

**THE MAUTHAUSEN MEMORIAL CENTRE'S
LIST OF MAUTHAUSEN CAMP VICTIMS
FROM YUGOSLAV TERRITORY.
THE POSSIBILITY OF ASCERTAINING THE
NAMES AND NUMBER OF VICTIMS FROM
CROATIA'S TERRITORY**

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This work contains an analysis of the results of a revision of the list of victims from Yugoslav territory held by the Mauthausen Memorial Centre. The revision was conducted by the Croatian Institute of History as a component of the project entitled "Human Losses of Croatia in the Second World War and Post-war Years". After corrections and additions were made to the submitted records on individual victims, based partially on the revised *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period* compiled as part of the work on the aforementioned project and to the list of victims of the Mauthausen Camp published in the relevant literature, the data so obtained were analyzed. The primary focus of the analysis was accorded to corrections to the victims list, such as names, surnames, places of birth and citizenship and nationality based on the state borders which emerged after the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Key words: Second World War, Third Reich, Mauthausen Concentration Camp, victims, Croatia

In early June 2012, the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb received a request from the Mauthausen Memorial Centre via the Croatian Foreign Minis-

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try and the Croatian Embassy in Austria, to conduct a revision of the list of victims of the Mauthausen Camp from the territory of Yugoslavia. The task was to ascertain which victims on the existing list were from Croatian territory.

A Brief Overview of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp and Inmates from Yugoslav Territory

The Third Reich's Mauthausen Concentration Camp, near the town of Linz, received its first inmates in August 1938, while the last inmates were released from it in May 1945. Approximately 200,000 inmates passed through it, mostly men from many, primarily European countries and the USSR.¹ Inmates in the camp died of exhaustion and disease, or they were deliberately killed (shootings, torture, poison gas or lethal injection, etc.).²

The central, core camp was several kilometres from the actual town of Mauthausen, and its system encompassed outlying camps at several dozen locations. The Gusen Camp (I, II, III) was particularly notorious in terms of the numbers and mortality of inmates.³

Most inmates were interned in the Mauthausen Camp due to their political and ideological convictions, and often as members of resistance movements, which also pertained to inmates from Yugoslav territory. However, there were also inmates who were military collaborators of the Third Reich in the occupied territories, such as the (Serbian) Chetniks and Slovenian home guardsmen, sent to the camp due to various criminal activities. The members of other political, military and national groups, especially Austrians and Germans, were interned in the camp for these same reasons. The Roma were interned on grounds of racial discrimination with the objective of their physical liquidation, just like the Jews, who were sent to this camp in compliance with the "final solution to the Jewish question". There were also Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals among the camp's inmates.⁴

Mauthausen Camp inmates worked on brick production and in quarries, i.e., they prepared the construction material for the Third Reich's showcase buildings in Berlin and Linz. During the course of 1943, due to the air strikes in German territory, production plants for the needs of the aircraft industry were set up in the wider area of Wiener Neustadt and Wiener Nuedorf, while

¹ Miodrag Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen* (Belgrade, 1992), pp. 40-41; Franc Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu* (Ljubljana, 1999), pp. 14, 33. Most of the data on the camp's structure and functioning were cited by Milić and Filipič from: Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1980, Vienna-Linz, 1995).

² F. Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu*, pp. 46-50.

³ F. Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu*, pp. 13, 24.

⁴ M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, p. 53; F. Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu*, pp. 36, 38.

later these plants were moved to Mödling. Mauthausen inmates worked in these plants, and they were also accommodated there. The forced labour of these inmates, overseen by the Mauthausen Concentration Camp administration, was often used for the needs of the war industry.⁵

The first inmates from Yugoslav territory who arrived at the Mauthausen Camp in October 1940 were arrested volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, and by the end of the Second World War in 1945, approximately 8,650 persons from Yugoslav territory were interned in Mauthausen.⁶ Previous research and attempts to reconstruct the dispatch of Yugoslav inmates to the camp relied mostly on the rolls from the camp's documentation office, in which most of the staff were Austrian and Czech inmates. They often wrote down the personal information on inmates as they heard them, in the orthography with which they were familiar, which resulted in numerous errors.

