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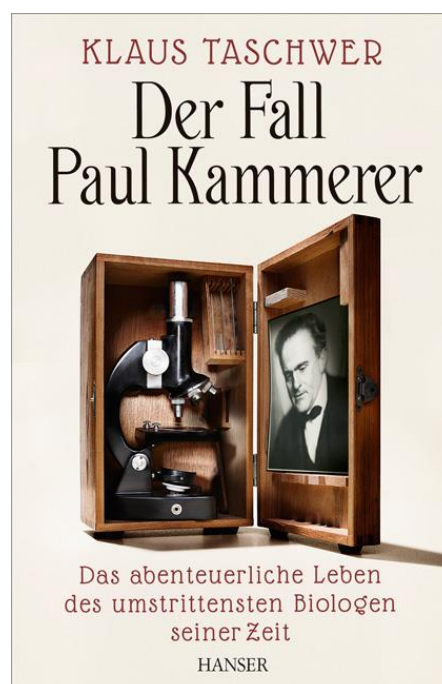
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***Der Fall Paul Kammerer. Das abenteuerliche Leben des
umstrittensten Biologen seiner Zeit***

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Klaus Taschwer
***The Case of Paul Kammerer. The Adventurous Life of the
Most Controversial Biologist of His Time***

Translated by Allison Brown



Chapter 1

A Suicide and a Lot of Open Questions

It was an idyllic site where the short yet turbulent life of Paul Kammerer came to a tragic end. On September 22, 1926, the 46-year-old biologist left his hometown of Vienna and took the train to Puchberg. The spa town at the foot of the Schneeberg mountains remains popular today. It lies around forty miles from the Austrian capital, roughly an hour's train ride away. After arriving at the train station, Kammerer rented a room in the nearby Hotel Rode, where he had often been a guest. The weather on that Wednesday was typical of late summer. The following morning, which began much more autumnal, Kammerer set off on a short hike, taking two of the hotel dogs with him.

Kammerer headed toward the Himberg, a steep hill at the eastern end of town. The trail starts at the hotel that is now called the Schneeberghof and leads across a stream, then climbing in a steep zigzagging serpentine up the Himberg. After about a half hour's hike through the Föhrenwald forest, a downhill path branches off to the right, which ends a few minutes later at the Theresienfelsen. From these cliffs one has a splendid view out to the Schneeberg, the easternmost of the Alpine peaks over 6500 feet, and down to Puchberg.

Around 2 pm, Johann Lechner, a retired railroader, heard loud barking from the direction of the Theresienfelsen. A local from the neighboring village of Neunkirchen, he had been out doing trail repairs on the Himberg. When he got to the lookout, Lechner discovered a man lying next to the dogs, his lifeless body leaning up against a rock. In shock, Lechner hurried down to the village and contacted the community physician Dr. Kerbl and the local police, who then arrived at the scene about an hour later.¹ The dogs seemed to be guarding the corpse of their companion, and at least one of them at first didn't let anyone approach the body.² There was a revolver in the dead man's right hand.



Paul Kammerer's final view: The view from the Theresienfelsen onto the Schneeberg mountains and the town of Puchberg

It appeared that he had reached over and shot himself in the head above his left ear. The bullet left the right side of his head and also destroyed part of the eye. From a forensic perspective, the scene with the revolver in his right hand and the bullet's point of entry on the left definitely needed some clarification. Nevertheless, a murder was ruled out, as the police discovered a farewell letter in a jacket pocket while examining the corpse, thus definitely confirming suspicions of suicide and enabling the quick identification of the dead man. The letter was addressed to "the person who finds my body":

Dr. Paul Kammerer requests that he *not be transported home*, since his family should be spared the sight. The most simple and inexpensive solution might be *utilization in the dissection room* of an academic institute at a university. This would be the most preferable to me, as that would at least allow me to be of some service to science. The valued colleagues might find a trace of something in my brain that was missing from the live statements of my intellectual activities. Whatever is done with the cadaver: whether buried, cremated, or dissected, its owner is unaffiliated with any religion and wishes to remain *spared of any religious ceremonies*, which would probably be refused him in any case. This is not meant to express any hostilities toward individual priests, who are people like all others, and often good and noble people at that.³

In a postscript he asked his wife to please refrain from wearing black clothing or any other sign of mourning.

