

# GOTTFRIED DULIAS

Disputed claims in the career of a German World War Two Luftwaffe veteran

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## Preface

On the 6th of June, 2006, I received a text message from my friend, Craig Belford. He had sent the text message from an airshow, the annual World War Two Weekend at Reading, Pennsylvania. In it, he stated: "*The 109 didn't show up but I shook hands with a German ace!*" I felt sorry for him in that one of his favourite planes, the Messerschmitt Bf 109E, failed to appear at the airshow, but I was excited to hear more about the German ace whom he had met. Somewhat later that day, Craig elaborated that he had met a man named Gottfried Dulias, who flew for the German Jagdgeschwader 53 "*Pik As*" in the Second World War. I was intrigued and asked whether I could find out additional information about this veteran.

Many people helped me with information and advice regarding this paper; I would like to thank the following people: Mihály Baán, Felix Bardos, Craig Belford, Steffen Böhm, Theo Boiten, Kurt Braatz, Sven Carlsen, Herman Hazelhoff, Ottomar Kruse (Pilot of 8./JG 26 and served as instructor on a fighterschool in World War II), Horst Kube, Julius Meimberg (Gruppenkommandeur of II./ JG 53) , Peter Spoden (Pilot in II./NJG5 and III./ NJG 6 Gruppenkommandeur of I./NJG6) , Marc Winter and Jaap Woortman.

The last person I would like to thank is Dr. Michael J. Chorney who gave me a lot of advice and support on this paper.

## Introduction

Gottfried Dulias claims to have flown for Jagdgeschwader 53, "*Pik As*," in World War Two. This occurred during 1944 and 1945, upon which he was taken prisoner and made a POW in March, 1945, on the Russian front. Searching Jochen Prien's definitive book on the Jagdgeschwader 53 "*Pik As*," I failed to find any information about Mr. Dulias. I wanted to find out why Mr Dulias was not mentioned in the books on the Jagdgeschwader 53. In fact, he was neither mentioned in the list of people claiming air victories while flying with the JG 53, nor in the list of JG 53 veterans who participated in the war. Craig told me that he bought Mr Dulias' book, "*Another Bowl of Kapusta*." I ordered the book as well. After reading it, I found several putative facts that conflicted with the historical data found within Prien's book on Jagdgeschwader 53.

On several internet forums, I found discussions as to whether Dulias' story is genuine. Some points that I investigate in this thesis are those raised by these same people. In all instances, I have researched all the controversial points myself, and the results are strikingly similar to the conclusions found within the internet discussions. There are, however, unique observations presented for the first time in this paper.

I will only focus on air victory claims made in parts of chapter four entitled "*At the Air Academy*," chapter five entitled "*The Little Rabbit, A Day Of Miracles*," and the beginning of chapter six, entitled "*Captured, Becoming a Prisoner of War (1945-1947)*." This paper is separated into four chapters, each of which focuses on the veracity of a specific claim. Finally, there is also a general conclusion.

I do not go into detail about the stories of Dulias' youth, nor his time as prisoner of war in Russia. These are nearly impossible to substantiate as records are nonexistent. Dulias' claims regarding his time as a POW in Russia seem genuine to me and I have no reason to doubt them. Therefore this paper will only focus on his active time as a member of the Luftwaffe. My conclusions are drawn from data derived from books, emails and letters from veterans who fought for the Luftwaffe in the Second World War, and from original documents.

Kollum, 31 March 2010

Thijs Lepstra

## **Part A: Joining Jagdgeschwader 53 “Pik As”: When and where did Gottfried Dulias join the Geschwader?**

*“Near Aachen on the western side of Germany, to the North of Köln (Cologne) was the Air Field of JG 53<sup>rd</sup> Squadron called “Pik As” (Ace of Spades). About five or six of us new Fahnenjunker (cadets) from Berlin-Gatow were assigned to that Squadron.”<sup>1</sup>*

These are the first lines of chapter five of Gottfried Dulias’ book, *“Another Bowl of Kapusta.”*

In this part of the paper, I will determine the subunit of Jagdgeschwader 53 Dulias joined, and the period during which he did so. In the first part of this chapter, I conclude that it is very unlikely that Dulias joined the Geschwader in August 1944 as he claimed. This is based on the referred bombardment of Cologne which I establish as a fixed date for further calculations. In the second part of this chapter, I establish the subunit which Dulias is likely to have joined based on published deployment data from that period. I will use quotes from Dulias’ book, below, followed by my conclusions stemming from my research. Please note that I entered into the research assuming that Mr. Dulias’ recollection is accurate. I present discrepancies in the claims based on my research and ask that the reader adopt an open mind in weighing the evidence.

As said in the introduction, I will only focus on Dulias’ claims regarding his service in the Luftwaffe in the Second World War, which seem to be in conflict with Prien’s Jagdgeschwader 53 book, and other information I have found. I do not dispute the fact that Dulias was a prisoner of war after he was captured by the Russians and the horror he had to endure in the years he was in a POW camp.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Part A1: When did Dulias join Jagdgeschwader 53 “Pik As”?***

Dulias does not mention an exact date during which he joined the Geschwader. He does, however, say on page 119 of his book, *“The entire training process lasted six months, until August 1944,”*<sup>3</sup> and on page 137, *“After this 2<sup>nd</sup> Victory, at the end of August I was lucky enough to get a few days of leave to attend the silver wedding anniversary of my parents back in Fürstenfeldbruck.”*<sup>4</sup> On his way back to his unit, Dulias relates that he is in Cologne during an air raid. Since the date of this air raid is known, one can make a rough estimate as to when Dulias most probably joined his unit.

On page 138 and 139, Dulias describes being in Köln during a daylight bombing raid. He is near the Hauptbahnhof (Central train station) and cathedral. The surrounding area is destroyed by bombs. During the months of August and September, 1944, there were 2 American daylight raids on Cologne.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 108 B-17’s of the 1<sup>st</sup> bomber Division bombed the Cologne suburbs of Ostheim, Merheim, Delbrück and Mülheim. This occurred between 10:08 am and 12:40 pm during which 150 heavy bombs, 453 High explosive bombs, 5000 incendiary bombs and 200 phosphor bombs were dropped.<sup>5</sup>

On the 27th of September, 462 B-17's of the 1<sup>st</sup> bomber Division bombed Cologne itself.<sup>6</sup> RAF Bomber Command made only one attack on Cologne during August and September 1944.<sup>7</sup> This amounted to only a small-scale raid by twin-engine Mosquito bombers. Since this was a relatively small-scale attack, and also one that took place at night, it is very unlikely that Dulias experienced this raid.

Since the September raid was very late in the month, it is unlikely that Dulias refers to this attack, so the raid of 15<sup>th</sup> of August will serve as the fixed point of reference.

There are several statements which Dulias makes in his book to aid in the analysis of his activities during the month of August, 1944. First is his estimate of the number of days of his training, which ended in early August 1944<sup>8</sup>. If the training lasted 6 months and it is claimed to have started on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, 1944, this places its termination as late July or early August, 1944.

Below are statements that can be found in Dulias' book that lead to a calculation of when Dulias could have joined the Geschwader. For the sake of clarity I have made a table for an overview.

