

# Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp

Commentaries and Biographies

Amstetten  
Bachmanning  
Bretstein  
Dipoldsau  
Ebensee  
Eisenerz  
Enns  
Grein  
Großraming  
Gunskirchen  
Gusen  
Hinterbrühl  
Hirtenberg  
Klagenfurt  
Lannach  
Leibnitz  
Lenzing  
Linz  
Loibl  
Mauthausen  
Melk  
Mittersill  
Passau  
Peggau  
Redl-Zipf  
St. Aegyd  
St. Lambrecht  
St. Valentin  
Schloss Lind  
Schwechat  
Steyr  
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Wels  
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Wiener Neudorf  
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DER REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH FÜR OFFER DES NATIONALSOZIALISMUS



VEREIN FÜR GEDENKEN UND GESCHICHTSFORSCHUNG  
IN ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KZ-GEDENKSTÄTTEN

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## **PART 2: BIOGRAPHIES**

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## Foreword

With the opening of the Room of Names in 2013, the academic team at the Mauthausen Memorial filled a significant void. I had the privilege of witnessing an incredibly moving moment when the then Justice Minister of Israel, Tzipi Livni, who was accompanying her father-in-law Moshe Shpitzer, found the name of his father on one of the glass panels: a gap in the family's history could now be closed and, following decades of uncertainty, clarity about the whereabouts of a loved one established. Thanks to the memorial room and the memorial book on display there, which contains information on all the dead known by name in alphabetical order, such moments will continue to occur.

The publication of this annotated version of the memorial book available in the Room of Names marks, in my eyes, a milestone for the memorial museum in particular and for our society in general. Collected over several years, the biographical sketches of over 300 people who died represent the endeavour to foster individual commemoration of the dead and therefore to make this possible for generations to come.

Even 70 years after the crimes that were committed in our country, we bear the unconditional responsibility for engaging individually with each victim of National Socialism. Thanks to the many people who have supplied the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial since 2014 with over 1,800 biographies (including survivors, survivor associations, academics, writers, relatives and staff at other memorial museums); their stories can now be told and the memory kept alive of them and their lives. I would like to think that the memorial book is important not only to the relatives of those who died, but stands for each and every one of us as a warning against Fascism and National Socialism.

I would like to thank all those who were involved in the publication of the Memorial Book. The dedication, effort and persistence which went into this unique and remarkable work deserve our highest recognition.

Johanna Mikl-Leitner  
*Federal Minister of the Interior*

## Foreword

For Austria, Mauthausen is the central memorial site in regard to the period of National Socialism – an unparalleled symbol for the murder of many thousands of people, among them the politically persecuted, prisoners of war of different nationalities, and victims of National Socialist racist fanaticism: men, women, children.

With the big symbols there is always a danger of ossification, of getting stuck in a ritualised commemoration which, with the passing of time, loses ever more of its original content and driving force, which is worn away until in the end only an outer shell remains, bereft of meaning. Thankfully this does not apply to Mauthausen: as a place of commemoration and learning, Mauthausen today is part of a very active process of remembrance, something clearly highlighted by the research and memorial project, the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps*, in all its facets.

‘The life of the dead is placed in the memory of the living.’ (Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE))

In the first years and decades after the liberation of Mauthausen, memory carried all before it; by the survivors themselves, the witnesses whose experiences in the camp remained vivid throughout their lives. They still remembered the persecution, the tortures and those who died – whose number is still unknown today – as part of their own lived reality. This

was the most immediate form of memory, in which the original, authentic experience of pain alone was strong enough to keep alight the flame of remembrance.

Today only a very few of the generation of the persecuted are still alive; every year in May, at the annual commemoration ceremonies to mark the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp, we see their number diminish. We today bear witness to the gradual disappearance of a community of memory...

Even if we succeed in preserving fragments of their memories in books or films, these people will always remain irreplaceable.

Other, new paths will be needed for remembrance in the future.

The National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism is as committed to preserving the memories of the survivors as it is to remembering the dead. No less important is passing on experiences to subsequent generations; learning from history.

Both aims are realised with great sensitivity in the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps*. The memorial book creates an opportunity for commemoration and remembrance and enables history to be communicated in a form fitting for today – the authenticity of the survivors is coupled with ways and means of making the National Socialist past comprehensible and tangible for future generations.



Firstly, there is the wonderfully and impressively designed annotated edition of the memorial book – a fitting memory to the over 81,000 people known by name who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps.

It remembers the dead as the people they were: in their native language in a form they themselves and their relatives would have used. The focus of remembrance is on the murdered individual alone, the single person who was deeply wronged – independent of any categorisations or evaluations foisted onto them by their Nazi tormentors. All this is insignificant in the face of the life and death that touches each person, as a human, in a very private way. Here, all are – in the best and most dignified sense – equal in death.

Alongside remembrance and commemoration, learning from history also lies at the heart of the project. The companion volume provides the historical background for the names and dates and conveys information on the living conditions in the concentration camp to a broad readership. Using biographies and photos, the different fates acquire faces and names. Out of their totality, out of the polyphony of remembered voices, an idea of the day-to-day reality in the Mauthausen concentration camp emerges.

Secondly, there is the electronic memorial book, a ‘virtual’ *Room of Names*. It is a memorial site beyond space and time and elevates

remembrance to another plane. The names of the dead are no longer just present in the grounds of the former concentration camp, are no longer legible only for those museum visitors there in person, but can be viewed by anyone, from anywhere in the world. The names of the dead are therefore transposed into a sphere which would have been unimaginable to them during their own lifetimes, and which allows them to be part of a larger, universal memory.

Just how ambitious and forward-looking this project is can also be inferred from the many collaborations on which it is based. The *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* is the result of productive, transnational cooperation, of collaboration between historians, victim organisations, survivors and their relatives, memorial museums and the embassies of the victims’ native countries, aided by countless archives and databases. Without these productive synergies, neither the *Room of Names*, which is used in Mauthausen today as a place of remembrance, nor this memorial book would have been possible in this form.

At the same time, there is a guarantee for the future that the process of remembrance is not finished but remains in progress. The project will always be open for the names and fates of those murdered who only become known to us in the future – collaboration in the spirit of shared remembrance will endure.

During the period of National Socialism, the concentration camps formed part of a network of terror – today this network of evil has a positive counterpoint: a network of remembrance and accounting for the past.

The *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* brings those murdered and their fates into our present day – into an era whose freedoms and possibilities many back then would have dreamed of. They did not live to experience freedom and democracy. In remembering them we are reminded that the values for which so many went to their death are not to be taken for granted but must be safeguarded and constantly learned and defended anew.

For this process of learning it is vital, in remembering our shared history, to integrate its dark aspects alongside the light as unifying elements in how our modern society understands itself.

Projects such as the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* therefore also mark a significant contribution to the integration of Europe, a continent which defines itself through its shared past and – so we hope – learns from it.

Hannah M. Lessing  
*National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism.*

## Foreword

On 5 May 1945 – a few days before the end of the Second World War in Europe and Austria’s final liberation from the National Socialist regime of terror – the Mauthausen concentration camp was liberated by units of the US Army. Together with its subcamps, Mauthausen was the largest extermination camp on Austrian soil; tens of thousands of people died there and were subjected to immeasurable suffering.

Today the former concentration camp is the largest concentration camp memorial museum in Austria and large parts of it have been redesigned over recent years. This redesign also reflects the changes that have taken place in our society: from the suppression of history to a hesitant nod in its direction to active engagement with the most painful and uncomfortable truths of our history.

Why is Mauthausen so important? Because it is a place of almost indescribable suffering, a low point in the history of a country robbed of its national freedom, a place of remembrance, a place of warning and of learning. The exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial gives the survivors a voice, honours the victims, and names the perpetrators. But it also shows that even the most

brutal of dictatorships was not able to stamp out the wish for freedom, human dignity, the rule of law, and democracy. Tens of thousands gave their lives for this in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps. The exhibitions and the catalogues are an attempt to do justice to the legacy of these victims.

One of the most important projects within this redesign is the ‘virtual’ *Room of Names* and the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps*. Painstaking research has meant that over 81,000 of those who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps could be identified by name and recorded in the spelling of their native language. Over 40 nationalities mourn their members murdered in the Mauthausen camp complex.

This project may have been exceedingly challenging and demanded of a great deal of meticulous work, but it is a particularly important one. At stake is the inalienable human dignity inherent to each and every person. Every single person therefore has his or her own name – and is not allowed to be simply a number in an anonymous mass in collective

memory. With the memorial book and the *Room of Names*, a significant step has been made towards the dignified and lasting remembrance needed here, with selected biographies documenting in striking fashion the diversity in the origins and fates of those murdered.

Looking to the future, we need a robust memorial cultural in order to sharpen awareness for the indivisibility of human rights and the sanctity of human dignity.

The careful and responsible approach to history and the already difficult and, unfortunately, often unsuccessful endeavour to take from it lessons for the present and future, must keep urging us forward.

A modest contribution here is made by the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria, founded in 2006. The Future Fund has a legal mandate to support projects – to quote verbatim – ‘which further the interests and commemoration of the victims of the National Socialist regime, the remembrance of the threat posed by totalitarian systems and tyranny, and international cooperation, and which foster respect for human rights and mutual tolerance in these areas.’ The spectrum of the 1,500 or so projects supported over the previous decade

ranges from university research projects and scientific publications to documentary films, oral history projects, exhibitions, commemorative trips, films, pedagogical initiatives, international conferences and workshops, theatre performances, and smaller local civic initiatives such as the erection of a memorial.

One important finding of a study supported by the Future Fund – ‘Historical Consciousness of National Socialism and Authoritarian Attitudes in Austria’, published in 2014 – was that a critical engagement with history, with National Socialism and the Second World War, provides important guidance for understanding the contemporary political challenges facing a modern, globalised society and for protecting against authoritarian, nationalist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic temptations. Intensive political education across all fields and the promotion of a critical engagement with the history of National Socialism, with cooperation partners who can reach as many sections of the population as possible, are therefore the order of the day.

If, quite rightly, we invoke ‘never again’ and ‘beware the beginnings’, then this must amount to more than empty ritual; it must have purpose.

The threat to democracy and human rights seldom takes the same form and therefore anything that counteracts fundamentalist, totalitarian, anti-Semitic and xenophobic tendencies, extremism, exclusion and radicalisation, and which promotes democracy, human dignity, human rights, solidarity, tolerance and dialogue is to be supported and strengthened.

We need steadfastness, vigilance, level-headedness and sensitivity.

Every year well over 180,000 people, almost half of whom are school pupils, visit the Mauthausen Memorial. The redesigned exhibitions, the catalogues and the memorial book therefore make a significant contribution to the consciousness-raising that is needed. Supporting them is a particularly important project for the Future Fund.

Our thanks go, first and foremost, to Bertrand Perz, Barbara Glück and all the staff at the Mauthausen Memorial. But above all, we owe thanks to all those who visit it.

We are grateful for their interest and their thoughtful reflection.

