

Destructive Practices, Life-Saving Practices: Corporal Activities in Mauthausen (1938-1945)

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Summary. *Although the death rate was extremely high in Mauthausen, survivors speak about «sports activities». This study shows that this term actually referred to two different kinds of practices: punitive and recreational physical exercises. It also demonstrates that the purposes of those practices depended on the status of inmates in the camp hierarchy, and thus on the power exerted over inmates. While they retained certain common features with the educational activities carried out by the SS, the physical exercises imposed on prisoners with no specific responsibilities in the camp were – because of their fierceness and repetition – a highly repressive means for deliberately crushing them. As for sports activities, they were a form of leisure activity designed for prisoners of high status in the camp hierarchy. Through these means, the SS intended to ensure the active collaboration of prisoners in camp self-government, but they also found there an opportunity for their own entertainment. For some prisoners, this entertaining dimension became part of a more general strategy enabling them to rise above the dehumanization they suffered at the hands of the SS.*

Keywords: *Second World War; Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps; Mauthausen; Sport; violence*

Pràctiques destructives, pràctiques salvadores: Les activitats corporals a Mauthausen (1938-1945)

Resum. *Tot i que la taxa de mortalitat era molt elevada a Mauthausen, els supervivents ens parlen d'«activitats esportives». Aquest estudi mostra que aquest terme, de fet, fa referència a dues menes diferents de pràctiques: els exercicis físics punitius i les activitats esportives reals. També demostra que els propòsits d'aquestes pràctiques depenien de l'estatus dels presoners dins la jerarquia del camp i, per tant, del poder que s'exercia sobre els presoners. Tot i mantenir algunes característiques comunes amb les activitats educatives que duïen a terme les SS, els exercicis físics que s'imposaven a presoners sense cap responsabilitat específica dins el camp eren –atesa la seva duresa i repetició– un mitjà altament repressiu per tal d'esclafar-los deliberadament. Pel que fa a les activitats esportives, eren una forma d'activitat de lleure dissenyada per als presoners amb un alt status dins la jerarquia del camp. A través d'aquests mitjans, les SS miraven de garantir la col·laboració activa dels presoners en l'autogovern del camp, però també hi van trobar una oportunitat per a la seva pròpia distracció. Per a alguns presoners, aquesta dimensió d'entreteniment va esdevenir una part d'una estratègia més general que els va permetre de sortir de la deshumanització que van patir a les mans de les SS.*

Paraules clau: *Segona Guerra Mundial; camps de concentració i extermini nazis; Mauthausen; esport; violència*

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Introduction

Concentration camps were one of the most powerful repressive tools of the Third Reich. Although Dachau opened as early as March 1933, the camp system was set up progressively as its two main engineers, Heinrich Himmler and Reinhardt Heydrich, rose higher in the political sphere. When H. Himmler appointed Theodor Eicke chief of the Concentration Camps Inspectorate in July 1934 meaning he actually managed the incipient concentration camp system (Broszat, 2005, 362; Billig, 1967, 210-211), the poorly planned camps of the early days of the Nazi regime were replaced by full-fledged institutions all over the national territory: Sachsenhausen was created in 1936, Buchenwald in 1937, Flossenburg in 1938, and Ravensbrück in 1939. Camps were a repressive tool wielded by Nazis to outlaw from society all those they saw as an internal threat to the regime: political opponents, social misfits and all those considered deviant because of their crimes, sexual mores, or creed. Under cover of «rehabilitation», they were mistreated so as to break their moral and physical resistance. In the system designed by Theodor Eicke SS, guards specially trained for that purpose obviously had a key function in the methodical destruction of prisoners, but the role of inmates holding responsibilities within the camps should also be underlined. The latter wielded substantial power over their fellow prisoners, thus taking a significant part in the repression that crushed them. The *Lagerältester* was the chief of the camp inmates. *Kapos* were under his command and were responsible for supervising their fellow inmates at work, as well as the *Blockältester* who were supposed to maintain order and discipline in the bunkhouses. When WWII broke out, this system became more complex. As the population of inmates became more international, a new agenda was set for the camps and extermination measures intensified against Jews. Deportation to concentration camps as a non-racial repressive measure was supplemented by deportation to extermination camps as racial persecution (Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation, 2004, 15-16).¹ Additionally, as war production became a key issue, forced labor using concentration camp prisoners until their strength gave out became increasingly important. The *Rassentheorie* at the core of the Nazi ideology was all the more salient: the «race» and nationality of a prisoner – easily identified thanks to a triangle all prisoners wore on their coat – defined their rank in the camp hierarchy and, as a result, their chances of survival.

Mauthausen concentration camp (abbreviated as KL Mauthausen)² was rather unusual in the Nazi camp

system for three main reasons. First, it was one of the most deadly camps of all. It was also the only one to be classified in the 3rd category by R. Heydrich,³ meaning that its prisoners were not susceptible to rehabilitation. Lastly, all prisoners were male: a total of only 6,000 women were detained in Mauthausen and only from the end of 1944 at that.⁴ The camp was created in 1938 in the Upper Danube region, 20 km downstream from Linz, after Austria was annexed to the German Reich. Its initial population numbered 300 German and Austrian criminals and social misfits that had been culled from other camps (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 213). The camp population increased and saw its first foreign prisoners with the arrival of Polish prisoners in 1940 (Fabrèguet, 1999, p.117) and Spanish republicans from August 1940 (Fabrèguet, 1991, p. 77). The phenomenon increased when WWII broke out. Beside the Spaniards whose number was to increase significantly until late December 1941 and eventually rose to 7,300 (Fabrèguet, 1991, p. 79), Polish, Czech, German and Russian war prisoners (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 215) arrived in large number at Mauthausen. Some 9,200 French prisoners were sent to the camp, notably from 1943 (Lesourd, 1991). About 200,000 persons were detained in Mauthausen and its satellite camps between 1938 and 1945 (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 138). The death rate was approximately 50 to 55% (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 205), representing between 95,000 and 120,000 individuals – the latter figure being Joseph Billig's appraisal (Billig, 1973, p. 91-102) – among which were 4,600 Spaniards and 3,600 Frenchmen (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 662). It should be noted that besides planned murders, inmates suffered from chronic malnutrition, terrible housing conditions, forced labor and extreme violence devoid of any respect for human life and dignity. According to Georges Loustaunau-Lacau,⁵ physical exertion was part of the mistreatment inflicted upon inmates:

The «toad» is a collective gymnastic exercise in which you move forward on your toes, squatting on your heels and leaping like a toad, with your hands clasped behind your

documents (Fabrèguet, 1999, 41), which is why we have chosen to use this shortened form here.

