 & 17), and Morash (1998: 209).

264. Köster (2002: 60).
265. Blanckaert (1989: 172), Dias (1989: 205), and Făcăoaru (1938a: 216).
266. Coon (1939: 280) and Montandon (1933: 109).
267. Harvey (1984: 389 & 391), Stocking (1991: 249–50), and Proctor (1988: 142).
268. Tristram (1996: 45), Davis (2002: xiii), and Girard (1864: 552).
269. Blanckaert (1989: 172–3 & 180–82) and Orsucci (1998: 9).
270. Blanckaert (1989: 168–69).
271. Retzius (1864a: 27).
272. Périer (1864: 621), Ripley (1900: 467), and Sergi (1900: 8).
273. Hölder (1876: 6 & 19), Bonté (1864b: 629–632), and Périer (1864: 617 & 620).
274. Bonté (1864b: 630–31).
275. Broca (1864b: 458–61, 1873: 580). However the inescapable interdisciplinarity of ethnology and the want of another name for Europe's first Indo-Europeans, meant that even Broca and his allies sometimes slipped into calling them Celts (Broca 1864c: 309; Bonté 1864a: 280–82, b: 625).
276. Hovelacque (1873: 488–89).
277. Bonté (1864a: 281) and Bertrand (1873: 238 & 246–47).
278. Blanckaert (1989: 187 & 189), Prichard (1973: 244), and Girard (1864: 568–69).
279. Blanckaert (1989: 183 & 193–94).
280. Knox (1850: 48–49), Broca (1864c: 308–10), Ripley (1900: 104), and Edwards (1841: 25–26).
281. Broca (1864a: 569–70).
282. 1864c: 309.
283. Bertrand (1873: 238).
284. 1864b: 664.
285. Chavée (1864: 191–92).
286. Hovelacque (1873: 499) and Bertrand (1864: 370).
287. Périer (1864: 620–21), Omalius (1864a: 265), and Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 109).
288. Malik (1996: 84 & 89), Massin (1996: 93), and Puschner (2001: 96).
289. Todorov (1993: 106–9 & 114–18, 145 & 156–59) and Hecht (2003: 58 & 77).
290. Morant (1939: 156–57).
291. Sklenář (1983: 89 & 141–42) and Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996: 19).
292. Massin (1996: 130).
293. Müller (1879: 5 & 26–27), Pogliano (2005: 395) and Manias (2009: 753–54).

294. Stocking (1987: 49–50), Edwards (1845: 43), and Quatrefages (1889: 488).
295. Kollmann (1881: 18), Deniker (1904: 181), and MacLean (1872: xl).
296. Campbell (1870: 410).
297. MacMaster (2001: 13).
298. Knox (1850: 349–50) and Curtis (1968: 69–70).
299. Kollmann (1881: 12).
300. Quatrefages (1889: 488) and Keane (1896: 151).
301. Quatrefages (1871: 77–78) and Broca (1873: 590).
302. Manias (2013: 198).
303. Deniker (1897: 127).
304. Ripley (1900: 124 & 127–28) and Eickstedt (1934: 384).
305. Haddon (1924: 27), Eickstedt (1937: 71) and Klimek (1939: 29).
306. Dias (1989: 208 & 224), Quine (2013: 130–31 & 141), and Turda (2010: 32–33).
307. Manias (2013: 124–25) and Broca (1860b: 8).
308. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 81 & 90).
309. Lafferton (2007: 712).
310. Popoviciu (1938: 15) and Sähleanu (1979: 66).
311. Leerssen (1996: 94) and Todorov (1993: 141 & 144).
312. Flower (1885: 378).
313. Pittard (1920: 10).
314. Stolyhwo (1926b): 149. Perhaps suspecting this might be inconvenient, Stolyhwo offered the mellifluous *skotodolichocephalus* as a convenient abbreviation. Raciology abounded in naming controversies. Günther's popular scheme was roundly criticised for switching established terms around (Eickstedt 1934: 365–66).
315. Beddoe (1905: 234–35), Haddon (1924: 27), and Eickstedt (1937: 52).
316. Broca (1864c: 305–6), Blanckaert (1989: 195), and Spencer (1997g: 857).
317. Keane (1896: 205) and Odom (1967: 16).
318. Todorov (1993: 141 & 144).
319. Lahovary (1927: 10) and Keith (1928: 310–21).
320. Barkan (1992: 46), Keith (1928: 319), and Sähleanu (1979: 33).
321. Turda (2007: 368, 2010: 33 & 39–40).
322. Milcu (1954: 24), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 20), and Turda (2012: 2).
323. MacMaster (2001: 35–41), Kevles (1985: 46), and Sähleanu (1979: 33 & 94).
324. Betham (2000: 422), Retzius (1864a: 124), Knox (1850: 48–49), Quatrefages (1889: 488), Ripley (1900: 600), and Pöch (1917: 79).
325. Lutzhöft (1971: 96 & 98).
326. Talko (1902: 761).

327. Allen (1971: xii) and Quatrefages (1871: 78).
328. Quatrefages (1871: 78).
329. Bonté (1864a: 279–80), Broca (1873: 619–20), and Dickson (1896: 159).
330. Deniker (1897: 125).
331. 1873: 591 & 599.
332. 1873: 599.
333. Kollmann (1880: 115, 1881: 38) and Sergi (1900: 8).
334. 1881: 18 & 38.
335. Günther (1933: 11), Kollmann (1881: 37, 1880: 117), and Czekanowski (1937: 228–30).
336. Morant (1939: 153) and Evola (1941: 34–35).
337. Rączkowski (1996: 190–94) and Sklenář (1983: 95).
338. Collis (2003: 75–86).
339. Mees (2000: 318), Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 98), and Kossinna (1909: 18–19).
340. Sklenář (1983: 148–51), Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 98), and Kossinna (1909: 18–19).
341. Collis (2003: 86 & 151), Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 97–98), and Sklenář (1983: 151).
342. Lixfeld (1994: 12–13 & 20–21).
343. Fee (1979: 419 & 426–27) and Massin (1996: 106).
344. Massin (1996: 107–10).
345. Ripley (1900: 34).
346. Retzius (1909: 278) and Virchow (1950: 191).
347. Massin (1996: 110–11) and Quine (2013: 147).
348. Massin (1996: 107–10) and Keane (1896: 156).
349. Potkański (1902: 247), Majewski (1905: 164–66), and Buschan (1890: 38–40).
350. Pöch (1917: 78–79) and Dias (1989: 221–22).
351. Kucklick (1996a, b: 250) and Pogliano (2005: 53).
352. Barkan (1992: 3 & 8–9).
353. Barkan (1992: 1–4 & 19).
354. 2013: 2–3.
355. Barkan (1992: 57–58), Ferembach (1997: 400), and Dias (1991: 56).
356. Stocking (1992: 351–52), Blanckaert (1988: 48), and Hammond (1980: 126 & 128).
357. Stocking (1991: 248–49).
358. Hammond (1980: 126 & 128).
359. Massin (1996: 80), Bunzl and Penny (2003: 11), and Dias (1991: 56).
360. 2013: 56.

361. MacMaster (2001: 53), Kühl (1997: 35, 87 & 90), Dias (1989: 222 & 225), and Mucchielli (1997: 22).
362. Mucchielli (1997: 8–10, 18 & 21).
363. Mosse (1978: 200–2), Poliakov (1971: 83), and Taylor (1988: 48).
364. In Poliakov (1971: 84).
365. Barkan (1992: 3 & 19), Gould (1981: 108), and Tildesley (1928: 351 & 359).
366. Erickson (1997: 833), Banu (1939: 201–4), and Biasutti (1941: 595).
367. Morant (1939: 153–54), Stołyhwowa (1937: 37–38 & 48).
368. Morant (1939: 153) and Barkan (1992: 56).
369. Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 98).
370. Barkan (1992: 53–57) and Childe (1926: 163–64).
371. Wiercinski (1962: 9–12), Pogliano (2005: 116), and Wolpoff and Caspari (1997: 121).
372. Davies (1999: 813–14).
373. Curtis (1968: 14 & 31).
374. Avery (1869: ccxxxi–ccxxxvii).
375. Fleure (1937: 226–27).
376. Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996: 13) and Mosse (1978: 57).
377. Dietler (1994: 588–90).
378. Bollenbeck (1999: 300).
379. Todorov (1993: 157), Barkan (1992: 19), and Mogilner (2013: 368–69).
380. Mandler (2006: 159–60).
381. 1939: 151–62.
382. Lutzhöft (1971: 94–99), Fleure (1937: 224), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 297).
383. Massin (1996: 107), Kollmann (1881: 1), and Sergi (1900: 169).
384. Sklenář (1983: 96–97), Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 98), and Mogilner (2013: 70–72, 140 & 178–82).
385. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 15), Proctor (1988: 152 & 156), and Massin (1996: 80).
386. Fee (1979: 427) and Czekanowski (1967: 46).
387. Eickstedt (1937: 82) and Scheidt (1950: 390).
388. Proctor (1988: 138).
389. Mosse (1978: 227).
390. Lutzhöft (1971: 14), Ripley (1900: 122–29), and Woltmann (1903: 65).
391. Proctor (1988: 151).
392. Proctor (1988: 158). This built on a titillating tradition in anthropological textbook illustration of topless, tropical, teenage beauties (Eickstedt 1934: 390; Rothenberg 1994: 155). Images were also used pejoratively. Fischer illustrated genetic mutation by juxtaposing pictures of a sheep and a Hottentot woman, both with protruding bottoms (1936: 264).

393. Fischer (1936: 280–83), Czekanowski (1967: 54), and Eickstedt (1937: 82–83).
394. Necrasov (1941: 4) and Skjerl (1936: 285).
395. Czekanowski (1948a: 27) and Necrasov (1941: 4–10).
396. Rădulescu (1941: 246 & 261).
397. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 629) and Necrasov (1941: 80).
398. Făcăoaru (1939a: 29–30).
399. Kollmann (1881: 17–18) and Czekanowski (1967: 43).
400. Sergi (1900: 41–44), Deniker (1904: 185), and Wiercinski (1962: 14).
401. Quatrefages (1889: 488), Deniker (1904: 186), and Montandon (1933: 237).
402. Deniker (1897: 114–15 & 125, 1904: 202).
403. Coon (1939: 284).
404. Ripley (1900: 597) and Deniker (1897: 127).
405. Necrasov (1941: 97) and Făcăoaru (1938b: 22, 1939a: 30–31).
406. Skjerl (1936: 285) and Necrasov (1941: 85 & 133).
407. Necrasov (1941: 79 & 84).
408. Beddoe (1912: 38–40), Eickstedt (1934: 13 & 366), and Czekanowski (1967: 56).
409. Wiercinski (1962: 13), Woltmann (1903: 262), and Kühl (1997: 67).
410. Stocking (1988: 13), Kühl (1997: 56–57), and Proctor (1988: 139 & 147).
411. Massin (1996: 114 & 123–24), Proctor (1988: 156), and Orel (1997: 652).
412. Proctor (1988: 147).
413. Pogliano (2005: 45 & 492).
414. Czekanowski (1928b: 342 & 345), Malinowski and Wolański (1985: 50), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 155).
415. Both were forced west after 1945, as the USSR and Poland annexed their bases in Lwów (Lviv) and Breslau (Wrocław) respectively.
416. Schwidetzky (1935b: 154) and Czekanowski (1928b: 341).
417. Pogliano (2005: 34–35) and Gould (1981: 162).
418. Gould (1981: 159, 162 & 232).
419. Gould (1981: 159, 165, 197, 227 & 232).
420. 2005: 88.
421. Popoviciu (1935–1936: 78, 1938: 5 & 7), Făcăoaru (1943: 296), Săhleanu (1979: 96), and Manuilă (1943: 7).
422. A and B type red blood cells clump together (agglutinate), precluding transfusion. As O blood, named for German ‘ohne’ (without), lacks agglutinating agents, carriers can safely donate to anybody, but only receive blood from other O people. People with AB-type, containing

- both agglutinants, can receive any blood, but only donate to fellow ABs (Boyd 1950: 220).
423. Hirschfeld and Hirschfeld (1918/1919: 509 & 518).
424. Hirschfeld and Hirschfeld (1918/1919: 535–36), Popoviciu (1938: 6–7), and Manuilă (1943: 7–8).
425. Manuilă (1943: 7), Popoviciu (1938: 4–5), and Schneider (1996: 282).
426. Boyd (1950: 232) and Râmneanțu (1935: 56, 1939: 326 & 329–30).
427. Japanese popular culture still links ABO blood types with different personality types.
428. Marks (1996: 346).
429. Pogliano (2005: 47) and Mazumdar (1990: 193).
430. Râmneanțu (1941a: 147).
431. Lahovary (1927: 24) and Hirschfeld and Hirschfeld (1918/1919: 536).
432. Žejmo-Žejmis (1935: 85).
433. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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European Race Classifications: Anthropology, Ethnicity and Politics

It is indeed of importance that all lovers of true science should do all they can to resist this thirst of the great public for sensational stories, which bring true science into discredit. The great public, as well as the scientists, ought to be conscious of the great difficulties connected with anthropological science and should not draw hasty conclusions (Retzius 1909: 312).

The North European race branch cannot properly adapt itself to the demands made upon it by industrialism... It requires high wages for a moderate amount of work and short hours, that it may have time to indulge in pleasure and enjoyment.

The brachycephalic individual of Middle Europe, on the other hand, seems to be far better suited for the demands of industrial life; he is satisfied with a little, is possessed of patience and endurance even when things are dull and dreary, and his work tiring and little remunerative; he is not so much addicted to expensive forms of recreation, but lays by money for his family and for old age' (Retzius 1909: 300).

The Swedish Anthropologist Gustaf Retzius

This chapter examines the stories that race classifiers told about nations and other social identities in Europe. Races were initially equated with ethnolinguistic groups like Celts, Teutons and Slavs, which romanticism made central to national political identity. Even when positivist scientists ostensibly rejected this link, replacing ethnic labels with geographical race names like Alpine or Nordic (see Chapter 3), ethnic groups were still understood

as linked with the same national races.¹ Powerful identity narratives, established outside anthropology, and empirical scientific data about a people's language or typical skull shape, set limits to which identity claims were feasible. However a rich palette of strategies offered considerable imaginative freedom to demonstrate one's own group's racial superiority. Classifiers attributed high social class, advanced biological evolution or sophisticated technology to their ancestors, or associated them with prestige categories like White, Aryan and Celtic. Traits like dolichocephaly, fair pigmentation and flexive grammar acquired prestige by association with these supposedly superior identity categories. Politically useful psychological traits were systematically attributed to races, despite dubious scientific anchoring. As superiority required inferior others, the quest for racial esteem was a bruising melee. By naming the Nordic *Homo Europaeus* for example, Lapouge implied that other races were less European.

Complex struggles to negotiate the social and cultural dilemmas of modernisation produced very varied understandings of superiority. Aristocratic elitists and promoters of overseas colonialism legitimised existing social hierarchies as biologically natural by associating their nations with pure-blooded conquering or civilising races. Liberals countered that cosmopolitan racial mixing produced Europe's superior culture.

The pendulum swung from imported civilisation towards romantic autochthony during the nineteenth century. As political participation broadened and prior ethnic occupation was used to justify territorial claims, nations sought native ethnic authenticity. Older myths of noble state founders from abroad (Trojans in Rome, Normans in England, Franks in France) gradually gave way to ancient ancestors of the masses (Anglo-Saxons in England, Gauls in France).² In linguistically Germanic lands, the superiority of the Teutonic blond progressively replaced powerful old narratives of *ex oriente lux*, encouraged by classical education, in which superior European civilisation came from the Fertile Crescent via Greece, Rome and Paris. Outside Germanic lands, noble Germanic ancestors were increasingly rejected.

Nevertheless, cosmopolitan scientific ideologies of universalism, the presence within each nation of transnational race categories like Celts, Teutons and Nordics and the dependence of scientific legitimacy on international scholarly consensus all placed limits on nationalist excess. A further key restraint, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, was that only the scientific community's powerful core countries had the resources to establish internationally orthodox classifications.

This chapter therefore first tells the story of the brachycephalic ‘Celtic’ and dolichocephalic ‘Teutonic’ racial ancestors of the French and Germans, the two key core nations from the early nineteenth century on. From Edwards and Retzius onwards, most anthropological race narratives and disputes about Europeans centred around these physical types and their (geo)political rivalries. Anthropologists systematically contrasted the qualities of tall, fair, long-headed and short, dark, broad-headed ‘peoples’, often made them historical rivals and dismissed the majority who did not fall into these physical categories as hybrids.³

Tall, blond Teutons, claimed as ancestors by Germanic-speakers, other northerners and aristocrats, were first linked with the original Aryan or Indo-European race and then also with dolichocephaly. In the 1860s–1890s however, France’s ‘Gallic School’ narrative of hyper-civilised brachycephalic ‘Celtic’ Aryans challenged assumptions of blond superiority. When research showed that the French were mostly brachycephalic, Broca reordered the racial hierarchy to make broad heads prestigious. The practice of extrapolating schemes based on local core research to Europe as a whole⁴ turned eastern European brachycephals into racial ‘Celts’ or ‘Celto-Slavs’.

The chapter next examines how the central figure of the Nordic-Germanic blond, the counter-narratives it stimulated (including the Celto-Slav), and negotiation of modern change, all shaped a pan-European system of interdependent race psychology narratives. Finally, I outline how, beginning with the Franco-Prussian War, Europe fractured into multiple competing race narratives from the 1880s on. Right-wing German nationalists proposed an extreme Nordic ‘Germanicism’, which became ubiquitous in interwar raciology. This Eurocentric movement not only reclaimed Aryan culture for the blond, but located its origins in northern Europe rather than in Asia. Fragmentation intensified as the core expanded. Italians praised previously maligned Mediterraneans, and Deniker’s races and expanded research data encouraged new Slav and Finnish race narratives.

THE FIRST SUPERIOR RACE: BLOND GERMANIC ARYANS

The Teutonic Blonds

Nineteenth-century anthropologists classified the tall, blond and linguistically mostly Germanic population of northern Europe as the Germanic and Teutonic race, before Deniker’s ‘Nordic’⁵ became the standard twentieth-

century term.⁶ Modern linguistic geography and evidence from classical authors like Tacitus supported a general assumption that ancient Teutons⁷ and possibly also Celts were northern blonds.⁸ Scandinavian, British and German anthropologists therefore adopted this as their national race.⁹ From Teutons being blond to blonds being Teutons was a small step. By the 1820s, classifiers were distinguishing the darker Celts and Iberians from Germanic blonds.¹⁰ Until about 1910, many anthropologists used Germanic or Teutonic as technical terms for the blond race.¹¹

Linked with Celts, Slavs, Balts, Aryans and, above all, Teutons, the tall northern blond was widely admired as Europe's most important, prestigious and evolved race, apparently corresponding to the regions of 'most evolved and refined' modern civilisation, industrialisation and military-political might¹² (see Map 4.1). Early-modern linguistically Germanic peoples rediscovered with pride that their ancestors conquered Rome, ruled Western Europe and founded Russia. In Spain and France, a robust tradition attributed Germanic ancestors to nobles and royals, contributing to widespread admiration among conservatives for Germanic blonds.¹³ Classical descriptions of blond Belgae led important Francophone Belgian anthropologists to link them with Germanic dolichocephals from the 1840s on.¹⁴ Bismarck's aggressive new Germany only partly undermined this international tradition.¹⁵

Early nineteenth-century ethnology merged romantic ethnic historiography of Teutonic superiority with Enlightenment period assumptions of White global racial superiority.¹⁶ By 1849, German romantics had developed an enduringly influential scale of racial value, descending from the tall, blond, blue-eyed European epitome of beauty and whiteness to ugly, passive, simian, natural Africans.¹⁷ Prichard and later theorists paralleled paleness with hierarchies of civilisation and power and then with evolutionary advance and mental superiority.¹⁸ This palest people had thrust south from Scandinavia to dominate dark southern Europeans economically and militarily, just as Europeans more broadly dominated the still swarthier colonial south. Knox claimed 'the noblest' ancient Greeks were racial Saxons.¹⁹ Pale perfection explained colonialism, slavery, the Mediterranean failure to industrialise, and the darker features of European subject peoples like the Irish, Welsh, central European Slavs and Lapps.

Stimulated especially by Germany's resistance to Napoleon, this Germanicism emerged as a defiant rejection of *ex oriente lux* traditions and Catholic and French power by the simpler and more spiritual German culture.²⁰ It combined ancient Teutonic myths, manly, noble military glory,

the soil of the eternal national territory, scholarly study of northern rather than classical antiquities and purity of blood and language.²¹ Campaigns to purge German and English of foreign words, for example replacing ‘preface’ with ‘foreword’, informed the particular aversion in nineteenth-century British colonialism to mixing with ‘coloureds’.²² Assuming pure-blood descent from ancient Teutons, Germanic antiquaries rejected ancient ‘foreign’ cultural or racial influences.²³

Drawing on romantic predecessors, Victorians like the polymath Thomas Carlyle attributed Britain’s enduring ‘free institutions’, inherited directly from ancient Germania, to the racial ‘skills and talents’ of Aryan Anglo-Saxons.²⁴ Between the 1848 revolutions and the Franco-Prussian War, which undermined admiration for Germany, the ‘un-systematic, illogical, unhistorical’ emotional appeal of Anglo-Saxonism was also ‘highly pervasive’ among Lowland Scots, like Carlyle and Knox, and Americans.²⁵ Racial courage, enterprise and intelligence explained the stability, prosperity, imperial achievements, greatness and destiny of English-speaking peoples. All Germanicism, but especially Anglo-Saxonism, emphasised personal freedom. The 1688 Glorious Revolution thus restored ‘Gothic liberties’, suppressed under ‘the Norman yoke’.²⁶ Teutonic origins however always faced stiff competition from civilisational accounts of British success.²⁷ Even within Anglo-Saxonist scholarship, an accent on Germanic institutions often overshadowed Knox’s racial account.

Blond Dolichocephalic Teutonic Aryans

Germanicism interacted intimately with the single most important classification controversy in race anthropology, concerning the history and original home of the Indo-Europeans or Aryans. In 1784, English scholarship showed that Sanskrit, the language of an aristocratic tribe of ancient invaders of India called the *Arya*, was related to Greek and Latin.²⁸ By the early 1820s, comparative philologists generally accepted a single Indo-European language family that included Germanic languages, but excluded Hebrew.²⁹ The ‘understandable yet overwhelming’ historiographical focus on the use in anti-Semitism is nevertheless a prime example of the perils of presentism.³⁰ Anti-Semitic Aryanism is largely a creation of fin-de-siècle neo-romanticism. As Manias notes, the Aryans were central to key European national race debates in the 1870s–1880s, but anthropologists primarily distinguished them from European pre-Aryans such as the Basques and Finns, rather than from Jews. The ‘vast and beau-

tiful' Indo-European language family sheltered Europe's ethnic groups under a single racial umbrella, though '[p]olitical considerations' and the concentration of resources in philology delayed Celtic or Slavic admittance.³¹ Fascination with Aryans spread rapidly among European scholars, encouraged by debate over the Celtic question and Max Müller's popular 1849–1874 translations of Indian epics.³²

In the 1810s–1850s, almost everyone accepted philological accounts of a slow ancient migration of manly, superior Indo-European from India or Central Asia, introducing metal and higher civilisation into Europe.³³ This westward odyssey chimed with *ex oriente lux* theories, popular Biblical origin myths of Gauls and Teutons and Blumenbach's 1795 Caucasian race concept.

As Aryan ancestors became key markers of superior European civilisation and race, philological debates about them were central to ethnology, 'imperial culture' and 'the new genealogies' of European nations.³⁴ Britain's late 1860s–1890s Aryan cult justified rule of India and Anglo-Saxonism extended the Aryan's 'irresistible march' west to California.³⁵

Aryan debates greatly encouraged the association of languages with races. In the 1820s–1840s, philologists, and especially monogenists, assumed that modern Indo-European speakers shared descent from the pale, racially Aryan conquerors that populated Indian epics.³⁶ Mid-nineteenth-century, medically-trained race anthropologists successfully shifted the core meaning of Aryan to what Müller in 1861 christened the Aryan race, and its distinct physical type.³⁷ Even those like Broca, who were suspicious of philological evidence, assumed that tall, blond, blue-eyed dolichocephalic Indo-Europeans had introduced superior civilisation.³⁸ Blondness and dolichocephaly increasingly connected Aryan and Teutonic prestige, exemplified by the nationalistic term 'Indo-Germanic' for Aryan.³⁹ Scandinavian blonds were considered vestiges of Aryan purity.⁴⁰ This scientific blond Aryan race heavily influenced the turn-of-the-century popular German nationalism that Hitler grew up with.

In 1838–1840, noting correspondences in prehistoric finds between skull-types and the recently proposed three-ages classification of artefacts, Retzius and other Scandinavian craniologists and archaeologists argued that blond Aryan Bronze-Age dolichocephals conquered Europe's Stone-Age brachycephalic natives.⁴¹ Retzius linked dolichocephaly to more developed brains, Scandinavians, Aryans, the 'higher culture' of Western Europeans and, on scanty evidence, ancient Greeks.⁴² Scandinavian scholars connected brachycephalic skulls from deeper, older, more primitive

strata with barbaric ‘Mongoloid’ modern Lapps.⁴³ Adding evidence from classical accounts and the French race succession proposed by Edwards and the historian Thierry in 1828–1829, these scholars generalised their local craniological sequence, postulating a pan-European Lappish-Finnish-Turanian-Basque race of native dark brachycephals.⁴⁴ This ‘vestige theory’ perpetuated a long-standing antiquarian and philological tradition of sweeping widely scattered races such as Basques, Gaels, Georgians and ancient Ligurians into a single tidy race-historical dustbin⁴⁵ (see Map 4.4).

Blanckaert argues that until Retzius’ highly influential 1840 scheme, anthropologists generally assumed a single ‘white, civilised, European type’ and antiquaries assumed their own Celtic, Germanic or Slavic national ancestors were the original local races.⁴⁶

Broca (himself brachycephalic) and Quatrefages later criticised Retzius and other Germanic scholars for treating dolichocephalic blond ‘Aryans’, typical in Scandinavia, as the only true Whites.⁴⁷ Retzius’s simple, clear European race succession theory however quickly convinced the leading Western European anthropologists, archaeologists and linguists, including in France.⁴⁸ Early 1860s discoveries of long skulls in early medieval German *Reihengräber* (graverow) burial sites considerably strengthened this theory and made skull-shape a key indicator of Teutonic graves.⁴⁹ Newly discovered clusters of blonds in Asia meanwhile added to linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence for Aryan migration from there.⁵⁰

Anglo-Saxonists had a distinctive Teutonomania. Nineteenth-century British anthropologists like Prichard, Huxley and Beddoe neglected craniology in favour of pigmentation.⁵¹ Prichard and the blond Beddoe equated character with colouring.⁵²

Thus in insane asylums one sees... the melancholic and the insane epileptic most often with straight dark hair... Note too the preponderance among criminals of dark hair, and yet more clearly of the brown eye (the criminal eye as some have called it) most marked, according to my own statistics, in crimes of violence.⁵³

While continental classifiers used craniology to delineate precise ethnic territories in Europe, many British imported into Europe their global world-view of gradual transition from a blond north to a radically inferior dark south.⁵⁴ In British race schemes, Mediterraneans stretched into Asia and Africa, whereas blonds were purely European.⁵⁵

THE SECOND SUPERIOR RACE: DARK BRACHYCEPHALIC CELTS

The brachycephals of Europe's upland interior, called Celts, then Celto-Slavs, and finally, in the twentieth century, Alpines, delivered the most serious challenge to blond superiority. The great prestige of Celts derived from universality, romanticisation and ancientness. Due to their fame, hints in classical literature, the international distribution of stone circles and similarities among ancient tribal names, most scholars before 1850 made them the 'first inhabitants' throughout Western Europe and even in Scandinavia.⁵⁶ Enlightenment 'Moderns' used Celts to argue against the priority of classical civilisation.⁵⁷ British and French antiquaries attributed all pre-Roman monuments and artefacts to them. Philological evidence of Celtic linguistic antiquity, the Retzius theory, the Stone-Bronze-Iron Age chronology, and rapid advances in archaeology then convinced mid-nineteenth-century experts that the Celts were Europe's first Aryan invaders from Asia, who displaced or ruled over less civilised aborigines throughout western, central and northern Europe.⁵⁸ Up to around 1900, archaeologists often assumed that all finds of bronze must be Celtic.⁵⁹

Celts therefore competed with Teutons or Latins as potential ancestors in early national identity discourses across much of Europe (see Map 4.2). Whereas the French, Insular Celts (Irish, Scots, Welsh, Bretons) and Spain's Galicians made Celtic ancestors a fundamental identity, for Germans and others it was a decorative optional identity symbol.⁶⁰ Eighteenth-century classical and linguistic scholarship established a universal early nineteenth-century acceptance of the 'Insular' peoples as racial and cultural Celts, whose languages were related to those of Caesar's famous Gauls.⁶¹ Welsh cultural nationalists, Ireland's Protestant ruling class and, in the later nineteenth century, Ireland's Catholic peasantry enthusiastically adopted Celtic ancestry (see Chapter 5). Celts and druids were exploited in controversies about romanticism, religion, the emerging Welsh and Scottish identities and Scotland's contested historical association with Ireland.⁶²

Breton nationalists used prehistoric megaliths to portray ancient Gauls as Europe's pre-eminent Celts and themselves as their purest descendants.⁶³ From the 1790s however, French nationalists also exploited this narrative, and the French state ultimately almost eradicated the Breton Celtic language. As 'the eldest daughter' of the Celtic race, the French particularly insisted on this prestigious '*national antiquity*' and by 1830 were securely identified as ethnically Celtic.⁶⁴ From the sixteenth century, French nar-

ratives of Celts as ancestors of the common people interacted in complex ways with narratives of Germanic Frankish nobles, Roman origin myths and political debates about liberty and oppression.⁶⁵ The Revolutionary Abbé Sieyès championed the ‘Celtic’ common people against ‘Germanic’ aristocrats, inciting the Celtic third estate in 1798 to send ‘families who maintain the insane claim’ to Frankish racial descent ‘back into the forests’ of Germany.⁶⁶ Napoleon mostly relied on Imperial Roman symbolism but also ostentatiously carried James Macpherson’s Celtic epic *Ossian* with him on campaign, founded the *Académie Celtique* in 1805 and used Celticism to justify annexing ancient Gallic territory.⁶⁷

Exclusive Gallic descent, which excluded ‘foreign’ Germanic and Roman influences, and was one of France’s few pre-1789 symbols not tainted with monarchical associations, offered a vital unifying myth in post-Revolutionary France.⁶⁸ Amid intensifying race consciousness, liberal Romantic historians like the Thierry brothers celebrated the July Revolution of 1830 as the triumph of ‘our ancestors the Gauls’, permanently establishing Celts as the ‘primary ethnic foundation’ of the French, just as 1688 had enthroned the Anglo-Saxon common people in England.⁶⁹ Aside from a few conservatives like Gobineau and Lapouge, who disdained the broad-headed Celtic lower classes,⁷⁰ ethnologists henceforth understood the French as largely Celtic ‘by blood’.⁷¹ In France’s next ‘frenzy of Celtic identity’, in 1850–1914, Celtic references multiplied in street names, monuments and books, a Celtic Studies chair was founded in Paris (1876), and school history lessons stressed a heroic Gallic ancestry.⁷² Anthropologists considered the Celtic race the essence or direct ancestors of the modern French.⁷³ The humiliating defeat of 1870 reinforced the cult of Vercingetorix, the Celtic leader whom Caesar defeated, and of the Celts as figures of resurgence.⁷⁴

While Spanish megaliths contributed to making Celts the chosen ancestors of Galicians, the identification of Celts with Iron-Age archaeological sites from France to the Carpathians after 1871⁷⁵ helped to give them walk-on roles in Romanian, Polish and Czech identity stories.⁷⁶ Druids and local Celtic resistance to the Romans made Celts still more prominent in Swiss, Spanish, British, French and Belgian nationalism.⁷⁷ German and Scandinavian ‘Celtomania’ meanwhile was contested but not ‘isolated’.⁷⁸ As late as 1875, Bavarian anthropologists surprised north German colleagues by linking Bavaria’s dark brachycephals to Celtic ancestors who were more civilised than the Germanics.⁷⁹ ‘Celtomania’ flourished in German scholarship from the fifteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries,

admiring tall, blond, cultured Celto-Teutons as ‘great ancestors’, who manfully invaded and resisted Rome.⁸⁰ A Celtic link provided an antiquity equal to that of the Mediterranean, pan-European romanticisation, and a response to France’s intimidating cultural prestige and their own boorish reputation.⁸¹

Historical disputes about Celtomania peaked in the mid-eighteenth-century, when enthusiasts identified ancient Celts from Greece to Britain, incorporating them among the Teutons or vice versa,⁸² and again in the mid-nineteenth century. This was an intensely confused and confusing polemic, drawing contradictory conclusions from the same scrupulously compiled, but extremely vague and ambiguous classical references and pre-scientific etymologies.⁸³ Celtomaniacs for example reconstructed ancient Celtic languages from ‘old-German words and names’.⁸⁴

Criticism of Celtomania climaxed in the nationalistic passions of the Napoleonic wars.⁸⁵ While the French contrasted their ‘refined’ ancestors with Tacitus’s ‘Nordic barbarians’, Germans revelled in ancient Teutonic valour. Anglo-Saxonist antiquaries and intellectual leaders like David Hume argued, sometimes in precociously racial terms, that the ‘abject’ rebellious Insular Celts were separate from, inferior to or conquered by Teutons and lacked their instinct for liberty.⁸⁶ Early to mid-nineteenth-century central European Celtomania, rose in parallel with ideas of a ‘Germanic Europe’.⁸⁷ By 1857 however, German scholars had decisively disproved theories of Germans and Celts as one people.⁸⁸ To the satisfaction of French anthropologists, Germans and other central Europeans largely abandoned claims to ‘France’s’ Celtic ancestors, finally laying to rest ethnology’s Celtic question.⁸⁹ By 1870, identity narratives firmly opposed purely Teutonic Germans to the Celtic French.

This clear dichotomy had also met resistance on the French side however, especially due to modern France’s numerous blonds. Up to 1870, French ethnologists still often linked Teutons and Celts and accepted that courageous, impetuous, ‘pure race’ Teutons had made a significant anthropological impact on France.⁹⁰ Though some ethnologists classed France’s blonds as Germanics, Thierry rebranded them as Kymric Celts.⁹¹ Borrowing the name of the Kymric language family, to which Welsh and Breton belong, Thierry identified two Celtic linguistic-cultural ‘families’ in ancient Gaul.⁹² ‘Kymris’ inhabited the north and the more numerous and earlier settled brunet ‘Galls’ were in the south-east. Though the Welsh were relatively dark, the Kymris were widely associated with two supposedly blond ancient tribes, in Jutland and around the English Channel.⁹³

Edwards's craniological observations, followed by Broca's studies on military recruits in the late 1850s, confirmed Thierry's geography.⁹⁴ They made the Kymris long-headed and tall, and changed the name of the short, broad-headed Gauls to Celts.

The Broca Challenge

Retzius initially contrasted superior dolichocephalic Western Europeans with brachycephalic Lapps and Slavs. However, his research in 1842–1860 gradually led him to extend a broad tongue of brachycephaly along the Alps and southern France to the Basques, separating tall blond northern coastal dolichocephals from small dark southern ones.⁹⁵ Studies in the 1860s broadened this 'continuous' middle band of brachycephaly to include southern Germans, northern Italians, most French and all Slavs.⁹⁶ This three-race geography remained anthropological orthodoxy until 1900 at least (see Map 4.5).

Broca's anthropometric research from 1859 on convinced him and most other French and British anthropologists that the French were indeed mostly short, dark brachycephals, descended from prehistoric natives.⁹⁷ Comparing ancient and modern crania and ancient texts showed short, brachycephalic brunets in the same regions since Roman times. The modern French were therefore '*no longer*' biologically '*Arians*'.⁹⁸ This revelation meant that French scholars could not accept Retzius's categorisation of dark pre-Aryan brachycephals as subjugated, backward remnants.⁹⁹ They recognised the widespread prejudice, encouraged by evolutionism, colonialism and Retzius, against backward aborigines who survived in lower social strata after losing their 'own' language under the irresistible cultural influence of superior conquerors.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Broca's camp built on the nationalist nativism of Celtic French and Saxon British narratives, to accept Basque and Finnish pre-Aryan aborigines as properly 'European' ancestors of the French.¹⁰¹ They were only primitive compared to Aryans, rather than the 'complete inequality' that precluded 'any fusion' with black colonials.¹⁰²

Despite the, no doubt, sincere apolitical and universalistic rhetoric of Broca and his circle, they made the brachycephalic 'true Celt' majority the French national race, though fused with a minority of Kymric blonds.¹⁰³ Rehabilitating its reputation became a key goal for 1860s–1870s French race anthropologists. Making the French natives rather than Asian immigrants was also a big step towards Eurocentrism, anticipating Nordicist

theories that Nordics and Aryans also originated in Europe. While monogenists like Pruner-Bey, Quatrefages and Prichard, in part from global Christian solidarity, wanted to represent Europeans and non-Europeans as relatives, Broca, a polygenist, saw Europeans as distinct and separate.¹⁰⁴

Broca and his allies accepted that the first wave of blond Aryan conquerors from Asia had introduced Europe's Celtic languages and superior bronze culture.¹⁰⁵ He nevertheless transferred the *term* Celt, the title deed to Celtic prestige, to France's dark brachycephalic majority, though this had learned its Celtic language from the blond invaders, and had little to do with the glorious Gallic resistance against Rome. To support this move, Broca's school made Caesar, as an accomplished scholar with first-hand knowledge of Gaul, their principal historical authority.¹⁰⁶ Following Thierry, Broca saw Caesar's definition of Celts as a small, dark 'distinct race' in central Gaul, who called themselves Celts, as more legitimate for naming a modern biological group, found throughout Western Europe, than more frequent classical references to blond Celts.¹⁰⁷

This Celtic dispute interacting with, intensified and embittered other 1860s controversies, which are detailed in Chapter 3. They concerned monogenism, the role of linguistics in race anthropology and whether physical type was mutable.¹⁰⁸ They all pitted Broca against the linguist Pruner-Bey. A key issue in the Celtic dispute concerned the biological contribution to modern European populations of the Aryan-speaking Asiatic invaders.¹⁰⁹ Broca accused Pruner-Bey and other Retzius followers of insisting on a uniform Celtic skull type and giving their conquering blond Aryans numeric predominance, in order to harmonise physical 'facts... with linguistics'.¹¹⁰

Retzius and Pruner-Bey believed the more numerous Aryans 'clearly massacred' native European 'savages', driving survivors into marginal lands, or they died out, 'just as the Anglo-Saxons made the Redskins of America and the blacks of Australia disappear'.¹¹¹ Broca and his allies countered that the 'few thousand' Celts from Asia dissolved racially among the native population.¹¹² Evidence included the continuity of skull-types after the Celtic invasion, the absence of Roman records of widespread genocide and the focus of historical records on flamboyant conquerors rather than the unremarkable but indispensable 'agricultural or industrial', 'permanent base of the people'.¹¹³ By emphasising the difference between biological majority and a conqueror's cultural power, this argument naturalised modern France's Latin culture and its Gallicisation of colonial subjects.

After 1862, in long battles within the Paris Anthropological Society about Basques, Celts, 'fossil races' and philology's dominance of ethnol-

ogy, Broca successfully routed Pruner-Bey's¹¹⁴ defence of Retzius's 'Aryan orthodoxy'.¹¹⁵ In a period of Franco-German conflict, nationalism may have influenced both Broca and Pruner-Bey, a Bavarian based in Paris.¹¹⁶ Turning Celts, who were Aryan, into broad-headed brunets challenged the blond Teuton's Aryan pretensions. Though Celtomania was weak in craniology, and despite a barrage of place-name, classical and cranio-logical evidence from Broca's camp, Pruner-Bey, like numerous German anthropologists, was reluctant to relinquish Germany's connections with Celts.¹¹⁷ Desperate to prove his Francophilia however, Pruner-Bey tried to play down the inferiority of Gaulish brachycephals.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, he was even less flattering towards brachycephals than Retzius. He made Europe's 'pre-Aryan' brachycephals a broad-faced 'Mongoloid type', linking it in 1866, including in its customs, to North American 'savages' and other pitiful vestiges¹¹⁹ (see Map 4.4). His 'Mongoloid theory' temporarily convinced Quatrefages, who used it in 1867 to support monogenist 'migrationist theses'.¹²⁰

Basques, Celts and Neanderthals

In addition to challenging earlier terminological practices, Broca's camp undermined the Retzius race succession and the superiority of dolichocephalics (and implicitly the Germanic race) by identifying primitive, pre-Aryan dolichocephalic skulls. His devastating first broadside to the Retzius race succession involved speakers of the pre-Aryan Basque language, who in Retzius's scheme, should have been racially pre-Aryan brachycephals.¹²¹ French anthropologists initially accepted Retzius's claim, apparently based on one or two skulls, that these were short, dark broad-headed descendants of a primordial pan-European 'Iberian race'.¹²² After being shown a dolichocephalic Basque skull in 1862 however, Broca pillaged sixty largely dolichocephalic skulls from a Basque graveyard, undermining the 'logical coherence and simplicity' of the Retzius scheme and severely shaking its support.¹²³ Pruner-Bey claimed these were Celtic crania, but Broca responded by highlighting their inferior, typically African posterior form of dolichocephaly.¹²⁴ During the 1860s, both camps periodically unearthed dolichocephalic or brachycephalic skulls or live measurements of the Basque, whom both sides recognised as racial primitives.¹²⁵ A pre-historic posterior dolichocephalic skull from Gibraltar finally demolished Pruner-Bey's position in 1869.¹²⁶

Retzius's race succession inspired British archaeologists and anthropologists, but they were crucial to undermining it. In 1844, Wilde, father of the famous Oscar and Ireland's preeminent ethnologist, 'quickly adopted' a succession from pre-Aryan to Celtic among ancient Irish skulls.¹²⁷ By 1852, this succession was 'widely' accepted in Britain.¹²⁸ However Wilde found long-skulled, dark natives in Stone-Age tombs and 'much better proportioned... more globular' skulls in Celtic tombs with metal implements.¹²⁹ British excavations entirely confirmed this reversal of the Scandinavian craniological sequence.¹³⁰ In 1864, Thurnham, a Quaker mental asylum manager and leading British archaeologist, collaborated with Broca to overthrow the Retzius succession, linking British and French Stone-Age dolichocephalic skulls.¹³¹ Pruner-Bey protested that broad-heads predominated in the craniologically mixed French Stone Age, that Britain's race succession was local and 'entirely exceptional', and that British archaeologists were biased.¹³² He dismissed the famous low-browed dolichocephalic Neanderthal as an 'idiot' Celt, resembling some modern Irish Celts.¹³³ Ironically, Pruner-Bey prioritised cranial evidence, while Broca employed artefact archaeology, stressing that tombs without metal could not be Celtic.¹³⁴

However discoveries of broader-headed modern Swedes, linguistically 'Mongoloid' but dolichocephalic Estonians and, in 1868, evolutionarily modern Crô-Magnon dolichocephals that helped to reclassify other ancient Western European skulls which were initially considered 'negroid', had by 1875 prised Quatrefages from Pruner-Bey's camp.¹³⁵ The 'river-bed stratification of the Seine' gave compelling evidence of Crô-Magnon-brachycephal succession.¹³⁶ By 1874, ancient dolichocephalic skulls discovered throughout Europe, including by Retzius's son Gustav, had 'routed' Retzius's race succession.¹³⁷ Broca and his influential school rapidly convinced almost all French and foreign anthropologists until at least 1900, including most Germans, that the Welsh, Bretons and many French and southern Germans were 'short brown-haired' broad-headed racial Celts, fused in France with blond Kymris.¹³⁸

Liberal Race Mixture

Though the brachycephalic Celt became France's senior national race therefore, liberal French anthropology placed it firmly within a strong tradition of the nation as a thorough racial and cultural fusion.¹³⁹ Thierry, Edwards and Broca's Celts were syntheses of dark, brachycephalic Gauls

with tall, long-headed blond northern French Kymris.¹⁴⁰ French identity narratives had mixed Celts, Romans or Franks for centuries, harmoniously or otherwise. Though Celtic Gauls were entrenched as the national French race from 1830, historians and race anthropologists celebrated France as a ‘vast melting pot’ or synthesis, which could even absorb colonial natives and German-speaking Alsace-Lorraine.¹⁴¹ Ernest Renan’s famous 1882 lecture, *Qu’est. ce que une nation?*, opposed Germany’s ethnic-based claim to Alsace-Lorraine, by stressing that France and other nations were racially mixed.¹⁴² To combine purity and synthesis narratives, Greeks and Irish also postulated a special national talent for absorbing foreign elements without trace¹⁴³ (see Chapter 5). From 1840 on, anthropometric results systematically confirmed that modern nations were composed of multiple physical types, reinforcing French ‘synthesis’ narratives. Broca linked French ‘material and intellectual prosperity’ to racial mixture.¹⁴⁴

Synthesis narratives supported liberal openness to Jews and justified Russian, Austrian, Hungarian and Polish multi-ethnic states. Though ethnic minorities were welcomed to assimilate however, synthesis also naturalised social divisions. In France, brachycephals were represented as just one stolid, imperfect part of a harmonious whole, leavened by an Aryan yeast with the usual blond attributes of evolutionary perfection, conquering instincts and upper-class status.¹⁴⁵ A Romanian anthropologist pioneered the Celto-Slav concept in 1877 by identifying blond Kymris in his country with ancient tribes that classical writers said were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and must therefore, he reasoned, have lived off ‘a subject race’ of Celtic ‘producers’.¹⁴⁶ For Nordicists by contrast, non-Nordic proletarians might be a foreign fifth column.

Leading Italian anthropologists like Sergi, drawing, like the French, on ‘customary’ *ex oriente lux* civilisation narratives, accepted Italy too as a successful ‘multicoloured’ ethno-racial mix.¹⁴⁷ Far from advocating purity, Sergi, a Sicilian, advocated internal migration to reinvigorate southern Italy with an infusion of northern blood.¹⁴⁸ However Nazi race science influenced right-wing interwar Italian race theorists to reject recent (though not ancient) Italian race crossing.¹⁴⁹

Though Germany is often presented as the classic case of ethnic nationalism, the historiographical controversy surrounding Virchow’s mid-1870s schoolchild survey demonstrates that this was a complex and contested issue for liberal anthropologists. Zimmerman argues that the survey convinced them that the ‘blue-eyed, white-skinned’ blond was Germany’s ‘dominant type’, whereas brunet races were associated with Slavs, Walloons

and ‘particularly Jews’.¹⁵⁰ His German focus however fails to acknowledge that much of transnational liberal anthropology revolved around associating historical ethnic groups with these two fundamental European types. Virchow therefore ‘continually’ maintained that European nations were interrelated, with blurred physical differences between them.¹⁵¹ He and Johannes Ranke, the second most prominent liberal German anthropologist, identified tall, fair, long-headed northerners and short, dark southern broad-heads among Germans, Slavs, Celts and Finns.¹⁵² Other historians meanwhile stress the shock of German anthropologists to discover from the survey that only 31.8 % of Germans conformed with ancient accounts of blond Germanics, while the ‘brown type’, though overall a minority, predominated in the south and in socially dynamic regions like river basins and big cities.¹⁵³ Craniological archaeology backed this finding.¹⁵⁴

Zimmerman argues that the schoolchild survey’s practice of separating out groups belonging by immigrant ‘origin, to a different nation’ reproduced the ‘persistent popular’ national purity discourse of Jews as ‘a group apart’.¹⁵⁵ This presumably had the *effect* of reinforcing the separateness of Jews for the schoolchildren and their teachers. However, we should not read this back into the intentions of liberal anthropologists. As Zimmerman himself acknowledges, standard anthropological methodology sought native local data and excluded probable immigrants *a priori*, in order to understand tribal ancestry.¹⁵⁶ Zimmerman meanwhile claims that Virchow moved ‘Jewish racial data... from the periphery to the centre of the inquiry’ by finding that the relatively dark-haired Jews formed ‘a quite respectable contrast to the real Teutons’.¹⁵⁷ This projects interwar German raciology’s obsession with Jews onto predecessors with different preoccupations. Massin finds that in 1890–1914, just six articles in the main German anthropological journals deal specifically with Jews.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, as Evans and Manias note, Virchow concluded that some Jews were blond, while Germans were a mixture and could therefore include Jews.¹⁵⁹ Liberal anthropologists actively opposed anti-Semitism and in the *völkisch* 1890s, became increasingly sensitive to the idea that Germanic, Slavic or Jewish races could be distinguished.¹⁶⁰

The exclusion of the Viennese anthropological society from the German umbrella body emphasised a civic rather than ethnic definition of nationality and up until the war years, liberal leaders of German anthropology accepted national race mixture as ‘a mark of progress’.¹⁶¹ Manias recognises however that mixture was easier to reconcile with French or British national identity traditions than with Germanic race purity.¹⁶² Virchow’s

‘voluntarist model’ of nationality and his active opposition to linking Germanics and Aryans with blond dolichocephals may have been minority opinions. Virchow’s colleagues accepted that ‘long-term fusion, blending and progressive development’ had made Germans very racially diverse, but that a persisting ‘pure dolichocephalic Germanic form’ acted as the ‘ethnic glue’, binding other types together. The nation could therefore, as in France, very gradually assimilate and absorb ethnic minorities.

Germany’s twentieth century shift towards Nordicism led to a revival of the blond aristocratic ethos, which seethed with revulsion towards ‘disharmonic young bastard-populations’ and feared that vital pure races like the Greeks, Romans and Germanics inevitably degenerated by mixing with conquered inferiors.¹⁶³ In this discourse, Nordic top men, with the pick of beautiful women, maintained race purity by preferring to marry the tall, thin blonds that everyone admired and associated with nobility.¹⁶⁴ However, in the mortal Darwinian conflict between national races, sexually ‘irresistible’, early-maturing and ‘submissive’ racially inferior females constituted a mortal threat.¹⁶⁵

Britain shifted in the opposite direction. Graham says that while late nineteenth-century German social Darwinism became increasingly pessimistic, more optimistic Anglophone social Darwinists associated race competition with wholesome capitalist competition.¹⁶⁶ The revival of Scots and Welsh Celticism, generational change, the monopolisation of Teutomania by united Germany and, finally, the ‘inter-Teutonic war of 1914–1918’ all encouraged entrenched traditions of racial hybridisation in British national ideology, which Anglo-Saxonism had never really superseded.¹⁶⁷ Several British ethnologists questioned the degree of civilisation of ancient Teutons, criticised portrayals of ‘dark-eyed’ proles as ‘dangerous and disorderly’ ‘social débris’¹⁶⁸ and linked British civilisation to a civilised Celtic strain or racial diversity more generally.¹⁶⁹

RACE PSYCHOLOGY: THE BLOND AND ITS ENEMIES

Distinctions between a Germanic core and Celtic-Mediterranean-Slavic periphery structured race psychology narratives into an integrated European system of contrasts, infused with an interplay of rival strategies for coming to terms with modernity. Throughout Europe, Germanics generally held power, assumed superiority and claimed valued psychological traits like conquest, rulership and technological superiority.¹⁷⁰

As Chapter 3 already suggested, a key race dichotomy contrasted romantic, aristocratic pessimism about the degeneration of rural ethnic purity, with positivist, democratic optimism that urban civilisation evolved through modern mixture. Modernity entailed progressive change and, usually, external influences. While optimists expected profit, exotic stimulations and a splendid future, conservatives feared destruction of their familiar world. Germanic-Nordic supremacism was politically linked to anti-modernism, and non-Germanic race narratives often stressed positivism in contrast, but modernity was a complex challenge for all, stimulating diverse and often inconsistent responses. Militaristic conservatives needed modern industrial might but romanticised old-fashioned rural aristocratic life. High European culture could be modern or traditional. A peaceful underling could be a romantic changeless peasant, rooted in the national territory, or an industrious city-dweller, building modernity.

These options and the flexible vagueness of race psychology helped scholars accept reigning international scientific opinion on their peoples, rather than developing dissenting narratives, which could contradict lived experience and be ignored internationally. Peripheral countries usually reconciled nationalist impulses with transnational hegemonic narratives by internalising and reinterpreting insulting core discourses in a positive light.¹⁷¹ When outsiders called you chaotic, you claimed to be spontaneous; the meek became prudent; ‘native’ could signify either ‘backward’ or ‘authentic’.¹⁷²

After reviewing the psychologies attributed to Europe’s central race, the blond Germanic/Nordic, this section examines the interdependent roles of modernity and geography in the system, shaping Germanic insults and their neighbours’ responses.

Germanic Race Psychology Narratives

Tacitus’s *Germania*, rediscovered in 1450–1550, confirmed Teutonic barbarians as a simple, pure and native race, daring fighters and adventurers, but also jovial carousers who treated women better than any other race did.¹⁷³ This portrayal contributed to the counter-Enlightenment contrast between ‘soulful, individual, communitarian, national,’ uninhibited romantic German *Kultur* and ‘soulless, mechanistic, levelling, international,’ materialist, utilitarian French or Western *civilisation*.¹⁷⁴ French and German communities both accepted this to some extent. French anthropologists nevertheless extended the wild, ‘restless’ Germanic war-

rior personality to France's tall, blond Celtic Kymris, who had also battled Greece and Rome.¹⁷⁵ Linking modern colonialism with Vikings and other Teutonic invaders meanwhile, and citing research that longer-headed modern Europeans emigrated more, several authors gave blonds an insatiable wanderlust.¹⁷⁶

Mandler contrasts the radically new, democratic Teutonic psychology of mid-nineteenth century British liberals like Matthew Arnold with the traditional 'wild and anarchic' Teutonic warrior of radical Anglo-Saxonist anthropologists.¹⁷⁷ However the Saxon bourgeois or scientist described by Knox and even by earlier racist British phrenologists was already more Tolkien's hobbit than Tacitus's noble savage.¹⁷⁸ Their Saxon was democratic, 'straightforward... peaceable,' 'disciplinable', moderate, respectable, intelligent, patient, cautious, 'cool,... sedate', clean, orderly, comfort-loving 'plodding, industrious', and, as Scottish observers noted, 'habitually attentive to his own interest'.¹⁷⁹ This race psychology became widely influential during the 1860s to early 1890s 'apogee of British power and influence' but then merged with and transformed the continental Teuton.¹⁸⁰

Old and persistent claims that Teutons loved liberty sat awkwardly with Germanic conquest.¹⁸¹ Early modern Protestant reformers, Civil War roundheads, proto-socialist Levellers and American revolutionaries invoked myths of alien Norman aristocrats persecuting the Anglo-Saxons, who imported 'democratic 'free institutions' direct 'from the woods of Germany'.¹⁸² However Anglo-Saxonists made innate democracy an excuse for conquest. Efficiency, liberty and justice gave the Anglo-Saxons 'a peculiar genius for governing itself – and others', and therefore a duty to impose 'world peace, order, and morality', to save 'inferior races' like the Irish from self-destruction.¹⁸³ Stiffened by social Darwinism and Nietzsche, later elitists believed that natural destiny required them to rule and perhaps supersede inferior races. Racially 'passive' Irish, Mongolians and blacks hated emigrating and wallowed in theocracy and tyranny, but superior active races travelled 'cheerfully' to advance humanity.¹⁸⁴ Thirst for liberty explained emigrations to escape rule by passive-race autocrats in Europe and colonise other continents.¹⁸⁵

Anglo-Saxonists like Knox bundled their nationalist opponents into a Celtic ideal enemy, a psychological antithesis with many features resembling the continental Teutonic stereotype. Their Celtic 'Frenchman, Irishman, Scottish Highlander, [or] Welshman' was always 'precisely the same', energetic, proud, generous, 'gallant and brave', but also fanatical, autocratic, spendthrift, treacherous, despising 'regular labour'.¹⁸⁶ In a period

of Irish and French rebellion and resurgent Bonapartism, Anglo-Saxonists made war the central Celtic attribute, allowing Knox to combine ‘the two extremes of... civilized man’, Skibbereen and Derrynane¹⁸⁷ in Ireland, where ‘Civilized man cannot sink lower’, with Parisian taste, fine art, fashion and refined philosophy.¹⁸⁸ Unimaginative, unshapely Saxon philistines in dowdy London however appropriated Celtic inventions for ‘useful purposes’.

In the late nineteenth century, the Anglophone Anglo-Saxon and Continental Germanic discourses merged, including in their psychological traits. Fuelled by high imperialism, cosmopolitan anthropology and the international prestige of Britain’s ruling élite, the new Nordic psychology of the stiff-lipped blond imperialist or industrialist, modern but aristocratic, fused British stress on self-disciplined efficient industry with the adventurous martial courage of Tacitus’s Teuton.¹⁸⁹ Upper middle classes used this aristocratic model to distinguish themselves from ‘first-generation climbers’. The Franco-Prussian War and racial uncoupling of Ireland and France deflated the warlike Celt, and Anglo-Saxonism declined in the 1890s.¹⁹⁰ British Teutonists therefore abandoned their peaceful, industrious, boring bourgeois values to the brachycephal ‘Celtic’ brunet. Germany’s defeat in 1918 then led ‘conservative revolutionaries’ like the Nazis to allow unromantic but militarily essential elements of ‘technology and planning’ into the German *Kultur* concept.¹⁹¹

The early twentieth-century consensus on Nordic psychology was international. American Nordacists deployed almost identical descriptions to those of German fascists like Günther, who massively influenced interwar German race science.¹⁹² These Nordics were heroic soldiers and adventurers, creative scientists, decisive, ‘far-sighted’ ‘rulers, organizers,’ ‘typical’ ‘stiff’ upper-class types, insisting on ‘class distinctions, and race pride’, ‘domineering, individualistic’, ‘hard, even ruthless’ if necessary, but always with chivalry, justice and exceptional personal hygiene. Nordics required intellectual freedom and were therefore ‘usually Protestants’.¹⁹³

Non-Blond Race Psychologies

‘Anglo-Germanic’ anthropology linked its immediate neighbours through their common physical and psycho-social traits, Catholicism or identification with Europe’s pre-Aryan aborigines.¹⁹⁴ ‘Outer Europeans’ sometimes played up a common opposition to the Germanic centre, including through comparisons between Russian and Gaelic legends and humour and Celto-

Slav theories that peaceful Slavic and French industry would ultimately triumph in modernity.¹⁹⁵ I identify four overlapping race psychologies that non-Germanics developed in reaction to the various German stereotypes, as well as to the challenges of modernity.

THE INDUSTRIOUS COMMONER

The association of the blond with aristocratic elites, whether German in central Europe or native in France, created similar national character stereotypes, based on the brunet local Celtic or Slavic commoners. This became the race psychology of craniology's Celto-Slav brachycephal, later renamed the Alpine race. For the Nordacist Günther, it was the small-minded, thrifty petty bourgeois who predominated in France.¹⁹⁶ Germanic anthropologists generally described them as 'tranquil, acquisitive and petty', 'sullen and mistrustful' towards strangers, patient, shy, practical, cosy, conventional, parochial, lacking Aryan enterprise, 'warlike propensities', force of will, lofty aims or 'real talent'.¹⁹⁷ Gustav Retzius claimed their sole political aspiration was 'state support'.¹⁹⁸

Leading French anthropologists largely accepted the gendered dichotomy of 'ferocious and absolute' blond Kymric 'dominators', and 'humble, soft and submissive' Celtic 'producers', linked biologically to wooded uplands.¹⁹⁹ However they interpreted it positively, representing short brown Celts (Alpines) positively as peaceable, sedentary, industrious, skilful farmers and *petits bourgeois*, who nevertheless doggedly resisted conquest.²⁰⁰ Eastern peoples, whose modernisation was weaker, meanwhile boasted that industriousness and dynamic demographic reproductivity would ensure their peasants and workers a gleaming future (see Chapter 6).