Kurt Scholz  
Herwig Hösele  
*Future Fund of the Republic of Austria*

## Preface

‘Nothing belongs to us any more; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair; [...] They will even take away our name: and if we want to keep it, we will have to find in ourselves the strength to do so, to manage somehow so that behind the name something of us, of us as we were, still remains.’  
(Primo Levi: *If This is a Man*)

The Mauthausen Memorial is at once a place of political and historical education and a cemetery – and therefore a place dedicated first and foremost to remembrance of the victims. Over the last 70 years, the official national memorials have been joined by other sites that allow specific forms of collective and individual remembrance. As was the case already during the creation and development of the memorial museum, it is thanks to the initiative of former prisoners that the dead have been remembered here since liberation. The need for independent commemoration of the dead was therefore, in some measure, something brought in to the memorial museum from outside. Until very recently, memorial culture was rooted to a large extent in private initiatives by relatives of the dead, by survivors

and survivor organisations, who commemorated ‘their’ dead in a very personal and very personalised way. Thus along the walls of the former crematorium, visitors are presented with a memorial room that has – one might say – ‘evolved organically’ and which now has over 2,000 memorial plaques to individuals or specific groups. The Gusen Memorial has 500 such plaques; the Melk Memorial 150.

These important but ‘haphazard’ forms of commemoration formed the starting point for an adjunct that was presented in 2013 along with the opening of two new permanent exhibitions and the *Room of Names*. The dark glass panels bearing the 81,000 known names from a total of 90,000 people killed in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps make it possible, for the first time, to remember in collective and individual ways all those known by name who were killed in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps.

And yet: looking at the names the question arises unforced as to who all these people actually were. Silent and static, all those whose names, dates of birth, and places and dates of death we have been able to research present themselves to us in a ‘sea of names’.

But their stories could not be told and therefore never became part of our collective memory. Once again it was manifest that remembrance of the individual *lives* of the dead lay with us. Therefore we saw the time had come to begin a new phase dealing with the biographies of the dead, in order, after 70 years, to put flesh, in the truest sense of the word, on the at once incomprehensible and abstract number of '90,000'.

We are refused atonement for the crimes of National Socialism. Yet we can put all our energies into reversing something that was part of the National Socialist strategy of annihilation: the effacement of individual identity – the individual person. We must know who all these people were in order to truly commemorate them. For this reason, and drawing on the quote by Primo Levi, I argue that together we must ensure that something is known of the victims of National Socialism above and beyond their names. For me, his words express that inner resistance that powerfully opposes the perfidious National Socialist attempt to obliterate human dignity: 'I was and I remain a man'.

For this reason, this edited version of the memorial book, now

provisionally complete, is one of the most important large-scale projects undertaken by the Mauthausen Memorial.

Now others speak for the dead and tell their life stories. Many of the 300 biographies printed here were penned by relatives or acquaintances of the dead who knew them personally and can sketch their path through life before trace of them was lost in a concentration camp, before their tracks were eradicated there. Many of the biographies were also written by survivors of the camp remembering their dead comrades. We met with great encouragement on the part of relatives, academics and survivor associations from across the world, whose tremendous willingness to support us in all our objectives was overwhelming from the start.

This allows us to hope that as further biographies are added to the 'virtual' *Room of Names*, which is being presented online in parallel to this printed edition, gaps will continue to be filled. Should our history be written without these people, it will be incomplete. It will read like a book from which pages are missing. With each individual biography, we seek to reinstate symbolically a page torn from this book.

To the witnesses, who sought to raise up their voices, we feel connected in our desire to face our history so that the dead do not fall victim to a renewed 'death by forgetting'. However, we find ourselves at the threshold to an era in which it will no longer be possible for the survivors to recount their memories to us. Part of our educational mission therefore is to keep exploring new avenues for supporting acts of remembrance. Learning from history is only set in motion when we succeed in creating links to the experiences and lived realities of our visitors. Part of this is discussing the history of the former concentration camp as the history of individual people. May this help us to succeed in carrying part of this legacy into the future, so that our children are also given the opportunity to engage critically with the question as to why so many people had to die.

I would like to thank Andreas Kranebitter and all the staff who have given so much to the realisation of this project.

Barbara Glück  
*Mauthausen Memorial*



## PART 1: COMMENTARIES

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### Edition

TRÖSTET EUCH  
FÜR LIEBEN!  
EURE ANDENKEN IST UNVERGESSLICH.  
IHR HABT DIE EHRE EURER HEIMAT  
GERETTET.  
CAMILLE SCHOLTES  
K.L.M. 32597 LUX

First page of the 'Lagerstandbuch Ebensee' ('Ebensee camp log book'), which was saved from destruction by prisoners including Camille Scholtes from Luxembourg (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial, AMM B/5/35). It reads: CONSOLE YOURSELVES YOU DEAR ONES! YOUR MEMORY WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN.



## From Source Data to Life Story. The history of a project

### Introduction

The idea to publish a *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* arose as part of the redesign of the exhibitions at the Mauthausen concentration camp, which opened to the public in May 2013. In reality however, work on this memorial book had begun already much earlier, in 2006, when a team was formed to analyse, interpret and collate the most important sources relating to the names of those imprisoned in the Mauthausen camp complex. In turn, this team built on projects of the late 1990s, when the Mauthausen Memorial started to computerise victim records. And finally, this project would not have been possible without those sources saved from destruction by concentration camp prisoners themselves at great risk to their own lives.

The starting point for the idea for a memorial book for the countless dead of the Mauthausen concentration camp was therefore the survivors' wish to safeguard remembrance of the dead. 'Console yourselves, dear loved ones! Your memory will not be forgotten', wrote the concentration camp survivor from Luxembourg, Camille Scholtes, in a document known euphemistically as a *Lagerstandbuch* or 'camp log book' from the Ebensee concentration camp, which he and fellow prisoners saved from destruction and which he took back with him to his native Luxembourg. Scholtes wrote these lines not with any reader in mind, but

for himself and his dead comrades.<sup>1</sup>

In the final days of the war, the SS had decreed that any document which could be used as evidence of its crimes be destroyed. From the outset, obfuscation, falsification and concealment had been an integral part of its bureaucratic and fastidious 'total capture'<sup>2</sup> of data on concentration camp prisoners. The attempted annihilation of these documents was, to take up Jean Baudrillard and Harald Welzer, 'part of the annihilation itself'.<sup>3</sup> This was something felt by many of the survivors both before and after their liberation. 'Forgetting and repression took root in me the moment the crime was committed. No small part of the crime consisted in making us forget'<sup>4</sup>, wrote the Mauthausen survivor Leon Zelman, decades later. By implication, therefore, the act of rescuing the documents shows if not an attempt to prevent this annihilation to some extent, then at least a pressing need to prove the crimes, to prevent their being forgotten, to honour one's dead comrades.

Death was also something experienced by the survivors of the concentration camp. The writer Jorge Semprún, a survivor of Buchenwald concentration camp, vividly described the invisible thread formed by this experience of death that bound the survivors and the dead of the concentration camp to one another: '[...] I have not escaped death, but passed through it. Rather: that it has passed through me. That I have, in a way, lived through it. That I have

come back from it the way you return from a voyage that has transformed and – perhaps – transfigured you. [...] Perhaps I have not simply survived death, but been resurrected from it.'<sup>5</sup>

It was the survivors of the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps who were able to rescue key documents and, in doing so, secure evidence of Nazi crimes for posterity. Their legacy, to remember the dead of the concentration camp, is at the core of this memorial book.

### 'Naming the victims' – the aims and stages of the project

The central objective of this memorial book is to compile as complete a list as possible of the names of those who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp complex. This alone should give readers a sense of the scale of the mass murder committed in this concentration camp, as well as making it possible to commemorate each individual person who died. In this way, the book seeks to couple *individual* memory to the visualisation of the *collective* dimension of mass murder.

With this as its aim, the book forms a follow-up to the *Room of Names*, which was created at the Mauthausen Memorial in May 2013. There visitors are given the possibility to remember all the dead of the concentration camp in a single room. While the historical exhibitions and educational tours primarily serve to provide historical information and promote open dialogue with and between visitors, the *Room of Names* takes on a more



The *Room of Names* was opened in May 2013 as part of the first phase of the redesign of the Mauthausen Memorial (photo: Tal Adler).



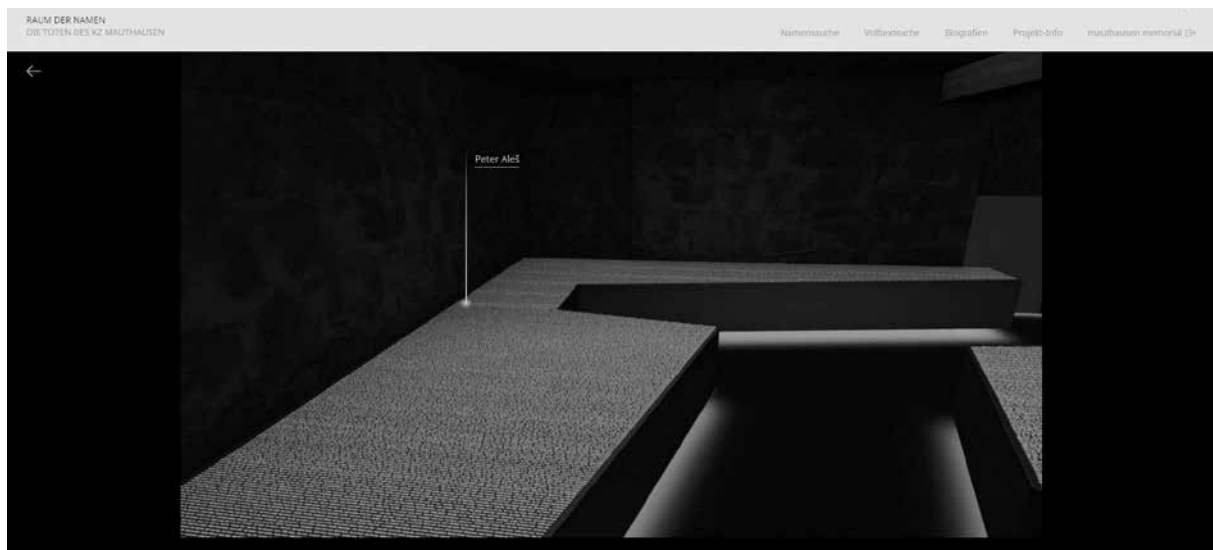
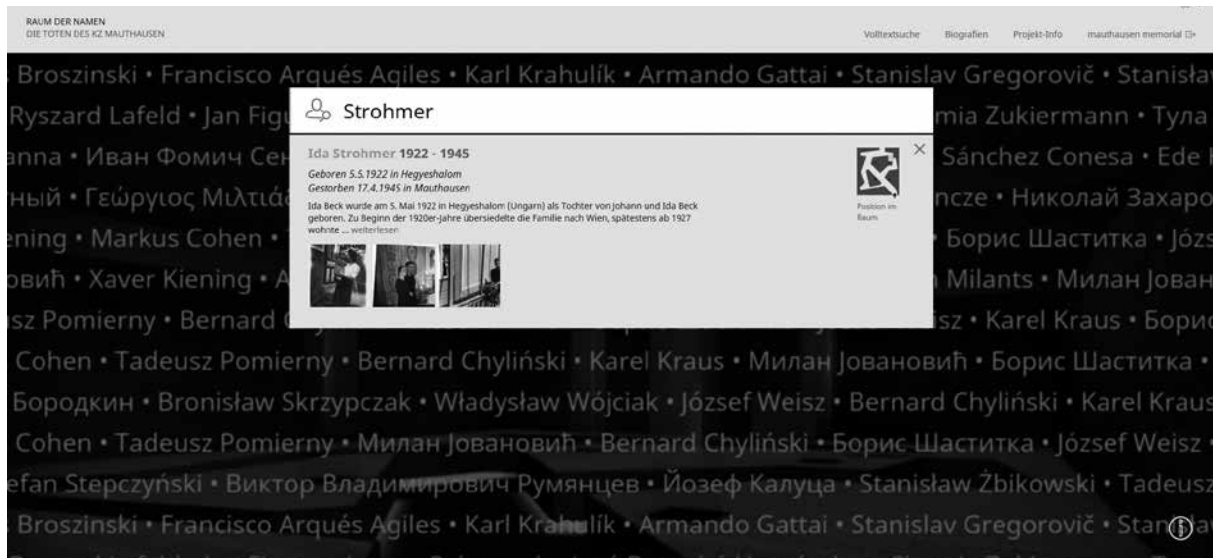
The Mauthausen survivor Ljubomir Zečević, president of the Association of Former Prisoners of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp in Serbia, at the opening of the *Room of Names* in May 2013 (photo: Stephan Matyus).