- *"I flew as a Wingman, in my 109 Gustav, as a sidekick for an Oberleutnant."* Later Dulias flies his first combat mission in which he claims a Spitfire 3 days after he arrives at his frontline unit.<sup>9</sup> (3 days)
- *"Several days and missions later, flying as Wingman with an Oberleutnant."*<sup>10</sup> (5 days)
- *"At the end of august I was lucky enough to get a few days of leave to be able to attend the 25<sup>th</sup> (Silver) wedding anniversary of my parents back in Fürstenfeldbruck."*<sup>11</sup> Fürstenfeldbrück is a town to the west of Munich in south eastern Germany (2 days)
- *"I arrived two days late after the celebration due to travel delays, like bombed out rail tracks. Etc."*<sup>12</sup> (3 days travel minimum)
- Way back also 3 days, most likely the second day in Cologne. That's when the bombing was at Cologne. (2 days)

Total number of days: 15 to 17

Page Nr **	event	# days	days total	date
119	Training ends at LKS 2 ( Berlin-Gatow)	0	0	7-31-1944
	Travel from Berlin to Aachen	3	3	8-2-1944
133	First combat mission with JG 53	3	6	8-5-1944
136	Second kill	3	9	8-8-1944
137	Leave for parents: trip to parents house in Fürstenfeldbruck	3	12	8-11-1944
137	Stay at parents house for wedding anniversary	3	14	8-13-1944
138	Travelling back to Aachen. Day in Cologne	2	16	8-15-1944
138	Bombing of Cologne by US airforce	2		8-15-1944

\*\* Page in Dulias' book

Since the bombing of Cologne Ostheim was on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1944, it remains possible that Dulias joined the Geschwader in early August, 1944, as he claims. However, the Gruppe

was not near Aachen at the time though, but at Hustedt near Celle, northeast of Hannover.<sup>13</sup>  
See part A2.

## ***Part A2: Which Gruppe did Gottfried Dulias join?***

Dulias does not mention a specific Gruppe which he joined. Nor does he mention a specific Staffel (Squadron). In August 1944 there were 3 Gruppen of JG 53 active on various fronts:  
 I/. JG 53 on the southern part of the eastern front in Romania;  
 II./ JG53 on the Invasion front (Normandy invasion of June 6 1944), and  
 III./ JG 53 in the defence of the Reich.

At the end of the month, II/ JG 53 moved to Eindhoven for Reichsverteidigung operations.

### **I./ JG 53**

Since I./ JG 53 was based at the eastern front, this Gruppe that can be excluded as the unit Dulias joined in August, 1944. This leaves II. and III. Gruppen for consideration, as they were both fighting in the west.<sup>14</sup>

### **II./ JG 53**

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of June, 1944, operation Overlord was launched by the Western Allies in Normandy, France. In reaction, the Luftwaffe sent several Gruppen to Western France to support the German defence in Normandy.<sup>15</sup> II./ JG 53 transferred from its base at Oetingen. Their new base of operation, designed to counter the allied invasion, was Champfleury.<sup>16</sup> After sustaining heavy losses, the Gruppe flew its final mission over Normandy on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, the remaining aircraft were handed over to another unit. The Gruppe personnel were ordered to transfer to Husted (Near Lüneburg) in Germany for rest and refit. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, training was resumed in Husted.<sup>17</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, new orders arrived to transfer to France again. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of August, the first part of this transfer took place. The Gruppe went to La Fere via Dortmund.<sup>18</sup> When the airfield at La Fere was on the point of being overrun on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, the Gruppe moved to Chievres and then to Eindhoven in the Netherlands. From Eindhoven, the first combat mission was flown on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August.<sup>19</sup>

### **III./ JG 53**

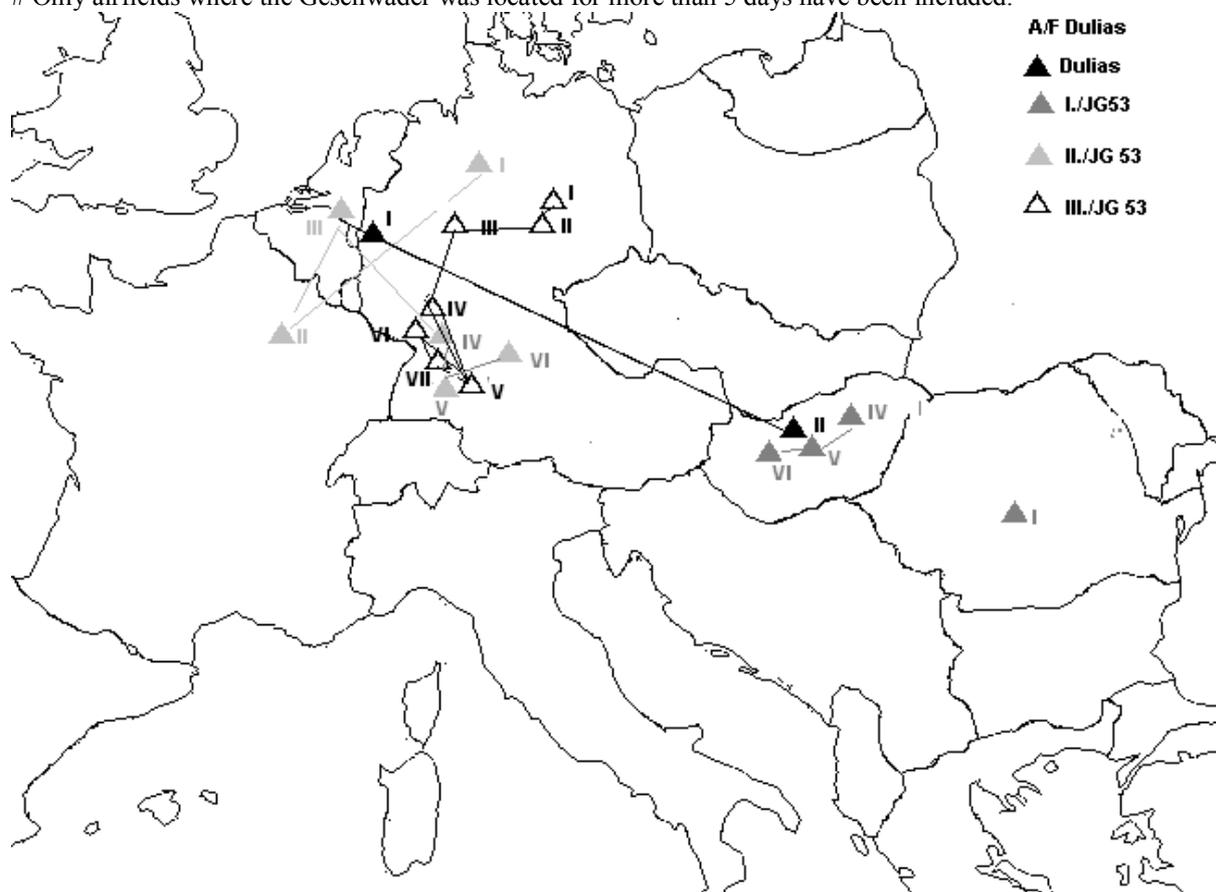
III./ JG 53 was based at Bad Lipspringe near Paderborn from the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1944<sup>20</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, at which time it was transferred to Sachau near Gardelegen.<sup>21</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, the Gruppe was ordered to Mörtitz near Leipzig.<sup>22</sup>

A map is provided on the next page providing details on the movement of the various Gruppen of Jagdgeschwader 53.