As of 1943, a high number of inmates from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) were sent to Mauthausen. During 1943, 693 inmates from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia were transferred from the Sajmište Camp, near Belgrade, to Mauthausen. They were dispatched to Mauthausen in two groups, on 9 June and 19 June 1943, and mostly they were collaborators or sympathisers of the Partisan movement, or Partisan troops themselves. Among them there were Croats, Muslim and Serbs. A small group of 26 inmates were brought on 21 November 1943, consisting of Croats from Dalmatia who were arrested as Partisans and members of the Communist Youth Alliance of Yugoslavia. The group included Deacon Živan Bezić, later a well-known Catholic theologian,⁷ who wrote a book during his internment at the camp.⁸ There are data from 1944 according to which more Croats were sent to the camp.⁹ There were examples of some inmates being arrested as coerced or voluntary labourers in the territory of the Third Reich. Even in subsequent months in 1944, there were inmates from Croatian territory, not only Croats, as well as Croats brought from the territory of the Kingdom of Italy and the areas that it had annexed or occupied.¹⁰ The arrival of inmates from Croatian territory continued even in the period from January to April 1945.¹¹

⁵ F. Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu*, pp. 12-13, 18-19, 20, 41-45; http://logorcrvenikrst.wdfiles.com/local--files/deportovani-u-mauthausen/KZ_Lager_Grossraming.pdf (accessed on 15 November 2012).

⁶ F. Filipič, *Slovinci u Mauthausenu*, p. 34; M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, p. 43.

⁷ M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, pp. 71, 73, 75; Slavko Kovačić, "Don Živko Bezić. In memoriam", *Crkva u svijetu*, 42 (2007), 4, p. 715.

⁸ Živan Bezić, *U sjeni krematorija. Uspomene jednog logoraša* (Split, 1975, 1976).

⁹ M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, p. 74.

¹⁰ M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, pp. 75-77-80.

¹¹ M. Milić, *Jugosloveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, pp. 80-84.

It is certainly noteworthy that upon their internment such individuals were declared Croats in the sense of citizenship, but not in terms of nationality or ethnicity, which was the case with some Serbs and Jews from the NDH. Muslims in the NDH were considered Croats of Muslim faith. It should be noted that numerous Slovenians and Croats arrested in Italian territory were registered as Italians. Such a case occurred in December 1943, when 990 men, Slovenians and Croats from the Slovenian Littoral, Istria and the Croatian Littoral, were transferred to Mauthausen from the Italian Cairo Montenotte Camp. Already on the next day, they were taken to the Gusen Camp. Roughly half of them were released, while the rest had to perform forced labour in Linz and Steyr.¹²

Previous Knowledge and Statistics on the Victims of the Mauthausen Camp from Yugoslav Territory

Not long after the end of the Second World War, a memorial plaque was installed at the site of the Mauthausen Camp, which specifies the nationality or citizenship of 122,767 victims. 12,890 victims from Yugoslav territory are mentioned. Later research has yielded new numerical indicators. A total of 197,464 inmates passed through Mauthausen, of whom 8,650 were from Yugoslavia's territory. Thus, the aforementioned figure of 12,890 victims of the Mauthausen Camp from Yugoslav territory, registered immediately after the Second World War, was considerably inflated as, in fact, was the number of victims from other European countries and the USSR.¹³

According to Slovenian research, 4,153 Slovenes passed through the camp, of them 4,044 men and 109 women. Most, 4,054 persons, were interned for political reasons, while 99 were interned as criminals. A total of 1,500 Slovenian inmates in the camp, 1,190 were released, while 1,234 were freed from in May 1945. 178 persons were transferred to other camps, while 11 managed to escape.¹⁴

According to the data from the Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade, which are based on a partially revised and supplemented *List of the Commission on the Census of War Victims of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1964*, 509 persons from Croatia's territory

¹² F. Filipič, *Slovenci u Mauthausenu*, pp. 35, 52; Boris Pahor, *Pilgrim Among the Shadows* (New York, 1995), p. 48; John Peter Kraljić, "Croatian Inmates in German Concentration Camps", <http://www.croatia.org/crown/articles/6261/1/E-Croatian-Inmates-in-German-Concentration-Camps.html> (accessed on 16 November 2012).