contemplative function – it is there to allow remembrance of those who died in the concentration camp away from historical information and away from exhibits with their explanatory labels.<sup>6</sup> This room contains the first names and surnames of 81,007 people who died. (For the current memorial book, 84,000 names could be identified; this is discussed in greater detail below.) These are presented, on the one hand, in alphabetical order in books on

display at three places throughout the room and, on the other, they are printed in a random order on to large glass panels. The random ordering of the names on these glass panels seeks to avoid any hierarchy of remembrance and, above all, to visualise the diversity and number of names; in other words, to make both the immense number of those who died and the internationality of their make-up comprehensible.

The French film director Claude Lanzmann was often asked why his ‘faible’ for lists, numbers and names led him to follow such a sober narrative strategy. In one interview he answered: ‘It is crucial to know how many people were killed when and where. And only the time it takes to scroll all the names and facts across the screen can provide a physical sense of all the deaths.’<sup>7</sup> The time needed even for a sweeping glance across the 81,007 names in the *Room of Names* might not result in a concrete image but can still convey some notion of the historical significance of mass murder on this scale. The weight of the book on display in the room also literally speaks volumes: with 2,138 pages it is 23 centimetres thick and weighs over 20 kilograms. Of the nearly 20 printing houses approached, none wanted to take on the responsibility of binding a book this thick so for the *Room of Names*, practicalities dictate that the book be made up of loose pages bound with metal rings.<sup>8</sup>

The intention of this Memorial Book is also to emphasise, at first glance, the collective dimension of mass murder committed at the many geographical locations connected to the concentration camp complex. At the same time, the alphabetical listing of names offers the chance to search for particular names and therefore to remember each person behind the names and numbers as an individual. This book contains all the surnames reconstructed to date from the various historical sources of those who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps, together with first names, dates and places of birth and dates and places of death. In its presentation, this naming of all those who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp deliberately



The website of the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* is an integral part of the project; it guarantees the possibility of adding to and expanding the project, which remains a work in progress (screenshot).

breaks with any form of categorisation or subconscious hierarchy of victim groups. In the *Room of Names* itself, as well as in the memorial books available there and now in published form, the victims appear with their personal data and without any nationality or prisoner category given to them by the SS.

### **Research, corrections and editorial decisions in dealing with the data**

The task of compiling the names of the dead, which forms the foundation of this book, built on projects initiated by the memorial museum almost two decades ago. As early as 1996 work began on digitalising key sources and creating databases.<sup>9</sup> In 2006 project staff were trained and data entry and source interpretation were professionalised.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the decision was taken that instead of having one single database with one record for each person, a series of databases would be generated, each of which would reproduce one historical source as accurately as possible. In a subsequent step, these databases would be linked using specially developed software.<sup>11</sup>

The sources that have gone into creating the list were gathered from a range of archives, interpreted and entered into the databases.<sup>12</sup> Preparations for the new permanent exhibitions and the *Room of Names* also made it possible to carry out extensive research in several archives and institutions, including those in the USA, Israel, France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Serbia, Russia and Belarus. Much of this research brought to light hitherto unknown sources from the time the concentration camp was in operation or from the period after liberation; in many cases, it

was possible to arrange cooperation agreements with the institutions in question.<sup>13</sup>

Despite best efforts, existing gaps in the documentation mean that projects such as this can never be ‘final’ or ‘complete’. At least 184,000 people were deported to Mauthausen concentration camp between August 1938 and June 1945; at least 90,000 of them were murdered in the Mauthausen concentration camp or died as a result of imprisonment.<sup>14</sup> Their exact number and all their names will never be known – thousands of those deported died an anonymous death. All trace is lost of some victims of ‘Aktion 14f13’, which saw concentration camp prisoners murdered at the Hartheim killing facility; countless Soviet prisoners of war were killed by the SS in secret ‘Aktionen’; in April and May 1945 innumerable Hungarian Jewish forced labourers were left to die in a completely overcrowded ‘tent camp’ at Mauthausen concentration camp, on death marches or in Gunskirchen. The search for traces of their names will continue for years, decades even, and can never be ‘final’.<sup>15</sup> This incompleteness means an open-endedness to the project to which we sought to allude already in the ‘Room of Names’. Here, a black area on one of the glass panels, a symbolic blank space, stands for the permanent state of incompleteness. It also meant that for the current edition of the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps*, an integral part of the project was the creation of a website ([www.gedenkstaetten.at/raum-der-namen](http://www.gedenkstaetten.at/raum-der-namen)) where the names, dates and life stories of the dead can constantly be expanded, added to and corrected. This takes into account the

changing state of research as well as the possibility of integrating responses from visitors – something expressly encouraged by the memorial museum – into the project.

The current memorial book lists the names and dates of 84,270 people who were murdered in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps or who died immediately after liberation as a result of imprisonment. Extensive research since May 2013 into Soviet prisoners of war and people who died after liberation in particular has made it possible to identify a further 3,000 victims by name.<sup>16</sup>

Since 2008, the corpus of data on which this project is based has been subject to various editorial decisions taken by the working group for the redesign of the Mauthausen Memorial. These decisions were presented to partners of the memorial museum on several occasions, including the annual *Dialogforen Mauthausen* and the biannual *International Forum Mauthausen zur Beratung der Bundesministerin für Inneres in grundsätzlichen Angelegenheiten der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen* (IFM–International Forum Mauthausen Advisory Board to the Federal Minister of the Interior on Key Matters Relating to the Mauthausen Memorial). Likewise, this publication project was opened up for discussion at international conferences in Poland and Germany with representatives from international memorial museums whose own, similar projects provided a model for the publication of this memorial book.<sup>17</sup>

The most fundamental decision regarding the names was that this book should list all those who died in the Mauthausen concentration camp complex between 8 August 1938 and

30 June 1945. For one this meant that not only would those who died in the main camp and the Gusen branch camp be mentioned, but also all those who died in all the subcamps. However, this decision also meant that those who died in other camps or on a transport from another camp would not be included in this list, a decision in keeping with that taken by other memorial museums. The restriction to those who died before 30 June 1945 can be accounted for by the departure of the US Army Evacuation Hospitals from Mauthausen and Gusen at the end of June 1945. For the period after June 1945, it is no longer possible to determine who died as a result of their imprisonment in a concentration camp.<sup>18</sup> Regarding dates of death, it should be noted that, in some circumstances for some individual cases, the ‘official’ registration of the death with a later date means that the date given might differ from the actual date of death by days or – in the case of deportees murdered at the Hartheim killing facility<sup>19</sup> – by weeks or even months.

Furthermore, for the publication of the names the decision was taken to attempt to reconstruct the ‘original’ spelling of the names and places of birth of the deceased. For the most part, the entries in the surviving sources are Germanisations, deliberate distortions, especially in the case of eastern European names – it is our belief that any attempt to name the dead in a dignified manner should not reproduce this Germanisation. Any reconstruction of the identities lying behind the names begins, it follows, with those very names. For this reason, the decision was taken against using a ‘source accurate’ spelling of names and places of birth in the *Memorial Book for the*

*Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* and for using a (hypothetical) spelling as of 1 January 1938, in order to reproduce the situation before the outbreak of war and before the establishment of the Mauthausen concentration camp. In cases where the 1938 place name no longer corresponds to its current name, both are given (e.g. ‘Fiume / Rijeka’). The spelling of places of birth was ‘strictly’ corrected whereas names were only changed in cases of obvious Germanisation or phonetic error, or where a personal document could verify an alternative spelling. For the rest, the names were simply rewritten using the correct special characters where necessary or, in the case of Soviet, Serbian, Greek or Bulgarian dead, the name was given in the relevant alphabet alongside the Latin.

The corrections to names and places described here was only made possible through numerous cooperation projects. The embassies of the different countries, numerous academic institutions and individual researchers and, in particular, the national branches of the *Comité International de Mauthausen* (CIM) all helped in the reconstruction of the original spellings. In addition, native speaker experts from the former prisoners’ countries of origin carried out a final proofread. Often, for example in the case of Czech and Slovakian victims, personal data was verified using national databases of items such as historical residency registration documents. In a large number of cases, it was possible to find hitherto unknown archive material on individual victims.

As regards the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, workshops were held in June and July 2012 with the embassies of their successor

states to coordinate a joint approach and to discuss open questions. A key outcome was the decision to reconstruct the spelling of names according to the person’s individual nationality within the union of states. In both cases this corresponds to the historical situation in the year 1938 – in spite of Stalinist efforts at centralisation and in spite of the ‘Great Terror’, the languages of the constituent republics were fostered over long periods. While Russian became a compulsory subject in all schools in the union in 1938, ‘the rule that the language of the titular nation of the republic was to serve as the teaching language remained until 1958.’<sup>20</sup> For victims categorised as Yugoslavian, assistance was sought from the embassies of the successor states and the *Hrvatski institut za povijest*<sup>21</sup> in Zagreb, as well as from the Slovenian and Serbian branches of the *Comité International de Mauthausen*, to try to bring how the names of the dead were written into line with the spelling used in their countries of origin. In many cases this was not possible since certain place names were ambiguous and consequently could be located in any one of several successor states. In these cases a Latin spelling was agreed upon, which should in no way be read as a statement about the person’s membership of a particular ethnic group.