³ In a memorandum dated January 2, 1941, R. Heydrich classified all camps into three categories according to prisoner status (their personal background and their dangerousness to the Reich). The third category included prisoners considered «beyond rehabilitation». Mauthausen was the only camp in that category. Historians disagree as to the true significance of the memorandum. Michel Fabrèguet (Fabrèguet, 1999, pp. 75-77) and Olga Wormser-Migot (Wormser-Migot, 1967, pp. 152-154), consider it is at best a cover-up, while for Thomas Fontaine and Adeline Lee, the memo produced follow-up action, as for instance the profile of French prisoners sent to the camp (Fontaine & Adeline, 2010, p. 19).

⁴ For example a convoy of 1,980 women arrived from Ravensbrück in March 1945 (see: Marsalek, 1980, 130-134; Strebel, 2005, 466-469).

⁵ Georges Loustaunau-Lacau, identification number 37788, was sent to a concentration camp in October 1943 and worked at Wiener Neudorf *Kommando*. Information about French inmates at Mauthausen is available on the *Prisoners' Association Bulletin of Mauthausen* website: <http://mauthausen.ouvaton.org/>.

¹ The word «inmate» refers to individuals who have been held in a Nazi concentration camp (Wieviorka, 2003, pp. 27-29; Joly, Wieviorka, & Bruttman, 2009). To grasp fully the concentration camp system, it is essential to acknowledge the difference between «racial deportation as persecution measures» and «non-racial deportation as repressive measures».

² The word *Konzentrationslager* was abbreviated as KL in Nazi official

head until your body collapses from exhaustion (Loustau-nau-Lacau, 1945, p. 46).

Those exercises were not the sole form of corporal activity of camp prisoners. Although «compared with other KL, the death rate of inmates was [...] incredibly high in Mauthausen» (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 208), testimonies reveal that cultural and sports activities did exist. The book published by the Mauthausen prisoners' association reports the existence of team sports:

Sometimes, on non-working days when the weather was good, those inmates who were exempted from work could have some free time and sometimes played team games (Amicale de Mauthausen, 1985, p. 21).

How can we apprehend the dual existence of punitive physical exercises and sports activities? What were the motives of the various protagonists? This study aims to consider the bipolar system operating at Mauthausen-Gusen and its main *Kommandos* (Ebensee, Loibl-Pass, Melk) as a self-contained social environment and to examine the significance, role and functions of corporal practices in such a context. We choose our words with great care so as not to mix up what the prisoners actually experienced with the concept of «sport» in its usual meaning.⁶ Although this term may have been used in various testimonies to try to express the unspeakable (Young, 1998), we define «corporal practices» as follows:

A set of practices whose main feature is to bring the human body into action with emphasis placed on physical exertion, so as to perform a task, whether by agreement or imposition, and fulfill specific purposes defined by either the inmates or German authorities. (Gomet, 2012, p. 16)

We have also drawn from Michel Foucault's work – in particular his concepts of discipline (Foucault, 1975, p. 161), sovereign power and biopower (Foucault, 1997, p. 216) and from the concept of absolute power defined by Wolfgang Sofsky as follows:

Absolute power [...] does not relinquish violence but clears it of any form of inhibition and endows it with a new strength by carefully structuring it. Absolute power can be exerted only when the dread of tyranny ends. Its purpose is not to obtain unquestioning obedience or discipline, but an environment of total uncertainty in which even docility does not protect you from serious problems.

⁶ The concept of «sport» in the broad sense of the word is defined as follows by Thierry Terret: «[...] a restricted sense where sport means a set of codified and institutionalized physical practices carried out for achieving a performance or with a view to a competition, and organized for ensuring fair conditions of implementation; and a broader sense including all types of physical activities designed for entertaining, health or competitive purposes within a minimum regulatory framework». (Terret, 2007, p.10)

It compels its victims to become part of an anonymous herd, stirring conflict and building up a social structure characterized by extreme disparities (Sofsky, 1995, p. 30).

Our aim is to try to understand the role of sports in Mauthausen, a camp established by a state that, if we are to believe Foucault, «*makes the field of the life it manages, protects, guarantees and cultivates in biological terms absolutely coextensive with the sovereign right to kill anyone, meaning not only other people but also its own people*» (Foucault, 1997, p. 232). Another fulcrum has been the work of Giorgio Agamben (Agamben, 2003) – in spite of obvious differences between the theories of the two thinkers (Genel) – and more particularly his concept of *Homo Sacer*, that is, someone who can be killed with complete impunity and thus without the killer being regarded as a murderer (Agamben, 1998).

Our study makes use of research on the general history of the camp system such as works by Martin Broszat (Broszat, 1967), Olga Wormser-Migot (Wormser-Migot, 1967), Falk Pingel (1978), Karin Orth (1999, 2004) and Veronika Springmann's paper on punitive corporal practices (2007). We have also relied upon works regarding the organization of the camp society, either by survivors (Levi, 1989) or by historians (Mesnard & Thanassekos, 2010; Sessi, 2008; Schemmel, 2012). Michel Fabrèguet's book (1999) – inspired by his Ph.D. dissertation – is an essential reference for becoming acquainted with the history of Mauthausen. Other published works have been used, such as papers by Michel de Bouard (1954, 1962) and books by Marsalek (1980) and Benz and Distel (2006). Research on the history of sport and physical exercises in Germany (Bennett, 1966, 1983, 1985; Neff, 1979; Simon, 1969; Krüger, 1975) and on the relationship between sport, politics and ideology (Krüger and Murray, 2003; Mangan, 2000; Keys, 2006) have been used to better comprehend the importance of sport in Nazi ideology. Finally the book published under the supervision of Diethelm Blecking and Lorenz Peiffer (2012) was helpful in learning more specifically about sports activities under the Nazi regime and also about the personal stories of several athletes who were victims, resistance fighters or collaborationists.