The news of Paul Kammerer's death spread like wildfire. The enormous amount of reporting allowed no doubt as to the significance of the deceased. Already the next morning, the *Neue Freie Presse*, Austria's only internationally renowned daily, reported of the scientist's surprising and puzzling suicide:

A shocking piece of news reaches us at a late evening hour. The outstanding biologist, Dr. Paul Kammerer, whose books and essays on biological and sociological subjects have justifiably attracted great attention, and who has always drawn enthusiastic audiences in the hundreds in Vienna's lecture halls, has committed suicide. ... The letters he has left behind do not offer any complete clarification as to the reasons for his fateful decision.⁴

Following this article, an unnamed Viennese biologist acknowledged in length the scientific significance of Paul Kammerer, which "was not limited to his virtually amazing knowledge in all areas of natural science, but also applied to his ability to present his knowledge in a generally understandable way." At the Institute for Experimental Biology (BVA), where Kammerer had worked since its founding in 1903, "a number of sensational articles originated, usually dealing with the inheritance of acquired characteristics, which immediately made Kammerer's name known in the entire scientific world." He had no lack of friends, nor of enemies. His longing to receive an official professorial chair in Vienna was not fulfilled, unfortunately and to his great disappointment, but he had been given a professorship in the Soviet Union only a few months earlier.

In only a few days he was supposed to travel to Moscow to begin teaching there on October 1. All the greater was the surprise and pain of all his friends when the news reached Vienna that he had shot himself in the Schneeberg region.⁵

One of Kammerer's farewell letters was addressed to the embassy of the Soviet Union in Vienna, and another to his wife:

In the letter to his wife, he spoke of not being able to pursue his professorship in Moscow. He felt too tied to Vienna, and in this conflict of obligations he had no other recourse than to take his life.⁶

In the evening edition that Friday, the news of his spectacular suicide even became the lead story on the front page of the daily newspaper for which Kammerer himself had written quite a few essays. The commentator speculated in his article, headlined “Das österreichische Elend” (The Austrian Misery), on the possible background to the deed, presuming that Kammerer would not have made his terrible decision if his homeland had offered him an employment opportunity:

Dr. Kammerer was a much-disputed personality in scientific circles, but it cannot be denied that he was a man of such merit and such talents that it certainly would have been worth the effort to keep him in Vienna.

However, this did not happen and Kammerer was “literally forced to move away.” He did not feel good away from his homeland, however, “and consequently he developed a mood that ultimately explains the tragedy of Puchberg.”⁷

Kammerer’s suicide was newsworthy enough to draw extensive reporting, not only in all the major newspapers in Austria.⁸ Also the *New York Times*, which some three years earlier had acknowledged Kammerer in several articles as the “second Darwin” and “Darwin’s successor,”⁹ published a longer obituary only two days after his suicide. The researcher, it said there, was part of an unorthodox scientific school, but

the orthodox scientific circles did not accept his theories, frowned on his socialism, opposed his aim of popularizing scientific knowledge, and for these reasons prevented fulfillment of his dream of becoming a professor in Vienna.¹⁰

The puzzling over the motives that drove the biologist to take his life continued over the next days, holding the attention of many journalists, especially in Austria. The generally well-informed paper *Neue Freie Presse* came up with some remarks from the biologist’s circle of friends, which were to shed light on the affair: “The unfortunate decision to end his life might have been largely triggered when a Viennese artist whom he held close to his heart could not decide to relocate to Moscow with him.”¹¹ The name of the artist—Grete Wiesenthal, a famous dancer in Vienna at that time—was not specifically named, but Kammerer’s turbulent private life was hinted at:

He loved music and loved women. His first wife, of outstanding beauty ..., showed understanding and set him free when he wanted to marry another interesting woman. But she remained a loyal friend, with whom he ate his meals and discussed his plans.

Already a day earlier the newspaper had mentioned that Kammerer had been married twice, both marriages having ended in divorce. His first wife, the daughter of the politician and member of the old Imperial Council Dr. Gustav von Wiedersperg, had given up a promising acting career to marry him, and the second was a well-known, successful painter.



Obituary photograph of Paul Kammerer: Speculations over the motives behind the suicide continued for days after his death

Were private problems in his relationships in fact to blame for the suicide? On the very same day, one of Kammerer's earlier students, journalist and biologist Walter Finkler, denied the speculations about Kammerer's private life in an article in the daily *Neues Wiener Journal*: "Forget the intimate bedroom intrigues; they were not the motive for his suicide, but at most an important contributing factor. The conflict went far deeper, and was more noble. He died a hero's death in the futile struggle against

rubbish, barricades, and traditional demons.” Kammerer’s animal testing had struck “the ink-and-paper edifice of all the printed theories on evolution like a bolt of lightning.”