Pessimistic Nordicism used this positive interpretation of brachycephals to racialise modern elitist fears of degeneration through democratic leveling. Brachycephals were redoubtable rivals, whose courage, 'cleverness', quiet persistence, 'hard work, acquisitiveness, economy and moderation' and penchant for collective action compensated for mediocrity and timidity.²⁰¹ They could rise to become petty capitalists or even leaders in countries like France. From Anglo-Saxonists like Knox in 1850 to interwar German interwar Nordacists, fans of the blond worried that 'the coming race' of dark proletarians threatened the progress, or even survival of Western 'higher civilisation... art and science' by undermining the rural aristocratic and peasant hierarchy on which it rested.²⁰² This 'debased sediment' was biologically adapted to 'dull and dreary', polluted, low-wage

industrial life, while Nordics needed expensive recreations and ‘a freer, less constrained life’.²⁰³ These pessimists drew on classical accounts, pigmentation studies and research on old portraits and skulls, especially from eastern European ‘kurgan’ grave-mounds to argue that Europeans had become progressively darker and broader-headed for centuries or even millennia, as descendants of the Teutons who invaded the Roman Empire died out.²⁰⁴

THE ROMANTIC PEASANT

A second common reaction to Germanic race psychology identified with a romantic reaction against modernity rather than the usual ethnological claims of superior modernity.²⁰⁵ Once eighteenth-century European powers had securely established orderly, centralised states, romantics in industrialising cities began celebrating disorder and anti-classicism.²⁰⁶ They re-evaluated nature and supposedly ‘natural’ rural ways of life as fragile and precious and sought distinction by identification with disappearing minorities. Romantics contrasted egotistical, superficial, materialist, philistine rational, artificial, urban modernity; with the romantic passion, humour, ‘daring imagination’, intuition, gentleness or spirituality of Celts, Slavs, cowboys, Indians or 1960s hippy visions of India.²⁰⁷ Like the glories of lost ages, these were politically unthreatening.²⁰⁸ Malcolm Chapman puts it nicely. Once wolves stopped ‘carrying off babies’, humans could ‘rejoice in the wild splendour of the wolf pack’.²⁰⁹

By exoticising themselves, nationalists in ‘peasant’ nations could explain and excuse political weakness and modern backwardness. Some, like the Insular Celts (see Chapter 5), could offer themselves to more powerful neighbours as better but less successful other-selves. Slavs also constructed themselves as romantic native primitives, colluding with and compensating for internationally dominant narratives of modern Germanic superiority.²¹⁰ Russian Romantics rejected ‘spiritually dead’ Western culture in favour of ‘spiritual renewal’ in the ‘romantic’, ‘peasant’ values of fatalism, universalism, contemplation and collectivism.²¹¹ Though ethnologists from Latin nations generally emphasised civilised sophistication rather than natural wildness meanwhile, ‘self-consciously rational’ northern Europeans ‘readily’ attributed an ‘excitable, fun-loving, soulful, and sexy or passionate’ image to them.²¹²

Germans, influenced by British romanticism, also romanticised themselves. They idealised the politically divided German people, intimidated by French ‘power and intellectual prestige’, and ‘völkisch, pre-industrial

Scandinavia'.²¹³ Late eighteenth-century British intellectuals romanticised barbarian German 'vogue figures' too, for example in Gothic novels.²¹⁴ However Britain's German dynasty and the centrality of Anglo-Saxons to British identity undermined this. After 1870 and World War One, earlier representations of Germany as a romantic 'nation of 'poets and thinkers'' largely disappeared.²¹⁵

Romanticisation of whole nations built on a model of idealising mountain sub-ethnic groups like the Polish Górale, Romanian Moți or Scottish Highlanders and speakers of minority languages like Irish or Breton, as archaic 'last custodians' of the nation's cultural heritage and ancient true self.²¹⁶ Anthropological methodology contributed by assuming that isolated backward peasants preserved ethno-racial purity (see Chapter 3). Britain's political security and stiflingly mundane bourgeois life made it possible to glamorise rather than revile Scottish Highlanders, a threatened wild human species on England's doorstep.²¹⁷ Meanwhile, Romanian, Serb, Bulgarian and Finnish nationalists chose contested borderlands as their nations' symbolic heartlands, helping to mobilise geopolitical claims to them.²¹⁸

Conservative nationalists in industrial, Germanic countries were torn between *völkisch* rural romanticism and modern elitism.²¹⁹ Was modern success due to rational, positivist efficiency or brave, noble conquest? The optimistic social Darwinist Ammon and popular British race writer Beddoe said ancient blonds 'concentrated in towns' or took slaves, leaving tedious 'despised' agriculture to their brachycephalic underlings, 'incapable of... progress'.²²⁰ Though German and French statistical class-race correlation studies regularly found dolichocephals 'more widespread' among elites and urban populations however, old-fashioned elitists like Beddoe and Woltmann constructed a rural Nordic aristocrat. He was exquisitely adapted to country pursuits and dashing deeds but withered in urban stress and smog.²²¹ One unusual and ambitious theory claimed superior blonds were rare in towns because their 'powerful... respiration', emerging in a 'northern temperate clime' was 'specially adapted' for 'effectually oxygenated' blood.²²² Günther and Nazi leaders like SS leader Heinrich Himmler and Agriculture Minister Richard Darré had backgrounds in the Artamanen, an anti-Semitic *völkisch* movement combining Nordicism with the 'agrarian romanticism' of 'a peasant-warrior elite'.²²³ As late as 1937, the British anthropologist Herbert Fleure argued that 'pioneering elements' emigrated to escape 'industrial crowding' while other types flourished in cities.²²⁴

Unlike earlier Nordacist philosophers like Gobineau and Chamberlain, interwar *völkisch* race-theorists of the ‘conservative revolution’, like Günther and Evola, believed that hated modernity could be overthrown and an idealised past restored.²²⁵ Eugenic policies might counter the weaker restrictions on interbreeding in industrial cities that accelerated racial degeneration.²²⁶

Peripheral country conservatives struggled with the same contradictions. For example, they compromised national unity by racialising liberal intellectuals and, more broadly, cities like Bucharest, Petersburg or Budapest as islands of ‘fragile Western civilization’ and race, ‘precariously balanced’ atop the authentic peasant mass.²²⁷ Such contradictions could also be exploited, however. An aristocratic Polish anthropologist thus crowed that unlike Ammon’s city-loving Germans, Polish Nordics idealised country life and stayed on the land.²²⁸

THE CIVILISED CITY-DWELLER

The *ex oriente lux* tradition centred on civilisation. It encouraged Latin peoples, but also the British, who identified strongly with imperial Rome, to ultimately relinquish race narratives.²²⁹ However classifiers could also represent civilisation in racial terms. Some ascribed a biological talent for it to the French brachycephal or Italian Mediterranean races, contrasting their ancient higher civilisation with the Nordic’s purely destructive talents. Hegel’s 1837 philosophy of history posed an influential challenge however, placing Mediterranean civilisation’s greatest triumphs in the distant past and sending the modern world spirit of progress across the Alps. Late nineteenth-century discourses of social Darwinism and degeneration reinforced this narrative. Some ethnologists, including Haeckel, therefore proposed that the Germanic blond’s triumphs against Rome, Catholicism, Napoleon and 1914 France now proved that he was the ‘man of the future’.²³⁰ Northern classifiers questioned the civilised Europeanness of dark southern Europeans,²³¹ whose ‘Graeco-Italo-Keltic’ civilisations had fallen into ‘barbarity’ and who shaded off into Semites, black Africans, Indians and even Polynesians to the south and east.²³² Though Italians unfavourably compared their tired ancient society with northern Europe however, and Italian, Spanish and French colonial failures against Abyssinia, the US or Britain in 1896–1898 stoked fears of Latin degeneration,²³³ Hegelian schemes could also worry Germanics. Bolshevik Russia was recurrently represented as the vibrant, youthful ‘land of the future’, leap-frogging the West.²³⁴ Japan was also sometimes cast in this role.

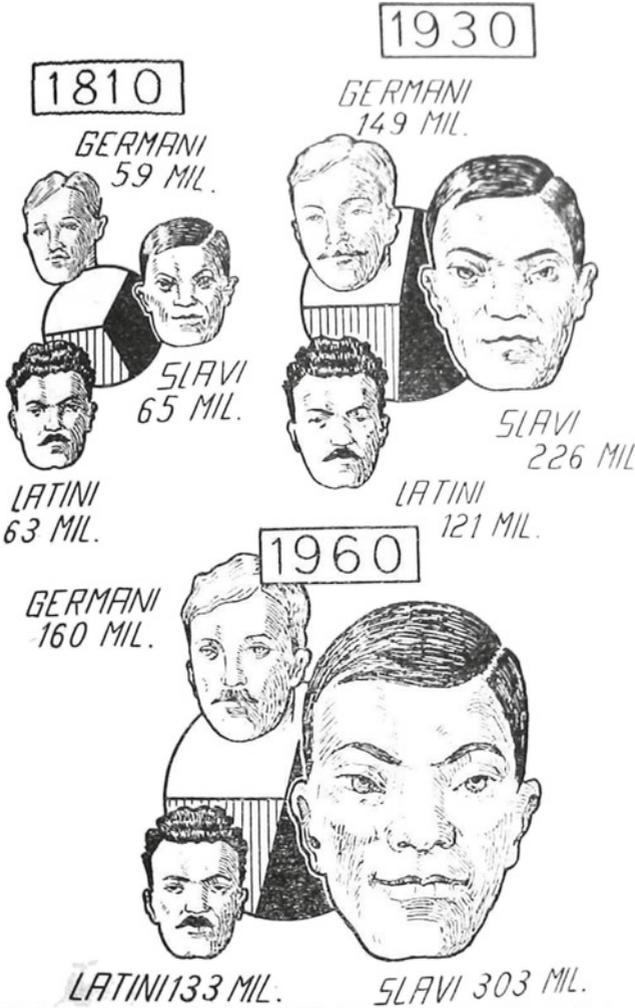
A more common racial claim for urban civilisation was that the interbreeding it facilitated promoted ‘cultural development’.²³⁵ Anthropological debate on race-crossing echoed wider disagreements about whether ethnic and class mixing created fruitful synthesis or destroyed civilisation by corrupting precious purity. While Germanicists saw superiority as a pure civilising essence, damaged by mixture, French republican national identity made civilisation a product of exchange. The French cast themselves as the spearhead of universal human progress and global solidarity, which barbaric Germans rejected.²³⁶

THE FEROCIOUS STEPPE BARBARIAN

Eastern Europeans meanwhile were linked to barbaric ‘yellow’ ‘alien’ ‘Mongols’, with ‘protruding cheekbones’.²³⁷ The non-Indo-European-speaking Lapps and Finns perpetually teetered on the brink between White and ‘yellow’, and were often represented as vestiges of Europe’s primitive conquered aborigines or ancestors of Europe’s modern lower classes.²³⁸ Apologists for brachycephalic Celts and Slavs emphatically distinguished them from the broad-headed Lapps, who from the very earliest classifications were represented as semi-savage.²³⁹ Alexander von Humboldt complained that to test Lapp skin colour he had to wash off indescribably dirty ‘impregnated’ layers of ‘grease, dust, sweat, &c’.²⁴⁰

Retzius’s brachycephalic Slavs supported a Western tradition of questioning Slav and especially Russian Europeanness, contaminated by ‘close ties’ with Muslim neighbours.²⁴¹ Iver Neumann says the Enlightenment shift of emphasis from religion to education reinforced this theme.²⁴² References to Russia’s despotic government and chaotic, debauched, ignorant populace undermined its Europeanness. Early nineteenth-century Western European ethnology regularly represented Slavs as hospitable, ‘masculine’, ‘uncouth’ (especially towards women), lazy, sly, ‘ferocious’, and racial cousins of the Asiatic hordes who regularly invaded Russia.²⁴³ Knox believed Russians ‘should be driven’ into Asia, as ‘No fair race, perhaps, were ever sunk so low in the scale of humanity’, making Turks seem ‘highly civilized’ in comparison.²⁴⁴

Growing Russian power and the switch of barbarity in the European geographical imagination from north to east led nineteenth-century anthropologists and other Westerners to fear that this ‘vast nest’ of barbarians might impose ‘savage Asiatic despotism’ on the West by ‘brute-force’.²⁴⁵ Slavophobia in industrialising Germany was particularly acute, amid geopolitical rivalry, minority problems, a declining birth rate and



This diagram from a Romanian eugenics text illustrates how the demographic potential of 'Mongoloid' Slavs was feared.

Fig. 4.1 The 'yellow peril' of 'Mongoloid' Slavs. From a eugenics text (Râmneanțu 1941b: 31).

massive Slavic and Jewish immigration.²⁴⁶ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, leading German-speaking scholars, including even liberal anthropologists, portrayed Slavs as barely European polar opposites of Germans, tainted with ‘Mongolian blood’²⁴⁷ (see Fig. 4.1). Kossinna’s ‘completely foreign’ Slavs ‘crept’ westwards from ‘Slavic half-Asia’.²⁴⁸

Chinese and Japanese emigration and Japan’s 1904 defeat of Russia stimulated widespread panic about the ‘yellow peril’ to White dominance.²⁴⁹ Fear of Asia intensified after 1918. Conservatives and Nordacists revived Pruner-Bey and Quatrefages’s Mongoloid theories, increasingly characterising Jews, Russians, Middle Easterners and brachycephals as Asiatic and less ‘gifted’ than ‘the classic European races’.²⁵⁰ The French responded to Mongolising slurs against brachycephals in kind, calling the Germans ‘Huns’. Irish writers similarly associated the Germanic English with Vandal hordes of ‘fair-haired races’ that ‘jetted forth... to desolate... nobler nations’.²⁵¹

Many eastern Europeans embraced western assumptions of a cultural gradient towards an underdeveloped, oriental and barbaric east and south, and developed identity narratives as Western outposts against backward Asiatic neighbours. Romanians therefore represented their participation in Nazi Germany’s invasion of the USSR as a civilising mission.²⁵² This gradient could also explain economic disparities within countries like Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. Poles often linked Russia with ‘economic backwardness and stagnation, poverty, disorder, sloth, lawlessness, alcoholism and debased manners’.²⁵³ Poles criticised Kossinna’s claims that Teutons civilised and brought bronze to the east, but themselves argued that ancient Slavs exported bronze-use to their primitive eastern neighbours.²⁵⁴

Nevertheless, several central and eastern European nations promoted romantic myths of horse-warrior ancestors from the eastern steppe, whose savage aristocratic conquests recalled and rivalled those of blond Teutons. Steppe warrior narratives supported identity movements such as Russian Eurasianism and interwar Turkish and Hungarian Turanianism, which aggressively rejected Western modernity and exploited Western fears of resurgent Asia.²⁵⁵ In the 1870s–1880s, Hungarian anthropologists challenged the ‘unpatriotic’ linguistic theory that gave their nation Finnic ‘fish-smelling relatives’ and instead claimed ‘Mongoloid-Caucasian’ Turkish ‘famous warrior ancestors’ from the steppes, who were feared throughout the West.²⁵⁶ Poland, Croatia and Bulgaria also had old native traditions of steppe-warrior founders. Poland’s seventeenth-century *szlachty* (nobles)

cultivated Oriental dress and claimed ‘mythical *Asian*’ Sarmatian ancestors to emphasise their aristocratic identity, influencing later romantic xenophobes.²⁵⁷ From 1840, Eurasianism justified Russian rule over and integration with Moslems as peaceful ‘reunion with our primeval brothers’ or a return to the Slavic ‘prehistoric home’ and fed on ‘bitter resentment’ at ‘the West’s betrayal’ of Christian Russia in the Crimean and First World Wars.²⁵⁸ As Alexander Blok wrote in 1918:

You are millions, we are multitudes
And multitudes and multitudes.
Come fight! Yea, we are Scythians,
Yea, Asiatics, a slant-eyed greedy brood.

Late nineteenth-century archaeological finds helped make Scythians a romantic ‘mythical ancestor race’ of eastern Slavs, and leading Russian anthropologists accepted semi-Mongoloid Finn, Siberian or steppe nomad elements in the Russian ‘racial composition’, language and folk culture.²⁵⁹ They stressed the nativism of quasi-Asiatic Finnish ancestors however, rather than making them Asiatic steppe warriors.

The yellow peril discourse,²⁶⁰ old slurs against barbaric Eastern Europeans and German narratives of cultural and political mission in the uncivilised east, nevertheless inhibited romantic Asian origin narratives.²⁶¹ Slavophiles and many other Russians therefore denounced Eurasianism and refuted any influence from medieval Mongol conquerors. Some blamed the Mongols for Russian autocracy, and made the struggle against alien Asiatic steppe barbarians fundamental to Russia’s Scandinavian and Byzantine ‘European self-identity’.²⁶² Interwar Russian and Finnish anthropologists sharply distinguished the ‘true Mongolic Asian’ type from native Finns and Russians, who hid ‘in the woods’ to avoid contact during the long Mongol occupation.²⁶³ As Bunak argued,

The well-known French saying “scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar” is anthropologically meaningless.²⁶⁴

CLASSIFICATION FRACTURES

Though French and German anthropologists ‘attempted a speedy return to normalcy’ after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, it injected lasting touchiness into Franco-German classification disputes.²⁶⁵ A ‘confused and bitter’ nationalistic debate about race, ethnicity and civilisation ‘flared

up' suddenly throughout European anthropology, precipitating a progressive fragmentation of European race classification narratives.²⁶⁶ The unifications of Italy and Germany were a triumph for essentialist ethnic nationalism, intensifying the racialisation of nations and transforming relations between the two leading race classifying nations.²⁶⁷ The 1914–1918 War, which Germans widely proclaimed as a race war against Celts and Slavs,²⁶⁸ again dramatically intensified tensions.

Anthropology Embittered: The Franco-Prussian War

Bismarck's 1870 war justifications boasted of Teutonic 'initiative and energy' and superiority over 'feminine, passive, unproductive' Celts and Slavs, the 'exhausted' Romance race and France's 'failed democratic revolution'.²⁶⁹ In *The Prussian Race*²⁷⁰ Quatrefages claimed to scientifically debunk this race propaganda, proving the 'absurdity' of a German racial state by demonstrating that nations were race mixtures. However Quatrefages is himself accused of being the first anthropologist to use race classification for nationalist propaganda, calling Germans 'Huns'.²⁷¹ He argued that Aryan (brachycephalic) south Germans made 'an *anthropological error*' by associating with the 'completely different' 'Slavo-Finnish' 'Prussian race'.²⁷² He contrasted the 'incontestably superior', peaceful civilisation promoted by French imperialism with the savage 'pitiless' ambition, 'hates and violence', that evolved in impoverished Prussia as Slavo-Finns incompletely fused with a German colonial elite and a 'varnish' of largely French civilisation.²⁷³ This produced the philistine barbarity of the 1870–1871 war that his book detailed, including a fold-out map showing artillery bombardment of the *Muséum*.²⁷⁴

Broca also questioned German ethno-racial unity and in 1872 added his own masterpiece of nationalist political sniping, disguised as a technical treatise on the nasal index.²⁷⁵ He argued that unlike 'almost all' White people, Germanic Frankish skulls had the shorter noses of 'Mongolian peoples'.²⁷⁶ Many Francophone anthropologists accepted this 'nose theory' and 'agreed on the fundamental points of Quatrefages's argument', while Germans angrily dismissed their claims.²⁷⁷

Liberal German anthropological leaders like Virchow and Kollmann were nonetheless reluctant to politicise race science. They answered Quatrefages's 'notorious pamphlet' by refusing to racialise German and other nationalities and refused to accept European racial hierarchies.²⁷⁸ German liberals like Virchow and even British Germanicists like Beddoe

often deferred to French doctrines about the ‘mental superiority’ of brachycephalic brunets or the prominent racial role of Celts, Slavs or Finns in Europe and Germany.²⁷⁹

War and anthropological controversies nevertheless drove German and French national race narratives apart. The French insistently associated themselves with Europe’s upland brachycephals and with Celts, the original Aryan civilisers (see Map 4.7). Though anthropologists warned that many French did not belong to the ‘gifted’ Alpine/Celtic brachycephalic race, most from the 1860s on decidedly considered this the dominant national partner, with primary custody of the potent Celtic identity.²⁸⁰

Dissenters like Lapouge concentrated on social race questions, proclaiming the superiority of France’s Nordic Aryan elites. However most anthropologists, along with many republican intellectuals, minimised Frankish Germanic influences and celebrated ‘nos ancêtres les Gaulois’.²⁸¹ Even when French physical anthropologists subsumed the Kymris of northern France and Teutons into a common Nordic blond dolichocephalic type in the 1880s, they insisted that Kymris constituted an earlier linguistically Celtic invasion wave.²⁸²

Brachycephalic Asian Aryans

French anthropologists generally believed that superior Indo-Europeans from Central Asia introduced bronze and agriculture to Europe.²⁸³ They opposed German claims that Aryans came from northern Europe. The accumulated weight of biblical, philological and archaeological tradition, civilised brachycephalic race psychology and perhaps a genuinely universal rather than purely European national outlook supported these narratives of external, imported civilisation. French 1860s flirtation with Broca’s biological nativism was therefore brief.

Broca’s satisfying racial narrative, which denied Celtic dignity to Germans, was a terminological sleight of hand however. He had given France’s ancient native brunets the Celtic name, despite their having learned their Celtic language from Aryan French blonds. However, early 1870s French anthropology rapidly and discretely replaced these terminological gymnastics with a straightforward claim that France’s darker brachycephalic natives, the national race, were the real first Aryans from Asia, rather than just conquered primitives with a borrowed Celtic language. This claim was supported by gradually solidifying evidence that an arc of brachycephals, successfully rebranded as Celts by the 1860s–1870s Gallic

School, stretched across Europe's interior to Central Asia.²⁸⁴ Research on classical texts and craniology of modern populations confirmed Broca's theory that brachycephals entered France via the Alps.²⁸⁵ In 1871–1874, French archaeologists revolutionised the Celtic question by reinterpreting artefact styles from ancient Celtic sites in the Alps to support a westward Celtic migration along western Europe's Alpine spine.²⁸⁶

By around 1880, most leading French anthropologists incorporated Celts, Slavs and probably south Germans into a 'vast sheet' of upland brachycephals from France to Russia and Turkey, whom Topinard now termed 'Celts-Slavs'.²⁸⁷ Eastern European colleagues eagerly accepted and contributed evidence to this prestigious 'French school' theory.²⁸⁸ The Paris-based Romanian Alexandre Obédénare even transplanted Broca's French synthesis of mountain Celts and lowland Kymris to the eastern Balkans.²⁸⁹ The new narrative appropriated existing philological, historical, geographical, folkloric and archaeological evidence for the Asian origin of Celts and Aryans.²⁹⁰ Though he also discovered some Central Asian blonds, the Hungarian-French orientalist Carl von Ujfalvy's discovery of Indo-European-speaking, broad-headed Tadjiks in 1876–1882 was especially important for this theory.²⁹¹

Europe's Asiatic brachycephalic 'wedge', dividing Nordic from Mediterranean dolichocephals, suited both the Gallic and Nordacist schools, and by 1900, had almost universally displaced the previously dominant paradigm of blond dolichocephalic Celts and Aryans²⁹² (see Map 4.5). Most Italian, almost all French and many anthropologists elsewhere from the late 1870s to 1900, accepted the Gallic School argument that the brachycephals introduced bronze, Indo-European speech and a more 'elevated' culture.²⁹³ For many, this confirmed superior brachycephalic intelligence.²⁹⁴ By the 1920s it was commonly claimed that brachycephals were once a 'racial aristocracy' (although not conquerors) from the Caspian to Spain.²⁹⁵

The Nordic Strikes Back

Liberals like Virchow and Kollmann still dominated German-speaking physical anthropology until after 1900, but, as previous chapters outlined, a nationalist counter-current emerged, claiming superior Nordic Teutonic Aryans as ancestors and placing their origin in northern Europe. Virchow 'denounced this nationalistic new 'Nordic mythology' as unscientific, but as early twentieth-century scientific racism was progressively politicised, it became race anthropology's most potent theory.²⁹⁶ This challenge to

Celto-Slav orthodoxy permanently split the international race classification of Europeans into two competing narratives, precipitating its slow final disintegration. Nordic narratives represented resistance to bewildering social change, lent scientific credibility to ethnic and class hierarchies and popularised the race categories that Hilaire Belloc lyrically satirised:

Behold my child the Nordic man,
And be as like him as you can:
His legs are long – his mind is slow
His hair is lank and made of tow.

And here we have the Alpine race.
Oh! What a broad and dirty face.
His skin is of a dirty yellow
He is a most unpleasant fellow.

The most degraded of them all
Mediterranean we call.
His hair is crisp and even curls
And he is saucy with the girls.

The tall northern blond was the only race that all scientists and many lay people recognised. It was associated with high prestige categories, beauty, a glorious history and a superior race psychology and social role.²⁹⁷ Retzius's succession of brachycephalic and dolichocephalic races was discredited in the 1860s, but his pigmentation sequence from pre-Aryan dark to progressive Aryan fair race remained perennially popular, supporting the later revival of Germanicist ideas. Beddoe and Eickstedt claimed Renaissance and even ancient Roman brunets bleached their hair to resemble Nordic nobles.²⁹⁸ Twentieth-century anthropologists stressed its exceptional evolutionary advancement, resulting in creativity, intelligence and features like an 'energetic, prominent and not rarely angular' chin.²⁹⁹

Nordicists from Woltmann and Lapouge to Günther and the SS established the 'pure Nordic' at the pinnacle of a standardised racial hierarchy.³⁰⁰ Its 'vocation' was world conquest, ruling 'passive races' at home or abroad, like the 'relatively gifted' Mediterranean and the 'hard-working and steady', 'submissive', Catholic Alpine 'model subject'.³⁰¹ Günther's hierarchy placed Nordics above Phalics, Dinarics and Mediterraneans, followed by Europe's other brachycephals.³⁰² Nordicists were contemptuous towards these, even in their own nations.³⁰³ Lapouge borrowed his

term *Homo Alpinus*, which most anthropologists had adopted by 1922 to replace the ‘Celtic’ race, from Linnaeus, who had used it for ‘small, busy, timid’ inbreeds and other pathological types.³⁰⁴ In the Nordacist ranking, the East-European was still more abject, above only non-Europeans.

Nordicism, invented and promoted in academia by physical anthropologists,³⁰⁵ was an international elitist class-war movement of eugenists and the extreme right, resisting gains by liberals, Jews, socialists and suffragettes since the mid-nineteenth century.³⁰⁶ Nordacists linked Alpines with the ‘democratic doctrine of equality’, which envied and hated excellence, and blamed ‘inferior racial elements’ for left-wing politics.³⁰⁷ Untrammelled rule by Nordic elites guaranteed national interests and human progress.³⁰⁸ Nordacist hierarchies might coincide with ethnicity, as in American immigration discrimination against southern and eastern Europeans, but were usually superimposed on class. The Nordic was therefore the *völkisch* movement’s most elitist, international and non-populist identity symbol. Unlike linguistic and cultural Germanicism, it established racial hierarchies within ethnic nations. Europe’s bourgeoisie had long distinguished itself from a darker, Negro/Mongol-tainted or pre-Aryan ‘artisan class’,³⁰⁹ but 1890s anthropologists and later Nordacists left behind the popular focus on superior blondness. They instead stressed that dolichocephaly optimised brain development. Ammon offered racism as a sociological alternative to Marxism, seeing eugenics as the answer to ‘denordicization (Entnordung)’ and social class distinctions as a defence against racial intermarriage.³¹⁰

Nordacist Race History

From the late nineteenth century to the 1940s, Nordacists maintained a fairly consistent and often quite extreme race historical doctrine of Nordic rule and conquest, from prehistory to the industrial age. They proposed ever earlier and wider waves of civilising and rejuvenating Nordic ‘young peoples’ ‘from the cold lands’, establishing enduring ruling classes.³¹¹ Most Nordacists, from the 1880s onward, traced Nordic paleness, ‘intelligence and will’ to Darwinian selection in the extremes of Ice Age Europe.³¹² Balmier Mediterranean climes could therefore select against blonds.³¹³ Nevertheless, drawing on evidence from art history and classical literature, the German ex-socialist Woltmann, who published Lapouge when he was discredited in France, made Nordics an almost universal ruling class, including in ancient Greece and Rome.³¹⁴ Woltmann credited racially

Nordic Teutonic invaders of Rome for all ‘European civilisation, including the Papacy, Renaissance, French Revolution and ‘Napoleonic Empire’. He and others attributed civilisations from Tahiti to Peru and China to pre-historic Nordic conquests or influences.³¹⁵ From 1900, Nordacist linguists and archaeologists like Kossinna linked Nordics with Stone-Age cultures, identified by ceramic types, and theorised that broader skulls found among them were slaves.³¹⁶

The Gallic School argument that upland brachycephals were the ‘original’ civilised Aryans deprived ‘Teutonic’ blonds of the honour of bringing Aryan speech and civilisation from Asia. In the defining post-1870 race-historical polemic, right-wing Germans increasingly backed the Eurocentric new ‘Germanicist’ theory that the true, original Aryans were Nordic blonds from Scandinavia, who had conquered and civilised the world.³¹⁷ Before 1870, when *ex oriente lux* theories transfixed German scholars, ethnologists rarely suggested a European Aryan origin.³¹⁸ However, German nationalist resistance to *ex oriente lux* became much more ‘aggressive’ from the 1880s.³¹⁹ Nordacists derided the French equation of civilisation with peace and the ‘slow’, ‘plodding’ westward ‘infiltration’ of technically-advanced Aryan brachycephalic ‘peasantry’ into ‘unoccupied territory’.³²⁰ They increasingly used the Asian origin of Celto-Slavs to associate them with despised Mongoloids and deny their Europeanness.³²¹

Upper-class fans of blond superior Aryans such as Gobineau and Lapouge ‘remained marginal’ in France, but their theory rapidly became ‘almost a matter of faith’ in Germany, especially after 1918.³²² Aryan theories emphasised language (the keystone of German identity) and made Germanic history as significant as ancient Greece and Rome.³²³ The new theory fed on medieval legends tracing the German language from the Garden of Eden, and on the survival, especially in Britain, of earlier ethnological traditions of Aryans as dolichocephalic blonds from Asia.³²⁴

Andrea Orsucci says linguists and students of mythology rather than anthropologists laid the groundwork for a European Aryan origin in the 1860s–1870s, ascribing ‘advanced social and political institutions’ and high morals to ancient Teutons.³²⁵ The Aryan homeland began hesitantly to shift westward from the 1850s, and from 1880, new linguistic evidence led many to place it on Russia’s plains.³²⁶ Germanicist linguists then borrowed the scientific ‘legitimacy and rigour’ of craniology to help link Aryans with Europe’s Nordics, who were racially ‘purest’ in Scandinavia.³²⁷

Intensifying Eurocentrism and racial anti-Semitism buoyed up the new theory. Scholars increasingly doubted whether racially inferior Asia

could have produced the ‘vigorous’ Aryans and criticised the Caucasian race category for including Asians.³²⁸ ‘Germanicist’ history moved the blond Aryan homeland to Scandinavia in the 1880s, appealing ‘to history, philology and anthropology’ to claim that southward conquests diluted Aryan racial purity.³²⁹ This initially heretical notion then gained increasing support among philologists and anthropologists throughout Europe and especially in Germany and Britain, converting even Ujfalvy, whose broad-headed Tadjijs had offered invaluable support to the Gallic School theory.³³⁰

Many anthropologists and philologists of Germany’s liberal academic establishment, such as Virchow, Kollmann, and Max Müller, supported Italian and French colleagues in resisting this ‘violent overturning’ of the established brachycephalic superior Aryan discourse.³³¹ They picked holes in palaeolinguistic reconstructions and condemned European theories of Aryan origin for equating language and race.³³² In 1888 Müller made ‘heroic reparation’ by repudiating his own influential concept of Aryan race.³³³

Deniker and Ripley’s obituaries of European Nordic Aryan theories, penned in 1900, nevertheless proved premature.³³⁴ Along with Nordacist historians and philologists, craniologically-informed archaeologists like Kossinna, Germany’s first prehistoric archaeology professor, reopened the Aryan origin controversy and reinvigorated Germanicism by re-popularised 1880s theories of Aryans originating in the north.³³⁵ The theory that after the Ice Age, tall, intelligent, superior, fully European Crô-Magnons followed retreating glaciers and became blond, gained ground as French pre-1914 dominance of Palaeolithic studies faded.³³⁶ Archaeological accounts of Crô-Magnon’s Nordic, Aryan-speaking descendants, with particular artefact styles, spreading from Ice-Age Germany and Scandinavia, thrived amid early twentieth-century German *völkisch* and Pan-Germanist enthusiasm.³³⁷ The Nazis lauded Kossinna for scientifically proving Nordic superiority.

The Gallic School argued that Asian brachycephals forced proto-Nordic native Europeans into the north and west, but accepted that expanding populations of Iron-Age northern blonds then drove brachycephals back south into Europe’s highlands.³³⁸ Interwar British and German anthropologists avoided even the initial proto-Nordic retreat before invading brachycephals. They revived the Retzius (1840) and Pruner-Bey (1864) theories (which had survived in British ethnology) of Asian blonds displacing ‘proto-Alpine’, Basque, Lapponoid or ‘Turanian’ broad-headed

primitives.³³⁹ Borrowing a Quatrefages idea meanwhile, several German and Anglophone race evolution theories from 1904 on proposed that Central Asia spawned progressively superior and paler races, each of which expanded into Europe and drove their darker, inferior predecessors southward.³⁴⁰

Blond Internationalism

Nationalistic Nordicism disrupted the consensus narratives of transnational race classification, but was itself an intensely transnational discourse, which sat uneasily with nationalism. European, Aryan and White supremacism allowed Nordicists to simulate scientific universality, by working with the White, Gentile majority of anthropologists, while banning non-Whites from international eugenics organisations.³⁴¹ Nordicism reinforced and exploited connections between German and European identities. Being Europe's heart or eastern bulwark had long been central to German identity³⁴² (see Map 4.1). Many European nations claimed historical Germanic components, such as the Franks in France and Russia's Varangians. German race scientists therefore always paid special attention to building international theories, networks and institutions, for example establishing the first international eugenics society in 1907.³⁴³ British eugenicists by contrast focused on the lower classes and national biological fitness for geopolitical struggle.³⁴⁴ Nineteenth-century German racists often focussed on White or Aryan, rather than Teutonic superiority, while pacifist romantics emphasised Europeanism.³⁴⁵ From 1941, Nazi propaganda stressed the common Germanic blood of 'New Europe' and the 'Western destiny' to battle Asiatic communism.³⁴⁶

Nordic Teutonism was the core of Nazi internationalism. Darré and Himmler advocated intermarriage or even state mergers with the linguistically Germanic and impeccable Nordic Scandinavians and Dutch. For Himmler and Hitler, all foreign Nordics were descended from originally pure-race Germanic invaders, so defecting Cossacks and Polish officers and foreign SS recruits recovered 'lost German blood'. Without its Nordic leaders, the docile Slavic mass³⁴⁷ was expected to submit easily.³⁴⁸

The belligerent racist tradition in Nordicism hindered blond solidarity however. Nordicist race scientists and political theorists, including Hitler, rationalised xenophobic instincts as natural evolutionary safeguards of race purity.³⁴⁹ Several represented war as a vital motor for cultural and 'racial

evolution' and welcomed racially inevitable clashes between inherently competitive Germanic nations.³⁵⁰

Native Teutonist or elitist traditions or professional links with Germany made unthinking assumptions of Nordic superiority over psychologically distinct brachycephals very common throughout anthropology. Like Stalinism, Nordicism was a purportedly scientific ideology of international class solidarity, professed by ultra-nationalists. Nordacist scientists resolved this contradiction through a hierarchy of (1) Teutons, who established Europe's racial elites, (2) Nordic Aryans, who led prehistoric Whites around the world, spreading civilisation and (3), other Europeans. Interwar American, German and Scandinavian eugenists could thus cooperate closely on a 'World concept' that equated the destinies of the Nordic and White races, Europe and civilisation.³⁵¹ Just before World War I, a peace mission of American eugenists called on the White 'Western European races', which were genetically 'most capable of civilisation', to unite against the growing military threat from 'Asiatics'. Kossinna similarly had the Crô-Magnons split into progressively more superior White peoples, culminating in the North Indo-Germans.³⁵² Socially insecure turn-of-the-century British and American middle classes 'often' accepted Nordacist race hierarchies as socially significant and scientifically factual, using the terms Nordic and Anglo-Saxon race interchangeably.³⁵³ For Nordacist raciologists like Montandon in France,³⁵⁴ whiteness merely meant a high proportion of blond or Nordic blood.³⁵⁵ Southern and eastern Europeans were therefore White, though less so than Scandinavians. Russian, French and Polish raciologists exploited this idea to exaggerate Nordic or blond components in their nations.³⁵⁶ Even adamant interwar British critics of Nordicism and racial hierarchy accepted key elements of Nordacist race history and prejudices.³⁵⁷ In Bolshevik Russia, leading eugenists insisted that the original Slavs were Nordic, adopted a variant of Lapouge's term *Homo Europæus* and fretted about the yellow peril and 'dysgenic' upper-class emigration.³⁵⁸

Intensely race-conscious Americans slotted 'darker' Slavic, Jewish or Mediterranean immigrants into their established skin-colour hierarchy.³⁵⁹ Ripley in Boston posed as a disinterested scientist whose American birth-right guaranteed the 'serene impartiality of a mongrel' and criticised racist 'speculative psychology' and sociology.³⁶⁰ However he gave Nordicism a 'facile terminology' and 'laymen a racial classification which they could understand'.³⁶¹

Understandably, Nordicism was weakest among right-wingers from Latin and Mediterranean countries. Interwar French anthropologists still championed ‘Celtic’ brachycephals.³⁶² Nordicist denigration of the Mediterranean race meanwhile alienated even fascist Italians like Evola.³⁶³ He criticised the ‘deformed’ ‘Nordicist myth’ and argued that evolution in a punishing climate made Nordics brave and inventive but also barbarous and unspiritual.³⁶⁴

Nordicism vs. Nationalism

Chapters 6 and 7 show how tricky it was to reconcile Nordic racism with nationalism in central and eastern Europe. This section however demonstrates that Germany faced the same challenge. The Nazis never fully clarified their racial doctrine.³⁶⁵ In choosing territory to annex, identifying Jews, and allocating non-Germans to re-Germanisation, forced labour, concentration camp or sterilisation, Nazis freely jumbled ethno-cultural and physical anthropology definitions.³⁶⁶ Himmler sometimes accepted whole ethnic groups as lost German tribes but on other occasions insisted on tall blue-eyed blonds.³⁶⁷ Nazis strained to be Nordicists, but within limits:

Himmler, watching Jews going to the gas chamber, picked out a blond, blue-eyed boy and asked him if he were a Jew and if both his parents were Jews. When the boy answered in the affirmative, Himmler replied: “What a pity, then I cannot save you”.³⁶⁸

Nordicists like Günther were ‘scientists and racists first and nationalists second’, valuing foreign Nordics over ‘unpatriotic’ brachycephalic Germans.³⁶⁹ Racialising traditional nationalist worries about German political disunity, Günther identified just 6–8 % ‘pure Nordic’ Germans, and found many of the despised East European race, of Slav descent, among the racially ‘mixed’ ‘overwhelming majority’.³⁷⁰ He realised by the late 1920s that breeding a pure-Nordic Germany would require ‘centuries’, and therefore advocated strict racio-social stratification.

The historian Josef Ackermann says that some SS men agreed that Germany’s tiny Nordic elite would ultimately rule the non-Nordic mass.³⁷¹ Günther’s Nordicism strongly influenced Nazi racism and especially Himmler’s SS and Hitler’s settlement policy to the east.³⁷² Leading anthropologists became SS officers, and assisted ‘race examinations’ by the

Third Reich's *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt* (RSha - Central Office for Race and Settlement) of up to 1.2 million people a year there.³⁷³ SS leaders, raciologists and doctors in the RSha used Günther's racial taxonomy to evaluate SS applicants, SS fiancées and prospective German citizens, resettle isolated German enclaves and 'regermanise' Nordic Polish children.³⁷⁴ Prominent cheekbones for example suggested unwelcome 'Mongol or Slavic' blood. Himmler and Darré, both agricultural science students, believed in breeding human races.³⁷⁵ Himmler planned special schools to physically and mentally educate suitable girls for SS 'model' marriages.

Race was so prominent in Nazi state ideology that some historians believe it was allowed to impede the war effort.³⁷⁶ However others note that Nazi practice diverged radically from this socially divisive ideology, and few Nordacist officials were appointed. They see Hitler's government as moving from scientific Nordicism towards the much more marketable, populist and nationally inclusive Germanicism and anti-Semitism, with roots in softer human sciences.³⁷⁷ Unlike scientific anthroposociological elitism, mystical, cultural Germanicism made almost all Germans into superior Aryans, even if 'as blond as Hitler, as dolichocephalic as Rosenberg, as tall as Goebbels, as slender as Goering, and as manly as Streicher', as an anti-Nazi joke put it.³⁷⁸ Conservative Nazi Nordacists like Günther meanwhile denounced the "'chicken farm" mentality' and impropriety of SS plans to boost Nordic birth rates.³⁷⁹ These included *Lebensborn* maternity homes for unmarried mothers of superior race and proposals for temporary *Lebensborn* marriages. Though generally anti-Semitic meanwhile, Nordacists felt the Nazi fixation with Jews distracted from more important race issues.³⁸⁰

Scientific ignorance fudged contradictions between universalist elite Nordicism, anti-Semitism and xenophobic, romantic nationalist Germanicism. Nazi propaganda did not for example advertise that anthropologists classed German brachycephals as racially non-Aryan. Nationalists blurred together incompatible ethnic and scientific racial elements and eugenic goals with a generous smear of *völkisch* mysticism. While scientific Nordacists like Günther criticised the 'mythical, irrational' 'excesses' of Nazi Germanicism therefore, many Nordacists mitigated their elitism after the early 1920s to propose a less biologically defined northern supremacism or an inclusive German national race.³⁸¹

Scientific fudges were also deployed. Right-wing German nationalist anthropologists systematically minimised numbers of south and east German brachycephals or used elaborate theories of 'false brachyceph-

aly' or recessive genes to reveal their 'hidden' Nordic descent.³⁸² Some Nordacist anthropologists believed races harmonised biologically towards a single type within ethnic groups, others that a Nordic nucleus 'mentally Nordicised' Germanic cultures.³⁸³ *Völkisch* German serologists meanwhile claimed superior type A blood was 'dominant' in Germany except among darker-haired inferiors, such as criminals, imbeciles, syphilitics, Jews and descendants of Poles.³⁸⁴

German Nordacists also favoured certain non-Nordic German races. In the 1920s, they began linking Phalics (German *fälisch*³⁸⁵), who resembled Nordics physically and mentally, and were the only post-Deniker race to enjoy significant international recognition, with great Germans like Luther, Hindenburg and Bismarck.³⁸⁶ Lively controversy about the Phalic category helped stave off 'monotony and boredom' in German raciogy.³⁸⁷

Deniker's tall, dark Dinaric race, though brachycephalic and linked with Balkan Slavs, also got red carpet treatment for disassociating dark, broad-headed south Germans from despised Alpines.³⁸⁸ Günther's Dinarics were boisterous, plucky, highland defenders, like 'the Tyrolean freedom-fighter against Napoleon', though not conquerors like the Nordic.³⁸⁹ Interwar German and British anthropologists worked hard to sever previously uncontroversial links between Alpines, Middle Eastern races and evolutionarily 'specialised' Dinarics.³⁹⁰ Eickstedt's Dinarics were 'extensively harmonised' (i.e. a proper, matured race), despite a beaky nose and gawky physique, and were adapted to wooded uplands, while defeated Alpines merely fled there.³⁹¹ Illustrating the international reach of the Nordacist hierarchy, an Italian classifier termed Dinarics 'Adriatics', to associate this prestigious race with his country.³⁹²

EXPANSION AND DIVERSITY: THE MEDITERRANEAN, DENIKER AND CIVILISATION

Nevertheless, as they entered the core of the anthropological classification community, scholars in 1890s Italy and newly independent interwar central and eastern European countries proposed new narratives, challenging the Germanic Nordic and French brachycephalic models.

Italy's Mediterranean Narrative

Italian anthropologists created their Mediterranean national race within the old three-race system which Sergi, Lapouge and Ripley explicitly formulated and popularised. This system was already anthropological orthodoxy in 1883, when the term 'Mediterranean' was first used for Europe's short, 'sallow' southern and Atlantic dolichocephals.³⁹³ Earlier classifiers linked this type with pre-Aryan tribes, often extending them across the Mediterranean to Arabia and even India.³⁹⁴

The Gallic School doctrine of brachycephalic superiority influenced northern Italians like the world-famous race criminologist, Cesare Lombroso, to see 'Negroid' south Italian dolichocephals as inferior to the brachycephalic 'Celts' of the more industrialised north.³⁹⁵ An Italian race psychologist believed stolid, conservative, cooperative, 'persevering', docile Aryan brachycephal northerners had to discipline the 'trivial emotions,... excess of imagination' and 'rapid and agile' intelligence of individualistic, undisciplined and (literally) unruly Mediterraneans.³⁹⁶ Since Napoleon, the French and Piedmontese had justified suppressing south Italian revolts by racialising southerners as bestial black Africans.³⁹⁷ Post-unification archaeological theories in which Alpine invaders founded Latin civilisation, helped to legitimise Piedmont's leadership.³⁹⁸ Studies by scientists like Sergi, Italy's leading race anthropologist,³⁹⁹ provided important anthropological confirmation.⁴⁰⁰

Giustiniano Nicolucci, Italy's liberal, mid-century anthropological leader, defended native dolichocephalic Italics by fusing them in a Broca-style 'invigorated' national synthesis with the 'most distinguished' brachycephalic Aryan Pelasgians, who also founded Greek civilisation.⁴⁰¹ North Italians were therefore decidedly not racial Celts, as Broca said. As Piedmontese (northern) rulers led Italy into decline however, Sergi, an 'intense' Italian nationalist, criticised German-led Aryan fever, preferring traditional *ex oriente lux* narratives of Italy's 'central and even mystical role' in civilisation.⁴⁰² The theory he popularised in 1895–1898 further troubled the bitterly contested Aryan debate by representing the brachycephalic Indo-Europeans as marauding 'illiterate primitives', civilised by long-headed Mediterraneans.⁴⁰³ He even noted 'Mongoloid' features among Western European brachycephals. Just as British Aryanism supported imperialism in India, Mediterranean race theories could represent Italian imperialism in Africa and the Balkans as racial re-unification.⁴⁰⁴

Sergi's scheme confirmed craniological theories, dating from the 1870s, of a prehistoric wedge of brachycephalic immigration from Asia separating Mediterranean long-heads from their Nordic cousins. This racially linked the imperial civilisations of Nordic Britain and Mediterranean Rome.⁴⁰⁵ The Italian Fascist race ideologue Evola gave his 'Mediterranean Aryan race' the psychology and race purity fixation of Nordics and claimed Italians had more 'primordial Nordic blood' than 'Germanic peoples'.⁴⁰⁶ Northern Nordacists often acknowledged a link with the elegant, eloquent, 'light, slender, and rather agile', long-headed Mediterraneans, associating them with classical civilisation and, especially, feminine beauty.⁴⁰⁷ Geopolitical comradeship paralleled craniological fraternity. Italy allied with the German powers in 1882, against 'brachycephalic' France and Russia.

However even fascist Italian anthropologists criticised the widespread Nordacist disparagement of Alpines 'and sometimes also the Mediterranean'.⁴⁰⁸ American IQ researchers and Nordacists like the 'Park Avenue socialite and eugenicist' Grant, influenced by Anglophone colour racism and immigration debates, ranked Mediterraneans as the almost Negro dunces of Europe.⁴⁰⁹ Some northern Europeans characterised them as spent, defeated, evolutionarily conservative, racially adulterated and distinct from Nordics.⁴¹⁰ Günther's Mediterranean was passionate, nosy, calculating, chaotic, lazy, sadistic and cruel to animals.⁴¹¹

Deniker's Eastern European Races

Deniker was the greatest single influence on twentieth-century European race classification. His new multi-race system became anthropological convention by the 1920s, enormously facilitating rebellion against internationally dominant narratives, and making more local races available for nationalistic race narratives. He devised the first major classification 'for all of Europe', east and west, and especially after Günther adapted it in the 1920s, most leading race anthropologists proposed Deniker-based multi-race schemes⁴¹² (see Map 4.6). After about 1905, few outside of the English-speaking world relied just on Ripley's three races to represent increasingly detailed and complex new regional data. Multi-race theories encouraged fruitful controversy about classification and cartography.⁴¹³ Deniker's five principal races were widely accepted as naturally occurring clusters of inherited traits. Classifiers rearranged them to their diverse

tastes, relabelling and attributing new evolutionary, social or ethnic meanings or combining them with Ripley's scheme.⁴¹⁴

The older three-race scheme extended western European and especially French physical varieties into eastern Europe. As late as the 1920s, Bunak and other Russians imported a variety of the Mediterranean as their national race and Czekanowski attempted to 'steal' the Nordics from the Germans (see Chapter 6). However Deniker, a Russian in Paris, used new eastern data to create two politically useful brachycephalic types and have them generally accepted⁴¹⁵ (see Map 4.8). Yugoslavs and Ukrainians adopted his tall Dinaric and his broad-headed blond *race orientale* ('Eastern Race') was even more successful, included between 1908 and 1933 in the schemes of leading anthropologists throughout central and eastern Europe.⁴¹⁶ German Nordicists classed it as inferior, using it to rebrand Ripley's Alpines as 'primitive' Mongoloids and reconnect Germany's Slavic and French foes.⁴¹⁷ However some Finns, Russians and Poles made it their emblematic national race (see Chapter 6). This contradiction helped make it one of the least stable of the main European races, with disputes about its physical and psychological attributes, race history and name.⁴¹⁸ Various versions of 'East-Baltic' and 'Easteuropean' competed with 'Eastern'. In line with much of German practice, this book refers to it as the Easteuropean.

Between the 1870s and 1930s, the identification of this blond in Finland dispelled widespread assumptions, derived from linguistics, that the non-Indo-European speaking Finns, Lapps and Basques were 'ignoble' 'Yellow' Mongoloids or a 'primitive' European substratum.⁴¹⁹ Swedish anthropologists identified East-Baltics around the Baltic, including some Swedes. Finns 'willingly accepted' the race. The anthropologist Kaarlo Hildén heavily promoted it in the 1920s and dismissed German theories linking it with Mongols.⁴²⁰ Russian and Latvian anthropologists more hesitantly associated Easteuropeans with their nations.⁴²¹ Swedes were also ambivalent. One gave his East-Baltic a 'rather favourable' 'creative and artistic, but reserved and dreamy' race psychology, a typical core romanticisation of peripheries (see Chapter 5), and identified 'negative features' like collectivism, a reference to Finnish bolshevism.⁴²² For German Nordicists like Günther, whose unflattering Easteuropean drew heavily on Swedish accounts, these brachycephalic, grey-eyed, ash-blonds conveniently disassociated Eastern Europeans from superior 'yellow'-blond Nordic Germans.⁴²³

CONCLUSION

International science strove for a single positive universal truth. Philology, ethnology and anthropology therefore aimed for coherent, unified systems of European races, and simplified the continent's many modern nations and ancient tribes into broad categories like Aryans, broad and long-heads, Alpines and Mediterraneans. However these transnational narratives were in constant tension with more local nationalist narratives. As only widespread international acceptance could make nationalist narratives legitimate in weakly institutionalised early race science, racial identity narratives initially became increasingly international. Classifiers tried to associate their peoples with internationally prestigious categories, associated with core countries. Eastern Europeans thus represented themselves as Aryans, Celto-Slavs and even Nordics.

However, institutionalisation of national academic establishments, the expansion of the classification community's core, a cultural shift towards ethnocentric romanticism, and increasingly belligerent nationalist geopolitics, all encouraged diverse local narratives in the late nineteenth century. The physical diversity revealed by surveying also played a role. Distinctive 'native' local types, like Broca's Celts and the Germanicist Scandinavian Aryans, were increasingly adopted as national races, even when foreigners considered these types inferior. The advance and subsequent retreat of internationalisation in narratives thus directly paralleled race classification's organisational history as a community (see Chapter 2).

Nevertheless, for as long as classification's cosmopolitan international scientific community persisted, core-periphery power relations in its institutions and techniques remained central to narration, reinforcing international consensus. Creating race histories and especially taxonomies that favoured one's own national race required power within the classification community. Leading core theorists largely invented the crucial Aryan and brachy-dolichocephalic categories, assigned nations to them and extrapolated their local race sequences to the rest of Europe, often pursuing nationalist agendas. German-centred philology for example hesitated to recognise Celts and Slavs as Aryan. The international classification community then adopted Retzius's 1840s Scandinavian craniological sequence, which again excluded eastern Europeans. It only became problematic in international classification when surveys showed that it locked the powerful French out too. In response, their internationally hegemonic

1870s Gallic School theory joined Slavs and French Celts in a brachycephalic Aryan race.

Though this French scheme was probably still dominant in 1900 however, international consensus on classification narratives had begun to fragment. Increasingly unified international debate, especially on Aryans, paradoxically sharpened conflict by narrowing the space for distinctive national narratives. From the 1880s, as German industrialisation and military might decisively reinforced narratives of northern power and weakened *ex oriente lux* narratives, German nationalists increasingly resisted the Celto-Slav Aryan theory, which racially united Germany's eastern and western geopolitical enemies. Their Eurocentric new Nordic narrative absorbed Britain's Teutonist tradition of Anglo-Saxonism and moved from the disreputable fringes of scholarship to become the most internationally powerful interwar race narrative.

From about 1890 however, as Italy, Russia and then central Europe joined an increasingly unwieldy international core, they also produced rival nationalist narratives, splintering race classification discourse still further. They invested superiority in the Mediterranean, Deniker's East European or Dinaric races, or 'European' type A blood. Competing new Aryan, serological and raciological paradigms were therefore far less hegemonic than Retzius and Broca's schemes had been, transforming the dynamics of core-periphery relations. While nineteenth-century Finns had little influence over the vast international Celto-Slavic race to which they were allocated, interwar Finns had considerable sway over their local East European race. However Paris and London no longer cared.

Several factors inhibited fragmentation in race classification however. Political importance for example lent racial-ethnic constructs like the blond Teuton the same remarkable resistance to change as Chapter 3 identified in the standard race model. Even radically innovative race diagnosis methods, like Sergi's, therefore ended up reproducing exactly the same politically significant races as older methods did. Narratives of European racial superiority also helped preserve transnational consensus. As Franco-German disputes over which nation was really Aryan escalated after 1870 and the classification community's common core gave way to multiple competing centres, Europeanness increasingly emerged as an alternative or supplementary superior category, sharpening and narrowing Europe's frontiers. While earlier classifiers extended superior 'Whites' or 'Caucasians' to India, the three-race scheme excluded Jews, Gypsies

and ‘Turco-Finnish’ minorities from being Europeans ‘properly called’.⁴²⁴ Interwar Nordacist raciologists like Czekanowski and Fischer were even more Eurocentric, arguing that the original Aryans were racial Nordics from northern Europe. Their Europeans were a closed group, seldom interbreeding with culturally distinct ‘alien elements’.⁴²⁵

Race psychologies, though scientifically flimsy, were meanwhile vital for reconciling international narratives with nationalist interpretations. Classifiers generally accepted their nation’s internationally allotted psychology, but reinterpreted it in positive ways. Race psychology also allowed race classification to serve political causes other than national chauvinism. It guided disorientated citizens through the bewildering process of modernisation, giving nations roles as bourgeois, romantic peasant or conqueror, or values like civilisation, enterprise or tradition. Many narratives rejected modernity, idolising daring noble warriors or traditional peasants with roots in the national soil. At the apogee of liberal positivism however, Anglo-Saxon, Celto-Slav and Italian Mediterranean narratives favoured peaceful industrious democracy. The Germanic Nordic, whose stock rose with neo-romantic nationalism, meanwhile struggled to combine modern militarism with pessimistic conservatism, and populist nationalism with socially divisive elitism. Scientific race psychology was part of a wider artistic, political and popular discourse of national character stereotypes. Scientific universalism and networks played an important role in organising these into international systems.⁴²⁶

NOTES

1. Retzius for example claimed Swedes were the purest Nordics, and that Nordic race psychology matched ‘the Scandinavian peoples excellently’ (1909: 301 & 306).
2. Boia (2002: 32) and Dietler (1994: 587).
3. Beddoe (1912: 19–20), Zograf (1893: 4–5), and Deniker (1897: 126).
4. Retzius, William Wilde, Broca and Thurnham did this for local Swedish, Irish, French and English race sequences (Wilde 1849: 238; Thurnham 1864: 402; Deniker 1904: 181).
5. 1897: 126.
6. Bernabeo (1989: 172), Brace (1997: 862), and Sergi (1900: 210).
7. To preserve the distinction in most European languages between ancient Germanic peoples and modern Germans, I call the former ‘Teutons’.
8. Prichard (1973: 20–21 & 505), Virchow (1950: 184), and Broc (1836: 32).

9. Knox (1850: 49–50).
10. Blanckaert (1988: 31).
11. Houzé (1883: 90).
12. Barkan (1992: 55), Teti (1993: 187), Poliakov (1971: 119), and Felder (2013: 118).
13. Díaz-Andreu (1996: 79), Poliakov (1971: 24–25), and Herz (1925: 9).
14. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 161).
15. Bollenbeck (1999: 297) and Poliakov (1971: 44–48).
16. Poliakov (1971: 117).
17. Bieder (1909: 13–14), Woltmann (1903: 228–29, 251 & 287), and Eickstedt (1937: 42).
18. Todorov (1993: 102–3) and Prichard (1973: 172–73 & 235).
19. 1850: 47.
20. Poliakov (1971: 97–113 & 119).
21. Dias (1991: 144), Sklenář (1983: 64–65 & 94), and Wijworra (1996: 167–68).
22. Ballantyne (2002: 6 & 41), Leerssen (1996: 95), and Herz (1925: 12).
23. Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996: 16) and Sklenář (1983: 94).
24. Ballantyne (2002: 6 & 41) and Knox (1850: 46 & 59).
25. Leerssen (1996: 95), Morton (1839: 17), and Mandler (2006: 86–89).
26. Poliakov (1971: 59–62) and Horsman (1976: 387–89).
27. Mandler (2006: 42–60).
28. Ballantyne (2002: 5).
29. Leerssen (1996: 90).
30. Manias (2013: 187–88).
31. Tristram (1996: 59), Prichard (2000: 139–40), and Pictet (1836: 264).
32. Ballantyne (2002: 6 & 38–44) and Day (1997: 110).
33. Broca (1864b: 410–11), Prichard (2000: 4 & 17–18), Blanckaert (1989: 182), and Ripley (1900: 477).
34. Day (1997: 109).
35. Horsman (1976: 393).
36. Ripley (1900: 454), Day (1997: 109), and Prichard (1973: 526, 2000: 4 & 17–22).
37. Orsucci (1998: 1), Ripley (1900: 477), and Bonté (1864a: 280).
38. Bonté (1864a: 280) and Broca (1864c: 311).
39. Sklenář (1983: 91).
40. Vanderkindere (1883: 94).
41. Retzius (1864a: 11), Broca (1878: 193), and Collis (2003: 59).
42. Retzius (1864a: 3 & 33–34) and Retzius (1864b: 30).
43. Blanckaert (1989: 182).
44. Retzius (1864a: 28, 64 & 102–4), Blanckaert (1989: 188), and Collis (2003: 59).

45. Périer et al. (1861: 340–41), Zapatero (1993: 37), and McKendry (1999: 186).
46. Blanckaert (1989: 172), Sklenář (1983: 92–93), and Retzius (1864a: 28).
47. Quatrefages (1887: 114–17, 1889: 301) and Blanckaert (1989: 181).
48. Broca (1873: 578), Ripley (1900: 462), and Quatrefages (1889: 301).
49. Lissauer (1872: 123), Virchow (1950: 189), and Czekanowski (1937: 231).
50. Pruner-Bey (1864c: 223–24 & 235).
51. Keith (1928: 309) and Huxley (1870: 406).
52. Allen (1971: xiv) and Prichard (1973: 169–72).
53. Beddoe (1905: 237).
54. Prichard (1973: 21–22), Flower (1885: 391–92), and Huxley (1870: 406–9).
55. Flower (1885: 392), Huxley (1870: 406), and Müller (1879: 17).
56. Broca (1864b: 461), Wilde (1849: 217, 1874: 246), Prichard (1973: 500–1 & 527–34), Retzius (1864a: 102), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 672).
57. Thiesse (2001: 28 & 175).
58. Broca (1864b: 462), Wilde (1849: 228), and Hölder (1876: 19).
59. Broca (1864b: 410–11), Sklenář (1983: 122), and Pruner-Bey (1864c: 233–35).
60. Chapman (1992: 203).
61. Collis (2003: 71–73), Davis (2002: viii), and Broca (1864b: 460–61).
62. Collis (2003: 71–73).
63. Dietler (1994: 593–94) and Thiesse (2001: 54 & 125).
64. Cuisenier (1999: 26–27) and Dietler (1994: 588–91).
65. Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 67–70).
66. Poliakov (1971: 62–64).
67. Dietler (1994: 588) and McKendry (1999: 182).
68. Thiesse (2001: 51), Dietler (1994: 587), and Hobsbawm (2005: 272).
69. Poliakov (1971: 42–48 & 62), Mosse (1978: 48–49), and Dietler (1994: 588 & 592). Just as British nationalists exploited Celtic symbols like the Ossianic and Arthurian legends, French nationalists from the 1790s to the Asterix and Obelix comics appropriated Bretons as the purest descendants of France's Gauls (Thiesse 2001: 54 & 125). French nationalist anthropologists therefore bridled at 1840s–1850s archaeological theories that convincingly traced Bretons from fourth-century British immigrants (Lagneau 1866: 504; Broca 1866: 503–4).
70. Périer et al. (1861: 363, 369 & 373) and Omalius (1864a: 268).
71. Morton (1839: 17), Bonté (1864a: 198), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 666).
72. Dietler (1994: 590–91) and Chapman (1992: 206).
73. Topinard (1885: 400) and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 661).
74. Dietler (1994: 591–92).