¹³ M. Milić, *Jugoslaveni u koncentracionom logoru Mauthausen*, p. 42-45; F. Filipič, *Slovenci u Mauthausenu*, p. 34-35.

¹⁴ F. Filipič, *Slovenci u Mauthausenu*, p. 74.

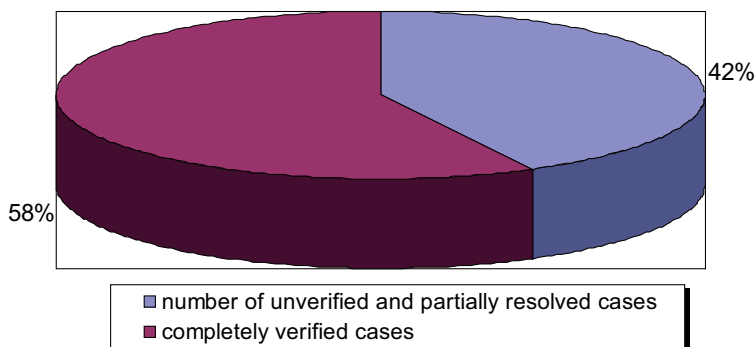
were killed, of this 209 Serbs, 196 Croats, and 21 Jews, and 24 persons whose nationality was not ascertained.¹⁵

Results of the Revision of the List of Victims from Yugoslav Territory Held by the Mauthausen Memorial Centre

The list submitted by the Mauthausen Memorial Centre contained, besides the names and surnames of 3,728 victims from Yugoslav territory, data on their places of birth, while the nationality of all victims was specified as Yugoslav. The first task was to accurately interpret the names and surnames and places of birth of individual victims, which was rather demanding, given the already mentioned entry of personal data of inmates *by ear*. Then it was necessary to ascertain the state and nationality of victims based on the present-day borders of the states which emerged after the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia.

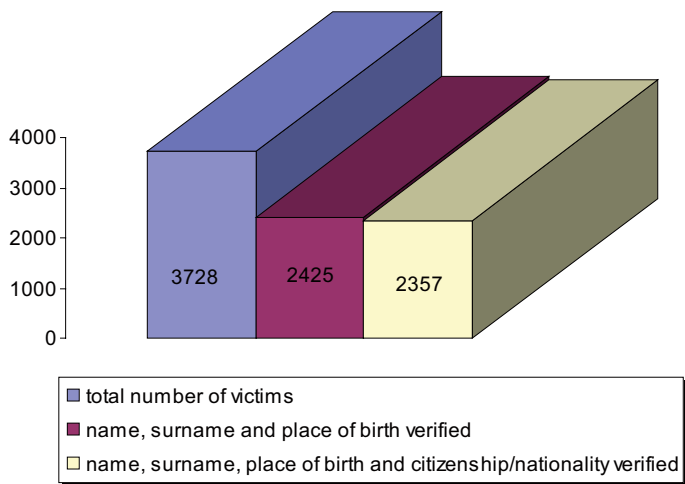
The corrections pertain to the names, surnames, places of birth, nationality and citizenship of all victims from Yugoslav territory for which valid data exist. Naturally, particular attention was accorded to victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, as indicated in the request from the Mauthausen Memorial Centre.

Of the total 3,728 victims from the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the list submitted by the Mauthausen Memorial Centre, we managed to completely verify 2,157 of them. This means that in case of over half of the entries, the names, surnames, places of birth and questions of citizenship and nationality have been resolved/corrected. A part of the data could not be resolved due to incomplete and often ambiguous entries (incompletely or inaccurately recorded names or surnames of victims and unknown and/or illegibly recorded places of birth).