Namely, he managed to prove “that external factors can have lasting influence on instincts and the structure of a living being, so that these newly acquired traits can be inherited by the non-influenced offspring.” Thanks to Kammerer’s experiments, blind olms had acquired functioning eyes; fire salamanders acquired additional spots and stripes, and midwife toads—*Alytes obstetricans*—acquired so-called nuptial pads, which they did not ordinarily have. The scientific experiments made Kammerer into a political sensation overnight, since they jeopardized “the doctrine of the inviolability of racial traits, of the absoluteness of race, or of the omnipotence of selection, the theory of the necessity for genocide as a factor of selection.”¹² Might there even have been a political background to Kammerer’s suicide?

Another friend of Kammerer had a text of his published in the daily *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*: The poet Peter Sturmbusch—this was the pen name of the actor and director Štefan Lux, originally from Prague—commemorated the deceased using personal words, also mentioning Kammerer’s failed career at the University of Vienna:

Paul Kammerer was the freest scholar in the country; but what use was this freedom for him in Krähwinkel? Our alma mater, which was otherwise so benevolent, wanted to know nothing of its best son, who was different from all the other, tamer sons. It is a wise mother who knows and recognizes her child. Our alma mater was not that wise!

However, for all his love of science and research, Kammerer was also a playful, foolish child, according to Sturmbusch. He continued, “What can the heart of a great human being and artist do better than to be foolish!” Between the lines of the text, a poem is printed, which Sturmbusch had dedicated to his friend a few months earlier:

To be a genius in this country
Is forbidden by church and state.
Seek another fatherland for your spirit,
For here only idiots do you rejuvenate.

They refused to make you a “professor,”
Polite as their rejection was.
“You are not fitting for our faculty,
You are much too distinguished for us!”

A human heart beats in your works

With love sometimes darting through your mind.
And nature feels you have recognized her,
Secretly placing flowers in your parlor.¹³

Kammerer put one or another of Sturmbusch's poems to music. Sturmbusch, by the way, committed suicide ten years later in a much more spectacular, albeit today largely forgotten event. He killed himself on July 3, 1936, in Geneva, before the gathered plenary session of the general assembly of the League of Nations, in order to draw attention to the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis in the German Reich.¹⁴

On Sunday, September 26, 1926, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the corpse of Paul Kammerer was transferred from the morgue to the cemetery in Puchberg, contrary to the final wishes of the deceased. The funeral took place without any pomp whatsoever. Kammerer's grave is in the very first row, to the right of the entrance, in the corner for suicides. Aside from relatives, also attending the funeral, according to a report, were a number of deputations from the University of Vienna, various scientific institutes, and institutions of higher education, as well as numerous friends of the deceased. A Soviet delegation also appeared, with whom Kammerer's first wife Felicitas exchanged a few words in Russian.¹⁵ The representatives from the University of Vienna and several friends gave short eulogies at graveside.¹⁶ One of the speakers was Kammerer's mentor, biologist Hans Przibram, who promised that true science would always keep the memory of Kammerer's merits alive.¹⁷

Even after the funeral, the public discussion on Paul Kammerer's suicide was far from over. On the contrary, it seemed to finally get rolling: Barely two weeks later, namely, a surprising message was received from Moscow, which suddenly placed the suicide in a totally different light. The *Pravda* published the farewell letter that Kammerer had sent to the presidium of the Communist Academy. The letter was considered so significant that it was sent out on the wire by the Central News Service and the International Press Correspondence, which led to a wave of reports even in Australian, American, and British newspapers and magazines. In the letter Kammerer wrote to his Moscow colleagues on the day before he took his life, he wrote:

You probably all know about the attack that Professor [G.K.] Noble waged against me in the August 7, 1926, issue of *Nature*. This attack is based on an examination of my evidence specimen of *Alytes* with nuptial pads, which Dr. Noble conducted along with Professor Przibram, with my consent, in the Institute for Experimental Biology in Vienna. The main matter is an artificial

coloration, probably from ink dye, through which the black skin coloring of the region with the nuptial pad was supposedly feigned. It is claimed to be a falsification that will presumably be blamed on me.

I found Dr. Noble's statement to be completely confirmed; yes, there were also other objects (blackened salamander), in which my results were evidently "improved" postmortally with ink. Who besides me would have an interest in making such manipulations can only be very remotely presumed; what is certain is that it casts doubt on just about my entire life work.