## Map : Jagdgeschwader 53 “Pik-As”

Airfields used by the JG 53 from August 1944 to March 1945<sup>23</sup>

# Only airfields where the Geschwader was located for more than 5 days have been included.



### I./ JG 53

Airfield:	Date (from/to)	
I Meri:	7.17.1944	8.20.1944
II Budak	8.26.1944	9.16.1944
III Mezöpetri	9.16.1944	10.7.1944
IV Maklar	10.7..1944	10.15.1944
V Mende	10.15.1944	11.1.1944
VI Veszprem	2.28.1945	3.1.1945

### II./ JG 53

Airfield:	Date (from/to)	
I Hustedt	7.12.1944	8.18.1944
II La Fere	8.18.1944	8.29.1944
III Eindhoven	8.29.1944	9.3.1944
IV Lorsch	9.9.1944	10.17.1944
V Malsmheim	10.17.944	4.1.1945
VI Ulm-Ristissen	4.1.1945	4.21.1945

### III./ JG 53

Airfield	Date (from/to)	
I Sachau	8.6.1944	8.20. 944
II Mörtitz	8.20..1944	9.17. 1944
III Paderborn	9.17.1944	10.6. 1944
IV Götzenhain	10.6.1944	10.17. 1944
V Neuhausen ob Eck	10.17. 1944	11.26. 1944
VI Germersheim	11.26. 1944	12.17.1944
VII Kirrlach	12.17.1944	3.23.1945

### Dulias

Airfield	Date (From/to)	
Aachen	8.?? 44	10.?? 1944
Hungary	10.?? 1944	3.4.1945

Another indication of the possible Gruppe of Jagdgeschwader 53 which Dulias joined is a bit farther along in the book and is based on technological considerations of the aircraft which Dulias claims to have flown. He states on page 136:

*“While flying home I saw in the distance another plane heading in the opposite direction. I asked myself, “is he friend or foe?” To make sure, I swung around out of his view getting behind and below him. Then I could identify it as a Spitfire. Knowing that the Spitfire had a rear-view mirror I made sure to stay below and behind him while at the same time catching up to him. As I was less than fifteen meters away from him I suddenly pulled up and with one round of my three-centimetre canon I shot off his entire tail section.”<sup>24</sup>*

Dulias claims that he destroyed his adversary with a 3 cm cannon. This was the Rheinmetall 30 mm MK 108, which replaced the Mauser 20 mm MG151/20,<sup>25</sup> the Bf109's regular nose-mounted cannon. When a Bf 109 had a MK108 firing trough the nose, the plane was designated as a U4. For example: a Messerschmitt Bf109G-6 with the 20mm MG151/20 replaced by the 30mm MK108 became a Bf 109G-6/U4.<sup>26</sup>

The only Gruppe of JG53 which was equipped with the Bf109G-6/U4 or Bf 109G-14/U4 was the second Gruppe, which makes possible his joining of this subunit of Jagdgeschwader 53.<sup>27</sup> Given the plane Dulias describes, which would make it a BF109G-6/U4 or BF109G-14/U4 in conjunction with the location of JG 53's second Gruppe at least near an airfield near Aachen, it is most likely that it was the second Gruppe to which he was assigned in August, 1944. Note, however, that the second Gruppe was stationed at Eindhoven in the Netherlands, relatively close to the German border and Aachen. This was, however, only at the end of August, 1944 (August 28), while the rest of the month the Gruppe was at Hüsted, about 50 kilometres east of Kiel in Northern Germany. Dulias makes another claim on page 133: *“Our group, as part of the Squadron was assigned to engage the escort fighters that came in with the B17's from England to bomb Germany. We had to take them away from the bombers.”<sup>28</sup>*

II./ JG 53 was not assigned to Reichsverteidigung ('Defence of the Homeland') duties to combat the Allied fighters that were escorting the heavy bomber raids into Germany and to attack the bombers, themselves. Instead, they were fighting against the Ninth American Air Force. In this role, they predominantly combated American P-47's, which operated as fighter bombers at a much lower altitude than that assigned to the heavy bombers. The only Gruppe of JG 53 that was active in the Reichsverteidigung was III./ JG 53, although this unit was based far away from Aachen and can therefore also be excluded.

All of the other Gruppen of JG53 were based far away from Aachen and were not considered in the evaluation, above.

The fact that Dulias may not have joined the Geschwader at all in August, 1944, is strongly supported by personal recollections of key people of the Geschwader. The man who was the Gruppenkommandeur of II./ JG 53 at the time was Major Julius Meimberg. Every pilot who joined the Gruppe at the time was required to personally report to Mr. Meimberg. To my question *“Do you know a pilot by the name of Gottfried Dulias who should have joined II./JG 53 in August 1944?”* Mr. Meimberg answered the following: *“Ein Gottfried Dulias ist mir nicht bekannt”* (I do not know of a man named Gottfried Dulias).

The only other surviving member of II./ JG 53 who flew in August 1944, Günther Seeger, also failed to recollect a Gottfried Dulias during Kurt Braatz's questioning.<sup>29</sup>

*“At the beginning of October the greater part of our group received orders to re-locate to the Russian front at an Airfield near Budapest while the rest of the group remained at the area near Aachen.”*<sup>30</sup>

On the map, above, one can see the movement of the various Gruppen of JG 53 during the months of July, 1944, to March, 1945. The move of Dulias can also be seen on the map. As illustrated, no Gruppe of Jagdgeschwader 53 was moved from the west to the east in this period, nor were there any pilots from II./ JG53 who were transferred to the east.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Conclusion.***

None of the Gruppen of JG 53 was based at Aachen; only the second Gruppe was stationed near Aachen for a short time. This was, however, not at the time Dulias describes. Since the two survivors of II./JG53, Mr. Meimberg and Mr. Seeger, both state not to have known him, it can be concluded that it is highly unlikely that Dulias joined any Gruppe of JG 53 during August of 1944. I could uncover no indications (apart from Dulias' own claim) that he joined the “Pik As” Geschwader in August, 1944. The only Gruppe that was equipped with Messerschmitt Bf109's that were fitted with a 30mm cannon was II./ JG 53. This Gruppe, however, was only based near Aachen for a very short time, and was not involved in any defensive actions against allied daylight bombing raids but, instead, was employed against allied ground attack aircraft. The date of the only major attack on Cologne is also known, and as shown in the timetable, it is unlikely that Dulias joined the Gruppe in early August, 1944. The claim that Dulias was transferred to the eastern front appears spurious, as no pilots of II./JG 53 were thus transferred in the autumn of 1944.

## Part B: Investigation of victory claims by Gottfried Dulias

Part B contains two subparts: Claims on the western front and claims on the eastern front. Dulias claims to have shot down two Supermarine Spitfires on the western front and four Russian I-16's in the east. He describes his first kill in great detail, while his second Spitfire victory claim is equally well presented. Apart from his last kill, which he claimed on his final sortie (when he was allegedly shot down), the other three Russian kills are only mentioned briefly, and are only vaguely documented with respect to the time of their occurrence.

In his book Dulias claims he shot down 6 aircraft:

- 1) Spitfire: Western front (August, 1944)
- 2) Spitfire: Western front (August, 1944)
- 3) I-16: East front (Hungary, late October, 1944)
- 4) I-16: East front (Hungary, early November, 1944)
- 5) I-16: East front (Hungary, late November, 1944)
- 6) I-16 East Front (Hungary March 4, 1945)

### ***B1: Dulias' victory claims on the western front.***

Dulias describes his first victory over an enemy airplane, which occurred in mid August, 1944. He claims to have shot down a Supermarine Spitfire flown by Lieutenant Fred Browning of London. His Rottenführer (formation leader) shot down 2 Spitfires the same day in the same area.