Our research is centered upon the fate of French and Spanish male prisoners in Mauthausen. Archives are from the *French National Archives* (AN, 72aj; AN, AJ/88) of the *Contemporary Jewish Documentation Centre* (CDJC) in Paris, the *Bureau of Former Victims of Contemporary Conflicts* (AC), the *German Federal Archives* in Berlin (BAB) the museum of Mauthausen and the *Institute of Recent History* (IHTP). Our research has also been complemented by the analysis of some 40 books published⁷ in French including testimonies from French and Spanish people, and of the *Mauthausen Prisoners' Association Bulletin*, available for consultation at the IHTP library.

⁷ Out of the 103 books in French listed by Peter Kuon (2011).

This study demonstrates that practices experienced by inmates resulted from the encounter between Nazi body culture rooted in both ideological education and physical training, and their own culture which did not have similar purposes, although they shared with the Nazis a common understanding of institutionalized sports. However, the said practices bore the stamp of the absolute power imposed on inmates whom the SS considered the very negation of their Black Order: the types of practices and their functions thus depended on the positions the SS granted to inmates in the society of the camp.

1. Using Physical Exercises to Destroy the Camp Anti-race

1.1. *Strafstehen* and physical exercises as powerful coercive tools

The inhuman labor imposed by the SS in the camp quarry – in particular the pain of climbing up and down 186 steps – is a major concern in the testimonies of Mauthausen survivors, as shown in this extract from René Gille's⁸ manuscript quoted by Christian Bernadac:

A hellish and hideously unreal vision of men with shaved heads, skinny, pale, wearing dirty rags, moaning as they climb the 186 steps of this collective ordeal. (Bernadac, 1993, p. 135)

These testimonies also describe numerous physical exercises imposed on inmates at the very beginning of the quarantine period in the camp, which were very much akin to the «breaking-in process of a horse» in Gilbert Dreyfus' own words (1979, p. 36). Joan Cortès and Mariano Constante were sent to Mauthausen in 1941. The former recalls exercises performed all day long (Montserrat, 2005, p. 212), while the latter adds:

On the pretense that one of our mates had gone out of the bunkhouse after 9:00 pm, we had to get up, barefoot, wearing only a see-through boxer short, we had to walk, run and lie down in the snow in front of the bunkhouse. (Constante, 1971, p. 193)

Once the quarantine period was over, inmates were sent to the central camp or one of its satellite camps to work, but that did not mean the end of physical humiliations, far from it. The basic punishment was called «*Mützen ab*». It simply meant taking off your cap and putting it on again as a salute, but this exercise was a collective punishment when it dragged on for hours on end during roll call:

[...] The point was to have the four hundred inmates [...] take off their cap at the same time with perfect Prussian

precision. You had to repeat it hundreds of times while standing to attention, and flap your cap onto your thigh in one single firm stroke. Woe betide you if you failed. *Mützen ab, Mützen auf, Mützen ab, Mützen auf.* (Montserrat, 2005, p. 217)

It should be noted that the roll call was in itself a particularly efficient form of exertion that drained inmates of their strength.

Roll calls symbolized discipline. They had many purposes: to undermine inmates' morale; physically and morally destroy, debase, exhaust and terrorize them. (Montserrat, 2005, p. 213)

When the Spaniards arrived, inmates were subjected to two or three roll calls a day: the *Zählappel*, the *Arbeitsappel*, as well as, more exceptionally, the general roll call. The latter could last a whole day if not more, and inmates had to stand to attention without moving. The second type of widely-used punishment was the punitive exercises, which often took place in the roll call area:

This area was also where, under any excuse or pretext, punished inmates had to run, jump, lie down or crawl. When the whistle blew, they had to obey and were vociferously chased after, beaten with sticks and kicked. (Salou-Olivares & Salou-Olivares, 2005, p. 132)

Punitive exercises could also be imposed by the SS in the middle of the night, depriving inmates of precious sleep and compelling them to perform «frog leaps» with their legs folded whilst beaten with sticks and rods» (Borras, 1989, p. 212).

Most French prisoners arrived at Mauthausen two years later but the practices in use had remained unchanged. In the book on his personal experience (Delfieu, 1946, pp. 108-111), Maurice Delfieu⁹ describes the ritual of roll call and *Mützen-ab* that occurred twice a day in Ebensee. Michel Simon¹⁰ also explains how terrifying these physical exercises were for the new arrivals.¹¹ In his testimonies to students, Henri Ledroit¹² puts an emphasis on imposed «exercises» during the quarantine period.¹³ A manuscript kept in the French National Archives gives us further insight:

⁹ Maurice Delfieu, identification number 62253, was sent to Ebensee in April 1944.

¹⁰ Michel Simon, identification number 28542, was sent to Wiener Neustadt *Kommando* in April 1943, then to Schlier-Redl Zipf.

¹¹ AN, 72aj/330. Michel Simon's testimony recorded by M. Viel on November 21, 1952.

¹² Henri Ledroit, identification number 26252, was sent to Wiener Neustadt *Kommando* in April 1943, then to Schlier-Rdl Zipf and finally to the main camp.

¹³ Filmed testimony of Henri Ledroit sent to Mauthausen on April 16, 1943, available at: http://maquisdelorris.fr/resistance/?page_id=1843, section entitled «Living conditions in the camps»: «To keep us fit and healthy, they imposed physical exercises on us».

⁸ René Gille, identification number 62451 was sent to Melk in April 1944.

Prisoners were compelled to perform exercises in unevenly cobbled yards where you could neither walk, sit nor lie because of the sharp stones sticking out 5 to 20 cm. These exercises often included duck or toad walking, crawling in puddles of water, etc.¹⁴

Jean Ecole¹⁵ calls them «*hiüpfen* sessions».¹⁶ Pierre de Froment remembers the «sport sessions» (De Froment, 2005, p. 95) at Schwechat *Kommando*; Georges Loustaunau-Lacau speaks of the «toad exercise» (Loustaunau-Lacau, 1945, pp. 45-46) as he describes a punishment inflicted on Russian prisoners. The *Amicale de Mauthausen* (Prisoners' Association Bulletin of Mauthausen) mentions «forced gymnastic sessions» (*Amicale de Mauthausen*, 1985, p.14), while Paul Arrighi¹⁷ calls them «*the circus*», indicating that Jews were the most likely victims:

We were condemned to take part in the «*circus*», walking around the yard for hours, in particularly exhausting postures: squatting, leaping or moving at a jog trot [...].¹⁸