75. Zapatero (1993: 23–36 & 41–42) and Collis (2003: 64).
76. The name Bohemia is of Celtic origin. The European Union also appropriates Celtic identity, subsidising international archaeology exhibitions with subtitles like ‘An Early Form of European Unity’ and at least one work aimed to give French and English-speaking Canadians a common Celtic background (Dietler 1994: 595–96; Zapatero 1993: 54; Quinn 2005: 128).
77. Megaw and Megaw (1999: 22) and Zapatero (1993: 38–40).
78. Zapatero (1993: 23, 28 & 31), McKendry (1999: 182–85), and Sklenář (1983: 93).
79. Manias (2013: 196).
80. Brandes (1857: vi) and Thiesse (2001: 50).
81. Thiesse (2001: 25 & 54), Chapman (1992: 131), and Holzmann (1855: 2).
82. Holzmann (1855: 6), Périer (1864: 600–5), and Omalius (1864a: 267–68).
83. Holzmann (1855: 4, 7 & 157), Brandes (1857: vi), and Broca (1864b: 458–59).
84. Hölder (1876: 19), Chapman (1992: 204), and Betham (2000: 4).
85. Holzmann (1855: 4–5).
86. Horsman (1976: 391) and Ballantyne (2002: 6 & 41).
87. Bieder (1909: 13 & 31) and Sklenář (1983: 93).
88. Tristram (1990: 12–13).
89. Bieder (1909: 31), Sklenář (1983: 93), Broca (1864b: 459), and Périer (1864: 602).
90. Périer et al. (1861: 363, 369 & 373) and Omalius (1864a: 268).
91. Broca (1873: 586).
92. Edwards (1841: 51–53 & 59; 1845: 18).
93. Caillaud (1915: 136 & 138) and Steinmetz (1938: 394).
94. Edwards (1841: 51, 54–60 & 64; 1845: 27) and Broca (1871b: 282, 1873: 589).
95. Retzius (1864a: 33–34, 56, 64, 123, 139 & 165) and Retzius (1909: 287–89).
96. Ripley (1900: 463–64), Virchow (1950: 190), and Borlase (1897: 923).
97. Périer et al. (1861: 417), Broca (1871b: 284–85 & 300), and Lagneau (1860b: 519).
98. Bonté (1864a: 282).
99. Gould (1981: 99) and Spencer (1997c: 358).
100. Campbell (1870: 411).
101. Périer (1864: 621–22 & 624).
102. Broca (1864c: 310–11), Bertrand (1864: 382–83, 1873: 241 & 631).
103. Spencer (1997c: 358).
104. Blanckaert (1989: 183 & 193–94) and Broca (1864c: 310–11).

105. Broca (1864a: 559), Bonté (1864b: 628), and Thurnham (1864: 404).
106. Edwards (1845: 27), Périer (1864: 596–97), and Broca (1860a: 516, 1864b: 459).
107. 1873: 578–79.
108. Blanckaert (1989: 193) and Broca (1864c: 304–5).
109. Bertrand (1864: 303, 1873: 634–35, 639 & 641).
110. Pruner-Bey (1864b: 670–71), Broca (1864b: 460–61), and Bonté (1864b: 627).
111. Girard (1864: 552–53 & 568), Broca (1864a: 560–61), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 670, 1864c: 241–42).
112. Broca (1864c: 194–96 & 309), Blanckaert (1989: 183 & 195), and Bonté (1864a: 282).
113. Bertrand (1873: 240–41), Broca (1871b: 283–84), and Quatrefages (1871: 48 & 78).
114. Franz Pruner received the title of Bey as private doctor to the Egyptian Viceroy Abbas Pacha, and after 1860, become ‘the second man’ of the Paris Anthropological Society (Blanckaert 1989: 184). The Franco-Prussian War ‘brutally’ ended his role in French anthropology. The Society’s journal granted him no obituary.
115. Blanckaert (1989: 183–84 & 187).
116. Gould (1981: 99).
117. Hölder (1876: 18), Pruner-Bey (1864b: 671), and Ripley (1900: 125).
118. 1864b: 664–65.
119. Quatrefages (1889: 301), Ripley (1900: 462), and Blanckaert (1989: 185 & 189).
120. Quatrefages (1871: 44–46 & 49–50) and Blanckaert (1989: 189–90).
121. Houzé (1883: 93).
122. Blanckaert (1989: 185), Daresté (1860: 82), and Périer et al. (1861: 340–42).
123. Broca (1864b: 411 & 418–19) and Blanckaert (1989: 185–87).
124. Pruner-Bey (1864a: 413–14; 1864b: 669), Broca (1864b: 411), and Blanckaert (1989: 186).
125. Blanckaert (1989: 186–87).
126. Blanckaert (1989: 187).
127. 1849: 225–26.
128. Collis (2003: 59), Latham (1852: 26 & 59), and Pruner-Bey (1864a: 407).
129. Wilde (1849: 229–31 & 238) and Thurnham (1864: 398).
130. Thurnham (1864: 397–98), Blanckaert (1989: 191), and Pruner-Bey (1864a: 405–6).
131. Blanckaert (1989: 190–91), Thurnham (1864: 396–402), and Broca (1864: 463–64).

132. 1864a: 405–9.
133. 1864d: 332–33.
134. Pruner-Bey (1864a: 407 & 412–15) and Broca (1864b: 410–11).
135. Blanckaert (1989: 191–92 & 197), Orsucci (1998: 6), and Quatrefages (1887: 113–17).
136. Borlase (1897: 995).
137. Blanckaert (1989: 190–92), Retzius (1909: 288), Ripley (1900: 462–63), Broca (1873: 578, 1878: 193), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 664).
138. Ripley (1900: 125–26), Spencer (1997c: 358), and Eickstedt (1934: 384). This became such a convention that by the 1980s, anthropologists were using the two races as technical standards, choosing specimens from the most Kymric and Celtic *départements*, on the basis of such accepted features as ‘*flattening of the occipital region*’ (Collignon 1883: 470–71).
139. Broca (1871b: 284–95), Ranse (1866: 479), Topinard (1877: 456 & 473–74), Bertrand (1864: 379–81, 1873: 631–41).
140. Collis (2003: 63) and Deniker (1897: 126).
141. Poliakov (1971: 44–48 & 62), Broc (1836: 31), Bonté (1864b: 628), Broca (1878: 200), Pogliano (2005: 48).
142. Hannaford (1996: 288).
143. Trubeta (2007: 131).
144. 1860b: 8.
145. Blanckaert (1988: 31), Périer (1864: 624), Piette (1876: 265–66), and Bertrand (1873: 434–35 & 638).
146. Obédénare (1877: 254).
147. Pogliano (2005: 102, 379–80 & 402) and Quine (2013: 137 & 150).
148. Sergi (1993: 182–83).
149. Pogliano (2005: 374 & 400) and Evola (1941: 70 & 74).
150. Zimmerman (2001: 135–36 & 144–45).
151. Evans (2010: 75).
152. Virchow (1950: 185) and Evans (2010: 75).
153. Orsucci (1998: 3), Kollmann (1880: 106–7), and Manias (2013: 194).
154. Beddoe (1912: 101–5) and Kollmann (1880: 107 & 116).
155. Zimmerman (2001: 137).
156. This remains the practice of present-day genetic anthropology (see epilogue) and explains why anthropologists preferred to study isolated peasants (see Chapter 2).
157. 2001: 137 & 142–43.
158. 1996: 90.
159. Evans (2010: 74–75) and Manias (2013: 178).
160. Evans (2010: 75–80).
161. Manias (2013: 136 & 179) and Evans (2010: 93–95).
162. Manias (2013: 136 & 195–97).

163. Eickstedt (1934: 13), Woltmann (1903: 289), and Massin (1996: 129).
164. Ripley (1900: 469–70), Eickstedt (1934: 352–53), and Beddoe (1912: 177–78).
165. Woltmann (1903: 260), Ackermann (1970: 117), and Günther (1933: 60).
166. 1977: 1134.
167. Ballantyne (2002: 41), Barkan (1992: 23), and Mandler (2006: 66, 97–99 & 153–54).
168. Lewis (1872: 264) and Jackson (1873: 399–402).
169. Arnold (1962: 351–60) and Mandler (2006: 155; see Chapter 5).
170. Stratz den Haag (1903: 198), Spencer (1997c: 474), and Omalius (1869: 22).
171. Sklenář (1983: 92–93).
172. Arnold (1962: 359) and Chapman (1992: 278).
173. Knox (1850: 49–50), Broc (1836: 32), and Retzius (1909: 299).
174. Bollenbeck (1999: 289–95).
175. Broca (1871b: 292), Edwards (1841: 61), and Topinard (1877: 474).
176. Woltmann (1903: 296–97), Edwards (1841: 61), and Beddoe (1912: 33).
177. 2006: 101 and Arnold (1962: 347).
178. Knox (1850: 46 & 59).
179. Knox (1850: 53–60 & 320), Coombe (1839: 273–74), Bieder (1909: 28–29), and Arnold (1962: 341 & 347).
180. Curtis (1968: 27 & 31).
181. Broc (1836: 32) and Hankins (1926: 142).
182. Curtis (1968: 4–5 & 12–13), Horsman (1976: 387–91), and Knox (1850: 46 & 54–60).
183. Curtis (1968: 6–7), Horsman (1976: 400 & 410), and Avery (1869: ccxxv). A rationalisation not wholly extinct in London or Washington. Knox admitted that Saxons extended their exceptional sense of fair play ‘only to Saxons’, so German liberal revolutionaries failed in 1848, because they would not liberate Czechs and Poles (1850: 57 & 60).
184. Avery (1869: ccxxix) and Woltmann (1903: 228–29 & 287).
185. Woltmann (1903: 228–29, 269 & 287) and Knox (1850: 46 & 49).
186. Knox (1850: 19, 26 & 318–21), Coombe (1839: 273–74), and Curtis (1968: 22).
187. Home to Daniel O’Connell, the leading contemporary Irish politician and not far from where this author grew up!
188. Knox (1850: 50–53 & 319–25) and DUM (1855: 725).
189. Hobsbawm (2005: 292 & 300).
190. Curtis (1968: 27 & 31).
191. Bollenbeck (1999: 302).

192. Gould (1981: 221), Günther (1933: 59–61), Eickstedt (1934: 354–56), and Lenz (1936: 726).
193. Gould (1981: 227) and Mazumdar (1990: 194).
194. Beddoe (1898: 164), Tschepourkovsky (1923: 134), Hölder (1876: 19), Huxley (1870: 408–9), Deniker (1971: 283), Fischer (1936: 276 & 283), MacLoughlin (1896: 87), and Retzius (1909: 299 & 313).
195. MacLoughlin (1896: 83–87); see Chapter 6.
196. Günther (1933: 66).
197. Günther (1933: 64–66), Retzius (1909: 299 & 313), and Ripley (1900: 529–31 & 549–50).
198. 1909: 299. Twelve pages later, Retzius demanded state support for the vital work of race anthropology (1909: 313).
199. Obédénare (1877: 254), Eickstedt (1934: 376), and Ripley (1900: 529–31 & 549–50).
200. Broca (1871b: 292), Topinard (1878: 508, 1885: 400–1), and Obédénare (1877: 253).
201. Günther (1933: 64–66), Retzius (1909: 299 & 313), and Orsucci (1998: 7).
202. Lutzhöft (1971: 17), Beddoe (1905: 237), and Retzius (1909: 301).
203. Jackson (1873: 400–1), Retzius (1909: 300–1), Beddoe (1905: 237), Woltmann (1903: 272–73), and Fleure (1937: 221).
204. Beddoe (1905: 237, 1912: 55–57), Knox (1850: 47), Latham (1852: 259–60), Retzius (1909: 299–301), and Kopernicki (1877: 615–18).
205. McDonald (1997: 229–30) and Manouelian (2000: 392).
206. Chapman (1992: 124–25, 128–29 & 139).
207. McDonald (1997: 229–30) and Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 223).
208. Hutchinson (1987: 88).
209. 1992: 125–26.
210. Manouelian (2000: 391).
211. Figs (2002: 423–25).
212. McDonald (1997: 229).
213. Field (1977: 532–33) and Chapman (1992: 133).
214. Chapman (1992: 131–32).
215. McDonald (1997: 229).
216. Ironically, these groups were often highly untypical of their nations' peasant and worker masses.
217. Chapman (1992: 124–33).
218. Latvia's Latgallians offer a counter-example however (Felder's 2013:133).
219. Mandler (2006: 103–4). Eastern Europeans encountered this same tension (Wiercinski 1962: 11; see Chapters 6 and 7).
220. Orsucci (1998: 3), Graham (1977: 1135), and Beddoe (1912: 176).
221. Woltmann (1903: 272–73, 281 & 285–86) and Beddoe (1912: 175).

222. Lewis (1872: 264) and Jackson (1873: 399–401).
223. Field (1977: 529–30) and Mazumdar (1990: 194–95).
224. 1937: 221.
225. Lutzhöft (1971: 18–19).
226. Woltmann (1903: 272–73), Knox (1850: 349–50), and MacMaster (2001: 44).
227. Figes (2002: 421) and Popoviciu (1938: 3–4, 8–15).
228. Stojanowski (1930: 9).
229. Jenkyns (1992: 31).
230. Jackson (1873: 400), Omalius (1869: 16–17, 22 & 34), and Bollenbeck (1999: 291).
231. Virchow (1950: 190), Kollmann (1881: 35 & 37), and Piette (1876: 263).
232. Huxley (1870: 408–9), Montandon (1933: 258), Fischer (1936: 276 & 283), Ripley (1900: 123), and Eickstedt (1934: 401). In response, Balkan raciologists, heavily influenced by German science, alternated between denouncing blond chauvinism and claiming their nations were strongly Nordic (Trubeta 2007: 131 & 135; see Chapter 7).
233. Teti (1993: 188) and Reynaud-Paligot (2011: 157).
234. Neumann (1999: 74–79 & 100).
235. Ujfalvy (1903: 27).
236. Bollenbeck (1999: 292).
237. Virchow (1950: 190), Kollmann (1881: 35 & 37), and Piette (1876: 263).
238. Eickstedt (1934: 136), Huxley (1870: 407), Deniker (1971: 283), Houzé (1883: 83–84), and Quatrefages (1889: 313).
239. Retzius, G. (1864: 31) and Quatrefages (1889: 313).
240. 1877: 318.
241. Hegel (1900: 102, 350 & 420) and Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 188).
242. 1999: 68–72.
243. Broc (1836: 33), Morton (1839: 15), Prichard (1973: 475–84), and Knox (1850: 5, 60, 321 & 363–66).
244. 1850: 365–66.
245. Neumann (1999: 76–80 & 89), Hegel (1900: 102 & 350), Morton (1839: 15), Knox (1850: 5, 60, 321 & 363–64), O’Grady (1878: 12), and Quatrefages (1871: 105).
246. Massin (1996: 102).
247. Poliakov (1971: 116), Retzius (1864a: 11), Müller (1879: 61 & 544), and Luschan (1911: 26).
248. Wijworra (1996: 176).
249. Malik (1996: 118–19) and Figes (2002: 413–14).

250. Pogliano (2005: 111), Montandon (1933: 242), Fischer (1936: 283), Günther (1933: 19), and Landra (1942: 43).
251. O'Grady (1878: 12).
252. Turda (2012: 14); see also Chapter 7.
253. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 228).
254. Barford (2001: 274) and Kostrzewski (1927: 1–2, 1939: 207).
255. Bugge (1996: 134) and Weidlein (1961).
256. Turda (2010: 39) and Lafferton (2007: 717).
257. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 217–19).
258. Figes (2002: 414 & 423–25).
259. Figes (2002: 418), Zograf (1893: 7–12), Bounak (1928: 224), and Bunak (1932: 469–73, 486 & 492–95).
260. Defeat by Japan exacerbated this in Russia (Figes 2002: 413–14).
261. Neumann (1999: 82), Wijworra (1996: 175–76), and Mazumdar (1990: 197).
262. Figes (2002: 365–69).
263. Bunak (1932: 469 & 492–93) and Hildén (1928: 220–21 & 223).
264. 1932: 492.
265. Gould (1981: 89), Ripley (1900: 454), and Manias (2009: 747–51).
266. Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996: 10) and Bollenbeck (1999: 296–98).
267. Orsucci (1998: 1) and Manias (2009: 757).
268. Herz (1925: 15) and Caillaud (1915: 136).
269. Herz (1925: 13) and Hannaford (1996: 288).
270. 1871: 3 & 6.
271. Coon (1939: 280).
272. Quatrefages (1871: 8, 78–80 & 101–104) and MacMaster (2001: 40).
273. 1871: 57, 75–82 & 101.
274. 1871: 80–82. A parrot was the bombardment's sole fatality (Manias 2009: 742)!
275. 1872; 1873: 603.
276. 1872: 17, 31 & 34.
277. Houzé (1883: 84), Kollmann (1880: 113; 1881: 14 & 33), and Manias (2009: 747 & 750–51).
278. Virchow (1950: 184), Massin (1996: 80 & 100), and Kollmann (1880: 108–14, 1881: 37).
279. Hölder (1876: 4), Woltmann (1903: 293), and Beddoe (1971: 2).
280. Bonté (1864a: 198), Piette (1876: 265–67), Deniker (1904: 203), and Montandon (1933: 253).
281. Hannaford (1996: 288) and Hobsbawm (2005: 272).
282. Collignon (1883: 504 & 525).
283. Broca (1864c: 194, 303 & 307), Pruner-Bey (1864c: 223–24), and Bertrand (1864: 303).

284. Thurnham (1864: 404), Retzius (1909: 298), and Dareste (1860: 82).
285. Bertrand (1873: 435; 1876: 145) and Broca (1878: 193–94).
286. Collis (2003: 63–64, 72–75 & 85), Bertrand (1873: 631–38), and Topinard (1877: 456).
287. Topinard (1878: 508, 1885: 403–5) and Houzé (1883: 88).
288. Czekanowski (1948: 19) and Houzé (1883: 88 & 96).
289. 1877: 253–54.
290. Broca (1864b: 462–63), Childe (1926: 94), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 660, 1864c: 225–27 & 239–40, 1864d: 332).
291. Ujfalvy (1903: 26), Quatrefages (1889: 489), and Houzé (1883: 87 & 96).
292. Childe (1926: 97), Hankins (1926: 155), Coon (1939: 287), and Ripley (1900: 126, 455 & 471).
293. Ripley (1900: 456), Houzé (1883: 86–87), Quatrefages (1889: 489), and Quine (2013: 136–39).
294. Krzywicki (1969: 419), Woltmann (1903: 293), and Quatrefages (1889: 313).
295. Hankins (1926: 155–56).
296. Orsucci (1998: 3).
297. Weisbach (1876: 8).
298. Beddoe (1912: 177–78) and Eickstedt (1934: 353).
299. Fischer (1936: 265, 280–84), Eickstedt (1934: 350–51), and Montandon (1933: 99 & 272).
300. Ackermann (1970: 115–16) and Woltmann (1903: 287).
301. Banu (1939: 201), Woltmann (1903: 285–86 & 298), and Günther (1933: 66).
302. Ackermann (1970: 115–16) and Mazumdar (1990: 214–15).
303. Lutzhöft (1971: 109–110) and Orsucci (1998: 7).
304. Eickstedt (1937: 220) and Lenz (1936: 726).
305. Mazumdar (1990: 194).
306. As conservatives, Nordicists emphasised the roles of ‘great men’, claiming Italian Renaissance artists and even Jesus as Nordic (Woltmann 1903: 255 & 289; Günther 1933: 69; Eickstedt 1934: 356–7; Pogliano 2005: 418). Galton’s *Hereditary Genius* (1869) launched this scientific tradition of explaining historical figures through their breeding.
307. Günther (1933: 65 & 93), Field (1977: 526 & 530), and Lutzhöft (1971: 109).
308. MacMaster (2001: 44) and Banu (1939: 201).
309. Beddoe (1971: 298), Woltmann (1903: 281), and Herz (1925: 9).
310. Hannaford (1996: 328) and Banu (1939: 202).
311. Ripley (1900: 469–70), Günther (1933: 102–3), Reche (1909: 230–31), and Childe (1926: 167–71).

312. Fischer (1936: 280–82), Ripley (1900: 468–69), Günther (1933: 101–1 & 105), and Montandon (1933: 111).
313. Vanderkindere (1883: 94 & 97), Woltmann (1903: 268), and Orsucci (1998: 7).
314. Woltmann (1903: 287–95) and Clark (1984: 151).
315. Massin (1996: 129).
316. Reche (1909: 227–231).
317. Ripley (1900: 456), Huxley and Haddon (1935: 152), and Virchow (1950: 189).
318. Deniker (1971: 318), Broca (1864c: 303), and Wijworra (1996: 167–68).
319. Wijworra (1996: 167–68).
320. Ripley (1900: 470 & 473–75), Coon (1939: 284), and Fleure (1937: 220).
321. Günther (1933: 109), Montandon (1933: 268), Eickstedt (1934: 384), and Lutzhöft (1971: 109–10).
322. Keane (1920: 504), Day (1997: 109), and Houzé (1883: 86–87).
323. Day (1997: 109).
324. Poliakov (1971: 91–118), MacLean (1872: xliv–xlv), and Keane (1896: 136).
325. 1998: 9.
326. Deniker (1971: 318–20), Keane (1920: 503–4), Ripley (1900: 477–83), Orsucci (1998: 2), and Childe (1926: 94–95 & 165–66).
327. Orsucci (1998: 5), Woltmann (1903: 289–90), and Omalius (1864a: 269, 1864b: 201–2).
328. Jackson (1873: 397–98), Omalius (1864b: 193, 1869: 16–17 & 34), and Baum (2006: 135).
329. Deniker (1971: 318), Childe (1926: 166), and Orsucci (1998: 2).
330. Ripley (1900: 455), Orsucci (1998: 3), and Ujfalvy (1903: 28).
331. Orsucci (1998: 2 & 9), Massin (1996: 127), Puschner (2001: 95), and Deniker (1971: 318).
332. Ripley (1900: 455), Orsucci (1998: 4–5 & 9), and Childe (1926: 166–68).
333. Ripley (1900: 455).
334. Ripley (1900: 455), Deniker (1971: 320), and Orsucci (1998: 5–8).
335. Coon (1939: 286), Childe (1926: 98 & 165–68), and Kossinna (1909: 19).
336. Haddon (1924: 142), Childe (1926: 97, 168 & 179), and Eickstedt (1934: 356–7).
337. Coon (1939: 286).
338. Woltmann (1903: 292), Houzé (1883: 82 & 87), and Ripley (1900: 470–75).

339. Haddon (1924: 23), Fischer (1936: 283), and Eickstedt (1934: 384–91).
340. Eickstedt (1934: 384; 1937: 61), Fleure (1937: 206), and Haddon (1924: 142 & 151–54).
341. Köhl (1997: 73).
342. Poliakov (1971: 85–87).
343. Bunzl and Penny (2003: 2–5 & 15) and Köhl (1997: 19 & 24).
344. MacMaster (2001: 35 & 40) and Köhl (1997: 21–22 & 25).
345. Eickstedt (1937: 42), Hannaford (1996: 353–54 & 356), and Poliakov (1971: 114–15).
346. Ackermann (1970: 110, 121–22, 184–85 & 207–9).
347. To justify brutality in the east, Nazi propaganda developed a crude, unscientific new race categorisation of Slavs as semi-human *Untermenschen*, which Ackermann traces to the American Lothrop Stoddard's popular 1922 race tract, warning against 'Underman' (1970: 110 & 210–13).
348. Ackermann (1970: 209 & 215–19).
349. Keith (1928: 316 & 319) and Barkan (1992: 47).
350. Hitler (1936: 313), Woltmann (1903: 297–98), and Knox (1850: 46 & 49).
351. Köhl (1997: 43 & 66).
352. Childe (1926: 168–70 & 179).
353. Barkan (1992: 2) and Kevles (1985: 73).
354. Montandon, as a young Swiss doctor, worked in a hospital train during Russia's Civil War. After marrying a Bolshevik nurse, he was accused of betraying White Russian patients to the communists. Expelled from Switzerland, he became an anthropologist in France, and later the leading Vichy race scientist. The resistance assassinated him along with his wife (Pogliano 2005: 481–82).
355. Köhl (1997: 68–70), Blanckaert (1988: 51), and Montandon (1933: 113 & 272).
356. Bunak (1932: 468), Montandon (1933: 247–49), and Klimek (1932: 18–19).
357. Childe (1926: 163–66 & 211), Fleure (1937: 218–26), and Barkan (1992: 54–57).
358. Bunak (1932: 468 & 492–93), Figes (2002: 413–14), and Graham (1977: 1145–47).
359. Malik (1996: 96).
360. Ripley (1900: viii–ix, 104, 121–28, 456–57, 469–74, 529–31 & 549) and Orsucci (1998: 8).
361. Coon (1939: 285).
362. Pogliano (2005: 111) and Guiart (1928: 204).
363. Pogliano (2005: 395–96).
364. Evola (1941: 65–75 & 88).

365. Lutzhöft (1971: 21–22).
366. Mazumdar (1990: 213 & 215–16) and Ackermann (1970: 110 & 173).
367. Ackermann (1970: 207–8 & 226).
368. Mosse (1978: 221).
369. Field (1977: 525), Graham (1977: 1159), and Lutzhöft (1971: 109–110).
370. Proctor (1988: 151), Günther (1933: 57 & 112), and Lutzhöft (1971: 137–42).
371. 1970: 174.
372. Ackermann (1970: 110–11) and Field (1977: 535–36).
373. Proctor (1988: 161) and Mazumdar (1990: 211–13).
374. Ackermann (1970: 112 & 115–19) and Mazumdar (1990: 214–15).
375. Lutzhöft (1971: 22).
376. Mazumdar (1990: 196–97), Lutzhöft (1971: 19 & 24–25), Klimek (1939: 29–31), and Field (1977: 525 & 532–35).
377. Despite very close ideological and institutional links between Nazis and serologists, the SS and race polemicists also scarcely used blood evidence (Pogliano 2005: 95–96; Mazumdar 1990: 217–18).
378. Huxley and Haddon (1935: 26).
379. Günther (1933: 60), Field (1977: 529–31), and Ackermann (1970: 129–34).
380. Field (1977: 536–38) and Lutzhöft (1971: 23–24 & 87–88).
381. Lutzhöft (1971: 17 & 22–23), Graham (1977: 1159), and Field (1977: 525 & 534).
382. Eickstedt (1934: 366 & 388), Lenz (1936: 726), Reche (1909: 228–29), Woltmann (1903: 67–68, 256, 284–85 & 295), and Fischer (1936: 297–98). See Chapters 6 and 7 for similar ruses by central and eastern European scholars.
383. Lutzhöft (1971: 87, 96 & 98).
384. Pogliano (2005: 91–93) and Mazumdar (1990: 200–1).
385. Their unfortunate English name derived from the German province of Westphalia.
386. Günther (1933: 19–20 & 68–69), Eickstedt (1934: 354–57), and Fischer (1936: 283).
387. Field (1977: 524) and Lutzhöft (1971: 91).
388. Günther (1933: 93), Deniker (1971: 345), and Eickstedt (1934: 379–80 & 389).
389. 1933: 62–63.
390. Eickstedt (1934: 376–78), Fleure (1937: 220), Haddon (1924: 28), Fischer (1936: 276 & 283–84), and Günther (1933: 19 & 109).
391. 1934: 379 & 387–89.
392. Biasutti (1941: 576–77).

393. Houzé (1883), Ripley (1900: 597), and Deniker (1897: 126).
394. Broc (1836: 11), Müller (1879: 17), and Retzius, A. (1864: 33–34, 64, 122–23 & 137).
395. Giuffrida-Ruggeri (1918: 80 & 93), Poggio (1999: 91), and Quine (2013: 144–45).
396. Niceforo (1993: 190–93).
397. Poggio (1999: 87–94).
398. Guidi (1996: 111–12).
399. My database and Eickstedt's canon confirm his international influence.
400. Teti (1993: 154), Niceforo (1993: 191), and Ripley (1900: 463–64).
401. Quine (2013: 136–37).
402. Pogliano (2005: 394), Taylor (1988: 57), and Quine (2013: 147–49).
403. Sergi (1900: 213–15) and Taylor (1988: 57).
404. Taylor (1988: 57), Sergi (1900: 6, 168 & 209), and Quine (2013: 137).
405. Sergi (1900: 169 & 209–10) and Taylor (1988: 57).
406. 1941: 34–35, 66–67, 75, 80 & 88 and Mosse (1978: 200–2).
407. Woltmann (1903: 65 & 292), Günther (1933: 61 & 99–100), Ripley (1900: 122, 124 & 129), and Eickstedt (1934: 396). Feminisation was also central to romantic racialisation of the Celt (see Chapter 5).
408. Biasutti (1941: 569), Taylor (1988: 53), and Pogliano (2005: 382 & 396).
409. Kevles (1985: 75), Ripley (1900: 462 & 466), and Gould (1981: 227).
410. Eickstedt (1934: 375 & 400–2) and Montandon (1933: 272).
411. Probably a reference to bull-fighting (1933: 61).
412. Czekanowski (1967: 46 & 60), Coon (1939: 280 & 284), Biasutti (1941: 537–82), and Eickstedt (1934: 336–37 & 376).
413. Montandon (1933: 237 & 239).
414. Deniker (1904: 183 & 202), Haddon (1924: 25), Coon (1939: 287–88), Huxley and Haddon (1935: 172–79), Montandon (1933: 237 & 239), and Eickstedt (1934: 336–37, 376 & 398). Deniker and Ripley were the only top cited classifiers in my canon who also acted as peer authorities.
415. Czekanowski (1948b: 19, 1967: 45) and Deniker (1971: 345).
416. Yeomans (2007: 94–97), Eickstedt (1934: 365), Deniker (1904: 186 & 205), and Mogilner (2013: 215 & 366).
417. Schwidetzky (1935a: 93–94).
418. Hildén (1928: 221), Stołyhwo (1928: 224), Eickstedt (1934: 365), Skjær (1936: 290), Schwidetzky (1935a: 94), and Bunak (1932: 464).
419. Eickstedt (1934: 365 & 384), Hildén (1928: 220), and Kemilainen (1994: 402–3).
420. Kemilainen (1994: 402–3), Hildén (1928: 220–23), and Stołyhwo (1928: 224).

421. Tschepourkovsky (1923: 133–34), Bunak (1932: 464–66, 471–74, & 491–93), and Felder (2013: 125).
422. Kemilainen (1994: 402–3).
423. Eickstedt (1934: 365).
424. Huxley (1870: 407), Quatrefages (1889: 301 & 456), and Houzé (1883: 90).
425. Czekanowski (1928: 341–42 & 345; 1937: 227) and Fischer (1936: 279 & 284).
426. McMahon (2009).
427. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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Peripheral Case Studies

Having focussed on the western European centre of race classification in Part I, this book now shifts to peripheral perspectives. Despite some excellent studies,¹ these perspectives have been relatively neglected. I devote chapters to Ireland, Poland and Romania, in three of Europe's four corners. Marius Turda and Maria Bucur have written extensively on Romanian race science but Chapters 5 and 6 in this book are the only comprehensive historical studies of race classification in Ireland and Poland since those written by race classifiers in the 1950s. Peripheries are nevertheless a vital element in transnational enterprises, without which a core is simply not a core. They also foreground two aspects that are less visible from the core, race classification's dynamics of power and influence, and its substantive content. The latter is thrown into sharp relief at the moment of reception in a new society. We already see at the core the interchange between race anthropology and other, more locally powerful discourses of national identity construction, such as history and philology. However peripheral classifiers had an additional struggle. They had to reconcile powerful national identity narratives with core-devised scientific practices and narratives of European race history. They mostly did so from a weak position, often exacerbated by local factionalism.

I chose national cases to illustrate five factors. First, I demonstrate different 'geopolitics' of power relations. Ireland was profoundly dependent on the classification science of one core country, Britain, but was also a key other in British national identity construction between the Napoleonic and First World Wars.² It therefore illuminates a British case that is somewhat neglected in the Franco-German focus of the first three chapters. Poland

and Romania by contrast demonstrate how central and eastern European scholars exploited the fragmentation of classification and Franco-German competition in the twentieth century. Both countries drifted from a French to a German orbit and both offer further insights into the challenges of constructing identity narratives using Nordic and brachycephal-centred race mixtures. Poland also exemplifies a different transnational spatial development, the expansion of the core to include previously peripheral countries. Polish institution building formed part of the core's great 1890s to 1940s expansion into the Mediterranean and the east.

Second, while the core countries of race classification mostly identified with Latin or Germanic national ancestors, these case studies spotlight three internationally important alternative identities. Race classifiers identified the Irish as a branch of the Celts and the Poles as Slavs, but the Romanians' classifiers were a special case. One set of plausible ancestors, the ancient Dacians, gave Romanians, like nations such as Greece and Finland, the option of being largely unrelated to their neighbours.

Third, while Chapter 4 focused on the triumphalist narratives of conquering or civilised national races, the case studies instead tackle the compensatory race psychologies that peripheries devised to explain and excuse weak modernisation and political impotence, and counter core narratives of Germanic-Nordic superiority. Irish scholars, for example, participated in an international fashion for romanticising their supposed Celtic national ancestors as tragic but spiritually superior.

Fourth, these countries' racial ideologies of inclusion and exclusion illustrate Europe's gamut of complexity. Ireland's ethnic minority elite favoured race mixture, but the ethnology of its majority population, like that of many small nations, ultimately preferred an exclusivist identity. As in the Habsburg³ and Romanov empires, determination to assimilate ethnic minorities may have tempered Poland's preference for single national races. In Romania as in France, competing traditions of national ancestry were associated with rival ideological programmes.

Finally, in order to provide case studies of particular interdisciplinary episodes in race classification, the three case studies focus on different time periods. The Irish case is limited to the eclectic nineteenth-century ethnological alliance, in which history and philology had dominant roles. Poland's story covers late nineteenth-century positivist anthropology and interwar raciology, emphasising their privileged relationship with archaeology and increasing engagement with statistics. The Romanian chapter focuses on the interwar relationship between anthropometric raciology and serology. The Irish and

Romanian cases usefully illustrate how race scholars chose to specialise in philology and serology respectively in order to exploit politically useful international narratives. They also however demonstrate the difficulty of combining craniology with evidence that was only partially compatible with it.

NOTES

1. See Chapter 1, note 25.
2. de Nie (2004), p. 24; Reynard-Paligot (2011), p. 121.
3. Lafferton (2007), p. 712.121.

The Irish Dilemma: Nineteenth-Century Science and Celtic Identity

There are few subjects of history which have excited such tedious, lengthened, and bitter controversy as the history of the Celts. The disputants often waxed so warm, that they lost sight of their subject in the indulgence of their animosity. Many elaborate and learned books have been written, but the subject is at this moment as open for discussion and unsettled, as if it had never been agitated. There is scarcely a people in Western Europe, who have not, upon slight grounds, been declared Celtic...

An Irish antiquary (Betham [2000](#) [1834]: 1–2).

This chapter spotlights the eclectic relationships of nineteenth-century ethnology with history, philology and literary studies. Irish race classifiers used these interdisciplinary links to capitalise on Ireland’s living Celtic language. As Chapter 4 noted, this gave Irish nationalists an excellent claim to the powerful pan-European prestige of Celtic ancestry. The present chapter begins by outlining this advantage in detail. Celts were a central object of eighteenth and still more, nineteenth-century Western European ethnological debate. Their obscurity but apparently wide distribution in ancient times made them a vehicle for exceptionally diverse, and often politicised identity narratives, combining evidence as different as poetry style and cranial measurements. Nineteenth-century British ethnologists agreed that the Irish were pre-eminently Celtic.¹ Anglo-Saxonists especially insisted that the French shared this ‘Gaelic blood’.²

This chapter next argues however that Irish Celticists faced a dilemma. Evidence suggested that the dark present-day Irish differed racially from blond ancient Celts. I introduce three identity narratives from international race classification, which might have solved this problem. They were not borrowed however, largely because Irish ethnology was too culturally and institutionally dependent on Britain. This limited its ability to create truly independent nationalist race classifications. Irish ethnologists instead often reproduced elements of the Anglo-Saxonist race discourse which systematically disparaged Irish Celts, or of the cosmopolitan romanticism which exoticised them.

A crucial reason for this weakness was that Irish race discourse was primarily produced by an Anglo-Irish Protestant elite, of British settler origin, which had firmly controlled Ireland's politics and economy for centuries and remained culturally and politically very close to Britain. Even as the nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish increasingly identified culturally with Celtic Ireland, many remained political unionists, committed to British rule. Almost half the citation on Ireland in my database appears to have been by Anglo-Irish writers, and almost three quarters of the rest were British. Protestant scholarly institutions were key sponsors of anthropometric work, hosting Ireland's only dedicated physical anthropology institution, a laboratory established at Trinity College Dublin in 1891 by the English anthropologist A.C. Haddon and an Anglo-Irish collaborator.³ Augustus Keane, the one important Catholic classifier, worked in Germany, Britain and Virginia, focusing on Orientalism rather than Ireland.

The isolated and provincial Irish anthropological establishment lacked sufficient critical mass and international stature to create independent race narratives.⁴ It depended heavily on British ideas and technical standards, for example in anthropometric apparatus and techniques, inhibiting boldly reformulated race narratives.⁵ The Irish used some French methodological resources, but Keane aside, contact was tenuous. Haddon's references were for example noticeably more cosmopolitan than those of Irish colleagues.⁶

Anglo-Irish and English anthropology of Ireland nevertheless began early. Irish antiquaries like John Grattan in Belfast and Sir William Wilde began examining human remains in the 1830s.⁷ The Celtic controversy inspired one very prominent British race scientist, Beddoe, to become an anthropometrist and study 'about 10,000' Irish people on seven research trips.⁸ Wilde was a consummate cosmopolitan anthropologist, referencing,

referenced by and exchanging specimens and visits with Europe's leading classifiers.⁹ However, he and Keane were Ireland's only anthropological stars, representing 60 % of citation of Irish nationals in my database. Most others were ignored abroad.¹⁰ Late nineteenth-century anthropologists called Ireland 'an untrodden field' for 'systematic' race analysis.¹¹ Representation of Irish researchers in my database is similar to that of Norwegians and around half that of Scots, but about 40 % of this was by the nationally disengaged Keane. Until the 1890s, Haddon counted just eight Irish craniological studies, most by British and Irish Protestant researchers examining mere handfuls of skulls.¹²

The exceptionally strong humanities orientation of Irish ethnology is another reason for institutional weakness.¹³ The Anglo-Irish claimed an essentially cultural relationship with Ireland and the Catholic Church disapproved of biology, though without provoking the anti-clerical backlash that stimulated race science in Latin countries.¹⁴ The linguist Keane never integrated linguistic and physical definitions of 'Kelts'.¹⁵ International interest also encouraged a focus on Gaelic philology and the medieval Irish annals, where Irish scholars had greater international standing and autonomy than in anthropology. Historians, literary scholars and philologists therefore never carried out primary anthropological research and treated anthropology as one historical source among many.

PRESTIGIOUS INTERNATIONAL CELTS

A segment of the Anglo-Irish Protestant elite led three 'revivals' of Irish romantic nationalist interest in, and scholarship of, Celtic culture and antiquity: in the 1740s–1798, 1830s–1840s and after the 1880s.¹⁶ They mobilised Celticism to bond in national synthesis with the Catholic peasantry, securing their precarious position between the peasant nation they hoped to lead, and the British cosmopolitan centres on which they depended culturally and scientifically.

From the 1740s, as peace, prosperity and romanticism attenuated their previous 'anti-Gaelic stance', Protestant enthusiasts collected old Gaelic 'legal manuscripts, folklore and poetry', and concocted 'at times bizarre archaeological and philological speculations about the Irish race'.¹⁷ Under a political programme of rejecting both modern '*English* civilization' and sectarian animosity in Ireland, each Celtic revival helped inspire both peaceful Irish autonomy movements and armed insurrections.¹⁸

Pre-nineteenth-century Celtic identity narratives remained ‘isolated, unsystematized’, based on ‘fanciful speculations’.¹⁹ Antiquaries twisted 23 words into ‘incongruous forms’ to link Celtic with Hebrew and native-American languages, or claimed that Italy meant ‘land of corn’ in Gaelic and that Hibernia was a Carthaginian word.²⁰ Between 1816 and the late 1830s however, systematic comparison with Sanskrit, Latin and Greek led leading European philologists to securely establish Insular languages as Indo-European,²¹ marginalising hostile claims that they were ‘corrupted’ ‘jargons’ of mixed ‘debris’.²² Ethnologists, automatically equating language with ethnicity but also leaning on clues from classical writers, assumed that Insular Celts, ancient Gauls and other Aryan Europeans from Asia were racially close.²³

Snobbery against Insular Celts, and the nationalistic eccentricities of antiquarianism initially impeded acceptance of Celtic as Indo-European.²⁴ From the 1830s on, internationally marginal middle-class Irish and especially Catholic ‘secular intellectuals’ therefore determined to earn scientific reputations in European philology and resurrect Gaelic literature and arts from obscurity through scrupulously apolitical, professional scholarship.²⁵ This scientific rigour helped undermine Anglo-Saxonism in the 1890s. Celtic scholars abandoned ‘fantastical speculations’ to traditionalists, the eclectic discipline of ethnology and amateurs like W.B. Yeats. The Catholic historian and activist Eoin MacNeill therefore harshly criticised ‘Celtic xenophobes’ who simply inverted English prejudices by claiming racially pure descent.²⁶ He and other nationalist scholars described ancient Irish Celts as fractious, belligerent, ‘sophisticated but predatory’, relatively recent immigrants, and dismissed claims of Irish racial homogeneity as proto-nationalist early modern propaganda.²⁷

From mid-century, a ‘clearly defined’ core of professional Celtic philologists emerged, establishing specialist journals and university chairs in France from the 1870s, Germany from the 1890s and later in Britain and North America.²⁸ By forging close links with these philologists and providing linguistic expertise that helped them link their own cultures with continental Iron-Age archaeology, Irish scholars and cultural nationalists of the Second Celticism Revival won ‘unprecedented’ international prestige, scholarly attention, recognition of Aryan status for Gaelic and sympathy for Irish nationalist positions.²⁹ The Irish scholar Douglas Hyde boasted that only ‘*our* antiquities’ could reveal Europe’s Celtic heritage.³⁰ Irish universities began teaching Irish archaeology, history and language from 1849 on.³¹

The incomparable stock of ancient manuscripts and modern works that ‘the tenuous and struggling’ Catholic Irish scholarship collected, catalogued and wrote made Irish the ‘most important’ Celtic language for Continental philologists, and significant for Indo-European history.³² Medieval annals which purported to record ancient myths and histories of ancient invaders such as the Fírbolg and Gaelic Milesians were a crucial, though contested source of ethnological evidence.³³ Irish cultural nationalists were ‘full of the faith’, but some continental scholars and defenders of Irish union with Britain judged the annals vague, inconsistent, politically motivated or inauthentic, or used them to prove Irish barbarity.³⁴ The Scottish antiquary John Pinkerton compared Celtic mythologies to those of Hottentots ‘or others the rudest savages’, adding that Celts ‘are little better at present’.³⁵ The Irish unionist J.M. Dickson said the annals were filled with ‘unnatural villainy too gross for the latitude of Dahomy’, while implying that Ireland ‘enjoyed a happy and heroic past’.³⁶

Romanticisation rivalled scholarship as a source of international Celtic prestige. Insular Celts were the earliest and most international of romantic race identities, ‘marvelled at like museum exhibits’ throughout Western Europe as isolated, exotic, racially pure vestiges of romantic ancestors.³⁷ Certain scholars since the nineteenth century have even proposed that ancient and modern writers both invented a Celtic category for diverse fringe peoples, to define themselves as civilised by contrast.³⁸ Cosmopolitan urban elite scholars like Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold helped create an eminently international narrative of ancient Celts as metropolitan Europe’s romantic antidote to modernity.³⁹ Hyde claimed the Celtic race ‘of half Europe’ was ‘making its last stand for independence’ in Ireland.⁴⁰

Building on the ascription of Stonehenge to druids and renewed popularity of the Arthurian legends, 1750s–1760s Scottish and Welsh poets created ‘a mood of noble melancholy’.⁴¹ By approximating a supposedly ancient Gaelic epic to classical literature, Macpherson’s *Ossian* (1762) made unpolished local folklore and ancient poetry acceptable throughout Europe, provoking widespread romantic interest in ‘wild nature’ and a ‘fairy tale past’.⁴² Early nineteenth-century writers like Walter Scott and F.R. de Chateaubriand⁴³ then dramatically raised the profile of ‘Romantic Celtophilia’.⁴⁴

Geography made ‘Celtic’ spirituality the ideal romantic foil to modern British rationalism.⁴⁵ Insular Celts were distant enough to be more than mere ‘poorer neighbours’.⁴⁶ However, although perceptions of Celtic and native American savages interacted, Celts were not so exotic that identify-

ing with them lacked the emotional satisfaction of authenticity, of ‘keeping it real’, in the language of rap romanticisation of ‘the street’.

THE DILEMMA

Romanticism, Gaelic scholarship and the recognition of Celts as Indo-European granted the Irish prestigious Celtic national ancestors, but this prestige was under attack. Historians generally agree that Anglo-Saxonist anti-Irish xenophobia, dressed as ‘scientific’ anti-Celtic racism, fluctuated in response to Irish agrarian unrest, immigration into England and especially the Irish Home Rule (autonomy) campaigns.⁴⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century Anglo-Saxonism had fully elaborated its ‘native Irish’ Celtic race enemy, the stupid, backward, violent and lazy ‘Paddy’.⁴⁸ Carlyle inspired a ‘Celt-hating’ generation of ‘hugely popular’ mid-Victorian historians, novelists, pamphleteers and cartoonists, as well as the anatomist Knox, who in turn influenced members of the London Anthropological Society.⁴⁹ In 1912 for example, Beddoe still reported evolutionarily ‘low’ ranking features as especially common among ‘Irish or Scottish’ Gaels.⁵⁰ As Mandler warns, the Anglo-Saxonist racialisation of national identity and insistence on pure race were marginal in contemporary British opinion, even among race scientists.⁵¹ However Teutonists like Beddoe were particularly prominent among Britain’s race classifiers of Europe and important elements of their ideas were accepted among wider sections of educated opinion.⁵²

Anglo-Saxonists and Celticist unionists justified British rule by defining Ireland’s unruly, despotic Celts as the racial antithesis of Anglo-Saxons and their ‘free institutions’.⁵³ The Irish lacked the self-control, organisational aptitude and scepticism towards charismatic demagogues to govern themselves. One British anthropologist believed ‘hereditary, and ineradicable’ racial indolence made land reform untenable, while only British rule restrained the turbulent, violent natives from ‘utterly’ destroying one another.⁵⁴ Carlyle advocated a ‘beneficent hand’ of ‘wholesome slavery’, to overcome the ‘futile insurrection’, ‘sullen stupidity... chronic rage and misery’ of the savage ‘Celt of Connemara’ and force him to work, as Nature intended, or she would ‘exterminate him’, like wolves and ‘other obstinately *free* creatures’.⁵⁵ Arnold instead trusted love to Anglicise the Celts, but agreed that stubbornly savage Irish and American Indians were ‘doomed to... disappear’.⁵⁶ Perhaps because buying dissection specimens from the Irish grave-robbers Burke and Hare had mired him in scandal,⁵⁷

Knox rejected this Whiggish optimism that Celts could be tamed.⁵⁸ 'As a Saxon,' he abhorred 'bayonet governments' and preferred 'the quiet and gradual extinction' of Ireland's Celtic race through legislation, but as Celtic 'papists and jacobites' would never submit, their own autocratic traditions and 'England's safety requires' brutal suppression and eventual eradication.⁵⁹

British and Irish unionist ethnologists entrenched Irish inferiority by identifying a dark type, linked to the pre-Celtic Firbolg and Mediterraneans, as particularly common in Wales, Brittany and culturally Gaelic parts of Ireland.⁶⁰ This seriously challenged Ireland's Celtic identity. Until at least 1870, almost all European ethnologists, even in France, drew on multiple references in classical texts to establish tall, blond dolichocephalic Celts as the first Aryans throughout much of Europe.⁶¹ Retzius and Scandinavian colleagues reinforced this blond Celt in the 1850s, by identifying ancient and modern Celts as dolichocephals.⁶² Numerous British and continental ethnologists therefore identified Finnic or even 'Mongoloid' features among Insular Celts, claiming these dark primitive aborigines, speaking pre-Aryan languages, were conquered by blond Aryan Celts⁶³ (see Map 4.4).

Dark-fair racial divisions were fundamental for both British and Irish race scientists. Scholars generally contrasted tall, blond, Kymric or Kimmerian true Celts with small, dark, inferior, lower-class, Firbolg, Iberian, Berber, Basque, Atlantean or Turanian 'black Irish', a type pro-British writers had remarked for centuries.⁶⁴ Several British authors made this the 'missing link' between Basques, 'poor hunted' Berbers and Mongoloid eastern vestiges.⁶⁵ They were thieves, 'liars from the cradle', 'wonderfully' cunning, 'tattler, guileful... noisy, contemptible,' 'slow to adapt' to progress or, for Rudyard Kipling, 'worse than the worst', disgracing Ireland's name.⁶⁶

This race distinction contained a strong class element. Beddoe's research concluded that indigenous Irish 'labourers and peasants,' and those 'with Keltic surnames' had darker hair than urban and aristocratic elites, descendants of 'later invaders,' and people with British surnames.⁶⁷ He found that 78.9 % of participants at two events for Ireland's 'landed and professional classes' had British surnames, while army recruits and peasants mostly had Irish surnames.⁶⁸ Another British ethnologist contrasted the dark rural, lower-class 'Irish of the Irish' with tall, handsome, healthy '[a]ristocratic' blonds of the Gaelic clans.⁶⁹ Dickson's 'black-haired' Firbolg included every 'slave, every mean thief, every churl'.⁷⁰ The tall, fair, right-wing Kimmerian of one Scottish anthropologist was 'found about Naval

and Military Clubs' and rose 'steadily... on the social ladder' above the 'short, broad, duck-legged, muscular, muddy-skinned, black-haired, squat' Atlanteans, who typified the Paris 'Communists', their London 'admirers' and the thronging poor of Scotland's Western Isles.⁷¹

English and Anglo-Irish elites grouped together related native Irish and English working classes, as dark races inhabiting the threatening criminal slum underworld, beneath modern Europe's 'ordered social surface'.⁷² Irish immigrant districts were described as 'the most filthy, squalid, wretched rookery' of any English town and Irish workers as unskilled and prone to pauper 'mutinies' and crimes of 'unmerciful brutality'.⁷³ A class criticism of 1880s petit bourgeois Irish MPs, campaigning for Home Rule, attacked their ungentlemanly parliamentary tactics, such as filibustering.⁷⁴

Late nineteenth-century social Darwinism supported the philosopher Giambattista Vico's belief that underclasses were conquered 'aboriginal inhabitants'.⁷⁵ In race anthropology, superior tall blond (or even Arab) invaders always seized the fertile lands, driving Black Kelts, Firbolg, Iberians, Basques or Berbers into impoverished mountain, forest, bog or island refuges, like Ireland's west coast.⁷⁶ Several researchers noted that Ireland's medieval annals said Milesians planted rebellious slaves in the impoverished south-west, where dark Firbolg types were now concentrated.⁷⁷

This derogatory racial characterisation might have stimulated Irish nationalists to borrow Italian, French or eastern European models of anthropological resistance to Germanic race narratives, and develop a satisfying identity as 'Black Kelts'. The following three sections examine why these options failed.

MEDITERRANEAN CIVILISATION

The simplest strategy, following Sergi in 1890s Italy, would transform the small, dark, Mediterranean dolichocephalic type that Deniker identified in Italy, Iberia and Ireland, from a pathetic vestige with questionable Aryan and European credentials, into a font of civilisation. This could exploit the central role of claims to civilisation in contemporary British identity narratives,⁷⁸ but also Ireland's robust tradition of Mediterranean civilisation narratives. The boast that Gaelic culture rechristianised the West after Rome fell, for instance, demoted the English from civilisers to barbarian destroyers of high Celtic culture.⁷⁹ To establish racial ties with their Spanish allies against England, early modern Irish Catholics meanwhile

linked 'Hibernia' with 'Iberia', and compared the Basque and Gaelic languages, sometimes even claiming mutual intelligibility.⁸⁰ Perhaps politically inspired, the annals derived the conquering Milesian national ancestors of choice from Spain and the lowly, 'swarthy' Fírbolg from Britain, where Celticist ethnologists later noted its Welsh relatives.⁸¹

The Mediterranean origin of the Irish was fiercely disputed by eighteenth-century British and Irish antiquaries. While conservatives like Pinkerton, linking the ancient Scotti and Scythian tribes, traced the barbarous Gaels, via Britain, to Russia's steppes, many Anglo-Irish 'Patriots' and native Catholics scholars, but also some British colleagues, saw Western Europe's Celts as colonies of 'honourable' 'enterprising' Phoenician merchant 'princes'.⁸² By comparing etymologies and ancient Celtic, biblical and classical texts, Phoenicianists like the Anglo-Irish Sir William Betham connected Gaelic 'language, monuments and religious practices' with prestigious Mediterranean civilisations.⁸³ He compared Irish '(which he did not understand)' and languages like Etruscan (which nobody understood), to give Phoenicians and ancient Celts an 'identical' language, within a great Oriental civilisation stretching east to Siam.⁸⁴ Irish Gaels were 'no doubt,' literate before the Greeks. Greeks and Romans destroyed and vilified Carthage, destroying the evidence that Phoenicians civilised them, just as the English ravaged Gaelic civilisation.⁸⁵

From 1775, this 'increasingly vituperative' debate mostly divided British from Irish writers. Ireland's 1798 rebellion then placed Phoenicianism and Gaelic antiquarianism under a cloud, reinforcing conservative accounts of irredeemable Irish barbarism.⁸⁶ Early nineteenth-century Irish antiquaries continued to reject Celto-Scythianism however, initially welcoming even the rising Indo-European model as evidence for an eastern, and therefore Phoenician Celtic origin.

An important international tradition meanwhile linked Celts with dark Iberians, the Roman term for pre-Celts in Hispania. In 1827, a French naturalist traced the ancestors of Celts, Iberians and Berbers to the hypothetical sunken island of Atlantis, which joined Morocco, Iberia and the Canaries.⁸⁷ The racial term Atlantean, popularised by the Scottish anthropologist Hector MacLean, may therefore originate from Morocco's Atlas Mountains or, recalling Ireland's own Atlantis legends of Tír na nÓg and Hy Brasil, from Atlantis.⁸⁸ Leading mid-nineteenth century British and French physical anthropologists gradually joined the dots between North African Berbers, Basques, Caesar's Gallic Celts, and Insular 'Black Kelts', as remnants of a conjectured ancient northwards

migration of small, dark, curly black-haired, dolichocephalic, pre-Aryan Iberian/Atlantean/Mediterraneans.⁸⁹ This theory rested on Spanish-Irish physical resemblance, the non-Indo-European status of Basque, Broca's 1860s defeat of the Retzius race succession, the widespread assumption that Indo-Europeans were tall blonds and other historical, archaeological and craniological clues.⁹⁰ A British journalist remarked 'the same projecting jaw and style of march' among Spanish soldiers and west of Ireland men.⁹¹

To claim civilised southern origins, late nineteenth-century nationalist Celticist historians in Ireland drew on the annals, used typically Mediterranean ethnological descriptions of a 'lithe-limbed' darker Irish type, linguistically compared Gaelic and Basque and stressed Ireland's geographically convenient connections with Spain.⁹² Sophie Bryant for example identified archaeological monuments with supposed Celtic landing sites on Ireland south coast.⁹³

Within the inhospitable Teutonic master narrative, Irish Celticists tried to ease the shame of dark little natives, just as the French did before Broca's systematic nationalist reformulation of race narratives. Broca insisted that even though a somewhat more advanced blond Celtic minority imposed their culture and language on the natives, they were not necessarily 'brute savages,' like Africans, but had the 'aptitude for progress' of their Basque and Finnish cousins.⁹⁴ The Celticists William K. Sullivan, Bryant and Wilde insisted that Ireland's dark natives were pale-skinned, good-looking or had 'a shrewd, intelligent physiognomy'.⁹⁵ They rejected narratives of blonds monopolising wanderlust, 'miserable' Black Kelt emigrants clinging to their impoverished Irish past and Iberians requiring land-bridges to migrate from North Africa.⁹⁶ The Irish Catholic James MacLoughlin accepted that seafaring was 'peculiarly Teutonic' but several authors stressed Irish descent from Phoenician seamen or 'good navigators' driven by wanderlust.⁹⁷

Irish nationalists however resisted accepting the impoverished Irish-speaking Iberians of Ireland's west as Celts.⁹⁸ The Anglo-Irish Bryant and Catholic Sullivan linked Ireland to the Mediterranean via a blond Celtic Milesian elite with dark, inferior, pre-Aryan Iberian 'retainers and common soldiers'.⁹⁹ Though Ripley and Sergi ultimately convinced Keane to adopt a conquered Iberian component with 'Turanian' or 'Mongoloid' elements in the Irish national race fusion, he initially rejected this link and instead ascribed west of Ireland brunets to vague 'Silurian' 'unknown elements'.¹⁰⁰

Bryant eulogised the social mobility enabled by old Ireland's common Gaelic language and 'just and sympathetic government', but other nationalists believed Iberians mostly remained lowly peasants.¹⁰¹ The historian Standish O'Grady in 1878 was the sole Irish cultural nationalist to 'own' the 'brown-skinned' but 'well-proportioned' 'southern' dolichocephal as the Irish national race, giving it a global destiny and rejecting Germanicist claims that 'young warlike' northern blood 'invigorated' the 'exhausted' south.¹⁰² Over a decade before Sergi, he argued that Mediterraneans civilised the Aryans. His dark, long-headed Turanian, stretching east beyond India and including Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Berbers and Basques, was racially conditioned 'to found civilizations,' which tall, blond, ignoble 'Scythian' Celts, Teutons, Slavs and Tartars, with 'high cheek bones and large teeth', then crushed.¹⁰³

I see two major obstacles to Irish adoption of an Iberian/Mediterranean national race. First, powerful negative associations in British race discourse undermined southern identity narratives. Second, the urban, educated Anglo-Irish elite, which was central to Ireland's emerging nationalism, favoured romantic Celticism over civilisation narratives.