After a description of the dogfight, Dulias continues: *"Finally I managed to get him to fly right into my firing line and this time close enough to pull the trigger. I saw the impact as the gunfire hit the engine right behind the propeller. His engine immediately began to catch fire and left a smoke trail behind him...Turning left I saw him open his hood and climb out and push himself away from the plane. As I circled back I saw his parachute open and felt 'Relieved' that I didn't kill him...With all the twists and turns while in combat I lost sight of my Oberleutnant. But he saw my fight with the Spitfire and the actions I had taken. He himself bagged two Spitfires on the same mission.... As it turned out that entire scenario took place close to our own airfield. The British pilot that I shot down landed with his chute on a land adjoining our field and was taken a prisoner of war. Later that afternoon I returned to my base, I met that pilot. His name was Lieutenant Fred Browning from London, England."*<sup>32</sup>

Dulias' second kill is another Spitfire which he claims to have shot down a few days after his first: *"Several days and missions later...While flying home I saw in the distance another plane heading in the opposite direction. I asked myself, "is he friend or foe?" To make sure, I swung around out of his view getting behind and below him. Then I could identify it as a Spitfire. Knowing that the Spitfire had a rear-view mirror I made sure to stay below and behind him while at the same time catching up to him. As I was less than fifteen meters away from him I suddenly pulled up and with one round of my three-centimetre canon I shot off his entire tail section... This time the only witness for my 2<sup>nd</sup> Victory was the Gun camera."*<sup>33</sup>

Dulias' first kill should have occurred in the second half of August, 1944. With regard to this first aerial victory, Dulias claims to have shot down a Lieutenant Fred Browning from London, a pilot who was 20 years of age when Dulias was said to have spoken with him. In a

letter to the Royal Air Force (RAF) Personnel Management Agency, I requested information about a Lieutenant Fred Browning from London who was shot down in August 1944. The RAF Personnel Management Agency holds the WW2 records of all RAF pilots. They were unable to find anything in their records: *“I regret that I am unable to positively identify the officer named Fred Browning that you are trying to trace.”*<sup>34</sup>

A letter from the Air Historical Branch confirms the letter from the RAF PMA. *“Obviously I am unable to comment on any of the claims made by Mr. Dulias. I have, however, been unable to find any records for any casualty with the name of Browning that matches the information provided. In other words, neither the date/aircraft/being taken POW match any casualty details that we have for those airmen with the surname ‘Browning.’”*<sup>35</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the claim by Dulias of shooting down a Spitfire piloted by a man named Browning is not supported by my investigation.

Moreover, during the first mission at which time Dulias shot down a plane, he mentions the shooting down of three Spitfires, one by himself and two others by an Oberleutnant of his Gruppe. No Gruppe of JG 53 claimed three Spitfire kills in August 1944. In fact, no Spitfires have been claimed to have been shot down by any Gruppe of JG53 during that month. In 1944 there were six days when JG53 shot down two or more Spitfires and three days when one pilot claimed to have shot down two or more:

19.02.1944: Feldwebel Müller of 7./JG 53 claimed 3 Spitfires in Italy.<sup>36</sup>

09.05.1944: Feldwebel Gröber of 3./JG53 claimed 2 Spitfires in Italy.<sup>37</sup>

26.05.1944: Major Götz of III./ JG 53 claimed 2 Spitfires in Italy.<sup>38</sup>

The last Spitfire that was shot down before August 1944 has been attributed to Oberfähnrich Landt of 8./ JG 53.<sup>39</sup> Dulias says that he joined JG 53 in August 1944, a month in which no Spitfires were shot down. In September, 1944, Oberleutnant Seeger of 4./JG 53 shot down a Spitfire.<sup>40</sup> The only other Spitfire shot down by JG53 was destroyed in air combat in December 1944 by Unteroffizier Ernst from 6./JG 53.<sup>41</sup> On all days when 2 or more Spitfires were shot down by JG53, the Gruppen involved were based in Italy and not in Germany, proper, where Dulias claims to have joined the Geschwader. Furthermore, in the lists which contain the claims made by all Gruppen of JG 53, the name of Dulias is not mentioned once.<sup>42</sup>

A claim Dulias makes within his report of his second kill is that his plane was equipped with a gun camera. Gun cameras were installed in airplanes and were pointed forward so they were able to record events that were occurring when the pilot pulled the trigger of his armament, which would automatically start the recording. In the Luftwaffe, the use of gun cameras was far from common. Julius Meimberg, the commander of the unit which Dulias most probably joined, stated: *“Ein Bordkamara war Mangelware. Mein Wunsch eine Einbaukamera zu bekommen, ist erst zum ende des Krieges erfüllt worden”*<sup>43</sup> (Gun cameras were rare. My wish to get a gun camera was only granted towards the end of the war.). Since the commander of the unit Dulias joined did not have a camera, plus the fact that gun cameras were not widely used, if not scarce, it is highly unlikely that a gun camera was used by Dulias.

The majority of the combat in which II./ JG 53 was involved was with American fighter planes, mainly the Republic P-47 *“Thunderbolt”*, the Lockheed P-38 *“Lightning”* and, finally, the North American P-51 *“Mustang”*. The only Spitfire shot down by II./ JG 53 was on the second of July when Oblt. Günther Seeger of 4/ JG 53 claimed a Spitfire.<sup>44</sup> As mentioned above, no claims by a pilot named Dulias appear in the claim lists in the Jagdgeschwader 53

“*Pik As*” on page 1117 to 1154 in Prien’s comprehensive JG 53 book, nor is a pilot by the name of Dulias mentioned in the alphabetical list in the same book. Thus, it is very unlikely that Dulias shot down any planes on the western front.

## ***B2: Dulias’ victory claims on the eastern front.***

Dulias claims to have shot down four Russian airplanes on the eastern front, all of them I-16’s.

On the day he became a POW, he claims to have shot down his final Russian plane.

Kill # 3: I-16 East front (Hungary, end October, 1944)<sup>45</sup>

Kill # 4: I-16 East front (Hungary, early November, 1944)<sup>46</sup>

Kill # 5: I-16 East front (Hungary, late November, 1944)<sup>47</sup>

Kill # 6: I-16 East front (Hungary, March 4, 1945)<sup>48</sup>

All four claims on the Russian front are presented below as they are described in “Another Bowl of Kapusta”:

### ***Victory claim number 3***

*“At our section of the front, the opposing Russian enemy to the South of Budapest flew Polykarpov I-16 “Ratas.” That was an older plane that had already fought against the early ME-109’s during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) but was then further developed just as the 109 was. But the new ME-109’s like the one I flew proved to be superior in combat. The reason being, that it was of a better overall design and definitely could outmanoeuvre the Rata.”<sup>49</sup>*

### ***Victory claim number 4***

*“My 4<sup>th</sup> victory occurred on another good flying day early in November with high visibility. Once again another pilot of a Rata bailed out. This time on our territory, and he was probably taken as a Prisoner of War.”<sup>50</sup>*

### ***Victory claim number 5***

*“Late in November on yet another good flying day we again engaged in a dogfight with more Russian Ratas. But this time we were eight planes. After some tricky manoeuvres I achieved my 5<sup>th</sup> Victory resulting in bail out. Once again a fellow Pilot and my gun camera confirmed it.”<sup>51</sup>*

### ***Victory claim number 6***

Dulias shoots down a 6<sup>th</sup> Russian plane, again referred to as being a Rata; his fighter was subsequently hit by anti aircraft fire and he was forced to belly-land his plane behind enemy lines (the date provided is March 4, 1945).<sup>52</sup> He is captured by the Russians near Naggi Sallo in Hungary (Modern day Tekovské Lužany in Slovakia) on the Gran river, now the Hron River.<sup>53</sup> This town is about 175 kilometres away from the base at Vezprem where I./ JG 53 was located at the time.