In Ebensee *Kommando*, Jean Bondi remembers that such punishments lasted several hours and took place every morning on the inmates' return from night work.¹⁹ Pierre de Froment reports the same: «After roll call, we had to perform endless series of “*Mützen ab*” out in the cold» (De Froment, 2005, p. 104), and he also specifies that «sports activities» were among the favorite humiliations inflicted upon them:

As far as «sport» was concerned, it was neither a pleasant moment nor a sensible physical education session, as one might surmise. These sessions were in fact collective punishments exerted for hundreds of reasons, whether true or false. (De Froment, 2005, p. 104)

Similar memories haunt Joseph Scheidt²⁰ from his days at Melk:

A gym session. For one hour at least, orders are barked at us to the rhythm of whistle blows: «Lie down! Get up! Sit down! On your knees! Lie face down! Crawl on your elbows!» Walk around the yard and do it again!²¹

¹⁴ AN, 72aj/329. Statement made by war veterans, civil registration department, addressed to the *Committee on the History of the Second World War*, no date specified.

¹⁵ Jean Ecole, identification number 62368, was sent to Melk in April 1944, then to the main camp.

¹⁶ AN, 72aj/329. Jean Ecole, *Report on Mauthausen concentration camp*, statement recorded by Vincent Badie and Emile Juillard on 25 May 1945, and transferred to the *Committee on the History of the Second World War*, p.8. The word *hiüpfen* means «to jump» in German.

¹⁷ Paul Arrighi, identification number 61877, was sent to Melk in April 1944, then to Ebensee.

¹⁸ AN, 72aj/330. Paul Arrighi's testimony recorded by Mrs Granet on November 15, 1951.

¹⁹ AN, 72aj/330. Jean Bondi's statement, May 17, 1945.

²⁰ Joseph Scheidt, identification number 63181, was sent to Melk in April 1944, then to Ebensee.

²¹ Joseph Scheidt's memoirs, «Melk, the scars of winter», in *Mauthausen*

No doubt that physical exercises and *Mützen ab* sessions were part of the Nazi set of repressive measures in Mauthausen until the end of the war. Men were systematically reduced to a herd of lined-up bodies forming ranks and submitted to a central command ordering tasks or exercises in quick succession: the logic of discipline in the Foucauldian sense of the word cruelly appears in all its brutishness and is made twice as hard by the trauma that was inflicted.

1.2 Between body culture and the expression of absolute power

The very reality of such exercises cannot be apprehended without considering the ideology behind the camp system and the importance of physical activities in the education of Aryan youth. For Hermann Goering and Heinrich Himmler, creating and developing concentration camps was linked directly with the project of rehabilitation of German political dissidents and social misfits through discipline and labor. However, rehabilitation was not aimed at reintegrating individuals into German society but rather making them relinquish their status as a human being and unconditionally accept their status as obedient slaves (Billig, 1967, pp. 207-243). The camp «anti-race», to quote this author, was only authorized to survive in return for its total submission to the Black Order society and its rules, culture and values. The manner in which it was treated was actually a clever mixture of practices used by the SS for supposedly educational purposes, but altered and applied as real tortures. Such was the meaning of the regulations established by Theodor Eicke in October 1933 in Dachau.²² He defined a set of punishments to be inflicted on inmates, depending on their deviation from the drastic rules governing their daily lives – rules that were in truth impossible to comply with. The minor punishments (Richardt, 1983, p. 142) included *Strafstehen*, (standing punishment) and *Strafexerzieren*, literally «punishment through exercise», namely running, lying down, crawling and jumping. Those forms of collective humiliation that combined physical and sports training and military drills (Mac Neil, 1995, pp. 150-174), are deeply rooted in the physical exercises imposed upon German youth from a very early age within a society dominated by a theory of race in which physical education is a duty for each and every member of the national community (Bernett, 1963; Bernett, 1983; Bernett, 1985). Such is the meaning of an article written in 1933 by Hans Von Tschammer und Osten entitled «Leibeserziehung bedeutet Erziehung des gesamtmen Menschen von Leibe

Mle 63181, available at <http://mauthausen.mle.63181.pagesperso-orange.fr/index.html>, consulted on October 12, 2014.

²² The 19th paragraph stipulated: «Possible secondary sanctions: punitive physical exercises, *thrashings*, *ban on letters to prisoners*, *food rationing*, *binding to a post*, *sleeping on the ground*, *reprimand & warning*. *All sanctions shall be put down in writing*). AGda. N°3213. TMI, Vol. XXVI. PS-778. Disziplinar u. Strafordnung für das Gefangenenlager », p. 295.

aus» (*Physical Education Means Education of the Entire Body*) and also of Bruno Malitz's book *Die Leibesübungen in der nationalsozialistischen Idee (Physical Exercises and the Nazi Doctrine)*.

In any case, because of the time they spent in the Hitler Youth, young Germans' world-view was conditioned by the race theory (Oelschläger, 2001, 12-16). They were quite familiar with drills as testified in the propaganda films of the time²³ and also in a document published as early as 1944 by the *Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force*.²⁴ Ralf Roland Ringler remembers his days in the Hitler Youth. He writes:

For hours on end, we had to run, crawl in mud, jump, do push-ups and go through all kinds of humiliations that fall within «military drills» (Ringler, 1977, p. 78).

The same exercises and drills intensified in the elite schools of the Party such as the *Ordensburgen*. In Vogelsang, drills were central to the training program (Heinen, 2014, pp. 65-66). For those whose aim was to become a guard in concentration camps, the requirements were even harsher and there again, drills were systematically part of their training so as to toughen them up (Buchheim, 2005, p. 247), boost their esprit de corps and magnify their stamina. Drills were not only to be endured «dutifully» and «creditably» but also had to be severely administered to inmates by the newly recruited guards if the latter wanted to be admitted into the group (Orth, 2004, pp. 1129-131). These exercises and drills were commonly used in Dachau and spread throughout the camp system as new *Lager* opened, based on Eicke's model, with similar regulations and guards that had been trained by the same methods. Accordingly, regulations in Mauthausen were very similar (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 511) to Dachau's, and the 80 guards first recruited there were SS from the *Totenkopfstandarte-Oberbayern* regiment previously stationed in Dachau.