Black Kelts and Mediterraneans

From Prichard on, British ethnologists identified Insular 'Black Kelts' as pre-Celtic, pre-Aryan Iberian immigrants and tied them to Africa through a tenuous chain of links.¹⁰⁴ The first link connected small, dark Welsh dolichocephals with Tacitus's remarks on 'swarthy faces' and curly hair in Wales. Next came prehistoric long barrows graves in south-west Britain. Though Ireland had none of these, several English ethnologists linked together supposedly savage, inbred, degenerate Stone-Age long-barrow dolichocephals, resembling Hottentot or Australian savages, with Ireland's 'Firbolg' type¹⁰⁵ and an inferior, cunning, suspicious, Spanish 'Sancho Panza' type.¹⁰⁶ Beddoe said the 'most exquisite examples' of the Firbolg type never submitted to measurement; 'Though the head is large, the intelligence is low'.¹⁰⁷ Scholars like the historian Thomas Macaulay lent legitimacy to Irish-Mediterranean links, conflating different spent cultures of Europe's peripheries.¹⁰⁸

This 'feebler race' survived as defeated Berber, Basque and Insular Celtic ethnic relics, and among the poor.¹⁰⁹ MacLean linked Broca's broad-headed Celts with dark, suspicious, long-headed Atlantean Irish and Spanish peasants.¹¹⁰ Hyde attributed references to lions in Irish folklore to Aryan Asia, but the unionist Dickson instead linked them to African

Firbolg.¹¹¹ He added that North African Berbers, whose faces could be seen on any Irish market day, shared many ancient Irish cultural features.¹¹² Some anthropologists securely located Atlanteans as ‘Africanoid’ by giving them ‘rather full’ lips and sparse body hair.¹¹³ Ethnologists added philological and cultural evidence, linking Basque, Berber and Latin languages with Gaelic, seeking Gaelic etymologies for British river names and places near long-barrows, identifying Black Kelts where Insular Celtic languages survived longest and claiming Atlantean racial psychology explained a preference for guerrilla warfare in Spain and Ireland.¹¹⁴

Iberian inferiority was anchored in the Anglo-Saxonist racial value scale of colour, which became a fundamental element of *völkisch* anti-Catholic Germanicism. This discourse connected Catholicism, evolutionary backwardness, nativeness, the south and dark features as parallel indices of inferiority, ultimately linking Irish Firbolg, via Africans, to apes.¹¹⁵ The ‘southern blood’ of Dickson’s Irish ‘of the Spanish breed’ explained ‘darker aspects of our national character’.¹¹⁶ Crossing a ‘hundred miles of horrible country’ in Ireland in 1860 ‘haunted’ the novelist Charles Kingsley, an Ethnological Society member. He wrote to his wife however that it was not ‘our fault’; these ‘human chimpanzees’ were....

...happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they ever were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins... are as white as ours. Tell Rose I will get her plants..¹¹⁷

The Irish-African inferiority connection became a commonplace of British culture. After 1868 especially, cartoons in magazines like *Punch* helped to popularise a racist evolutionary linkage between simian Irishmen and semi-human Africans with prognathic, or forward-jutting, lower faces¹¹⁸ (see Fig. 5.1). Beddoe said Irish prognathism, twice as common as in England and linked with a ‘low straight brow’, probably came from Africa, and colleagues identified prognathic Gaels or Celts with dark curly hair and ‘long slitty nostrils’.¹¹⁹ This made it extremely difficult for Anglo-Irish nationalists to promote an ‘Iberian’ Irish national race.

Celtic Romance and Anglo-Saxonism

The Protestant Thomas Davis’s radical nationalist movement, Young Ireland, which rebelled unsuccessfully in 1848, introduced the previously marginal Celticist ‘worship of blood, soil and geography’ into Irish

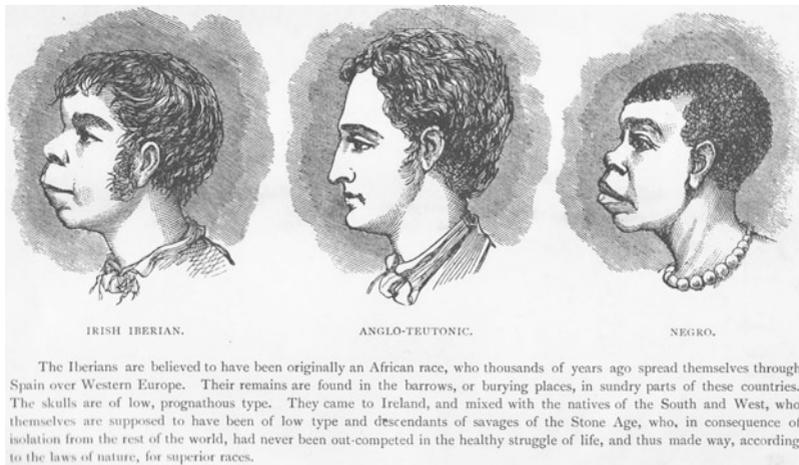


Fig. 5.1 Illustration representing the Irish as a European-African intermediate type (Constable 1899).

popular politics, defending the Irish language and idealising romantic peasants.¹²⁰ Contemporary Celticist Protestant nationalists criticised allies in the slowly emerging Catholic middle class, like Daniel O’Connell’s non-violent mass-movement, for welcoming the triumph of middle-class English liberal civilisation over backward-looking, emotional, rustic Gaelic language and tradition.¹²¹

Amid failed uprisings and cultural retreat, an ‘emotional tone’ of ‘melancholy and defeat’ suffused Celticist ethnology.¹²² British rule explained the Celt’s ‘lack of wholeness’; ‘distracted’ by their ‘more important, if less pressing’, ‘spiritual sensitivity’. The blond aristocratic Celt that British anthropologists connected with Scotland was similarly undone by its better qualities. Its service to empire, incompatibility with industrial life, impractical gallantry and glorious courage gave the more pragmatic Teutons a Darwinian advantage.¹²³

This melancholy reflected the cosmopolitan agenda of romantic Celticists. Several commentators trace a single narrative thread from Macpherson, via studies by Renan (1854) and Arnold (1865–1866), which introduced Celtic literature to a wide European public, to the climactic 1890s Irish Celtic revival, led by Protestant writers like the internationally famous poet William Butler Yeats.¹²⁴ Yeats and other Anglo-Irish revivalists drew deeply on British and international scholarship and roman-

ticisation of the Celts.¹²⁵ In a synthesis resembling contemporary *völkisch* nationalism, Yeats also borrowed from occultism, British comparative anthropology and Germanic nationalist artists such as Wagner.

The core transnational romantic concern was modernity. Romantics contrasted the ‘unsullied authenticity’ of the Gaelic ‘organic folk community’ (*Gemeinschaft*) with Britain’s ‘[i]mperialist urban class society’ (*Gesellschaft*).¹²⁶ Renan and Arnold structurally opposed free, ‘natural, emotional... expressive, unreliable’ Insular Celts, to the industrial modernity of ‘restrained, predictable... stolid, scientific... reliable, impassive’ Anglo-Saxons.¹²⁷ Revivalists are widely accused of ignoring authentic Celtic literature in order to uncritically reproduce exotic, mythically embellished Celtic wish fulfilment figures.¹²⁸ They aimed to animate ‘a new Ireland’ with the spirit of ‘ancient bards and heroic warriors’.¹²⁹ Yeats intended Ireland to spearhead a folk insurrection against materialistic, scientific ‘mass vulgarized society’ in ‘a vast cosmic history’.¹³⁰

Emotionality was Arnold’s key to the Irish, Welsh and French Celtic character.¹³¹ His ‘adventurous... sociable, hospitable, eloquent... sensuous’ Celts aspired ‘ardently after life’, ‘bright colours’, and ‘pleasure’, keenly and rapidly sensitive to joy and ‘wistful regret... penetrating melancholy’.¹³² They were ‘Nature’s own children’, communing with its ‘delicate magic’, ‘weird power’ and ‘fairy charm’. Keane contrasted ‘the quick-witted and light-hearted Irishman’ with the stiffer, ‘more collected... Englishman’.¹³³ Perhaps because Arnold’s mother had Cornish origins, he identified ‘something feminine’ in Celtic sensibility, ‘nervous exaltation’, ‘lively’ nature and ‘idiosyncraticity’, which despite ‘good sense disapproving’, ‘magnetised and exhilarated’ him.¹³⁴ The social anthropologist Maryon McDonald suggests this construction of silly, emotional, stimulating women against the stolid practicality of Englishmen was the template for the rational-romantic dichotomy in Victorian ethnic stereotypes.¹³⁵

As usual in ethnological race psychology, Insular Celticism accepted but reinterpreted negative stereotypes from the wider international discourse.¹³⁶ Romantics from Macpherson to Arnold represented Celts in ways quite compatible with Anglo-Saxonist anti-Celticism. Celticists, Anglo-Saxonists and leading French anthropologists all accepted the Franco-Irish clichés of lively Celtic wit, inconsistency, loving ‘glory and pleasure’.¹³⁷ The Celticist Arnold’s Celt, chafing ‘against the despotism of fact,’ achieved little in science, business or politics, remaining ‘poor, slovenly, and half-barbarous’.¹³⁸ It was therefore the antithesis of the Anglo-Saxonist Knox’s businesslike, steady, patient, rational Anglo-Saxon.

Anglo-Saxonists and later ethnologists readily cited Arnold and Renan to represent inferior Celts or dark Irish aborigines as melancholic, emotional, ethereal, natural or possessing ‘fairy lore’.¹³⁹

FRENCH CELTIC SYNTHESIS

Evidence that the French and Irish were mostly dark threatened the treasured national identity resource of Celtic ancestry that they shared, because Celts had been generally understood as blond dolichocephalic Aryans.¹⁴⁰ In Broca’s 1860s research, dark-haired ‘Celts’ predominated in 60 % of France and blonds in just the north-eastern 20 %.¹⁴¹ As the rising Aryan and Retzius theories linked Teutonic and Celtic blond warriors and polygenists successfully established blonds and brunets as separate French races, the ‘swarm of contradictions’ surrounding blond and dark Celts intensified.¹⁴² Broca’s imaginative revolution in nomenclature rescued France’s dark popular mass from defeated vestige status. He argued that the Celtic-speaking Kymric war-bands dissolved among Gaul’s dark brachycephalic native mass, ‘lightly’ modifying them biologically while ‘profoundly’ transforming their language and culture to create the Celtic ‘nationality’.¹⁴³ Diverse types among ancient Celtic skeletons and the modern French, ancient references to Celto-Scythian and Celto-Iberian fusions and the concentration of French blonds on historical invasion routes supported this account.¹⁴⁴

In theory, nineteenth-century Irish nationalism should have been exceptionally suited to race fusion narratives. In 1830–1845, as the sectarian savagery of the 1798 Rebellion faded in memory, sections of Ireland’s Protestant elite revived the eighteenth-century Celticist programme of uniting with the still often Gaelic-speaking Catholic peasantry in a common Irish nation.¹⁴⁵ Protestant antiquaries like Samuel Ferguson began a long-term systematic non-partisan collaboration with Irish-speaking Catholics, who studied the Irish annals within Protestant institutions and an ever thickening network of Celticist literary and scholarly societies.¹⁴⁶ Gaelic antiquities and the glorious pan-European Celtic history offered the Anglo-Irish, whether politically nationalist or unionist, legitimacy in Ireland and dignity in the face of British wealth and power.¹⁴⁷

Davis’s Protestant-led nationalist Young Ireland movement allied with O’Connell and largely appealed in practice to the slowly emerging Catholic middle class.¹⁴⁸ However Protestant unionists like Ferguson and Wilde also sought a new Irish identity, rather than just as ‘an English colony’.¹⁴⁹

Both groups advocated a peaceful ‘blending’ of Saxon with ‘the proud Milesian’ in a single Irish nationality, with ‘the higher elevating the lower’ to produce the ‘purest type of Irish beauty’.¹⁵⁰ Irish antiquity offered evidence for fruitful race fusion. A Belfast ethnologist implicitly legitimised his ‘Anglo-Saxon’ Protestant ancestors in northern Ireland by identifying Teutonic ancient Irish skull-shapes.¹⁵¹ Wilde claimed modern skull types proved the annals’ account of successive conquerors merging their characteristic talents into a single, racially ‘very mixed’ nation, just as the ancient Britons ‘accepted their fate’ and ‘fused with’ Teutonic conquerors.¹⁵²

Irish race mixture narratives could borrow from long-established traditions in which England drew strength from being a ‘mongrel nation’.¹⁵³ Irish and British scholars across the political spectrum accepted a significant Celtic racial contribution to the English.¹⁵⁴ Celtic elements survived in England’s ‘emotional and sentimental’ religion and Byron’s ‘passionate’ poetry because conquering Saxons took the women of the vanquished Celts as ‘perquisites of victory’, racially perpetuating their race. There was therefore no record of ‘deliberate wholesale extermination’. The tall, blond ‘Celti’, whom Caesar identified throughout what became England, must have survived if ‘the feebler’ dark Iberians did. MacLean argued that Britain’s Kimmerian blond Celts and Anglo-Saxons were already Kimmerian-Teutonic race mixtures before merging in the racially ‘principally Kimmerian’ English nation.¹⁵⁵

Why then did the Irish not also save their dark aborigines from inferiority by rebranding them as Celts in a national racial fusion with blonds? I see the relationship of the Anglo-Irish to Britain and to Ireland’s Catholic majority as a crucial reason. In their race fusion concept, heavily influenced by British models, a blond elite national race somehow absorbed the majority.

Anglo-Irish Race Fusion

Anglo-Irish race synthesis narratives were partly inspired by the 1850s–1860s liberal extrapolation of the traditional English ‘mongrel nation’ idea to Britain as a whole, which now therefore absorbed the Insular Celts.¹⁵⁶ Arnold and Whig ethnologists like Thomas Huxley promoted this race fusion as an alternative to both Home Rule and the widespread conservative, unionist and Anglo-Saxonist expectation of inevitable conflict between incompatible races.¹⁵⁷ Huxley therefore disputed Beddoe’s claimed racial differences between the Irish and Anglo-

Saxons.¹⁵⁸ Conservatives attributed Ireland's failures, 'dissension and misfortune' to the Gael's inability or unwillingness to merge with the superior invader, as other conquered peoples did.¹⁵⁹ Arnold and the Whig ethnologists believed this interpretation only led to endless repression, ethnic cleansing, separatism and enmity, but nevertheless rejected Irish claims to limited independence and national recognition.¹⁶⁰ They instead felt that recognising the 'ethnological fact' that the Irish and English were not 'real' races because both mixed 'Celtic and Germanic blood' in similar proportions, so that many supposedly Celtic nationalists were 'descendants of English colonists', would calm political strife.¹⁶¹ Arnold urged scholars to 'fairly' treat 'the Celt's' 'genius and its works', which would encourage Britain's German and Celtic parts 'to continue and perfect' one another, but to reject 'extraneous [political] pretensions which jeopardise' Celtic studies.¹⁶² The power relation between Celts and Anglo-Saxons was therefore clear. To do the Celts 'justice', the English should 'fairly unite' with them in 'one homogeneous, English-speaking whole', 'breaking down' barriers according to the irresistible 'natural course' of 'modern civilisation'.¹⁶³ The sooner Welsh disappeared as a language of 'practical, political, social life', the better for both England and Wales.

The Anglo-Irish provincial elite were predisposed to this model because they generally preferred greater recognition from Britain to outright separation. Wilde declared loyalty to the Queen, while blaming English policies for famine and other failures.¹⁶⁴ Even the revolutionary Davis, who fought to free Ireland from 'Anglo-Norman' tyranny, also warned against French or Roman machinations.¹⁶⁵ Yeats was shocked meanwhile that he might have inspired nationalist violence.¹⁶⁶ O'Grady campaigned for the Union and against land reform, but felt the eloquent Irish aristocracy were Britain's natural leaders, wasted as a colonial ruling class.¹⁶⁷ They should embrace a Gaelic Irish identity and unite with the lower orders against capitalism and English taxation to renew the Empire in their own image.

Protestant cultural nationalists rarely considered subsuming 'themselves in a Catholic democratic identity', instead presuming a national role as Ireland's natural political and economic leaders.¹⁶⁸ Ferguson helped found *Dublin University Magazine* in 1833 to recapture this leadership, following Catholic emancipation and the expansion of suffrage. Adopting aristocratic Germanic racial hierarchies, he believed the physically and mentally superior 'sober' Saxons would help their 'less intellectual' 'Milesian' Irish native countrymen to advance, including in devotion to Celticism.¹⁶⁹ Yeats similarly believed elite Celticists could mould a passive Irish culture and

mythology into an authentic nation, which could produce Europe's new Homer or Goethe.¹⁷⁰ Revivalists therefore idealised isolated west-coast romantic communities like the Aran Islanders, prioritising them for example in 1890s anthropometric studies, rather than the radicalised peasant mass that campaigned for land reform.¹⁷¹ *Dublin University Magazine* gave Irish peasants the features 'of an abortion', mouths 'hanging open' with protruding teeth, gums and jaws and squashed nose, but in areas without British settlements, 'the same race' epitomised 'beauty and physical and moral vigour'.¹⁷² Keane describes some west of Ireland 'natives' as muscular giants 'with shapely limbs'.¹⁷³

Due to the balance of population in Ireland and the powerful civilisational elements in British identity construction,¹⁷⁴ the fusion narratives of Anglo-Irish Celticists emphasised culture over biology. Anglophone prejudices against dark colouring in any case inhibited biological schemes of dark-fair race fusion, and the Retzius and Broca craniological schemes both encountered the obstacle that the British and Irish had apparently always been strongly dolichocephalic.¹⁷⁵ Only very few British and Irish theorists therefore tried to make brachycephalic Celt theories fit local archaeological evidence.¹⁷⁶

Additionally, Protestants were British immigrants with little ethnographic claim to Irishness. Young Irelanders therefore defined nationality by commitment to national welfare, produced by 'culture and environment' rather than 'race', 'birth or religion'.¹⁷⁷ The Irish language, as Celticism's chief modern emblem and the key to superior Indo-European status, became the main binding agent of the ancient Irish nationality. Scholars cited philological evidence that all prehistoric Irish invaders spoke Gaelic.¹⁷⁸ According to Bryant, this enabled racial fusion within a single social system.¹⁷⁹ The staunchly Unionist *Dublin University Magazine* made Celticism itself an index of Celtitude. It offered the Welsh language and 'Bardic institutions', Scotland's 'ancient Celtic costume' and brave Irish Protestant preservation of 'our ancient language and literature' as evidence of much stronger Celtic spirit compared to Catholic Irish disinterest in Gaelic language and literature.¹⁸⁰ Protestants like Ferguson and Petrie, a landscape painter and a cardinal figure in the 1830s Celticist revival, mobilised a particularly inclusive geographical nationalism, centred around landscapes and prehistoric monuments.¹⁸¹ Petrie's Ordinance Survey 'topographical labour of love' saturated Ireland with Gaelic ethnographic detail.

Some mid-nineteenth-century Protestants even tried to ‘steal’ the Celts from the Catholics. Ferguson argued in 1852 that the Milesian ancestors of the modern peasantry were actually ‘boorish’ Germanic Goths, who conquered Ireland’s civilised Celts.¹⁸² *Dublin University Magazine* sustained Irish Protestants’ ‘very legitimate claim’ to be ‘Celts’, as most came from particularly Celtic parts of Britain or married natives ‘when *they* were more Celtic in spirit’.¹⁸³ Based on its own idiosyncratic reordering of race ethnology, the *Magazine* reversed the widespread association of Europe’s Celts with Catholicism and Teutons with Protestantism. For example, whereas ostensibly Saxon (but actually Celtic) England exhibited sympathy for the 1848 revolutions (in reality a Celtic uprising against Goths), ‘Celtic Ireland’ ignored these supposed racial compatriots.

Kymri-Kimmerians

In keeping with the social position of Irish Protestants, the most effective grab for the Celts emphasised hierarchy over fusion. Anglo-Irish ethnologists borrowed a rural Scottish, northern English and northern Irish ‘Kimmerian’ variant of glorious blond Celts, which nineteenth-century British race classifiers distinguished from Saxon blonds.¹⁸⁴ Largely due to similar names, classical writers racially linked Celts with two eastern peoples, the Cimbri of Jutland and Crimean Kimmerians, convincing many modern ethnologists that Kymri-Kimmerians were Asiatic Aryans.¹⁸⁵ Like the French Kymri, the Scottish Kimmerian gave blonds a role in a supposedly Celtic nation.

The linguist, Celtacist nationalist and Scottish islander MacLean, considered of Kimmerian type himself, explicitly associated his tall, long-headed, well-formed Kimmerians, who were excellent walkers, runners ‘and cavalrymen’, with Celts.¹⁸⁶ To forge an autonomous Scottish identity within Britain, he stressed the grey eyes,¹⁸⁷ florid cheeks, freckles and red hair that distinguished Kimmerians from blond, blue-eyed Teutons.¹⁸⁸ MacLean’s lively Kimmerians, perceptive but ‘not accurate observers’, were psychologically intermediate between Knox’s practical, rational... boorish, stern Saxon and the ‘fiery’, artistic dark Atlanteans, combining Teutonic noble recklessness and rural interests with ‘dashing’ Celtic wit and abstract thought.¹⁸⁹ MacLean contrasted the ‘loquacious, argumentative’, intensely sociable Kimmerian (a Celtic stereotype) with Teutonic stress on ‘law and contract’. Teutonic practicality thus explained England’s

seniority in the British partnership. Once again, Celts were undone by their finer sentiments.

Blond Celtic narratives initially struggled against the anti-Celticism of 'North British' (i.e. Scottish) Lowlander Anglo-Saxonists like Pinkerton, Carlyle and Knox.¹⁹⁰ Knox advocated eradication of the rebellious Highland and Irish Celts, who were as racially distinct from Lowland Saxons, 'as negro from [White] American'.¹⁹¹ This civil feud mellowed as Highlanders were romanticised, their regiments distinguished themselves at Waterloo, and Scots participated in British imperialism. The synthetic, four-nations model of British nationalism meanwhile focused patriotism on crown institutions rather than ethnicity.¹⁹² Ethnology's blond fetish served Scots well. Some ethnologists considered Scottish Kimmerians 'savage' and less noble than Teutons, but many rated them the best and blondest.¹⁹³

Ancient Irish poetry and the geography of blondness convinced Beddoe and Scottish ethnologists that ancient Kimmerian aristocrats had also conquered and ruled Ireland's dark masses.¹⁹⁴ Anglo-Irish and even Catholic ethnologists used this tall, blond, relatively civilised Celt to maintain their patronising romantic elitism towards the lower-class descendants of dark, savage Firbolg aborigines, with skulls 'of low organisation', who adopted their conqueror's Gaelic language.¹⁹⁵ Expressing his loyalism, Dickson said the height qualification for Irish police made them exceptionally Celtic.¹⁹⁶

EASTERN ETHNOCENTRISM AND PURITY

This section examines why close cultural links with Britain inhibited Catholic Irish nationalists from pursuing the typical central and eastern European strategy of establishing a locally prominent race, despised by Germanic overlords, as the national race. During the 1890s Celtic revival, Catholic nationalism adopted the romantic Celticism of the cosmopolitan Anglo-Irish, but rejected their race synthesis proposals in favour of the simple ethnocentricity of a Gaelic-Catholic Irish race and total separation from Britain.¹⁹⁷ They wanted to revive 'a populist rural Gaelic civilization based on the language and customs of the 500,000 Irish-speaking peasantry on the Western seaboard', and merely forged a temporary alliance with Yeats's circle, which romanticised these peasants' disappearing folk world and strove to create an English literature infused with their 'legends and idioms'.¹⁹⁸

The anti-modernist Celticist obsessions with purity, biological race, antiquity and a mystical peasant connection to the land strikingly recalled the contemporary nationalisms of *völkisch* Germany and its eastern neighbours, whose geopolitical and cultural insecurity matched that of Ireland. John Hutchinson suggests Young Ireland rejected England's supposedly failing 'democratic-utilitarianism' for Prussia's model of 'virile nation-building' and peasant proprietors.¹⁹⁹ Germans meanwhile dominated philology and Celtic language studies from the start, aided by Insular Celts.²⁰⁰ German influence probably inspired the nineteenth century English pronunciation of 'Celt' with a K sound and a briefer vogue for spelling the word as 'Kelt'.²⁰¹ Germans also helped establish Celtic linguistics in Irish universities.²⁰² Trinity linguistics students still had to learn German into the 1970s. Ironically however, Catholic Celticism probably drew even more directly on the 'equally absolutist' mid-century Anglo-Saxonist rejection of 'corrupting' foreign cultural influences.²⁰³

After O'Connell's 1830s mass-movement made Catholicism 'the index of nationality' for the first time, Catholics seized the political initiative, including for the 1867, 1916 and 1919–1921 uprisings, and from the 1880s discovered in Arnoldian romantic Celticism, 'a marvellous way' to persuade a 'demoralized people' that they could confront the British Empire. Spreading education and economic gains by the peasantry 'greatly increased' receptiveness to this 'middle-class notion'.²⁰⁴ As Catholics took the lead in the 1890s Celticist revival, they adopted a 'separatist and exclusive' racialised ethnocentrism, rejecting English taints in Ireland's culture, history and pure peasant race.²⁰⁵ A kaleidoscope of nationalist Celticist social, political, paramilitary, scholarly and cultural organisations, fronted by the Gaelic League, and a stream of literary, journalistic and academic works by Hyde, Bryant and others, systematically promoted Celtic, Gaelic and Irish superiority.²⁰⁶

Irish Celticism emphasised not only the sophisticated ancient culture, but also the continuity of pure 'Irish blood' since the Milesians.²⁰⁷ Already in 1834, Betham praised Irish Gaels for remaining 'pure' and retaining traditions 'unadulterated' for over three thousand years.²⁰⁸ Keane was not a typical Catholic nationalist. He believed for example that 'the blue-eyed, golden-haired, rosy-cheeked children' of England's 'middle and upper classes' represented the conquering Aryan race 'in almost ideal perfection'.²⁰⁹ Although he recognised that Ireland was largely 'Anglicised' however, he claimed the 'national temperament largely persists' and that Irish college students, police and women more than matched the British for

‘vigour... fine proportions... military bearing’, beauty, ‘animation’ or ‘dignified appearance’.

While Catholic scholars had long worked alongside Anglo-Irish colleagues in apolitical research on the Gaelic language, folklore and annals, Catholic rebel movements now adopted Gaelic names like the Fenians and Sinn Fein, and Gaelic Leaguers overtly linked the Irish language with nationalism.²¹⁰ Yeats’s poetry and the heroic deaths of ancient Gaelic heroes inspired the ‘schoolteachers, minor poets, Gaelic enthusiasts’ who rebelled in 1916.²¹¹ Sinn Fein, which fought successfully for independence in 1919–1921, epitomised the new Celticist race pride, increasingly using Irish-language titles, proclamations and personal names.²¹²

The Anglo-Irish still dominated cultural nationalism, but prominent Catholics like the Gaelic League organiser MacNeill ‘implicitly subverted’ their contribution, preparing the way for the exclusively Catholic Gaelic ideology of the twentieth-century Irish state.²¹³ Catholics adopted the Celticist fetishism of the Aran Islands, which MacNeill researched as Gaelic Ireland’s ‘sacred heartlands’. By 1890, Gaelic culture was becoming a nationalist ‘badge’, excluding unionists.²¹⁴

Despite excluding alien post-Celtic invaders however, nationalists portrayed Irish Celts as a ‘rich’ and thorough mixture of ancient races.²¹⁵ However Catholics like MacNeill and convinced Protestant nationalists like Hyde, whose peasant folklore studies made him ‘deeply anti-English’, substituted the Anglo-Irish synthesis model of Irish antiquity with the dissolution of Protestants into a homogeneous Celtic race.²¹⁶ Echoing eastern European narratives of peasant biodynamic advantage, MacNeill and Bryant praised the Irish nation’s ‘extraordinary’ ability, as ‘a unit of nature and culture’, to assimilate successive invaders, while remaining pure.²¹⁷ This exploited British and Irish Protestant fears that rapidly multiplying, politically radicalised, poor peasant or ‘artizan class’ dark Celts were steadily swamping Britain’s diluted Anglo-Saxon stock.²¹⁸ Though posing as downtrodden, the pitiful dark inferiors were represented as high-spirited, boisterous and ‘excellent soldiers’, whom nature compensated with cunning and suspicion and, if educated, with shrewdness and wit.²¹⁹

From mid-century, Catholic nativist claims to a ‘monopoly on Irish nationalism’ threatened the Irish identity of Protestants, stimulating ‘mutual bitterness’ and heightened nationalism.²²⁰ A narrow margin remained to Protestant Irish nationalists. Hyde (who later became president of independent Ireland) and Yeats used culture or mysticism to claim Celtic blood or descent in vaguely racial terms.²²¹ It was a ‘half

unconscious' 'racial memory' or indefinable 'quality of rhythm and style'. Hyde recognised that Ireland's millennial 'national life centred' around the 'noble' 'old Celtic race' of its peasant masses, with 'Mac' and 'O' surnames, but proposed to guide these back to their own lost 'pure Irish culture' and language.²²² As an Irish-speaking Protestant folklorist, he had weak biological, but excellent emotional and cultural claims to Irishness. Yeats hoped a romantic pagan nation would subsume both Irish communities.²²³ However Catholic revivalists like MacNeill bridled at his 'elitist dismissal' of their religious heritage and opposed pan-Celtic solidarity with Protestant Scots and Welsh as a cosmopolitan 'neo-pagan' plot against Catholic Celticism.²²⁴

Irish and British ethnologists both often accepted significant fusion between Ireland's races, but most later Irish nationalist ethnologists rejected dark peasants as Ireland's national race and ignored the French-style narrative of a modern dark race becoming Celtic through fusion with blond Aryans.²²⁵ This was probably partly because they were humanities scholars, unfamiliar with the niceties of French anthropology. Bryant almost exclusively cited Irish historians for her 1895 Celticist history of Ireland, but almost all her and MacLoughlin's anthropological sources were British.²²⁶ This British anthropology resisted 1870s French narratives of superior brunet Asian Aryans. Like Broca, leading British craniologists identified small dark aborigines in Britain and France as Celts, but assumed that blond Aryans introduced the Celtic language.²²⁷ Retzius's dark-blond sequence remained popular in Britain and rising Germanicism relegitimised blond Aryans at the end of the century.

The Catholic Irish nationalism of the 1890s warmly embraced the central and eastern European emphasis on ethnic purity, but not, however, its ethnological preference for the races of the peasant masses. Nationalist ethnologists combined the very British and Anglo-Irish Celticist tradition of blond Celtic-Aryan descent with Germanicist distaste for fusion narratives that might sully blond Celtic purity. Blond Aryans gave Irish nationalism and scholarship invaluable prestige. Catholic nationalists like MacLoughlin and Sullivan²²⁸ therefore agreed with the Irish unionist Dickson,²²⁹ the Anglo-Irish Celticists Wilde, Bryant and O'Grady²³⁰ and English ethnologists like Beddoe that since ancient times, Insular Celtic 'ruling races' were blue-eyed blonds, enterprising, 'brave, chivalrous' boastful warriors, mentally and culturally superior to the sallow aboriginal 'servile class'.²³¹ The Catholic MacLoughlin had them ruling '*repulsive savage*' Neolithic Teutons.²³² These scholars cited classical sources, blonds in prominent

Gaelic families and, among ancient Gaelic aristocrats, names indicating fair hair and prejudices against dark colouring. They reported few 'swarthy' Firbolg in Ireland, especially compared to western Britain, and many blond Celts.²³³ Sullivan and Bryant claimed 'successive famines' eliminated all but the 'fittest' of the dispossessed aborigines.²³⁴ Sullivan even questioned the Milesian's southern origin, claiming the 'oldest... historical tales' linked them with northern Europe.²³⁵ Not even the sole champion of the Iberian, the historian O'Grady, tried to link the Celts with them.

The most shocking aspect of blond fixation among Irish nationalist ethnologists was their distance from French and Scottish models of racial separation between Celtic and Teutonic Aryan blonds. Dickson, representing a beleaguered unionist blond Celtic outpost in Ireland, stressed the racial similarity of 'Saxon, Norman, and Celt', compared to Ireland's radically different Firbolg.²³⁶ However a Cornish Celticist made a similar argument and some Catholics, like Sullivan, went to great lengths to prove blond Celts and Teutons had long been 'essentially the same race,' with a 'common language'.²³⁷ MacLoughlin complained that 'remarkably enough', the Irish blond, which traditional poetry 'favourite and idealised', was 'regarded as non-Celtic'.²³⁸

CONCLUSION

Ireland was a poor province of a powerful empire, weakly connected to European intellectual life through its culturally semi-British land-owning elite. This largely explains why Irish nationalists never devised entirely satisfying race narratives. The international prestige and Romanticisation of the Celts gave prominence to Irish scholarship and invaluable prestige to Irish nationalism. However a common international narrative of the Celt consolidated neither within anthropology nor between it and literary-political Celticism. Metropolitan Celticists like Macpherson, Arnold and Renan harnessed romantic Insular Celts to a critique of modernity, representing Ireland's peasant mass as an archaic vestige. Irish intellectuals largely embraced this spiritual, emotional and rather pathetic romantic identity. Anglo-Irish Celticists, with strong cultural links to Britain and its potent national identity discourse of elite-led civilisation and mixed race, also borrowed British models of Celtic ethno-racial synthesis to claim political leadership in Ireland and protest against their provincial marginalisation from London.

Why did the Irish not borrow from Italian, French and central European ethnological models, which could have glorified Ireland's dark peasant

majority? I argue that Ireland's technological-industrial backwardness, the essentially cultural Anglo-Irish ties with Ireland and Catholic Church antipathy towards biological anthropology left Irish anthropology weak and barely institutionalised. Nationalist scholars concentrated instead on Celtic ancient literature and philology and drew on convenient English-language anthropological sources as a mere auxiliary to history.

Only very occasional Irish classifiers, like Wilde and O'Grady, followed influential French or Italian strategies of adopting a dark national race, which could suit Irish skulls, British traditions of *ex oriente lux* and traditional Irish migration accounts that conveniently bypassed Britain. Although Irish nationalist ethnologists granted the dark Irish redeeming features, rejecting attempts to connect them to 'inferior' Africans, only O'Grady actually claimed they were superior. Instead, Irish nationalists reversed the French synthesis, importing into Ireland the Scottish model of superior blond Aryan Celts ruling dark servile aborigines. They even made this blond more Teutonic than Scottish classifiers did. This approach fell far short of the 'race of the people' that contemporary ethnic nationalist classifiers typically aimed for.

Gaelic-speaking Catholic Irish scholars forged enduring links with the German scholars who dominated international philology and continental *völkisch* romanticism influenced 1890s Irish nationalism through cosmopolitan Anglo-Irish Celticists like Yeats. However the resemblance between Irish and eastern European ethno-racial nationalism appears largely coincidental, reflecting the common structural position of Catholic peasant nations opposing Germanic rule. The Catholic Irish nationalist rejection of racial fusion and insistence on a blond nation probably instead largely reflected the continuing influence of outmoded Anglo-Saxonist ethno-racial purity narratives, the British ethnological fixation with pigmentation, and elitist narratives justifying Anglo-Irish national leadership. Along with the Catholic perpetuation of romantic exoticised Celtic narratives, this suggests that even as Catholics took over the nationalist project from the Anglo-Irish, they remained within a British discourse, which powerfully mediated continental influences.

NOTES

1. Curtis (1968: 22) and Haddon (1898: 583–84).
2. Horsman (1976: 399).
3. Beddoe (1971: 290, 1898: 164, 1905: 233) and Browne (1900: 269).
4. Curtis (1968: 108 & 111–12) and Fee (1979: 425).

5. Frazer (1888: 45), Browne (1900: 271), and Cunningham and Browne (1898: 554–56).
6. Haddon (1893a: 764 & 767).
7. Wilde (1849: 224), Beddoe (1971: 290, 1898: 164, 1905: 233).
8. Curtis (1968: 71), Beddoe (1898: 164–65, 1971: 1–2), and Reynard-Paligot (2011: 121).
9. Wilde (1849: 230), Pruner-Bey (1864c: 239), and Retzius (1864a: 8 & 64).
10. Haddon (1893a: 760) and Fee (1979: 425).
11. Haddon (1893a: 759, 1898: 571), Beddoe (1898: 164, 1905: 233).
12. Beddoe (1898: 164, 1905: 233) and Haddon (1893a: 759–60).
13. Curtis (1968: 108–15).
14. O'Connor (1991: 23–27 & 30) and Curtis (1968: 108 & 111–12).
15. 1908: 339 & 343.
16. Hutchinson (1987: 49), O'Connor (1991: 23–31, 38, 43, 50 & 131).
17. Hutchinson (1987: 55) and Leerssen (1996: 70).
18. Chapman (1992: 207) and Hutchinson (1987: 55–56).
19. Dietler (1994: 585 & 588) and Tristram (1996: 59).
20. Ross (1878: 123), Betham (2000: 80–82, 96–101 & 141).
21. Tristram (1996: 37 & 49), Davis (2002: xii–xiii), and Prichard (2000: 20–21, 25, 65, 91–93 & 184–85).
22. Morton (1839: 18), Wilde (1849: 231), and Pictet (1836: 268–727 & 432–33).
23. Prichard (2000: 187), Broca (1864d: 460), and Bonté (1864a: 282).
24. Pictet (1836: 265).
25. Davis (2002: vii–viii & xvii), MacLoughlin (1896: 26), Leerssen (1996: 90–94 & 144–45).
26. Hutchinson (1987: 120–25).
27. Bryant (1889: 23).
28. Collis (2003: 64), Davis (2002: vii–viii & xvii), and Tristram (1990: 20–23, 30–38).
29. Morash (1998: 212), Holzmann (1855: 4–6), Davis (2002: xi), Hyde (1991: 532), and Pictet (1836: 436 & 441).
30. Hyde (1991: 529).
31. Tristram (1990: 16–17 & 25).
32. Tristram (1990: 14–17 & 59), Leerssen (1996: 91), and Pictet (1836: 269).
33. Wilde (1849: 218–19), Pruner-Bey (1864c: 229–30), and Bryant (1889: 2).
34. Borlase (1897: 1054), Wilde (1849: viii), Broca (1873: 591), and Périer (1864: 622).
35. In Prichard (2000: 21).

36. 1898: 15. Dahomey was a French protectorate in West Africa.
37. Tristram (1996: 59) and Sims-Williams (1986: 72–73); see Chapter 4.
38. Evans (1999: 6–7) and Bertrand (1873: 423 & 245).
39. Sims-Williams (1986: 73) and Morash (1998: 212); see Chapter 4.
40. Morash (1998: 206).
41. Curtis (1968: 111).
42. Chapman (1992: 121–22 & 131–32) and Cuisenier (1999: 25).
43. Perhaps because French romanticism was comparatively weak, French Celtic narratives were more traditionally nationalist (Chapman 1992: 134; Dietler 1994: 588). While the British ‘centre’ tolerated or ‘even initiated’ romantic fringe identities, France’s turbulent politics, late industrialisation and external threats made identity definition more cautious and the Revolution offered an alternative narrative of romantic rebellion (Chapman 1992: 133–37). Comfortably distant Gallic ancestors were therefore initially the major Celticist focus, though romanticisation of Celtic Bretons increased in the nineteenth century (Chapman 1992: 206–7).
44. Dietler (1994: 588) and Collis (2003: 72–73).
45. Sims-Williams (1986: 72).
46. Chapman (1992: 26 & 139), Cuisenier (1999: 25), and Piggott (1966: 15–18).
47. Curtis (1968: 16 & 25–27), De Nie (2004: 177, 200 & 275), and Mandler (2006: 62 & 99). Drawing on varied evidence however, they give it different detailed chronologies between 1840 and 1890.
48. Curtis (1968: 5–6 & 13) and Knox (1850: 68).
49. Leerssen (1996: 95–98), De Nie (2004: 177 & 200), and Mandler (2006: 74).
50. 1912: 41–41.
51. 2006: 74 & 97.
52. Mandler (2006: 54–60).
53. Curtis (1968: 4–5 & 12), Dickson (1898: 14 & 158), and Arnold (1962: 347).
54. Avery (1869: ccxxv & ccxxix–ccxxxi).
55. 1892: 50–52.
56. Carlyle (1892: 49–50) and Leerssen (1996: 98).
57. Qureshi (2011: 103).
58. Curtis (1968: 69) and Malik (1996: 89).
59. 1850: 27 & 379.
60. Dickson (1896: 156–57), Huxley (1870: 408), and Beddoe (1861: 562).
61. Blanckaert (1989: 188), Broca (1871b: 284), and Bonté (1864a: 281–82).
62. Retzius (1864a: 33–34, 102 & 122); see Chapter 4.

63. Campbell (1872: lvii–lx), Hölder (1876: 19–20), and Périer (1864: 618–19).
64. Dickson (1896: 156), Bryant (1889: 21–22), and O’Grady (1878: 11–12).
65. Dickson (1896: 160, 1898: 17), Clarke (1876: 25), Borlase (1897: 1026–28 & 1032).
66. Dickson (1896: 156 & 160).
67. 1905: 236, 1971: 291.
68. 1971: 290–91.
69. Borlase (1897: 1026 & 1043–46).
70. 1896: 156 & 160.
71. Campbell (1872: lvi–lvii, 1873: 130).
72. Leerssen (1996: 165–67) and Mandler (2006: 102–4).
73. Avery (1869: ccxxv).
74. Curtis (1968: 25).
75. Leerssen (1996: 166).
76. Dickson (1896: 13 & 157–59), Lubbock (1887: 418–19), Wilde (1849: 231 & 239, 1874: 246), Thurnham (1864: 399), and Pruner-Bey (1864b: 670).
77. Sullivan (1971: lxxvii), Lubbock (1887: 419), and Wilde (1849: 231 & 239).
78. Mandler (2006: 20–21).
79. Hutchinson (1987: 54, 58 & 123).
80. Quinn (2005: 23), McKendry (1999: 186–87), Betham (2000: 79 & 336–37).
81. Wilde (1874: 246), Bryant (1889: 21), and Hölder (1876: 19).
82. Leerssen (1996: 72–73), Betham (2000: viii, xv, 16–17, 100 & 424).
83. Hutchinson (1987: 55) and Leerssen (1996: 72–73).
84. Betham (2000: viii–xv, 100 & 421–22) and Leerssen (1996: 92).
85. Leerssen (1996: 74) and Betham (2000: xviii).
86. Leerssen (1996: 73–74 & 89–90).
87. Bory (1827: 175) and Périer (1864: 622).
88. Quinn (2005: 22) and Collis (2003: 64).
89. Prichard (1973: 506–7 & 535), Edwards (1841: 59), Broca (1873: 586), Beddoe (1876: 23–24), Périer (1864: 621–22 & 624), and MacLean (1872: xlvi).
90. Retzius (1864a: 64), Hölder (1876: 19), Périer et al. (1861: 340), Pruner-Bey (1864b: 670), and Broca (1871b: 282–292).
91. Webster (1876: 8).
92. Sullivan (1971: lxxii & lxxvi) and Bryant (1889: 21–29).
93. 1889: 7 & 28–29.
94. 1864c: 310–11.

95. Sullivan (1971: lxxii), Bryant (1889: 3 & 21), and Wilde (1849: 229–30).
96. MacLean (1872: xlix), Knox (1850: 322–23), and Dickson (1898: 12).
97. MacLoughlin (1896: 26–27 & 32), Wilde (1874: 246), and Bryant (1889: 28–29).
98. Wilde (1874: 246).
99. Sullivan (1971: lxxvii) and Bryant (1889: 22–23).
100. 1896: 201 & 398, 1908: 343.
101. Bryant (1889: 22–25), Wilde (1849: 239, 1874: 246).
102. 1878: 11–16.
103. His terminology recalled the rival Irish antiquarian derivations of Celts from savage Scythian steppes or Mediterranean Phoenician civilisation.
104. Prichard (1973: 506–7 & 535), Knox (1850: 49), and Beddoe (1971: 25–28).
105. The sympathetic Cornish ethnologist Borlase linked Long-Barrow types with ancient Irish skulls, but said the modern Irish more strongly resembled superior Crô-Magnon ancestors (1897: 956–59, 977, 987 & 1032). The Irish nationalist Bryant connected dark Celts with ‘more advanced’ Scottish cairns (1889: 3–4).
106. Beddoe (1971: 10, 13, 25–26 & 294).
107. 1971: 10.
108. Chapman (1992: 278).
109. Dickson (1898: 13), Borlase (1897: 964), and MacLean (1872: xlviii–l).
110. 1872: xlviii.
111. 1898: 12–13.
112. 1896: 157.
113. Beddoe (1971: 11), Curtis (1968: 72), and MacLean (1872: xlviii–l).
114. Beddoe (1876: 23–24), Boyd Dawkins (1876: 22), and MacLean (1872: xlix–li).
115. De Nie (2004: 177–79). J.W. Foster however traces this ape language to portrayals of Ireland’s 1798 insurgents as French-inspired Frankenstein ‘monsters’, violating nature’s order by attacking ‘their masters’ (1997: 434).
116. 1896: 156–60; 1898: 12.
117. In Foster (1997: 435).
118. Foster (1997: 435) and De Nie (2004: 200).
119. Beddoe (1971: 10–12) and Frazer (1888: 44–46).
120. Hutchinson (1987: 60–61, 67–68 & 100–5) and DUM (1855: 729).
121. Hyde (1991: 530–31).
122. Kelleher (1950: 204–16).
123. Beddoe (1971: 296), Thurnham (1864: 399), and MacLean (1872: xlii–xliii).

124. Chapman (1992: 217–18) and De Nie (2004: 24).
125. Leerssen (1996: 101) and Hutchinson (1987: 79–81 & 130–35).
126. Leerssen (1996: 164–65 & 196–97) and Hutchinson (1987: 91–92 & 119).
127. Sims-Williams (1986: 71–73) and Chapman (1992: 214–15).
128. Arnold (1962: 370), Leerssen (1996: 143), and MacLoughlin (1896: 32).
129. Curtis (1968: 113).
130. Kelleher (1950: 214) and Hutchinson (1987: 132–33).
131. Dickson (1896: 156–60; 1898: 12).
132. 1962: 343–45 & 374.
133. 1908: 344.
134. Arnold (1962: 347–48) and Leerssen (1996: 98).
135. McDonald (1997: 229–30), Chapman (1992: 216–17), and Fee (1979: 418–23). Mandler also however identifies feminine elements in British national identity (2006: 103).
136. Dietler (1994: 586) and Chapman (1992: 3).
137. Edwards (1845: 42), Topinard (1873: 158), and Périer et al. (1861: 344–45).
138. 1962: 344–45.
139. Knox (1850: 322–23), Dickson (1898: 12 & 17), and MacLean (1872: xlix).
140. Pruner-Bey (1864b: 660, 1864c: 229) and Girard (1864: 551); see Chapter 4.
141. 1871b: 299–300.
142. Omalius (1864a: 267–68), Thurnham (1864: 397), and Périer (1864: 604–5).
143. 1864c: 194–95, 1873: 595.
144. Broca (1864a: 559–60, 1864c: 312–13) and Bonté (1864b: 625).
145. Leerssen (1996: 100–1) and Hutchinson (1987: 56).
146. Wilde (1849: 218–19), O'Connor (1991: 24), and Leerssen (1996: 101).
147. O'Connor (1991: 26), Hutchinson (1987: 88–92 & 135), and Hyde (1991: 528–29).
148. Hutchinson (1987: 100–5).
149. Leerssen (1996: 101), Wilde (1874: 259), and DUM (1855: 734).
150. Davis (1991: 54), Wilde (1874: 258–59), and O'Grady (1878: 16).
151. Grattan (1858: 244).
152. Wilde (1849: 237–39, 1874: 246 & 258–59).
153. Reynard-Paligot (2011: 121–22) and Mandler (2006: 66).
154. Sullivan (1971: lxix–lxx), Arnold (1962: 336–38, 355 & 371), Dickson (1898: 13), and Keane (1896: 201).

155. 1872: liv–lv.
156. Mandler (2006: 66).
157. Foster (1997: 434), Lubbock (1887: 418), and Keith (1928: 305).
158. Reynard-Paligot (2011: 122).
159. Dickson (1896: 157 & 159), Hutchinson (1987: 91–92), and Avery (1869: ccxxvi).
160. Kelleher (1950: 199).
161. Lubbock (1887: 418–19) and Foster (1997: 434).
162. 1962: 298–99 & 383–84.
163. Foster (1997: 434), Lubbock (1887: 420), and Arnold (1962: 296–302).
164. Wilde (1849: vi–viii & xii) and Vogt (1865: 569–70).
165. 1991: 53–54.
166. Kelleher (1950: 202–203).
167. O'Connor (1991: 26 & 130–31).
168. Hutchinson (1987: 79, 88–92 & 135).
169. Leerssen (1996: 185).
170. Hutchinson (1987: 133–35).
171. Hutchinson (1987: 88) and Browne (1900: 269–70).
172. Vogt (1865: 569–70).
173. 1908: 344.
174. Mandler (2006: 85).
175. Borlase (1897: 923, 994, 1012–15 & 1020) and Beddoe (1971: 291–92).
176. Haddon (1893a: 760), Grattan (1858: 240–44), and Wilde (1849: 231 & 237–39).
177. Hutchinson (1987: 98 & 105) and Davis (1991: 54).
178. Wilde (1874: 246), Grattan (1858: 246), and Bryant (1889: 21 & 25).
179. Bryant (1889: 21 & 25).
180. DUM (1855: 728–29) and Leerssen (1996: 100–1).
181. Leerssen (1996: 185).
182. Leerssen (1996: 186).
183. DUM (1855: 721 726–33).
184. Dickson (1896: 160, 1898: 12–13), Campbell (1872: lvi), MacLean (1872: xl), Sullivan (1971: lxix–lxx).
185. Edwards (1845: 19–20), Broca (1873: 591–92), and Rawlinson (1877: 156).
186. Campbell (1872: lvi), Davis (2002: viii), and MacLean (1872: xl–xli).
187. Grey eyes were also used to distinguish blond East Europeans from Nordics (see Chapter 6).
188. 1872: xl–xli. Many others agreed (Broca 1860b: 10; Beddoe 1905: 236, 1971: 298; Wilde 1849: 237).

189. 1872: xli–xlix.
190. Davies (1999: 839–41).
191. 1850: 13–14, 27 & 57.
192. Davies (1999: 837–38) and Beddoe (1905: 237).
193. Beddoe (1971: 23, 1905: 237), Rawlinson (1877: 152 & 156), and Jackson (1873: 398).
194. Campbell (1872: lvii), Beddoe (1861: 562–63, 1905: 236), and MacLean (1872: xlv).
195. Frazer (1888: 47–48), Wilde (1849: 231, 237 & 239), O’Grady (1878: 15), and MacLoughlin (1896: 89).
196. 1896: 158.
197. Curtis (1968: 111).
198. Hutchinson (1987: 119).
199. 1987: 95–97 & 100–3.
200. Prichard (2000: 20) and Kelleher (1950: 198).
201. Piggott (1966: 4).
202. Tristram (1990: 15–18, 24–25 & 42).
203. Curtis (1968: 108–14).
204. Kelleher (1950: 202).
205. Curtis (1968: 108–15) and Chapman (1992: 92).
206. Hutchinson (1987: 115), Curtis (1968: 110–115), and Leerssen (1996: 159 & 164).
207. Curtis (1968: 109 & 114–15).
208. Betham (2000: 422).
209. 1908: 338 & 344–45.
210. Curtis (1968: 112–15) and Leerssen (1996: 158–59).
211. Kelleher (1950: 202) and Curtis (1968: 108–9).
212. Curtis (1968: 115).
213. Hutchinson (1987: 120–22 & 127).
214. Curtis (1968: 114–15) and Leerssen (1996: 158–59).
215. Bryant (1889: xiv), O’Grady (1878: 15), and MacLoughlin (1896: 89–90).
216. O’Connor (1991: 27).
217. Hutchinson (1987: 123), Bryant (1889: xviii & 27), and Hyde (1991: 529); see Chapter 3.
218. Latham (1852: 259–60), Beddoe (1971: 298), and Dickson (1896: 160).
219. Dickson (1896: 160) and Borlase (1897: 1024–25).
220. Hutchinson (1987: 79–81 & 103) and Leerssen (1996: 101).
221. Hyde (1991: 528–33), Morash (1998: 206), and O’Connor (1991: 168).
222. Hyde (1991: 529–33), Morash (1998: 208), and Curtis (1968: 113).
223. Hutchinson (1987: 135).

224. Hutchinson (1987: 124 & 135) and Leerssen (1996: 159 & 164).
 225. Wilde (1874: 246), O’Grady (1878: 16), Keane (1908: 343), and Beddoe (1971: 290 & 296–98).
 226. Bryant (1889: vii–viii) and MacLoughlin (1896: 83).
 227. Ripley (1900: 125), Beddoe (1890: 483), and Thurnham (1864: 399).
 228. MacLoughlin (1896: 32, 36 & 89) and Sullivan (1971: lxxii–lxxv).
 229. 1898: 14.
 230. Wilde (1874: 246), O’Grady (1878: 15), and Bryant (1889: xiv & 20–25).
 231. Borlase (1897: 1049–52) and Beddoe (1971: 296).
 232. MacLoughlin (1896: 84).
 233. Grattan (1858: 244), Wilde (1874: 246), and Sullivan (1971: lxxvii).
 234. Sullivan (1971: lxxvii) and Bryant (1889: 23).
 235. Sullivan (1971: lxxvi).
 236. 1898: 12.
 237. Borlase (1897: 1028 & 1042–46) and Sullivan (1971: lxxv–lxxvi).
 238. 1896: 32.
 239. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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Poland: Scientific Independence and Nordicism

So if we wanted to breed this kind of pure racial stock, we would have to select from each population, individuals representing a certain race and isolate them in concentration camps, to stop them crossing with representatives of other races. This kind of experiment could be carried out successfully on horses, mice or sheep, but its use on people is unworkable even in a totalitarian system.

A Polish anthropologist in 1939 (Klimek 1939: 35–36).

Nineteenth-century Polish anthropology, heavily dependent on foreign technical support, adopted the Celto-Slav race of Poland's French geopolitical allies. However after the *fin-de-siècle* crisis of race anthropology and the rise of neo-romanticism, newly independent Poland became a leading international player in the new raciology, which its German national adversary dominated. It devised nationalist race narratives that contributed to the fragmentation of transnational race classification. Nevertheless, the most successful school of interwar Polish raciology, based in Lwów, loosened scientific links with France and adopted a German-style complex of intense Nordacist nationalism, racially associating superior Nordics with modern Poles and ancient Slavs.

This chapter therefore assesses whether even powerful peripheral countries in international race science, like Poland, could establish independent nationalist narratives. This has wider implications for the central and east-

ern European cockpit of geopolitical and scientific rivalry between positivist French anthropology and German neo-romantic raciology. Czechs and Russians rose to international prominence in race science along with Poles and collaborated with them in devising Slav identity narratives. Geopolitical and institutional links pulled central Europeans in opposite directions. German and Austrian rule before 1918 created tight intellectual links, but also placed a powerful international anti-German narrative at the heart of Slavic political identities.

I identify three periods in the institutional history of Polish race anthropology. First, Józef Majer and Izydor Kopernicki launched professional Polish race anthropology in 1870s–1880s Cracow, establishing an international research reputation. Like other highly cosmopolitan pre-1910s Czech and Polish anthropologists, they travelled widely, corresponded with foreign colleagues and adhered closely to the terminology, positivist apoliticism and Celto-Slav theories of Paris-led international orthodoxy.¹ They were so few and with such limited institutions however, that they, like Wilde in Ireland, functioned as outposts of transnational anthropology, as much as an autonomous Polish anthropological community. Professional anthropology largely lapsed after Kopernicki died in 1891, but research was continued by enthusiastic ‘provincial doctors’ and biologists, including Julian Talko-Hryncewicz, who eventually filled Kopernicki’s professorial chair in 1908.² They were aided, as ever in race classification, by intellectuals from other fields.

Finally, after independence in 1918, Poland became a leading international centre of European raciology. In my database, international citations of Polish writers soared from 0.24 % in 1872–1888 to 16.9 % in 1919–1939, behind only the Germans and British. Interwar Poles very actively and successfully promoted their methods and results in international conferences and leading international journals.³ Poles for example dominated discussion on race at the 1924 Prague anthropology congress, and remained very active at later conferences.⁴ Soft tissue anthropologists established their international secretariat in Warsaw in 1926.⁵ Poles gained the confidence to develop independent techniques, networks and narratives, using mainly domestic sources and discussed international controversies in terms of local proponents.⁶ In Czekanowski’s bibliography of interwar Polish anthropology (1948a), almost all works are in Polish.

Poland’s leading rival interwar schools, Jan Czekanowski’s Lwów and Kazimierz Stołyhwo’s Cracow, developed very complex and original statistical raciologies.⁷ In 1913, Czekanowski occupied a new chair in ethnology and anthropology in Lwów, the second city of Austrian Galicia.⁸ His

school achieved such international influence, especially in central and eastern Europe, and was so dominant at home, that it became known abroad as the Polish School.⁹ Anthropologists in Yugoslavia and Romania both acknowledged their intellectual debt¹⁰ and Lwów may also have influenced Soviet raciology and British archaeology.¹¹ Stołyhwo led an increasingly bitter opposition.¹² Though initially considered too young, Talko and other Cracow officials installed him in the Cracow chair in 1931 to keep it from Czekanowski's 'expansionist hands', as his students systematically occupied most Polish anthropological posts.¹³ In interwar Polish anthropology, the Lwów School accounted for most literature and eight of the ten third-level teaching diplomas.¹⁴

This chapter examines how Polish anthropology, moving from periphery to core, became as much a separate pole within a common central and eastern European community as a German dependency. Chapter sections address the balance between Polish innovation and borrowing from French or German race science in (1) international links, (2) the balance between liberal positivism and neo-romantic nationalism and (3) movement from a Celto-Slav to a Nordic national race.

POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

German influences and connections certainly loomed larger in Polish anthropology in the twentieth century, but links with France, other western countries and the Slavic world remained important. Opening its 1924 Prague congress, the Czech ethnologist Lubor Niederle declared the *Institut International d'Anthropologie* (IIA) a 'great' scientific institute of Czechoslovakia's 'loyal ally, France', which had for centuries defended Slavs from Germans.¹⁵ His anti-German diatribe called Czechoslovakia 'a true rock of granite' which broke 'all the Germanic floods'. This rhetorical French bias was made concrete in the citation practice, studies and publication in foreign languages of many pre-1914 Polish researchers, as well as of Stołyhwo.¹⁶ Kopernicki, Talko, Stołyhwo and Niederle¹⁷ all studied for periods in Paris and were influenced by Broca's school, though most also had some training in Germany.

With some exceptions, the 'provincial doctors' who followed Kopernicki were relatively isolated from the mainstream of French dominated international anthropology, with strong personal and professional links to Russia instead.¹⁸ After sixteen years researching in Siberia, Talko 'had difficulty expressing himself academically in Polish'.¹⁹

Students of Rudolf Martin in Zürich (including Czekanowski), and their students, then came to overwhelmingly dominate interwar Polish anthropology and anatomy.²⁰ Martin was central to the early twentieth-century rise of German international influence, developing anthropometric standards that (outside of France) replaced earlier Parisian measures. Majer and Kopernicki used French techniques, but Talko preferred German scales,²¹ and Czekanowski's students relied on Martin.²² In my citation database, publications by interwar Polish race classifiers in Germany or in German were referenced twice as frequently as those published in French or in France. Discounting international conference papers, where French was semi-obligatory, Czekanowski's bibliography of interwar Polish anthropological works published abroad or in foreign languages²³ lists 58 German-language works, 46 French and 13 English. Czekanowski personally cited around 50 % more German-language works than French. In 1935, Poznań's anthropological institute subscribed to more German than even Polish-language journals.

This transition from French to German influence should not be exaggerated. Nineteenth-century Czech and Polish anthropologists played up non-German links, especially with France. They downplayed often close and sometimes preponderant links with the equally liberal scholarship of their German 'oppressors', evidenced by foreign language publishing, correspondence, professional memberships and foreign studies.²⁴ Kopernicki established links with nine major German anthropological associations, compared to just eleven throughout all of Europe to the west of Germany.²⁵ He and Talko published roughly equally in French and German.²⁶ Anthropological institutions first flourished in Austrian-controlled Galicia, the only Polish region where universities were not suppressed.

French links meanwhile came a strong second to German in interwar Polish bibliographies, journals subscribed to and the personal links of scholars.²⁷ The young Czekanowski mostly worked abroad in Germany, but also in Paris.²⁸ The Celto-Slavist Stołyhwo's foreign language use was about as slanted towards French as the Nordicist Czekanowski's was towards German.²⁹ However two thirds of international conference papers in Czekanowski's bibliography were presented at the Paris-based and strongly anti-German IIA. Bibliographical evidence and foreign studies and visits also suggested important links with other parts of Europe, the Anglosphere and even Japan.³⁰ Polish interwar archaeologists also had 'good relations with France', used French terminology and classifications,

worked with French colleagues and participated in French expeditions.³¹ Some meanwhile visited the Soviet Union.