The frontline in early March was at the Gran River. So it can be that Dulias was captured here.

In the claim list by Prien, there are no claims credited to a pilot named Dulias. No unit of the entire Jagdgeschwader 53 "Pik As" shot down an I-16 after the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, 1942, when Oberleutnant Müller of I./ JG 53 was the last pilot to claim an I-16.<sup>54</sup>

The other claim Dulias makes is that the Bf109 could outmanoeuvre the I-16. Multiple variants of the Messerschmitt Bf109 were involved with fighting the I-16. In the Spanish Civil War, Bf109s from the Nationalists and I-16's from the Republicans had been locked in combat with each other. Early in the Civil War, the dogfights between the two sides were World War I style, where it was important that aircraft could make sharper turns than their opponent. With the introduction of the Bf109, the Germans had an aircraft that was not able to turn tighter than their counterparts, although it had a speed advantage and better climbing performance, thus it had to rely on speed rather than turning capabilities to defeat the I-16.<sup>55</sup> At the start of operation Barbarossa (the German invasion of Russia in June 1941), the German Luftwaffe encountered large numbers of I-16's and similar types of aircraft that were able to turn faster than the German fighters, but which could not catch them because of the Bf109's superior speed and climb capabilities. Later in the war, emerging types of Russian fighters were far improved, and at some altitudes were superior to German fighter aircraft when it came to speed.

The Russian fighters were still known for their agility, although less than previously, and were on par with German aircraft in this respect. Superiority depended on the pilot, his or her tactics and the initial position of each combatants' aircraft. In the autumn of 1944 and winter 1944/ 1945, I./ JG 53 was mainly in combat with the following Russian fighter plane types: Lavochkin La-5 and La-7 and Jakovlev Jak-3, Jak-7, and Jak-9. There was also some fighting with American lend-lease types (the P40, for example), as well as P-51 fighters that were escorting American heavy bombers. The Russian ground attack aircraft type, the Ilyushin-2 Stormovik, was a common foe difficult to shoot down.<sup>56</sup> The claim by Dulias that his aircraft was much more agile than those of his Russian foes, in particular the I-16 that most probably disappeared from the front long before 1944, is dubious to say the least.

## ***Conclusion***

None of Dulias' claims can be found in the kill lists compiled by Dr. Prien. Dulias' claim to have shot down a Spitfire pilot named Browning also draws scepticism since the name of Browning cannot be found in the RAF loss records. No claim for a Spitfire is recorded at all by any Gruppe of JG 53 in August, 1944. The claims of Dulias for the kills of aircraft on the eastern front also cannot be found in Dr. Prien's lists. Dulias' Red Air Force adversaries cannot have been I-16's since this type was not in frontline use by the Russians in 1944-45. In fairness, Dulias may have misidentified the aircraft of his adversaries. Nevertheless, the claims remain highly dubious since no information related to Dulias's combat recollections on either the Western front or in the East can be drawn from respected historical references and concomitant sources.

## Part C: Other claims by Gottfried Dulias regarding his flying with Jagdgeschwader 53 and his leaves during the war

Various claims are unique in that they neither relate to deployment nor victories. This part focuses on such claims

- The replacement of the group commander in early 1945.
- The leaves Dulias was granted to attend his parents' silver wedding anniversary in August 1944 and the marriage of his older sister in November 1944.
- Photo's Dulias sells with a plane on it.

### *New group commander*

The following is a quote by Dulias found on page 143:

*"I returned to active duty, and reported to an area just North of Budapest, where our Flying Field was located. We had a new Group Commander Hauptmann Helmut Lipfert because our former one had transferred to the new Messerschmitt 262 outfit located in Bavaria."*<sup>57</sup>

In the section below I will try to verify which commander Dulias means with leaving the squadron and when Helmut Lipfert joined Jagdgeschwader 53. I will only go into detail on commanders with whom which Dulias overlapped, temporally. For the Jagdgeschwader, this is the Gruppenkommandeur and the various Staffelkapitäne of I./ JG 53 since that was the only Gruppe of JG 53 that was based on the eastern front. I will also look at the higher level commanders that commanded the whole of JG 53, just for the sake of clarity and completeness.

### *Kommandeure of I./ JG 53*

During the month of December, no changes were made in the command of the Gruppe. Below are the various Gruppenkommandeure that led I./JG 53 during the period December 1944 till March 1945 and their fates.

Major Jürgen Harder, led the unit from December until the 21<sup>st</sup> of January, 1945.<sup>58</sup> Jürgen Harder was assigned as the Kommodore of JG 11, but died in a crash near Strausberg on February 17, 1945, after an engine failure before he could take on command of the Geschwader.<sup>59</sup> JG 11 flew the Focke Wulf Fw190 and Messerschmitt BF 109's, but not the Messerschmitt Me 262.<sup>60</sup>

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, Hauptman Wolfgang Ernst became the acting Kommandeur of I./ JG 53, having been posted from III./ JG 53).<sup>61</sup> Wolfgang Ernst remained Kommodore of JG 76, which only flew the Messerschmitt Bf 109.<sup>62</sup>

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of January, Hauptmann Erich Hartmann took command of I./JG53 followed by Helmut Lipfert who took over the lead of I./ JG 53 on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February.<sup>63</sup> Erich Hartmann returned to his previous Geschwader (JG 52) where he exclusively flew the Bf 109.<sup>64</sup> This was approximately 2 months after Dulias claims that Lipfert was in command of the Gruppe. A famous pilot like Hartman was sure to be memorable for the Gruppe, and it is unlikely that Dulias would have confused this fact.

None of the Gruppenkommandeure of I/ JG 53 flew for Me 262 units after they left the Gruppe. It could be that Dulias refers to his Staffelkapitän when he talks about his commander being replaced. Helmut Lipfert did not lead a Staffel, but for clarity, I also looked into the Staffelkapitäne of I./JG 53 in the time Dulias claimed to have joined the unit.

### **1./JG 53**

Oblt. Hans Kornatz was Staffelkapitän from June, 1944, until the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, 1945. He survived the war and stayed on with I./ JG 53.<sup>65</sup>

### **2./ JG 53**

Oblt. Erich Thomas became Staffelkapitän in February, 1944, and remained so until the end of the war. He remained with 2./JG 53 until the end of the war.<sup>66</sup>

### **3./ JG 53**

On a small photo that Dulias is currently selling (explored in detail, below), it states that he flew with 3./JG 53 in Hungary in 1945. Lt. Hermann Wolf became the Staffelkapitän of 3./ JG 53 in August, 1944, and served in this capacity to end of the war.<sup>67</sup>

## ***Overall Luftwaffe command in Hungary***

The Stab of JG 76 was located in Hungary in early 1945. The Kommodore of Jagdgeschwader 76 was Ernst Düllberg. This Stab controlled all the fighter squadron operations on the southern part of the Eastern Front.

In February, 1945, Düllberg was transferred to III./ EJG 2, where he underwent conversion training for Me 262 jets, ultimately serving with II./ JG 7.<sup>68</sup> He is the only commander under which Dulias served that went on to fly the Me 262.