Although the goals set for Nazi camps changed during the war to be directed towards intensive production, testimonies from French inmates have revealed that physical exercises – counter-productive by definition – were still imposed. It seems therefore that the objective of rehabilitation that the RSHA (Reich Security Head Office) wished to perpetuate in the KL – as exemplified by the 1940 classification which labeled Mauthausen the only camp with grade III – was kept up in this camp, even after 1942. The culture shared by the SS trained in Dachau's methods and their perception that they were inflicting treatment on sub-humans

seemed to continue in Mauthausen, in spite of the changes brought to the objectives of the camps – a fact that was probably facilitated by the uninterrupted management of Mauthausen by the S.S Fritz Ziereis until 1945.

Mauthausen had to be and remained the epitome of the toughest camp, the most brutal, with the highest death rate, in which the death of inmates was preferred over their work (Delfieu, 1946, p. 82). However, other avenues are worth exploring. In the survivors' memories, *Strafexerzieren* sessions were usually not conducted by their SS guards but rather by those prisoners carrying out certain duties and responsibilities in the camp. Whereas Georges Loustaunau-Lacau describes a «toad» session imposed by both the SS and *Kapos* (Loustaunau-Lacau, 1945, p. 46), Jean Biondi accuses a *Blockältester*²⁵ (bunkhouse chief) from the Ebensee *Kommandos*; Jean Ecole incriminates the Mauthausen *Lagerältester*²⁶ while Pierre de Froment, speaking of the *Lagerältester* of Mödling, wrote that he «enjoyed conducting a chore or sports session» (De Froment, 2005, p.117). Following the principles set by T. Eicke, some prisoners carefully selected according to their race, nationality or criminal record (Sofsky, 1995, 149-152), called *Häftlingsfunktionär* or *Prominenten*, participated in camp management in return for more favorable living conditions. Mauthausen was no exception to the rule: the same hierarchical system based on categories of prisoners monitored the relationships between the Nazis, the «anti-race» and those prisoners enjoying privileges. Unlike other camps such as Buchenwald, in which political prisoners managed to work their way up the camp hierarchy, in Mauthausen only the more violent prisoners, those who were well-acquainted with Nazi methods, managed to keep their privileges. At Mauthausen, the first German criminals and social misfits who came from Dachau in 1938 were selected for such duties (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 73) and kept their positions for years (Fabrèguet, 1999, p. 520).

But until March 1945 in Mauthausen KL, camp elders (*Lagerältester*), block elders, block secretaries and work *Kommandos'* *Kapos* were – with very few exceptions – «green triangles», and usually the worst of their kind (De Bouard, 1954, pp. 58-59).

As the number of *Prominenten* increased along with the camp population, the SS went on recruiting mainly German inmates displaying the green (criminals) or black (social misfits)²⁷ triangle to oversee the other prisoners. Both categories were infamous for their vio-

²³ Collection Steven Spielberg Film and Video archives, USHMM. http://www.ushmm.org/online/film/display/detail.php?file_num=5600, June 14, 2014. Officers oversee training and exercises at a Hitler youth camp, 1939, Story RG-60.I382, film ID.2964.

²⁴ Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEP). Evaluation and Dissemination Section G-2 (Counter Intelligence Sub-Division), Compiled by MIRS (London Branch), The Hitler Jugend (The Hitler Youth Organisation), Basic Handbook, 1944, E.D.S./G/5/ Part III. Conspiration and Training.

²⁵ AN, 72aj/330. Testimony by Jean Biondi, May 17, 1945.

²⁶ AN, 72aj/329. Jean Ecole, *Report on Mauthausen concentration camp*, statement recorded by Vincent Badie and Emile Juillard on May 25, 1945, and transmitted to the *Committee on the History of the Second World War*, p. 8.

²⁷ For a description of the different categories of prisoners, see Michel de Bouard (1954, pp. 53-54).

lent behavior.²⁸ To keep their privileges, these men were capable of «mimetic servility» (Sofsky, 1995, p.172) and consequently used the same methods as the SS, including punitive exercises. Undoubtedly, this also explains the extremely harsh words of the survivors towards the *Kapocracy* (De Froment, 2005, p. 68):

They were criminals of the worst kind, convicted of crime, theft, assault, etc. They were selfish, totally amoral people, impervious to reason. Nothing could stop them, which is why the SS used them to break and destroy political prisoners (Van-Riet, 1977, p. 69).

In a way, punitive physical exercises and *Mützen-ab* sessions during roll call prove that the dual purpose of rehabilitation/destruction assigned to the camps by H. Himmler and R. Heydrich was maintained in Mauthausen from 1933 to 1945, in spite of the economic objectives set at a later date, i.e. at the beginning of the war. Because they considered inmates as sub-humans, the SS inflicted on them exercises based on their own experience, but in circumstances that were utterly different and involved mistreatment and malnutrition. Moreover, the draconian rules governing the camps were only a façade that really gave free rein to the arbitrary. The delegation of tasks meant that prisoners selected for their brutality scrupulously repeated the practices initiated in Dachau: Mauthausen inmates were actually submitted to absolute power in which physical exertion held a central place.

2. Between unconscious imitation and resistance: sports activities for inmates within the «grey zone»²⁹

2.1 Sport as a culturally meaningful activity for prisoners and their guards

Besides daily acts of violence, sports activities were also organized in Mauthausen, Loibl Pass and Ebensee. A few extracts from testimonies are solid enough proof of that. The book written by the *Amicale de Mauthausen* (Prisoners' Association of Mauthausen) reports *team games* (*Amicale de Mauthausen*, 1985, p. 21). Jean Laffitte³⁰ mentions that during his quarantine period in the central camp, he saw prisoners playing with a «ball» on Sundays (Laffitte, 1947, pp. 124-125). Hans Marsalek (1980, p. 52) or José Borraz also describes similar facts:

²⁸ This fact should be kept in perspective: among prisoners holding responsibilities and having distinguished themselves by their crimes, the German criminals were not the only ones, a fact clearly evidenced by Jean Laffitte for the Ebensee *Kommando* (Laffitte, 1947, pp. 264-265).

²⁹ Primo Levi, a survivor from Auschwitz III, created the concept of «grey zone». He referred to those inmates who, for different reasons, eluded the worst living conditions by holding various positions within the camp (Levi, 1989, pp. 36-68). Olivier Laliu took up the concept in his research on Buchenwald (Laliu, 2005). It has generated numerous works on the history of the concentration camp society (Mesnard & Thanassekos, 2010).