Due to this state of affairs, I can no longer view myself to be the man suited to accept your offer of a professorship, although I was not at all involved in the falsification of my specimens. However, I do not see myself in a position to endure the destruction of my life work and I hope I can muster sufficient courage and strength to put an end to my failed life tomorrow.¹⁸

He did not wish to discontinue the packing of his property for his relocation, which was already underway, because first of all "my conduct would then draw the attention of my family, which is not to know anything about my intentions," and second, he wanted the Communist Academy in Moscow to receive his library, "thereby being reimbursed for payments that it wasted on me."

This letter caused the discussion about the motives for Kammerer's suicide to suddenly turn—in public as well as in the scientific community—although the letter contains no admission of guilt or even intimations in this direction. Nevertheless, all of a sudden Kammerer was no longer seen as a victim of problems in his private relationships or of the disrespect of the University of Vienna. Instead, he was now suspected of being a falsifier, whose suicide was seen as an admission of guilt. In American tabloids the case was even hyped into sensational front page stories.¹⁹ The basic tenor of the articles was that Kammerer must have performed the manipulations himself, therefore responding with the only possible reaction once it was discovered.

The Austrian newspapers vacillated. The *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* definitely considered his experiments with the midwife toad that were manipulated to be a motive for the suicide. For the sake of clarity the experiments were recapitulated: Kammerer forced the animals—one of the few species of toad that reproduces on land and not in water—into water. This caused the males to develop nuptial pads, as are common in other species of frog. These pads assist the males in gripping the slippery female in the water during copulation. Kammerer claimed that not only was he able to get the males to develop these nuptial pads, but that they were also passed on to the next generation. This evidence of the heritability of acquired characteristics became the subject of a scientific dispute that had been going on for many years.

The English biologists, namely, had denied the correctness of Kammerer's data. Already a year before the war, an article was published in an issue of the London journal *Nature* which claimed that the pads introduced by Kammerer were nothing but black spots and certainly no nuptial pads. ... It is very conceivable that the present evidence—that this was a major falsification of data—would have utterly depressed him.²⁰

The tone of the article suggests that it was Kammerer himself who was responsible for the manipulations. However, very different theories also developed. The *Neue Freie Presse*, for example, presumed there was “a mysterious falsifier in Vienna's Research Institute.” Hans Przibram, director of the Biological Research Institute and presumably the person most knowledgeable about his former staff member's research, offered the following suggestions to a reporter from the newspaper:

It would be a blatant misunderstanding to read Paul Kammerer's farewell letter to be a self-incrimination. ... I find it absolutely mystifying who could be responsible for the artificial coloration of the nuptial pads of the midwife toad, as had been determined by Professor Noble. Because the related experiments by Kammerer go back many years, it is almost impossible today to determine who was to blame. Because Kammerer realized that the matter would probably never be resolved, he evidently was tired of the much undeserved hostility and ended his life.²¹

A short time later two journalists, the most famous German-speaking journalists of the time, took on the case. Their obituaries summarize once again the two positions that initially framed the discussion, before suspicions over the course of time strangely settled on Kammerer as the falsifier and his suicide as the self-evident admission of guilt.

One contribution was offered by the dashing star reporter Egon Erwin Kisch in the *Berliner Montagspost*. Headlined “Manipulation of Scientific Evidence—The Kammerer Case,” Kisch's article summarized the level of knowledge surrounding the scandal of the manipulated midwife toads in an amazingly sloppy way and, on top of that, circulated totally false information. Kammerer, he wrote, had declared that “this ink coloration could only have been done during the war by an assistant, in order to clearly enhance the findings of the experiments. However, because the shadow of suspicion was cast on him, i.e. Kammerer, he took his own life.”²² The part about the ink coloring having been carried out by an assistant during the war had been invented

entirely by Kisch, who then questioned the credibility of this invented information, denouncing Kammerer as the falsifier:

Thus, this is a tragedy of scientific ambition that had turned criminal, perhaps out of failure and doubt. Kammerer, doubtless a highly significant biologist, suffered from the fact that—in part due to the popular science impact of his research in Vienna—he had a long wait before receiving a professorial chair, as was also the case regarding psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, the historian Ludo Hartmann, the individual psychologist Alfred Adler, and many others in Vienna. Kammerer's guilt: He wanted to empirically prove a synthetically recognized theory, and because he did not succeed in doing that, as contradicting voices became loud, his name as a researcher was threatened, so he helped his theory along—through manipulation.²³