There is no evidence of any Gruppenkommandeure or Staffelkapitäne of I Gruppe or its Staffeln of Jagdgeschwader 53 undergoing transfer to a unit that operated Messerschmitt Me 262 jets. While there were a small number of pilots of JG 53 who were transferred to jet units, none were formerly commanding officers of I./JG 53. The only commander of the fighter force in Hungary who flew Me 262's after leaving was Ernst Düllberg. It could only be this man to whom Dulias refers as the predecessor of Helmut Lipfert. Düllberg was never in charge of any unit of Jagdgeschwader 53.

## ***Leaves by Dulias***

On two occasions, Dulias says that he was granted a leave to visit his family. On the first, he attended the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary wedding of his parents in August, 1944. The second time, he attended his sister's wedding. Dulias states:

*“After this 2<sup>nd</sup> victory, at the end of August I was lucky enough to get a few days of leave to be able to attend the 25<sup>th</sup> (silver) wedding anniversary of my parents back in Fürstenfeldbruck”<sup>69</sup>*  
*“While in Hungary, by the end of November I received a letter from home telling me that my older sister was getting married on December 12<sup>th</sup>. I applied for leave to be able to attend the*

*Wedding. Since the weather was mostly unsuited for flying and the front was more or less at a standstill, I was granted a leave for a week.*"<sup>70</sup>

It is very unlikely that any pilot would get a leave at all at this time of the war since all hands were needed in the air. The Luftwaffe had a severe shortage of experienced pilots. As to whether pilots were allowed to go on a leave in the years 1944/1945, this was the reply by former Gruppenkommandeur of II./ JG 53, Julius Meimberg: "*Urlaub erhielt zu der Zeit niemand*" (no one was allowed to go on leave at that time).<sup>71</sup> Former nightfighter pilot, Peter Spoden, comments similarly: "*The only reason you could get a short leave is when the house of your parents was bombed and they died.*"<sup>72</sup> Another reason for being granted a leave was due to pilot exhaustion precluding the performance of operational duties. As with Dulias, neither is the case. It is therefore very unlikely that Dulias was granted a leave if he was flying with an operational unit at this critical stage of the war. There is, however, a picture in Dulias' book, which shows the whole Dulias family together. According to Dulias, this photo was taken at the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary wedding of his parents, supporting his claim of attending this event.<sup>73</sup>

### ***Photo's of Dulias on Ebay.***

Gottfried Dulias has recently begun the sale of WWII period photos on Ebay. On these photos, one can see a Messerschmitt Bf109 with a figure in front, putatively of Dulias. The aircraft is clearly a model kit, most likely a Hasegawa 1:32 scale Messerschmitt Bf109 G-10 or G-14. This photo has been manipulated by Photoshop to make it look older. The lines on the aircraft, which separate the various panels, are much too wide and deep in comparison to photos of real Messerschmitts of the Bf109 Gustav series. The antenna is also in a different position than on the artist representation of the plane supposedly flown by Dulias in Hungary. On the artist impression, the radio is behind the canopy, while on the photos that were on Ebay, the antenna is fixed to the canopy. On two of three pictures, the pilot figure is visible, but it too appears to be a model. In both cases, he has the same pose and is at the same distance and angle from the plane. The figures resemblance to Mr. Dulias has been questioned on the "*Twelve O'Clock High*" internet site.<sup>74</sup>

## ***Conclusion***

The only person who was in a command position in a Luftwaffe unit in which Dulias might have been active was the commander of the Fighters in Hungary, Ernst Düllberg. Helmut Lipfert, who is claimed to have been his commander in Hungary, did join I./ JG 53 but at an entirely different time than that claimed by Dulias.

The leave that Dulias was granted is questionable since fighter pilots would not be allowed to leave their units for such matters as weddings and anniversaries in this time of crisis. The picture of himself and his family celebrating the silver wedding of his parents lends credence to the possibility that he was not subject to the constraints imposed upon flying personnel at that time due to the fact that he was not an active combatant.

The photos of Dulias that can be found on Ebay appear to be pictures of a model kit.

## Part D: Training

### *Dulias' training to become a fighter pilot.*

In chapter four, "*Challenges ahead, being introduced to the Luftwaffe,*" Dulias writes about his basic training at Oschatz.<sup>75</sup> He tells about his time at the Luftkriegsschule 2 (LKS 2) at Berlin-Gatow, where he trained from February, 1944, to August, 1944.<sup>76</sup> He also talks about flying the Messerschmitt Bf 108 and Messerschmitt Bf 109.<sup>77</sup> It needs to be emphasized that both planes, however, were not operated at the LKS 2 at that time. There is no mention as to which training unit he was with while flying both Messerschmitt types. In this chapter of the paper, I will analyze Dulias' claims related to his training in the same way as in the previous chapters.

### *Basic training at Oschatz*

*"My basic training lasted for three months in Oschatz. Upon completion I was assigned to the Air Academy No. 2 at Berlin- Gatow on February 1, 1944."*<sup>78</sup>

*"We started with theoretical training and a continuation of glider and soaring instructions..."*<sup>79</sup>

The first step in becoming a Luftwaffe pilot with an officer rank was the basic training as a soldier. This lasted for two to three months. For officer cadets of the Luftwaffe, training took place at the Oschatz training facility. In May, 1943, a basic military training battalion for officer cadets was founded in Oschatz. This battalion was founded in order to shorten the officer cadets' stay at the Luftkriegsschulen (LKS). Here, the cadets trained on gliders in order to obtain their glider licences A, B and C.<sup>80</sup> It may be expected that this was where Dulias' training occurred. Moreover, the sequence of events dictated that he underwent transfer, after Oschatz, to Luftkriegsschule 2 (LKS 2) at Berlin-Gatow.

### *Dulias at LKS 2 Berlin Gatow*

*"At first I flew in the two seater, Kranich ... A powered French plane "Morane" towed us"*<sup>81</sup>  
*"Once our glider training was complete, we finally started our training in powered aircraft, The first one for me was the Focke Wulf Fw 44 D Stieglitz."*<sup>82</sup> *"The next plane was a Bucker Jungmann after that a Bucker Jungmeister"*<sup>83</sup>

The main training toward becoming a fighter pilot was that received at the Luftkriegsschule 2 at Berlin Gatow. Here, he flew gliders and also made his first few flights in powered aircraft. The description of the planes he flew while at LKS 2 is not complete, and the most advanced plane he claimed to have flown was a Bucker Bü 133 "*Jungmeister.*" This type was not used at LKS 2. Mr. Sven Carlsen provided two Flugbücher (logbooks) of pilots, Lothar Seipel and Franz Josef Dreyhaupt, who trained at the LKS 2 from March, 1944. The table on the next page shows the types of planes both men flew and the date when they first flew the type.<sup>84</sup>

Lothar Seipel		Franz Josef Dreyhaupt		Gottfried Dulias	
Plane type	Date first flight	Plane type	Date first flight	Planetype	Date first flight
Bücker Bü 181	14 March	Bücker Bü 181	14 March	Focke Wulf Fw 44	?
Focke Wulf Fw 44	3 April	Focke Wulf Fw 44	31 March	Bücker Bü 131	?
Klemm 35	3 April	Klemm 35	3 April	Bücker Bü 133	At LKS 2?
Bücker Bü131	13 April	Bücker Bü131	13 April	Messerschmitt Bf 108	At LKS 2?
Junkers W 34	19 May	Junkers W 34	14 May	Messerschmitt BF109E	At LKS 2?
Arado Ar 66	1 August	Arado Ar 66	25 May	Messerschmitt BF109G	At LKS 2?
Arado Ar 96	14 August	Arado Ar 96	14 August		
Total flights	315	Total flights	339	Total flights: ?	
Graduated at LKS 2	11 September	Graduated at LKS 2	11 September	Graduated at LKS 2	Early August 1944