³⁰ Jean Laffitte, identification number 25519, was sent to Ebensee in March 1943.

One particular Sunday, they managed to make a ball with rags and a piece of string, divided up into two teams and began to play in the middle of the roll call area [...]. This early attempt at organizing a sports event was followed by boxing matches, first among Spaniards, but later involving several nationalities [...]. (Borras, 1989, pp. 263-264)

At Loibl-Pass South, a satellite *Kommando* of Mauthausen, «[...] boxing fights and football matches sometimes took place on Sunday afternoons» (Tilser & Tessier, 2005, p. 165). At Ebensee, Gilbert Dreyfus reports football games and swimming in the camp pool.³¹

On such days [...] football games were played in the *Appelplatz* (roll call area), while the camp's elite enjoyed swimming. When the sun finally appeared, there was the festive atmosphere of a fun fair and sports meeting. (Dreyfus, 1979, p. 95)

The expansion of sports activities cannot be understood without examining the body culture of the SS who, according to the survivors, showed a keen interest for sports activities in the camps: «The SS used to watch the fights that took place in the *Appelplatz* where a real ring was built» (De Bouard, 1954, p.60). Actually, sports activities were an integral part of the young Aryan's education, a wish A. Hitler himself had expressed in *Mein Kampf*. Sport was taught at school (Naul, 2002, p. 25; Neff, 1974, pp. 79-91) and in the Hitler Youth (Lepage, 2004, p. 89; Krüger, 1983, pp. 137-151). It was of central importance for breeding a new race of strong, healthy individuals, worthy members of a German community governed by the theory of human races (Neff, 1974; Bennett, 1983; Bolz, 2008; Bensoussan *et al.*, 2012). This is how Bruno Malitz voiced it in 1936:

If the new race, the New Man is to beget a sturdy and wholesome lineage ready to face the struggle of life, this New Man should himself be sturdy and wholesome. He should have the adequate genetic stock upon which the next generation shall be founded. To that end, sports and physical activities should be given high priority in the Nazi doctrine (Malitz, 1936, 262).³²

While boxing was held by the key authors of Nazi ideology as a good way to be confronted with the harsh realities of life and the necessity of an endless struggle (Schäfer, 1936, pp. 313-319), football was for them the prototypical people's game, the quintessential *Volkss-*

³¹ The camp swimming pool appears on the map included in the booklet published by the *Amicale de Mauthausen: Ebensee, Mauthausen Kommando*, Brive, Peyrat print., sd, pp. 12-13.

³² Original quote: Will die neue Rasse, der neue Mensch, Nachkommen züchten, die im Kampf des Lebens fest und kerngesund sind, so muss er selber gesund sein und fest. Er muss eine Erbmasse haben, die der nachfolgenden Generation der Baugrund ist, auf dem sie aufbaut. Dadurch gewinnen Leibesübungen und Sport in der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung einen ungeheuren Raum.

port (Linnemann, 1936). Because of the poor results of the German team (Pyta, 2010, 28), football could certainly not be regarded as the national sport, but that is not what the Nazis had in mind. Symbols were really of paramount importance to them, and football was to serve as a vehicle for such symbols: of the national union, of team spirit and of collective bravery.

Our youth should learn the game of football, to put up an honest and open fight so as to serve the needs of their community, and always be ready to give their very best to this community with which they have such strong ties, for better or for worse (Girulatis, 1936, p. 196).

Once they joined the SS, men carried on training so as to be the worthy representatives of the Nazi sporting ideal (Pisecky, 1936, p. 513), and their superiors required annual performance assessments (Bahro, 2007). In the concentration camps, the SS guards had time-slots dedicated to sports (D'Almeida, 2011, pp. 122-155). Both Mauthausen and Ebensee had a field³³ specifically designed for this purpose:

In Mauthausen, beyond the yard and along the road to the camp, the SS [...] had their own football field. Between two killing sessions, they enjoyed a football match (Amicale de Mauthausen, sd, p. 24).

It is therefore no surprise that the SS were huge fans of boxing or football matches. However, because of the geographic isolation of the camps and *Kommandos*, the only events likely to be scheduled were within the camps and, in this particular case, only inmates could be involved in such farcical events. Just as they appealed to musicians for concerts, the SS selected talented sportsmen among inmates for the Sunday sports events. According to Borrás (1989, p. 264), from May 1941, 8 Spanish boxers and 13 footballers were enrolled in the sports events favored (Seguy, 2008) by the «master race». Better living conditions (easier *Kommandos*, food and lodging) befell them as long as they took part in the sporting events (Borrás, 1989, p. 264).

Among inmates were both amateur and professional boxers; the SS provided them with sufficient food and appointed them to positions that could possibly give them some opportunity to train (De Bouard, 1954, p. 60).

Most inmates suffered from severe malnutrition, and the very opportunity to increase one's daily food intake and be protected from the worst *Kommandos* was a most valuable asset: for some inmates, sporting skills were a form of «capital» in the sense given to that

³³ This field is featured on the Mauthausen plan roughly outlined by De Bouard in 1954 (De Bouard, 1954, pp.42-43) as well as on the map of the Amicale de Mauthausen, «plan of Mauthausen», *Les Cahiers de Mauthausen 1*, Symposium 1. *Mauthausen: from Memory to European Awareness*. Mauthausen-Linz (Autriche) 29, 30 & 31 October 2000, pp. 186-187.

word by Wolfgang Sofsky (1995, pp. 158-162), as François Chaffin was to confirm to Michel Fabréguet:

Boxers were granted substantial perks in the form of additional food and assignments to less exacting work *Kommandos* (Fabréguet, 1999, p. 526).

2.2 Recreational sports as a marker of life/survival conditions in Mauthausen

If prisoners with proven athletic and sporting skills were in a position to bargain their talents to increase their chances of survival, they were not alone in practicing sporting activities. Other prisoners had this opportunity if they belonged to the privileged groups and only at those periods when the death rate was on the downturn.

A more precise study of the testimonies identifies in effect two phases in the development of sports activities. The first one occurred in spring 1941: Louis Gil, a Spanish Republican, mentioned that the first football match took place during the first half of 1941 (Razola & Constante, 2002, p. 56), a fact that is also reported by José Borrás (Borrás, 1989, pp. 263-264). To account for this event requires examining what Michel Fabréguet (1999) calls the «gruesome death count» of Mauthausen camps.