### **On the structure of this volume**

The academic companion volume Through academic articles, this companion volume provides the rationale for the publication and places it in the context of research on the Mauthausen concentration camp and the commemoration of

its victims. The articles presented here have an overview character and aim to introduce readers of this memorial book to particular aspects of killing and dying in the Mauthausen concentration camp complex, as well as providing an overview of the extensive research literature in a concise and succinct manner.

The section entitled *Edition* is introduced through this article on the history of the project. Ralf Lechner then explores the history and function of the most important sources upon which the list of names in this memorial book is based. Maria Hörtner and Alexander Prenninger discuss the difficult situation regarding sources relating to the period immediately before and after the liberation of the camp, and the challenges this presented for the publication. Florian Schwanninger presents the cooperation project between the Mauthausen Memorial and the *Lern- und Gedenkort Schloss Hartheim* memorial site, a project which aimed to compile a complete list of names of the victims of the 'euthanasia' programme involving concentration camp prisoners from the Mauthausen and Gusen concentration camps.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner introduce the section entitled *Background* with an overview of killing and dying in the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp. Florian Freund and Andreas Kranebitter then use statistical analysis to consider the different groups of prisoners who died, while also looking at the different functions played by the 'main camp' at Mauthausen and its subcamps. Bertrand Perz discusses the mass killings at the Mauthausen concentration camp, thereby shifting the perspective from dying to killing.

He also focuses on the question of what prisoners could have known about it and how they could react to planned and intended killings. No small proportion of these murders were painstakingly documented by the SS – some of the surviving documents were used, as Gregor Holzinger reconstructs, as key pieces of evidence in postwar trials.

In the section entitled *Remembrance*, Heidmarie Uhl sketches the various phases of cultural memory in Austria since 1945 and the position occupied by Mauthausen in Austrian remembrance; Guy Dockendorf and Andreas Baumgartner illuminate the international situation through a history of the *Comité International de Mauthausen*. Gerhard Botz discusses memories of the dead as narrated by survivors in interviews as part of the 'Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project'. By focusing on the national monuments in what is known as the monument park, Hildegard Schmid examines one of the two main forms of remembrance of the dead at the Mauthausen Memorial to date; the second of these forms is discussed by Tal Adler, who explores the individual memorial plaques found at the Mauthausen and Gusen memorial sites from a photographic standpoint. Andreas Kranebitter and Niko Wahl close the academic companion volume with a detailed presentation of the concept for the *Room of Names* at the Mauthausen Memorial.

### **The biographies of the dead – approaching the 'limits of the sayable'**

Naming the names can convey a sense of the scale of the mass murder carried out in the various camps of

the Mauthausen concentration camp complex and prompt individual remembrance of each and every one of the deceased. But in and of themselves, the names do not yet tell any stories. 'The only concrete history that can be retrieved', writes historian Saul Friedländer, 'remains that carried by personal stories. From the stage of collective disintegration to that of deportation and death, this history, in order to be written at all, has to be represented as the integrated narration of individual fates.'<sup>22</sup>

Only with biographical narratives does it become clear that behind the 90,000 numbers and names are 90,000 individual life stories. With the collection of biographies of the countless dead found both in this volume and on the project website, we are pursuing the aim of wresting remembrance of the dead from any form of anonymity. For example, while exhibition texts are usually written anonymously,<sup>23</sup> the collection printed here deliberately seeks to create a specific connection between the individual authors and the people they are writing about.

Narrating the history of those who died is often difficult simply through a lack of source material. In this project too, there were many cases where all attempts to write someone's life story came to nothing. The biographies of two Soviet prisoners of war, father and son Jan and Alexander Paraduchascharuba, for example, could not be reconstructed in any detail despite a range of enquiries. While the card index of the German Wehrmacht and the death register for Soviet prisoners of war tells us that they were among the 4,000 prisoners of war who arrived on 20 October 1941 and that they died in March and July 1942 respectively, no other trace of them was found,

even by the municipal administration in the town of Horokhiv, who searched for acquaintances or any documents relating to the two men.<sup>24</sup> The majority of stories are lost to time so that today's efforts to reconstruct them must necessarily fail. They lie beyond the 'Raum des Sagbaren' – the space of the sayable – as formulated by the Austrian sociologist Michael Pollak: 'every statement is located in a space of the sayable, which is bounded by the absolute silence of those who were physically annihilated (the silence of the millions of concentration camp victims, whose death is all that we know of them) and by the partial silence resulting from the destruction of the 'moral' [...] conditions that enable speech.'<sup>25</sup>

Any attempt to advance into this space of absolute silence of those who cannot speak necessarily remains selective. One possibility for getting round this unavoidable selectivity to some extent was to open up the project and invite anyone interested in it to contribute. The individual biographies and biographical sketches contained in this volume were not to be written by the staff of the Mauthausen Memorial, acting as it were by proxy, but by a number of authors from a range of fields and with a variety of motives for doing so. With this in mind, in June 2014 a call went out for contributors – and the huge level of interest it generated outstripped all expectations. The result, overwhelming in every respect, of this immense level of involvement and extraordinary level of interest was the submission of 1,867 biographies of people who died at the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps, sent to us by over 250 authors and institutions.

For the print edition of the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the*

*Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps*, a total of 308 texts were selected in agreement with all those involved and in accordance with certain criteria. No form had been stipulated for the texts and any genre – whether academic article, literary reflection or personal reminiscence – was welcome. Seen from an academic point of view, the texts' scope make them biographical sketches and portraits and incomplete life stories.<sup>26</sup> Only minor editorial changes were made to the original texts, in agreement with the authors. The bulk of alterations concerned changing the spelling of surnames and place names to match those given in the list of names. The only exception here was for place names of concentration and extermination camps, which are given in German in this volume (e.g. 'Plaszow concentration camp').

Since the underlying idea of this part of the project was to remember the dead individually through the use of different genres and not to present museum texts by anonymous authors, the specific connection between the writer and the person written about was a key criterion in choosing which biographies to include. Every author is therefore represented by at least one biography in the memorial book. Furthermore, we tried to make the selection as broad a reflection as possible of prisoner society in the Mauthausen concentration camp complex, taking into account the age, sex, prisoner category and nationality, date of imprisonment and place of death of those who died. However, it is important to emphasise that in no way can the selection of biographies ever be 'representative' – the individual life stories do not *stand in for* the thousands who died, rather they can only serve *as examples* to illustrate

the mass murder at Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps.

We are especially pleased that the composition of the pool of authors of these biographies is as broad as the origins of those who died and to whom a biography is now dedicated. Contributions were written by survivors of the Mauthausen concentration camp and survivor associations, as well as by academics, writers, relatives, and staff at other memorial museums. No small number of those whom we asked to participate – in particular from among the circle of survivors of the Mauthausen concentration camp – did, in fact, refuse – not on principle but because they no longer wanted to or could remember, or because, as the Polish-Israeli author Roman Frister, who died in February 2015, put it, they had had the fortune to survive. Roman Frister put his refusal in the following words: '[I]t was the reality of the camp which made it impossible for me to form close friendships with other prisoners, and therefore the life and death of these people remains completely unknown to me. I came to Mauthausen from Auschwitz in autumn 1944 and only stayed two or three months in the camp and was deported to Vienna (Saurer-Works). On a so-called death march, at the beginning of April 1945, I returned to the camp – and lay practically unconscious in the infirmary until liberation. Therefore, and only therefore, I cannot take part in this important project. I wish you great success with the work, which I view as a mission.'<sup>27</sup>

Supplementing the *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* with the biographies of those murdered became an integral part

of the project as a whole. Precisely because the destruction of the memory of the victims was part of the annihilation itself, precisely because it was intrinsic to the National Socialist utopia of a ‘thousand year Reich’, as Harald Welzer has convincingly argued,<sup>28</sup> the attempt undertaken here, as elsewhere, to reconstruct images and histories of the victims conveyed not through the eyes of the perpetrators but through photographs and stories that date from before deportation, takes on incredibly important antifascist significance.

### Thanks

The project *Memorial Book for the Dead of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and its Subcamps* was, as the preceding remarks have tried to show, an outstanding example of international cooperation and its realisation could not have been possible without the help of countless project partners and without the generous financial support of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria and the National Fund of the Republic of Austria for the Victims of National Socialism.

Our thanks first of all to the many people who wrote biographies and academic articles – they are named alongside their work in this volume and on the corresponding project website. Many of the authors were active in helping to collect further biographies and spread the word about the project; in particular we would like to thank Sabine Brunotte, Juan M. Calvo, Guy Dockendorf, Paul Dostert, Eva Feenstra, Erich Hackl, Maria Hörtner, Merethe Jensen, Lubor Jílek, Alexey Konopachenkov, Gianfranco Maris (†), Beate Meyer, Raimund Pajer, Willy Pypen, Florian

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1 A copy of this book found its way into the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial only several years after his death. This was a copy that Camille Scholtes had sent to Hans Maršálek in 1970 (cf. Todesfälle und täglicher Lagerbestand Ebensee [Deaths and daily prisoner count in Ebensee], Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial [henceforth AMM] B/05/35). The original of the book is considered lost – cf. Florian Freund: Die Toten von Ebensee. Analyse und Dokumentation der im KZ Ebensee umgekommenen Häftlinge 1943–1945 (Vienna 2010), p. 58 and p. 423.