One can observe the differences in the types of aircraft flown between Mr. Dulias and Mr. Seipel and Dreyhaupt, the latter pilots nearly reproducing each other's training sequences (types and dates of first flights). It is possible that Dulias simply forgot which planes he flew while at the LKS. Other planes he mentioned were not flown at LKS 2 at all, but could be found at different schools for more advanced training that operated such frontline types of aircraft. The Bü 133, Bf 108 and Bf 109E and Bf 109G were flown at the Jagdfliegerschulen and Ergänzungsgruppen.<sup>85</sup>

### ***Dulias after the LKS 2***

*“After being evaluated as a potential future fighter pilot, my training continued in a Messerschmitt 108, Tainfun. That aircraft was a four seater with two rows of seats. It was a powerful plane and surprisingly easy to handle. Comparison wise, it was like the Me-109, a one seater as the fighter plane with which I did my final training. Within a short period of time I was once again ready to go solo, I passed with flying colours and was then ready for the next level of expertise. Emil, a Messerschmitt 109 model was an obsolete plane returned from frontline duty to become a trainer.”<sup>86</sup>*

*“After training on the Emil, we also received some training with Gustavs. The purpose was mainly to become familiar with the best combat plane at that time.”<sup>87</sup>*

Mr. Dulias describes the normal procedure for becoming a fighter pilot: After one graduated from the LKS, he was sent to a Jagdfliegerschule (fighter school) to train on more advanced planes, and finally to fly types that were operating at the front. As shown in the table, above, Dulias trained on planes that may not have been present at the LKS 2. He does not mention his attendance of either a Jagdfliegerschule or an Ergänzungsgruppe which were operating the more advance planes Dulias mentions.

*“The entire training process lasted six months, until August 1944.”<sup>88</sup>* This is the final claim he makes about his training. It is rather improbable that Dulias went to a frontline unit in August, 1944, if he indeed started his training in February of that year. The training process took far more than six months for one to advance from a rookie cadet to a frontline pilot.

In the book by Caldwell there is a table with the time path for a new pilot to become operational:

*“Fighter pilot training early 1944*

*Stage 1: 2 hour glider introduction*

*Stage 2: Motor Auswahl: 30 hours initial powered instruction, primary training*

*Stage 3: Luftwaffenführerschein: 20 hours elementary instruction in aerobatics, formation flying etc. Usually on the Bücker 181*

*Fighter School*

*Vorschule: 26 hours on trainer types (Arado 96)*

*Endschule: 14 hours on earlier model operational types*

*Ergänzungsgruppe: 20 hours on Bf 109 or Fw 190*

*Total 8 months, 111 flying hours”<sup>89</sup>*

According to this table, Dulias could have been at an operational unit in October/November 1944, but not in August, 1944. An official table from the General der Fl. Ausbildung from June 1, 1944, the basic training took 8 months at the LKS. Four additional months at a Jagdfliegschule, and 2 to 4 months at an Ergänzungsgruppe, were required, totalling 14 to 16 months.<sup>90</sup> This means that Dulias could have joined an operational unit at the earliest around December 1944 / January 1945.

It is most likely that Dulias completed the training at the LKS 2, but did not train further than that stage. The most likely reason is the lack of fuel that severely hampered the entire German army, and in particular, the Luftwaffe from 1944 onwards. Where Dulias went at this point in time is unknown, since I could not get permission for a search at the Deutsche Dienst Stelle in Berlin for a man named Gottfried Dulias.

## ***Conclusion***

The procedure Dulias describes to become a fighter pilot is comparable to other sources, even though there are some things in his story which do not match these sources. Dulias' story correctly follows the general training procedure to become an officer in the Luftwaffe. All the way up to his training at the LKS 2, he presents a fairly clear and ordinary picture. After that, his account becomes vague. I think that Dulias did not complete the entire process of pilot training but was transferred to another branch of the Luftwaffe, either the Flak or the Fallschirmjäger, to serve as a ground soldier and not as a member of the flying personnel. The training process was cut short and many pilot cadets were transferred to other branches of the Luftwaffe or other parts of the German army.

## Conclusion

There can be little doubt that Mr. Gottfried Dulias was trained to become a pilot in the Luftwaffe. His stories about basic training and his flying at the LKS appear to be genuine. Although the plane types he mentions were not all flown at Berlin Gatow-and he should have flown more types of aircraft than he mentions-it does appear that he was trained at Berlin Gatow. There is even a picture of him as a cadet on page V in his book. It is most likely that he was also sent to a Ergänzungsgruppe to fly the Bücker Bu 131 "*Jungmann*," the Bu 133 "*Jungmeister*", the Messerschmitt Bf108 and the Bf109. Although hard to prove, I think that he was washed out of this fighter school, probably because of lack of fuel, which was a big problem at the time. This was impossible for me to find out since in his book, there is no name mentioned of a training unit Dulias went to after the LKS 2. It was impossible for a cadet to go directly from a LKS to a frontline unit since he would not be allowed to fly in these frontline fighter planes and had no hours in the plane type that was flown by a frontline unit. In part A, B and C, I have tried to verify a number of claims that Dulias makes regarding his operational flying with Jagdgeschwader 53 "*Pik As*" on both the western and eastern front. Most of his claims appear to be untrue. There was no English Spitfire pilot named Fred Browning who was shot down in August, 1944. The transfer Dulias makes to the Eastern front, leaving his old second Gruppe behind and transferring to the first, is highly unlikely.

Although Helmut Lipfert did fly with JG 53 in 1945, he did not do so at the point in time as Dulias describes. The claims Dulias makes regarding his kills cannot be verified by the list in the book by Prien, and the planes that he claimed to have shot down on both the western and eastern front appear incongruous with those used at that time.

What Dulias achieved will probably remain a mystery. If Dulias' Soldbuch, or logbook, would be available, then it can be known for sure what he did after his time at the Berlin-Gatow Luftkriegsschule.

At the time Dulias finished his training, most cadets were not sent to flight schools that were training people for frontline types of fighters. The main reason for this was the lack of fuel. Cadets were sent to all different kinds of units, both for the Luftwaffe as flak operator or paratrooper and the Wehrmacht. The cadets were sent in small groups to different units and it is almost impossible to find out to which units they were transferred. Both Lothar Seipel and Franz Josef Dreyhaupt, who started their training together only a month and a half after Dulias claimed to have started his training, were members of a Flak unit and both surrendered to the Russians in Berlin in May 1945.<sup>91</sup> Other men were sent to Fallschirmjäger (paratrooper) units or transferred from the Luftwaffe to the Wehrmacht.

Gottfried Dulias said he was captured by the Russians at a town in Hungary named Naggi Sallo at the Gran River (p 187) on March 4, 1945. This is the modern town of Tekovske Luzany which is located near the Hron River in Slovakia. In World War Two, this was Hungarian territory and the Hungarian name for the town is Nagy-Salló at the Gran River. Gran is the Hungarian and German name for this river. In March, 1945, the Russian offensive was at the River Gran. It is likely that Dulias was fighting with a German unit at that stretch of the frontline and was made prisoner of war there by the Russians. Reading Dulias' stories regarding his time as a Russian prisoner of war, I have no doubt that he was a prisoner of the Russians and was traumatized by the things that happened to him there.