Between April 1940 and June 1941, the death rate among inmates in the central camp dropped to its lowest level, the Spanish Republicans representing «more than half» (Fabréguet, 1991, p. 80) of the camp population: it seems logical that sports activities were initiated by them during this more lenient period. After a high increase in the death rate between 1941 and 1943, physical activities started up again in spring 1943: Casimir Climent i Sarrion refers to boxing and football matches in the central camp, «while the toughest times for the Republicans had passed» (Montserrat, 2005, p. 217). Interviewed by Michel Fabréguet, François Chaffin refers again to the existence of a boxing team that was able to train in a warehouse near the boiler house in 1943 (Fabréguet, 1999, p. 526). He also reports football matches being played from 1943 (Fabréguet, 1999, p. 525). Some traces of sports events have been found in Loibl-Pass South in 1943, but sports activities really developed in 1944. Next to boxing matches, inmates also played football matches:

Bunkhouse chiefs of the south side also planned football matches. The 70m-long field was located behind bunkhouses 2 & 3. Matches only began in spring 1944. Twelve to fourteen players participated on Sunday afternoon [...]. (Tilser & Tessier, 2005, p. 167)

These were not the great events highly valued by the Nazis, for inmates without sports skills also had the opportunity to be involved. Again, this can only be understood by keeping in mind the change in the camps' goals that compelled Nazis to decrease the death rate. Several letters from Himmler, Glück and Pohl

testify to that: in October 1942, Himmler authorized Red Cross food parcels to enter the camps;³⁴ in December 1942, Glücks sent a circular to all camp physicians and commanders ordering a quick decrease in the prisoners' death rate.³⁵ He reiterated this order in January 1943, stipulating that camp commanders would be held responsible for the outcome.³⁶ The death rate³⁷ did indeed decrease, as was the case in Mauthausen (Fabréguet, 1999, p. 177) where there were now better conditions for inmates.

While the development of sports activities did correspond to a decrease in the death rate, it should be noted that not all prisoners were entitled to free time for entertainment. Only those privileged prisoners from the *grey zone* were. At the Mauthausen-Gusen trial, witness Komineski reported that in Gusen, in 1942, only the *Prominenten* prisoners were allowed to play soccer, while the others had to carry on with the relentless work.

Yes, there was free time, but you have to differentiate between two groups of people. The first group worked from morning until night and when they came back and whenever they had one hour's free time, they would lie down and sleep. The second group was the group of *Prominenten* and they killed their time by playing cards or by playing soccer [...].³⁸

In 1944 at Loibl-Pass South, the German *Lageraltester* Fridolin Bipp was behind most of the football and boxing matches:

Bipp was helped by a boxing fight enthusiast named Karl-Heinz Pommerehnke, alias «Mr Tatoo», who was the chief of bunkhouse 3. He was also helped by other *Kapos* and *Blockältester*, in other words all those who used their fists everyday to punch inmates (Tilser & Tessier, 2005, p. 165).

However, from 1943, the prisoners having access to sports activities were not only Germans wearing the green triangle. For example, Paul Tillard³⁹ observes that some Spaniards had some free time too:

Football matches took place in the roll call area. There were German, Polish and Spanish teams, but no Russian, Yugoslav or French teams. We did not receive enough food. We could not waste our strength (Tillard, 1945, p. 54).

In 1944 at Loibl-Pass, a French football team put up a good fight against the Germans while French prisoners participated in boxing events. Although the opportunity to play sports depended on the status of inmates in the camp hierarchy, the distribution of power gradually shifted between 1938 and 1945, and some groups of prisoners who were initially dominated later had the opportunity to enjoy some privileges. The increasing number of prisoners in Mauthausen combined with the WVHA (*Wirtschaft-Verwaltungshauptamt*) requirements in terms of death rate decrease, urged the SS to reconsider their strategy for recruiting *Prominenten*. Hence the SS turned to qualified prisoners who were either German political prisoners, Austrians or Spaniards for positions as secretary, doctor or cook, beside the usual criminals and social misfits (De Bouard, 1962, p. 54; Borrás, 1989, p. 264). Moreover, the fierce struggle that prevailed between inmates from different «communities»⁴⁰ and the gradual structuring of the resistance movement inside the camps significantly contributed to this development (De Bouard, 1954, pp. 68-71). The French were no exception: in 1944, as they created groups of mutual aid and resistance, they managed to obtain some privileged positions and their condition improved, more particularly in Loibl-Pass where there were many of them. Some of them then got the right to engage in sports activities.

By granting this right to *Prominenten*, the SS gave them an advantage in return for their cooperation in the smooth running of the KL. They gave them the opportunity to take up meaningful cultural activities whilst life in the camps deprived the great majority of prisoners of any cultural landmark (Gomet, 2014). Boxing (Philonenko, 2013) and football (Dietschy, 2010, pp. 113-246) were popular sports that had actually been given a lot of media coverage in Europe during the interwar period, whether in Spain (Gonzales & Stumm, 2004), France (Defrance, 2007, pp. 79-105; Dietschy, 2010, pp. 39-62) or Germany (Pyta, 2007, pp. 1-22; Eggers, 2001).

In Germany, with the success of soccer the Deutscher Fussball-Bund had suddenly found itself ranking first in the European football league, since it included 598,970 players in 1936. (Dietschy, 2010, p. 202).

All things considered, the motives of those «sportsmen» varied and reflected the diversity and complexity of the backgrounds of inmates in the *grey zone*. Some *Prominenten* whose main aim was to maintain their advantages, engaged in sports activities both

³⁴ BAB, NS 4 NA 3 DI/Az.: 14d 4/ot./U. *Packetsendungen an Häftlinge*, 29.10.1942, Himmler.

³⁵ BAB, NS 19/1829. Glücks' memorandum of December 28, 1942

³⁶ TMI, NO-1523. Geheim Tgb Nr 46/43, January 20, 1943. Einsatz von Häftlingen in Rüstungsbetrieben, Glücks.

³⁷ BAB, NS 19/1952. Pohl's letter sent to the SS *Reichsführer* on September 30, 1943.

³⁸ NARA. Box 12. Trial Dates June 13, 1947 to June 24, 1947. Case n°000-50-5-3. USA vs Erich Schuettauf, 6/17/47, 144.

³⁹ Paul Tillard, identification number 25672, was sent to Ebensee camp in March 1943.