- 2 Götz Aly/Karl Heinz Roth: Die restlose Erfassung. Volkszählen, Identifizieren, Aussondern im Nationalsozialismus (Berlin 1984).
- 3 Harald Welzer: Verweilen beim Grauen. Essays zum wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit dem Holocaust (Tübingen 1997). Also cf. Petra Fuchs/Maike Rotzoll/Ulrich Müller/Paul Richter/Gerrit Hohendorf (ed.): “Das Vergessen der Vernichtung ist Teil der Vernichtung selbst”. Lebensgeschichten von Opfern der nationalsozialistischen “Euthanasie” (Göttingen 2007).
- 4 Leon Zelman: Ein Leben nach dem Überleben (Vienna 1995), p. 92.
- 5 Jorge Semprún: Literature or Life. Translated from the French by Linda Coverdale (New York 1997), pp. 14–15.
- 6 See the article by Niko Wahl and Andreas Kranebitter in this volume, as well as the two exhibition catalogues published by the Association for Remembrance and Historical Research in Austrian Concentration Camp Memorials: The Mauthausen Concentration Camp 1938–1945. Catalogue to the exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial (Vienna 2013); The Crime Scenes of Mauthausen – Searching for Traces. Catalogue to the exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial (Vienna 2014).
- 7 Cf. Claude Lanzmann: Mein Film ist völlig frei (<http://www.profil.at/articles/1342/579/367983/claude-lanzmann-mein-film>, accessed on 18.10.2013).
- 8 With thanks to Manuel Schilcher (arge Marie) and Walter Stromberger (kest) for this information.
- 9 Cf. Andreas Baumgartner: Die Häftlinge des KZ-Mauthausen. Quellendokumentation und Datenbank. Projektbericht im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Inneres (Vienna 1996).
- 10 Since 2006, the following people have been involved to a large extent in interpreting sources, processing data and in editorial work at the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial: Baris Alakus, Sabrina Auböck, Veronika Brandt, Maria Hörtnner, Andrea Mayr, Irene Müller, Armin Rockenschaub, Jakob Rosenberg and Juliane Zeiser.
- 11 Cf. Christian Dürr: Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Ein Erfassungsprojekt des Archivs der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (ed.): Jahrbuch 2007. Schwerpunkt: Namentliche Erfassung von NS-Opfern (Vienna 2007), pp. 50–63. The criteria for ‘matching’ pieces of data (‘record linkage’), as well as the software created to meet the needs of the project were developed at the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial together with Martin Gilly (of the firm metamagix).
- 12 See the article by Ralf Lechner in this volume.
- 13 Background information on the first phase of the redesign of the Mauthausen Memorial is given in: Federal Ministry of the Interior (ed.): bulletin Mauthausen, No. 1 (2013).
- 14 Cf. Andreas Kranebitter: Zahlen als Zeugen. Soziologische Analysen zur Häftlingengesellschaft des KZ Mauthausen. Mauthausen-Studien, vol. 9 (Vienna 2015), pp. 171–174.
- 15 For a discussion of the gaps in the documentation in surviving sources, i.e. in particular the difficulties posed by a lack of sources relating to those victims who were not recorded in the official registers of the concentration camp by the SS, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 151–174.
- 16 On the state of research in May 2013, cf. Andreas Kranebitter: The Dead of the Mauthausen/Gusen Concentration Camps. Memorial Book and ‘Room of Names’ in: Federal Ministry of the Interior (ed.): bulletin Mauthausen, No. 1 (2013), pp. 61–65. On more recent research cf. the article by Maria Hörtnner and Alexander Prenninger in this volume.
- 17 Among the memorial books published in recent years that served as models for this memorial book and with whose editors we were, as a rule, in contact are (ordered by publication year): State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau (ed.): Death Books from Auschwitz (Munich/Providence/London/Paris 1995); Institut Theresienstädter Initiative (ed.): Theresienstädter Gedenkbuch. Die Opfer der Judentransporte aus Deutschland nach Theresienstadt 1942–1945 (Prague 2000); Institut Theresienstädter Initiative/Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (ed.): Theresienstädter Gedenkbuch. Österreichischen Juden und Jüdinnen in Theresienstadt 1942–1945 (Prague 2005); Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (ed.): Gedenkbuch für die Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Ravensbrück 1939–1945 (Berlin 2005); Stiftung Niedersächsische Gedenkstätten (ed.): Gedenkbuch. Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Bergen-Belsen (Celle 2005); KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau: Gedenkbuch für die Toten des Konzentrationslagers Dachau (Dachau 2011); also the memorial

- books available online held in the Bundesarchiv Berlin (<https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/intro.html>), the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora Memorial Museums (<http://www.buchenwald.de/483/>), the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (<http://www.doew.at/personensuche>), and the Yad Vashem memorial (<http://db.yadvashem.org/names/search.html?language=de>). Memorial books in which the dead of the Mauthausen concentration camp are remembered include: Stichting Vriedenkring Mauthausen (ed.): *Mauthausen. Een Gedenkboek* (Amsterdam 1999); Benito Bermejo/Sandra Checa: *Libro Memorial. Españoles deportados a los campos nazis (1940–1945)* (Madrid 2006); Florian Freund: *Die Toten von Ebensee*; Andreas Baumgartner: *Die Häftlinge des Loibl-KZ. Ein Gedenkbuch* (Vienna 2010); Brunello Mantelli/Nicola Tranfaglia (ed.): *Il libro dei deportati*. 3 vols. (Milan 2009); Peter Pirker/Anita Profunser (ed.): *Aus dem Gedächtnis in die Erinnerung – Die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus im Oberen Drautal* (Klagenfurt/Vienna 2012); Jaroslav Čvančara/Vlastislav Janík/Václav Ledvinka/Vojtěch Šustek: *Pamětní kniha. 294 hrdinů a obětí heydrichiády popravených v Mauthausenu* (Prague 2013); Florian Schwanninger/Irene Zauner-Leitner (ed.): *Lebensspuren. Biografische Skizzen von Opfern der NS-Tötungsanstalt* (Innsbruck/Vienna/Bolzano 2013); Brigitte Entner: *Wer war Klara aus Šentlipš/St. Philippen? Kärntner Slowenen und Sloweninnen als Opfer der NS-Verfolgung. Ein Gedenkbuch* (Klagenfurt/Vienna 2014); Peter Ulrich Lehner: *Verfolgung, Widerstand und Freiheitskampf in Hernals. Ereignisse, Gestalten, Orte, Spuren in einem Wiener ArbeiterInnenbezirk – Ein Heimatbuch der anderen Art* (Vienna 2014).
- 18 See the article by Maria Hörtner and Alexander Prenninger in this volume.
- 19 See the article by Florian Schwanninger in this volume.
- 20 Andreas Kappeler: *Die Sowjetunion und ihre Nationen*, in: Katharina Ritter/Ekaterina Shapiro-Obermair/Dietmar Steiner/Alexandra Wachter (ed.): *Sowjetmoderne 1955–1991. Unbekannte Geschichten* (Vienna/Zürich 2012), pp. 13–15, here p. 14.
- 21 Cf. Martina Grahek Ravančić/Marica Karakaš Obradov: *The Mauthausen Memorial Centre’s List of Mauthausen Camp Victims from Yugoslav Territory. The Possibility of Ascertaining the Names and Numbers of Victims from Croatia’s Territory*. In: *Review of Croatian History*, 9th edition (2013), vol. 1, pp. 141–150.
- 22 Saul Friedländer: *Nazi Germany and the Jews. The Years of Persecution 1933–1939* (London 1998), p. 5. Also cf. Marc Buggeln: *Arbeit und Gewalt. Das Außenlagensystem des KZ Neuengamme* (Göttingen 2009), p. 487.
- 23 Exhibition texts ‘are a text type that does not identify its author: room and object texts conceal the positionality of their information’ – Beatrice Jaschke/Charlotte Marinz-Turek/Nora Sternfeld: *Vorwort*, in: Beatrice Jaschke/Charlotte Marinz-Turek/Nora Sternfeld (ed.): *Wer spricht? Autorität und Autorschaft in Ausstellungen* (Vienna 2005), pp. 9–12, here p. 10.
- 24 Research into this case was carried out by Tatiana Szekeley and Reinhard Otto, whom I thank for this point. Jan Paraducha Scharuba was born on 3 August 1908 in Belo Polje, his son Alexander on 29 August 1924 in the same place.
- 25 Michael Pollak: *Die Grenzen des Sagbaren. Lebensgeschichten von KZ-Überlebenden als Augenzeugenberichte und als Identitätsarbeit* (Frankfurt am Main/New York 1988), p. 93. Taking up Michael Pollak, it could be said that the aim of this project is ‘to use language to create a space in which the many different voices can be heard. In doing so, the autobiographical character of the witness statement is overcome without a forced departure from the level of the individual and unique in favour of the more general, as is the case for narratives with legal, academic or political motivations’ (*ibid.*, p. 131).
- 26 Cf. e.g. Christian Klein (ed.): *Handbuch Biographien. Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien* (Stuttgart/Weimar 2009), p. 4f. Florian Schwanninger and Irene Zauner-Leitner write of a ‘biographical reader’ (Schwanninger/Zauner-Leitner: *Lebensspuren*, p. 13) in relation to their collection of life stories of victims of ‘euthanasia’ at the Hartheim Castle killing facility.
- 27 Email from Roman Frister to Ralf Lechner, 17 June 2014, AMM temporary archive.
- 28 Cf. Welzer: *Verweilen beim Grauen*, in particular pp. 43–48.

## Naming the Dead.

### Sources for the memorial book and compiling the names of those deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp

In April 1945, the SS began to destroy the traces of its crimes at the Mauthausen concentration camp. Facilities constructed for mass killing were dismantled and those concentration camp prisoners who, on account of their position in the camp, had become first-hand witnesses to mass murder were themselves killed.<sup>1</sup> In the process of running the concentration camp, the SS had also produced vast quantities of written documents which, in spite of every effort made to cover up the attributes and dimensions of its crimes, were now incriminating pieces of evidence.<sup>2</sup> Gerhard Kanthack, who had been a detective superintendent in Berlin before concentration camp imprisonment and who, as a prisoner, was assigned as a clerk to the Political Section of Mauthausen concentration camp, was given the order to burn documents kept by the Political Section. This included not only the personal files and police photographs of nearly every prisoner, but also every death certificate and a register of every death officially certified by the Political Section. Kanthack was aware of the significance of this death register as a piece of evidence and attempted – under penalty of death – to save it from destruction by hiding the documents under some boxes in a storeroom. However, his attempt failed when the SS and Police Court, having been evacuated from Vienna, took up office in this room in the Political Section and discovered the documents. The death certificates, which were important

for any surviving relatives not only as information but also for legal purposes, could therefore not be saved from destruction.<sup>3</sup>

Attempts by other concentration camp prisoners to rescue documents met with greater success. For example, the Spaniard Casimir Climent Sarrión, like Kanthack assigned to the Political Section, managed to save documents relating to the Republican Spaniards and lists naming those murdered by poison gas at the Hartheim Castle killing facility.<sup>4</sup>

On 20 April 1945 – in liberated Vienna, negotiations on the formation of an Austrian government had already begun – Ernst Martin, a prisoner clerk assigned to the Mauthausen SS chief camp physician, was given the order to burn any papers found in the office. The quantity of paper was so great that, according to Martin, it took eight days to burn it all. However, Martin was able to save some documents from destruction which later came to play a key role in both prosecuting the perpetrators and recording the dead.<sup>5</sup>

Prisoners assigned to other departments of the SS camp administration were also able to save evidence of the concentration camp from destruction. The actions of prisoners working in the records department of the Political Section are well known, especially Francisco Boix i Campo, who managed to smuggle thousands of photographs out of the camp.<sup>6</sup> An unnamed prisoner clerk working in the Administration Section hid the chief administrator's

*Tätigkeitsbericht* (activity report) in the suspended ceiling of the office and, by doing so, preserved an invaluable document for writing the history of the camp.<sup>7</sup>

On 6 May 1945, a 'War Crimes Investigating Team' led by Major Eugene S. Cohen arrived at Mauthausen together with the Third US Army.<sup>8</sup> This team was charged with securing evidence of the war crimes committed by the SS and, in doing so, to lay the foundations for the military tribunals against the perpetrators. During this process, the team was able to draw on the documents that had been saved by the prisoners. The materials collected by Cohen not only included a large number of sworn statements given by liberated concentration camp prisoners, photographs and lists containing the names of SS guards,<sup>9</sup> but he also recovered the register of 'unnatural deaths' which, according to the sworn statement given by Cohen, was 'found' in the camp on 9 May.<sup>10</sup> This book, which also recorded the names of the executioners, formed the basis for several convictions of members of the SS in US military court trials and, later on, in Austrian People's Court trials.<sup>11</sup>

The most significant exhibits were the 13 death registers saved by Ernst Martin, which he had handed over to the American investigators on 7 May 1945.<sup>12</sup> Some of the death registers from the clerks' office of the Mauthausen SS chief camp physician had been kept by Ernst Martin and his fellow prisoner, Josef Ulbrecht.