Other newspaper articles took a similar line, such as a text in the acclaimed *Prager Tagblatt*, with the headline “Tempted by the Experiment,” which also speculated about how Kammerer became a falsifier:

Thus, the wishes of the scientist can quietly let the empirical findings slip into the realm of the imprecise yet desired, without the scientist even noticing. But also the temptation to engage in deliberate falsification in experiments is very great. A small modification of figures in an analysis, or a minor change in rendering the microscopic imaging—and suddenly the torment of research is eliminated, and fame and power are won.²⁴

Finally, even the Viennese journalist Karl Kraus could not avoid writing in his magazine *Die Fackel* about Kammerer's suicide, as it had grown into an irresolvable criminal case. In an enigmatic text Kraus gave the academic establishment a share of the responsibility for Kammerer's death—bringing us back to the beginning of the story:

For philosophy, Lessing's words suffice: “The Jew is to be burnt” [*Nathan the Wise*, trans. William Taylor]; for jurisprudence, the inquisition law. ... The Kammerers do not die only due to the barriers of the night owls of scholarship, but also from the indifference of those of the light of day, who prefer owls to eagles. ... Proper science despises people like Kammerer, because they are too rash, because they need to run from a miracle before they have proven it beyond the last shadow of a doubt. This science does not understand that the best of its sons need to eat bread hot out of the oven, that they cannot wait until it gets stale; that they need their teeth in order to clench them in anger, but not to break them out on old insights.²⁵

With the second wave of newspaper articles in Austria and abroad, Kammerer's suicide had definitively become an international topic. But the mood had clearly shifted against him, even if virtually all questions remained open.

Perhaps the greatest as yet unresolved science scandal in the first half of the twentieth century, this case would preoccupy not only contemporary journalists and researchers, but also a much more powerful man: Anatoly Lunacharsky, the Soviet People's Commissar of Education and Enlightenment, who met with Kammerer in the spring of 1926 in Moscow and appointed him professor. A cultural politician, Lunacharsky had been responsible as of 1919 under Lenin for the cultural, educational, and scientific affairs of the largest country in the world. He considered Kammerer's suicide to be important enough to quickly write a play about the incident.

Only seven weeks after Kammerer took his life, Lunacharsky had literally dramatized the case—as if a Soviet People's Commissar had nothing better to do—as reported in the daily *Neue Freie Presse* on November 11, 1926: In the play *Salamandra* (The Salamander), the article said, Lunacharsky pursued “the trend to document the ostensibly reactionary frame of mind of European scholars, who had driven Kammerer to his death.”²⁶ The Viennese biologist was in fact presented in this rather complex scandal as the victim of a large-scale political, religious conspiracy. According to the powerful politician and intellectual of Soviet culture, the reason for this was obvious: Kammerer's empirical evidence of the heritability of acquired traits would have confirmed the validity of dialectical materialism, thus giving a biological foundation to the communist ideology of the “new human” as it were. Merely by changing living conditions for the benefit of humanity, entire societies can be “improved” and the obsolete rule by the aristocracy and the church can be put behind us once and for all.²⁷

Lunacharsky later reworked his seven-act drama into a screenplay that was filmed in 1928, primarily at German locations, in an elaborate German-Soviet coproduction under the name *Salamandra*.²⁸ Paul Kammerer was played by Bernhard Goetzke, a contemporary German silent film star who also resembled him closely. Kammerer's character is called Karl Zange in the film and he is a zoology professor at a university in an unnamed medieval-fascist city, which was a composite of the shooting locations in Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, and Erfurt. Lunacharsky had a cameo role in the controversial production, playing himself. His wife, actress Natalya Rosenel, played Felicia, Zange's unhappy wife.

The story in brief: Karl Zange is a professor who is well-liked by his students. His rival is the zoology professor Pater Brzhezinsky, who challenges him to a public disputation. Parallel to this, Baron Petixius, a banker and geographer, and Prince Ruprecht Karlstein want to silence Zange, since they view his empirical evidence for the heritability of acquired characteristics ultimately as a threat to religion and the hegemony of the aristocracy.

The plot of the silent film offers quite a bit of drama. For instance, a minor character is stabbed by the banker with a knife that has a swastika engraved on it. Money is also counterfeited on a grand scale. In Lunacharsky's version, the amphibian samples are manipulated by Prince Karlstein, who offers his services to Zange as his assistant and later even steals Felicia from him. As if that is not enough, the biologist is publicly denounced as a child molester and then dismissed because of the alleged manipulations. Totally impoverished and abandoned by his wife, he fights to survive and to continue his salamander experiment, while the zoologist-priest Brzhezinsky, of all people, poisons Felicia, who—like the real-life Felicitas—actually feels very open toward Catholicism.