Internationalism, reactivated by interwar institutionalisation, probably helped Polish anthropology to avoid Germany's worst racist-nationalist excesses. Czekanowski spoke 'accentless' German, French and Russian, and got by in English, Italian and Czech.³² Lwów School members declared that their methodology was based on international contacts, and rejected the right-wing politics at the heart of German raciology.³³ Czekanowski instead taught statistics and constructed close 'collaboration between anthropologists, prehistorians and ethnologists' around his statistical method.³⁴ Lwów adopted its method and combativeness from the 'new and refined statistical techniques' of the London Biometric School and used them in 'a searing criticism of craniological dogma'.³⁵ Czekanowski 'intellectually horsewhipped' opponents, scoring less mathematically-literate anthropology as simply not science. This 'deceptively mild-mannered and soft-spoken' man, 'adored by some, admired by many, and intensely disliked by a few', was 'usually sharp-tongued and sometimes quite venomous in polemics'.³⁶

Czekanowski and his students developed his European system in 1911–1928, defining and ascribing detailed characteristics to ten types, each with Greek alphabet code-letters.³⁷ He illustrated relationships between them as a square with an 'X' linking the corners, each corner representing a primary, and each line a secondary race (see Fig. 3.3). This 'schematically simple and regular' system was 'striking proof' for Czekanowski that his four primary European races 'represented a closed circle' in 'genetic equilibrium'.³⁸

This scheme was one of the most fundamental reformulations in the history of race classification, aiming to overturn orthodoxy rather than carving a niche within it.³⁹ Lwów and its critics agreed that Lwów races were not in 'harmony with the international terminology'.⁴⁰ While Cracow anthropologists dismissed them as haphazard recent cross-breeds, Czekanowski's students insisted they were indispensable to understanding the anthropology of eastern Europe.⁴¹ Lvovians used obscure genetic processes to justify their system. They suggested Günther had combined two hybrids in his Easteuropean for example, because a 'local equalisation process' sometimes blocked or reversed their separation from the original unmixed form.⁴²

Despite Lwów's internationalism therefore, Czekanowski's scheme impeded foreign engagement, especially with Germans like Eickstedt,

who dismissed his methods as numerical trickery.⁴³ However the Lwów system largely gained international attention due to its initial publication in German, from which foreigners mostly cited, as well as from sharp criticisms by foreigners like Ilse Schwidetzky, Eickstedt's most prominent student.⁴⁴

Lwów not only refused to measure itself against an authoritative international and German consensus, but determined to overthrow it, chiding foreigners for non-compliance with the Lwów system.⁴⁵ Czekanowski also used Lwów idiosyncrasy as a nationalist club to bludgeon more conventional domestic rivals. He accused conservative Cracovians like Stołyhwo, threatened by the Lwów School's attractiveness to younger scholars, of seeking German and Russian backing.⁴⁶ Stołyhwo's wife Eugenia praised Eickstedt's technique and Eickstedt's student Schwidetzky identified most of Stołyhwo's race elements 'without difficulty' with 'international race terminology'.⁴⁷

Polish, Russian and Czech Slavicists closely collaborated and influenced one another.⁴⁸ The shock of eighteenth-century partition, early nineteenth-century resentment against Western abandonment, and desire for a 'modus vivendi' with Russian rule after 1815 stimulated Poles to defend and independently develop the 'unique' Slavic culture.⁴⁹ Emulating their romantic German professors, Slav ethnographers researched and published their own ancient national sagas and traditions, especially after 1842.⁵⁰ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Poles and Czechs who successively pioneered nationalist Slavic antiquarianism, archaeology and anthropology therefore focused on distinguishing Slavic peoples from Germans rather than from one another.⁵¹ The historian of archaeology Włodzimierz Rączkowski considers Slavic anti-Germanism a more important agenda in Poland than even nationalism.⁵² Two-thirds of major interwar Polish excavations were therefore in Poland's western border provinces.⁵³ Polish race classifiers invariably mentioned the German threat alongside occasional worries about Soviet Russia.⁵⁴ Kopernicki and Stołyhwo worked or studied with Czech scholars.⁵⁵ Conferences in neighbouring Slavic lands (especially Prague) were important for Poles and, before 1918 especially, Czech was an important foreign language for Polish anthropological publications. Talko studied and worked in Russia and Ukraine and published copiously in Russian.⁵⁶ Lwów may have produced Poland's first ethnological institutions because it was a hotbed of nationalist rivalry with local Ukrainians,⁵⁷ but Poles mainly contested this battle on literary and historical rather than ethno-racial grounds.⁵⁸

In scholarly geopolitics, a relatively weak Russia supported Polish anti-Germanism from a distance. Pan-Slavism projected imperial Russian interests and influence westward⁵⁹ but also let Poles compete with Russians to lead the Slavs and justified their rule over Ukrainians and Byelorussians.⁶⁰ Russian foreign policy intermittently exploited a romantic pan-Slavic agenda of freeing Slavic nations from German and Turkish rule and in 1848, an Austrian-Slav congress proposed a federal Austria.⁶¹ This programme foundered however on national antagonisms, with Poles in particular distrusting Russian imperialism, anti-liberalism and ambivalence about Europe.⁶²

POLITICISED RACE CLASSIFICATION

In its political engagements too, Polish anthropology drifted towards German models, and especially neo-romantic nationalism. However this was also a complex and nuanced story. Nineteenth-century Polish anthropologists were already ardent nationalists. Kopernicki fled Poland after taking part in the 1863 nationalist uprising and allegedly then worked in Belgrade ‘to be closer to the Slavic movement, in the womb of a heroic people, fighting gallantly for liberty’.⁶³ Positivist Polish, Czech and Slovak scholars criticised obstruction by the ‘reactionary’ Austrian state.⁶⁴ Majer began teaching anthropology in Polish in 1856 because Austria, experimenting with Germanisation, insisted that compulsory subjects be taught in German.⁶⁵ Czech and Polish anthropologists meanwhile ‘worked little’ on ‘foreign peoples’, but ‘with infinite zeal on the precise knowledge of... our people’.⁶⁶

However, as in other peripheries (see Chapters 4 and 5), nineteenth-century Poles were desperate to meet Western standards of modern technological civilisation, and therefore rejected the heated romantic nationalism of earlier antiquarianism in favour of self-consciously objective and apolitical positivist race science.⁶⁷ Failed uprisings emphasised the need for long-term ‘organic work’ of popular nationalist education and organisation, including science.⁶⁸ Kopernicki described modern and certain ancient Slavic crania as ‘shapely’ and ‘completely’ free of ‘African’ prognathism.⁶⁹ However he and Majer often researched non-racial questions like childhood development, preferring pages of raw statistics to politically useful judgements⁷⁰ (see Fig. 3.1). In one archaeological controversy, Kopernicki and liberal German anthropologists handed one another vital potential ammunition for claiming prior occupation of contested national terri-

tory.⁷¹ Czech positivists like Niederle similarly pushed nationalism to ‘the fringes’ of Slav archaeology.⁷²

Overt chauvinistic nationalism intensified from the 1890s. The Polish ‘provincial doctors’ were therefore more race-oriented and nationalistic than Koperski and Majer.⁷³ Russian 1870s–1880s recruitment statistics suggested Poles were smaller and punier than Russians, unleashing Polish press panic about national decline and patriotic interest in anthropology.⁷⁴

In the 1890s, artefact archaeology spearheaded neo-romantic politicisation of science and became the key theatre of contention between German and Slavic scholars, often emotionally motivated by a belief that ancient occupation legitimised modern nationalist territorial claims.⁷⁵ There were already ‘old’ and ‘bitter’ arguments in the 1880s, with periodic complaints that Prussia’s ‘aggressive politics’ ‘stupefied’ German prehistorians or that Slavic counterparts proposed ‘arbitrary and nonsensical’ theory.⁷⁶ Prehistorians made inadvertently anachronistic claims that prehistoric grave-site distributions established Germany’s ‘frontier’, or ‘increased’ ancient Slav ‘territory’.⁷⁷ Despite protests by liberals in both countries, the *völkisch* Berlin prehistorian Kossinna’s 1895 culture areas theory, in which ethnicity determined artefact styles, quickly became the dominant Polish and central European archaeological paradigm.⁷⁸ Kossinna ratcheted up nationalist tension, identifying ancient archaeological ‘cultures’ as Teutonic, in order to legitimise national territorial claims.⁷⁹ The Bronze-Age Lusatian culture area became the principal object of dispute, proving prior Slav or Teutonic ethnic occupation of the politically disputed Elbe-Vistula region and, for Slav extremists, westward to the Rhine.⁸⁰

Inflamed by personal attacks, the interwar feud in scholarly fora and popular newspapers between Kossinna’s circle in Berlin and his Polish student Józef Kostrzewski escalated at one point to provoking ‘diplomatic intervention’.⁸¹ Based in the nationally ultra-sensitive city of Poznań, which Prussia ruled until 1918, Kostrzewski’s ‘emotive and nationalistic’ arguments won wide public support.⁸² The historian of archaeology Karel Sklenář says ‘chauvinist passion’ was still more extreme in contemporary German archaeology, increasingly focusing on the Polish borderlands.⁸³ Citing Frederick the Great’s cynical boast that ‘as soon as I annex Poland, historians will be found who will prove my right to it’, Kostrzewski accused German scholars of persistently dedicating themselves ‘to prove to the world that all Poland is immemorial German land’.⁸⁴ The Nazi occupiers twice interrogated one Polish archaeologist to discover ‘hidden

evidence of a Viking burial', which would prove Teutons founded the Polish state.⁸⁵

Intense competitive anthropometric research and 'violent' interwar archaeological dispute, including scholarly articles like Kostrzewski's 'On our rights to Silesia', focused on the province of Silesia.⁸⁶ Partly on place name evidence, Kostrzewski defined Silesians as Germanised Poles, claiming that Polish speech stuck so deeply in their minds that 'every stone bears witness' to the region's 'eternal Polish character' and that ancient Teutonic occupation was relatively brief.⁸⁷ Czekanowski considered Silesia 'essential' to understanding Polish 'racial conditions' and derided Eickstedt for undertaking his intense 1935–1936 Silesian study in response to Polish research.⁸⁸

Ironically however, locking horns with nationalistic German science drew Polish scientists away from the relatively apolitical positivism that survived among their 'Western', and especially French national allies. As Chapter 2 outlined, Kossinna's archaeology, Nordacist raciology and Nazism all grew out of Germany's *fin-de-siècle*, conservative, anti-liberal, anti-modern and neo-romantic *völkisch* nationalism. Neo-romanticism, fusing racial social Darwinism with mystical nostalgia for rural social hierarchies, also thrived in the powerful Slavic romantic nationalist tradition. For Polish romantics, cold, rational, egoistic, superficial, materialistic, perfidious Western civilization threatened authentic 'ancient Slavic' spirituality and social solidarity.⁸⁹ In addition, conservatives everywhere, including Poles, often lionised the northern blond as Europe's elite, aristocratic racial type, biologically legitimising social hierarchies.

Overt chauvinistic nationalism and racial synthesis in Polish anthropology and archaeology progressively intensified from the 1890s, and especially after 1918.⁹⁰ As in Germany after 1933, archaeology, folklore studies, raciology (replacing positivist race anthropology) and other disciplines with a strong nationalistic vocation reaped a bonanza of state support when central and eastern European countries like Poland became independent in 1918.⁹¹ This allowed secure institutionalisation and burgeoning influence abroad. Full Polish control over institutions and clashes over territorial claims and ethnic minorities encouraged anti-German academic nationalism and an even tighter research focus on Poland.⁹² Schwidetzky in 1935 called Poland Europe's anthropologically 'best researched country', with 'numerous older and newer' studies illuminating the Lwów School's highly detailed 1921–1923 nationwide survey of 'over 100,000' military recruits.⁹³

Interwar Polish anthropologists also shared German raciological belief in the ‘perceptible’ mentalities, abilities and backward or progressive features of races and correlated physical types with modern languages, ancient tribes, class hierarchies and archaeological cultures.⁹⁴ Left-wing Czekanowski students stalled only at the conclusion that races were of unequal value. Stanisław Klimek thus saw German theories distinguishing ‘backward or regressive’ from ‘advanced or progressive’ skeletal features as a scientific ‘advance’, but proposed the dubious caveat that all races combined progressive and regressive features, so none was superior or inferior.⁹⁵ His uncompromisingly anti-German Lwów School colleague Karol Stojanowski criticised German Nordacists for reaching premature scientific conclusions about this complex issue, but considered that denying the reality of race types was a ‘worse error’.⁹⁶

Cracow researchers contrasted their ‘objective’ ‘peaceful anthropology’ with the jingoist ‘one-sided and damaging’ Lwów School.⁹⁷ Czekanowski discounted almost any contributions to Poland’s Nordics by ‘German infiltrations’, which remained separate from ‘the native population’,⁹⁸ and placed Poles near the centre of his closed circle of White races.⁹⁹ He accompanied the Polish delegation pressing territorial claims at Versailles, maximised estimates of Polish Nordics, minimised German ones and gloated at the resulting consternation of Germany’s ‘primitive’ racist raciology.¹⁰⁰ German Nordacists emphatically rejected these ‘close’ links between Nordics and Slavs.¹⁰¹ Stojanowski, in the frontier city of Poznań, argued in a local newspaper that Germany’s 1918 defeat marked a decisive pivot in the millennial east-west racial-demographic ‘rhythm of Slavo-Germanic struggle for the continent’.¹⁰²

Polish race scientists were as obsessed as Germans with neo-romantic local authenticity and the eternal connection of peasant to land, justifying conservative values and territorial claims. Cracow adopted a local East-European national race. Nordacists, including the Lwów School, made Nordic Aryans into European natives.¹⁰³ Polish¹⁰⁴ and Russian¹⁰⁵ national biology used Finnish junior partners to emphasise ‘ancient’ local authenticity, proudly defying pejorative Western European depictions of Finns as primitive non-Aryans. Lwów preferred Kostrzewski’s hypernationalist account of Nordic Slavs originating in the Lusatian culture to unpatriotic Cracovian and German theories of non-Polish origin among the East-European race in Byelorussia’s impoverished Pripyet ‘mud’ and swamps.¹⁰⁶ Embracing static conservative Slav peasant stereotypes, Kostrzewski placed Poles in Poland ‘since the dawn of time’.¹⁰⁷

Kostrzewski cleverly exploited the fundamental incompatibility between German neo-romantic identity narratives of eternal peasants and colonising nobles, to portray ancient Germanic rule in Poland as a mere interlude of rootless Scandinavian (i.e. Non-German) transients.¹⁰⁸ He provocatively joked that if Germany could claim ‘every country’ where ‘Teutons once lived in passing’, Gypsies (whom *völkisch* Germans despised) should ‘annex all Europe’. Humble underling narratives chimed with traditional Slavic accounts of Teutons or steppe peoples (such as the Sarmatians) establishing the first Polish, East Slav, Croat and Bulgarian states. Centuries of Turkish or German rule meanwhile made established narratives of resistance and survival under occupation more appropriate than representations of Slav as natural conquerors.¹⁰⁹

However, Polish Nordicism faced the same contradictions in neo-romantic nationalism, as Germans did. Right-wing Lvovians like Bolesław Rosiński and, to an extent, Czekanowski, propounded an elitist Nordicism, like that of Günther in Germany, whose ‘fabulous intuition’ Czekanowski praised, adopting him as an ‘eminent’ classification ‘authority’.¹¹⁰ Elitism came easily to the 7 % of Poles who belonged to the *szlachty* (Poland’s gentry caste), including Talko, Rosiński, Czekanowski and many other Polish intellectuals.¹¹¹ Historians describe Czekanowski as ‘a scholar in the old, grandiose, professorial style, a sage’ and ‘enchanting’ company, ‘on drinking terms with a dozen European princes and dukes plus (the legend says) one crowned head’, regaling ‘listeners with spicy stories about swimming-pool parties in early-century Zürich’ and the ‘drinking bouts of Russian cavalry officers’.¹¹²

The anthroposociological and race psychology studies which thrived in interwar Poland and in the Lwów school, examining schoolchildren, students, soldiers and asylum inmates, were as Nordacist as in Germany.¹¹³ They found Nordics were the most competitive, logical and intelligent, exact critical thinkers and slow but good workers, whereas the moody, intellectually underdeveloped and aesthetically ‘handicapped’ Preslavic race, Lwów’s East-European variant, was near the bottom of the hierarchy, often beside the lively but careless Alpine.¹¹⁴ Even the Nordic-sceptic Stojanowski feared Russian Eurasianism might appeal to Poland’s numerous ‘Asiatic racial elements’.¹¹⁵ In 1933 (ironically), his Lwów colleague Stanisław Żejmo-Żejmis contrasted Europe’s developed, democratic Nordic and ‘Germanic’ core with its backward, autocratic ‘Slavo-Latin’ periphery.¹¹⁶ In Lwów race histories, enterprising, competitive, intelligent Nordic Slavs conquered or expelled inferior broadheads.¹¹⁷

Nordicists therefore strove to reconcile modern urban superiority with traditional rural values. Czekanowski and Rosiński accepted Ammon's finding that 'superior' Nordic Germans migrated to cities for social advancement and Rosiński noted that race mixing diluted Nordic purity there.¹¹⁸ He argued however that sensible Polish Nordicists preferred 'country life' and instead displaced less 'energetic', 'weaker' races from the countryside.¹¹⁹

Nationalist interwar Polish anthropologists were far from universally obsessed with racial typology however. Two internationally prominent schools specialised in the relatively unpoliticised field of soft tissue anthropology, focusing (along with several Cracow researchers) on issues like childhood growth rather than ethnic differentiation.¹²⁰ As in Latin countries, Catholicism weakened German-style bio-racism. Writing in a Catholic journal, Klimek stressed the unity of humanity, the priority of culture over race and the non-existence of pure race.¹²¹ Despite romantic and positivist anthropological traditions of a monoracial Poland, 1890s discoveries of longheaded northern Poles converted Polish anthropology quickly and enduringly to French models of slow, thorough prehistoric racial fusion. This recognised the full Polishness of whichever skull type was designated the (usually 'Finnish') aborigine.¹²² Lacking France's traditional narratives of multiple ethnic ancestors, Poles exploited historiographical narrations of medieval national unification through the transfer of Poland's capital from Gniezno in the north to Cracow in the south and then to Warsaw. This gave both Polish racial groups a noble pedigree as aristocratic Nordic state-founders or civilised southern broadheaded *szlachty*.¹²³ The multiethnic 'imperial' elements in Russian and Polish nationalism also powerfully inhibited purity narratives. By contrast, Russian and Ukrainian nationalist race classification in Ukraine, a region which Russians and Poles both aimed to incorporate, had an unusually monoracial accent.¹²⁴ Ukrainian nationalist ethnologists contrasted Slavo-Finnish Russians with pure Slav Ukrainians.

Race synthesis permitted parallel superiority narratives of conquering longheads and authentic peasant broadheads in Poland's harmonious social hierarchy. Czekanowski claimed the environmental adaptation of Poland's tremendously ancient East-European native ethnic 'base' provided the vitality to supply medieval Polish colonisation.¹²⁵ Polish classifiers repeatedly ascribed Poland's modern population explosion to this essential biodynamic vitality of broad-heads, which would swamp the more fragile Nordic Germans like the modern 'extinction of native

peoples who encounter higher civilisation'.¹²⁶ These narratives exploited Herder's prediction of Slavs thriving in an industrious, peaceful future and international Nordicist fears of swarthy proletarians overwhelming the aristocratic blond.¹²⁷

Czekanowski therefore pilloried German Nordicists' unscientific 'cult of racial purity' and distaste for brachycephals.¹²⁸ He happily used Poland's broad-headed minority to mop up undesirable racial features and strengthen territorial claims.¹²⁹ Czekanowski (who had a German mother and Russian wife) and Klimek believed racial and cultural mixture stimulated modern civilisation in Europe's vibrant core, which was gradually eroding isolated racially purer vestiges like Scandinavia and southern Italy.¹³⁰ Żejmo-Żejmis predicted that countries like Poland would inevitably progress socio-economically 'upwards' to the core.¹³¹ Weaker emphasis on purity helped Polish race classification, which included Jews as prominent as Hirszfeld, the founder of sero-anthropology, to avoid German raciology's systematic anti-Semitism.¹³² The Lwów student Salomon Czortkower was preparing to become anthropology professor at the University of Jerusalem, when the Nazis murdered him.¹³³ Jews were however generally studied as a particular group, whose distinguishing features sometimes confirmed popular stereotypes.¹³⁴

Differences between anthropology and archaeology, close partners in race classification, illustrate the complexities of nationalist contagion from German academia. First, the earlier *völkisch* take-over in German archaeology meant that Kostrzewski absorbed hyper-nationalism from Kossinna, his teacher, but Czekanowski from his German peers alone. Second, Germany exported archaeological extremism through adversarial engagement, in which both sides had the same methods, evidence and preoccupations. Kostrzewski adapted Kossinna's methods, but Czekanowski's far more unorthodox system hindered any engagement. Anthropologists were also perhaps less constrained to engage directly with the national enemy because their nationalist dispute, over ownership of the Nordic, was far less central to public and political nationalism than archaeological claims to national territory.

THE NORDICISATION OF POLISH ANTHROPOLOGY

Research in the 1850s–1860s in Austria-Hungary confirmed Retzius's 1840 conclusion that Slavs were brachycephalic.¹³⁵ Kopernicki in Poland and Anatoli Bogdanov in Russia offered an important confirmation, iden-

tifying ‘very pure’ dolichocephals in kurgan burials as Teutons, ‘entirely foreign’ to the modern ‘Slavic race’.¹³⁶ To clarify the shadowy succession from dolichocephalic aborigines to Slavs, they attributed dolichocephalic skeletons to Teutons and cremated remains found with them to their (presumably brachycephalic) Slavic wives.¹³⁷ The broad-headed Aryan Celto-Slavs from Central Asia, whom 1870s French anthropologists claimed had driven less civilised Nordic aborigines into maritime northern Europe, were widely recognised as the Slav race.¹³⁸ Despite continuing representations of brachycephalic inferiority, the internationally powerful French school of anthropology influenced most Slav scholars to accept that ancient Slavs, like modern Poles, were typically smaller, darker and broader headed than Germans.¹³⁹ Majer, Kopernicki, Russian colleagues and most Polish anthropologists until the 1910s were strong supporters of France’s European three-race scheme and Celto-Slav theories, making geopolitical common cause with France against Germany.¹⁴⁰

Polish race anthropology however gradually transformed Poles and Slavs from brachycephals into Nordic Slavs. Nordicism, and later the rising international influence of German raciology, increasingly challenged Celto-Slavism from the 1880s. Influenced by German, Czech and Russian colleagues, Talko and other turn-of-the-century Polish anthropologists updated Celto-Slavism by appropriating neo-romantic and Nordicist themes.¹⁴¹ They began moving towards theories that dolichocephalic Slavic Kurgan people had become brachycephalic in the Middle Ages. These theories revived international pre-Celto-Slav accounts of blond Nordic Aryan Slavs, based on classical accounts and closely linked to Teutons.¹⁴²

Majer and Kopernicki had explained away evidence that Galician Poles became less brachycephalic with distance from the Carpathians, but 1890s research increasingly revealed northern Poles as long-headed and even Nordic.¹⁴³ In 1886–1893 Nikolay Zograf identified both short, dark, broad-faced brachycephals and longer-headed, tall blonds in Russia’s historical heartland too.¹⁴⁴ As international anthropology abandoned assumptions that each ethnic people had a single race type, Poles began exploiting Polish type variety for complex race theorising.¹⁴⁵ They linked the tall broad-headed Dinaric type, which Nordicists admired, with *szlachty* and *Górale* (Carpathian highlanders) and helped transform the *Górale* from marginalised backward provincials to a romantic vestige of Polish linguistic, folkloric and racial heritage, preserved by mountain isolation.¹⁴⁶ Intensive ethnographic and anthropometric research convinced many that

this was the original pure Slavic race type or even that the Carpathians were the original Slav centre.¹⁴⁷

Nordics were by then commonly associated with ‘the Germanic racial soul’, impeding Polish Nordicism, but this made ‘so many’ modern and prehistoric Poles into long-headed ‘foreigners’, that the Celto-Slav theory was increasingly questioned.¹⁴⁸ Celto-Slavism turned German brachycephals into Slavs or even Sarmatians,¹⁴⁹ while long skulls from *Reihengräber* graves found in the 1870s in Silesia and other bitterly contested Polish-German borderlands, plus across northern Poland, were ascribed to Teutons,¹⁵⁰ giving them prior occupation. After initial challenges to Celto-Slavism from linguists, who linked Slavic much more closely to Germanic than Celtic languages, archaeologists severely jolted the theory in the 1870s by associating ancient Slavs with grave goods from eastern *Reihengräber* containing dolichocephalic skulls.¹⁵¹ Virchow therefore questioned Celto-Slavism in 1873. He suggested, apparently heedless of German nationalist narratives, that eastern *Reihengräber* dolichocephals were ‘original’ Slavs because the huge ancient dolichocephalic territory was too big to be ‘denationalised’.¹⁵²

As Slavs and Teutons began claiming the same Nordic ancestors, artefacts displaced skulls as the principal ethnic identifier.¹⁵³ The Danish archaeologist Sophus Müller correlated ancient and modern Slav geography with the distribution of eastern *Reihengräber* containing jewelry pieces called *Hackenringe* (hooked rings), found with unburnt female

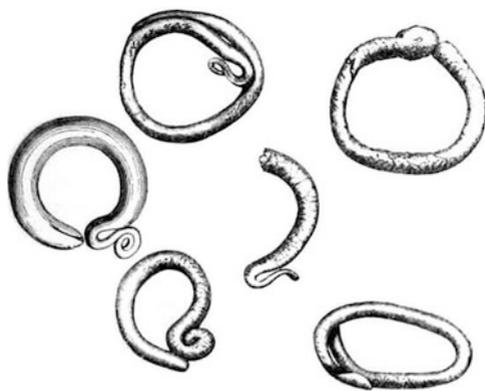


Fig. 6.1 Temple or hooked rings (*Hackenringe/Schläfenringe*) (Buschan 1890: 18).

skeletons and Arab coin pieces that dated the graves to the early Middle Ages ‘when only Slavs inhabited’ Poland (see Fig. 6.1).¹⁵⁴ Virchow’s 1870s research reinforced this evidence by linking early medieval Slavs with ‘*Burgwall*’-type pottery from Polish-German-Czech frontier regions and stilt dwellings (*Pfahlbauten*) distributed from the Elbe to Latvia.¹⁵⁵ Polish and German scholars widely identified *Hackenringe* with Slavs, which may have shaken even Kopernicki’s Celto-Slav convictions, though he and some Germans instead ascribed eastern *Reihengräber* to Slavicised Germans.¹⁵⁶

From studying modern Lithuanian and Latvian dolichocephals, Virchow argued in 1876 that long-headed ancient ‘Slavo-Lettish peoples’ spread west across the Oder, and that broader-headed Slavs were therefore no longer racially pure.¹⁵⁷ His German schoolchild survey probably encouraged Virchow to seek similar racial diversity in other nations and pushed anthropology towards accepting blond Slavs.¹⁵⁸ His colleague Kollmann believed the grey eyes of Slavic Sorbs in Saxony were specifically Slavic and attributed much of the greater blondness ‘in the north’ to Slavs.¹⁵⁹

Nationalism may have been a secondary motive in this debate. Kopernicki probably hesitated to abandon Poland’s brachycephalic Celto-Slav connection with the French.¹⁶⁰ By abandoning the *Burgwall* meanwhile, Virchow could claim for Teutons what became another nationally contested archaeological asset, the Lusatian urnfields. However the contemporary opposition to both their positions by nationalistic compatriots makes their dispute appear a largely apolitical one between liberal positivists. Ancient Slavic dolichocephaly created a severe headache for German Nordacists.¹⁶¹

This geographical and chronological extension of dolichocephals among modern Slavs and into earlier prehistory convinced leading Russian and Czech anthropologists that Slavs, Teutons and Gauls formed a single blond dolichocephalic race.¹⁶² In the 1890s, the Czech scholar Niederle backed *Hackenringe* evidence with historical and ethnographic data to argue very controversially, but influentially, that originally dolichocephalic Slavs became brachycephalic through environmental adaptation and race mixing.¹⁶³ At the same time in Russia, Zograf also inverted Kopernicki’s Celto-Slavism, contrasting brachycephalic Finns with the tall, long-headed blond ‘primitive Slavo-Lithuanian type’ of the kurgans, which was now quite racially mixed, but ‘best preserved’ in Russia’s original core Slavic areas.¹⁶⁴ This theory took firm root in Russia.¹⁶⁵

Kopernicki's 'great... authority' delayed Polish rejection of Celto-Slavism, but in 1898–1906, research by Polish zoologists, historians and anthropologists drew on Niederle to identify Nordics buried with *Hackenringe* and medieval coins in Mazovia (around Warsaw) as the original Slavs.¹⁶⁶ Researchers believed their exclusive and extreme long-headedness suggested that they had not learned Slavic from brachycephalic teachers.¹⁶⁷ They were therefore presented as 'direct ancestors' of the long-established, dolichocephalic modern Mazovians, who had founded the Polish state and 'nationality [*narodowość*]'.¹⁶⁸

Though Stojanowski says this research 'liquidated... the Slavicised Germans from our prehistory', this was a transitional phase, making Poles a mixture.¹⁶⁹ The interwar Lwów School's blond Slav theory became just as exclusive as Celto-Slavism, condemning half the Polish population, though the other half, to the inferior non-Aryan race.¹⁷⁰ Precursors to this Nordicism already appeared in 1897 however, when the sociologist Ludwik Krzywicki proposed that Nordic Slavs enslaved the immigrant brachycephals, like Arab slavers preying on African villages.¹⁷¹ Zograf meanwhile identified 'Mongoloid' features among Russia's brachycephals.

Lwów Nordicism

Schwidetzky in Germany attacked the Lwów School's Nordicist nationalism.¹⁷² Though Czekanowski, Klimek and the ardently nationalistic Stojanowski, whose work concentrated on the German borderlands, all harshly condemned German Nordicism, their Nordic was 'in first place' in Poland, making Poles and ancient Slavs as, or more, Nordic than Germans and ancient Teutons¹⁷³ (see Fig. 6.2). They found a Nordic 'absolute majority' in northern Poland and some more southerly enclaves, plus a relative majority in the south.¹⁷⁴ Czekanowski's Nordics, like those of the Germans, were natives, 'very probably' emerging in Germany and Poland.¹⁷⁵ In Lwów School race history, they were stereotypical enterprising conquerors, using their 'superiority' to forcibly expel 'Asiatic' brachycephals and establish the conquering Polish state.¹⁷⁶ Żejmo-Żejmis said Nordics predominated 'absolutely or relatively' in Europe's economically dynamic core, which was largely 'composed of ethnically Germanic states'.¹⁷⁷ Lwów even made the famously broadheaded *szlachty* into longheads.¹⁷⁸

The very nationalist Lwów School had an increasingly ambiguous relationship with the Nordic however, especially after Hitler's rise to

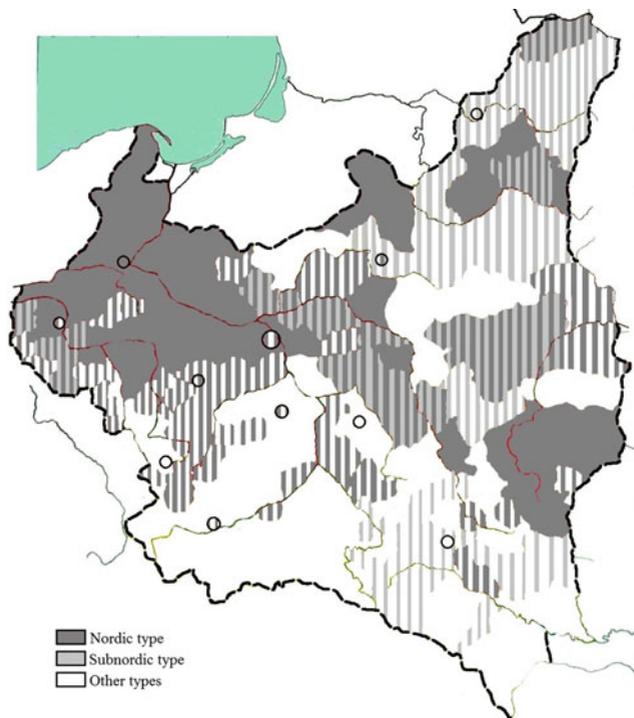


Fig. 6.2 Czekanowski's race map, maximising the territory of 'superior' Nordics (darkest hue) and Subnordics (Czekanowski 1930).

power. Stojanowski and Klimek portrayed Nordicism as a dangerous tool of German ultra-nationalism and Prussian expansionism, tying Nordics uniquely to a 'Germanic race', which would always profit most from it.¹⁷⁹ They warned that as direct neighbours, Poles had a 'special responsibility of vigilance' and should interpret German ideologies in terms of 'our cultural tradition', or risk wider national 'dependence'.¹⁸⁰ Criticising his Nordicist colleague Rosiński, Stojanowski called Nordicism an elitist 'religio-political system', driven by 'irrational faith' and German national trauma, which like communism and fascism, aimed to create a 'zoological' or 'sociological' 'social elite'.¹⁸¹

Attacking Rosiński's argument that there were more men among Polish rural Nordics because they liked country living, Stojanowski said that pretty but feeble Nordesses might instead have migrated to cities because

Polish peasants, even if Nordic, rated brawny, 'hardworking' Subnordic or Lapponoid wives over 'beautiful eyes', and even chose women of 'the ugliest' but 'physically powerful' Preslavic type, 'despite their mean form'.¹⁸² Klimek strongly criticised racial hierarchy in a 1939 Catholic pamphlet.¹⁸³ However in 1932 he had been far less reserved towards Nordicism, calling Nordics the characteristic race of Europe, especially in 'upper social classes', and 'the White races'.¹⁸⁴ Nordics explained White 'dominance' and 'very great' difference with Asia. Even these most Nordic-sceptic Lvovians devoted disproportionate space to the Nordic, literally the alpha (α) type of Czekanowski's taxonomy, and accepted most Nordicist precepts.¹⁸⁵

Lwów School cosmopolitanism saved it from being a mere carbon copy of Günther's *Rassenkunde* however. Aside from the reservations about Nordicism and greater tolerance of Jews and brachycephals, Rosiński's pessimistic, anti-modern purity fetish appeared quite isolated.¹⁸⁶ Liberal optimism pervades Żejmo-Żejmis's Lwów School statistical analysis of European 'civilisational' development.¹⁸⁷ His highly developed 'Capitalist-parliamentarian' Western European 'core', 'represents Europeanism' globally, 'especially [in] the coloured' world, while the core's 'exterior zone', including the Soviet Union, Balkans and Portugal, was the Europe of the dray horse rather than the iron horse.¹⁸⁸ Poland's statistically greater 'development of civilisation' made it only semi-peripheral however, and with hard work, it was guaranteed to progress.¹⁸⁹

Czekanowski distinguished his own scientific approach from romantic Nordicism, dismissing the German 'cult of racial purity' and remarking sarcastically that 'adepts of Gobineau will without doubt' exploit his acceptance that Nordics founded the Polish state.¹⁹⁰ Rejecting Nordicist distaste for brachycephals, he saw Poles and Slavs as a synthesis of Nordics with a smaller contingent of Lapponoids,¹⁹¹ whom he 'roughly' identified with Alpines.¹⁹² He described the racially purest parts of Europe, like Scandinavia, southern Italy, the western Balkans and Kola Peninsula as 'geographically isolated' relics, eroded by a 'constantly expanding', racially-mixed 'central zone'.¹⁹³ Czekanowski and Klimek presented this zone as the vibrant expanding core of modern civilisation, where 'precisely' the interaction of complimentary race mentalities produced 'the highest cultural activity'.¹⁹⁴

The EastEuropean

The blond EastEuropean eastern component of the brachycephalic Celto-Slav race, widely seen internationally as archetypically Slavic, was central to the Lwów and Cracow revolutions against orthodox classification canons.¹⁹⁵ They were denigrated by German Nordacists as evolutionarily ‘less progressive’, having ‘Mongolian roots’, found in ‘lower social groups’ or ‘heavily taxed with criminality’.¹⁹⁶ Serology also gave Slavs a ‘strongly Asiaticised’ blood group.¹⁹⁷

Following the Finnish example, Stołyhwo’s Cracow School rehabilitated EastEuropeans as Poland’s ‘basic anthropological type’, ‘best preserved’ among the romantic *Górale* Carpathian highlanders, but with broad distribution in Europe.¹⁹⁸ Despite his innovative typological system, his race scheme merely adjusted Celto-Slav orthodoxy in a neo-romantic localist direction. Consensus on defining EastEuropeans was weaker than for most races, but by listing one another’s races as equivalents, Stołyhwo and most foreign theorists, including in Germany, accepted that they were all referring to the same blond brachycephals.¹⁹⁹ Czekanowski agreed the EastEuropean was the most common type in Poland and also common in Germany, but by rewriting basic taxonomic rules, he made it a mixture, established Poland’s main types as the Nordic and Lapponoid, and made Nordics the Polish national race.²⁰⁰ This daring reformulation was the key Lwów offence against established typology and chief bone of contention with Cracow.²⁰¹

Stołyhwo claimed EastEuropeans played a perhaps ‘decisive role’ in the development of the Polish population and were very ‘characteristic’ for its ‘principal evolutionary direction’.²⁰² He hinted that *fanobrachycephalus*, his EastEuropean, was the original Slav, ‘probably’ expanding from the ancient Slav ‘homelands’.²⁰³ Stołyhwo even created a Polish-centred version of the three-race European scheme, replacing Alpines with EastEuropeans as one of the three fundamental native European types.²⁰⁴ An ethnologist ally of the Cracow School meanwhile proposed EastEuropeans and Alpines as related branchings of the original (Celto-Slav) Aryan race, whereas Teutons were just Aryanised European aborigines.²⁰⁵

Lwów was clearly ambivalent about its EastEuropean variant, the Preslavic. Czekanowski linked them to Finns as the tremendously ancient native ‘base’ of the Polish people.²⁰⁶ His Nordacist student Rosiński however implied Polish Preslavics were racially decrepit, their territory settled

by later conquerors, adding, with some backing from Czekanowski, that residual traces showed they once occupied much of modern Polish territory.²⁰⁷ Rosiński said other types rarely married Preslavics, who had the mentality of Günther's inferior Slavic peasant and were aesthetically 'the most handicapped'.²⁰⁸

Lwów School members and outsiders agreed that Lwów's Preslavic and Subnordic, both resembling East Europeans, represented the School's greatest departure from consensus international race definitions.²⁰⁹ Schwidetzky considered the Subnordic another Lwów School nationalist ploy.²¹⁰ While the anti-Nordicist Stojanowski proposed this 'second light-coloured race' to minimise numbers of Slav Nordics, the Nordicist Czekanowski used it in taxonomic sleight of hand to reclassify many tall, blond, brachycephalic East Europeans, who occupied broad swathes of eastern Poland, as Nordics.²¹¹ Schwidetzky said Czekanowski first classified most Polish East Europeans, plus some Nordics and hybrids, as Subnordics, and then reallocated most Subnordics to the Nordics when they simplified the Polish population back into four primary races.²¹²

Subnordics also resolved a tricky race psychology contradiction in Nordicism. Reckless Teutonic adventurers accounted for the spread of Nordic blood through the world's aristocracies, but Günther and Eickstedt wanted the Nordic to reflect the cold, scientific, 'adult' rationality of Germany's professional scientists, imperial administrators and soldiers.²¹³ Lwów distributed Nordic psychological characteristics between a Nordic rationalist and a Subnordic adventurer, 'almost always' presented as temperamentally 'opposite in every feature'.²¹⁴ Lvovian race psychology studies represented Subnordics as impulsive, optimistic, emotional, imaginative, friendly, 'inconsistent', insubordinate and talented, especially in human sciences, while Nordics were conservative, 'deep', serious, 'controlled, closed,' depressive, rational, unimaginative, 'cool and steady'.²¹⁵

Lwów may ultimately have been grooming a Subnordic national race, whose 'less efficient but nicer' image recalled Irish and Scottish Celtic attempts to compensate for material inferiority to the English. The Subnordic character resembled romantic Slav stereotypes, and one Lwów School professor gave Poles typically Subnordic features, lazier but more adventurous than the cold calculating Nordic Germans.²¹⁶ Lwów School race psychology studies very often placed Subnordics just behind Nordics in value, equally ambitious and competitive but quicker working, though lacking the 'systematic and exact' Nordic care and endurance.²¹⁷ Lwów

anthroposociology made Subnordics a new intellectual elite, including the younger generation of Polish anthropologists.²¹⁸ Schwidetzky also claimed a scam to pass the *szlachty* off as proper Nordic European aristocrats. Czekanowski and his students made the Subnordic the main *szlachty* race, while their alternative name for the race, ‘Sarmatian’, referenced the traditional *szlachty* origin myth.²¹⁹ Rosiński believed the *szlachty* were likely to remain Subnordic because they and Nordics insisted most exclusively on racially similar spouses, due to aesthetic queasiness about physical contrasts or inhibitions about social mixing with Preslavic peasants.²²⁰

CONCLUSION

From the 1870s to independence, Poland’s handful of well-respected but institutionally insecure researchers worked on the periphery of positivist anthropology, generally supporting the international Paris-centred consensus. Thriving institutions and multiple competing schools then gave interwar Polish raciology the autonomy to create innovative narratives (which also helped to fragment the international discipline) and the stature to be taken seriously in international debate. However, neo-romantic nationalist narratives of ancient, local, peasant and Nordic origin in interwar Polish anthropology and archaeology, though they geopolitically confronted Germany, recalled *völkisch* German science. Poles even approvingly cited Günther, whose raciology insulted Slavs. Czekanowski strategy of always being more nationalist than Cracow, including by competing with Germany for the Nordic, helped to successfully mobilise public support. However, Nordic Slavs clearly created ‘a closer anthropological relationship with Teutons’.²²¹ Ironically therefore, nationalistic anthropology drew closer to the German national enemy. If leading interwar Polish scientists adopted the raciology and anthroposociological elitism of the new German leaders of international race anthropology, and even opponents of Nordicism accepted its underlying raciological assumptions, were they really independent? Did they just passively follow the scientific centre of gravity from the French national ally to the mortal German foe? Were they constrained by the continuing influence of former German rulers, through training, institutional organisation and reading habits?

Interwar Polish raciology differed in important ways from the German discipline. It disputed Nordicism and elitism intensely and had robust faith in modernity and far less systematic rightism and anti-Semitism. Polish anthropology cleverly selected and adapted from different international

sources. Cracow maintained strong links with Poland's French allies, creating a Celto-Slavist raciology, but even Lwów accepted Western values of positivist cosmopolitan modernism, the idea of Poland as a racial synthesis and the need to rescue the inferior brachycephalic component. Lwów therefore largely rejected German raciology's conservatism, anti-Semitism and purity obsession. The school was also ambivalent about German neo-romantic ideals of orderly rural hierarchy and even sporadically questioned Nordicism. In methodology and obsession with tallness, foreign anthroposociology clearly influenced the continuous Polish interest in class-race, but anthropometric results and the native *szlachty* tradition forced significant divergence from foreign norms. Both the archaeologist Kostrzewski and the Lwów School exploited contradictions within German Germanicism and Nordicism. Accepting the 'facts' of the hegemonic narrative, but disputing their interpretation, Poles devised hyper-authentic, peaceful, industrious and demographically potent peasants as a counter-narrative to Western and Germanic supremacy.

Complex interactions shaped the relationships among German and Polish anthropology and archaeology. Lwów's ambitious interdisciplinary alliance differed radically from its German equivalent in having a statistical method rather than a political programme at its heart. This produced a deliberate, profound and highly controversial reformulation of raciology, which hindered adversarial engagement with Germany.²²² Lwów's nationalist adoption of Nordic Slavs may ultimately have reinforced this methodological innovation and independence from foreign models. By making ancient Slav and Teutonic skulls indistinguishable, it transferred leadership in the nationalist battle for prehistoric territory to Kostrzewski's artefact archaeology, which therefore became locked into much closer combat with Germany. Lwów's less politically salient Nordic dispute left it freer to innovate.

The details of Germany's interdisciplinary ideological battles also shaped Polish race science. Poznań's jingoist neo-romanticism owed something to the early *völkisch* capture of German archaeology. While the liberal Martin taught the leaders of interwar Polish anthropology, Kossinna taught Kostrzewski.

German-Polish parallels may derive from the common ethno-nationalism of a shared, wider central and eastern European culture rather than direct influence within anthropology. Raciology emerged internationally in precisely the same regions as ethno-nationalism. Extreme right-wing Germans had a leading but not hegemonic role within it. Locally-influential raciolo-

gists like Ivanovsky and Bunak in Moscow, for example, appear to have been as independent-minded and innovative as Polish colleagues.²²³ Nor was neo-romantic nationalism simply a German export. Far from learning his nationalism from Kossinna, Kostrzewski grew up in a hyper-nationalist Polish family.²²⁴ Bibliographical referencing indicates close Polish links with Germany, but Slavic studies and the powerful bond of anti-German pan-Slavism also gave Poles a special relationship with Russian and, especially, Czech scholars.

Even in archaeology, despite very prominent German and Scandinavian influences and the advantage which ‘power politics’ gave Prussian scholars in distinguishing Slav and Teutonic finds, central and eastern Europe may have been a common zone of exchange rather than a Germanic centre and Slavic periphery.²²⁵ Kostrzewski significantly adapted Kossinna’s method, which in any case drew heavily on Swedish and Czech predecessors.²²⁶ Kossinna’s settlement archaeology is sometimes scapegoated as a hyper-nationalist German aberration, but the historian Jacek Lech locates it within a wider common ‘trend’ in Germanic and Slavic interwar archaeology, based on common assumptions about archaeological culture and anthropogeography.²²⁷

German influence in raciology also seems to have been as much a historical legacy as a continuous force. There are parallels with national ideology. The populist Catholic ethno-nationalism of politicians like Roman Dmowski, which emerged by the end of the nineteenth century and ultimately replaced Poland’s older civic definitions of nation, insisted on Poland’s prerogatives, but within a neo-romantic context which Germans had originally taken a lead in developing.²²⁸ Earlier in the nineteenth century, Slav ethno-nationalism also built on the intensely romantic ‘intellectual and artistic culture’ of Slavic scholars, who sought their folk soul among isolated peasants and ancient sagas.²²⁹ However this mission was itself inspired by Herder and the other German romantic professors who had taught these scholars.

The Polish case suggests that central and eastern Europe, perhaps including Russia and Scandinavia, formed a zone of enhanced cultural communication and commonality, in which Germany was most influential but perhaps not culturally hegemonic. Interwar Polish raciology was, like nineteenth-century Britain, an autonomous lesser pole within the wider European anthropological community. It contributed to the fragmentation of interwar anthropology, but this fragmentation circumscribed the range of Poland’s impact. It competed for influence within Poland and

elsewhere in the east, but lacked the German and French ability to set international agendas or even to significantly influence German anthropology.

NOTES

1. Jasicki (1957: 18–19), Czekanowski (1948b: 17, 21 & 25), and Krzywicki (1969: 376).
2. Czekanowski (1948b: 19–20) and Stołyhwo (1957: 5–6).
3. Czekanowski (1920: 48–49), Schwidetzky (1935b: 80), and Skjerl (1936: 306).
4. Stołyhwo (1926b), Czekanowski (1920: 48–49), and Pogliano (2005: 32 & 45).
5. Czekanowski (1948a: 22).
6. Stojanowski (1930), Rosiński (1929: 273), and Pogliano (2005: 492).
7. Schwidetzky (1935b: 160–62); see Chapter 3.
8. Stołyhwo (1957: 10–11), Jasicki (1957: 18–19), and Godycki (1956: 17).
9. Făcăoaru (1938a: 208), Skjerl (1936: 285 & 299), and Stojanowski (1935: 34).
10. Skjerl (1936: 285 & 299) and Botez (1938: 9).
11. Stojanowski (1935: 34) and Lech (1997/1998: 49).
12. Schwidetzky (1935b: 80 & 83).
13. Jasicki (1957: 32–33).
14. Czekanowski (1956a: 9–12 & 20–27), Schwidetzky (1935b: 80–83), and Jasicki (1957: 33–37).
15. Pogliano (2005: 32) and Niederle (1926: 241).
16. Godycki (1956: 13 & 30) and Jasicki (1957: 18–19 & 35).
17. Matiegka (1924: 7–8).
18. Czekanowski (1956b: 6, 12–14, 19 & 23), Jasicki (1957: 34–35), and Malinowski and Wolański (1985: 39).
19. Mogilner (2013: 203).
20. Czekanowski (1948b: 32–33).
21. Tildesley (1928: 353–58).
22. Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 127–30), Talko-Hryncewicz (1916: 411 & 419), and Stojanowski (1924: 664).
23. Czekanowski (1948a).
24. Jasicki (1957: 18–19), Godycki (1956: 32), and Matiegka (1924: 8).
25. Godycki (1956: 32).
26. Wrzosek (1959).
27. Lech (1997/1998: 41 & 46–47), Czekanowski (1948a: 124–174), and Ćwirko-Godycki (1935: 12–13).
28. Czekanowski (1956a: 21–22).

29. Wrzosek (1959).
30. Krzywicki (1969: 376 & 384), Reicher and Sylwanowicz (1956: 9), and Czekanowski (1956a: 23–25).
31. Lech (1997/1998: 41 & 46–47).
32. Bielicki et al. (1985: 21).
33. 1935b: 33.
34. Schwidetzky (1935b: 83) and Lech (1997/1998: 48–49).
35. Fee (1979: 429–31).
36. Bielicki et al. (1985: 21).
37. Stojanowski (1924: 663), Mydlarski (1926: 188), and Czekanowski (1928b: 336).
38. Czekanowski (1928b: 341–42 & 345) and Malinowski and Wolański (1985: 50).
39. Coon (1939: 289). Sergi similarly celebrated Italy's 'arrival' in the core by declaring independence from current norms (see Chapter 4).
40. Schwidetzky (1935b: 149–52 & 162–63 & 195–96), Mydlarski (1928b: 224), and Hildén (1928: 221).
41. Stołyhwo (1926b: 146) and Mydlarski (1928b: 224).
42. Czekanowski (1928b: 336–37, 343 & 356–57) and Stojanowski (1930: 4). East European is one of several competing contemporary terms for this type.
43. Czekanowski (1948a: 17, 1956a: 42).
44. Schwidetzky (1935b: 80), Skjerl (1936: 285, 299 & 306).
45. Rosiński (1928b: 224) and Mydlarski (1928b: 224).
46. Czekanowski (1948a: 31–34).
47. Schwidetzky (1935b: 162–63) and Stołyhwowa (1937: 45).
48. Rączkowski (1996: 197).
49. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 221), Sklenář (1983: 94), and Rączkowski (1996: 192–93).
50. Cuisenier (1999: 31–32) and Barford (2001: 273).
51. Czekanowski (1956a: 42), Rączkowski (1996: 190–97), and Sklenář (1983: 94).
52. Rączkowski (1996: 198).
53. Lech (1997/1998: 37).
54. Stojanowski (1935: 34).
55. Matiegka (1924: 7), Jasicki (1957: 35), and Wrzosek (1959).
56. Jasicki (1957: 35) and Wrzosek (1959).
57. Manouelian (2000: 392).
58. Czekanowski (1920: 59–62) and Rączkowski (1996: 197).
59. Stojanowski (1935: 34).
60. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 222–23) and Rączkowski (1996: 201).
61. Barford (2001: 272) and Cuisenier (1999: 32).

62. Barford (2001: 273) and Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 223).
63. Godycki (1956: 12–13 & 28) and Stołyhwo (1957: 6–7, 12 & 16).
64. Matiegka (1924: 6–8) and Stocky (1924: 55).
65. Bielicki et al. (1985: 3).
66. Matiegka (1924: 11) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 77).
67. Rączkowski (1996: 190–94), Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 225–28), and Lech (1997/1998: 29).
68. Rączkowski (1996: 195).
69. Kopernicki (1883: 34).
70. Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 10–20 & 49).
71. Virchow (1873: 196) and Kopernicki (1883: 40).
72. Sklenář (1983: 149).
73. Bielicki et al. (1985: 4).
74. Czekanowski (1948b: 29, 1956b: 13–17), Krzywicki (1969: 393), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 78).
75. Kostrzewski (1927: 1–2), Barford (2001: 278), and Rączkowski (1996: 204).
76. Bielicki et al. (1985: 4).
77. Buschan (1890: 31) and Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 188–89).
78. Barford (2001: 274), Rączkowski (1996: 200), and Lech (1997/1998: 35 & 52–54).
79. Rączkowski (1996: 194) and Lech (1997/1998: 43).
80. Kostrzewski (1926: 8), Rączkowski (1996: 200), and Buschan (1890: 1–2).
81. Sklenář (1983: 161) and Rączkowski (1996: 203–6). Sources disagree whether this helped ‘lower the temperature’ (Rączkowski 1996: 203–6) or was a plot to silence the Poles, which backfired by inspiring Czech solidarity (Sklenář 1983: 161).
82. Rączkowski (1996: 198 & 203–5), Barford (2001: 278), and Lech (1997/1998: 34). To justify annexing German territories in 1945, the Communist regime continued supporting him (Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski 2002: 99).
83. Sklenář (1983: 149) and Wijworra (1996: 175).
84. 1926: 6–7.
85. Sklenář (1983: 161) and Barford (2001: 275–76).
86. Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski (2002: 99), Jasicki (1957: 39–40), and Kostrzewski (1926: 7, 1927: 2 & 8).
87. Kostrzewski (1927: 2–9).
88. 1937: 227–28, 1948a: 16.
89. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 221–23).
90. Rączkowski (1996: 202–3), Czekanowski (1948b: 29), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 78).

91. Sklenář (1983: 155–56), Proctor (1988: 48), and Kühnl (1997: 23 & 66–68).
92. Rączkowski (1996: 202–3).
93. Mydlarski (1928a: 195), Schwidetzky (1935b: 85, 165–66 & 199), Bielicki et al. (1985: 10–11); Responding to a War Ministry decision to examine 1 % of the male population, which partly aimed to design equipment more efficiently, this organised anthropometric and sero-anthropological measurement squads, mostly of medical students, and then mapped their results (Mydlarski 1926: 186–89).
94. Czekanowski (1920: 52 & 67), Lech (1997/1998: 48–49), and Klimek (1939: 24 & 29–34).
95. 1939: 29–34.
96. 1930: 3 & 11.
97. Jasicki 1957: 32–37.
98. He was however curiously open to the idea that the ancient Poles had absorbed and been racially influenced by proto-historic Germanic Goths (Godycki 1956: 28; Schwidetzky 1935b: 298–99; Czekanowski 1920: 53, 1928b: 355).
99. 1920: 53, 1937: 227.
100. Czekanowski (1948a: 17) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 199).
101. Fischer (1936: 284).
102. 1937: 3.
103. Czekanowski (1920: 52).
104. Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 193), Kostrzewski (1939: 218–19), and Klimek (1932: 24).
105. Zograf (1893: 7 & 11) and Mogilner (2013: 124–25 & 176).
106. Czekanowski (1948a: 31–34) and Stojanowski (1924: 712, 732 & 763).
107. Or *Z Otchłanu Wieków*—the title of a leading Polish archaeological journal.
108. 1937: 4–5 & 8.
109. Broc (1836: 33).
110. Czekanowski (1928b: 355 & 358, 1937: 228).
111. Stojanowski (1930: 9), Czekanowski (1948b: 22, 1956b: 6 & 23), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 299).
112. Bielicki et al. (1985: 21).
113. Rosiński (1929: 273), Schwidetzky (1935b: 293–95), and Stojanowski (1930: 8).
114. Rosiński (1929: 270 & 274) and Pogliano (2005: 50).
115. 1930: 12.
116. 1933:60–64.
117. Klimek (1932: 30), Czekanowski (1920: 52–53 & 62), Rosiński (1929: 266–67 & 273), and Stojanowski (1930: 8).

118. Czekanowski (1928b: 355) and Rosiński (1929: 273–75).
119. Rosiński (1929: 273–75) and Stojanowski (1930: 9).
120. Wrzosek (1959: 116–17), Czekanowski (1948a: 15 & 19), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 83).
121. 1939: 26–27, 31–35 & 40.
122. Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 192), Jasicki (1957: 28), and Potkański (1902: 248).
123. Czekanowski (1956b: 25), Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 193–94 & 356), and Rutkowski (1906: 63–67).
124. Mogilner (2013: 74–75, 177 & 215).
125. Czekanowski (1920: 52–67).
126. Talko-Hryniewicz (1902: 761, 1914: 189–191), Potkański (1902: 261), Czekanowski (1948b: 26), and Rutkowski (1906: 63 & 66).
127. Cuisenier (1999: 31); see Chapter 4.
128. 1920: 63, 1937: 227.
129. Czekanowski (1937: 227–32) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 149–51 & 163–64).
130. Klimek (1939: 35–37), Czekanowski (1937: 227), and Bielawski (2000: 1).
131. Żejmo-Żejmis (1933: 58–66).
132. Malinowski and Wolański (1985: 43), Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 127), and Krzywicki (1969: 378–79).
133. Czekanowski (1948a: 9 & 12).
134. Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 126), Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 362), and Czekanowski (1948a: 9 & 12).
135. Retzius (1864a: 8), Matiegka (1924: 5), and Weisbach (1874: 306–7 & 315).
136. Jasicki (1957: 18–19), Godycki (1956: 26), and Kopernicki (1877: 612–20).
137. Kopernicki (1877: 619), Krzywicki (1969: 419–20 & 423), and Godycki (1956: 27).
138. Retzius (1864b: 8), Matiegka (1924: 5), and Czekanowski (1937: 231).
139. Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 188).
140. Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 126), Olechnowicz (1902b: 295), and Malinowski and Wolański (1985: 38).
141. Olechnowicz (1902a: 41), Czekanowski (1948b: 21), and Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 192).
142. Quatrefages (1871: 19–22), Knox (1850: 364–65), and Retzius (1864a: 11). The French ethnologist P.P. Broc's tall, blond, brave Slavo-Teutons tended to fat, bad teeth, hard liquor and great stamina (1836: 23 & 31–32). The women had 'remarkably ample forms;... a particular odour', late puberty, 'very large external genital parts' and gave birth easily.

143. Olechnowicz (1902a: 39), Potkański (1902: 248), and Rutkowski (1906: 61 & 66).
144. 1893: 1–3 & 7.
145. Olechnowicz (1902b: 295).
146. Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 194 & 357), Quatrefages (1871: 20–21). A fashionable tuberculosis sanatorium in the Carpathian town of Zakopane played an important part in this (Manouelian 2000: 391–94).
147. Manouelian (2000: 393–94), Niederle (1916: 86–87), and Majer and Kopernicki (1877: 4).
148. Majewski (1905: 162) and Czekanowski (1948b: 25).
149. Hölder (1876: 8), Virchow (1950: 189), and Potkański (1902: 245–6).
150. Lissauer (1872: 123).
151. Czekanowski (1937: 232) and Müller (1879: 87–88).
152. Stojanowski (1948: 1) and Virchow (1873: 196).
153. Sklenář (1983: 95 & 125).
154. Buschan (1890: 17–18), Talko-Hryniewicz (1914: 188–89), and Müller (1877: 191–95).
155. Sklenář (1983: 110–14 & 125–26), Collis (2003: 85), and Müller (1877: 191–92 & 195).
156. Kopernicki (1883: 3 & 40), Virchow (1896: 24), and Potkański (1902: 245–6).
157. Buschan (1890: 37).
158. Mogilner (2013: 139).
159. 1880: 108 & 110.
160. Buschan (1890: 37).
161. Mazumdar (1990: 197).
162. Buschan (1890: 36–37), Krzywicki (1969: 423), and Stojanowski (1924: 713).
163. Matiegka (1924: 10), Potkański (1902: 244–47), and Krzywicki (1969: 423).
164. 1893: 7–11.
165. Bunak (1932: 494–95).
166. Czekanowski (1937: 232, 1967: 44), Potkański (1902: 244–56), and Rutkowski (1906: 63–67).
167. Potkański (1902: 253–54).
168. Potkański (1902: 253) and Rutkowski (1906: 65–66).
169. 1948b: 2.
170. Czekanowski (1948b: 22, 1956b: 6 & 23).
171. Krzywicki (1969: 422–23) and Zograf (1893: 7 & 11).
172. 1935b: 194–98.
173. Stojanowski (1930: 12), Klimek (1932: 18 & 30), and Czekanowski (1928b: 355).