Todes Nr.	Geburts- Tag u. Ort		Todesursache	Tag u. Stunde des Todes						
	Nr.	Ort		Nr.	Ort					
1058	Pole	24317/-	Laniewski	Josif	16.3.49	Wozosuch	aus Befehl des RF-44 erschlagt	24.3.43	10.00	justifiziert
9	Russe	24318/-	Dobskien	Nikolaj	22.9.19	Stargard		24.3.43	10.00	
1060	Russe	24321/19	Kozamasau	Alexander	15.7.19	Korovina	Lungenentzündung	25.3.43	6.00	
7	S.O.	24438/19	Leiszt	Jakob	25.7.06	Obensfeldkirchen	Allg. Körperverfall, Kreislaufschwäche	26.3.43	6.00	
2	Pole	24765/19	Dogiel	Krzysztof	27.2.05	Luski	Lungenentzündung	26.3.43	6.00	
3	Pole		Dziedyl	Janusz	17.6.20	Grzechynia	aus Befehl des RF-44 erschlagt	26.3.43	10.00	justifiziert
4	Pole	19510/19	Galok	Hanzl	15.6.04	Wien	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
5	Russe	25658/19	Kozick	Alexander	22.10.09	Kosten	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	6.00	
6	S.O.	15220/19	Reker	Christian	5.6.05	Stuzen	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
7	Pole	175049/19	Dal	Leopold	20.8.16	Obzyle	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
8	S.O.	30/19	Katosau	Wilhelm	24.12.02	Stann	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	7.00	
9	Pole	25146/19	Kadziubanski	Konstantin	20.5.00	Lisiewski	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	7.00	
1070	Russe	22862/19	Tucko	1907	1907	Danji	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	7.30	
7	Pole	24038/19	Majewski	Marian	12.1.09	Juzza Poud	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	8.00	
2	S.O.	24445/19	Wierka	Stefan	18.9.05	Kaloss	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	8.00	
3	Pole	22207/19	Lesiak	Stanislaw	14.1.04	Malewajak	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	8.00	
4	Pole	22454/19	Epinski	Antoni	16.3.02	Kalowitz	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	8.00	
5	Pole	22500/19	Riocki	Witold	26.12.13	Stono	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
6	Pole	19620/19	Potera	Jan	20.6.17	Glowna	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
7	Russe	22681/19	Wadesoj	Simon	1898	Wyskwa	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
8	Pole	24024/19	Kosarski	Max	29.3.02	Wielki Smok	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
9	Pole	22510/19	Kozyski	Josif	16.3.11	Kadziuki	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
1080	Pole	22227/19	Urbaniak	Michael	29.9.04	Charnowka	Lungen- Tbc	25.3.43	10.00	
1	Russe	15311/19	Soric	Ranko	4.10.00	Ravni	Phlegmone recid. Thorax, Allg. Anämie	26.3.43	6.00	
2	Pole	24717/19	Miskiewicz	Leonard	1.12.13	Lezmannsdorf	Allg. Körperverfall, Kreislaufschwäche	26.3.43	6.00	
3	Russe	22804/19	Podzic	Mohamed	6.6.02	Stany	Lungenentzündung	25.3.43	10.00	
4	Pole	24676/19	Nowinski	Antoni	24.3.03	Buczbow	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
5	Pole	22441/19	Glownski	Stanislaw	17.3.03	Obelawka	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
6	Pole	24161/19	Kozacki	Josif	4.12.05	Koscielna	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
7	Pole	22441/19	Karnocki	Wojciech	16.1.19	Stano	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
8	Pole	24441/19	Petrzak	Stefan	27.9.3	Poznan	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	
1099	Pole	16239/19	Konrowski	Stefan	19.11.00	Fabianka	Lungen- Tbc	26.3.43	6.00	

Death register of the Mauthausen SS chief camp physician (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial, AMM Y/46).

They comprised seven books listing the deaths at the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps between 7 January 1939 and 22 April 1945, one book containing the deaths of Soviet prisoners of war in Mauthausen and Gusen between 21 October 1941 and 31 March 1945, and five books in which the deaths at the Gusen branch camp between 1 June 1940 and 27 April 1945 were recorded.<sup>13</sup>

Organised in a consecutively numbered list, these death registers record the nationality, prisoner category, prisoner number, place

of death, name, date of birth, place of birth, cause of death, and date and time of death. In cases where the death was officially recorded as ‘unnatural’, a note was added that the prisoner in question was ‘executed on the orders of the Reich Chief of the SS’ or ‘legally executed’, or was ‘shot while attempting to escape’ or had committed suicide, or had died as the result of an industrial accident.

These books document the deaths of 68,839 people who died or were murdered in the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp,<sup>14</sup> making them our main source of knowledge about

the names of those who died in the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp. Yet generated by or under the supervision of the perpetrators, these written documents are a reflection of their ideology, necessitating a greater level of critical source analysis.<sup>15</sup> This kind of critical assessment is made possible, above all, by the testimonies of survivors and postwar forensic investigations. The death registers of the Mauthausen SS chief camp physician were used as evidence in several trials.<sup>16</sup> Numerous sworn statements and witness questioning in court allow us to decode the

cover-ups employed by the SS camp administration as its attempts to keep secret the true causes of death. Ernst Martin, Gerhard Kanthack and many others testified that usually, murder had to be registered as a case of illness. In many cases, targeted murders using firearms were covered up as 'shot while attempting to escape'. Often, however, such murders were recorded as deaths from natural causes, since an entry of 'unnatural death' would result in a lengthy and therefore undesirable bureaucratic process culminating in a formal investigation into the death by the SS and Police Court in Vienna.<sup>17</sup>

Source analysis is also called for with regard to how prisoners' personal information was entered into the death registers. Not only did the SS dehumanise prisoners by turning them from a person into a number on entering the concentration camp, but the perpetrators' ideology also shows through in their efforts to Germanise the names of prisoners from non-German speaking countries. For example, the Polish concentration camp prisoner *Wacław Bienias*, born in *Łódź*, is entered in SS documents as *Wenzel Bienias*, born in *Litzmannstadt*.

Other factors also influence the reliability of personal data given in the camp documents. Many of the clerks in the camp administration office, whose tasks included recording personal data, were not familiar with common forms of transliteration, resulting in spellings of names that sometimes border on the unrecognisable, especially for deportees from the former Soviet Union. It is also important here to mention the practice used by prisoners and prisoner clerks of falsifying prisoners' ages in documents in order to increase their chances of survival. Hans Maršálek, for example,

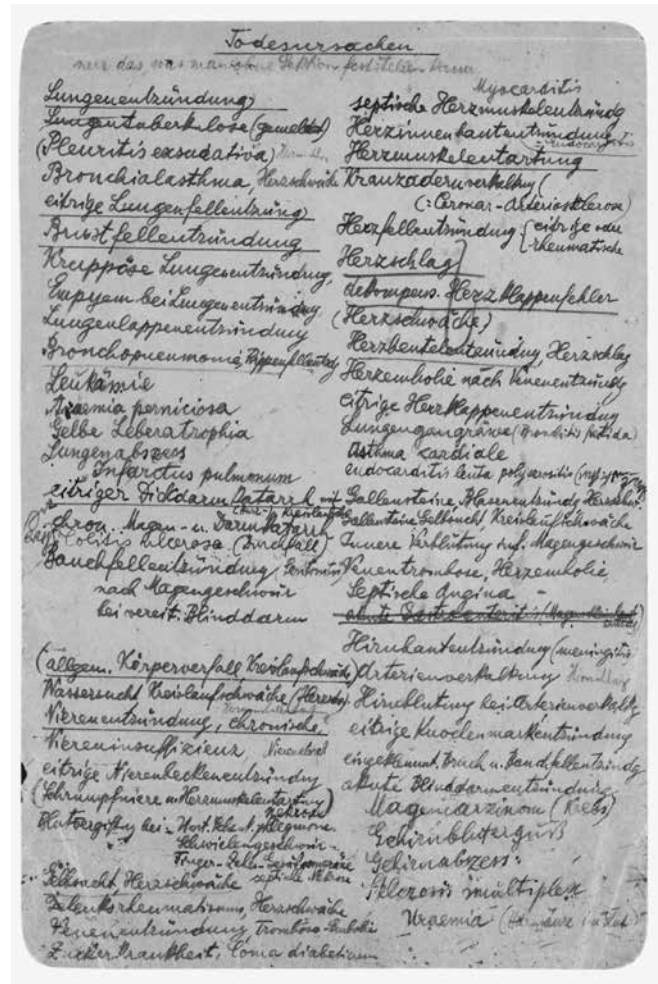
recounted in an interview how he saved children from death by altering their ages.<sup>19</sup> Time and again it was also possible to save prisoners threatened with execution by reporting them to the SS as dead and giving them the identity of a prisoner who had died. These kinds of identity swap mean that some individual concentration camp prisoners are falsely recorded in the documents as being either dead or alive.<sup>20</sup>

A few individual prisoners persecuted on political grounds were also able, ultimately, to maintain their cover identity in the concentration

camp throughout every Gestapo check.<sup>21</sup>

Although the SS had continued to dispose of its paper trail until shortly before leaving the camp on 3 May 1945,<sup>22</sup> thousands of pages of documentary material nevertheless remained in the liberated camp. It was probably down to the sheer volume of paper produced by the SS bureaucracy that destroying every single document simply couldn't be managed.

These papers document different aspects of the camp's history. There are prisoner index cards compiled in the various camp clerks' offices



Appendix to the death register of the Gusen infirmary listing different causes of death, marked with the addition: 'only that which can be determined without autopsy'<sup>18</sup> (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial, AMM B/12/3).

and in the barracks by each 'block clerk'. A large number of lists of names have also survived, duplicate copies of which were sent between the departments of the camp administration, between the main camp and the subcamps, and between the concentration camp and external authorities such as the SS Economic and Administrative Office or the Reich Main Security Office.<sup>23</sup>

The documents that remained in the camp – as well as numerous artefacts – were subsequently scattered across the world. No information is available as to whether or how these documents were divided up between the former prisoners and national prisoner associations.<sup>24</sup> Charged in the mid-1960s with the task of creating a permanent exhibition at the former concentration camp, Maršálek undertook research trips throughout Europe to search for documents and objects for the 'Museum Mauthausen'. He made noteworthy finds in ministries, at memorial sites, through survivor associations and through former concentration camp prisoners, who had held on to such items in private. Of his research trip to Czechoslovakia, for example, he reported that:

'According to reliable information, in May 1945 around 5 tons of Mauthausen materials were transferred from Mauthausen to the then Republic of Czechoslovakia, and primarily to Prague. Firstly they consisted of various documents, written papers, lists, index cards etc. from the Political Section, the clerks' office, work detachment office, infirmary and construction office. Secondly they included the stones from in front of the prisoners' barracks which showed the block number, then parts of the oil-fired

oven from the crematorium, beams used as gallows from the room in front of the crematorium, the gas chamber doors, a sheet-metal coffin in which some corpses were kept, any number of SS signs aimed at prisoners[.]'<sup>25</sup>

With regard to written records, Maršálek's research trips to France, Poland, Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany all bore fruit in equal measure. He was able to collect thousands of pages of documentary material in these countries – some in facsimile, some also in the original – for the planned museum and, in doing so, laid the foundations for the collections held at the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial.<sup>26</sup> However, given the limits in terms of staff and budget, Maršálek was only able to acquire some of the documents or only parts of collections he had located.