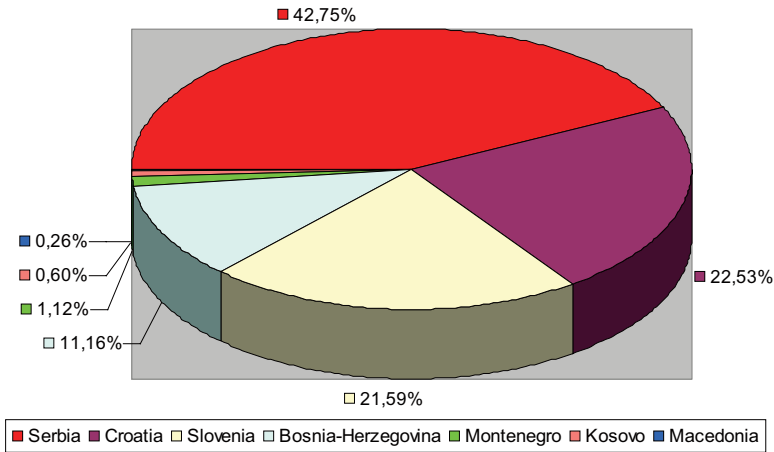
¹⁵ Dragan Cvetković, "Pregled stradanja stanovništva Hrvatske u nemačkim koncentracionim logorima van teritorija Jugoslavije", *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara*, 10/2 (Zagreb 2008), p. 206.

In the case of 3,434 victims, their surnames were clarified, while for 3,417 their names were similarly resolved. The names and surnames of 3,248 victims were ascertained. The revision of data associated with these two criteria, victim names and surnames, has been completed in the highest percentage.

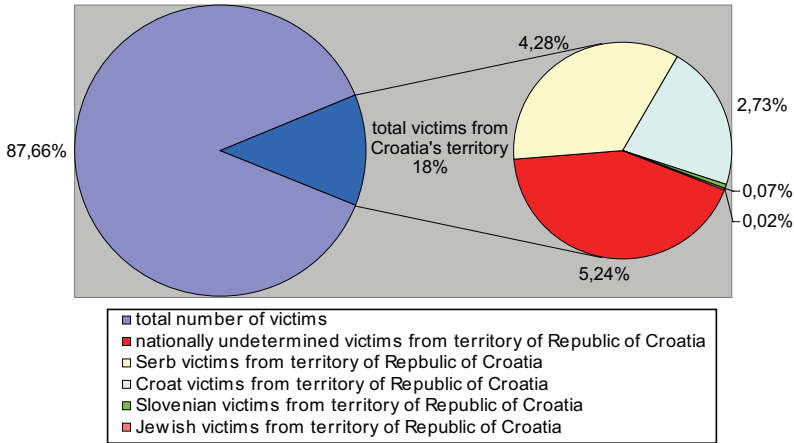


The data on place of birth do not exist for a considerable number of the victims contained in the list submitted by the Mauthausen Memorial Centre, and without reliable sources it will be difficult to accurately record subsequently. Also noteworthy is that the criteria for place of birth is not the most useful data for establishing the citizenship and nationality of a victim as would be data on domicile, which are not mentioned in the Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list. In some cases when the place of birth is in fact specified, these are small villages and hamlets which were rather difficult to place geographically, and in some cases this was impossible, since these toponyms no longer exist or the same toponyms can be found in several states which emerged after the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia. Additionally, some of these persons were also born outside of Yugoslavia according to this list. Therefore, the results of the revision of the Mauthausen Memorial Centre list according to the criteria of place of birth and citizenship and nationality virtually correspond. In 2,425 cases, the places of birth were verified in addition to the names and surnames, while in 2,357 cases the citizenship and/or nationality were also verified.