My conclusion is that Dulias did serve with the flying personnel of the Luftwaffe but only as a pilot cadet and not as an active frontline pilot. What he accomplished and experienced will remain unknown, although my hypothesis is that he served on the Eastern Front with a ground unit and was captured by the Russians at the Gran River in March 1945.

As said in the introduction: Dulias' claims regarding his time as a POW in Russia seem genuine to me, and I have no reason to doubt them. I offer my sympathies to German soldiers for the horrible treatment meted to them by the Russians at the end of hostilities.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Dianna M. Popp and Gottfried P., Dulias, Another Bowl of Kapusta. The True Life Story Of A World War II Luftwaffe Fighter Pilot and P/O.W. in Russia (Bloomington, 2004) 133
- <sup>2</sup> See Chapter six and seven of Another bowl of Kapusta. Dulias gives a talk about his time as POW. See DVD filmed at the MAAM World War Two Weekend 2006: Gottfried Dulias
- <sup>3</sup> Popp, Kapusta 119
- <sup>4</sup> Popp, Kapusta 137
- <sup>5</sup> Email from Cologne archives dated February 26 2007
- <sup>6</sup> Roger A., Freeman Mighty Eighth War Diary, (London 1982) 354
- <sup>7</sup> Theo Boiten and Roderick Mackenzie, The Nachtjagd War Diaries: An operational history of the German Night Fighter Force Volume II: April 1944 - May 1945(Walton on Thames, 2008)
- <sup>8</sup> Popp, Kapusta 119
- <sup>9</sup> Popp, Kapusta 133-135
- <sup>10</sup> Popp, Kapusta 136
- <sup>11</sup> Popp, Kapusta 137
- <sup>12</sup> Popp, Kapusta 137
- <sup>13</sup> Jochen Prien, 'Chronik des JG-53 Pik-As, Band 3' Jagdgeschwader 53, a history of the "Pik As" Geschwader. January 1944-May 1945 (China, 1998)
- <sup>14</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945
- <sup>15</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945
- <sup>16</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 925
- <sup>17</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 937
- <sup>18</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 942
- <sup>19</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg53.htm>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg53.htm>
- <sup>21</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg53.htm>
- <sup>22</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg53.htm>
- <sup>23</sup> Map by Thijs Lepstra with info from <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg53.htm> and book by Dulias
- <sup>24</sup> Popp, Kapusta 136
- <sup>25</sup> Marco Fernández-Sommerau, Jean-Pierre Van Mol and Eric Mombeek, Messerschmitt Bf109 Recognition Manual. A Guide to Variants, Weapons and Equipment (Hersham, 2004)
- <sup>26</sup> Fernández-Sommerau, Messerschmitt Bf109
- <sup>27</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1173
- <sup>28</sup> Popp, Kapusta
- <sup>29</sup> Email from Kurt Braatz from 26 February 2008
- <sup>30</sup> Popp, Kapusta 142
- <sup>31</sup> Email from Julius Meimberg from 28 February 2008
- <sup>32</sup> Popp, Kapusta 134
- <sup>33</sup> Popp, Kapusta 136
- <sup>34</sup> Letter from the RAF PMA dated 13 April 2007
- <sup>35</sup> Letter from Air Historical Branch 22 August 2007.
- <sup>36</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1147
- <sup>37</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1147
- <sup>38</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1147
- <sup>39</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1147
- <sup>40</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1151
- <sup>41</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1151
- <sup>42</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1155 -1164
- <sup>43</sup> Email Julius Meimberg from 18 April 2009
- <sup>44</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53., January 1944-May 1945 1150-1152
- <sup>45</sup> Popp, Kapusta 146
- <sup>46</sup> Popp, Kapusta 146
- <sup>47</sup> Popp, Kapusta 147
- <sup>48</sup> Popp, Kapusta 148
- <sup>49</sup> Popp, Kapusta 146
- <sup>50</sup> Popp, Kapusta 146

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- <sup>51</sup> Popp, Kapusta 147
- <sup>52</sup> Popp, Kapusta 151-152
- <sup>53</sup> [http://www.fallingrain.com/world/LO/0/Tekovske\\_Luzany.html](http://www.fallingrain.com/world/LO/0/Tekovske_Luzany.html)
- <sup>54</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53, January 1944-May 1945 1133
- <sup>55</sup> Kurt Braatz, Gott oder ein Flugzeug. Leben und Sterben des Jagdfliegers Günther Lützow (Moosburg 2005 ) 157
- <sup>56</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53, January 1944-May 1945 1148 1149
- <sup>57</sup> Popp, Kapusta
- <sup>58</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 848
- <sup>59</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 848 849
- <sup>60</sup> <http://ww2.dk/oob/bestand/jagd/bstjg11.html>
- <sup>61</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 849
- <sup>62</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg76.htm>
- <sup>63</sup> Helmut Lipfert, The war diary of Hauptmann Helmut Lipfert. JG 52 on the Russian Front 1942-1945 (China, 1994)
- <sup>64</sup> <http://ww2.dk/air/jagd/jg52.htm>
- <sup>65</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 1113
- <sup>66</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 1113
- <sup>67</sup> Prien, Jagdgeschwader 53 1113
- <sup>68</sup> <http://www.luftwaffe.cz/dullberg.html>
- <sup>69</sup> Popp, Kapusta 137
- <sup>70</sup> Popp, Kapusta 142
- <sup>71</sup> Email Julius Meimberg 27 February 2008
- <sup>72</sup> E-mail Peter Spoden 25 February 2008
- <sup>73</sup> Popp, Kapusta 149
- <sup>74</sup> <http://forum.12oclockhigh.net/showthread.php?t=1947>
- <sup>75</sup> Popp, Kapusta 111
- <sup>76</sup> Popp, Kapusta 115 – 119
- <sup>77</sup> Popp, Kapusta 117
- <sup>78</sup> Popp, Kapusta 111
- <sup>79</sup> Popp, Kapusta 115
- <sup>80</sup> Sven Carlsen and Michael Meyer, Die Flugzeugführerausbildung der Deutschen Luftwaffe 1935 – 1945. Band I Von der Grundausbildung bis zur Blindflugschule (Zweibrücken, 1998) 336
- <sup>81</sup> Popp, Kapusta 117
- <sup>82</sup> Popp, Kapusta 116
- <sup>83</sup> Popp, Kapusta 115-116
- <sup>84</sup> Logbooks of Lothar Seipel and Franz Josef Dreyhaupt
- <sup>85</sup> Sven Carlsen and Michael Meyer, Die Flugzeugführerausbildung der Deutschen Luftwaffe 1935 – 1945. Band II Fliegerwaffenschulen und Ergänzungsgruppen (Zweibrücken, 2000)
- <sup>86</sup> Popp, Kapusta 117
- <sup>87</sup> Popp, Kapusta 119
- <sup>88</sup> Popp, Kapusta 119
- <sup>89</sup> Donald Caldwell and Richard Muller, The Luftwaffe over Germany Defence of the Reich (China, 2007)
- <sup>90</sup> Table General der Fl. Ausbildung. June 1944, via Sven Carlsen.
- <sup>91</sup> Email Sven Carlsen 16 June 2009