174. Klimek (1932: 18 & 30) and Czekanowski (1937: 227).
175. 1928b: 355.
176. Czekanowski (1928b: 355 & 358), Rosiński (1929: 266), and Klimek (1932: 30).
177. 1933: 60–61.
178. Schwidetzky (1935b: 297).
179. Stojanowski (1930: 2, 6–9 & 12) and Klimek (1939: 28).
180. Stojanowski (1930: 6–7) and Klimek (1939: 21).
181. 1930: 5 & 11.
182. 1930: 10–11.
183. 1939: 34–38.
184. 1932: 18, 24 & 30.
185. Klimek (1939: 29–34).
186. 1929: 274.
187. 1933: 58 & 65–66.
188. 1933: 60–61 & 64–66.
189. 1933: 63–66.
190. 1920: 63; 1937: 227.
191. French anthropologists coined this term in the 1870s for palaeolithic European aboriginal ancestors of Lapps and Finns, who were since largely ‘expelled or absorbed’ (Quatrefages 1889: 313 & 447–51). Schwidetzky said Czekanowski used them to mop up ‘occasionally Mongoloid features’ in Poland, by including both ‘individuals with true Mongolisms’ and ‘crudely manifested Alpine’ features (1935b: 149 & 163–64). True to form, he also exploited a ‘very ancient’ ‘Laponoid zone’ to support Poland’s national claim to Silesia (1937: 228–30).
192. Czekanowski (1937: 227 & 232) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 149 & 151).
193. 1937: 227.
194. Klimek (1939: 35–36).
195. Haddon (1924: 27).
196. Günther (1933: 66–68 & 111), Eickstedt (1934: 369–70), Kemilainen (1994: 403–4), Skjerl (1936: 290), and Schwidetzky (1935a: 93).
197. Montandon (1933: 242) and Mazumdar (1990: 200).
198. Czekanowski (1948a: 30), Jasicki (1957: 36–37), and Stołyhwo (1926a: 154).
199. Hildén (1928: 221), Schwidetzky (1935b: 153 & 163), Stołyhwo (1926a: 153–54), and Bunak (1932: 464).
200. 1948a: 30.
201. Czekanowski (1948a: 34).
202. 1926a: 152–53.
203. 1926a: 154.
204. 1926b: 147.

205. Poniatowski (1928: 218–19).
206. 1920: 66–67, 1928b: 355.
207. Rosiński (1929: 266–67) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 195 & 197).
208. 1929: 270 & 274.
209. Schwidetzky (1935b: 149–51 & 162–63 & 195–96) and Mydlarski (1928b: 224).
210. 1935b: 149–53 & 162–63 & 195–98.
211. Stojanowski (1924: 761), Czekanowski (1948a: 30 & 34). Though accepting that racial genetics remained a mystery, German critics doubted that ‘of all’ Nordic characteristics, broadheaded Subnordics should inherit ‘recessive fair pigmentation’ (Schwidetzky 1935b: 149–54 & 199). German race scientists used the supposed genetic frailty of light pigmentation to maximise Germany’s own hidden Nordic cross-breeds.
212. 1935b: 149–50 & 198.
213. See Chapter 4; McMahon (2009: 584–85).
214. Schwidetzky (1935b: 295–96).
215. Rosiński (1929: 273–74) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 293–95).
216. Rosiński (1929: 273) and Schwidetzky (1935b: 294).
217. Pogliano (2005: 50), Rosiński (1929: 273–4), and Schwidetzky (1935b: 293–95).
218. Schwidetzky 1935b: 299–300 and Czekanowski (1956b: 8).
219. Stojanowski (1924: 762), Rosiński (1929: 266), and Mydlarski (1926: 188–89).
220. Rosiński (1928a: 274, 1929: 266, 270 & 274).
221. Potkański (1902: 244).
222. Czekanowski (1956a: 41–42), Schwidetzky (1935b: 152, 162–64, 199 & 302). Sharp German criticisms might ironically have promoted foreign interest in Czekanowski’s unorthodox system however (Skjerl 1936: 285 & 299).
223. Mogilner (2013: 119–20).
224. Proctor (1988: 142).
225. Sklenář (1983: 125) and Lech (1997/1998: 52–54).
226. Rączkowski (1996: 204) and Sklenář (1983: 91).
227. 1997/1998: 48 & 52.
228. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 228).
229. Lech (1997/1998: 27) and Cuisenier (1999: 30–31).
230. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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Between International Science and Nationalism: Interwar Romanian Race Science

Also in learning from [valorificarea] the inheritance of the past, mistakes were made for a period, neglecting or even censoring remarkable works by predecessors, on the basis of the rigid, dogmatic, ideological position of foreign dialectical and historical materialism...

Nicola Ceaușescu, in the opening citation of a biography of a Romanian eugenicist (Săhleanu 1979: 3).

This chapter focuses on the interwar period, and especially the relationship between anthropometric raciology and serology. It examines the techniques used by Romanian race anthropologists, the stories they told about national identity and origins, and what these reveal about the local reception and manipulation of ideas in weak peripheries. Like the Irish, Romanian anthropologists were at the very edge of both the transnational network of race classification and of local nationalist identity narration. Institutionalisation of anthropology fell behind that of Hungary and even after systematic research took off in the 1930s, only achieved a degree typical of 1870s–1880s Western Europe.¹ Its success depended on supporting popular and officially-sponsored national identity narratives that Romanian historians, linguists and folklorists played much greater roles in developing.²

Anthropology struggled to fit Romanian narratives within foreign disciplinary frameworks, including race identity narratives. Because it was less robust and institutionalised than historical studies, it had less international

autonomy, with less freedom to imaginatively dismantle and recombine elements from foreign models. French anthropology provided narratives of racial synthesis that included broad-headed Celts or Alpines. Germany offered a tightly integrated complex of right-wing *völkisch* nationalism, and obsessions with ethno-racial purity, Nordic supremacism and raciology. Despite imaginative attempts to reconcile this complex with Romanian nationalism, Romanian neo-romantic nationalists and eugenisists, especially in Transylvania, ultimately found that serological anthropology allowed them to devise the most coherent and politically satisfying identity narratives. Though excited by this innovative technique, they encountered the same difficulties as elsewhere in connecting it with anthropometric raciology (see Chapter 2).

This chapter first introduces Romanian anthropology's weak institutionalisation and rival raciological schools, focusing especially on the intensely nationalistic Cluj School. I next address how rival schools depended heavily on foreign training, publishing, and methodologies and then, how they borrowed French or German narratives to support competing political ideologies and national identity concepts. This made Romania, like central and eastern Europe in general, a battleground in interwar anthropology's Franco-German Cold War.

A WEAK, DIVIDED DISCIPLINE

In 1877, Alexandru Obedenaru became the first Romanian to research Romanian craniology, publishing a brief and rather amateurish article in Paris under his Gallicised name Obédénare.³ However few Romanians took up race science until 1918, when the acquisition of significant national minorities stimulated racial ethnology.⁴ During the 1920s, small numbers of initially 'isolated researchers' in Cluj and Bucharest gradually took over research from foreigners like Eugène Pittard of Geneva, who carried out almost all earlier anthropometric studies in the country.⁵ Research greatly intensified in the 1930s, especially on race. The 1937 Bucharest International Anthropology Congress was a 'culminating moment', stimulating research, publication and the founding of Francisc Rainer's Bucharest Anthropological Institute.⁶

However interwar anthropologists regularly complained that their discipline neglected race and produced 'no consensus... on Romania's racial history'.⁷ Unlike Romanian geography, history and philology, anthropometry, serology and raciology produced just a few 'important works of syn-

thesis' and interpretation, going beyond the mere 'accumulation of facts'. Standards of professionalism were patchy. As late as 1937, Romanian professional anthropologists took fairly seriously the journalist Henric Sanielevici, who traced all racial diversity to chewing action. He believed that 'endlessly gnawing grains of rice' shaped Chinese facial bones and muscles to raise the 'corner of the eye' and produce broad cheekbones like those of rodents.⁸ Interwar anthropometric data remained 'meagre' and outdated and archaeological anthropology was even more desultory.⁹ In the bibliographies of 30 interwar works by 13 Romanian anthropologists, I found far more French (367) than Romanian (264) language works. Cluj produced just five anthropological publications in 1920–1932, none apparently focussed on race.¹⁰ Institutional development was weak and late. A chair in Iași in 1930–1937, a society founded in Cluj in 1933 and the Bucharest Institute, established in 1940, were the only institutions.¹¹

Romanian anthropology polarised around the Cluj, Bucharest and Iași anatomy schools, each with its own 'network of institutions, social relations, and cultural codes'.¹² Despite some contacts, these rivals had such ideological differences and poor communication that in thirty years their only common meeting was the 1937 Congress.¹³ Each centre, especially Iași in Moldavia and Cluj in Transylvania, took a keen proprietorial interest in its respective province.¹⁴

In each provincial centre, the level of institutional development and degree of nationalism and biological determinism of race science correlated directly with the local proportion of ethnic minorities and geopolitical precariousness of Romanian rule.¹⁵ Most studies focused on racial differences between ethnic Romanians and the country's two biggest minorities, Slavs in northern Moldavia and, most importantly, Hungarians in Transylvania.¹⁶ Transylvania had special symbolic importance in post-1890 neo-romantic Romanian nationalism. In 1915 the nationalist politician Nicolae Filipescu described Romania without Transylvania as...

... a geographical absurdity... torn in a semicircle. Show this mutilated figure to a seven year old child and ask him what is missing... He, with his anaemic hand, would draw the line, which completes the circle... to accomplish our European role... we look to the natural fortress of Transylvania: to the Acropolis of Romanianism.¹⁷

When Romania acquired Transylvania in 1918, less than 60 % of its people and still fewer of its urban elite were ethnic Romanians, in part

because the former Hungarian rulers opposed education of Romanians.¹⁸ '[U]rban-peasant social conflict' therefore reinforced peasant-centred neo-romantic nationalism.¹⁹ Transylvania's discontented Hungarian minority became the state's most serious nationalist challenge, generating intense ethnic tensions, external geopolitical pressure.²⁰ Hungary seized back most of Transylvania in 1940.

These political tensions significantly intensified the politicised, nationalist and racist turn among Romanian race scientists in the turbulent 1930s, amid international tension and the disintegration of Romania's stable but corrupt parliamentary democracy.²¹ Many scholars cheerfully accepted posts in a succession of royal, fascist and military dictatorships, which were characterised by political assassination, instability and German meddling.²²

Observers regularly contrasted Cluj nationalism and racism with the cosmopolitan scientific values of Rainer's Bucharest School, with Iași somewhere in the middle, for example in their degree of faith that blood groups correlated with anthropometric characteristics (especially blood type A and the Nordic).²³ Bucharest and Iași concentrated 'on racial anatomy,' but largely avoided nationalistic or racist point-scoring and the automatic attribution of physical characteristics to ethnic groups, perhaps in part because Rainer in Bucharest was of German extraction.²⁴

By number of researchers and studies, technical advancement, institutional development and thorough surveying of its province, Transylvania's capital Cluj 'occupied first place' in Romanian interwar anthropology and sero-anthropology.²⁵ Studies elsewhere were comparatively 'very summary' or 'minimal'. Făcăoaru in early 1930s Cluj, followed by Olga Necrasov in Iași in 1940, introduced Germany's prestigious 'modern' raciology, borrowing especially from Eickstedt in Breslau.²⁶ Cluj produced Romania's earliest race serology study in 1922, followed by other Romanian centres from 1927, and accounted for about three quarters of blood tests and over 40 of the 70 or so Romanian serological studies in 1921–1945.²⁷

The immediate cause of the extreme nationalism, biological determinism, active research and technical primacy of Cluj, was promotion by the influential eugenics professor Iuliu Moldovan and the cluster of right-wing political, public health and academic institutions that he established or dominated.²⁸ With 'ministerial authority' to Romanianise and develop health and social welfare in newly-annexed Transylvania in 1918–1920, Moldovan imprinted 'his eugenic vision' on Cluj University's new medical school and eugenics institute.²⁹ Into the 1940s, he directed the Cluj eugenics institute and the important nationalist cultural organisation

Astra, both of which sponsored his eugenic campaign and, from 1927, the country's main race science journal.³⁰ *Astra*'s Vice-President, Gheorghe Preda, was a published race researcher.

Moldovan was intensely preoccupied with the ethno-racial 'authenticity of the population' and 'historic rights' in Transylvania.³¹ His institutions framed the careers, and commissioned, funded and publicised the research of a new crop of prolific, highly politicised race anthropologists. In the early 1930s, his 'closest collaborators', Făcăoaru and his friend Petru Râmneanțu, an arch-nationalist serologist, began work in Cluj. Established Cluj researchers steadily became much more blatantly nationalistic. The most extreme, Gheorghe Popoviciu began a 1938 scientific article by stating that Romania's enemies 'try to prove that the Romanians hold their frontiers unjustly'.³² Făcăoaru and others introduced an intense Nordicism into Cluj anthropology from 1932, arguing that science proved the different 'moral and intellectual aptitudes' and social status of races.³³ Făcăoaru's comments that 'Nordics themselves acknowledge' the 'intoxicating beauty' of Mediterranean women and that 'raw, wild virility' smouldered in the 'harsh' and 'decisive' eyes of Nordic men, were straight out of German Nordicist literature.³⁴ Like Moldovan and many other German and Romanian intellectuals, Făcăoaru used his institutional positions to openly promote racist 'rightist' politics, raciology, eugenics and, ultimately, fascism among the political elite.³⁵

In 1930, Moldovan's student Sabin Manuilă became Romania's chief state statistician, managing the census and building a kind of colony of Cluj eugenics and extreme nationalism in Bucharest.³⁶ His institute, associated with the leading Bucharest eugenicist, Gheorghe Banu, supported seroanthropological work and became Făcăoaru's base.³⁷ These scholars and Professor Victor Papilian, who headed the Romanian Anthropological Society in Cluj, all repeatedly paid homage to Moldovan's sponsorship and guiding role, calling him a vital advocate of Romanian race research and an international pioneer in applying 'race, ethnic group, nation to politics'.³⁸

Though Hungarian discouragement of minority education meant that most medical professors in Cluj after its acquisition by Romania in 1918 were recruited from elsewhere in Romania, Cluj science may have benefited from Transylvania being Romania's richest and most Westernised province.³⁹ Nationalism however offers the strongest explanation for its dominance and also its extremism. Moldovan demanded a 'scientific' response to obsessive Hungarian contestation of Romanian rule, including

by anthropologists, shifting the analysis of ethnic authenticity from traditional 'cultural grounds' to the 'greater scientific certainty' of biology.⁴⁰ Romanian anthropologists were convinced that 'sure informative' anthropological data would persuade foreign publics and 'European statesmen' of 'the rights which we fully deserve'.⁴¹ They attributed national disasters like Romania's forced cession of huge territories in 1940, so that Cluj fell under Hungarian rule, to 'our absence from the foreign scientific field' and false evidence spread by enemies of 'Romanianism'. They pointed to the contradictions, flimsy evidence and incorrect conclusions of foreign race analyses, which left Romania blank on race maps, and made Romanians inferior Alpines or a late-coming minority in Transylvania.⁴² Foreigners favoured 'international' regional experts over works by natives. Of citations about Romania in my database, less than a fifth were by Romanians. Of 16 sources in Vienna anthropologist Viktor Lebzelter's 1929 article on Romania, just three are by Romanians, including one ethnic German.⁴³

Race anthropology swept into Cluj on the coattails of eugenics, which persuasively sold itself as a very practical applied nationalist science in a militantly nationalist province. By contrast, Rainer's Bucharest School and Iași anthropology largely emerged from academic anatomy and palaeontology, competing hard for funding and interest with apparently more useful disciplines. The Iași anthropology chair was abolished in 1937, while a Bucharest anthropologist admitted that interwar Bucharest anthropology had largely failed.⁴⁴

FOREIGN MODELS

Though Romanian anti-Germanism was much weaker than in Poland, the country had closer French links. France was a geopolitical ally and the model for Romania's intense nineteenth-century cultural emulation of Latin and Western modernity. Attitudes towards the two principal foreign scholars of interwar Romania personified admiration for France and mistrust of the former Habsburg rulers. Sometimes scathing criticisms of Lebzelter contrasted with unanimous praise for Pittard, a devotee of Romanian neo-romantic nationalism, whose 'works radiate... sympathy for the Romanian people' and who trained and collaborated with several Romanian students.⁴⁵ The reading and foreign studies of Romanian anthropologists suggest France as the main early point of reference, though less so in Habsburg-ruled Transylvania, whose anthropologists studied more often in German speaking lands.⁴⁶ Similarly, Hungarian

and Austrian anthropologists researched Transylvania before 1918, while French speakers mostly studied other provinces.⁴⁷ Pittard's seven anthropometric research missions from 1899 to the 1920s dwarfed all other foreign research in scale.⁴⁸

Interwar scholars still mostly read, wrote and studied in French, which many educated Romanians could read.⁴⁹ My study of bibliographical citation in interwar Romanian raciology found 235 cited works were published in France and just 187 in Germany or Austria. Cited works in the French language (367) outnumbered Romanian (264) and German (223) language texts. Just one source text author preferred German to French language sources, though several Transylvanians cited more works published in Germany than in France.

Nevertheless, German influence increased dramatically. Conservative, turn-of-the-century Romanian leaders in Transylvania advanced their nationalist agenda by forging strong links with right-wing, anti-Semitic and anti-Magyar Austrian elites.⁵⁰ This facilitated absorption of German anthropological race ideas by Transylvanian nationalists like Aurel Popovici.⁵¹ In 1906, he claimed 'very many Romanians' had 'Nordic' 'external characteristics' and belonged to 'the Germanic race'. Popovici contrasted Romanian race purity with the Hungarian 'Mongoloid race', 'doomed to extinction' for miscegenation, 'especially with the Jews'.

As French leadership in international race anthropology gradually weakened, a quite extreme interwar dependence on German training, reading and methodology powerfully challenged its influence in Romania, while by no means supplanting it.⁵² The historian Maria Bucur identifies Moldovan's foreign studies and the 'years of study in Berlin' of his student Făcăoaru as crucial conduits for German science and ideology.⁵³ Făcăoaru accepted the Third Reich as 'the most successful role model', inspiring his 'uncompromising' lifelong support for 'coercive' eugenics and firm belief in race inequality. In the Romanian race science bibliographies I analysed, Râmneanțu and Făcăoaru account for all works and synopses in German. Three of the four authors citing more works from Germany than France were also Cluj-based. Of 54 anthropology journals listed in a 1926 Cluj University library catalogue, 34 were in German, including four of the nine Hungarian journals, while only four journals were in French, less than in English and Hungarian.⁵⁴ Romanian serology appears to have had strong links with Austria, a leader in blood research.⁵⁵

Successive interwar generations largely adopted the methodological models, scales, indices, instruments and anthropometric measuring

techniques of slightly older Germans,⁵⁶ and shadowed their generational transition from positivism to neo-romanticism.⁵⁷ In the 1920s, Rainer (born 1874) imported Rudolf Martin's (born 1864) anthropometric system and Ioan Botez (born 1892) in Iași used Czekanowski's (born 1882) methods, but Făcăoaru (born 1897) and Botez's student Necrasov (born 1910), the main younger Romanian raciologists, enthusiastically followed Eickstedt (born 1892), Necrasov via Schwidetzky, her student colleague and friend in Breslau.⁵⁸ Only the older foreigner Pittard (born 1867) followed Broca (born 1824).⁵⁹

FRENCH CELTS AND SYNTHESIS

Romanian anthropology negotiated between persisting French-style narratives of national synthesis and modern, progressive Western identity, and a newer German-style insistence on neo-romantic purity and local origin. Lucian Boia, who studies Romanian national identity, says the seventeenth-century recognition that Romanian was a neo-Latin language inaugurated a historiographical obsession with the nation's civilised, Western, Roman origins.⁶⁰ One influential lexicographer presented Romanian history as simply continuing Roman history and actively attempted to relatinise the language. Latinist nationalists legitimised efforts to modernise, Westernise, stave off Russian hegemony and canvas Western support, by claiming 'the same civilisation as the French, Italian or Spanish' and 'an extraordinary mission in Eastern Europe'.⁶¹ The Roman province of Dacia also provided a reference point for territorial claims.⁶²

Many European nations replaced exotic noble founders with native ancestors, as mass politics developed.⁶³ However Boia also links Romania's questioning of exclusive Latinity and revival of interest in the pre-Roman Dacians⁶⁴ to academic professionalisation and 'political and intellectual maturity', accompanying political unification and independence (1859–1881). Romanians developed a Daco-Roman origin tradition that echoed France's Celto-Roman identity narrative, firmly establishing both nations as mixtures of ethnic elements. As many studies identified numerous dark broad-heads in the Transylvanian highlands, seen as the Romanian racial cradle, Romanian race anthropologists linked Romania with France's small dark brachycephalic Celto-Slav or Alpine type.⁶⁵ However, although late nineteenth-century French anthropology eventually distinguished the ethnically neutral 'Alpine' from their supposedly Celtic ethnic ancestors, and although Celts were 'an unusual presence' in

Romania's historiographical origin mythologies, Romanian anthropology also repeatedly brought ethnic Celts all the way to ancient Dacia, on slender scientific evidence.⁶⁶ This suggests that a somewhat outdated French anthropological concentration on ethnic origins influenced Romania's weak and internationally dependent race anthropology community.

Obedenaru, Romania's first race history theorist, proposed in 1877 that Broca's Celts and Kymris once stretched 'side by side' from Brittany to the Black Sea, but were subjugated and invaded, with the pure round-headed Celtic type surviving best in eastern regions like Transylvania.⁶⁷ He identified Romania's Kymris with Balkan tribes described by classical writers as entirely ignorant of agriculture, whom, he reasoned, must therefore have lived off a Celtic subject 'race of *producers*'. In 1903, Pittard reported that on a Carpathian bear hunt, 'we had the illusion, looking at our beaters... of being surrounded by Bretons', adding that tall, blond, long-headed Romanians were 'probably' Kymris.⁶⁸ In 1940, Dinu Daniel produced a blizzard of dubious etymological speculation to link Romanians to Celts and to tall, blond brachycephalic Galatians.⁶⁹ The term Galatian, referencing both Gaul and ancient Celtic invaders of Anatolia, came from Jules Guairt, a French biologist who taught in interwar Cluj. Necrasov and Rainer both identified Galatians in Romania's highlands.⁷⁰ Daniel argued that a Dacian king not only shared anthropological features with the Gauls but also wore a similar beard, trousers and moccasins.⁷¹ He and Obedenaru, seventy years earlier, adopted the standard gendered psychological stereotypes of dynamic, ferocious Kymri/Nordic 'absolute dominators' who conquered industrious, 'humble, soft and submissive' Celtic/Alpine highland farmers.⁷²

In the late 1930s, two leading professional Cluj anthropologists also used ethnic Celtic ancestors to link Romanians more closely with the West. Victor Papilian and Constantin Velluda claimed that isolated highlanders known as *Moți*, who conserved 'their Romano-Celtic characteristics' better than other Romanians, serologically resembled Celtic Western populations such as the Scots.⁷³ They added that archaeological evidence convinced 'Romanian and foreign' scientists of Romanians' 'ancient Celtic origin'. Though Nordicism never became a mass phenomenon in Romania, professional anthropologists leaned towards cutting-edge models from German eugenics, serology and raciogy. Celtic synthesis theories instead remained most popular among less scientific writers like Daniel. His convoluted race history attempted to reconcile Celtic synthesis with the Nordacist racial elitism of 'great scientific personalities' like

the SS leader Himmler.⁷⁴ Daniel's cunning plan was to convince Nordic supremacists to replace the Nordic top race with a more Romanian Celtic-Galatian synthesis. He gave the obscure Galatian all the psychological and historical characteristics that Nordic supremacists associated with Nordics, even including identification with the ancient Teutons. To sell this cross-breed elite to purity-obsessed Nordacists, Daniel borrowed an Italian theory that mothers provided children's physical characteristics and fathers, their psychology. He claimed Hitler's mother and Mussolini's father were Galatian and their other parents were Celtic.

GERMAN NEO-ROMANTICISM, RACIOLOGY AND NORDICISM

From the 1890s, what Marius Turda calls eastern Europe's 'cultural, political, social and economic backwardness' especially encouraged the neo-romantic rejection of Western modernity in favour of intensely local, ethno-national *Sonderweg* narratives, centred around superior peasants.⁷⁵ Neo-romanticism helped impel Romania towards militant localist nationalism and an organic and statist concept of the nation. This rejected French-inspired liberalism and Western modernity as thin, elite-sponsored illusions, disguising peasant suffering.⁷⁶ As elsewhere in Europe, irredentism, radical nationalist intellectual movements, and artistic efforts to find the 'Romanian soul' in rural themes made peasants 'the main bearer and transmitter of a "real" *Volk's* culture', 'the life source of the nation' and a mystical bond with the national territory, which needed protection from corrupting modern civilisation.⁷⁷

Neo-romantic xenophobia grafted comfortably onto romantic historical traditions of Romanian racial purity.⁷⁸ Early nineteenth-century Latinist historians, including a Romanian Prime Minister, Mihail Kogălniceanu, argued that the Romans had a 'horror' of marrying foreign women and especially Romania's 'savage' Dacian natives.⁷⁹ These were exterminated or, 'preferring death to slavery', killed themselves, and did not contribute biologically to modern Romania. By contrast, unfussy all-male Hungarian invaders bred a "'mongrel" people'.⁸⁰ An interwar anthropologist agreed that modern Romanian peasants maintained their Roman ancestors' xenophobic squeamishness, and 'mostly avoid, even today, any mixing of blood', maintaining their physical form, and 'especially [their] aristocratic soul'.⁸¹

Race anthropology promised to enrich neo-romantic Romanian nationalism, offering deep prehistoric antiquity, authenticity and biological supe-

riority and confirming that peasants best preserved ‘the true type of the primitive Romanian’ with ‘the truest ethnic nobility’.⁸² Pittard’s Romanian peasants had ‘a remarkable intelligence’ and ‘sense of beauty’, far beyond that of Western country people and avoided the race mixing typical of ‘all the bourgeoisies of the world’.⁸³ As usual, researchers sought untainted vestiges of the original pure national race in isolated rural and mountain populations. At least five anthropometric and serological missions studied Transylvania’s isolated and sparsely populated Munții Apuseni, where one theorist identified a ‘Dacian racial type’.⁸⁴ As the westernmost large bloc of ethnic Romanians before the Hungarian frontier, this rich mountain storehouse of Romanian folkloric tradition was geopolitically important. Papilian and Velluda concluded from the high serological indices of the local *Moți* ethnic sub-group, comparable to those of ‘northern Italians, French, Germans, Danes, Norwegians’, that foreign influence was especially limited and ‘very old’.⁸⁵ Făcăoaru believed the high proportion of ‘uniracial’ individuals in three villages proved ‘less frequent’ race-mixing.⁸⁶ Other evidence of purity deployed in Transylvania included ‘nearly non-existent civilisation’, marriage ‘almost 100 %’ within a single village, colourful ethnographic art and craft traditions, ethnic homogeneity, and local myths of ancient origin and pure breeding.⁸⁷ Mixed and especially ‘Asiatic’ blood factors among the exceptionally ‘homogenous’ *Moți* therefore clearly disconcerted Papilian and Velluda.⁸⁸

Interwar Romanian anthropology strained to imaginatively reconcile intensifying German and persisting French influences. For the Nordicist Făcăoaru, dilution of superior blood was a tragic waste, while for French-orientated scholars, race mixture stimulated ‘the racial functions’ leading to ‘epochs of brilliance of civilisations’.⁸⁹ Roman or mixed ‘Daco-Roman’ origin long remained popular among liberals, connecting Romania with the West.⁹⁰ However the conservative, German and central and eastern European, neo-romantic, nationalist purity obsession turned Dacian ancestors into a significant Romanian asset. These pre-Slavic, pre-Hungarian historical occupants offered profound roots in immemorial national territory and a retroactive patent on the region’s racial stock. Isolationist conservative nationalists, including the interwar extreme right and Ceaușescu-era national communists, therefore insisted on a solely Dacian ancestry. By the 1930s, Romanian intellectuals made Dacians their biological ancestors of choice.⁹¹ Even Pittard perceived ‘more racial nobility’ in embedding one’s family tree... in the prehistoric soil’ than in even Roman descent.⁹²

Several anthropologists made Dacians the ‘direct ancestors’ of Romanians, sometimes drawing on a megalomaniac 1913 ethnology, which ascribed all classical Mediterranean culture to a vast prehistoric Dacian Empire.⁹³ Pittard traced Balkan populations to Neolithic skeletons which already contained all local elements of modern racial variation, and claimed that the ‘Roman’ Mediterranean racial type never entered the region.⁹⁴ On very slim grounds, he identified long and broad-headed Romanians with Dacians and their Gete cousins respectively, arguing dubiously that as Romanian racial ancestors were entirely accounted for, ‘Rome does not seem to have infused its blood’.⁹⁵ Sabin Manuilă’s son Alexandru argued that Romanians differed serologically from Western Latin peoples, indicating a prehistoric ‘confusion with’ Balkan peoples.⁹⁶ Because Roman colonists were so few and already racially mixed, Romanians ‘biologically remained authentic’. Rejecting descent from ‘invaders or colonists,’ Preda placed the ancestral Romanian ‘natural race, kept by our’ mountain peasants, on national soil at the time of Europe’s first fossil humans.⁹⁷

Banu, an important Bucharest eugenicist, questioned whether even the Dacians could ‘suppress the autochthones’, warning enemies that Romanians were the world’s ‘most tenacious race’ and could never be permanently conquered.⁹⁸ The original Romanian race perpetuated itself, like ‘a vital uninterrupted current’, linking successive generations.⁹⁹ Supporting raciology with serological, archaeological and documentary evidence, the Nordacist Nicolae Lahovary said the culturally pre-Slavic Romanians, Albanians and Greeks were darker-haired than the Slavic Serbs and Bulgarians, proving they were a racially older Balkan population.¹⁰⁰

As in Poland, influence from German raciology and geopolitical tensions reinforced Romanian contempt for national enemies as inferior eastern steppe barbarians. Romanians portrayed Slavs and Hungarians as medieval latecomers and therefore illegitimate occupiers, with no role in Romania’s racial make-up.¹⁰¹ In 1943, Făcăoaru claimed Russians were largely Mongol and belonged to the ‘least gifted’ [*subînzestrare*] or at best ‘the averagely gifted’ races.¹⁰² However slurs against alien, inferior Asiatics chiefly targeted Hungarians, the main nationalist enemies, who traced their ancestors to the Urals and whom serology data conveniently showed had much more ‘Asiatic’ blood than Romanians.

Făcăoaru drew on politically extreme German eugenicists-raciologists, whose relationship with the fascist authorities mirrored his own. He held an ‘important’ public health position’ under the fascist regime of 1940–1941 and even, says Bucur, ‘became, in a sense,’ its race and

health ideologue, with knowledge of and indirect influence on the fate of Romanian Jews.¹⁰³ However, because politicised raciology saw races like the Nordic and Alpine as the building blocks of human biology and value hierarchies, it did not necessarily support the Romanian nationalist agenda. In at least two ways, raciology was far less satisfying for nationalists than the older ethnological anthropology, which instead embodied superiority in the Romanian nation and made Romanians the region's earliest inhabitants by equating them with Dacian 'ancestors'.¹⁰⁴

First, Romanians with German Nordacist leanings, like Făcăoaru and Lahovary, enthusiastically endorsed the Nordacist race hierarchy. Tall, blond, long-heads were superior to dark brachycephals, and more purely 'European' races were 'more gifted' than races 'with Asiatic features' or origins, associated with Jews, semi-Mongol Slavs and, to a lesser extent, Alpines.¹⁰⁵ Papilian and Velluda initially agreed with Bucharest researchers that the main blond race among the broad-headed *Moți* was the East European.¹⁰⁶ However they then proposed that the light pigmentation, tall stature and western European levels of the 'European' blood property A among *Moți*, suggested they were instead 'more Nordic'.¹⁰⁷

This Nordacist hierarchy clashed with Romanian physical evidence however. Few modern Romanians belonged to Nordacist superior races. Blonds were particularly rare.¹⁰⁸ Făcăoaru found 80 % of Romanians were dark haired, slightly more than Jews and many more than ethnic Hungarians or Germans.¹⁰⁹ Several Romanian anthropologists therefore concluded that some brunets were really blond, borrowing a ploy used to maximise the Nordic component in southern Germany.¹¹⁰ A Mendelian genetic quirk hid a 'greater abundance' of Romanian highlanders with a 'recessive, latent' blond predisposition.¹¹¹ Papilian and Velluda saw dark pigmentation as recessive in the 'hereditary patrimony' of light coloured races, reappearing when they interbred with darker races.¹¹² Their main evidence, also noted by other anthropologists, was the combination of light coloured eyes with dark hair—a relatively common 'discordance' among Romanian highlanders.¹¹³ Lahovary meanwhile turned undeniable Slavic influence on Romania into a Nordic infusion, while avoiding association with Germany's Polish and Russian enemies. He argued that southern Slavs, who migrated into Romania, retained the Nordic characteristics of proto-Slavs, whereas Russians had suffered frequent crossing 'with Asiatic elements'.¹¹⁴

The second drawback of raciology was that the Nordacist anthropological celebration of urban modernity, elitism and colonisation gave

peasants a lowly position. It therefore clashed, as in Germany, with mystical neo-romantic defence of peasant traditionalism. Many Romanian race scientists accepted the anthroposociological doctrine of the ‘very learned’ Lapouge that brain development and ‘social selection’ explained why ‘long-heads’ occupied higher ‘social strata’, emigrated and ‘crossed with foreign races’ more, and lived ‘in more civilised countries, in bigger cities, where greater energy, decision and progress rule’.¹¹⁵ Research in Romania confirmed these foreign findings and Făcăoaru focussed on confirming the Nordacist anthroposociological hierarchy.¹¹⁶ He offered concentration in towns as proof of blond superiority and found that students from towns were taller, blonder and belonged more ‘*than rural students to the most gifted races*’, while racially ‘inferior’ criminals were more dangerous.¹¹⁷ Any negative correlation between class and racial hierarchies was ‘an obvious absurdity’. Daniel insisted in Romania’s leading legal medicine journal on the state’s ‘supreme duty to save the superior individuals’, ‘the thinking and active’ ‘Elites which give Societies a sense of dignity. This was ‘the good Knight, Defender of the weak and Servant of Right’, on which the nation’s existence depended.’¹¹⁸

Romanianising Nordicism

Romanian anthropologists nonetheless felt free to unpick and select from the often contradictory composite of ideological and technical elements in 1930s German race science. Necrasov cleanly extracted the scientific technique of raciology, generally avoiding racist interpretations or political instrumentalisation. As in Poland, other scholars exploited contradictions between neo-romanticism and anthroposociology. Like ancient native Finnic, Slavic or Illyrian ancestors elsewhere, Dacians were presented as industriously working and reproducing under the rule of alien aristocratic conquerors.¹¹⁹ Despite acknowledging long-headed urban dynamism, the eugenists Banu and Preda adopted the Alpine as the native ‘primitive root of our people’, attributing its ‘great vitality’, to rural highland ‘isolation’.¹²⁰ Banu argued that cities ‘extinguished generations of elites’ by reducing their birthrates. He advanced the Hegelian argument that compared to established urban cultures, Romanians were ‘a young people’, whose ‘undifferentiated’ rural mass had enormous biological potential. Preda contrasted modern long-headed values with the ‘conservatism in habits, customs, traditions, love for their people, respect for themselves and their family’ of broad-headed peasants.¹²¹ Even the Nordacist

Lahovary, whose Alpine brachycephals were ‘somehow intermediate between Europeans properly called and yellows’, with semi-“Mongoloid” physical traits, nevertheless limited their inferiority.¹²² They were ‘decidedly different’ from ‘yellows’, with a distinctly un-Asiatic blood type that linked them with ‘Aryans’.

Preda and Daniel praised these ‘patient, modest subjects’ from an entirely elitist viewpoint however, resolving the neo-romantic-Nordicist contradiction by naturalising a hierarchy of modern elites and romantic peasants. Brachycephals were ‘intelligent, peaceful, thrifty’, industrious workers, followers rather than leaders.¹²³ Papilian, Velluda and Daniel added that the Romans, needing ‘patient, modest subjects’, imported ‘masses’ of Celts from Asia Minor, Daniel offering as ‘irrefutable evidence’, that Romanians, feeling ‘the weight of a higher authority [*haute main*]’, were ‘sober in the extreme ... biddable... and malleable for good’.¹²⁴

Romanian Nordicists accepted blond superiority, but rejected the equation of Nordic with Germanic in German race archaeology and history, attacking Lebzelter’s claim that the 20 % of the Nordics he discovered in Romania were ‘vestiges’ of Teutonic tribes.¹²⁵ Făcăoaru and others used concentrations of Nordic attributes among ‘the most isolated’ pure mountain Romanians, ‘with the most archaic ethnography’, to claim Romania’s Dacian ‘prehistoric ancestors’ were ‘in a great majority’, or at least quite frequently blond.¹²⁶ One researcher insisted that these highlanders could not be Germanic, having always occupied their current territories ‘without discontinuity’.¹²⁷

Specifically Romanian preoccupations with Roma (Gypsies), an important Romanian minority, also contrasted with the German anti-Semitic obsession. Făcăoaru despised Jews, but his raciology focussed much more on Roma.¹²⁸ He commended ruthless German and Swedish eugenics for ‘solving the Gypsy problem’ and criticised land grants to Roma for threatening ‘the biological integrity of our peasant masses’. His sole argument for the common Asiatic inferiority of Jews, Eastern Slavs, Tatars and Roma was a tirade against Roma ‘corruption’, ‘thefts’, ‘crimes’ and ‘perversion of concepts about life’. Daniel meanwhile called Roma an ‘invasion of Negroids’ and the ‘cruellest completion’ of Dacia’s fall.¹²⁹

Făcăoaru and Lahovary linked ethnic Romanians with the Mediterranean or Dinaric races, which had extra-European connections and negative traits (dark, small or brachycephalic), but which Nordicists nevertheless considered quite valuable.¹³⁰ Though Romania’s weak, divided raciology failed to decide between these and a Nordic, Alpine or Easteuropean national

race, it did eventually begin to groom an indigenous Carpathian or X type.¹³¹ This superior, beautiful race, which predominated in Romania's Transylvanian mountain heartland and resembled ancient Dacians on Trajan's Column in Rome, might eventually have contended for international recognition.¹³² Făcăoaru saw this tall, dark, 'vigorous', brachycephal, which 'European anthropology' ignored,¹³³ as an important Romanian type, concentrated among intellectuals rather than peasants.¹³⁴ Romanian anthropologists therefore had special responsibility to study it. Raciologists connected it with various races, but Sanielevici and Făcăoaru described it as a variant of the Phalic, using this Nordacist very high-value race as a stepping-stone from the X to the blond, long-headed Nordic.

RACIOLOGY VERSUS SEROLOGY

All major Romanian raciologists sponsored serology as among the 'richest' supplementary data sources and serologists tried to reconcile their method with raciology.¹³⁵ As in other countries however (see Chapter 2), the disciplinary distinctiveness and incommensurable data of this innovative race classification technique were endlessly frustrating.

For example, though neither Făcăoaru nor his serologist close collaborator Râmneanțu betrayed any post-War guilt about admiring and eagerly advocating Nazi-style eugenic policies,¹³⁶ their disciplinary backgrounds led to significant differences in their prioritisation of science or nationalism.¹³⁷ Raciologists like Făcăoaru and Necrasov were fiercely committed to their identity as apolitical scientists. Făcăoaru's 'bitterness' was therefore 'infinitely greater' than the communists wrecked his anthropological programme than that Hungary annexed Cluj in 1940.¹³⁸ He claimed race diagnosis 'has to be more exact' than medical diagnosis by several doctors. He boasted of how 'rigorous, like in a photograph' his own were, surprising a 'real conspiracy' in 1948, when the communist authorities tested his diagnoses by secretly returning some soldiers to him for re-examination. In Cluj, raciologists were on balance less blatantly propagandist and disrespectful of scientific procedures and logic than serologists were. Though Râmneanțu's data were 'based on a solid statistical analysis', he ignored disputes about certain 'shaky' assumptions of serology and systematically used biased terms such as 'the inhabitants of the region considered Szekler'.¹³⁹ Popoviciu's highly questionable initial research assumptions (see below) meanwhile made scientific cheating entirely unnecessary.

Raciologists were not above manipulating interpretation of results or choice of research topic, presentation style and methodology to achieve politically desired results.¹⁴⁰ Cluj race scientists for example regularly considered environmental explanations for factors like social class, but always found reasons to dismiss these in favour of race heredity.¹⁴¹ However, Făcăoaru's research not infrequently produced unpatriotic conclusions. For example, he dismissed the 'discordant' combination of pale eyes with dark hair, which could have boosted Romanian blond figures, as evidence of 'intense bastardisation'.¹⁴² Bucur and Turda argue that Făcăoaru's large, military-funded study of Transdnistria, annexed by Romania in alliance with the Axis in 1942, offered 'scientific' justification for Romanian territorial claims.¹⁴³ However, his research report made Transdnistrians mongrelised Romanians at best. He confirmed a 'great similarity' with other Romanians, but also the presence of many more Easteuropoids and 'sporadic' mixture with racially Asiatic Slavs.¹⁴⁴

Făcăoaru prioritised a 'scientific' German Nordicist hierarchy of races over peasant-centred Romanian nationalism. He made the nation's biological value, standard of living and leadership depend on its racial breakdown, and although he accepted that interbreeding with foreigners altered ethnic 'specificity', he preferred to judge its effect on Romania's 'average biological value'.¹⁴⁵ Romanians gain from marriages with foreign spouses 'of Indo-European origin' and 'personal biological value' could thus be calculated scientifically.¹⁴⁶ This was a tender spot, because he himself married and collaborated in research with Tilly, 'a German woman of healthy Aryan stock', after very thoroughly 'checking [her] genealogical purity and health'.¹⁴⁷

Romanian neo-romantic nationalists often admired German order and seriousness¹⁴⁸ but Bucur thinks that Făcăoaru's Berlin years made him especially impatient with Romanian 'traditions and mentality'.¹⁴⁹ His racial value comparison of European nationalities placed Romanians a little below half way. The 'soul', 'mentality', 'moral character' and 'social characteristics' improved with 'every degree of latitude' from southern to northern Europe.¹⁵⁰ Imagining the world as a pyramid, Scandinavians were 'at the summit', among the 'most valuable' minority, but 'Southeast Europe' was closer to the base, among 'the great mass of peoples with inferior' 'social characteristics'. Vignettes from a multinational scientific tour poignantly reinforced this judgement. Romanians 'stood out' for 'gluttony, unseriousness' and lacked 'dignity', 'order, discipline and punctuality' with systematic delays 'of at least half an hour'. They 'did not forget their military

decorations' but many left behind 'toothbrushes, [camp] clothes, boots, travel cutlery or tools' and misplaced their baggage in Stockholm due to 'total lack of care'. The leaders 'clashed physically with one another' and were forced to beat insubordinate researchers. Because corrupt Romanian organisers failed to ensure candidates with 'chronic diseases' were medically fit for travel, some ended up hospitalised. Shamefully, their 'uproariousness, jokes and loud laughing' made outsiders think they were Spanish or French.

Făcăoaru isolated himself far to the right of most other Romanian eugenisists, 'Moldovan included, going 'much further...in endorsing coercive eugenics' and a German-style stress 'on racial/ethnic purity' and 'weeding out' inferiors.¹⁵¹ By contrast, eugenists like Moldovan and Banu, and Cluj serologists, primarily employed science for nationalist ends. Romania's academic authorities therefore awarded Râmneanțu several financially 'substantial prizes'. Moldovan supported Făcăoaru's work and accepted that Nordicism 'seems justified and conforms to' the German 'soul' but he rejected it for Romanians.¹⁵² Whereas Făcăoaru's scientific agenda was to prove the primacy of heredity over environment and the racial basis of social hierarchy, nationalist serologists prioritised the extra-scientific, emotional conviction that Romanians were wonderful and held their frontiers justly. For Făcăoaru, improving national biology meant protecting the social position and racial purity of biological elites. For Râmneanțu it meant demographic management to promote the more 'valuable' ethnic Romanian peasants who maintained the nation's roots in its sacred soil.¹⁵³ Făcăoaru stressed scientifically 'proven' Nordic supremacism; Râmneanțu, the 'mystical and incomprehensible forces' of patriotic feeling and 'the whispers of secret connections with ancestors', tying Romanians to the fatherland.

While the serologists Râmneanțu and Popoviciu battled against the Hungarian geopolitical enemy, Făcăoaru downplayed worries about such European 'historic minorities'. He instead publicised the hidden 'mortal danger' of interbreeding with racially inferior 'dead-weight minorities' of 'extra-European origin', like Roma, Tartars, Turks, Jews and Slavs.¹⁵⁴ This would disastrously reduce Romania's 'biological level'. Făcăoaru emphasised the difference between his scientific bio-politics, and incoherent traditional ethnic nationalist demands for both 'assimilation of minorities' and 'ethnic purity'.¹⁵⁵ Backing government schemes to help ethnic Turks and Tartars to emigrate therefore, he attacked the press for considering these 'most indolent and most inferior citizens... the most valuable, because... they do not trouble social peace'.

Belief in an organic nation nevertheless connected raciology to Romania's neo-romantic extreme right, which fused biology and metaphysics in slogans like 'blood is tradition' and applied metaphors of the body and disease to the nation.¹⁵⁶ Most Romanian race scientists agreed with Făcăoaru that the nation was 'first and foremost an organism' whose 'biological structure' formed over 'millennia', if not on how exactly biology defined the nation.¹⁵⁷ This allowed Făcăoaru to achieve symbiosis with Romania's fascists, just as German Nordicist scientists allied with *völkisch* nationalist Teutonism, by blurring conceptual differences and emphasising commonalities with the entirely unscientific paradigm of the fascist leader Corneliu Codreanu. Codreanu emphasised 'vaguely defined Orthodox cultural traditions', 'apocalyptic Biblical images' and Romania's 'mystical mission'.¹⁵⁸ The intensification of Făcăoaru's nationalism, as Hungary annexed Transylvania and Romania invaded Russia alongside Germany, facilitated this alliance. He lowered his earlier neutral estimate of Hungarians, identifying large 'Mongoloid' elements among them and ranking them racially below all European nationalities except the Roma.¹⁵⁹ In 1935–1938, he gradually shifted from giving the 'Russo-Ukrainian' East-European race 'usually slightly Asiatic features', to 'millennia' of mixture with 'Mongol hordes' making Russians biologically more 'Asiatic' than 'European'.¹⁶⁰ In 1943, he claimed 'Russian anthropologists themselves' admitted Russians had 'over 80 %' 'Mongol blood'.¹⁶¹

Romanian and especially Transylvanian serologists were, however, more effective in reassociating ethnicity with biology. Finding from their own and foreign research that blood types were tightly linked with 'ethno-anthropological differences', they argued that they could 'read' in modern Romanian blood, 'the nature and constitution of... ancestral blood... tying us to an origin' of unquestionable 'authenticity'.¹⁶² Blood group research was therefore 'more objective', 'precise', 'subtle' and deep than anthropometry, which had failed 'to establish the frontiers between peoples'.¹⁶³ Râmneanțu and Popoviciu largely ignored or misused raciology's races, considering type A blood a much better servant of Romanian nationalism.¹⁶⁴ Romanian serologists and eugenists sometimes criticised Nordicism, and collaborated most closely with nationalist orientated ethnography, social history, demography and anthropogeography. Like neo-romantic nationalism and most contemporary educated discourse, these disciplines used ethnic nations rather than anthropological races as their fundamental organic units.¹⁶⁵

The Acropolis of Romanianism

Eickstedt reported ‘relatively strong’ Balkan interest in serology, and Romania was an early and active participant, beginning its first study in 1922.¹⁶⁶ Serologists performed at least 44,000 blood tests in interwar Romania, compared with just 11,260 anthropometric race diagnoses, and the 1937 Bucharest Anthropology Congress devoted equal time to both Romanian disciplines.¹⁶⁷ Intense research by Transylvanian serologists supported four main Romanian nationalist arguments:

1. Concentrations of blood group A reinforced historical narratives of primordial and unbroken ethnic Romanian occupation of Transylvania.

Serology offered new proofs of continuous, ancient occupation by supporting powerful historical and anthropological representations of mountainous Transylvania as the ‘essence and “heart of Romanianism”’, an irreducible fortified plateau of national resistance, ‘cradle’ of Romanian ethnogenesis, and core of the Dacian kingdom and Roman colony.¹⁶⁸ Due to a thousand-year lacuna in medieval written sources, Romanian and Hungarian historians, linguists and archaeologists had, since the early nineteenth century, ‘hotly debated’ which nation first occupied Transylvania and therefore could legitimately claim it.¹⁶⁹ Attacking Lebzelter’s theory that Romanians filtered in after the medieval Hungarian invasion, Romanian scholars claimed occupation since Roman times.¹⁷⁰

2. Blood group A confirmed Romania and especially Transylvania as a racial stronghold of Europeanness against Asian incursions.

Perhaps because raciologists never settled on an emblematic Romanian national race, it was left to serology to coherently racialise established accounts of Transylvania as Romania’s eternal civilised European refuge from successive waves of plains barbarians.¹⁷¹ Daniel’s barbarians were swarthy ‘Semite, Armenoid, Negroid’, neo-Finns, and ‘Magyars and Turcomans’, crossed with ‘already impure Slavs’.¹⁷² Anthropologists consistently used these invaders to explain racial distinctions between Transylvanian and lowland Romanians.¹⁷³ From as early as 1903, foreign and native researchers repeatedly confirmed that mountain Romanians, usually identified as broad-heads, differed from lowlanders.¹⁷⁴

Especially as nationalism and international tensions intensified in the 1930s, serologists positioned Romanians racially far to the west, 'among the peoples of Europe'.¹⁷⁵ Popoviciu concluded in 1924–1925 that Transylvanians had a high frequency of 'European' group A, while 'barbarian' eastern invaders caused elevated B levels in the rich and accessible surrounding plains of Romania, Hungary and Poland.¹⁷⁶ Romanian serologists repeatedly confirmed this mountain-plain distinction, claiming a 'purity of European race' for central Transylvanian highlanders that was serologically equivalent to 'the Alpine race or even the Nordic', and was matched by just a few Western European mountainous regions.¹⁷⁷ In isolated Transylvanian mountain hamlets, where raciologists sought authentic Romanianness, Popoviciu identified pockets of A as vestiges of primordial, super-European proto-Romanians, preserved by isolation.¹⁷⁸ Lahovary had such confidence in this theory that he used serological data from Romania's highland 'historic and ethnic core' to represent all Romanians.¹⁷⁹ Popoviciu had a Francophone orientation unusual for Cluj, but Râmneanțu's research also placed Romanians between Western Europeans and more 'Mongoloid' Eastern Europeans.¹⁸⁰

Moldovan made Transylvania 'a powerful... centre of radiation of Romanian life... a nucleus of originary blood', determining 'the biological factor of the entire people' by supplying the 'somehow weak zones over the Carpathians'.¹⁸¹ Râmneanțu developed this idea into an anthropogeographic model of considerable sophistication in the 1940s, to make Transylvania the pulsing heart of the national organism. From this 'ethnographic hearth' or 'central nucleus... blood irradiated into' all Romania, in an ancient 'current of flux and reflux'.¹⁸² '[T]hrough the generator of vitality phenomenon', which was produced by 'the rooting of man in the same earth' for countless generations, populations 'which retreated into the mountains multiplied' and 'in moments of peace', Transylvania's 'biological abundance' flowed out 'to ever further distances'. They repeatedly renewed the Romanian populations of the plains. Râmneanțu added that 'all anthropogeographic studies' of Transylvanian Romanians recognised their demographic 'superior vitality'.¹⁸³

A 'strong sense of regional identity' and disillusionment with Romania's 'increasing centralization after 1920' nourished Cluj's idealisation of Transylvania.¹⁸⁴ Years in Germany reinforced Făcăoaru's superiority complex over easterners, who were further down the cultural gradient.¹⁸⁵ He systematically asserted Transylvanian cultural and racial superiority within Romania, finding 'a surprising regularity' in the superior 'biological

value' of Transylvanians, including higher proportions 'of the most gifted races'.¹⁸⁶ Like Nordacist portrayals of the Nordic, Transylvanians were 'more reflexive,' 'reserved,' 'phlegmatic,' and 'perhaps less nice and less naïve, but more mature and more self-possessed'. They had better blood composition and a 'hypokinetic', rather than 'hyperkinetic' temperament. The Transylvanian villager was less excessive in 'speech... gestures... eating, and especially', drinking and sex,...

... more disciplined, thrifter, more considered, more earnest, more orderly, is a better judge of people and things, is more solid in his work, more kind-hearted and less vain.

3. Relatively high levels of group B painted Hungarians as alien, inferior Asiatics.

Hungarians had an unremarkably European anthropometric profile. Lahovary in 1927 however relentlessly compared the serology of his predominantly 'Turanic' Hungarians with Asian peoples like the Japanese.¹⁸⁷ To demonstrate their racial isolation in Europe, he noted the difference of at least fifteen percent between the A-B balances of Hungary compared to most neighbouring countries. Most other pairs of central and eastern European neighbours differed by well below ten percent. Following Hungary's annexation of northern Transylvania in 1940, Râmneanțu and even the relatively moderate Alexandru Manuilă racially banished Hungarians to farthest Asia, making them serologically 'absolutely similar' to their 'Asiatic brothers' in 'Mongolia'.¹⁸⁸ Though the blood groups of plains Romanians approached Fischer's definition of the Mongoloid race, Popoviciu excluded any suspicion of Hungarian or other 'Mongoloid' blood there.¹⁸⁹ He explained away the frequency of group B on Romania's plains by proposing that when A and B blood mixed, B often dislodged and replaced the residual, primitive group O, which was common in 'isolated' populations like northwest Europeans, Filipinos, and American Indians.¹⁹⁰ Supporting Popoviciu's argument with scanty evidence, Romanian serologists generally linked group B on the plains with Slavs, the most European option available.¹⁹¹

4. Hungarians were really Magyarised Romanians.

Râmneanțu's 'life's work', accounting for almost half of interwar Romania's blood tests, was to show that Romanians and Szeklers, the third of Transylvania's Hungarian-speakers occupying a large enclave in southeast Transylvania, had 'equal' blood properties. Therefore, under their thin and relatively recent Hungarian cultural patina, Szeklers 'were in fact Romanians' and so 'rightfully belonged' to Romania.¹⁹² Backed by the raciology research of his friend Făcăoaru, Râmneanțu argued that local marriages racially diluted the originally Asiatic, Szekler frontier garrison which, with 'the authority of military men', had 'imposed' the Hungarian language in their families.¹⁹³ Râmneanțu used the different blood indices of modern Szeklers and Bulgarians to refute Hungarian historical theories that they had a common ancient origin on the Volga.¹⁹⁴ This dubious argument required modern Bulgarians to be pure-bred descendants of medieval steppe invaders, while Szeklers had supposedly changed racially. Reinforcing the traditional nationalist alliance between Romanians and the Saxon minority in Transylvania, He added that very high European indices and typically Saxon cultural and 'physical characteristics' in some Szekler villages proved that local Saxons too had been Szeklerised. Sometimes, Szeklers' true biological nature broke through the thin medieval cultural patina. They 'continued to entertain the relations established by their ancestors', Râmneanțu argued, blocking Budapest's attempts to completely Magyarise this territorial bloc 'in the dead centre of Romania'. In a rare use of anthropometric races by Cluj serologists, Râmneanțu said many Transylvanian Hungarians had race types more like *Moți* than Hungarians.¹⁹⁵ Făcăoaru agreed, adding that Transylvania Hungarians had a 'more favourable' racial mix than in Hungary, 'probably because of intensive mixing with Romanians, Slavs and more importantly with Germans'.¹⁹⁶

The two main Cluj serologists leap-frogged one another's ever more ambitious nationalist Szekler theories. Popoviciu claimed 'great' racial differences 'explain why' Szeklers like the race extremist Szabo Dezso, a maladapted 'isolate in the Hungarian mass', 'gravitated towards' and 'felt closer' to 'Romanian regions' and 'Latin culture' in their 'way of being' and 'spirit'.¹⁹⁷ However he added that not just Szeklers but all Transylvania Hungarians had 'identical' serological indices to neighbouring Romanians. He located recently Slavicised or Magyarised Romanians in Moldavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. 'Historical documents' and regional diversity in Hungarian 'anthropological aspect', folk culture, 'and

even moral qualities' proved that the original racial Hungarians had quite quickly 'mostly disappeared' in warfare, so that Hungarians were generally descended from Magyarised 'Romanians, Slavs and Teutons'. He added that the peoples of Bukovina, Bessarabia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans had 'striking' racial similarities because, he claimed incorrectly, they were 'all' once 'part of the Roman Empire'. This made them biologically Romanian, even if their ancestors never spoke Romanian. By making Romania heir to the Roman Empire, he arbitrarily claimed rights in perpetuity to the region's racial patrimony.

Popoviciu struggled however with the corollary that modern Hungarians could not then be considered Mongoloids. Although his data indicated just one serologically 'Asiatic' region in Hungary, he contrasted civilised, racially 'European' Budapest and Transylvania with the Asiatic Hungarian plains. Hungary's capital-province dichotomy was, he claimed, exceptionally 'accentuated'. The Magyar population' was 'inadaptable, always in revolt against' Budapest's 'foreign' 'European race and civilisation'.

The serologists' declared aim of reuniting 'peoples separated more' by politics than 'real differences', by claiming Transylvania Hungarians were racially Romanian, may not have been entirely cynical. Popoviciu and Râmneanțu cited many Hungarian language texts, and perhaps genuinely wanted to reconcile Transylvanian peoples which their own bilingual cultural experience suggested were fundamentally alike.

CONCLUSION

Many nationalist, racial and scientific concepts filtered into Romania from the west. Nineteenth-century Romanians identified with France, as their main model of modernity and Latin culture. Twentieth-century anthropology in Romania, as in neighbouring countries, fell much more under the strident spell of German neo-romantic nationalism and advanced techniques of raciology and serology. Romanian anthropologists imaginatively selected and combined elements from international science and made some initial steps towards methodological and taxonomic innovation, such as identifying Romania's type X. However the late emergence and weak institutionalisation of Romanian race science made it a much less autonomous international actor than its Polish counterpart. All major Romanian race narratives, including serology's Transylvania theory, the only one which came close to achieving broad acceptance among Romanian

classifiers, therefore conflicted in some way with wider Romanian nationalist narratives.

Several interwar anthropologists clung to French models of the nation as a racial synthesis, even though neo-romantic Romanian nationalism had for decades insisted on pure Dacian ancestry. Some even imported ethnic Celtic ancestors from French anthropology, though Celts had no significant role in Romanian national narratives. The norms of their discipline focussed Romanian raciologists' attention on anthropometric types, rather than the ethnic groups which mattered most in nationalist discourse. Whereas German, French and Polish raciology connected particular types with emotionally important ethnic ancestors, to establish national races, Romanian raciologists never reached consensus on a national type. In a country full of dark brachycephals and with established traditions of national ethnic synthesis, Nordacist raciologists sneered at France's dark, broad-headed Alpine race and synthesis narratives. Unrealistically, they ached to make Romanians blond, dolichocephalic and racially pure.

In this period of disintegration of Europe's raciological community, even very weak national anthropological establishments could exploit international divisions to achieve some freedom. Other than Făcăoaru, who went so native in Germany that he looked down on many of his compatriots, Romanian classifiers created quite useful anthroposociological *bricolages*. They mapped the Nordacist hierarchy of racial value onto Romanian class and rural-urban divisions, but managed to reconcile these hierarchies with neo-romantic worship of archaic peasant purity by borrowing French narratives of the nation as a racial synthesis. Dynamic modern urban elites and authentic but socially inferior peasants (who linked the nation with the land and deep history) became unequal but complementary symbiotes.

Romanian strategies to exploit the diversity of raciology were nevertheless uncoordinated, technical innovations were minor, and attempts to adopt such unsuitable foreign ideals as ethnic Celts and blond Nordics indicated a deep dependence on the techniques and master narratives of 'international' raciology. Raciology's positivist ideal did not help. While studiously apolitical scientists like Necrasov and Rainer avoided politicised racial identity narratives, Făcăoaru promoted 'scientific' Nordicism over Romanian nationalism.

The etiquette of international serology permitted far more outrageous nationalist breaches of scientific ethics. Romanian serologists very effectively portrayed Transylvanians as superior Westerners and Hungarians as

Asiatic barbarians. However international serology's fundamental axiom of Western superiority led Romanian serologists to reinforce Romania's old Roman origin tradition, rather than the native Dacian origin that was by then firmly established in mainstream Romanian neo-romantic nationalism.