According to the revised Mauthausen Memorial Centre list, the most victims according to place of birth, 996, were from Serbia's territory. A total of 525 victims in the Mauthausen Camp were from Croatia's territory. The number of Slovenes was less, 503 persons, while 206 persons were verified as coming from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A very small number of victims were from Montenegro (26), Kosovo (14) and Macedonia (6). Due to insufficient or ambiguous personal data, it was not possible to verify citizenship with any certainty in the case of 1,398 persons.

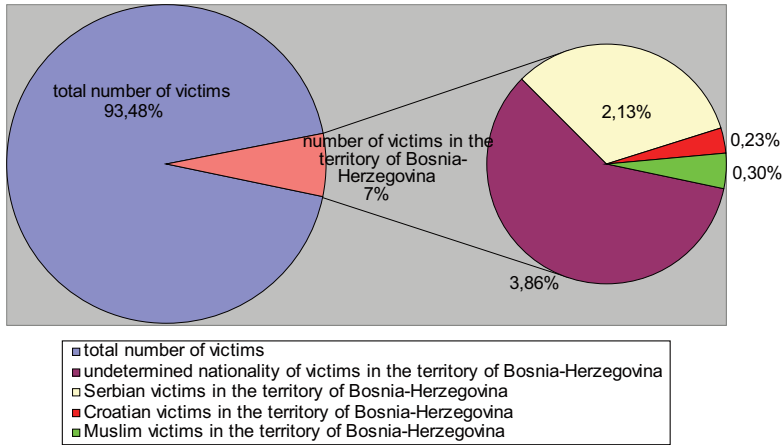


According to the revision of the Mauthausen Memorial Centre list, 525 of the victims were confirmed as being from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, of whom 116 victims were Croats, 182 victims were Serbs from Croatia, 3 victims were taken as Slovenes from Croatia's territory, and 1 victim was a Croatian Jew. An additional 223 persons were confirmed as victims as being from Croatia's territory, but their nationality could not be determined.



A total of 260 victims were verified as coming from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. 85 victims were ascertained as Serbs, 12 were Muslims, and 9 were Croats. Due to incomplete data, it was not possible to ascertain the nationality of 154 persons.

The Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list of victims from Yugoslav territory also cite persons born in Italy (out of the 10 registered persons, 6 were Slovenes), Austria (2 persons, of whom one was a Slovene), Hungary (2 persons), Germany (1 person) and Romania (1 person), as well as Czechoslovakia (1 person).



The names and surnames and places of birth and citizenship of 93 persons on the Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list has not been determined. The names and surnames of 125 persons must be clarified, even though it is important to note that it will not even be possible to resolve some names because the existing record is unusable. Citizenship and/or nationality has not been determined in 1,371 cases. In case of the highest share, 1,119, the place of birth could not be specified nor interpreted (incomplete and inaccurate data).

In May 2013, Mauthausen Memorial Center opened "Room of Names" with the Memorial Book with names of the people died in Mauthausen/Gusen camp complex. Multi-year project, made in collaboration with the various embassies and institutions, resulted with 81,007, so far, listed names of the camps victims. Of that number, 3,838 people were from the territory of former Yugoslavia, but their nationality has not been exactly identified.¹⁶

Victims of the Mauthausen Camp in the Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period

The *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period*, which was compiled as result of the scholarly research project of the Croatian Institute of History on the "Human Losses of Croatia in the Second World War and Post-war Period", also contains victims from Yugoslav territory who were not included in the Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list. In most cases these were Jews. Also notable is the significant absence of recorded women who died as camp inmates and Croats whose domicile was generally in the Kingdom of Italy and in the Slovenian and Croatian territories which Italy annexed or occupied.

¹⁶ Andreas Kranebitter, Gregor Holzinger, ed., *KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. Mauthausen Memorial* (Wien-Mauthausen, 2013), pp. 118., 120.