⁴⁰ The word is used by Michel de Bouard to qualify the various groups in the camps. These groups were created on the basis of the prisoners' nationality and the reasons for being sent to concentration camps: «In spite of their dispersion, citizens from the same country had a more or less clear feeling of belonging to a «community». Each community had specific characteristics and ways of behaving (De Bouard, 1962, p. 53).

because they were fond of it and through unconscious imitation and servility towards the SS. Fully aware of the enthusiasm of the latter for sporting events, the *Prominenten* undertook to organize those events and did not hesitate to participate in them and recruit sportsmen among prisoners deprived of powers. This was for example the case in 1941 with the main camp's *Prominenten* who forced the Spaniards to take part (Borras, 1989, pp. 263-264) or with the German inmates of Loibl-Pass (Tilser & Tessier, 2005, pp. 165-167). In league with the SS, they had to identify sportsmen among the newly arrived, give them additional food rations and assign them to less exacting work *Kommandos*.

For other protected prisoners, sports represented more a means for fighting against dehumanization. As surprising as it may seem, the rules were generally complied with during sports events, and the possibility of defeating a *Kapo* was not totally excluded. Moreover, just like in civilized society, victory was a symbol acknowledged by both the SS and inmates that not only benefited the winner himself but also all the members of his community.

The victory or defeat of one of them was primarily a national matter. [...] Victories won by such or such Frenchman in the summer 1944 contributed to enhance our reputation in the weird, closed world of the KLM, almost as much as the FFI (French Forces of the Interior) entering into open conflict (De Bouard, 1954, p. 60).

If some inmates decided to join in practices that were highly valued by their torturers, the aim was not to satisfy the latter but rather to recover features of free life again, thus maintaining the prisoners' morale on the one hand while also enhancing the reputation of a specific national group in the camp. Consequently, any sports victory, as ephemeral as it could be, was a step towards achieving a bit of power and pride for both the audience and the players. This can help us understand the importance attached to the boxing victories of the «super-champion» Segundo Espallargas – aka «Paulino»– dubbed the «*brave and undefeated boxer of Mauthausen*» by the *Prisoners' Association Bulletin of Mauthausen* after the war:

[...] And it was an honor for the Catalan boxer Espallargas not to have been afraid of retaliation when he knocked out the German champion (*Prisoners' Association Bulletin*, 2012, p. 15).

In 1944, after some hesitation, the French resistance unit of Loibl-Pass finally agreed that French prisoners could participate in football matches and boxing fights. In fact, its members realized that the latter did entertain their torturers but also had a positive impact on the morale of French prisoners. Michel de Bouard validates this when he writes, «Any escape, as short as it may be, any respite in our anxiety renewed our strength» (De Bouard, 1954, p. 60).

Inmates holding no position, *Prominenten* and the SS all shared a collective knowledge of institutionalized sports, notably boxing and football, which had enjoyed an unprecedented development since WWI. However, according to their position in the camp society, their motives were distinct. The SS considered sport as a pleasant way of using the *Homo-Sacer* to satisfy their needs for entertainment, whereas some favored prisoners endeavored to keep their privileges. Others put forward their sporting skills as a form of capital enabling them to get food and join a social network. Finally, some privileged prisoners considered it a means of fighting against oppression.

Conclusion

Through physical practices and sports activities, it is possible to perceive the multiple relationships between corporal cultures and the various forms of power at work in camp society. The practices of inmates first depended on Nazi corporal culture, built on a combination of military drills and sports. As the absolute masters of the camps, the SS used drills they were themselves submitted to for destruction-reeducation purposes against the camp «anti-race», whilst enjoying the sports entertainment provided by certain inmates.

Fully supportive of the SS to whom they owed their power, some of the inmates acted through servility and unconscious imitation whatever the task assigned to them was: killing, punishing, organizing boxing or football matches. However, others considered sports activities as a factor bringing them back to civilian life, and thus helping them keep up their morale. Nevertheless, disclosing the existence of sports activities in Mauthausen is all the more disturbing as the symbols of civilized society and those of a society based on supreme power became entangled:

A strange world indeed because, even on those late sporting afternoons, our jailers were present, and we were in their clutches; the Bunker 200m away from the ring; block 20 further away, and in the sky above the camp the smoke of the Crematorium, all that was enough to bring us back to earth, to the hellish world of the camp (De Bouard, 1954, p. 60).

This study can only question the real meaning of sports in relation to supremacy, power, discipline and violence, a meaning that French writer Georges Perec gives an inkling of in *W or The Memory of Childhood* (1975). Though the fictionalized nature of the book – mingling the sphere of sports with that of concentration camps – cannot be denied, the prominent place occupied by sports in the camps calls into question the exclusively allegorical character of this sport: to some extent, sport is an integral part of the history of concentration camps just as the camps bring to light certain aspects of sports. Undoubtedly this twofold observation turns out to be most disturbing.

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**Prácticas destructivas, prácticas salvadoras:
Las actividades corporales en Mauthausen
(1938-1945)**

Resumen. Aunque la tasa de mortalidad en Mauthausen era muy elevada, los supervivientes nos hablan de «actividades deportivas». El presente estudio muestra que dicho término realmente se refiere a dos tipos distintos de prácticas: ejercicios físicos punitivos y actividades deportivas reales. También demuestra que el propósito de tales prácticas dependía del status de los internos en la jerarquía del campo, y así en el poder que se ejercía sobre ellos. Mientras seguían manteniendo algunas características comunes con las actividades educativas que llevaban a cabo las SS, los ejercicios físicos que se imponían a los prisioneros sin ninguna responsabilidad específica en el

campo eran –por su dureza y repetitividad– un medio altamente represivo para destrozarlos deliberadamente. En cuanto a las actividades deportivas, eran una forma de actividad de ocio diseñada para los prisioneros con un alto status en la jerarquía del campo. A través de dichos medios, las SS querían asegurar la colaboración activa de los prisioneros en el autogobierno del campo, pero también hallaron en ellos la oportunidad para su propio entretenimiento. Para algunos prisioneros, tal dimensión de entretenimiento llegó a ser una parte de una estrategia más general que les permitiría distanciarse por encima de la deshumanización que sufrieron en manos de las SS.

Palabras clave: Segunda Guerra Mundial; campos de concentración y exterminio nazis; Mauthausen; deporte; violencia