In the international crossdisciplinary European interchanges that produced and defined concepts like race purity, synthesis, neo-romanticism, science and nationalism, Romania was a much weaker participant than Poland, originating and exporting far less than it received. Disciplinary institutionalisation, imaginative reception strategies and the rise of serology suggest that Romanian race anthropology might ultimately have followed Polish anthropology and Romanian historiography in developing independent national race narratives. However Romanian race classification never escaped its dependence on foreign training, publications and methods before communism put an end to the project. Regional schools, with distinct political agendas and foreign connections, isolated practitioners from one another and from Romania's wider nationalist discourse. Romanian classification's identity narratives exploited Westernising, elitist or neo-romantic identities from international anthropology, raciology and serology, but were constrained by foreign disciplinary norms. German raciology's technical modernity and association with *völkisch* nationalism for example appealed to Romania's neo-romantic ethno-nationalists much more than the Western retreat from race, but carried the rather unsuitable baggage of Nordicism.

NOTES

1. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 6–8), Milcu (1954: 1, 7–15 & 21–22), and Turda (2010: 35).
2. Turda (2012: 1).
3. Obédénare (1877: 255) and Milcu (1954: 7).
4. Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 6–7), Milcu (1954: 8 & 12), and Turda (2010: 36).
5. Milcu (1954: 8–10) and Lahovary (1927: 12–13).
6. Milcu (1954: 15).
7. Necrasov (1941: 3 & 10), Milcu (1954: 13, 19 & 22), and Rădulescu (1941: 245–46 & 266).
8. 1937: 20.
9. Pittard and Donici (1926: 62, 71 & 114), Botez (1938: 37), and Turda (2012: 14).

10. Făcăoaru (1937: 100).
11. Milcu (1954: 10–11).
12. Milcu (1954: 21–22) and Bucur (2002: 69).
13. Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 8), Milcu (1954: 10), and Dumitrescu (1934: 141).
14. Necrasov (1941: 3–4 & 9), Milcu (1954: 20), and Bucur (2002: 69).
15. Milcu (1954: 13 & 20).
16. Rădulescu (1941: 264–65), Necrasov (1941: 3–4), and Turda (2012: 10).
17. In Turda (2001: 104).
18. Szilagyi-Gal (2002: 84) and Turda (2004: 136).
19. Szilagyi-Gal (2002: 84).
20. Râmneanțu (1941a: 149).
21. Rădulescu (1941: 27 & 59), Treptow and Popa (1996: 64, 119–20 & 140–41), and Turda (2012: 14).
22. Săhleanu (1979: 18), Treptow and Popa (1996: 146), and Bucur (2002: 35).
23. Rainer (1937a: 6), Făcăoaru (1943: 297), and Necrasov (1941: 126–27).
24. Riga and Călin (1966: 145 & 155), Milcu (1954: 11, 17 & 20), and Botez (1938: 12).
25. Milcu (1954: 13–16), Manuilă and Popoviciu (1924: 542), and Făcăoaru (1939b: 296–79).
26. Făcăoaru (1939b: 278–79), Necrasov (1941: 8), and Milcu (1954: 13 & 20–22).
27. Rădulescu (1941: 264–65), Milcu (1954: 13), and Râmneanțu (1939: 326).
28. Rădulescu (1941: 275–76) and Bucur (2002: 26).
29. Bucur (2002: 27–28) and Rădulescu (1941: 247).
30. Săhleanu (1979: 86) and Bucur (2002: 26–27 & 34).
31. Predescu (1940: 683), Bucur (2002: 26–27, 33–38, 68–69 & 110), and Săhleanu (1979: 68 & 86–87).
32. 1938: 3.
33. Lahovary (1927: 5), Făcăoaru (1938b: 279, 1943: 292 & 295).
34. Gould (1981: 227), Orsucci (1998: 7), and Făcăoaru (1936: 13–15).
35. Bucur (2002: 39) and Milcu (1954: 11).
36. Turda (2010: 36).
37. Milcu (1954: 11 & 19).
38. Făcăoaru (1939b: 280) and Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 16).
39. Turda (2004: 136) and Bologa and Iszak (1962: 219).
40. Săhleanu (1979: 68), Bucur (2002: 68), and Turda (2007: 364).
41. Borcescu (1918: 10) and Rădulescu (1941: 245).
42. Rădulescu (1941: 248) and Necrasov (1941: 10–11).

43. Lebzelter (1929: 67–69).
44. Milcu (1954: 11).
45. Rădulescu (1941: 250 & 261–62), Landra (1942: 29), and Lahovary (1927: 12–13).
46. Predescu (1940, 38, 42–43 & 691).
47. Borcescu (1918: 5–6), Landra (1942: 29), and Predescu (1940: 324).
48. Borcescu (1918: 6), Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 6), and Milcu (1954: 23–24).
49. Săhleanu (1979: 50, 72 & 80) and Necrasov (1975: 210).
50. Turda (2001: 99–102).
51. Turda (2003: 29–30).
52. Necrasov (1975: 209–10), Botez (1938: 9), and Săhleanu (1979: 72).
53. Bucur (2002: 37 & 112).
54. Racovita and Valentiny (1926: 368 & 400).
55. Dumitrescu (1927: 13–14), Râmneanțu (1935: 54–55, 1938: 9 & 223).
56. Rainer (1937: 11–12), Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 533–34 & 605), and Necrasov (1941: 13–14).
57. Evans (2010: 12).
58. Făcăoaru (1943: 295), Rainer (1937: 11), and Săhleanu (1979: 91).
59. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 605).
60. Boia (2002: 26, 29–30 & 75), Romanians previously identified with their Orthodox Slavic neighbours, but nationalism shifted the emphasis from religion to ethnicity and cultural differentiation.
61. Kolarz (2003: 136–38).
62. Boia (2002: 29–30 & 33).
63. See Chapter 4; Boia (2002: 30–32).
64. In their political rivalry with other Transylvanian ethnic factions, early modern Saxons also claimed native Dacian descent, abruptly switching to a German origin following Hapsburg conquest after 1683 (Armbruster 1977: 226–27).
65. Pittard (1903a: 36, 39, 46, 48 & 65), Săhleanu (1979: 33 & 94–95), and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 90 & 98).
66. Eickstedt (1934: 384).
67. Obédénare (1877: 253–54).
68. Pittard (1903a: 36).
69. French and Scottish theorists of the 1860s–1870s also used blond Celts to reconcile French Celtic synthesis with Nordicism (see Chapter 5).
70. Necrasov (1941: 84 & 98) and Rainer (1937: 21).
71. Daniel (1940: 490–93).
72. Obédénare (1877: 253–54) and Daniel (1940: 491).
73. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 104 & 617).
74. Daniel (1940: 472 & 489–96).

75. Bollenbeck (1999: 297–98) and Turda (2001: 105–6).
76. Boia (2002: 77 & 179).
77. Turda (2001: 106–7), Boia (2002: 95), and Bucur (2002: 111).
78. Boia (2002: 95).
79. Kogălniceanu (1976: 55–57) and Boia (2002: 29).
80. Boia (2002: 29).
81. Preda (1924: 14–15).
82. Săhleanu (1979: 92), Pittard (1903b: 36, 1920: 11 & 60).
83. 1920: 11 & 60.
84. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 608) and Turda (2010: 38).
85. 1941a: 611–13 & 617.
86. 1937: 125.
87. Pittard (1920: 11 & 60), Râmneanțu (1935: 49–50), and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 536).
88. 1941a: 613 & 615.
89. Săhleanu (1979: 94).
90. Boia (2002: 31–36).
91. Manuilă (1943: 5–6 & 10).
92. 1920: 56.
93. Lecca (1924: 10), Necrasov (1941: 115), and Manuilă (1943: 5–6 & 9–11).
94. 1920: 57 & 625–26. His similar conclusion two decades earlier, on far flimsier evidence, suggests a fixed Romanian nationalist agenda (1903a: 35–37)
95. 1903b: 36.
96. 1943: 5–6 & 9–12.
97. 1924: 14–15.
98. Milcu (1954: 19) and Săhleanu (1979: 33 & 94).
99. Săhleanu (1979: 94).
100. 1927: 14–15 & 27.
101. Kolarz (2003: 136–38) and Pittard (1920: 57 & 625–26).
102. Făcăoaru (1943: 284).
103. Bucur (2002: 39 & 146) and Milcu (1954: 16).
104. Pittard (1920: 32).
105. Făcăoaru (1943: 292), Lahovary (1927: 34), and Landra (1942: 43).
106. Rainer (1937: 20) and Dumitrescu (1927: 21).
107. Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 77–78, 103, 607–8, 615 & 633).
108. Pittard (1903b: 79) and Milcu (1954: 20).
109. 1938c: 26; 1942: 141.
110. Eickstedt (1934: 366).
111. Rainer (1937: 20) and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 77 & 103).
112. 1941a: 77.

113. Rainer (1937b: 20), Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 607), and Lecca (1931: 6).
114. 1927: 19–20.
115. Făcăoaru (1943: 14, 295 & 299–300), Preda (1924: 9–14), and Săhleanu (1979: 96).
116. Lahovary (1927: 44), Preda (1924: 9–14), and Făcăoaru (1943: 279–83, 292, 298–300 & 310).
117. 1943: 288 & 298–300.
118. 1940: 472 & 489.
119. Tornquist-Plewa (2002: 221).
120. Săhleanu (1979: 33 & 95–96) and Preda (1924: 9 & 14).
121. 1924: 10 & 14.
122. 1927: 34.
123. Preda (1924: 10).
124. Daniel (1940: 492) and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 617).
125. Lebzelter (1929: 68) and Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 16). Oddly however, Râmneanțu attributed Austrian-Romanian serological affinities to ancient Teutonic settlers, apparently supporting Lebzelter (Râmneanțu 1941a: 147).
126. Rădulescu (1941: 261–263) and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 615).
127. 1941: 261–63.
128. Făcăoaru (1938b: 283–84) and Bucur (2002: 39, 111 & 146).
129. 1940: 489.
130. Făcăoaru (1942: 141) and Lahovary (1927: 14–15 & 27).
131. Săhleanu (1979: 95), Făcăoaru (1937: 137, 1942: 141), and Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 17).
132. Făcăoaru (1936: 15), Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 18 & 93), and Turda (2012: 19).
133. In 1921 however, an Italian anthropologist had identified a ‘Carpathian type’ in Transylvania (Turda 2012: 7).
134. Făcăoaru (1936: 15–16), Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 18 & 93), and Landra (1942: 42–43).
135. Necrasov (1941: 9 & 124), Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 7), Popoviciu (1935–36: 78, 1938: 5 & 7–8), and Făcăoaru (1943: 296).
136. Râmneanțu continued ‘a full professional’ scientific life in communist Romania (Bucur 2002: 37). His lobbying in response to communist concerns about Romania’s declining birth-rate may have influenced the infamous 1966 recriminalisation of abortion, which reprised Râmneanțu’s interwar policy proposals by imposing regular state gynaecological tests and forcing ‘even teenage single mothers’ to have children who often ended up in ‘appallingly managed orphanages’ (Bucur 2002: 227–29). This laid the foundations for Bucharest’s continuing tragedy of glue-sniffing street children.

137. Milcu (1954: 13 & 22), Rădulescu (1941: 266), and Bucur (2002: 37–40 & 145).
138. 1937: 118 & 123.
139. Bucur (2002: 145–46) and Râmneanțu (1935: 46 & 53).
140. Bucur (2002: 145–46).
141. Bucur (2002: 38 & 145), Făcăoaru (1936: 5), and Papilian and Velluda (1941b: 616).
142. 1936: 10, 1937: 123.
143. Bucur (2002: 39) and Turda (2012: 15–16).
144. 1942: 141–42.
145. 1936: 10, 1938b: 279–81 & 286.
146. 1938b: 286.
147. Bucur (2002: 38).
148. Boia (2002: 77 & 179).
149. 2002: 37 & 112. Up close, Nazism was more unsettling. Făcăoaru called Germans ‘hardworking’ and ‘consummately measured’, but ‘much more impulsive and more inclined to brutality,’ than the ‘calm’ Scandinavians (1935–1936: 96).
150. 1935–1936: 92–98.
151. Bucur (2002: 38–39, 112 & 146).
152. Moldovan (1943: 16) and Bucur (2002: 40).
153. 1943: 390.
154. 1938b: 281–82 & 285.
155. Făcăoaru (1938b: 278–85) and Bucur (2002: 146).
156. Szilagyi-Gal (2002: 86–87).
157. 1938b: 279.
158. Bucur (2002: 113).
159. 1943: 281–83 and Turda (2007: 370).
160. 1936: 17, 1938b: 282, 1942: 142.
161. 1943: 284.
162. Râmneanțu (1935: 47), Landra (1942: 32), and Manuilă (1943: 6).
163. Popoviciu (1938: 4–5), Rădulescu (1941: 266), and Lahovary (1927: 49).
164. Râmneanțu (1939: 327).
165. Moldovan (1943: 16), Bucur (2002: 40), and Săhleanu (1979: 73 & 94).
166. Eickstedt (1940: 180), Manuilă and Popoviciu (1924: 543), and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 7).
167. CIAAP (1939: 1378–79), Popoviciu (1938: 5 & 7), Făcăoaru (1943: 296), Popoviciu (1935–36: 78), Săhleanu (1979: 96), and Manuilă (1943: 7).
168. Pârvan (1937: 6) and Mitu (2006: 92).

169. Bucur (2002: 68).
170. Lebzelter (1935: 68–69), Bucur (2002: 68), and Necrasov (1941: 7–8).
171. Pittard (1903a: 46 & 83), Kogălniceanu (1976: 55 & 59), and Slavici (1881: 49).
172. 1940: 489.
173. Pittard (1903a: 39, 46, 48 & 65), Preda (1924: 14), and Râmneanțu (1941a: 153).
174. Pittard (1903a: 39, 46, 48, 65 & 83) and Turda (2012: 10 & 12).
175. Predescu (1940: 683), Popoviciu (1938: 13), and Lahovary (1927: 27).
176. 1925: 155–58 & 162–63.
177. Popoviciu (1925: 158, 1938: 12), Râmneanțu (1938: 222, 1939: 327, 1941a: 153).
178. 1925: 158–59.
179. 1927: 34.
180. Râmneanțu and David (1935: 56–57 & 62).
181. Săhleanu (1979: 66) and Mitu (2006: 92).
182. 1943: 374, 1946, 2 & 145–46.
183. Râmneanțu (1946: 145–46).
184. Szilagyî-Gal (2002: 84), Bucur (2002: 30), and Râmneanțu (1946: 145).
185. See Chapter 4.
186. 1943: 295–8 & 305.
187. 1927: 30–32.
188. Manuilă (1943: 3, 6 & 9–10) and Râmneanțu (1941a: 148 & 153–54).
189. 1938: 10 & 12.
190. 1925: 160–63.
191. Popoviciu (1938: 10 & 12), Râmneanțu (1935: 52), Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 613). Right-wing German race science influenced Râmneanțu and Popoviciu, but unlike Romania’s Nordicists, these Romanian serologists did not parade anti-Slav or anti-Alpine prejudices (Popoviciu 1938: 13; Daniel 1940: 489). In Transylvania, Hungary massively outweighed Russia as a perceived threat (Popoviciu 1938: 13).
192. Bucur (2002: 145) and Râmneanțu (1935: 45–46 & 53, 1941a: 151 & 154–55).
193. Râmneanțu (1935: 45–46, 1941b: 150 & 155), Făcăoaru (1937: 124, 132 & 137), and Papilian and Velluda (1941a: 17).
194. 1935: 55.
195. 1939: 327.
196. 1937: 130; 1943: 284.
197. Popoviciu (1938: 3–4 & 8–15).
198. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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Conclusion

After all, science is essentially international, and it is only through lack of the historical sense that national qualities have been attributed to it.

(Marie Curie 1926)

Race classification was deeply political and supported some appalling racist and militaristic positions. It offered society just one major practical service. By identifying nations with particular races, it legitimised political and especially nationalist positions as biologically natural.¹ This in turn affected the pursuit of politics, and ultimately therefore, the everyday lives of Europeans. Dismissing race classification as an irrelevant pseudoscientific historical aberration, based on politicisation and scientific error, discredits racism in science. However, this makes race classification irrelevant for thinking about the dangers of politicisation in current scholarship. Ultimately therefore, it is unhelpful.

This book instead explores the continuous tension between nationalist chauvinism and positivist science, which was at the heart of race classification and, as historians regularly recognise,² many other sciences. Most classifiers promoted nationalist and other political positions in their work, but they also genuinely aimed to be serious practitioners of normal science. They usually acted as such and this is how many contemporaries viewed them. As historians of science recognise, influences between science and politics travelled both ways. Detailed survey data for example encouraged

the scientific formulation after 1900 of new races which were exploited in central and eastern European identity politics. Interwar nationalist Polish anthropologists meanwhile largely excluded themselves from nationalist territorial polemics over borderlands because they adopted the same Nordic ancestral skull type as ancient Germans.

This conclusion outlines the complex interactions between politics and science in race classification, and especially the role of geography. Following the conclusion, an epilogue examines the most recent attempt to apply biological evidence to the problem of ethnic history and identity, this time using evidence from genetics. I argue that the race classification episode offers insights about what is politically dangerous in the science of human diversity. My question is, are we drawing the most important lessons from it?

NATIONALISM VS. TRANSNATIONALISM

The transnationality of science was central to the intricate struggles of classifiers to combine their roles and identities as nationalists and scientists. Science's status as a socially accepted source of truth depended heavily on its universality. Research communication needed common idioms, canonical authorities, international conferences, methodological standardisation and the general acceptance of taxonomic tools like the cephalic index. Classifiers therefore organised themselves into tightly networked transnational communities and hoped to combine the race histories, geographies and psychologies of individual nations into universally accepted European or global schemes. These schemes played a vital role in transnationalising Europe's national identity narratives. Linguists for example were largely responsible for identifying transnational groupings like the Celtic, Slavic and Germanic families, which were crucial to national identity, and then amalgamating these into the even broader Aryan category.

However, this was no simple dichotomy between national and international levels. Interactions between them produced constantly evolving and overlapping regional and network geographies of kaleidoscopic complexity. Academic disciplinary organisation, self-definition and collaboration, power relations within international science, scientific evidence and theory, race classification's evolving narratives, and ethnic and ideological politics all continually shaped one another at different spatial levels. The particular configuration of these factors depended heavily on where race classifiers were located within the international scientific community and on their local social and political context. I insist on this because habits

of methodological nationalism and even of comparative work often lead historians and political scientists to neglect the empirical regional landscape of factors which shape (and constitute) politics and culture. This is rarely appreciated and even more rarely analysed. For example, placing Germany's raciological turn in a wider central and eastern European context, as I do, undermines the highly debated idea of Germany's supposed special path. Methodological nationalism can lead scholars to erroneous conclusions, for example that Virchow's 1876 schoolchild survey established dark brachycephals and blond dolichocephals as fundamental races³ or that Ripley and Deniker invented Nordic-Germanic race discourse around 1900.⁴ Both ideas had been already commonplaces in transnational anthropology for decades.

I also identify the multiple and radically diverse interactions between the anthropologies of overseas colonialism and national identity that, as Lafferton notes, the 'significant differences' between them often obscure.⁵ Anti-colonialism stimulated the early nineteenth century ethnological project in Europe, but then encouraged dangerous ideas such as polygenism, pigmentation-based race hierarchies, historical genocides and the objectification of study subjects. In return, European national race concepts like France's race synthesis and natural Germanic wanderlust legitimised colonial policies. In the twentieth century however, colonial preoccupations distracted western and especially British anthropologists from Europe, craniology and race, exacerbating an east-west split in the classification community. Even before fieldwork encouraged these anthropologists' more sympathetic views towards colonised peoples, their cultural intelligence gathering for colonial authorities, and focus on evolutionary development diverted them from Europe's fixed, biological races.

Race classifiers initially devised race schemes in their home countries, but soon extrapolated them to the rest of Europe. The most prominent racial distinction in classification of Europeans, between tall blonds and short brunets, was first identified by Edwards in the French population. Retzius's influential long and broad-skulled types were originally based on Swedes and Lapps in his native Sweden. Terminology reflected this broadening geography. Edwards's dark Gallic type was rechristened Celtic in the 1860s and Celto-Slavic in the 1870s. Once British and continental race psychology systems merged in the later nineteenth century, scientists across Europe recognised a common set of race stereotypes, organised around the dichotomy of peaceful Celto-Slavs and warlike Teutons.⁶ Ripley and Deniker then created authoritative syntheses of European race classification which dominated the discipline until its demise. These exchanged ethnic terms for more neutral geographical race names such as Mediterranean and Alpine.

Race psychologies were a crucial contribution of biological race classification to the transnationalisation of nationalist politics. They systematised existing national stereotypes on a transnational basis and gave them scientific credibility. National races were allocated, by general scientific consensus, particular psychological profiles, very often in contrast with those of rival nations. By evaluating their own traits positively and those of enemy nations negatively, scholars of rival nationalities were able to agree on the basic race psychology traits of all peoples and could therefore cohabit within this transnational community of race discourse.

These identity narratives naturalised rival ideological responses to pan-European challenges of modernity,⁷ and offered them scientific legitimisation, thus supporting particular political stances. Foreign conquest was established for example as natural to the brave, free, aristocratic, racially Nordic adventurers of Britain and Germany, while democracy was biologically inherent to the racially Celtic French. Discourses which emphasised either the purity or mixed nature of the national race set the tone for relations between ethnic groups and social classes. The *ressentiment* process, working through the transnational networks of scientific discourse on race psychology, therefore tended to create transnational geographies of political factors such as social mobility, democratisation and colonialism.

From the 1840s, positivists progressively assembled transnational communities of ethnologists and anthropologists. These liberal scientists represented nations as mixtures of different transnational races. This supported civic nationalist narratives of inclusion, open towards the lower classes, Jews and the subject nations of multiethnic empires like Britain, Austria and Hungary. However, beginning in the 1890s, intensifying centrifugal forces conspired to progressively tear transnational race anthropology apart. Nationalism was a crucial problem. Scientists were generally nationalists, ambitious for their countries to belong to the core of their science and impress foreign colleagues with original innovations. More destructively for transnationalism, they very often created classification narratives which chauvinistically denigrated rival nations, glorified their own, and justified its geopolitical objectives. The collapse of multi-ethnic empires in 1918 gave greater scope for exclusive race identities. Scientists found ways to rationalise politicised practices, convincing themselves for example that objective scientific facts underpinned their nationalist positions. Many naively believed that once combatants realised these facts, political conflict would end. Nationalistic impulses were exacerbated by the 1890s revival of romantic nationalism in science and broader culture,

in a virulent new conservative and racist strain that ultimately spawned Nazism. Whereas transnational scientific solidarity was vital for liberals to resist autocratic regimes, neo-romantics were happy to appeal to these regimes' belligerent nationalism.

I propose the concept of 'national race' as the key link between scholarly race classification and nationalist politics. Modern historians appropriated tribes like the Teutons or Celts, described by classical authors, as national ancestors. Ethnology gave these tribes racial physical and psychological features, and even though anthropology, as it professionalised, increasingly defined races exclusively by these features, anthropological races remained associated with ancient tribes and modern nations. Romantic nationalists decided for example that the French were Celts, ethnologists said the Celts were dark and broad-headed, and 1860s anthropologists gave the name Celt to this physical type. Anthropologists understood, even after Ripley rechristened this type the ethnically-neutral 'Alpine', that it remained the French national race. This connection with ethnic nationalism meant that race classification placed relatively little stress on non-ethnic identity categories such as religion. Nordic-Germanic race narratives did regularly claim Protestant superiority over Catholicism, but neither Polish nor Romanian anthropology emphasised religion, despite its intense importance in both national identities. Catholic Poles instead identified racially with their Orthodox Slav ethnic brothers.

Though research gradually proved that nations and even individual people were largely of mixed physical type, classifiers found ways to maintain the nation-race connection. They claimed national races were the most typical local types or had played a key role in the formation of national cultures. The national race concept legitimised modern geopolitical relations as continuations of prehistoric struggles between races. From the 1870s for example, accounts of prehistoric confrontations between Celto-Slav and Germanic races acted out the modern Franco-Slavic alliances against Germany and Austria.

Steadily rising geopolitical tensions, especially between the discipline's French and German 'great powers', helped impel race classification towards nationalism and disintegration. World War One isolated Russia and the Central Powers and generally soured international relationships. Anglophone anthropology, and the conferences it organised, tried to preserve international and interdisciplinary collaboration, but rival French-dominated congresses attempted to exclude Germany.

Paradoxically, anthropology's triumphs of geographical expansion and disciplinary institutionalisation and professionalisation contributed to this disintegration of race classification. Institutional insecurity had generated international and interdisciplinary solidarity among the diverse scholars that collaborated on nineteenth-century race classification. Some ethnologists were professional anatomists and naturalists and all claimed the prestige of natural science, but in practice many were antiquarian hobbyists. They organised societies which published journals, but just a few researchers, mostly in museums, were recognised professionally as ethnologists.

Classifiers therefore emphasised positivist rigour, scrupulous apoliticism and transnationalism to demonstrate their universal scientific legitimacy. Slavs particularly insisted on these in order to represent themselves as advanced scientists, worthy of national independence and respect from Western scholars. Once established institutionally however, patriotic anthropology had a chance to burnish national scientific prestige with innovative theories and contest foreign narratives that slighted national honour. Already in the 1860s, classification's confident western European leadership, and especially the French, blithely promoted nationally useful narratives. Some were established as hegemonic at the international level. This practice became increasingly divisive as new nation states multiplied and created autonomous and outspoken national scientific establishments. From the 1880s to the 1940s, more or less influential new nationalist narratives like the European Aryan Nordics that Germanicists proposed, Sergi's Mediterraneans, Finnish and Polish East Europeans and Czekanowski's Slavic Nordics fractured international scientific consensus.

DISCIPLINES AND INSTITUTIONALISATION

The national race concept made interdisciplinarity indispensable to race classification, but the professionalisation of disciplines massively disrupted interdisciplinary collaboration.

To build university institutions, anthropologists needed political and public support, relayed via the state or through societies of enthusiasts. This support generally rewarded politically usable race classifications. Non-scientists were happy to accept that nations had a race biology component but largely understood nations in terms of cultural (i.e. non-biological) factors such as language and politics. To make biological races politically meaningful therefore, biologists had to graft race histories onto national histories based on written sources, ancient artefacts and language

patterns. Politically useful ideas like race psychology and race hierarchies were particularly closely dependent on judgements about cultural attributes of peoples, such as their modernity or Europeanness. Race classifiers therefore had to collaborate with scholars of culture in an interdisciplinary studies programme like today's European studies or cultural studies.

Classification's very first incarnation, ethnology, was founded by medical men like Edwards and Prichard, who united two existing traditions in the 1820s–1830s. Enlightenment naturalists had classified global races, while proto-nationalist romantic historians, using mostly classical Greek and Roman sources, and antiquaries, who collected folklore, ancient objects and etymologies, speculated on the origins and filiations of European nations. Serving nationalist agendas through interdisciplinarity helped the nineteenth century's infant natural and social sciences to acquire university institutions. Broca in Paris refounded ethnology as craniology-centred anthropology in 1859 and it took off dramatically, making the crucial breakthrough to winning state support for dedicated university chairs. These offered a new base for systematic, continuous training and regularly financed research.

However, interdisciplinary research into particular subject matters, such as national races, was (and still is) in continuous tension with the disciplinary model of academic organisation, which is instead built around specific investigative methods. The creation of disciplinary institutions encouraged specialisation and professionalisation, which undermined the interdisciplinary collaboration with cultural disciplines that politically useful race classification required. Philology, which developed the first ethnic taxonomy technique of apparent scientific rigour, was the central race history research method of ethnology, but became estranged from anthropology as both insisted on their own techniques and taxonomic results. Anthropology was more technically specialised and quantitative in its methods than ethnology, two factors which, as Bourdieu remarks, reinforce disciplinary boundaries.⁸

Anthropologists therefore used archaeology of human remains and artefacts, rather than philology, as their main source on the ethnic past. This drew their interdisciplinary coalition more tightly around their own core focus on biology and especially craniology. By 1840, anatomists like Blumenbach, Morton and Retzius had identified craniological markers of ethnicity which Broca then turned into a quantitative statistical technique for mass surveying. The drive towards specialisation and professionalism meant that throughout the history of race classification, scientifically pres-

tigious quantification advanced at the expense of descriptive approaches, despite the inherent difficulty of reducing biological forms to numbers. As university institutions began to socialise students into professional disciplinary methods, scholars increasingly preferred to concentrate on the issues and insist on the results that emerged from their own research, rather than collaborate and compromise with other disciplines in a common classification project. Professionalisation also made overtly political scholarship less acceptable. Anthropology thus increasingly stressed apolitical positivism and excluded the 'unscientific' tradition of philosophical or political ethnology.

These strains in interdisciplinarity were exacerbated by repeated failed attempts to correlate biological with cultural traits. The reason, as scientists ultimately demonstrated in the 1940s, was that the race concept is inherently chimeric, but until then, desperate to preserve national races, classifiers adopted successive sources of evidence as keys to ethno-racial history. They tried classical texts, etymologies, philology, skull shape, archaeological artefacts, pigmentation and blood type, but accumulating evidence forced them to discard each in turn. Hitler's rise to power made race classification increasingly radioactive for foreign anthropologists, but in any case, they had been gradually abandoning it since craniology 'collapsed under its own weight' in the 1890s.⁹ Anthropology's interdisciplinary race project unravelled amid a Babel of competing reform proposals.

Despite this profound crisis, interwar classifiers found ways to resuscitate their project for one last time, organising the new interdisciplinary coalitions of raciology and serology around the neo-romantic renaissance of *völkisch* nationalism and racist political theory. They also used Mendelian genetics to claim physical traits were inherited in racial bundles. Despite their sometimes extreme nationalism and racism however, these classifiers still clung to internationalism, cosmopolitanism and a positivist scientific identity. Outside of Stalin's Soviet Union, they maintained international links, including by becoming more Eurocentric. From the 1870s, anthropology increasingly evolved, both organisationally and in narratives like the three-race scheme and Scandinavian Aryans, from an open international system with a Parisian or west European centre to a closed system of superior Europeans. International communication in interwar race science sometimes excluded Jews or non-Whites.

I argue that the repeated resuscitation of ethnic classification, as anti-quarianism, philology, ethnology, anthropology, raciology and serol-

ogy, demonstrates the importance to classifiers of their political role. To preserve the crucial link between race and nation, they maintained an extremely conservative central tradition across several of these projects, including elements such as skull shape, the Germanic race, interdisciplinary alliances and especially the national race link itself. Even race psychology survived to the end, despite its extremely weak and unsystematic evidence base in popular stereotypes and interpretations of race history. Because classifiers provided nations with ancient roots, race history and (especially in cases of national territorial dispute) race geography were constant preoccupations. Classification practices evolved very slowly and hesitantly. Even some profoundly innovative taxonomic methodologies, like those of Sergi and Czekanowski, essentially reproduced long established, recognised European races schemes. The early nineteenth-century polygenist model of physically and psychologically-fixed eternal races was tailor-made for ethno-nationalist accounts of the adventures of nations since prehistory. In the century from romantic ethnology to interwar raciology, this model survived successive scientific paradigm shifts. Monogenist, evolutionist and Mendelian race classifiers successively adopted its politically essential parts without unduly disturbing the central tradition. When research discredited key elements of this tradition, such as the racial homogeneity of modern ethnic groups, theorists fell back on arguments that originally pure races stamped their cultures indelibly onto modern groups.

REGIONAL GEOGRAPHIES

The neo-romantic raciological recovery largely took place to the east of the Rhine. Race classification continued to decline in the western colonial powers, while Scandinavia took an intermediate course. Western nationalist narratives simultaneously shifted from ethno-racial superiority (e.g. Anglo-Saxonism) towards accounts of national synthesis and superior civilisation. As a result, by the mid-twentieth century, biological and cultural western anthropologies were largely separate and both generally ignored race.

This east-west division was one of several regional patterns, all of which involved specific constellations of countries, rather than just an abstract vertical interaction between spatial scales such as the national and European. Interactions between transnational science, national politics and other factors often created overlapping, contradictory and continuously evolving

regional geographies of networks and narratives. Race narratives, practices and interdisciplinary alliances in specific countries depended in part on which set of these transnational factors affected them. Individual disciplines for example developed distinct spatial patterns, such as German domination of nineteenth-century philology and the predominance of Germany, central and eastern Europe and Italy in interwar serology. Races and related taxons such as language families were themselves important regional factors, as were racial geopolitical schemes like the Celto-Slav versus Nordic dichotomy. These narratives of regional identity affected scholarly practices. 'Celtic' and Slavic scholars were therefore central to Celtic and Slavic studies, respectively. Slavic classifiers meanwhile downplayed national disputes between Poles and Russians, to concentrate their fire on their common German enemy.

Older cultural factors also shaped regional geographies. The thriving nationalistic and neo-romantic raciology across central and eastern Europe was due in part to a long-established regional network of intellectual links with Germany, as well as a common regional legacy of ethno-nationalism, which principally defined nations by cultural features like language, but envisioned them as ancient biological bodies of descent. In Latin countries meanwhile, the anti-scientific conservatism of the Catholic Church stimulated a fruitful opposing alliance between reformers and race classifiers, which enabled the precocious institutionalisation of anthropology.

Like all academic communities, race classification and its regional patterns were suffused with power relations. Scientifically advanced countries and the northern blond race functioned as core regions of European networks and narratives respectively. Due to the modern scientific development and wealth of industrialised north-west Europe and the US, race classification there institutionalised early and securely. Race classification's core, centred around France, Germany and England, and especially their languages, was a crucial institution for international standardisation, developing most canonical techniques and race schemes. France, particularly in the nineteenth century, and Germany, peaking in the late Enlightenment and interwar periods, produced the largest and most internationally influential literatures, followed by England, especially in the mid-nineteenth century. Swedes, Scots, Americans and Italians made more episodic major contributions, particularly through key individuals like Retzius, Morton and Sergi.

In much of the east and Mediterranean by contrast, foreign elites were almost the only producers of internationally recognised European classification. Leading peripheral or provincial researchers (in Dublin, Cracow or Lyon) were recognised in full standing in international classification, but the weak development of local anthropology left them isolated and dependent on the local metropolis or the wider international classification community for technical resources and professional validation. Core scholars took peripheral classifiers less seriously and even relied on non-local experts for authoritative anthropological description of more peripheral areas. Peripheral scholars published and attended international conferences less and had certain distinctive characteristics in their use of 'international' languages.

Whereas communication within the core was open and multilateral, some peripheral regions communicated almost exclusively with the locally dominant core country, relying on them for training, canons, methodologies, models and so on. Belgium, Francophone Switzerland and perhaps Italy and Iberia tended to defer to and privilege communication with Paris, while London was the capital of English-language classification. Scandinavia and central Europe were tightly bound to the scientific nation of German speakers. However the core was a transnational archipelago of centres as much as a territorial region. Particularly in countries which centralised science in the capital (France, England), provincial cities were quite peripheralised. German and Italian race anthropology were much more decentralised. Rival race classification schools within countries were based in different institutions in the capitals of centralised countries and different cities of decentralised ones.

Though not unconstrained by international interdependence, powerful core nations could convincingly market original schemes which represented national races, such as Retzius's 1840s Aryans and Broca's 1860s Celts, as superior. Mutually-beneficial symbioses with peripheral Europeans, such as the Celto-Slav alliance between Paris and the Slavs, helped promote these schemes to international hegemony, but the centre only accepted marginal reinterpretations of internationally dominant race psychologies from peripheral figures. The most peripheral scholars, in Ireland or Romania, often merely invested in those disciplines (philology and serology respectively) that happened to support their nationalist positions. They could not mould them to their needs. Romanian serologists even renounced the nationalist doctrine of autochthonism to tally with international discourse in their field.

This unsatisfactory situation for nationalist peripheral classifiers was an important centrifugal force in transnational race classification, as its core area expanded spectacularly from the 1890s. Italy,¹⁰ America and Russia successively became important. After 1918, newly-independent central European countries like Poland invested heavily in anthropology at universities. The Balkans, Iberia, and larger European colonies also began participating in classification. Institutionalisation finally allowed them to credibly question international hegemonic narratives and promote original theories abroad.

Even without this change, core-periphery relations were often contested, particularly where, as for the Slavs, Irish and others, the local Germanic scientific centre was the main national adversary. Slav classifiers thus often criticised German counterparts, declaring fraternity with France and participating in French-led congresses, while training in Germany, reading German authorities and adopting German raciology. Given Scandinavia's weaker dependency on Germany and the later core status of Poland and Prague however, plus Germany's decentralisation, this entire greater central and eastern European zone arguably acted more as a sub-community of the core than as a German-centred core-periphery system.

Narratives also had regional geographies. Classifiers from Germany, Scandinavia and points further east tended for example to disparage 'yellow', eastern Finns, Turanians and Mongoloids, whereas in Italian, Iberian and British identity discourse, inferiority instead lay southward towards Africa. The geographical position and high status of the northern blond, associated with Germanic-language nations and elite social classes, gave it a central transnational position in national race narration within Europe, which was analogous to the centrality of the scientifically most developed regions within the race classification community. Because Celts, Latins, Slavs and Finnish psychologies were all defined to an extent in contrast to aristocratic Germanic blonds, they tended to share certain overlapping characteristics, associated with the peasant or bourgeois classes. While core areas could sustain straightforwardly supremacist race psychology narratives as conquering elites or civilised bourgeois, race identity narratives in peripheral countries were often compensatory, predicting future modern material success, or dismissing materialism and Westernisation as shallow and alien. Morash thus says international Celtic scholarship reduced Irish Celticist politics to a 'mundane, parochial, diminished' affair in its narratives, despite boosting the international prestige of Ireland's Celts and Celtic scholars in transnational networks.¹¹

NOTES

1. Medical journals therefore for example had little interest in publishing race-serology (Schneider 1996: 283 & 291).
2. Heilbron et al. (2008: 148).
3. Zimmerman (2001: 135–36 & 144–45).
4. Evans (2010: 84 & 92).
5. 2007: 712.
6. McMahon (2009).
7. McMahon (2009).
8. 2004: 47–48.
9. Fee (1979: 432).
10. Maria Quine rejects representations of Italy as a latecomer to anthropology but my data and Italy's difficulty in organising surveys make its early core status ambiguous (Quine 2013: 128 & 142–43).
11. 1998: 212.
12. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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EPILOGUE

GENETICS: RACE CLASSIFICATION REDUX?

What does my analysis of race classification tell us about whether the new ethno-biological classifications of genetics risk reproducing its hateful, divisive politics of race classification? One clear difference is that the race concept is no longer safely available to scientists. Since the 1960s especially, civil rights movements, decolonisation and Holocaust memorialisation have established increasingly sensitive social taboos around biological race. Geneticists question whether race has any ‘useful biological meaning’.¹ [F]erocious scientific and political’ condemnation has confronted attempts to link race with intelligence by the IQ theorist Hans Eysenck, the wider 1960s–1970s ‘mini resurgence’ of racial and biological determinism, the 1994 book, *The Bell Curve*, and DNA helix discoverer James Watson, who was fired as a result from his prestigious post in 2007.²

However, genetics appears to reproduce multiple other elements of the race classification project. Social scientists increasingly worry that its inexorable rise promotes biological constructions of human difference and might revive dangerous hierarchical racial ideas.³ The geographer Catherine Nash warns that today’s public sees genetics like the nineteenth-century saw anthropometry, as a ‘code of codes’ for human character traits, loyalties, vices and ‘entire intellectual architecture’.⁴ Geneticists periodically assert, mostly from twin studies, that genes determine violence, intelligence,

'risk-seeking' and hyperactivity.⁵ Jonathan Marks traces a continuous 'simplistic' and 'conceptually antiquated' tradition from interwar serology to genetic history⁶ of linking migrations of pure 'primordial races' with historical groups.⁷ Human biologists only abandoned the race concept in the 1970s and they still use race science data sets.⁸ A 2002 anthropological study meanwhile dismissed Boas's 1912 statistical evidence that environment changed skull shape, a vital underpinning of the scientific rejection of race, hinting that he sacrificed statistical rigour to combat scientific racism.⁹ Western investment and infrastructure may confer power over expensive genetic research, dictating research agendas and ethical frameworks while exploiting cheaply gathered data from poor countries.¹⁰

The human genome project relied on humanity's extreme genetic homogeneity, and geneticists 'consistently' contrast the great genetic diversity within population groups with the 'trivial differences' between them.¹¹ However, research focuses on the latter. Scholars heatedly dispute whether using traditional 'colour' races (black, White, yellow) to define research samples, target drugs and solve crimes can reinforce traditional essentialisms, open a 'back door' to eugenics or further criminalise African Americans.¹² Critics, including some geneticists, question whether biologists really understand complex, socially-constructed ethno-racial categories.¹³ Africa is the most genetically diverse continent, for example, but research frequently employs 'African' as a genetically homogenous category.¹⁴

Duplicating the goals of race anthropology, high-profile and intensely controversial genetic history research since the 1960s aims to discover how 'the travels and encounters of our ancestors' affect our 'current genetic variation'.¹⁵ Just like nineteenth-century philological analysis of phonemes, geneticists mostly reconstruct history from the geography of current diversity and theories about the order, rate and timing of mutations (variations/polymorphisms/markers).¹⁶ Rapidly developing technology has produced increasingly automated, rapid and inexpensive analyses of more precise genetic markers.¹⁷ The Italian medical researcher Luca Cavalli-Sforza, the founder of genetic history, thus moved in 1973 from sero-anthropology to analysing the genetically-determined organisation of proteins.¹⁸ Late 1970s technology permitted direct study of mitochondrial (mDNA), the late 1980s allowed 'large-scale statistical analysis' of genetic variation and mid-1990s Y-chromosome DNA analysis placed populations more precisely in space and time.¹⁹ Mitochondrial and Y-chromosome DNA are exclusively inherited through female and male

descent lines, respectively, and therefore not complicated by recombination in sexual reproduction, facilitating family trees of successive mutations. Genetic historians began analysing DNA from fossil humans in the 1980s, and in the mid-1990s, started using nuclear microsatellite markers, DNA sequences which do not encode expressed genes and are therefore not subject to environmental selection.²⁰ In 1991, a year after the Human Genome Project was launched, Cavalli-Sforza proposed a Human Genome Diversity Project, which inspired other large-scale international genetic history projects like HapMap and African Ancestry and national projects such as Irish Origins.²¹

Like race classifiers, genetic historians focus on the migrations, geography and filiations of politically significant populations, which are largely defined by cultural factors.²² A major geographical study of genetic variation in France, and European firms which trace customers' ancestors, both link genes with ancient settlements of Franks, Bretons, Celts, Illyrians, Slavs, etc.²³ Like race anthropologists, genetic historians trade on association with prestigious medical advances and the 'objectivity' of their technology and 'rigorous mathematical logic'.²⁴ Critics are scorned as 'a troglodyte or Luddite—anti-technology, anti-progress, anti-science'.²⁵ Geneticists naively believe in an objective natural history of humanity, underestimating its potential for political instrumentalisation. They advertise their 'absolutely reliable and correct' research on genes, as the purest essence of inheritance, 'least contaminated' by interaction and environment, needing 'no interpretation from a historian or archivist'.²⁶ Like race classifiers, they believe they have discovered a unique window on prehistoric 'time-depth', pick study subjects 'well rooted in their populations', living locally for 'several generations', and treat supposedly genetically homogenous 'indigenous populations as historical isolates', assuming direct descent from prehistoric locals.²⁷ In line with romantic traditions, geneticists worry about preserving 'ancient genetic markers' and even divert funding towards conserving "'our heritage" culturally as well as biologically'.²⁸

Genetic history, just like race classification, is a tense interdisciplinary collaboration. Genetic studies explicitly link haplogroups (genetic groups) with Bantu or Indo-European speakers, ancient European archaeological cultures, and in one case, with a statistical distillation of folk music styles.²⁹ Geneticists must therefore work with physical anthropologists, paleoanthropologists, artefact archaeologists and linguists to reconstruct bio-cultural prehistory. However, they simultaneously criticise these scholars

as ‘subjective and ideology-ridden’.³⁰ Geneticists wade into long-running disputes within other disciplines, allying and clashing with the natives. Critics complain that despite lacking ‘a nuanced appreciation of the fossil record’ and archaeological cultures, they arrogantly ignore archaeological data, while demanding that archaeologists accept their ‘spectacular’ but ‘doubtful and unproven’ results.³¹ Geneticists are accused of ignoring the mismatched timescales of genetic and linguistic history, naively assuming the genetic reliability of surnames, and devising ‘superficial’ and ‘more or less arbitrary’ statistical codings for linguistic difference within ‘doubtful’ reconstructed language families.³² Physical anthropologists criticise their ‘narrowness’, ‘dilettantism’ and ‘arrogant’ ignorance of what they dismiss ‘virtually out-of-hand’ as ‘obsolete’ anatomical anthropology.³³ As in race classification, methodological differences impede interdisciplinary cooperation. Geneticists complain that linguists ‘artificially’ separate genetically similar groups because of a disciplinary bias towards dendrographic models.³⁴ Complex, abstract statistical arguments in genetics meanwhile alienate archaeologists.³⁵

A key controversy in genetic history recapitulates race science’s politicised monogenist-polygenist polemics.³⁶ In 1987, mtDNA data transformed a long-running dispute in palaeoanthropology and prehistoric archaeology. The genetic data supported ‘monogenist’ theories that modern humans migrated relatively recently ‘out-of-Africa’, 100–140,000 years ago, and replaced earlier, anatomically archaic human emigrants like Europe’s Neanderthal.³⁷ Supporters of the rival multiregional theory, like the archaeologist Milford Wolpoff, however, used genetic data to argue that archaic humans evolved separately into modern *Homo sapiens* in Europe and east Asia.³⁸

Biologists like Stephen Jay Gould and Richard Leakey ‘injected political venom’ and references to nineteenth-century race science into this debate, promoting out-of-Africa as ‘a compelling basis for a new politics’ of human solidarity, implying far shallower racial differences than in multiregionalism.³⁹ Multiregional theories of Neanderthals interbreeding with modern humans might, for example, give non-Africans exclusive access to genes ‘involved in cognitive function’, with consequences for the race-intelligence debate.⁴⁰ Reprising 1860s monogenist-polygenist polemics on the subject of prehistoric genocide, Wolpoff countered that out-of-Africa was a ‘story of Cain’ in which modern humans completely replaced archaic cousins, probably with violence, whereas multiregionalism required long-term ‘persistent... population contacts and shared

ideas' to maintain genetic similarity.⁴¹ Out-of-Africa also thrived on 'political correctness' and 'trumpeting' powerful new scientific technologies, while casting 'fossil hunters as old-fashioned dodderers'.⁴²

As in race science, genetic history has focussed heavily on Europe, described as the best studied part of the world.⁴³ Using citation⁴⁴ of a seminal genetic history text⁴⁵ as a proxy for participation in genetic history, I found that three of the field's five most widely-cited regional studies dealt with Europe. European studies also flourished early, in 1998–2001, a few years before research on Asia took off.

The very first major genetic history result specifically concerned Europe and has generated decades of intense controversy.⁴⁶ Around 1970, Cavalli-Sforza and the archaeologist Albert Ammerman discovered gradual geographical transitions (clines) in several protein factors from the Balkans to the British Isles.⁴⁷ They used these to support the controversial demic diffusion model, developed by 1960s prehistorians, in which Middle Eastern populations, swelled by agriculture, introduced farming into Europe through migration.⁴⁸ Cavalli-Sforza and Ammerman argued that although migrants increasingly interbred with locals as they spread west, they constitute as much as two-thirds of the modern European gene pool.⁴⁹ Archaeologists, who largely researched cultural diffusion and associated migration theories with an outdated nationalistic and racist archaeology, sharply criticised demic diffusion.⁵⁰ Cavalli-Sforza's camp in turn dismissively attributed this resistance to nationalistic indigenist prejudices.⁵¹

Like race science, genetics automatically touches on emotive and unsettled issues of descent and identity, currently sensitised by factors like migration and European integration. Scottish men, for example, rushed to donate when a Glasgow fertility clinic proclaimed it would import Danish sperm.⁵² Customers of genealogy firms use genes as a 'mystical object' to identify emotionally and imaginatively with peoples of the past.⁵³ Claims by geneticists to resolve questions of collective origins and migrations, backed by increasingly detailed data, and the 'mutable and volatile' meanings of their results, offer fertile ground for essentialist ethno-nationalist identity making.⁵⁴ Lebanese nationalists applauded the discovery of a 'Phoenician' gene.⁵⁵ On popular genetics blogs and nationalist websites meanwhile, Macedonians celebrate genetic findings that they belong to a native Mediterranean substratum, while their Greek nationalist rivals are relatively recent African immigrants.⁵⁶

Scholars worry that Irish research could also reinforce or revive nationalist discourses. Geneticists confirm Irish Travellers' claims to local rather

than Roma origin.⁵⁷ Ulster loyalists could meanwhile exploit genetic data linking Ulster with Scotland in order to support claims that their seventeenth-century Scottish forebears were ‘returning’ to Northern Ireland, from whence their own ancient ancestors had migrated.⁵⁸ Data showing genes from English garrisons among Aran Islanders undermine nationalist narratives of ‘Irish cultural and biological isolation’ and the ‘pure Gaelic blood’ of Ireland’s west.⁵⁹ By contrast, a study in 2000, correlating Gaelic, Norman and British surnames with genetic variation in Ireland, reported that 78.1 % of Irish men, and especially those with Gaelic surnames and from the ‘relatively isolated’ West, escaped genetic ‘mixing... from foreign sources’, preserving an ‘ancient’ genetic marker of Europe’s hunter-gatherers.⁶⁰ This could reinforce nationalist definitions of ‘true nationhood through native belonging’ via ‘the distant Gaelic past and Catholicism’ which informed the ‘heated’ 2004 debate on restricting immigrant rights to Irish citizenship.

A few genetic historians, like the Russian internet pioneer Anatole Klyosov, unashamedly revive the harsh, nationalistic polemics of 1930s racyology. He attacks the ‘founding fathers’ of international genetic history for uncritical interpretations, ‘erroneous’, ‘invented’ datings and ‘superficial conclusions’, reached without ‘justification’, ‘supporting facts’ or ‘serious scientific scrutiny’, to support their ‘historical convictions’.⁶¹ Klyosov promotes idiosyncratic theories in the Russian mass-media, insisting that haplogroup R1a, including up to 63 % of Russians, ‘has the same DNA’ as the chariot-riding ‘legendary Aryans’. He contrasts this peaceful haplogroup with the genocidal Rb1, or Arbins, who ‘comprise about 60 %’ of modern Western and Central Europeans. Based on obscure items of evidence, such as their supposed preference for base-20 number systems, he links these to Sumerians, Turks and the north Caucasus.

Klyosov’s language is extreme and he appears relatively isolated within a small circle of mutually citing collaborators. However, Poland’s ‘very animated’ nationalistic interdisciplinary debate on Slav origins has also ‘brimmed over into the media’.⁶² Maintaining Poznań’s tradition of patriotic prehistorical research, the veteran physical anthropologist Janusz Piontek explicitly embraces the tradition of Czekanowski and Kostrzewski, to argue for a Slav cradle on Polish soil. On behalf of a biology-centred interdisciplinary alliance, including geneticists, Piontek attacks the ‘failed’ ‘polemic’ of Polish artefact archaeologists, who ignore biological evidence to propose a Ukrainian Slav cradle or claim that ancient inhabitants of Poland genetically resembled Scandinavians.⁶³

Geneticists' 'publicity strategies' in 'a raft of popular books', documentaries and press articles on the 'relationships and history of human groups' can also encourage public misconceptions, reinforcing nationalist, ethnic or racial interpretations.⁶⁴ In a popular magazine targeting Irish-Americans, one geneticist subtitled her article 'the Irish really are a race apart'.⁶⁵ Marianne Sommer describes kitschy pastiches of *Genesis* in popular books by the leading geneticist Spencer Wells and his romanticisation of 'a sort of homecoming' to the 'peacefulness' of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle in the Tanzanian cradle of humanity.⁶⁶ This 'felt far more natural than our crazy world of office work, traffic, and urban alienation'. Geneticists often neglect to clarify that male- and female-specific DNA data can produce different histories, and although they purposely avoid the race classification language of types and groups, their alternative, gradients and clines, still 'suggest poles of purity at either end'.⁶⁷ The geographer David Livingstone says that maps produced by both geneticists and scientific race classifiers inevitably eliminate complexities, communicate ideological origin myths and naturalise identities.⁶⁸

Geneticists meanwhile cannot control how popularisers, journalists and other scholars use genetics. In 2006, the BBC reported that an evolutionary theorist at the London School of Economics predicted humanity's division into a 'genetic upper class' and 'dim-witted underclass' 'sub-species' within 100,000 years.⁶⁹ The 'scientist' concerned, however, protested that a soft-porn channel had commissioned the prediction as science fiction, but then publicised it as science on the back of his PhD in philosophy.⁷⁰ Nash meanwhile notes that if archaeologists can misread the intention of geneticists to use surnames as geographical rather than ethnic indicators, the general public surely would.⁷¹ The 'small but growing' economics literature that uses genetic and anthropometric difference as a statistical proxy for cultural distance (on the basis that culturally similar people tend to interbreed) offers still greater potential for misunderstanding.⁷² This literature correlates genetics with nation formation, international wealth differences and trade links.

Popularisers enthusiastically link genetics with ethnonationalism.⁷³ Press reports in 2000 claimed research showed that 'Jews and Arabs are "genetic brothers"',⁷⁴ and a popular Irish TV series on genetic history, *The Blood of the Irish*, regurgitated centuries-old Irish nationalist narratives of civilised Mediterranean origin by hinting that the 'truest' Irish came from Iberia.⁷⁵ A San Francisco newspaper reported one study as revealing a 'genetic signature nearly as unique to the Irish as leprechauns

and shamrocks'.⁷⁶ Ireland's isolation preserved a rare 'remnant of the first Western Europeans'. Less sympathetically, conservative British newspapers like the *Sunday Times* print headlines like "The Irish Are Not Celts" say experts', disparaging the identity narratives of former colonial natives by gloating over a 2004 finding that Insular 'Celts' were genetically distant from 'the classic Celtic homeland of Central Europe'.

The appropriation by journalists, the British National Party and Northern Irish ultra-loyalists of a 1999 speech by a Belfast archaeologist condemning 'notions of ethnic or racial purity', including in Ireland, demonstrates how little scholars control the reception of their words. Presumably unaware that it was echoing mid-nineteenth-century Whig race ethnologists (see Chapter 5), the *Sunday Times* used it to claim 'the whole idea of Celtic ethnicity... is a load of complete cock and bull... the average Irish person probably has more English genes than Celtic'.

Is Biology the Problem?

Among educated Westerners, and especially among scientists, eugenics and Nazi racism have created an enduring wariness about biological classifications of humanity. Mainstream geneticists therefore scrupulously condemn political use of their work, avoid discredited old racial categories, criticise racial assumptions by their colleagues and recognise that the complex interaction of multiple genes and environmental factors makes understanding genetic psychology 'surprisingly intractable'.⁷⁷

Suspicion of biology can however obscure a larger lesson from the history of race classification. Just as the Holocaust's 'never again' message warns against brutal state xenophobia in general as well as anti-Semitism specifically, race science should alert us when experts of any sort offer monolithic, eternal human categories as an arcane scientific key for deciphering politics and society. To an extent, biology is an empty container for meaning, which people cargo with very varied political content. Evolution for example was variously promoted by positivist period French radicals and British liberals, post 1890s German radical conservatives and twenty-first century American liberals. The new genetics might meanwhile help inaugurate 'an individualized, flexible, open' biopolitics, as Nikolas Rose predicts, in which 'the biological or genetic citizen' may actively take charge of interpreting their individual genetic history.⁷⁸

The greater problem, as Foucault recognises,⁷⁹ may therefore be the practices and social context of classification, a technology of control structured by power relations. The type and degree of politicisation of race

classification depended on multiple interacting factors within scientific organisation and research and the wider public context. In classification, as in genetics, a naive positivist faith in finding simple biological explanations for social questions is one key politicising factor. Power relations are another. The historian of science William Schneider for example predicts that new genetic applications with ‘wider social implications’ will recreate the national differences of serology research.⁸⁰ Public hunger for biological ethnic histories and bio-geopolitics is also important. I argue that public demand largely explains the impressive resilience of biological history scholarship over two centuries, including in present-day genetics. An example is Islamophobic bio-political warnings that high Moslem birth rates constitute a ‘Mother conspiracy’ to turn Europe into ‘Eurabia’,⁸¹ echoing pre-1945 Teutonic fears of being swamped by fecund Slavs and Irish Celts. The methods by which scientists respond to public interest also affect politicisation. Geneticists for example justify their expensive research through simplified popularisations. Along with a sensationalising press and an as yet isolated fringe of ultranationalist genetics researchers, especially in central and eastern Europe, this can politicise ethnic histories, sometimes in a divisive, nationalistic way. As in race serology, medical and commercial motivations also complicate genetic history research.⁸²

Nevertheless, two factors suggest weaker prospects for politicised genetic history. First, genetic race history is much more transnational than race classification ever was, presumably inhibiting national chauvinism. Team members from an average of over nine countries contributed to the eight most cited texts on European genetic history that cite Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1994). Contributors from Italy, England and the United States are somewhat overrepresented in these teams, especially among lead researchers (see Map 2.5), and Balkan representation is patchy. Nevertheless, researchers are based throughout Europe, with significant centres in Tartu (Estonia), Moscow, Barcelona and Dublin.

Second, four decades of genetics have proven as incapable as race anthropology of delivering unambiguously factual and ‘stable’ conclusions about migration history.⁸³ Publications in 2009–2010 rekindled debate on apparently settled mid-2000s accounts like out-of-Africa and the Neolithic Middle-Eastern immigrant contribution of just 20 %–30 % to Europe’s gene-pool.⁸⁴ Geneticists acknowledge uncertainties and sharp disputes about mutation timescales, differences between mtDNA and Y-chromosome results, correlation of genetic, linguistic and physical geography, and ‘arbitrary’ sampling categories such as ‘Asians’.⁸⁵ If race

classification is a guide, the intractable complexity of human history will eventually erode positivist confidence in genetic history.

Perhaps therefore, we should worry less about biology and more about the classifications of human groups that are central to our mainstream historical, social, economic, cultural and geographic thinking. Cultural classifications like Huntington's civilisations (1993) are notorious for supporting deterministic, politicised accounts of human geography, naturalising and legitimising existing power structures, alliances and enmities. The leading 1960s historian Fernand Braudel insisted that 'ancient... long-lived' civilisations 'can always be located on a map', and are 'almost unconscious' structures of 'common mentality' which outlive shorter term 'accidents and vicissitudes' of history and profoundly influence society as a whole.⁸⁶ Elites use sacred cultural spheres of tradition, religion and nation to close down reasoned debate, or blame the unconscious assumptions and values of mass culture for impeding reforms. Asian and Eurasian values are used to resist democratisation for example. Cultural, social, geopolitical and economic classifications are often more flexible and finer-tuned instruments than race, corresponding much more convincingly to socially important categories like class and nation. In Europe, the cultural identity politics of religion now largely eclipses racial narratives of language family. Culture has for example been effectively used to argue for the EU accession of Western Christian former communist countries ahead of Orthodox ones and to block Turkish membership.⁸⁷

I argue however that the discourse of pseudoscience weakens our defences against divisive but non-racial expert projects of group classification, defined by genes, culture or any other factor. Downplaying the influence of scientific data and methodologies on supposed 'pseudosciences' and of political agendas and assumptions on 'real' sciences, protects respectable present-day disciplines from comparison with what was once a serious scientific project.