Karl Zange alias Paul Kammerer in the dramatic showdown of the film *Salamandra*

It ultimately leads to a dramatic showdown, which is actually intended to be a happy ending for the biologist. Zange sees no way out and, as the victim of a Catholic-capitalistic-aristocratic conspiracy, is about to shoot himself with a pistol, but he is saved at the last moment by a Soviet delegation working on behalf of Lunacharsky. The scientists who just arrived, together with the wounded biologist, experience how the salamanders, which Zange barely managed to save, have offspring with black coloring, thereby confirming his theory. In the final scenes of the film, Professor Karl Zange alias Paul Kammerer is sitting on a train to Moscow, where people know “to appreciate his creative ideas.”

Paul Kammerer did not experience such a happy ending. For him, traveling to the faraway Moscow was more likely a reason for him to take his life, as newspaper reports following his suicide suggested. Lunacharsky’s all too fantastic conspiracy theories proved not to be very plausible in clearing up the crime, which has yet to be resolved. But in fact it was not Kammerer who manipulated the toads, who else could it have been? And why did this person do it?

¹ On reconstructing how the corpse was found, see Schuster (1997), pp. 214–217; Grieser (1999), pp. 67 f.; Böhme (2005), pp. 24.

² See Gutmann (1927), p. vi.

³ “Die letzten Verfügungen Paul Kammerers,” *Neue Freie Presse*, September 25, 1926, evening edition, p. 3 (emphasis in original).

⁴ “Selbstmord des Biologen Paul Kammerer,” *Neue Freie Presse*, September 24, 1926, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Neue Freie Presse*, September 24, 1926, evening edition, p. 1.

⁸ In addition to *Neue Freie Presse*, it was also in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, *Neues Wiener Journal*, and *Der Abend*.

⁹ *The New York Times*, June 2–3 and November 28, 1923.

¹⁰ “Kammerer Kills Self With Gun Near Vienna,” *The New York Times*, September 25, 1926.

¹¹ “Der Selbstmord Paul Kammerers: Mitteilungen aus dem Freundeskreis über die Ursache der Tat,” *Neue Freie Presse*, September 25, 1926, p. 8.

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- ¹² “Paul Kammerer’ von seinem Schüler Walter Finkler,” *Neues Wiener Journal*, September 25, 1926 .
- ¹³ “Paul Kammerer,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, September 26, 1926, p. 7 .
- ¹⁴ See Hahn (1936).
- ¹⁵ Maria Finton (actually Lacerta Kammerer, Paul Kammerer’s daughter) in a letter to Arthur Koestler, May 16, 1970, Arthur Koestler Papers, University of Edinburgh Libraries (Box MS 2414/6)
- ¹⁶ “Paul Kammerers letzter Weg,” *Neues Wiener Journal*, September 28, 1926.
- ¹⁷ Gutmann (1927), p. ix.
- ¹⁸ Printed in: *Neue Freie Presse*, October 9, 1929, p. 9 .
- ¹⁹ For example in the *News of the World* daily, which headlined a full page on October 17 in huge letters: “Vienna Scientist Exposed by New Yorker Commits Suicide.” Similar stories appeared in a half dozen local US papers.
- ²⁰ “Das Selbstmordmotiv Doktor Kammerers,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, October 10, 1926, p. 8 .
- ²¹ “Die Gründe von Paul Kammerers Selbstmord,” *Neue Freie Presse*, October 10, 1926, p. 13 (emphasis in original).
- ²² *Berliner Montagspost*, October 18, 1926.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Arnold Hahn, “Verführung durch das Experiment,” *Prager Tagblatt*, October 20, 1926. Incidentally, ten years later Hahn wrote an entire book about Kammerer’s friend Štefan Lux alias Sturmbusch, who also committed suicide, see Hahn (1936).
- ²⁵ *Die Fackel* 32 (December 1926, no. 734–750), p. 126f.
- ²⁶ *Neue Freie Presse*, November 11, 1926, p. 8.
- ²⁷ See the report by Lunacharsky ([1929] 1975).
- ²⁸ Today the film can be viewed at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Au0lh7BuK4; an English translation of the intertitles is available at: https://www.academia.edu/4255626/English_intertitles_of_the_Soviet-German_movie_Salamandra_1928_