In the mid-1990s, the initiation of a project to create a database containing the names of all those deported to Mauthausen concentration camp lent renewed impetus to collecting activities at the archive. While at that time, 283 original documents or copies of documents relating to individuals could be identified in the archive's collections, today there are several thousand gathered in a separate database.<sup>27</sup> To a large extent – as regards the documentation of deaths – in addition to the aforementioned death book and other death registers<sup>28</sup> these are mainly transfer lists and death reports compiled in the different departments of the camp administration and the subcamps. Today, the most comprehensive holdings of these kinds of lists are held in the collections of the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej in Warsaw, the Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Oświęcim, the Service

Historique de la Défense, Bureau des Archives des Victimes des Conflits Contemporains, Caen, the Centre Historique des Archives Nationales, Paris, the National Archives and Records Administration, USA, as well as in the collections of the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolson and in the Centre d'études et de documentation guerre et société contemporaine, Brussels.<sup>29</sup>

Despite efforts over the decades to bring together all the documents relating to the inmates of the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp, hitherto unknown documents are still being found. For example, during a research project in 2011 looking at Soviet prisoners of war at the Mauthausen concentration camp, the register of cremations for the Gusen crematorium was found in the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow.<sup>30</sup>

### The databases

Since 1996, work has been on-going at the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial to compile a database of the names of the prisoners of the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp. In a pilot study, Andreas Baumgartner designed a database for the female prisoners in the Mauthausen concentration camp.<sup>31</sup> Over the course of this project, the decision was taken to structure the database of names on records for individuals, rather than on sources. Taking the arrivals book of the 'Mauthausen women's concentration camp', the first step was to record each individual entry as it appeared in the numerical list in the arrivals book. These entries were then expanded with information from other sources. This structure was also adopted for the subsequent design of a database



Notification of change 'departure (deceased)' (Archiwum Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, D-Mau V3, 1158).

of male prisoners of the Mauthausen concentration camp.<sup>32</sup>

The main sources for this follow-up project were the surviving numerical lists and *Evidenzbücher* (prisoner information log books), which were kept by three different sections of the SS camp administration: the prisoner arrivals book belonging to the Political Section, the so-called *Standbuch* of the post room, also a register of information, and finally the *Zugangsbuch*, the arrivals book that was probably kept by the administration of the Protective Custody Camp.<sup>33</sup> The information in these sources is structured in a similar

but not completely identical way.

For each deportee they document the prisoner number, name, date and place of birth, nationality, prisoner category and – to varying degrees – information about where they were housed in the main camp or whether they were currently assigned to the Gusen branch camp or a subcamp. Some also document the deportees' occupation or labour deployment, the date of their arrival at the Mauthausen concentration camp or information about what happened to them (deceased, transferred, discharged).

This data structure was reproduced in the design for the database of

inmates. While the database for female prisoners, with around 4,000 entries, was still manageable, the follow-up project was significantly more complex and extensive. It was expected to encompass anything up to 200,000 entries taken from nearly 300 sources collected in the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial.<sup>34</sup>

As the project progressed, ever more problems emerged around this design. The concept of a digital reproduction of the arrivals books that used the prisoner number as the unique identifying element ran counter to the aim of bringing all the information about one person together in one entry. This is because one and the same person would often have been registered again under a different or even under several prisoner numbers after having been sent away to a different concentration camp or to the Gusen branch camp and transferred back to the Mauthausen concentration camp. At the same time, until 1942, numbers that became 'available' through death, release or transfer were reused for new arrivals. This was reflected in the database, where frequently one person would be listed multiple times under different entries, while likewise one prisoner number would refer to several different people.

Furthermore, the way the data was captured did not differentiate systematically between interpretation and a faithful reproduction of source material. So while some source entries were 'translated' (e.g. the nationality 'Soviet Union' was used for deportees who were marked as '*russische Zivilarbeiter*' / 'RZA' – 'Russian civilian labourers'), others were taken unaltered from the documents. In addition, the time needed to compile the data was mounting steadily as

it became necessary to provide a commentary on divergent information taken from different sources, in order to make it clear where information had come from or why certain decisions regarding spelling had been taken.<sup>35</sup> Eventually, in 2006, after more than 136,000 entries on prisoners had been compiled, it became clear that only 43,000 deaths were recorded in the arrivals books, as opposed to 70,000 in the death registers.<sup>36</sup>

In 2006, work on this database was discontinued and ultimately integrated into a new database project. This new ‘meta-database’ was conceived in such a way that each source could be dealt with in its own database with a structure that remained faithful to the source and was independent of the very specific data structure of the arrivals books.

Several ‘sub-databases’ were now created for the ‘meta-database’ project. The first of these was known as the ‘death register database’ and captured the information in the death registers of the SS chief camp physicians of Mauthausen and Gusen (supplemented by the death register from the Gusen infirmary) and the death register of Soviet prisoners of war in one database.<sup>37</sup> Additional databases filled the gaps in the documentation regarding the early days of the camp and brought together disparate source materials on those who died shortly before or after the liberation of the camp.<sup>38</sup>

These databases were then combined on an interpretive meta-level through a matching process. In this step, the more than 20 databases, which in part contain varying data on the same person, were fed into a person-based database. Thus while the various sub-databases ensure that data is captured true to source and

remains so, the consolidation of data and interpretation now takes place exclusively at a ‘meta-level’ that feeds from these various sub-databases.<sup>39</sup>

Research projects and cooperations resulted in databases from other institutions also being integrated into this ‘meta-database’.

Through its participation in the international research project ‘Digitalisation of the WVHA-Prisoner Index Cards’, which digitalised

the card index of the SS Economic and Administrative Office held in collections in Poland and Germany and compiled this information in databases, the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial was able to gather additional data on 27,000 people.<sup>40</sup>

The research project on female prisoners at Mauthausen carried out by the *Institut für Konfliktforschung* also resulted in an extensive database that was likewise integrated into the new

<b>Meta-Database</b>	
<b>Databases at the AMM</b>	<b>Databases from cooperation projects</b>
Häftlingsdatenbank/Zugangsbücherdatenbank 126,599 records Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (AMM) Y/36, Y/44	Datenbanken Häftlingskartei, Lagerschreibstube, Sterbefälle, Fotografien, Veränderungsmeldungen 129,086 records Archiv Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau
Totenbücherdatenbank 69,899 records AMM Y/46, B/12/3, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)	WVHA-Datenbank 27,885 records Internationales Forschungsprojekt
Standbuch der Poststelle 53,868 records AMM Y/43	Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names 43,947 records Yad Vashem
Liste Verstorbener nach Nationalität 29,290 records AMM Y/39	Projekt Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 37,736 records Reinhard Otto, Tatiana Szekely
Zugangslisten-datenbank 25,562 records Diverse AMM, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN)	Datenbank 14f13-Opfer 13,078 records Dokumentationsstelle Schloss Hartheim
Liste der Überstellungen und Entlassungen 8,505 records AMM Y/37-38	Die Toten von Ebensee 8,276 records Florian Freund
Standliste Gusen vom 23.1.1944 7,200 records AMM B/12/50	Datenbank weibliche Häftlinge 6,710 records Institut für Konfliktforschung
Verstorbene nach Befreiung 6,084 records various AMM, Bundesministerium für Inneres (BMI), International Tracing Service (ITS), Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv (OÖLA), Archiv der Stadt Linz (ASTL)	Espanoles deportados (1940–1945) 4,776 records Benito Bermejo
Exekutionsbuch 1,993 records AMM M/5/6	Liste des Françaises décédés 4,264 records Amicale de Mauthausen
Additions from various holdings 28,921 records various AMM, ITS Arolsen, IPN	Datenbank Exhumierungen 2,932 records Alexander Prenninger
	Gestapo-Kartei 582 records Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW)
	Datenbank K-Häftlinge 524 records Reinhard Otto



‘meta-database’.<sup>41</sup> Collaborations with other institutions made a significant contribution to the quality of the data now collected in the Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial. The archive gained over 100,000 items of data from its cooperation with the *Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau* alone, data which, like the databases created by historians Benito Bermejo and Florian Freund on Spanish deportees and the dead of the Ebensee subcamp respectively, could also be integrated into the ‘meta-database’. The same applied to information on those deported to Mauthausen contained in the Gestapo card index held at the *Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance*. A collaboration project with the *Dokumentationsstelle Hartheim*, part of the Upper Austrian State Archive, also led to the acquisition of new information about prisoners from Mauthausen who were murdered in Hartheim.<sup>42</sup>

Today’s ‘meta-database’ is the result of almost two decades of continuous work. It contains over 500,000 entries on a total of 167,522 people known by name, and it documents the names of 84,270 people out of a total of at least 90,000 who died in the Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp.<sup>43</sup> In doing so, it forms the basis for the *Room of Names* now installed at the Mauthausen Memorial and for this memorial book.