Approximately 750 victims of the Mauthausen Camp from the territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (the list has been partially revised) are registered in the *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period*. The *List of the Commission on the Census of War Victims of the Federal Executive Council of the SFR Yugoslavia* from 1964, the most systematic Yugoslav list of human losses due to the Second World War, was used as a source for all registered victims. A comparison of the *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period* and the Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list has ascertained that the Memorial Centre's list is missing a total of 192 victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The highest share of these persons, 116 in all, is from the territory of Istria, the Croatian Littoral, Gorski Kotar and Dalmatia, and Croats, 107 of them, predominate among these victims, while the nationality could not be determined for the remaining 9 victims. These data should be particularly stressed given that according to the Mauthausen Camp list there is a very low share of Croat victims from the territory of the Kingdom of Italy and the territories which the Italians either annexed or occupied. Croats predominate among the remaining 76 victims, 56 of them, followed by 13 Jews and 6 Slovenes (2 from Istrian territory, and 4 persons of Slovenian nationality were from the territory of the NDH), while the nationality of one person was not determined. The *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period* also has registered on it 19 Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina who are not on the Mauthausen Camp list.

According to the data of the Victims of Genocide Museum in Belgrade, 509 persons from Croatia's territory lost their lives in the Mauthausen Camp. The revised list of the Mauthausen Memorial Centre records a similar figure, i.e., 525 victims from Croatia's territory. However, according to the *Individual Name List of Victims of the Second World War and Post-war Period* of the Croatian Institute of History, 751 persons from Croatia's territory lost their lives in the Mauthausen Camp. It is worthwhile mentioning that the Mauthausen Memorial Centre's list is missing 192 victims from Croatia's territory, which are recorded in the *List of the Commission on the Census of War Victims of the Federal Executive Council of the SFR Yugoslavia* from 1964. From all of the above it is justified to assume that the existing list of the Mauthausen Memorial Centre is not complete, just as some of the persons recorded in the *List of the Commission on the Census of War Victims of the Federal Executive Council of the SFR Yugoslavia* from 1964 did not lose their lives in the Mauthausen Camp.

After almost seventy years since the end of the Second World War, work is still being done on the establishment of the names and surnames of victims, thereby contributing not only to the commemoration of the victims but also to the establishment of the precise number of victims which, particularly in the immediate post-war years – and not only in the case of the Mauthausen Camp – is often presented in rough estimates. And this was the rule in Yugoslav territory.

**Namensverzeichnis der Opfer aus dem jugoslawischen Gebiet
des Lagers Mathausen nach den Angaben
der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mathausen.
Aussichten auf Feststellung der Namen und Zahl der Opfer
aus dem Gebiet Kroatiens**

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag werden die Resultate der Revision des Namensverzeichnisses von Opfern aus dem jugoslawischen Gebiet nach den Angaben der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mathausen analysiert. Die Revision wurde im Kroatischen Institut für Geschichte im Rahmen des Projektes Die menschlichen Verluste Kroatiens während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und der Nachkriegszeit (Ljudski gubici Hrvatske tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća) vorgenommen. Nachdem die Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen der aus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mathausen gelieferten Angaben über jedes einzelne Opfer unternommen wurden, und zwar auf Grund des teilweise revidierten Namensverzeichnisses der Opfer des Zweiten Weltkrieges und der Nachkriegszeit (Poimenični popis žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća), das im Rahmen des Projektes Die menschlichen Verluste Kroatiens während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und der Nachkriegszeit zusammengestellt war, und auf Grund der in der Literatur publizierten Verzeichnisse der Opfer des Lagers Mathausen, wurde eine eingehende Analyse von so gesammelten Daten gemacht. Die größte Aufmerksamkeit bei Durchführung der Analyse wurde Korrekturen im Opferverzeichnis geschenkt, wie es beispielsweise folgende Daten sind: Name und Nachname, Geburtsort sowie staatliche und nationale Zugehörigkeit nach den heutigen Grenzen der nach dem Zerfall des Sozialistischen Föderativen Republik Jugoslawiens entstandenen Staaten.