This also threatens to conceal the intimate historical interaction of race classification with the development of mainstream social science and especially cultural classification. Race ranking systems such as evolution emerged from Enlightenment hierarchies of levels of civilisation, like those of Montesquieu, Turgot and Adam Smith.⁸⁸ Race rankings were replaced by, but also influenced the non-biological divisions, hierarchies, histories and psychologies devised by experts in I.Q., national character, economic development, etc.⁸⁹ After rejecting biological Aryans in the 1920s for example, an archaeologist attributed their 'peculiar genius' and 'higher material culture' to their 'more excellent language and the mentality it generated'.⁹⁰

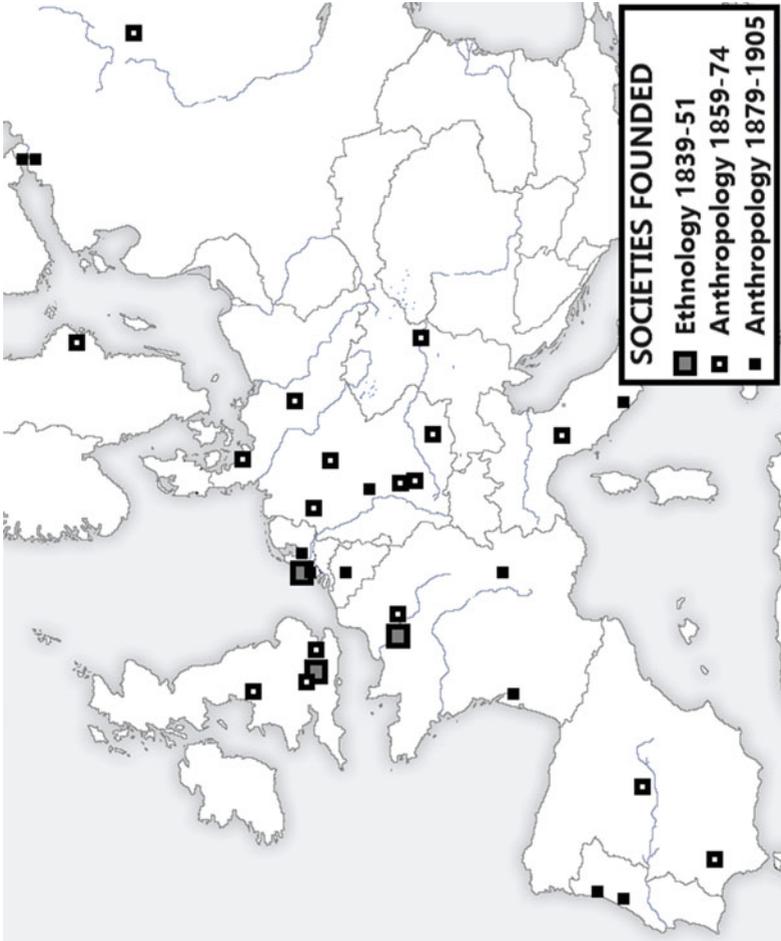
NOTES

1. *Economist* (2000: 11–12).
2. Skinner (2006: 466 & 475), Gould (1981: 121–22), and Livingstone (2010: 205).
3. Skinner (2006: 461 & 465–66) and Sommer (2010: 371).
4. 2006: 12.
5. *Economist* (2000: 13).
6. Several names for this project compete. Like race classifiers, practitioners largely identify themselves by their professional discipline (anthropology, genetics) rather than their project.
7. 1996: 359.
8. Relethford (2003: 196).
9. Sparks and Jantz (2002: 14637–38).
10. Bhardwaj (2004: 93–99 & 102).
11. King and Motulsky (2002: 2342) and Nash (2006: 16). Only 0.1 % of our genome varies among individuals, and 85 % of this tiny variation is between individuals within supposed ‘racial’ groups (Ossorio and Duster 2005: 117–18).
12. Cunningham-Burley and Kerr (1999: 651–52), Ossorio and Duster (2005: 115–16 & 120–26), and Tishkoff and Kidd (2004: 25–26).
13. Sankar and Cho (2002), Rose and Rabinow (2006: 207), and Marks (1996: 358).
14. Ossorio and Duster (2005: 118).
15. Relethford (2003: 102) and Langaney et al. (1990: 43–44).
16. Gibbons (2000: 1080–81), Sommer (2008: 474 & 479), and Langaney et al. (1990: 45).
17. Sommer (2008: 479 & 516–17).
18. Olson (2002: 163–65).
19. Klyosov and Tomezzoli (2013: 101), Wells et al. (2001: 10244), and Sommer (2008: 479).
20. Sommer (2008: 516–17) and King and Motulsky (2002: 2342).
21. Sommer (2008: 519).
22. McMahon (2004: 6), King and Motulsky (2002: 2342), and Bhardwaj (2004: 93).
23. Olson (2002: 186) and Sommer (2010: 380).
24. Sommer (2008: 477–78).
25. Marks (1996: 361).
26. Sommer (2008: 478, 2010: 380).
27. King and Motulsky (2002: 2342), McMahon (2004: 6), and Langaney et al. (1990: 45–47).
28. Sommer (2010: 369, 375 & 382).

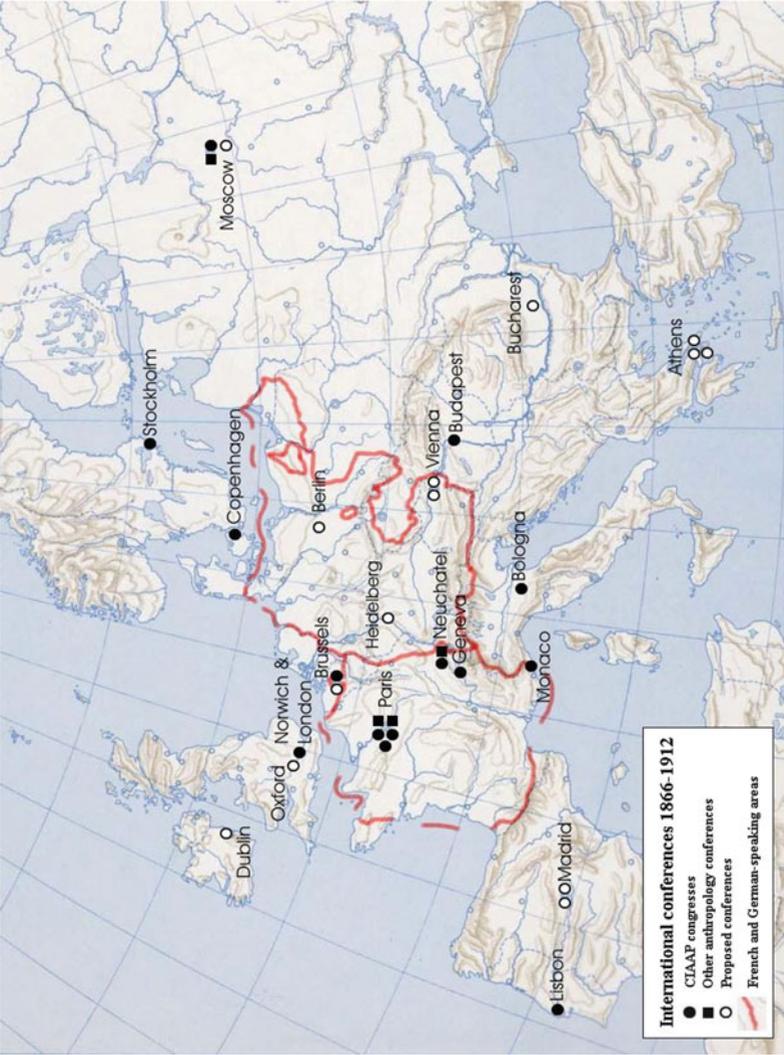
29. Langaney et al. (1990: 51), Gibbons (2000: 1081), and Pamjavit al. (2012). Czekanowski's daughter Anna had applied the Lwów statistical system to folk music in the 1950s (Bielawski 2000: 2–3).
30. Sommer (2008: 478).
31. Langaney et al. (1990: 51–52), Hawkes (2004: 27), and Gibbons (2000: 1081).
32. McMahon (2004: 5) and Nash (2006: 18).
33. Marks (1996: 355–57 & 360).
34. McMahon (2004: 7).
35. Wade (2010).
36. Sommer (2008: 513–15).
37. Barbuĵani and Bertorelle (2001: 22), Langaney et al. (1990: 45 & 49–52), and Tishkoff and Kidd (2004: 22).
38. Sommer (2008: 514), Barbuĵani and Bertorelle (2001: 22), and Langaney et al. (1990: 45 & 49–52).
39. Livingstone (2010: 214–16).
40. Wade (2010).
41. Sommer (2008: 513–15).
42. Livingstone (2010: 216).
43. McMahon (2004: 6).
44. According to Google Scholar (accessed 12/12/2013).
45. Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1994).
46. Balaesque et al. (2010: 1).
47. Olson (2002: 166) and Barbuĵani and Bertorelle (2001: 22).
48. Zvelebil (2005: 185–87), Olson (2002: 166–67), and Balaesque et al. (2010: 1).
49. Olson (2002: 161–63) and Barbuĵani and Bertorelle (2001: 22–23).
50. Olson (2002: 167).
51. Zvelebil (2005: 184–85).
52. Simpson (2000: 4–5).
53. Sommer (2010: 378 & 383).
54. Nash (2006: 30), Cunningham-Burley and Kerr (1999: 651–52), Sankar and Cho (2002: 1337–38), Skinner (2006: 469 & 473–74), and Simpson (2000: 4–5).
55. BBC (2008).
56. Sommer (2010: 384–85).
57. Relethford (2003: 194).
58. Nash (2006: 28–29).
59. Relethford (2003: 198–99) and Nash (2006: 18–20).
60. Hill (2000).
61. Klyosov and Tomezzoli (2013: 102–4 & 108–9).
62. Piontek (2006: 317–21 & 326).

63. Dulnicz (2008) and Piontek (2009).
64. Nash (2006: 14–18) and Hawkes (2004: 27).
65. Hill (2000).
66. Sommer (2010: 381–82).
67. Nash (2006: 19 & 22).
68. 2010: 205–6.
69. BBC (2006).
70. Simpson (2007).
71. 2006: 18.
72. Spolaore and Wacziarg (2009: 470–72).
73. Nash (2006: 18).
74. Livingstone (2010: 218).
75. Crossing the Line 2009; see Chapter 5.
76. Nash (2006: 18 & 25–28).
77. Economist (2000: 13–14) and Langaney et al. (1990: 44).
78. Sommer (2010: 368–69).
79. 2007: 177–79.
80. Schneider (1996: 303).
81. Ye’or (2005).
82. Sommer (2008: 519).
83. Marks (1996: 354 & 360–62).
84. Sommer (2008: 513), Olson (2002: 172–73), Wade (2010), and Balaesque et al. (2010: 1–2 & 5).
85. Gibbons (2000: 1081), Langaney et al. (1990: 44–47), McMahon (2004: 4–6), Barbujani and Bertorelle (2001: 25), and Balaesque et al. (2010: 1).
86. 1995: 9, 22, 28 & 35.
87. McMahon (2013b: 3).
88. Stocking (1987: 14 & 160).
89. Martindale (1967: 35), Fee (1979: 432), and Gould (1981: 148–50).
90. Childe (1926: 211–12) and Barkan (1992: 54–57).

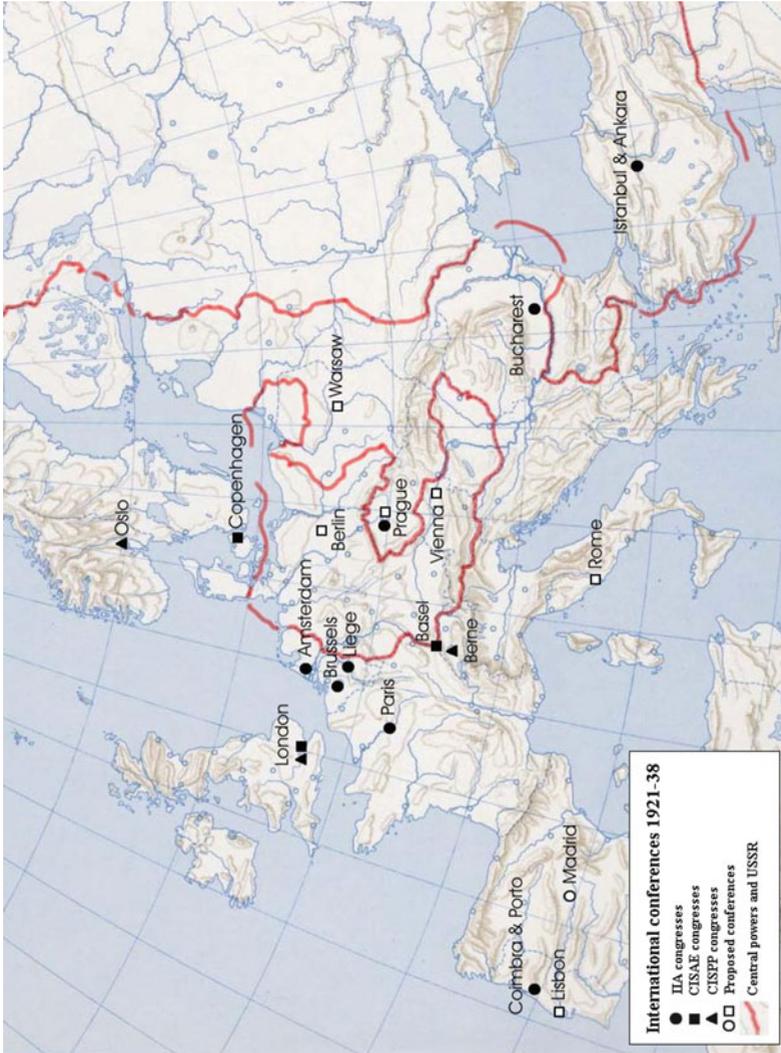
ATLAS



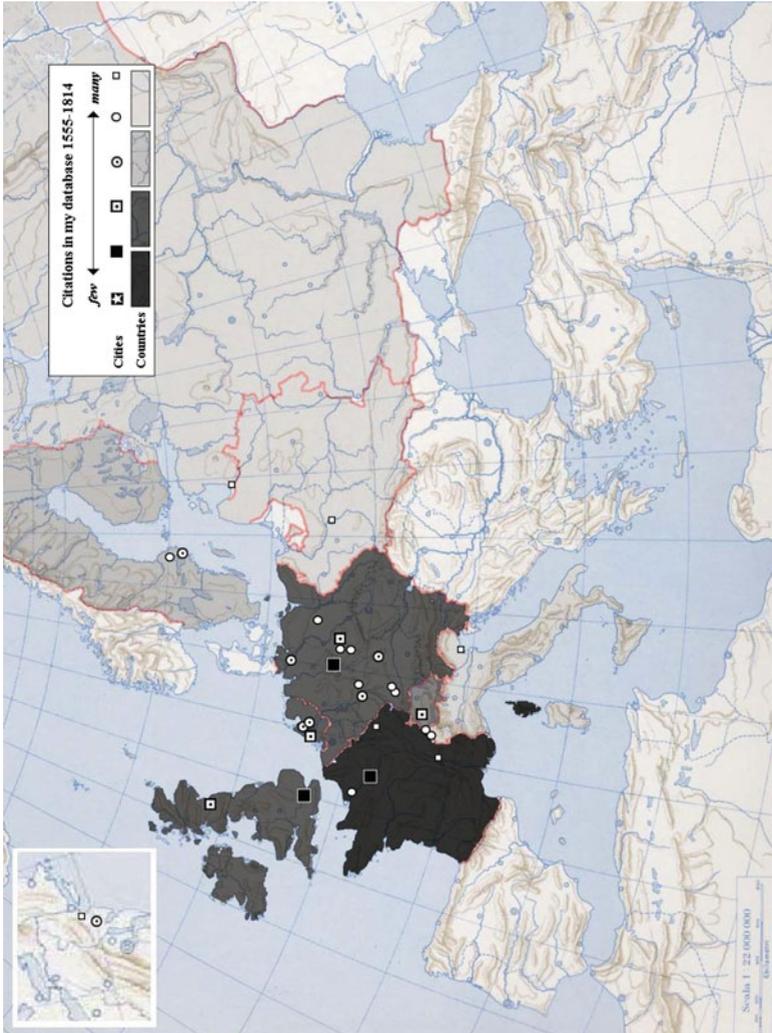
Map 1.1 European ethnology and anthropology societies.



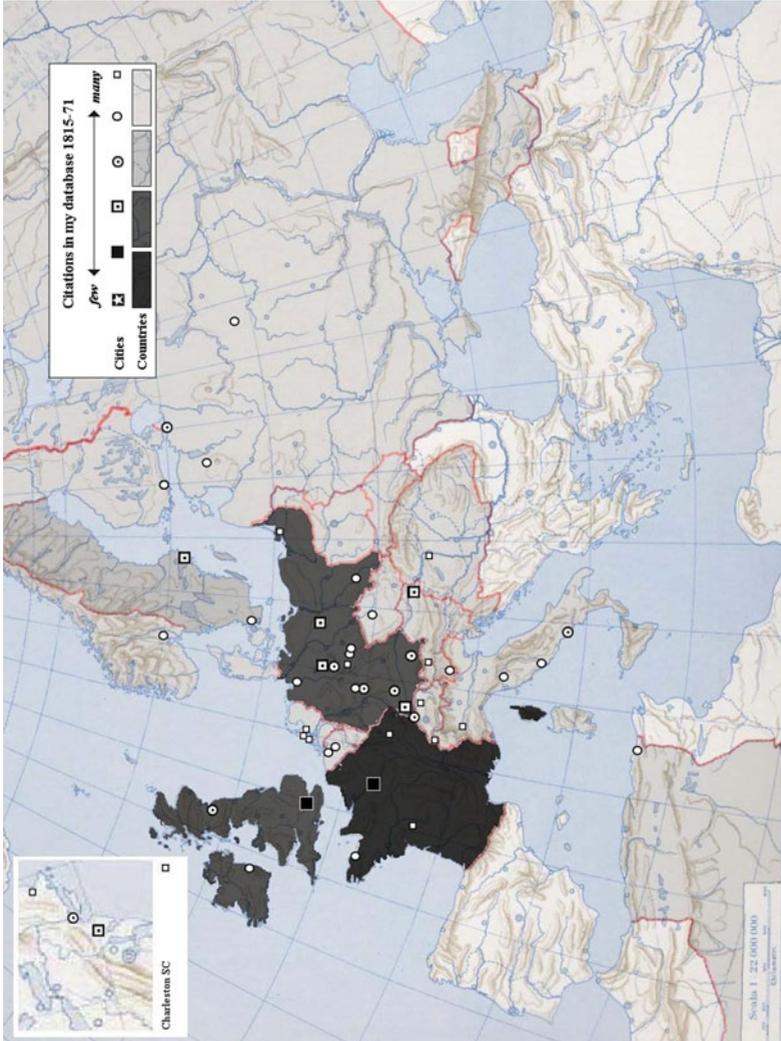
Map 1.2a International conferences 1866–1912 (my institutions database).



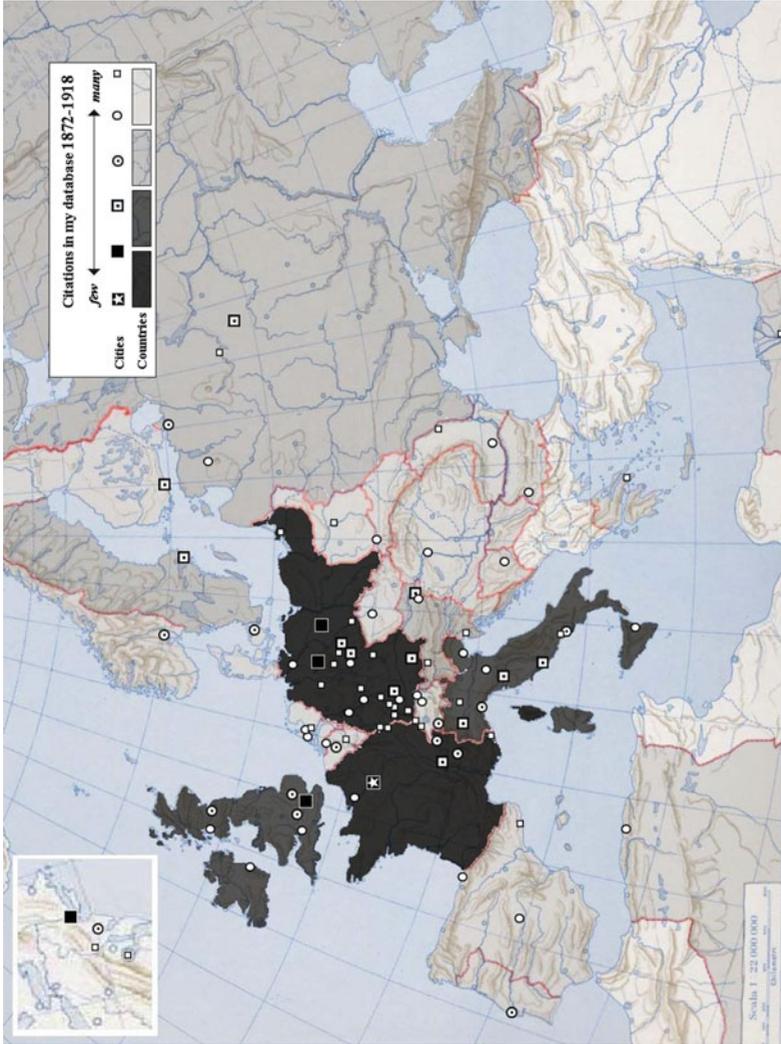
Map 1.2b International conferences 1921–1938 (my institutions database).



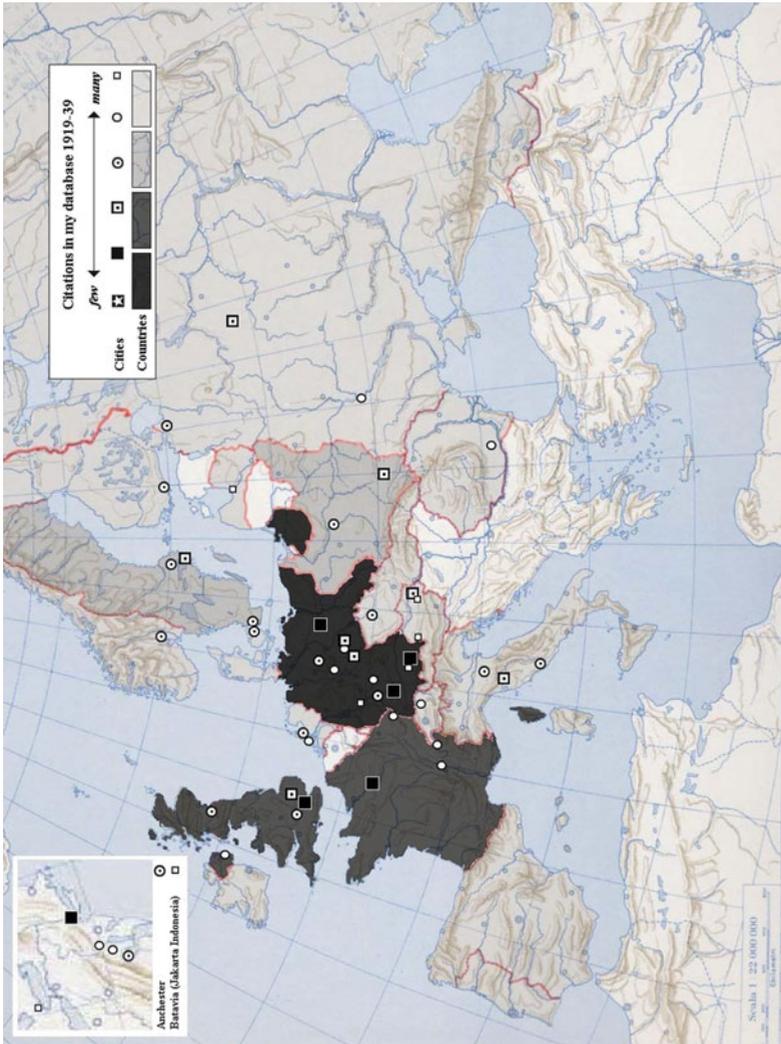
Map 2.1a Countries and cities of publication 1555–1814 (my citations database).



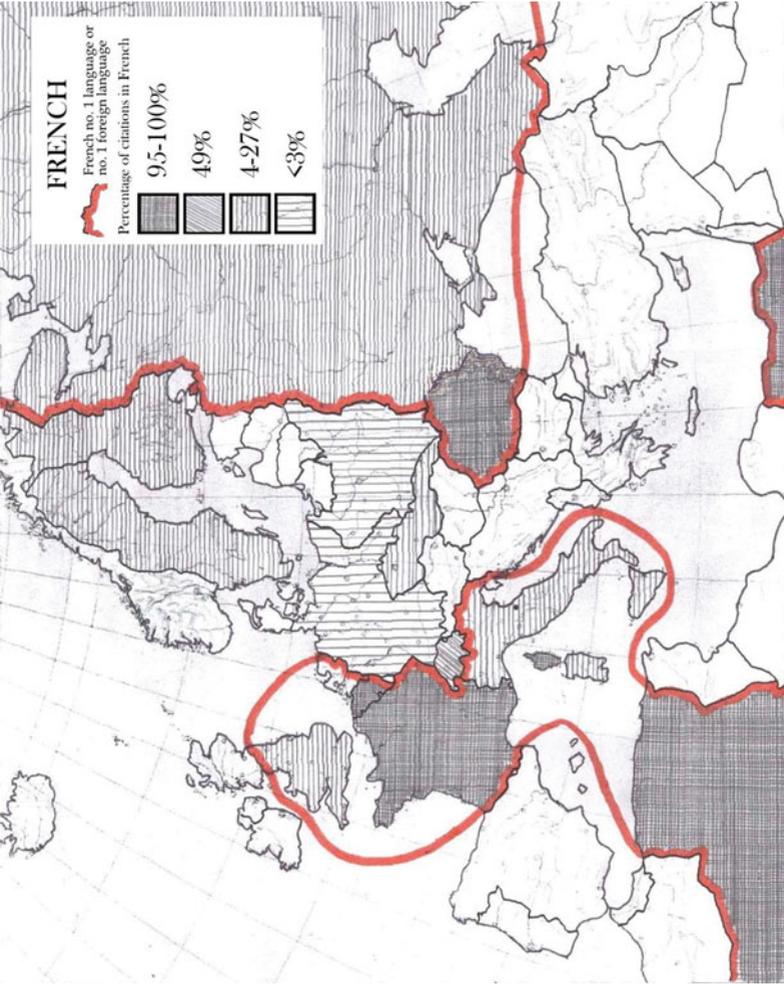
Map 2.1b Countries and cities of publication 1815-1871 (my citations database).



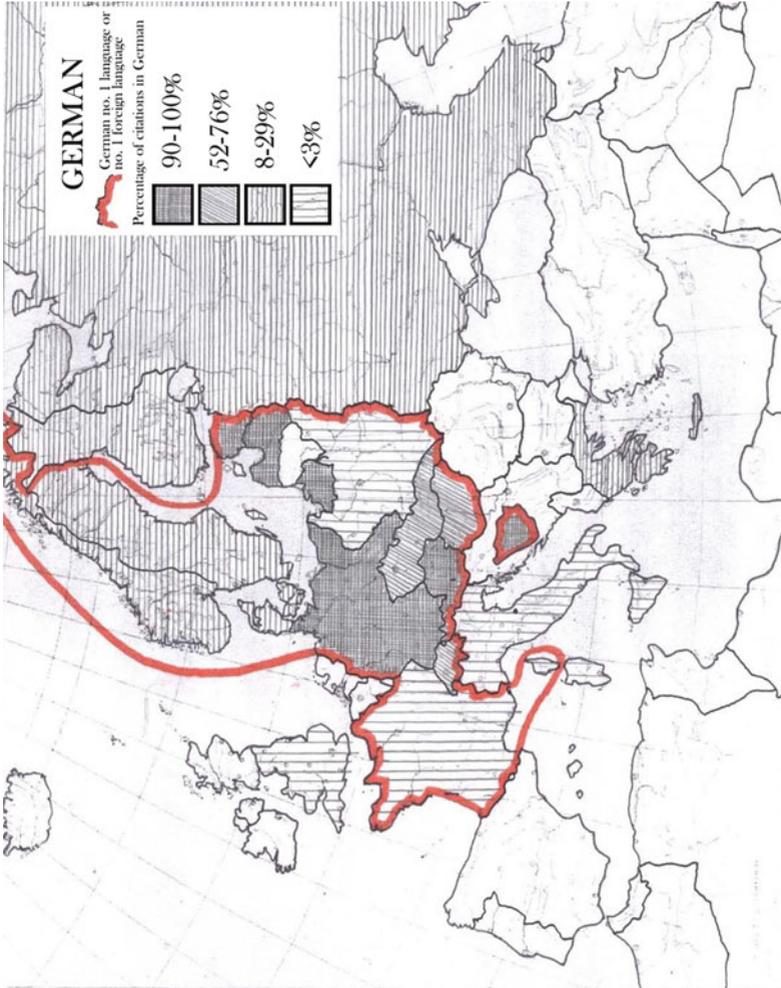
Map 2.1c Countries and cities of publication 1872-1918 (my citations database).



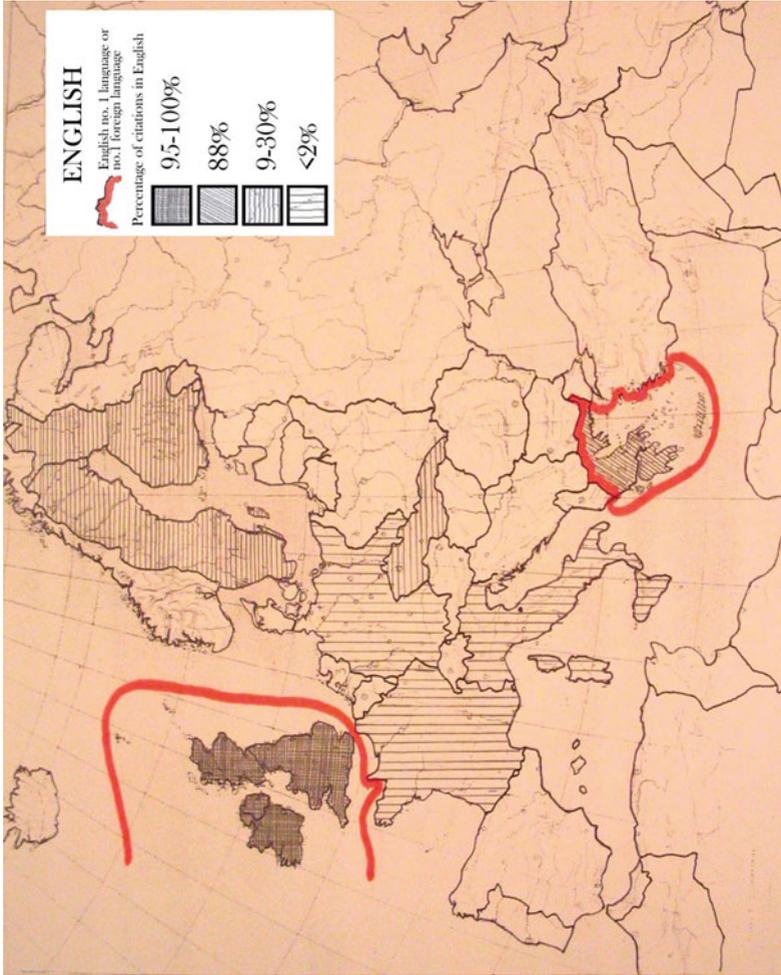
Map 2.1d Countries and cities of publication 1919-1939 (my citations database).



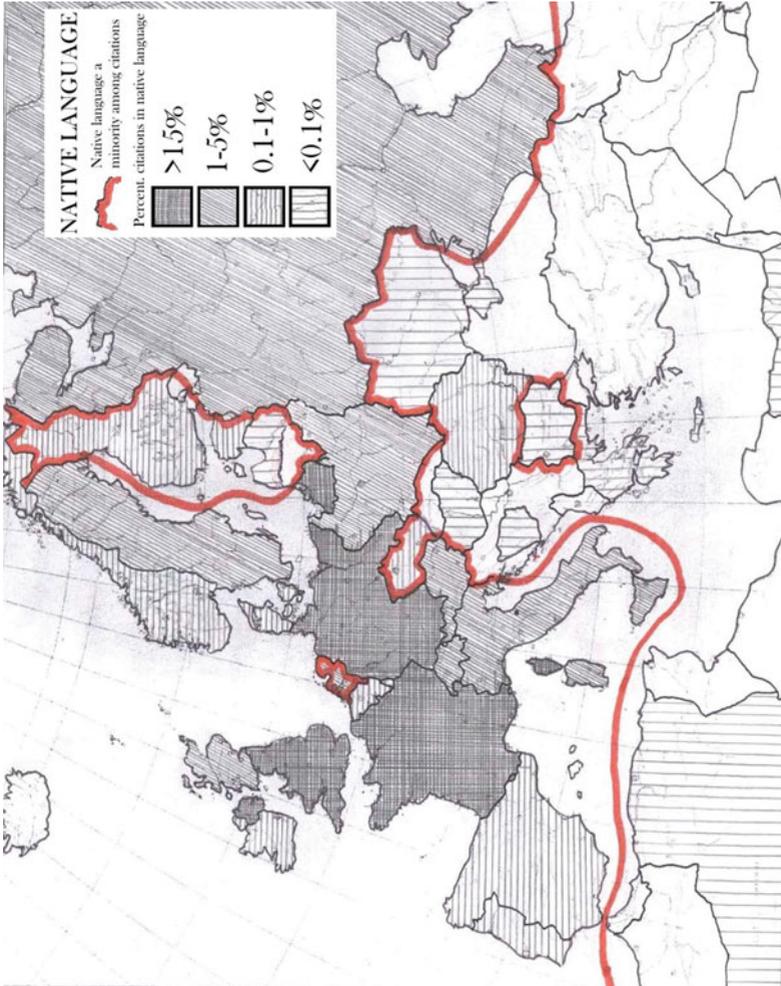
Map 2.2a Language of publication: French (my citations database).



Map 2.2b Language of publication: German (my citations database).



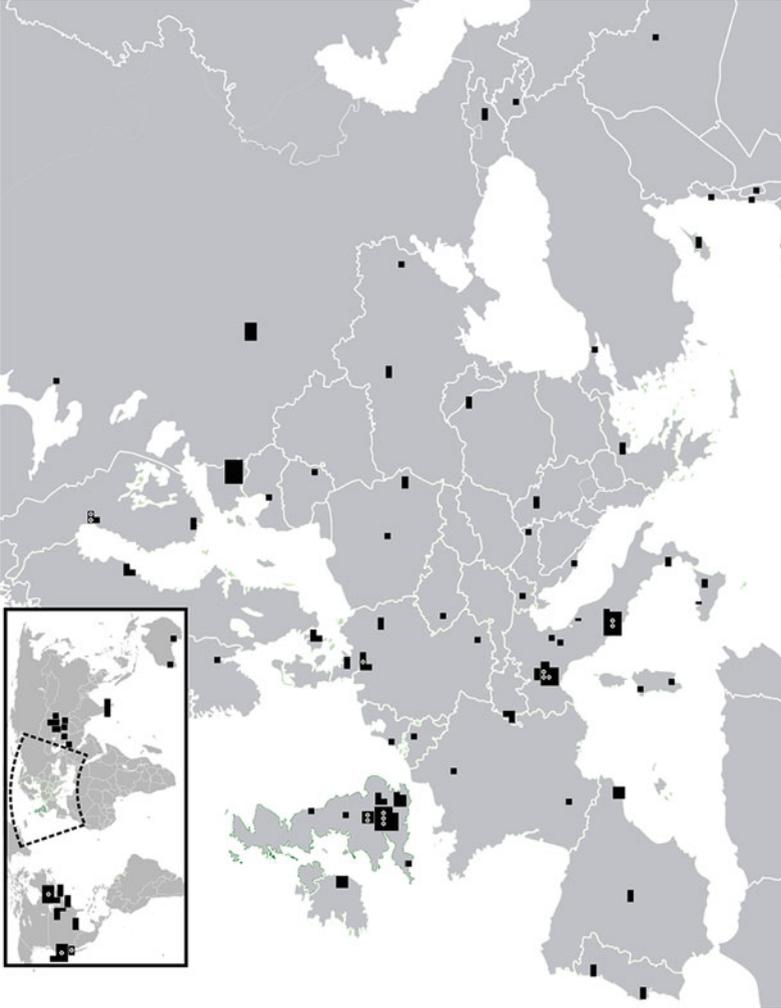
Map 2.2c Language of publication: English (my citations database).



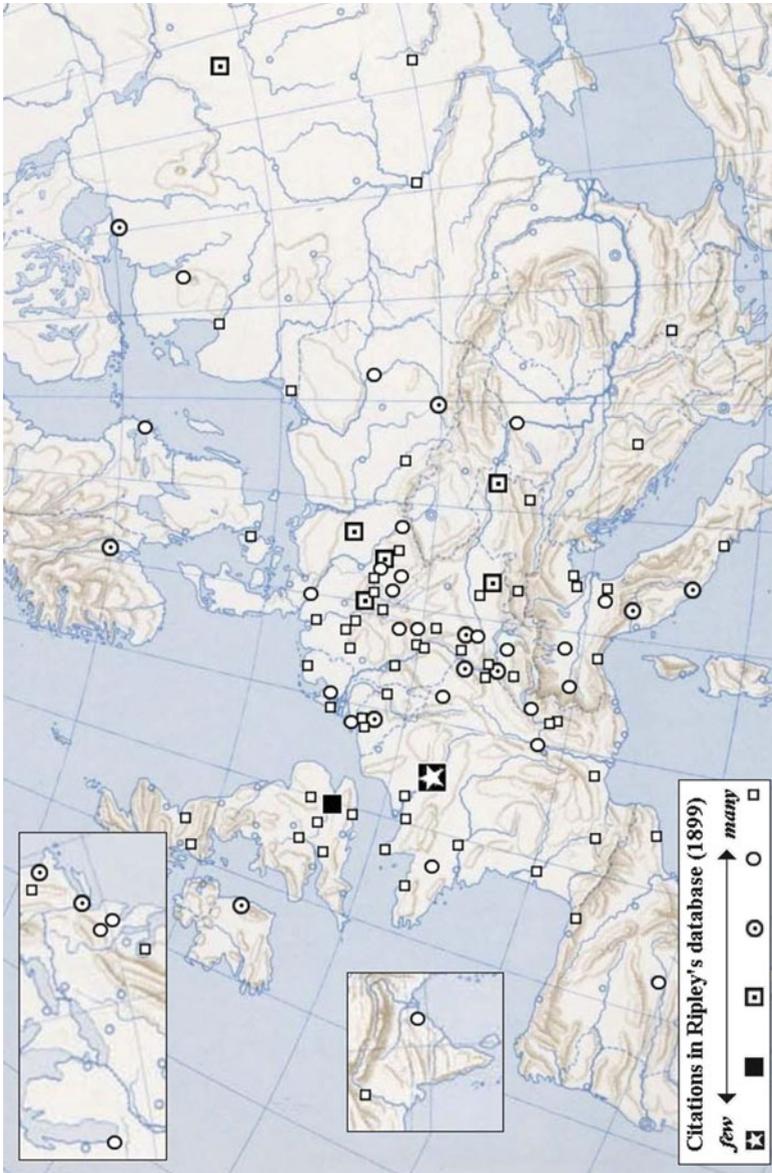
Map 2.3 Language of publication: native language (my citations database).



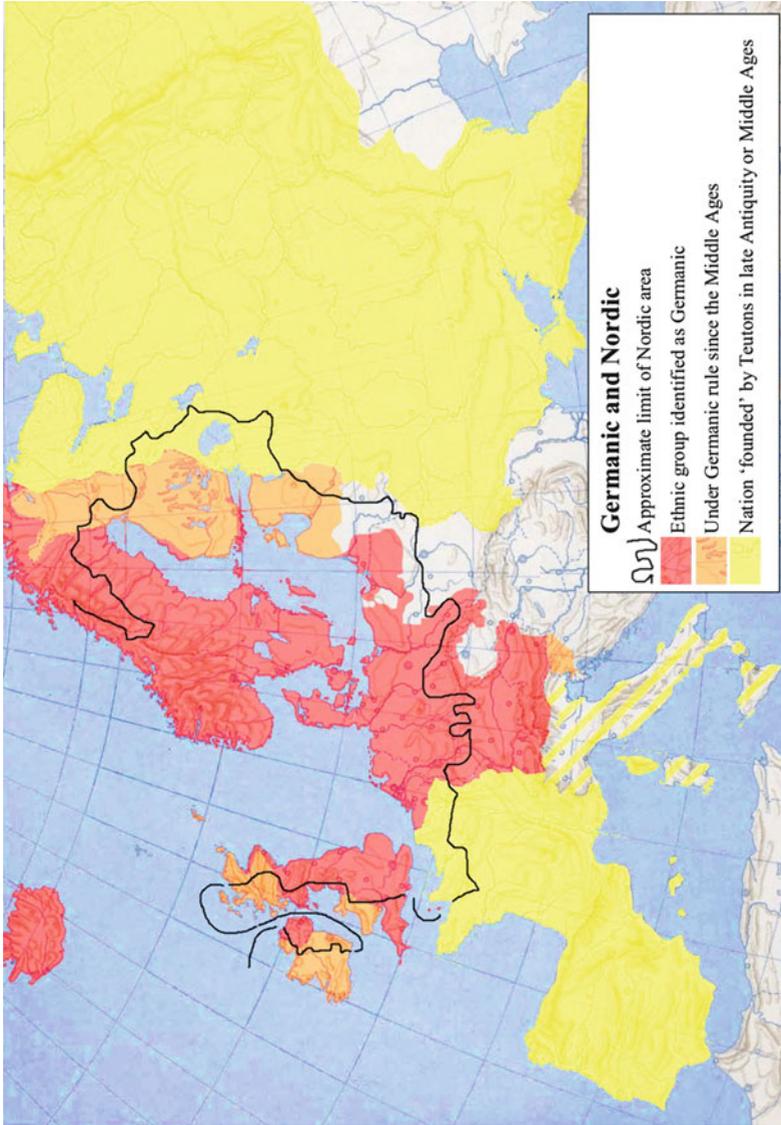
Map 2.4 Geographical subject matter and author nationality (my citations database).



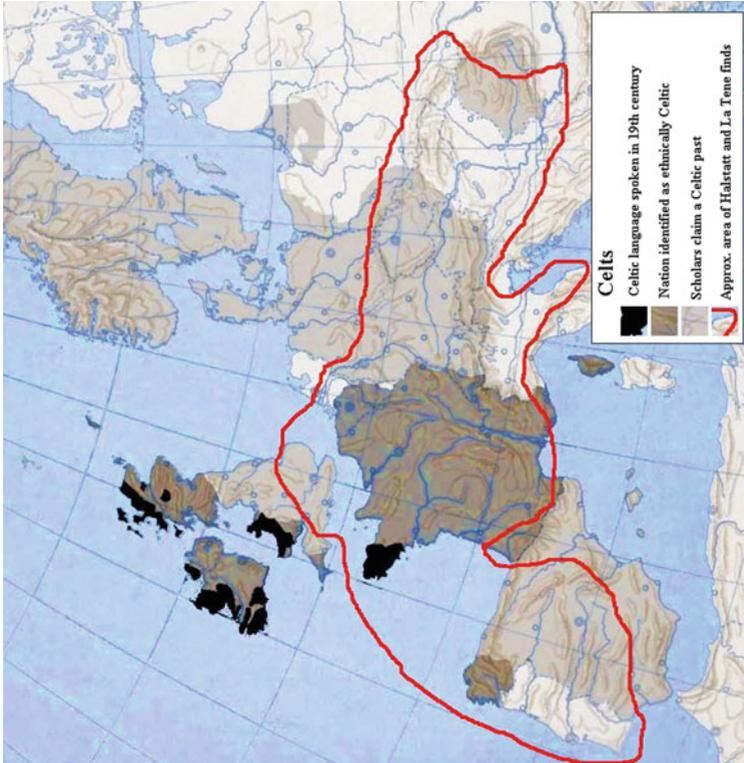
Map 2.5 Institutional bases of major researchers (see text) on European anthropological genetics since 1994.



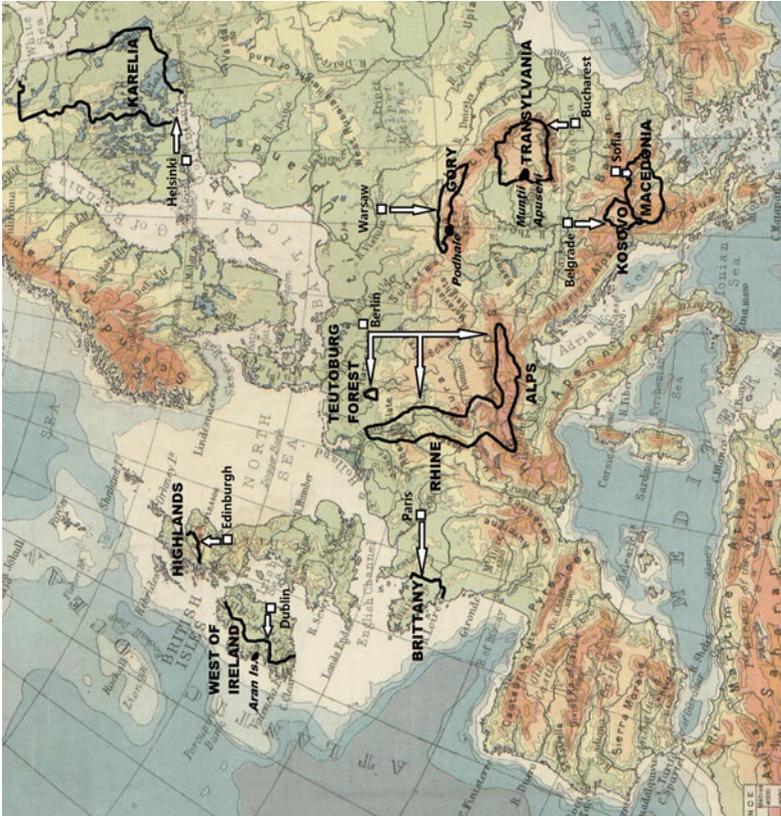
Map 3 Places of publication (Ripley's 1899 bibliography).



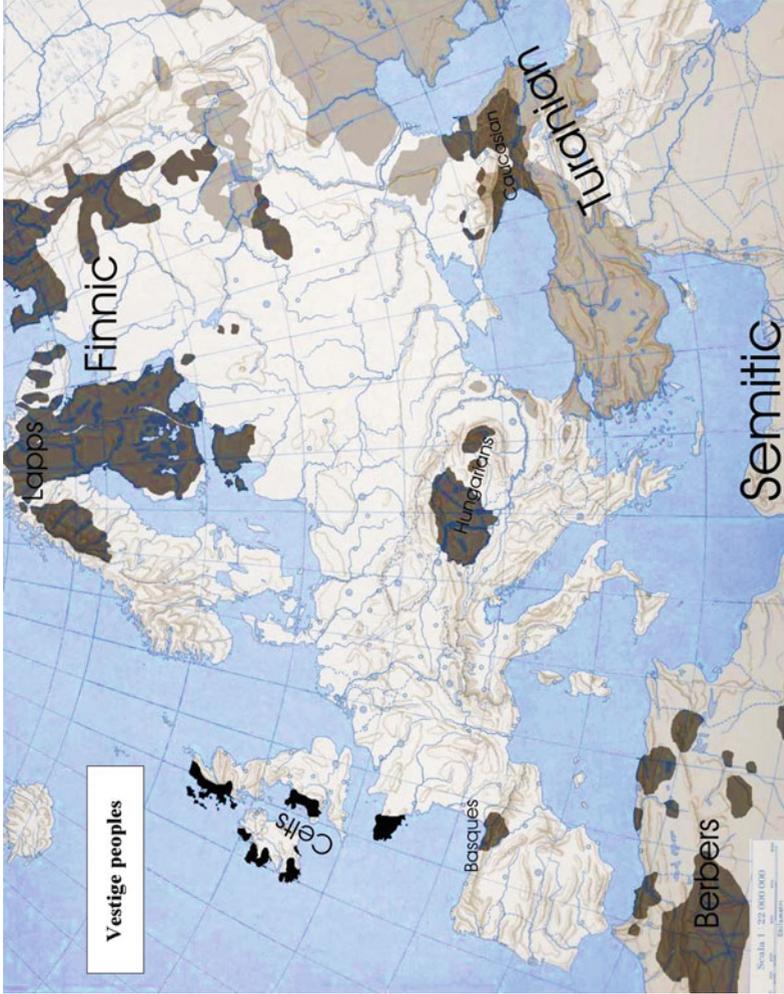
Map 4.1 Germanic and Nordic regions.



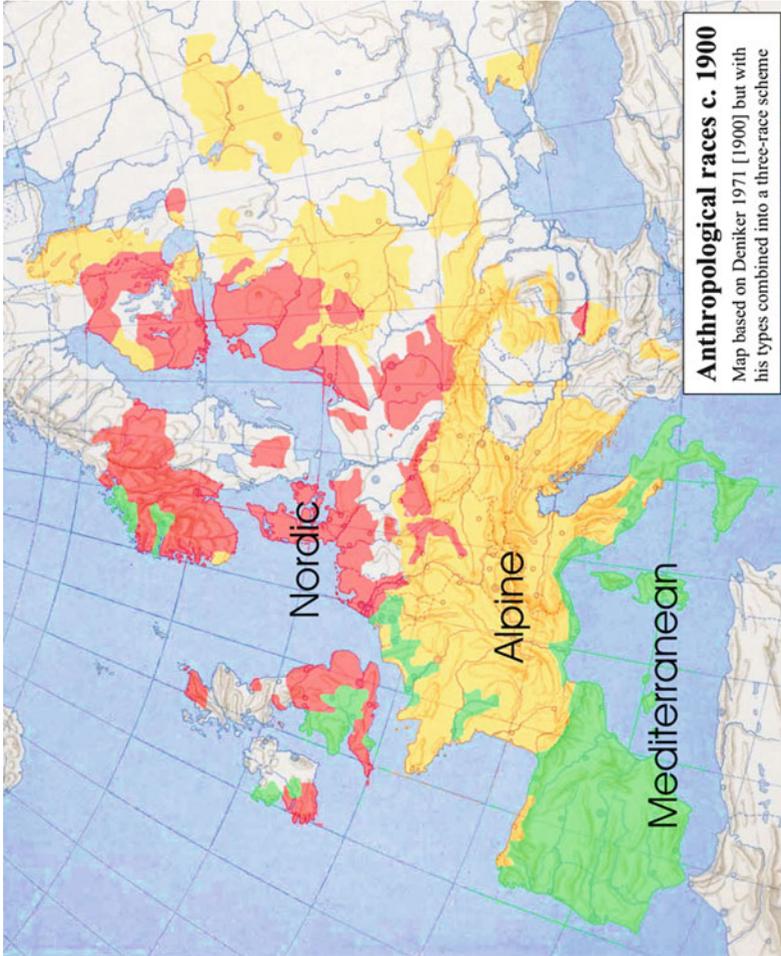
Map 4.2 Celtic regions.



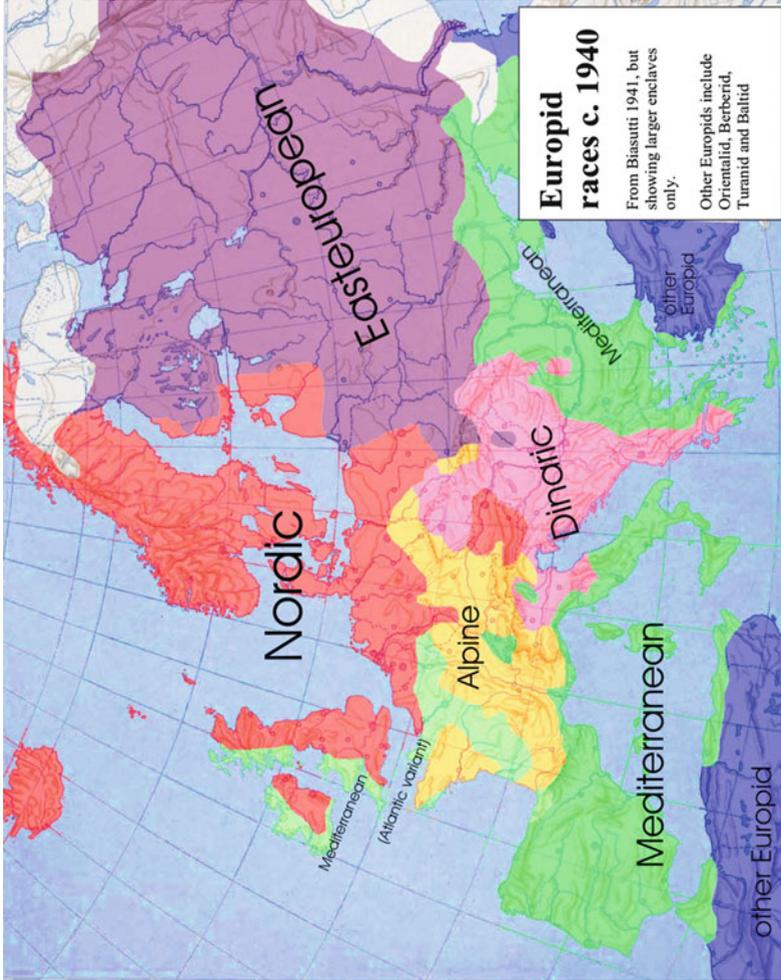
Map 4.3 Some symbolic national heartlands in romantic discourse. Arrows from national capitals. Specially intense veneration of black-shaded areas with names in *italics*.



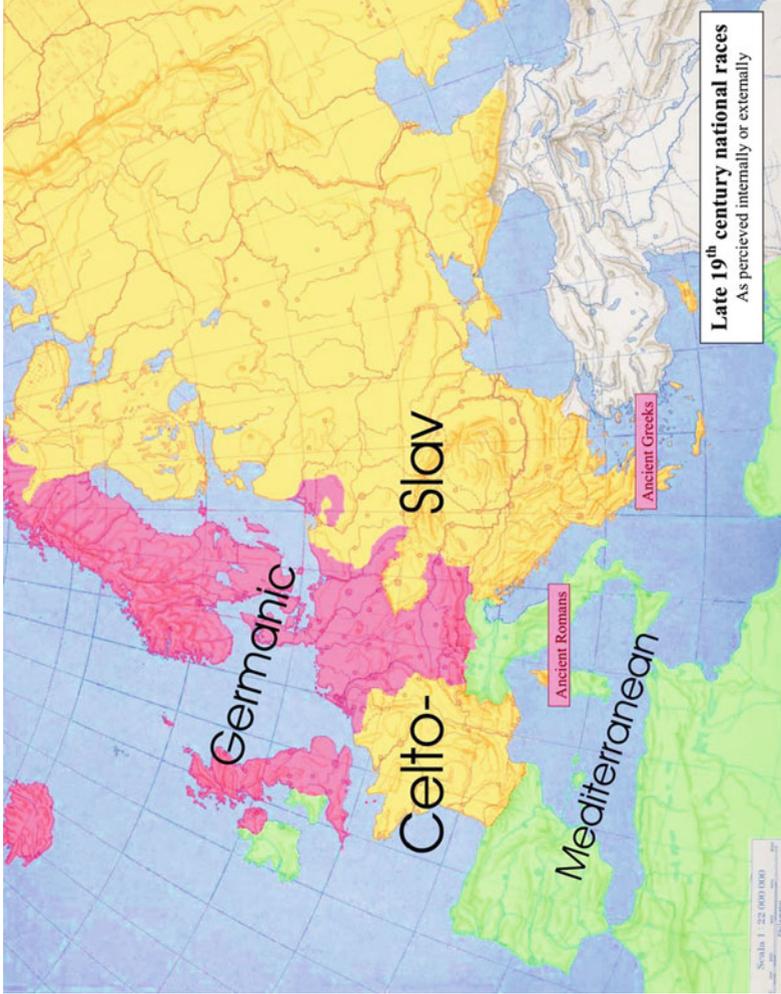
Map 4.4 Vestige peoples.



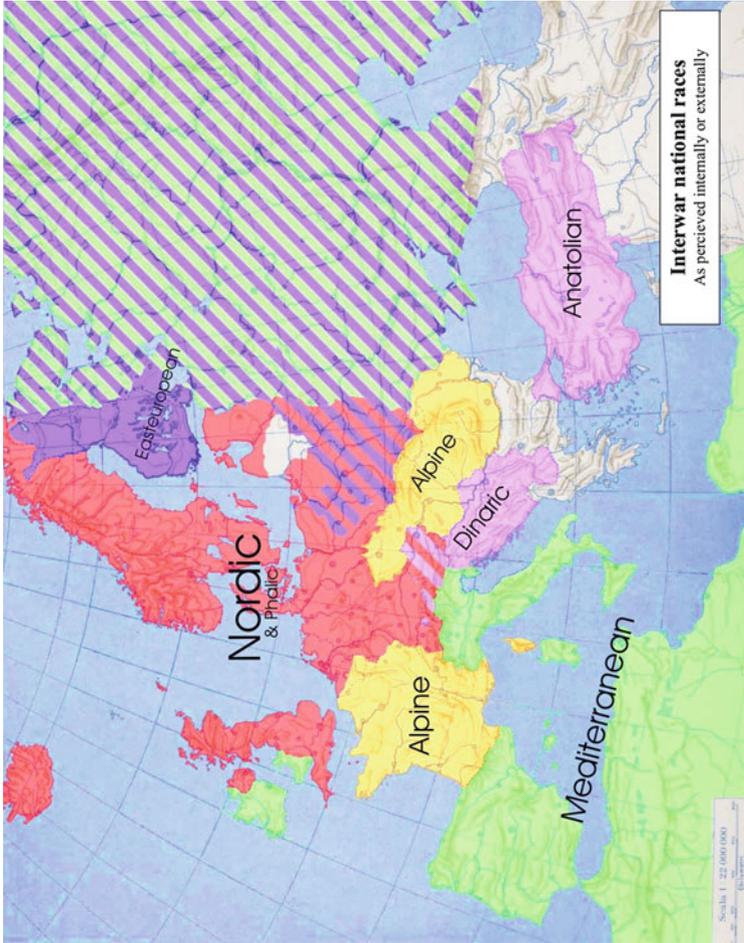
Map 4.5 The three-race system.



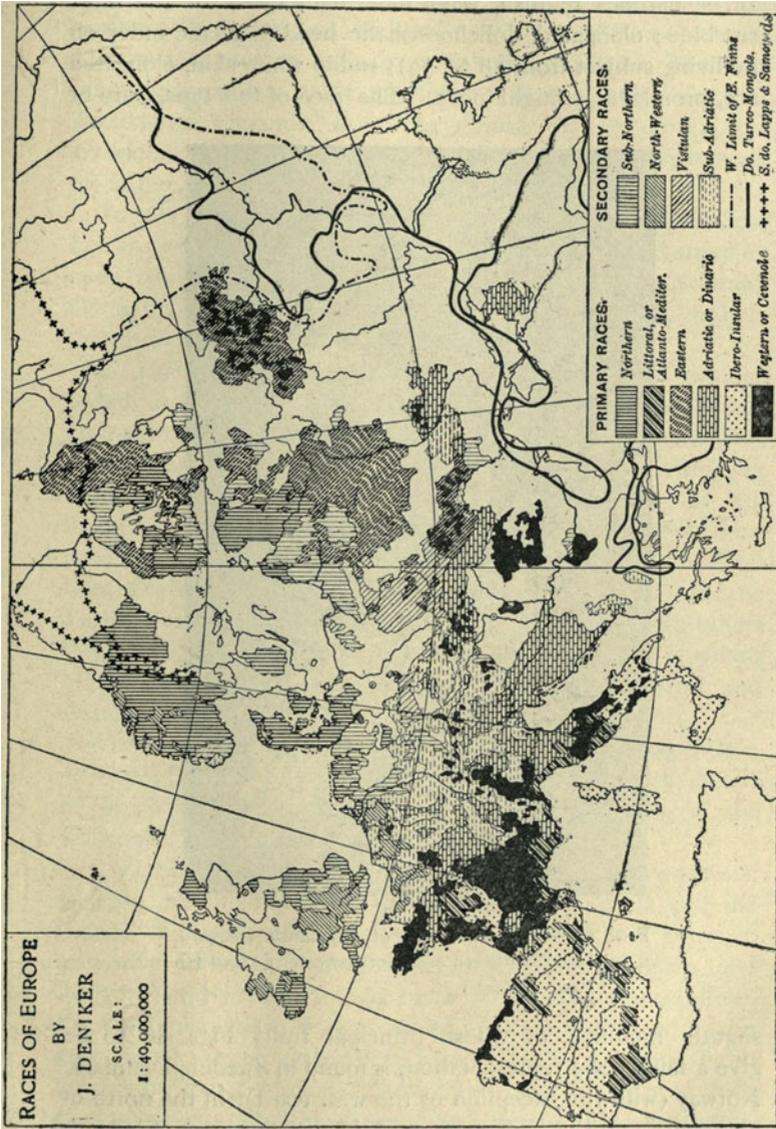
Map 4.6 Twentieth-century race geography.



Map 4.7 Late nineteenth century national races.



Map 4.8 Interwar national races.



Map 5.2 Deniker's classification (1900: 327). MSN, University of California Libraries.

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NOTE

1. Texts in bold type were used to compile the statistical database.

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