- 1 Cf. Freund/Bertrand Perz/ Karl Stuhlpfarrer: Überreste von Tötungseinrichtungen. In: *Zeitgeschichte* 22 (1995) 9/10, pp. 297–317; Hans Maršálek: Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen (Vienna 31995), p. 201 and p. 330.
- 2 According to Adjutant Adolf Zutter, *Amtsgruppe D* [D Branch] of the SS Economic and Administrative Office ordered the destruction of all files in early 1945, sworn statement dated 2

- August 1945, Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial (henceforth AMM) P/18/6.
- 3 Report by Gerhard Kanthack, AMM V/3/20. On Kanthack’s biography, cf. Jens Dobler: Die Berliner Kriminalpolizei im Nationalsozialismus und die Dezernate gegen die Eigentumskriminalität, in: Dobler. (ed.): *Großstadtkriminalität. Berliner Kriminalpolizei und Verbrechensbekämpfung 1930 bis 1950* (Berlin 2013), pp. 32–72.
- 4 Maršálek: *Geschichte*, p. 111 and José Borrás: *Histoire de Mauthausen. Les cinq années de déportation des républicains espagnols* (n.p. 1989), p. 363.
- 5 Ernst Martin, Bericht über die “Rettung” der Totenbücher des KLM [Report on the ‘rescue’ of the death registers of the Mauthausen concentration camp], AMM St/9/1; Florian Freund: Der Dachauer Mauthausenprozess. In: *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (ed.): *Jahrbuch 2001* (Vienna 2001), pp. 35–66, here p. 42.
- 6 Benito Bermejo: Francisco Boix, der Fotograf von Mauthausen. *Mauthausen-Studien*, special volume (Vienna 2007), pp. 126–143.
- 7 Bertrand Perz: *Verwaltete Gewalt. Der Tätigkeitsbericht des Verwaltungsführers im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen 1941 bis 1944*. *Mauthausen-Studien*, vol. 8 (Vienna 2013), p. 13.
- 8 Tomaz Jardim: *The Mauthausen Trial. American Military Justice in Germany* (Cambridge/London 2012), p. 62.
- 9 Jardim: *The Mauthausen Trial*, pp. 72–80; Freund: *Der Dachauer Mauthausenprozess*, p. 43f.
- 10 Bestätigung von Eugene Cohen über den Fund des Totenbuchs “unnatürliche Todesfälle” [Confirmation given by Eugene Cohen concerning the find of the register of ‘unnatural deaths’], National Archives and Records Administration (henceforth NARA), College Park, Maryland, USA, RG 549, Records of US Army, Europe, War Crimes Branch, “Cases Tried” 1945–1949, Case 000-50-5, U.S. v. Hans Altfuldisch et al., Prosecution Exhibit 22.
- 11 Cf. Gregor Holzinger: ‘... da mordqualifizierende Umstände nicht hinreichend sicher nachgewiesen werden können ...’ Die juristische Verfolgung von Angehörigen der SS-Wachmannschaft des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen wegen ‘Erschießungen auf der Flucht’, in: *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (ed.): *Täter. Österreichische Akteure im Nationalsozialismus. Jahrbuch 2014* (Vienna 2014), pp. 135–163; see also the article by Gregor Holzinger in this volume.
- 12 Empfangsbescheinigung für die Totenbücher von Jack Taylor [Confirmation of receipt for the death registers issued by Jack H. Taylor], Mauthausen, 7 May 1945, AMM E/10/1/2.
- 13 Today these books are archived at the NARA: Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Mauthausen, RG 238, IMT Prosecution Exhibit, Box 14–15, USA 251 (Microfilm copy in AMM Y/46); Totenbuch Kriegsgefangene, RG 238, IMT Prosecution Exhibit, Box 13, USA 250 (Microfilm copy in AMM Y/31); Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Gusen, NARA, RG 549, “Cases Tried” 1945–1949, Case 000-50-5, U.S. v. Hans Altfuldisch et al., B Prosecution Exhibits 23–26 (digitalised in AMM 1.1.6.0001).
- 14 ‘Totenbuchdatenbank’, AMM; the number of deaths in the death registers saved by Ernst Martin and Josef Ulbrecht comes to a total of around 71,856 but this includes 2,980 people not registered by name who were murdered at the Hartheim Castle killing facility (given here under the codename ‘Genesungslager Ybbs’ – ‘Ybbs convalescent camp’) – Cf. Aufstellung der Zahl der Toten, Mauthausen, 14 May 1945, AMM E/10/1/1.
- 15 Cf. Jürgen Matthäus: Quellen. In: Wolfgang Benz/Barbara Distel (ed.): *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1: *Die Organisation des Terrors* (Munich 2005), pp. 363–376; on Mauthausen in particular cf. Andreas Kranebitter: *Der Faschismus in den Daten: Probleme der Datenerhebung in Bezug auf das KZ Mauthausen*. In: Bundesministerium für Inneres (ed.): *KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen | Mauthausen Memorial 2007*, (Vienna 2008), pp. 12–21.
- 16 For example at the trials of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, at the ‘Mauthausen Main Case’ and follow-up trials in Dachau, and in the trial of LG Hagen against the man in charge of the crematoria, Martin Roth. An overview of the court cases is offered by Bertrand Perz: *Prozesse zum KZ Mauthausen*. In: Ludwig Eiber/Robert Sigel (ed.): *Dachauer Prozesse. NS-Verbrechen vor amerikanischen Militärgerichten in Dachau 1945–1948*. *Dachauer Symposien zur Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 7 (Göttingen 2007), pp. 174–191.
- 17 Individual prisoners attempted to undermine these cover-up strategies as the documents were being written. Ernst Martin, who kept the death register of the SS chief camp physician from 1941 to 1943, explained during US trials that in the records for those prisoners who, contrary

- to what was listed in the death registers, died an unnatural death, he entered a dot after the murder victim's place of birth to mark this fact. Sworn statement by Ernst Martin and Josef Ulbrecht, Mauthausen, 14 May 1945, AMM E/10/1; US vs Hans Joachim Geiger et al., Case 000-50-5-6, Records of US Army War Crimes Trials, NARA Microfilm Publication M1191, Roll 1, Trial Transcripts. Other methods and attempts to cover up the true causes of death are given in: Andreas Kranebitter: Zahlen als Zeugen Soziologische Analysen der Häftlingsgesellschaft des KZ Mauthausen. Mauthausen-Studien, Schriftenreihe der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, vol. 9 (Vienna 2014), pp. 138–150. On the concealment of murder in Hartheim Castle, see the article by Florian Schwanninger in this volume.
- 18 AMM B/12/2, and indeed, in this death register from the Gusen infirmary, the causes of death to be found listed under 'natural deaths' are almost exclusively those listed on this appendix. The statement given by a Gusen prisoner, Viktor Opresnigg, during a US military trial confirmed the practice of entering a false cause of death taken from a pre-prepared list. US vs. Paul Wolfram, ETO Case 000-50-5-49, NARA RG 338, Box 423, Folder 1, Trial Transcripts, 15/16 Oct 1947.
- 19 Andreas Kranebitter: Zahlen als Zeugen, pp. 142–144.
- 20 An example here is Leopold Kuhn, a prisoner scheduled to be executed, who survived under the name of Karl Litterer, who had in fact died. Maršálek: Die Geschichte, p. 315f. See also the biographical text Karl Litterer by Robert Streibel in this volume.
- 21 For example Sergei Michailovitsch K, who survived concentration camp imprisonment thanks to his cover identity, Federal Ministry of the Interior, file 3501/982-IV/7/93.
- 22 Maršálek: Die Geschichte, p. 330.
- 23 For example, the clerks' office produced at least twelve carbon copies of the arrivals lists, which prisoner clerks had to compile when new prisoners arrived and which were then distributed to the various departments of the camp administration. Cf. Interview with Hans Maršálek, Vienna, 11.7.2011, AMM OH/16.
- 24 Even in documentation provided by Hans Maršálek, who was the deputy camp clerk and a central figure in the prisoner resistance and therefore must have had some knowledge of this, there are no indications as to whether agreements were reached regarding how what the SS left behind was to be divided up. Cf. Maršálek: Die Geschichte.
- 25 Gedenkstättenakten des Bundesministeriums für Inneres, "Öffentliches Denkmal Mauthausen; Einrichtung eines Museums. Bericht des Pol.Rat MARSALEK über das Ergebnis seiner Dienstreise in die CSSR" [Report by MARSALEK on the results of his official trip to Czechoslovakia], AMM 1.6.1.220.850-33/65.
- 26 Bericht von Maršálek über das bisher gesammelte Material [Report by Maršálek on material collected so far], *ibid.*, 1.6.1.242.991-33/66.
- 27 Andreas Baumgartner: Die Häftlinge des KZ Mauthausen, pp. 12–14; today, the 'Datenbank personenbezogener Namenslisten' in the AMM contains over 23,000 records. The exact number cannot be ascertained, since, on the one hand, carbon copies of one list exist in several archives and, on the other, the database design allows several entries for one list.
- 28 For example the register of executions (AMM M/5/6) or the 'log book' of the Political Section (AMM E/13/2), as well as the death registers saved from the Ebensee and Redl-Zipf subcamps.
- 29 Copies of these documents are collected in the Mauthausen Memorial archive in digitalised form or on microfilm or paper.
- 30 Gosudarstvenny Arkhiv Rossiyskoy Federatsii, F.7021 op.112 d.14; the register of cremations had mistakenly been assigned to a collection of documents relating to National Socialist crimes in Poland.
- 31 Andreas Baumgartner: Frauen im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen. Dokumentation, Quellensammlung und Datenbank. Unpublished project report (Vienna 1996).
- 32 Andreas Baumgartner: Die Häftlinge des KZ-Mauthausen. Quellendokumentation und Datenbank. Unpublished project report (Vienna 1996), p. 348f.
- 33 Zugangsbuch der Politischen Abteilung [Arrivals book of the Political Section], microfilm copy from the NARA, NARA Mikrofilmpublikation A 3355, Mauthausen, roll 12–13, AMM Y/36; Standbuch der Poststelle [Post room prisoner information log book], microfilm copy from the Vojenský historický archiv, Prague, AMM Y/43; gaps in the documentation provided by the arrivals books were filled using the transport lists from Mauthausen/Gusen concentration camp to the Castle Hartheim killing facility and later using the *Standliste* [total complement lists] for the Gusen branch camp from January 1944: diverse Transportlisten nach Hartheim [various transport lists to Hartheim], AMM B/15; Standliste Gusen, 23.1.1944, copy from the Archives Nationales, Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre, AMM B/12/50.
- 34 Andreas Baumgartner: Die Häftlinge des KZ-Mauthausen.
- 35 The problems of this database design are discussed in detail in Christian Dürr: Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslager Mauthausen. Ein Erfassungsprojekt des Archivs der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (ed.): Jahrbuch 2007. Schwerpunkt: Namentliche Erfassung von NS-Opfern (Vienna 2007), pp. 50–63; also Christian Dürr: Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslager Mauthausen. Ein elektronisches Erfassungsprojekt, in: Bundesministerium für Inneres (ed.): KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen | Mauthausen Memorial 2007. Forschung, Dokumentation, Information. Jahrbuch der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (Vienna 2008), pp. 22–29.
- 36 Andreas Kranebitter: Zahlen als Zeugen, p. 155.
- 37 While up to this point, young people on their year of compulsory civilian service had been given the job of data entry, from 2006 onwards this was done by a team of professionals.
- 38 See the article by Maria Hörtnner and Alexander Prenninger in this volume.
- 39 On the database design, which was developed by Christian Dürr, Andreas Kranebitter and Ralf Lechner together with Martin Gilly of the software firm metamagix, see Christian Dürr: Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslager Mauthausen. Ein Erfassungsprojekt des Archivs der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (ed.): Jahrbuch 2007. Schwerpunkt: Namentliche Erfassung von NS-Opfern (Vienna 2007), pp. 50–63.
- 40 Christian Römmer: Digitalisierung der WVHA-Häftlingskartei, in: Gedenkstättenrundbrief 150 (2009), pp. 20–25.
- 41 Helga Amesberger/Brigitte Halbmayr: Weibliche Häftlinge im KZ Mauthausen und seinen Außenlagern. Unpublished final report (Vienna 2010).
- 42 See the article by Florian Schwanninger in this volume.
- 43 Andreas Kranebitter: Zahlen als Zeugen, p. 156 and pp. 233–237 and pp. 171–174. The difference between number of people in the database and the total number of dead results from the number of those deported not known by name.